

# **Supplementary Information**

## **“Voter Polarization, Strength of Partisanship, and Support for Extreme Parties.”**

**The Supplementary Information file includes the following information:**

- 1. The main data included in the analyses: countries, election years, parties (with their left-right positions and vote shares), mean voter position and voter polarization.**
- 2. Additional analyses discussed in the main text (expected values; marginal effects plots; estimation of the share of partisans).**
- 3. Robustness tests for the analyses presented in Tables 2 and 3 of the main text.**

# 1. Data included in the analyses

**Table S1. Countries, Election Years, and Political Parties Included in the Empirical Analysis**

## Established democracies

Country, Election Year (Mean Voter Position; Voter Polarization)	Political Party	Left- Right Party Position	Vote Percentage
<b>Australia</b>			
1996 ( <b>5.46</b> ; 2.01)	Labor	4.33	38.70
	Liberal	6.45	38.60
	National	6.50	8.20
	Australian Democrats	4.69	6.70
2004 ( <b>5.34</b> ; 2.11)	Liberal	7.04	40.47
	Labor	4.31	37.64
	Green	3.21	7.19
	National	6.59	5.89
2007 ( <b>5.29</b> ; 2.12)	Labor	4.35	43.38
	Liberal	6.85	36.28
	Green	3.61	7.79
	National	6.57	5.49
<b>Austria</b>			
2008 ( <b>4.82</b> ; 2.40)	SPÖ	3.02	29.30
	ÖVP	5.72	26.00
	FPÖ	7.91	17.50
	BZÖ	7.28	10.70
	Green	2.62	10.40
<b>Belgium-Flanders</b>			
1999 ( <b>5.19</b> ; 1.98)	Flemish Liberals and Democrats	5.75	23.40
	Christian People's Party	5.83	23.30
	Socialist Party (Flanders)	3.70	16.20
	Flemish Block	7.04	15.90
	Agalev	3.60	11.60
	VU/ID	5.31	9.10
<b>Belgium-Walloon</b>			
1999 ( <b>4.64</b> ; 2.11)	Socialist Party (Wallonia)	5.72	23.60

	PRL-FDF	3.08	23.50
	Ecolo	3.80	17.00
	Social Christian Party	6.96	13.60
<b>Canada</b>			
1997 (5.33; 1.95)	Liberal	5.41	38.50
	Reform	5.96	19.40
	Conservative	5.91	18.80
	New Democratic	3.36	11.00
	Bloc Québécois	3.60	10.70
2004 (5.13; 1.92)	Liberal	5.07	36.73
	Conservative	6.28	29.63
	New Democratic	3.38	15.68
	Bloc Québécois	3.68	12.39
<b>Denmark</b>			
1998 (5.56; 2.27)	Social Democrat	4.35	35.90
	Liberal	7.55	24.00
	Conservative	7.23	8.90
	Socialist People	2.52	7.60
	Danish People	8.64	7.40
2001 (5.54; 2.23)	Left, Liberal Progress	7.32	31.20
	Social Democrat	4.38	29.10
	Danish People's Party	8.13	12.00
	Conservative	6.98	9.10
	Socialist People	2.78	6.40
	Radical Left, Social Liberal	4.61	5.20
<b>Finland</b>			
2003 (5.57; 2.02)	Center Party	6.19	24.70
	Social Democrat	4.73	24.50
	National Coalition	7.46	18.60
	Left Alliance	2.34	9.90
	Green League	4.74	8.00
	Christian Democrats	5.85	5.30
2007 (5.67; 2.26)	Center Party	6.57	23.11
	National Coalition	7.98	22.26
	Social Democrat	4.16	21.44
	Left Alliance	1.87	8.82
	Green League	4.77	8.46
<b>France</b>			
2002 (5.12; 2.55)	UMP	6.66	33.30
	Socialist	3.61	24.10

	Front National	7.85	11.30
2007 ( <b>5.47</b> ; 2.48)	UMP	7.99	39.54
	Socialist	3.54	24.73
	Democratic Movement	5.84	7.61
<b>Germany</b>			
1998 ( <b>4.09</b> ; 2.17)	SPD	3.36	43.90
	CDU	5.71	32.20
	CSU	6.30	7.30
	PDS	2.91	5.10
2002 ( <b>4.22</b> ; 2.27)	SPD	3.35	38.50
	CDU	6.08	29.50
	CSU	6.59	9.00
	Green	3.01	8.60
	FDP	4.90	7.40
2005 ( <b>4.41</b> ; 2.44)	SPD	3.60	34.20
	CDU	6.08	27.80
	FDP	5.23	9.80
	PDS	1.23	8.70
	Green	3.34	8.10
	CSU	6.54	7.40
2009 ( <b>4.44</b> ; 1.92)	CDU	6.43	27.27
	SDP	3.66	23.03
	FDP	5.81	14.56
	Left	1.12	11.89
	Green	3.28	10.71
	CSU	6.96	6.53
<b>Iceland</b>			
1999 ( <b>5.56</b> ; 2.32)	Independence	8.41	40.70
	Alliance	3.65	26.70
	Progressive	5.71	18.30
	Left Greens	2.39	9.10
2003 ( <b>5.41</b> ; 2.22)	Independence	8.31	33.68
	Social Alliance	4.08	30.95
	Progressive	6.03	17.13
	Left Greens	2.25	8.81
	Liberal	5.49	7.38
2007 ( <b>5.50</b> ; 2.13)	Independence	8.16	36.60
	Social Alliance	4.85	26.80
	Left Greens	2.18	14.30
	Progressive	5.57	11.70
	Liberal	5.51	7.30
2009 ( <b>5.15</b> ; 2.10)	Social Alliance	4.25	29.80

	Independence	8.15	23.70
	Left Greens	2.17	21.70
	Progressive	5.64	14.80
	Civic Movement	4.11	7.20
<b>Ireland</b>			
2002 (5.81; 2.10)	Fianna Fail	6.44	41.50
	Fine Gael	6.06	22.50
	Labour	3.61	10.70
	Sinn Fein	3.06	6.50
2007 (5.78; 2.19)	Fianna Fail	6.55	41.60
	Fine Gael	6.26	27.30
	Labour	4.00	10.10
	Sinn Fein	3.13	6.90
<b>Israel</b>			
1996 (5.16; 3.13)	Avoda	3.12	27.50
	Likud	7.46	25.80
	Shas	6.21	8.70
	Mafdal	7.32	8.10
	Meretz	1.51	7.50
2003 (5.77; 2.99)	Likud	7.75	29.39
	Labor	2.88	14.46
	Shinui	4.88	12.28
	Shas	7.00	8.22
	National Union – Mafdal	8.24	5.53
	Meretz	1.76	5.21
2006 (5.70; 2.86)	Kadima	5.16	22.02
	Labor (Avoda)	3.96	15.06
	Shas	6.03	9.53
	Likud	6.84	8.99
	Beytenu	7.54	8.99
	Ihud Leumi – Mafdal	7.35	7.14
<b>Italy</b>			
2006 (5.13; 2.67)	Forza Italia	4.57	23.71
	Olive Tree	1.91	31.27
	National Alliance	4.84	12.34
	Union of Christian and Centre		
	Democrats	3.32	6.76
	Communist Refoundation Party	1.17	5.84
<b>Netherlands</b>			
1998 (5.36; 1.99)	PvdA	4.25	29.00

