

Appendix

Table A1. Parties included in the analysis

Country	Party Name
Belgium	Christian-Democrat and Flemish
Belgium	Democrat Humanist Centre
Belgium	Ecolo
Belgium	Flemish Interest
Belgium	Green
Belgium	New Flemish Alliance
Belgium	Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats
Belgium	Reform Movement
Belgium	Socialist Party
Belgium	Socialist Party Alternative
Czech Republic	Civic Democratic Party
Czech Republic	Social Democratic Party
Denmark	Conservatives
Denmark	Danish People's Party
Denmark	Liberals
Denmark	New/Liberal Alliance
Denmark	Red-Green Alliance
Denmark	Social Democrats
Denmark	Social Liberal Party
Denmark	Socialist People's Party
Germany	Christian Democratic Union
Germany	Free Democratic Party
Germany	Social Democratic Party
Germany	The Left
Ireland	Fianna Fáil
Ireland	Fine Gael
Ireland	Labour Party
Ireland	Sinn Féin
Netherlands	Christian Democratic Appeal
Netherlands	ChristianUnion
Netherlands	Democrats 66
Netherlands	GreenLeft
Netherlands	Labour Party
Netherlands	Party for the Animals
Netherlands	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy
Netherlands	Socialist Party
Norway	Centre PartyCentre Party
Norway	Christian Democratic Party
Norway	Conservative Party
Norway	Labour Party
Norway	Liberal Party

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Norway	Progress Party
Norway	Socialist Left Party
Spain	Democratic Convergence of Catalonia
Spain	People's Party
Spain	Socialist Party
Sweden	Centre Party
Sweden	Green Party
Sweden	Left Party
Sweden	Liberal People's Party
Sweden	Moderate Party
Sweden	Social Democrats
United Kingdom	Conservative Party
United Kingdom	Green Party
United Kingdom	Labour Party
United Kingdom	Liberal Democrats
United Kingdom	Scottish National Party

Source: PPDB

Table A2. Main variables used in the analyses: measurement, descriptive statistics, and data source

Variable Name	Measurement	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max	Source
Party Supporter	Supporters are those who self-identified as close to a party and provided the name of the party.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	ESS 4 & 5
Party Member	Supporters who self-identified as party members	0.082	0.27	0	1	ESS 4 & 5 'mmbprty' and ESS 4 & 5
Benefits	Index of benefits, looking at the rights granted to members for selecting the party leader, selecting candidates, or adopting the election manifesto.	0.348	0.263	0	1	PPDB
Financial Cost	The minimum annual dues as a percentage of each country's average annual wage	0.089	0.061	.01	.29	PPDB
Net Benefits	Benefits relative to cost	0.259	0.259	-0.17	0.98	Constructed by the authors using PPDB data. For details see Kosiara-Pedersen, Scarrow and van Haute 2017.
Ideological Incongruence	Absolute difference between the respondent's ideological extremeness and the mean among all respondents who self-identified as supporters of the respondent's party. The larger the distance, the more incongruence between members and supporters	0.936	0.636	0	3.1323	Constructed by the authors using ESS 4 & 5 'lrscale' (11 point scale; 0=Left, 10=Right)
Religiosity	Difference between the respondent's religious attendance and the mean among all respondents who self-identified as supporters of each party.	-3.456	1.848	-5.786	3.374	Inverse scale from ESS 4 & 5 'reattend' (7 point scale)
Income	Difference between the respondent's income decile and the mean among all respondents who self-identified as supporters of each party.	0.0509	2.568	-6.976	6.662	ESS 4 & 5 'hinctnta' (10 point scale)

Age	Difference between the respondent's age and the mean among all respondents who self-identified as supporters of each party.	0.240	15.589	-37.355	39.238	ESS 4 & 5 'agea'
Union Membership	Membership of trade union (or similar organization) of the respondent	0.337	0.473	0	1	ESS 4 & 5 'mbtru' (0=no; 1=yes)
Female	Gender of the respondent	0.465	0.499	0	1	ESS 4 & 5 'gndr' (0=male; 1=female)