	VVD	7.18	24.70
	CDA	6.23	18.40
	D66	5.07	9.00
	Green-Left	2.84	7.30
2002 (5.21; 2.14)	CDA	6.30	27.93
	List Pim Fortuyn	7.56	17.00
	VVD	7.03	15.44
	PvdA	3.43	15.11
	Green-Left	2.31	6.95
	Socialist Party	2.36	5.90
	D66	4.44	5.10
2006 (5.29; 2.21)	CDA	6.75	26.51
	PvdA	3.59	21.19
	Socialist Party	2.63	16.58
	VVD	7.19	14.67
	PVV	7.54	5.89
<b>New Zealand</b>			
1996 (5.57; 2.42)	National	7.68	33.90
	Labour	3.83	31.00
	New Zealand First	5.44	13.40
	Alliance	2.68	11.20
2002 (5.16; 2.30)	Labour	3.96	41.26
	National	6.85	20.93
	New Zealand First	6.48	10.38
	ACT	7.29	7.14
	Green	2.65	7.00
	United	5.58	6.69
2008 (5.66; 2.32)	National	6.85	44.93
	Labour	3.66	33.99
	Green	2.54	6.72
<b>Norway</b>			
1997 (5.18; 2.15)	Labor	4.80	35.00
	Progress	8.30	15.30
	Conservative	8.04	14.30
	Christian People's Party	5.77	13.70
	Center Party	4.15	7.90
	Socialist Left	2.41	6.00
2001 (5.51; 2.08)	Labor	4.58	24.30
	Conservative	8.04	21.20
	Progress	8.09	14.60
	Socialist Left	2.77	12.50
	Christian People's Party	5.89	12.40

	Center Party	4.46	5.60
2005 (5.21; 2.20)	Labor	3.99	32.69
	Progress	8.36	22.06
	Conservative	8.03	14.10
	Socialist Left	2.50	8.83
	Christian People's Party	6.15	6.78
	Center Party	4.40	6.48
	Liberal	4.78	5.92
<b>Portugal</b>			
2002 (5.34; 2.32)	PPD/PSD	7.31	40.21
	PS	4.62	37.79
	CDS/PP Popular	7.72	8.72
	CDU Unitary Democratic Coalition	1.91	6.94
2005 (5.10; 2.53)	PS	4.68	45.03
	PPD/PSD	6.93	28.77
	CDU Unitary Democratic Coalition	2.14	7.54
	CDS/PP Popular	7.33	7.24
	BE Left Bloc	1.68	6.35
2009 (5.15; 2.57)	PS	5.02	36.56
	PPD/PSD	6.96	29.11
	BE Left Bloc	6.47	10.43
	CDS/PP Popular	2.11	9.81
	CDU Unitary Democratic Coalition	2.59	7.86
<b>Spain</b>			
1996 (4.40; 2.20)	PP	7.84	38.70
	Socialist	4.02	37.60
	IU	2.28	10.50
2000 (4.71; 2.00)	PP	7.11	45.20
	Socialist	3.70	34.70
	IU	2.25	5.50
2004 (4.15; 2.10)	Socialist	3.30	42.59
	PP	7.82	37.71
<b>Sweden</b>			
1998 (4.96; 2.54)	Social Democratic	3.48	36.40
	Moderate Rally	9.02	22.90
	Left	1.24	12.00
	Christian Democratic	6.97	11.80
	Centre	5.43	5.10
2002 (4.79; 2.49)	Social Democratic	3.52	39.85
	Conservative	8.95	15.26
	People Party's Liberals	6.54	13.39

	Christian Democratic	7.13	9.15
	Left	1.31	8.39
	Centre	5.74	6.19
2006 (5.23; 2.28)	Social Democratic	3.55	34.99
	Conservative	8.50	26.23
	Centre	6.25	7.88
	People Party's Liberals	6.75	7.54
	Christian Democratic	6.89	6.59
	Left	1.34	5.85
	Green	3.54	5.24
<b>Switzerland</b>			
1999 (5.19; 2.24)	SVP-UDC People's	7.60	22.50
	SP/PS Social Democratic	3.29	22.40
	Freethinking Democrats	6.16	19.90
	CVP/PDC Christian Democratic	5.54	15.80
	GPS/PES Green	3.03	5.00
2003 (5.05; 2.34)	SVP-UDC People's	8.17	26.73
	SP/PS Social Democratic	2.82	23.33
	FDP/PRD Radical Democratic	6.22	17.30
	CVP/PDC Christian Democratic	5.48	14.38
	GPS/PES Green	2.91	7.40
2007 (5.30; 2.36)	SVP-UDC People's	8.12	28.90
	SP/PS Social Democratic	2.86	19.50
	FDP/PRD Radical Democratic	6.11	15.80
	CVP/PDC Christian Democratic	5.35	14.50
	GPS/PES Green	3.02	9.60
<b>United Kingdom</b>			
1997 (5.03; 2.25)	Labour	3.97	43.20
	Conservative	7.17	30.60
	Liberal Democratic	4.71	16.70
2005 (5.21; 2.08)	Labour	4.65	36.14
	Conservative	6.71	33.23
	Liberal Democratic	4.40	22.65
<b>United States</b>			
2004 (5.83; 2.33)	Republicans	6.68	49.90
	Democrats	4.09	47.40

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### Postcommunist democracies



<b>Country, Election Year (Mean Voter Position; Voter Polarization)</b>	<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Left- Right Party Position</b>	<b>Vote Percentage</b>
<b>Albania</b>			
2005 ( <b>5.71</b> ; 3.87)	Democratic Party of Albania	8.84	44.06
	Socialist Party of Albania	1.51	39.44
	Socialist Movement for Integration	2.80	8.23
<b>Bulgaria</b>			
2001 ( <b>5.71</b> ; 2.23)	National Movement – Simeon II	6.54	42.74
	United Democratic Forces	8.80	18.18
	Bulgarian Socialist Party	1.70	17.15
	Movement for Rights and Freedoms	5.12	7.45
<b>Croatia</b>			
2007 ( <b>5.14</b> ; 2.84)	Croatian Democratic Union	7.61	34.91
	Social Democratic Party of Croatia	2.03	32.50
	Croatian People's Party	3.98	7.05
	Croatian Peasant Party	5.36	6.77
	Croatian Social Liberal Party	4.89	6.77
<b>Czech Republic</b>			
1996 ( <b>5.78</b> ; 2.51)	Civic Democratic Party	8.93	29.60
	Czech Social Democratic Party	3.38	26.40
	Communist	0.60	10.30
	Christian Democratic Union - Czech		
	People's Party	6.20	8.10
	Association for the Republic	5.93	8.10
	Civic Democratic Alliance	7.38	6.40
2002 ( <b>4.68</b> ; 2.55)	CSSD Social Democratic Party	2.70	30.20
	ODS Civic Democratic Party	8.24	24.47
	Communist	0.77	18.51
	Christian Democratic Union - Czech		
	People's Party	5.74	14.27
2006 ( <b>5.44</b> ; 2.53)	Freedom Union	6.92	14.27
	ODS Civic Democratic Party	8.76	35.38
	CSSD Social Democratic Party	2.90	32.32
	Communist	1.04	12.81
	Christian Democratic Union - Czech		
	People's Party	6.10	7.23
	Green	6.19	6.29

**Hungary**

1998 (4.87; 2.25)	Socialist Party	2.93	29.00
	Alliance of Young Democrats	6.48	25.70
	Independent Smallholder's	7.13	12.10
	Alliance of Free Democrats	3.99	7.30
	Justice and Life	7.91	5.10
2002 (4.79; 2.92)	MSZP Hungarian Socialist Party	1.87	42.05
	Fidesz	8.10	41.07
	SZDSZ Alliance of Free Democrats	2.87	5.57
	MDF Democratic Forum	7.68	41.07

**Poland**

1997 (5.57; 2.73)	Solidarity	8.15	33.80
	Democratic Left Alliance	1.66	27.10
	Freedom Union	5.61	13.30
	Peasant	3.74	7.30
	Reconstruction	7.44	5.60
2001 (4.59; 2.74)	Democratic Left Alliance	1.32	41.04
	Citizen's Platform	6.34	12.68
	Self Defence	4.63	10.20
	Law and Justice	6.65	9.50
	People's	4.31	8.98
	Polish Families	7.21	7.87
	AWSP	8.07	5.60
2005 (6.06; 2.57)	Law and Justice	7.34	26.99
	Civic Platform	6.63	24.14
	Self Defence	4.57	11.41
	Democratic Left Alliance	1.40	11.31
	Polish Families	6.48	7.97
	Peasant	4.41	6.96
2007 (6.23; 2.47)	Civic Platform	6.30	41.51
	Law and Justice	7.04	32.11
	Left and Democrats	1.97	13.15
	Peasant	4.91	8.91

**Romania**

1996 (6.10; 2.64)	Peasant and Christian	6.78	30.10
	Social Democracy	3.84	21.50
	Democratic	5.32	12.90
	Democratic Union of Hungarians	5.28	6.60
2004 (5.78; 2.28)	Social Democratic	4.14	36.80
	National Liberal Party	6.86	31.48
	Democratic	6.77	31.48
	Greater Romania	3.76	12.99

	Democratic Union of Hungarians	4.81	6.20
	Humanist	4.67	36.80
<b>Russia</b>			
1999 (5.15; 2.83)	Communist	1.89	24.20
	Unity Inter-regional/Social Democrats	6.87	23.30
	Fatherland All Russia	5.10	13.30
	Union of Right Forces	8.10	8.50
	Zhirinovskiy	5.13	5.90
	Yabloko	6.08	5.90
<b>Slovenia</b>			
1996 (4.94; 2.14)	Liberal Democratic	3.90	27.00
	People's	5.88	19.30
	Social Democratic	6.18	16.10
	Christian Democratic	6.57	9.60
	United List of Social Democrats	3.44	9.00
2004 (5.01; 2.31)	Slovenian Democratic	6.96	29.08
	Liberal Democratic	3.19	22.80
	United List of Social Democrats	3.51	10.17
	Christian People's Party	6.96	9.09
	People's	6.10	6.82
	National	5.34	6.27
<b>Ukraine</b>			
1998 (4.63; 3.28)	Communist	1.80	24.70
	People's Movement	7.32	9.40
	Socialist	2.97	8.50
	People's Democratic Party	5.65	5.00

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## 2. Additional analyses discussed in the main text

**Table S2. Substantive Effects on Vote Share, Based on Different Values of Party Policy Distance and Voter Polarization**

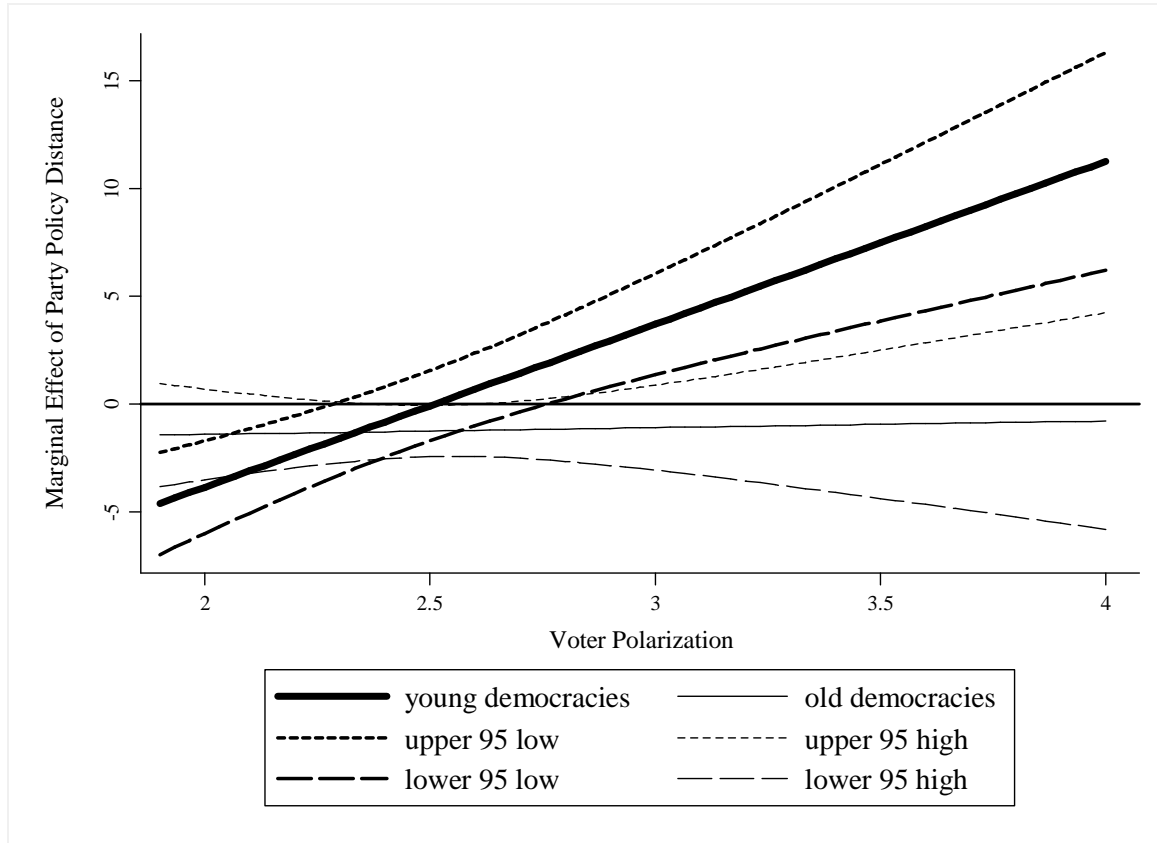
<b><u>Postcommunist Democracies</u></b>				
<b>Party Policy Distance</b>				
<b>Voter Polarization</b>	Low (-1.5 s.d.)	Mean	High (+1.5 s.d.)	Change
Low	30.22	24.78	19.34	-10.88
Mean	17.22	21.34	25.46	+8.24
High	4.23	17.91	31.59	+27.36
Change	-25.99	-6.87	+12.25	

<b><u>Established Democracies</u></b>				
<b>Party Policy Distance</b>				
<b>Voter Polarization</b>	Low (-1.5 s.d.)	Mean	High (+1.5 s.d.)	Change
Low	30.78	28.02	25.27	-5.51
Mean	30.36	27.33	24.30	-6.06
High	29.94	26.64	23.33	-6.61
Change	-.84	-1.38	-1.94	

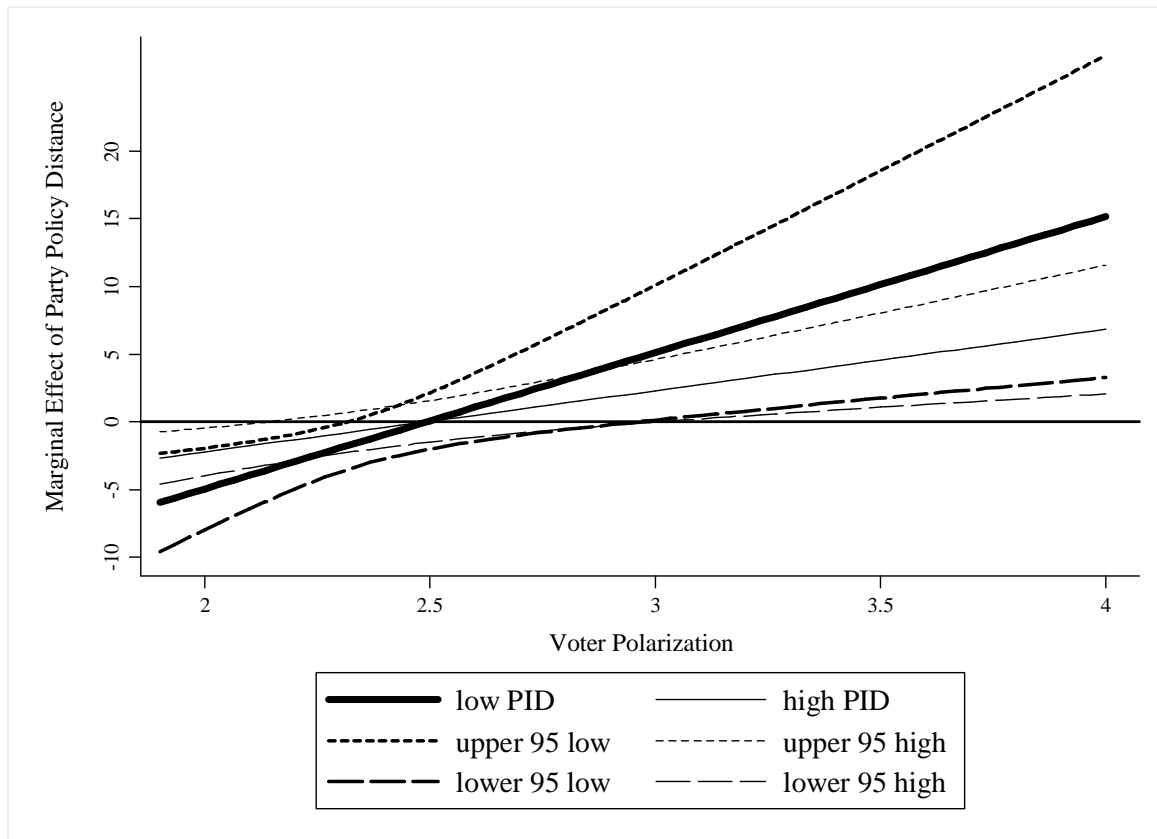
*Notes.* Table entries report expected values of *Vote share* based on Models 2-3 in Table 2. High and low values of *Voter polarization* and *Party policy distance* are 1.5 standard deviations above and below their means, and the number of competitive parties is fixed at three.

**Figure S1. Marginal Effects of Party Policy Distance on Vote Share, Conditional on Levels of Voter Polarization, Stratified by Age of Democracy (above and below 54 years)**



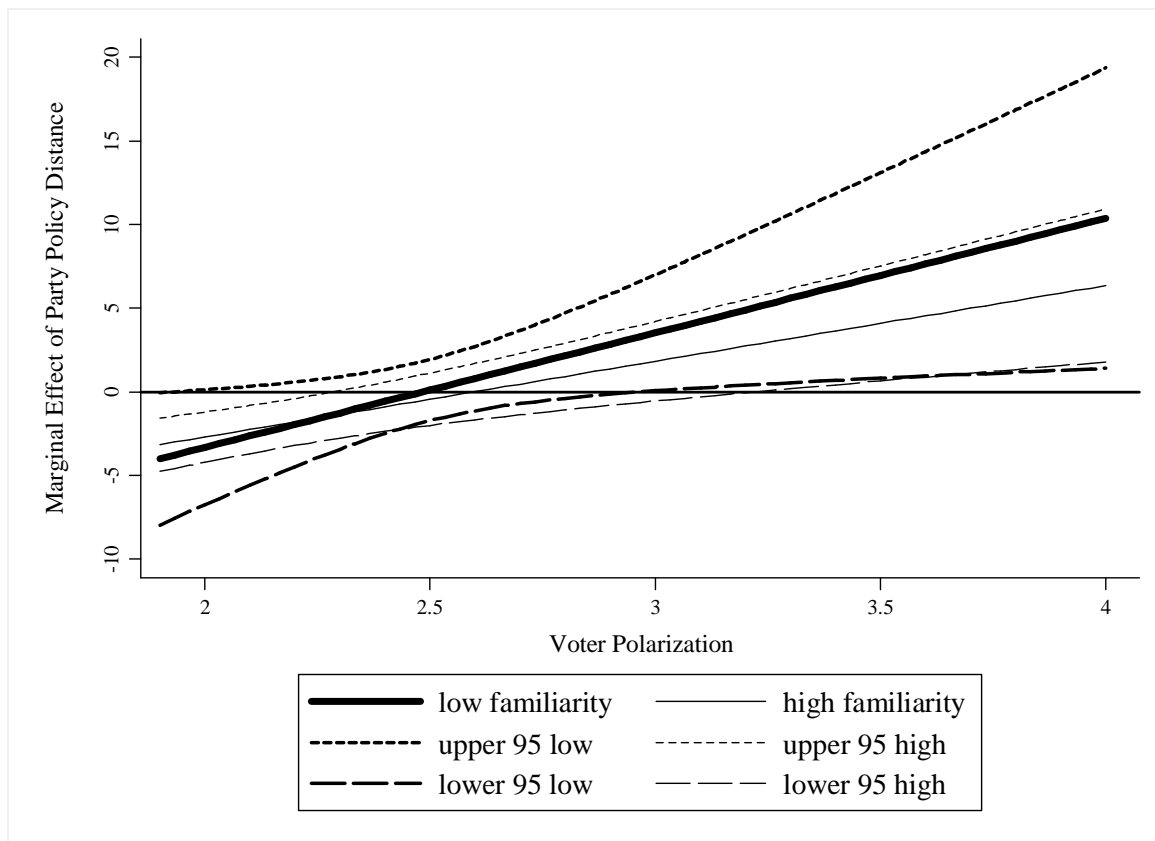
*Notes:* Figure charts the marginal effects of *Party policy distance* on *Vote share* over values of *Voter polarization*, stratified by high and low levels of *Age of democracy* (as provided by Table 2 Model 4 estimates). Dashed lines report 95% confidence intervals.

**Figure S2. Marginal Effects of Party Policy Distance on Vote Share, Conditional on Levels of Voter Polarization, Stratified by Levels of Voter Partisanship (above and below 45.74%)**



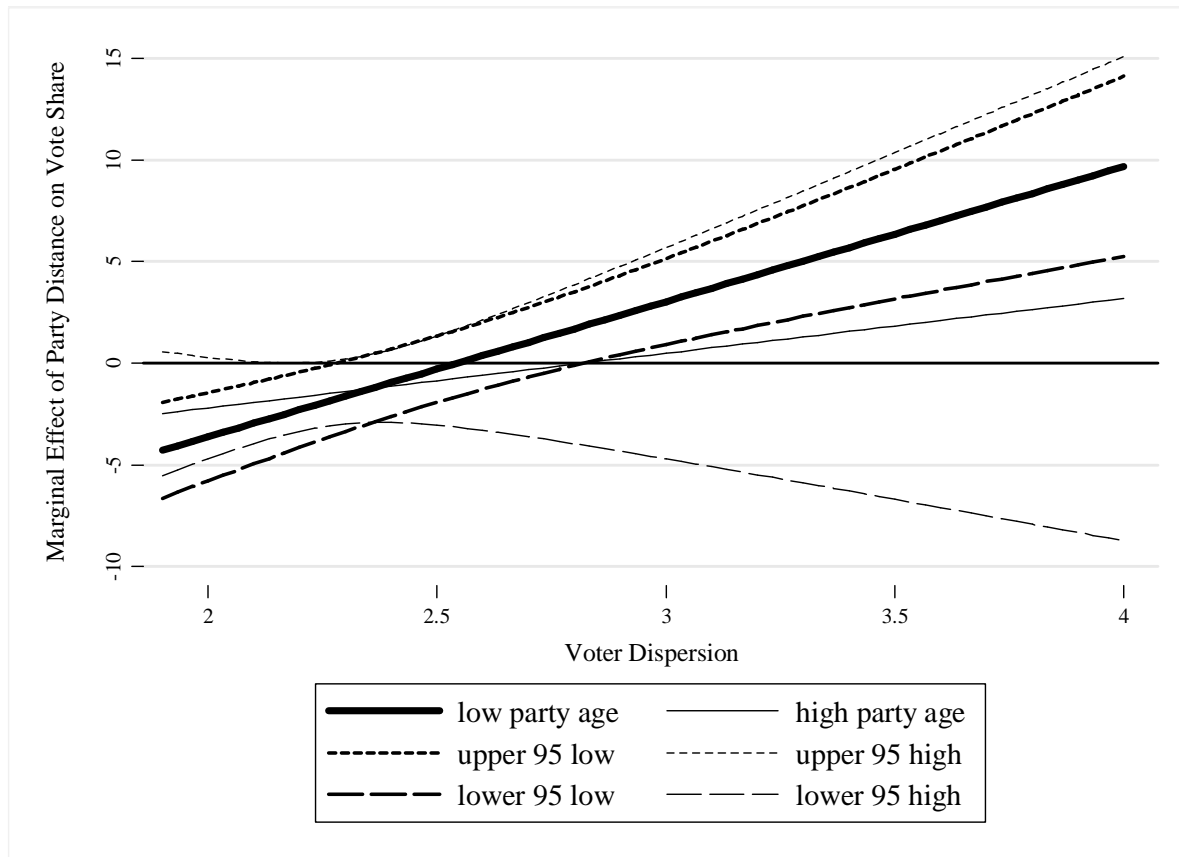
Notes: Figure charts the estimated coefficient of *Party policy distance* on *Vote share* over values of *Voter polarization*, stratified by high and low levels of *Voter partisanship* (as provided by Table 3 Model 1 estimates). Dashed lines report 95% confidence intervals.

**Figure S3. Marginal Effects of Party Policy Distance on Vote Share, Conditional on Levels of Voter Polarization, and Stratified by Voter Familiarity with Political Parties (above and below 84.27%)**



*Notes:* Figure charts the estimated coefficient of *Party policy distance* on *Vote share* over values of *Voter polarization*, stratified by high and low levels of *Voter familiarity* (as provided by Table 3 Model 2 estimates). Dashed lines report 95% confidence intervals.

**Figure S4. Marginal Effects of Party Policy Distance on Vote Share, Conditional on Levels of Voter Polarization, Stratified by Party Age (above and below 40.61 years)**



*Notes:* Figure charts the estimated coefficient of *Party policy distance* on *Vote share* over values of *Voter polarization*, stratified by high and low levels of *Party age* (as provided by Table 3 Model 3 estimates). Dashed lines report 95% confidence intervals.



## The effect of party policy distance on partisanship and their conditional effect on vote share

**Table S3. The effect of party policy distance on share of partisans**

	All Parties (1)	Postcommunist Democracies (2)	Established Democracies (3)
Party policy distance	-.009 (.009)	.023* (.012)	-.028** (.013)
Constant	.205*** (.021)	.136*** (.027)	.239*** (.028)
N	332	90	242
R <sup>2</sup>	.005	.046	.036

*Note:* Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors (clustered on party) in parentheses. The dependent variable is *Share of partisans*, which is calculated as the number of respondents identifying with a given party divided by the number of respondents identifying with any party in the respective election \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S4. The effect of party policy distance on share of partisans**

	(1)	(2)
Party policy distance	-.028** (.013)	.024 (.016)
Postcommunist	-.103*** (.039)	
Age of democracy		.002* (.001)
Party policy distance x postcommunist	.051*** (.017)	
Party policy distance x Age of democracy		-.001** (.000)
Constant	.239*** (.028)	.145*** (.037)
N	332	332
R <sup>2</sup>	.040	.024

*Note:* Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors (clustered on party) in parentheses. The dependent variable is *Share of partisans*, which is calculated as the number of respondents identifying with a given party divided by the number of respondents identifying with any party in the respective election \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S5. The Conditioning Effect of the “Party Policy Distance/Share of Partisanship” Correlation**

	(1)
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-2.51* (2.91)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-4.02 (2.59)
<i>Correlation Share of Partisanship/Distance</i>	22.62* (13.34)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	.88 (1.23)
<i>Voter polarization x Correlation Partisanship/Distance</i>	-15.37** (5.88)
<i>Party policy distance x Correlation Partisanship/Distance</i>	-2.19 (8.87)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Correlation Partisanship/Distance</i></b>	<b>4.45 (3.71)</b>
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-4.06*** (.50)
Constant	50.05*** (6.33)
N	332
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.29

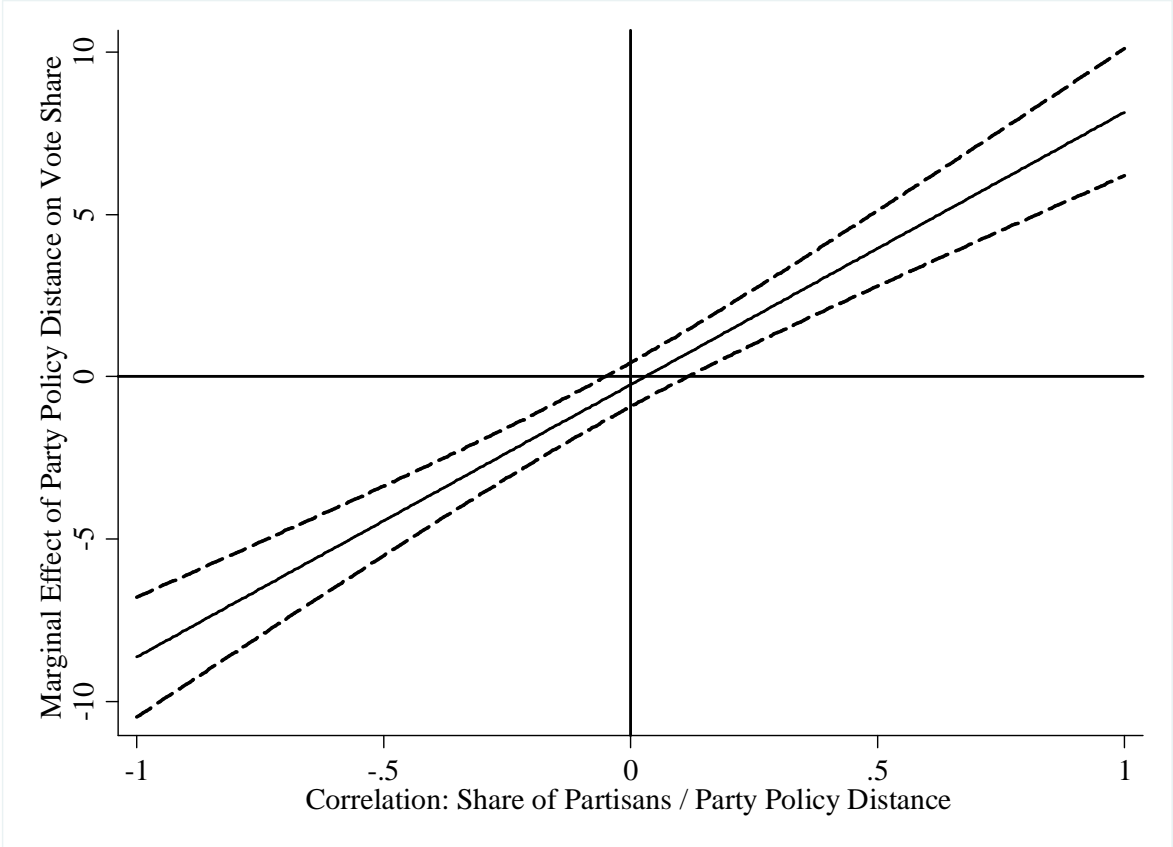
Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S6. The Conditional Effect of the “Party Policy Distance/Share of Partisanship” Correlation on Parties’ Vote Shares**

	(1) All Parties	(2) New Democracies	(3) Advanced Democracies
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-0.25 (.34)	.66 (.56)	-.46 (.32)
<b><i>Party policy distance x PID/Distance correlation</i></b>	<b>8.39*** (.89)</b>	<b>8.05*** (1.30)</b>	<b>8.38*** (1.07)</b>
<i>PID/Distance correlation</i>	-14.33*** (1.87)	-15.37*** (2.85)	-13.47*** (2.42)
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-4.03*** (.54)	-2.08* (1.07)	-4.49*** (.56)
Constant	39.61*** (3.04)	27.52*** (5.44)	42.71*** (3.22)
N	332	90	242
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.27	.26	.29

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Figure S5. Marginal Effects of Party Policy Distance on Vote Share, Based on Levels of Moderate to Extreme Partisanship (as measured by the correlation between party policy distance and share of partisans)**



Notes: Figure charts the marginal effects of *Party policy distance* on *Vote share* over values of a country-by-country correlation between *Party policy distance* and *Share of Partisans*, as provided by Table S6 Model 1. Dashed lines report 95% confidence intervals.

### 3. Robustness tests of the main analyses presented in Tables 2 and 3 of the main text

The robustness tests include:

- Tables S2a and S3a controlling for disproportionality **instead** of number of competitive parties (5%) [**note 13**]
- Tables S2b and S3b controlling for disproportionality **and** of number of competitive parties (5%) [**note 13**]
- Tables S2c and S3c using logged vote shares [**note 6**]
- Tables S2d and S3d controlling for *Effective number of parties (Votes)* instead of *Number of competitive parties (5%)* [**note 11**]
- Tables S2e and S3e controlling for *Effective number of parties (Seats)* instead of *Number of competitive parties (5%)* [**note 11**]
- Tables S2f and S3f to S2h and S3h for standard errors clustered on party and country as well as country fixed-effects [**note 12**]
- Tables S2i and S3i using CSES expert placements for party positions instead of the mean perceived position measure [**note 9**]
- Tables S2j and S3j employing the different centile-based polarization measures instead of standard deviation (5-95%) [**note 8**]
- Tables S2l and S3l for squared distance measures [**note 10**]

**Table S2a. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares - Controlling for Disproportionality**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-13.64*** (3.92)	-30.28*** (8.39)	-1.14 (4.58)	-1.70 (4.64)	-28.48*** (8.00)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i></b>	<b>5.45*** (1.63)</b>	<b>12.57*** (3.18)</b>	<b>-.31 (1.97)</b>	-.10 (1.99)	11.91*** (3.04)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-13.45*** (3.19)	-23.55*** (7.03)	-1.80 (4.27)	-2.46 (4.35)	-33.43*** (8.56)
<i>Disproportionality</i>	.38*** (.12)	-.55 (.37)	.50*** (.12)	.36*** (.12)	.36*** (.12)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				44.03** (21.08)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-1.23** (.47)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				-18.57** (8.21)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.44** (.18)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-20.23** (8.04)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.53*** (.18)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>8.69*** (3.19)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.19*** (.07)</b>
Constant	49.54*** (7.82)	86.38*** (18.09)	23.92*** (9.60)	26.18** (9.84)	97.72*** (23.08)
N	332	86	246	332	332
R <sup>2</sup>	.07	.19	.07	.09	.09

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S3a. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age, Controlling for Disproportionality**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-61.80*** (19.75)	-87.64** (35.91)	-21.09*** (7.47)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-48.60*** (14.72)	-58.91** (22.46)	-26.89*** (7.08)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-1.62*** (.58)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-1.36* (.68)	-1.41** (.61)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	25.07*** (8.51)	34.83** (14.30)	8.97*** (2.85)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.70** (.27)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.55** (.27)	.65** (.25)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.95*** (.34)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.87** (.42)	.42 (.29)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.39** (.15)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.35** (.17)</b>	<b>-.20 (.12)</b>
<i>Disproportionality</i>	.43*** (.12)	-.37*** (.11)	-.45*** (.12)
Constant	130.92*** (32.50)	162.79*** (57.02)	79.31*** (18.92)
N	327	332	332
R <sup>2</sup>	.08	.07	.08

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S2b. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares - Controlling for Disproportionality and the Number of Parties**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-14.26*** (3.69)	-29.76*** (8.47)	-2.25 (4.29)	-2.71 (4.36)	-28.53*** (8.29)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i></b>	<b>5.66*** (1.53)</b>	<b>12.33*** (3.22)</b>	<b>.12 (1.82)</b>	.29 (1.84)	11.79*** (3.16)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-11.68*** (2.64)	-21.02** (7.79)	-2.52 (3.62)	-3.09 (3.73)	-25.04*** (8.41)
<i>Disproportionality</i>	-.13 (.12)	-.96*** (.32)	-.15 (.13)	-.25* (.13)	-.24* (.13)
<i>Number of competitive parties</i>	-3.97*** (.58)	-3.23*** (.83)	-4.31*** (.65)	-4.13*** (.56)	-4.05*** (.58)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				37.02 (22.47)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-.87** (.44)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				-17.75** (8.35)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.44** (.18)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-16.44* (8.57)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.37** (.17)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>8.35** (3.24)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.20*** (.07)</b>
Constant	68.38*** (7.29)	91.69*** (21.68)	50.33*** (9.22)	51.28*** (9.23)	102.20*** (21.94)
N	332	86	246	332	332
R <sup>2</sup>	.17	.24	.19	.19	.18

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.



**Table S3b. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age, Controlling for Disproportionality and the Number of Parties**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-55.03*** (20.11)	-97.18** (39.14)	-23.42*** (7.38)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-32.59** (13.20)	-48.07** (22.45)	-21.14*** (6.91)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-.95** (.51)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-1.10* (.65)	-.99* (.57)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	22.75** (8.66)	39.11** (15.49)	9.74*** (2.79)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.41* (.23)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.43 (.27)	.44* (.23)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.78** (.34)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.97** (.45)	.47* (.28)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.32** (.15)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.39** (.18)</b>	<b>-.22* (.12)</b>
<i>Disproportionality</i>	-.09 (.12)	-.14 (.12)	-.14 (.12)
<i>Number of competitive parties</i>	-4.07*** (.57)	-4.04*** (.57)	-3.95*** (.57)
Constant	117.72*** (29.87)	161.43*** (55.52)	90.34*** (18.41)
N	327	332	332
R <sup>2</sup>	.18	.17	.17

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S2c. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Logged Vote Shares**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-.71*** (.19)	-1.12*** (.35)	-.00 (.25)	-.01 (.25)	-1.51*** (.42)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i></b>	<b>.29*** (.08)</b>	<b>.49*** (.13)</b>	<b>-.04 (.11)</b>	-0.04 (.11)	.64*** (.16)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-.75*** (.18)	-1.39*** (.36)	-.08 (.20)	-.09 (.20)	-1.73*** (.42)
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-.17*** (.02)	-.09** (.04)	-.19*** (.02)	-.18*** (.02)	-.17*** (.02)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				2.87** (1.12)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-.07*** (.02)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				-1.02** (.43)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.03*** (.01)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-1.28*** (.43)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.03*** (.01)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>.49*** (.17)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.01*** (.00)</b>
Constant	5.41*** (.38)	6.48*** (.92)	4.06*** (.44)	3.99*** (.44)	7.73*** (1.08)
N	336	90	246	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.13	.20	.15	.16	.15

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Logged vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S3c. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age (Dependent Variable: Logged Vote Share)**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-2.78** (1.28)	-4.87*** (1.65)	-1.20*** (.40)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-1.64* (.97)	-4.05*** (1.12)	-1.43*** (.39)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-.04 (.04)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-.10*** (.03)	-.07* (.03)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	1.11* (.56)	1.92*** (.62)	.50*** (.15)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.02 (.02)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.04*** (.01)	.03** (.01)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.04* (.02)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.05** (.02)	.02 (.02)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.02 (.01)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.02** (.01)</b>	<b>-.01 (.01)</b>
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-.18*** (.02)	-.17*** (.02)	-.17*** (.02)
Constant	7.72*** (2.12)	13.53*** (2.79)	7.02*** (1.00)
N	331	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.14	.14	.14

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Logged vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S2d. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares (Effective Number of Parties based on Votes)**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-14.16*** (3.56)	-21.55*** (5.70)	-.65 (4.55)	-1.38 (4.42)	-27.43*** (7.08)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i></b>	<b>5.55*** (1.50)</b>	<b>9.05*** (2.09)</b>	<b>-.73 (1.96)</b>	-.38 (1.88)	11.37*** (2.71)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-10.10** (3.79)	-20.40*** (5.29)	4.09 (3.93)	1.62 (3.79)	-26.42*** (7.75)
<i>Effective number of parties (Votes)</i>	-2.04*** (.46)	-1.18** (.51)	-2.86*** (.53)	-2.01*** (.44)	1.98*** (.46)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				40.22** (17.54)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-1.09*** (.40)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				-17.74** (7.45)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.43** (.16)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-18.89** (7.11)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.47*** (.16)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>8.43*** (2.94)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.19*** (.06)</b>
Constant	53.85*** (7.88)	72.59*** (13.75)	27.36*** (8.79)	28.69*** (8.04)	92.23*** (19.58)
N	336	90	246	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.12	.23	.13	.15	.14

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S3d. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age (Effective Number of Parties based on Votes)**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-49.26** (20.13)	-95.56*** (25.12)	-21.02*** (6.65)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-46.64*** (17.32)	-51.96** (21.43)	-18.41*** (6.75)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-1.67** (.64)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-1.29** (.64)	-.94* (.55)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	19.80** (8.68)	37.52*** (9.45)	8.79*** (2.53)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.73** (.30)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.51* (.26)	.43* (.24)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.71** (.35)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.97*** (.30)	.41 (.27)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.29*</b> <b>(.15)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.38***</b> <b>(.12)</b>	<b>-.19*</b> <b>(.11)</b>
<i>Effective number of parties (Votes)</i>	-2.17*** (.45)	-2.22*** (.50)	-1.98*** (.45)
Constant	137.71*** (38.45)	161.01*** (51.59)	72.20*** (16.47)
N	331	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.14	.13	.13

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S2e. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares (Effective Number of Parties, based on Seats)**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-15.75*** (3.41)	-24.24*** (6.16)	-.74 (4.38)	-1.52 (4.32)	-31.60*** (7.65)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i></b>	<b>6.22*** (1.44)</b>	<b>10.09*** (2.26)</b>	<b>-.63 (1.89)</b>	-.28 (1.84)	12.94*** (2.94)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-11.55*** (3.62)	-22.77*** (6.31)	3.19 (3.50)	.77 (3.48)	-28.80*** (8.62)
<i>Effective number of parties (Seats)</i>	-2.00*** (.43)	-.81* (.47)	-2.99*** (.45)	-1.99*** (.43)	-1.96*** (.45)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				44.76** (20.82)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-1.16*** (.43)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				-21.60** (8.20)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.50*** (.17)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-20.52** (8.19)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.50*** (.17)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>9.83*** (3.21)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.22*** (.07)</b>
Constant	55.80*** (7.64)	76.23*** (16.62)	27.88*** (7.77)	29.16*** (7.43)	97.02*** (21.94)
N	336	90	246	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.11	.20	.14	.14	.13

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S3e. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age (Effective Number of Parties, based on Seats)**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-47.59** (20.06)	-87.15*** (25.79)	-25.20*** (6.99)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-48.73*** (16.76)	-45.73** (21.87)	-21.13*** (7.41)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-1.68*** (.62)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-1.08 (.65)	-1.06* (.59)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	19.27** (8.63)	33.80*** (9.83)	10.38*** (2.66)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.75** (.28)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.41 (.27)	.48* (.25)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.65* (.34)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.85*** (.31)	.50* (.28)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.27* (.15)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.33*** (.12)</b>	<b>-.23* (.12)</b>
<i>Effective number of parties (Seats)</i>	-2.22*** (.43)	-2.16*** (.50)	-1.95*** (.43)
Constant	140.46*** (37.18)	146.20*** (53.16)	77.55*** (18.53)
N	331	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.13	.12	.12

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S2f. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares (Standard Errors Clustered on Party)**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-13.84*** (4.60)	-22.87*** (6.93)	-1.77 (6.61)	-1.91 (6.70)	-28.24*** (8.92)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i></b>	<b>5.52*** (1.82)</b>	<b>9.61*** (2.49)</b>	<b>-.06 (2.79)</b>	-.01 (2.82)	11.67*** (3.24)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-12.93*** (3.95)	-24.40*** (6.52)	-1.99 (6.23)	-2.21 (6.29)	-30.26*** (7.45)
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.62*** (.75)	-1.81 (1.28)	-4.03*** (.84)	-3.62*** (.74)	-3.53*** (.74)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				49.48** (23.23)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-1.12** (.47)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				-18.84* (9.64)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.44** (.21)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-21.74** (9.15)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.48** (.18)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>8.76** (3.75)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.20** (.08)</b>
Constant	68.67*** (9.80)	86.38*** (20.06)	46.96*** (14.46)	45.39*** (14.54)	110.58*** (20.25)
N	336	90	246	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.16	.21	.19	.19	.18

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on party in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.



**Table S3f. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age Shares (Standard Errors Clustered on Party)**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-53.16** (24.51)	-61.20 (39.45)	-23.39** (9.05)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-27.92 (17.87)	-53.64* (28.62)	-25.46*** (7.94)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-.70 (.76)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-1.23 (.88)	-1.27 (.78)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	21.69** (10.45)	23.97 (15.64)	9.74*** (3.38)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.28 (.33)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.50 (.36)	.57* (.33)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.74* (.44)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.57 (.47)	.47 (.34)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.30 (.19)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.22 (.19)</b>	<b>-.21 (.14)</b>
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.84*** (.75)	-3.58*** (.74)	-3.59*** (.74)
Constant	106.90*** (40.21)	168.34** (71.06)	98.02*** (20.87)
N	331	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.18	.17	.17

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on party in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S2g. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares (Standard Errors Clustered on Election)**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-13.84*** (4.00)	-22.87** (7.65)	-1.77 (5.43)	-1.91 (5.46)	-28.24*** (9.19)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i></b>	<b>5.52*** (1.61)</b>	<b>9.61*** (2.74)</b>	<b>-0.06 (2.30)</b>	<b>-0.01 (2.31)</b>	<b>11.67*** (3.33)</b>
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-12.93*** (3.18)	-24.40** (8.16)	-1.99 (4.47)	-2.21 (4.54)	-30.26*** (9.34)
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.62*** (.52)	-1.81** (.64)	-4.03*** (.54)	-3.62*** (.49)	-3.53*** (.48)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				49.48* (24.91)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-1.12** (.51)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				-18.84* (9.26)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.44** (.22)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-21.74** (9.50)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.48** (.19)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>8.76** (3.57)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.20** (.08)</b>
Constant	68.67*** (6.96)	86.38*** (22.06)	46.96*** (9.63)	45.39*** (9.84)	110.58*** (24.97)
N	336	90	246	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.16	.21	.19	.19	.18

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on country in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S3g. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age (Standard Errors Clustered on Election)**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-53.16** (22.25)	-61.20 (36.25)	-23.39** (8.79)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-27.92* (15.33)	-53.64** (21.30)	-25.46*** (8.14)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-.70 (.61)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-1.23* (.65)	-1.27* (.71)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	21.69** (9.60)	23.97* (13.65)	9.74*** (3.23)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.28 (.28)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.50* (.25)	.57* (.29)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.74* (.38)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.57 (.41)	.47 (.36)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.30* (.16)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.22 (.16)</b>	<b>-.21 (.15)</b>
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.84*** (.51)	-3.58*** (.55)	-3.59*** (.47)
Constant	106.90*** (33.93)	168.34** (55.16)	98.02*** (21.68)
N	331	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.18	.17	.17

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on country in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S2h. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares (Country-specific Effects)**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-17.88*** (5.12)	-36.31** (11.24)	-3.59 (6.54)	-3.69 (6.52)	-44.79*** (12.61)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i></b>	<b>7.16*** (2.10)</b>	<b>14.82*** (4.29)</b>	<b>.65 (2.80)</b>	.69 (2.79)	18.10*** (4.88)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-11.73*** (7.17)	-26.35** (12.19)	-.25 (9.36)	.11 (9.31)	-32.37** (13.84)
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-2.68*** (1.00)	-2.18 (1.66)	-3.19** (1.22)	-2.84*** (.98)	-3.03*** (1.01)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				-	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-1.13 (.77)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				32.58** (13.00)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.70** (.27)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-26.95* (15.26)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.57* (.32)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>14.11*** (5.12)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.29*** (.11)</b>
Constant	61.20*** (18.36)	92.51*** (33.43)	39.05* (23.00)	52.70*** (19.00)	104.06*** (35.35)
N	336	90	246	336	336
Overall R <sup>2</sup>	.14	.17	.18	.01	.09

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients from a fixed effects model with country-specific effects, standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S3h. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age (Country-specific Effects)**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-51.48** (24.60)	-84.84* (44.28)	-33.78*** (12.10)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-28.38 (24.87)	-85.76* (48.71)	-24.62* (13.58)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-.55 (1.20)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-2.08 (1.43)	-1.05 (.93)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	21.21** (10.47)	33.92* (18.15)	13.70*** (4.70)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.28 (.51)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.90 (.60)	.55 (.39)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.66 (.48)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.81 (.53)	.67* (.37)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.28 (.20)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.33 (.22)</b>	<b>-.29* (.15)</b>
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-2.76** (1.07)	-2.58** (1.01)	-2.67*** (1.01)
Constant	96.27* (57.11)	232.11** (115.84)	85.18*** (34.61)
N	331	336	336
Overall R <sup>2</sup>	.16	.14	.11

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients from a fixed effects model with country-specific effects, standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S2i. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares (Party policy distance based on Experts)**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i> (Experts)	-2.92 (4.52)	-4.61 (12.35)	5.13 (4.40)	5.24 (4.41)	-13.63 (14.03)
<b><i>Party policy distance x</i></b> <b><i>Voter polarization</i></b>	<b>.21</b> <b>(1.91)</b>	<b>1.19</b> <b>(4.84)</b>	<b>-3.61*</b> <b>(1.92)</b>	<b>-3.66*</b> <b>(1.92)</b>	4.62 (5.49)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-1.60 (3.80)	-1.98 (9.45)	5.38 (4.08)	5.39 (4.14)	-9.96 (11.30)
<i>Number of competitive</i> <i>parties – 5%</i>	-3.71*** (.51)	-2.43** (1.11)	-4.12*** (.52)	-3.78*** (.49)	-3.73*** (.51)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				19.00 (24.70)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-.61 (.54)
<i>Party policy distance x</i> <i>Postcommunist</i>				-10.65 (12.60)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age</i> <i>of democracy</i>					.32 (.26)
<i>Voter polarization x</i> <i>Postcommunist</i>				-9.18 (9.76)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of</i> <i>democracy</i>					.26 (.22)
<b><i>Party policy distance x</i></b> <b><i>Voter polarization x</i></b> <b><i>Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>5.23</b> <b>(4.99)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x</i></b> <b><i>Voter polarization x Age of</i></b> <b><i>democracy</i></b>					<b>-.14</b> <b>(.10)</b>
Constant	45.95*** (9.34)	39.26 (24.96)	33.27*** (9.22)	31.56*** (9.36)	67.18** (28.90)
N	318	89	229	318	318
R <sup>2</sup>	.19	.08	.25	.20	.19

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S3i. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age (Party Policy Distance based on Experts)**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance (Experts)</i>	-18.93 (18.26)	-109.06*** (20.21)	-8.86 (11.56)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-6.96 (19.12)	-100.21*** (21.77)	-9.14 (9.64)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-.19 (.74)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-2.93*** (.64)	-.99 (.64)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	7.42 (8.27)	42.57*** (7.99)	3.07 (4.47)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.10 (.35)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		1.19*** (.27)	.46* (.27)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.30 (.32)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		1.29*** (.26)	.41 (.30)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.14 (.15)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.51*** (.11)</b>	<b>-.19 (.12)</b>
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.89*** (.48)	-3.44*** (.55)	-3.74*** (.49)
Constant	57.48*** (41.19)	286.18** (51.38)	62.46** (24.85)
N	317	336	318
R <sup>2</sup>	.20	.22	.20

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S2j. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares (5-95 centiles)**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-9.52** (3.77)	-40.68*** (10.93)	.23 (4.18)	.05 (4.20)	-31.89*** (11.04)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization (5-95)</i></b>	<b>1.08** (.47)</b>	<b>4.66*** (1.18)</b>	<b>-.27 (.54)</b>	-.25 (.55)	3.70*** (1.21)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-2.38*** (.79)	-9.77*** (2.45)	-.08 (1.04)	-.04 (1.04)	-8.24*** (2.61)
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.84*** (.45)	-2.10** (.78)	-4.20*** (.46)	-3.74*** (.43)	-3.74*** (.48)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				80.05*** (24.94)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-1.14** (.45)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				-39.50*** (11.07)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.53** (.21)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-9.50*** (2.75)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.14*** (.05)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>4.76*** (1.23)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.06*** (.02)</b>
Constant	58.72*** (6.41)	114.60*** (21.85)	43.88*** (8.09)	41.30*** (8.08)	109.44*** (23.40)
N	336	90	246	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.15	.24	.19	.20	.17

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.



**Table S3j. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age (5-95 Centiles)**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-15.76 (13.68)	-29.54 (30.34)	-26.57*** (9.25)
<i>Voter polarization (5-95)</i>	-1.78 (2.94)	-6.91 (5.46)	-6.87*** (2.05)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	.00 (.40)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-.51 (.56)	-1.28** (.51)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	1.45 (1.78)	3.01 (3.45)	3.12*** (1.00)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	-.01 (.06)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.05 (.07)	.16*** (.06)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.14 (.26)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.24 (.35)	.60** (.26)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.01 (.03)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.02 (.04)</b>	<b>-.08** (.03)</b>
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.90*** (.44)	-3.77*** (.50)	-3.75*** (.46)
Constant	59.47*** (21.85)	101.11** (46.35)	96.09*** (18.71)
N	332	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.16	.15	.17

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S2k. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares (10-90 centiles)**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-8.21*** (2.88)	-21.80*** (5.52)	.67 (2.57)	.59 (2.59)	-26.95*** (6.46)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization (10-90)</i></b>	<b>1.19** (.45)</b>	<b>3.28*** (.72)</b>	<b>-.44 (.41)</b>	-.43 (.41)	4.05*** (.87)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-2.71*** (.83)	-7.21*** (1.69)	.40 (.88)	.30 (.89)	-9.47*** (1.84)
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.67*** (.46)	-1.81** (.71)	-4.00*** (.50)	-3.60*** (.44)	-3.56*** (.44)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				46.79*** (14.57)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-1.08*** (.27)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				-20.62*** (6.13)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.48*** (.13)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-7.57*** (1.97)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.17*** (.04)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>3.45*** (.84)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.08*** (.02)</b>
Constant	55.38*** (5.04)	75.37*** (13.30)	39.99*** (5.41)	38.55*** (5.40)	100.10*** (13.90)
N	336	90	246	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.15	.23	.19	.20	.19

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S3k. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age (10-90 centiles)**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance</i>	-26.18* (15.42)	-39.76* (22.18)	-22.18*** (6.39)
<i>Voter polarization (10-90)</i>	-4.50 (3.83)	-16.73*** (4.97)	-7.95*** (1.83)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-.31 (.42)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-1.10** (.43)	-1.36** (.37)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	3.61 (2.45)	5.77* (2.95)	3.40*** (.87)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.03 (.07)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.17*** (.06)	.23*** (.06)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.35 (.28)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.38 (.26)	.60*** (.19)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.05 (.04)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.06 (.04)</b>	<b>-.10*** (.03)</b>
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.70*** (.45)	-3.67*** (.46)	-3.64*** (.43)
Constant	71.28*** (22.95)	146.14*** (36.06)	88.78*** (13.50)
N	332	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.16	.16	.18

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S21. The Conditional Effect of Voter Polarization on Parties' Vote Shares (Party policy distance squared)**

	(1) All Parties	(2) Post-communist Democracies	(3) Established Democracies	(4) Triple Interaction	(5) Age of Democracy
<i>Party policy distance (squared)</i>	-3.27*** (.70)	-4.74*** (1.47)	-.55 (.87)	-.58 (.88)	-5.69*** (1.70)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i></b>	<b>1.27*** (.29)</b>	<b>1.97*** (.56)</b>	<b>.01 (.35)</b>	.02 (.36)	2.38*** (.65)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-8.28*** (1.88)	-15.18*** (4.86)	-1.95 (1.84)	-2.11 (1.89)	-18.95*** (5.68)
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.64*** (.47)	-2.09** (.82)	-4.02*** (.48)	-3.65*** (.44)	-3.56*** (.44)
<i>Postcommunist</i>				31.49** (14.88)	
<i>Age of Democracy</i>					-.69** (.29)
<i>Party policy distance x Postcommunist</i>				-3.85** (1.73)	
<i>Party policy distance x Age of democracy</i>					.09** (.04)
<i>Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i>				-13.62** (5.64)	
<i>Voter polarization x age of democracy</i>					.29** (.11)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Postcommunist</i></b>				<b>1.83*** (.67)</b>	
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Age of democracy</i></b>					<b>-.04*** (.01)</b>
Constant	57.50*** (4.20)	65.94*** (13.08)	45.63*** (4.34)	44.16*** (4.40)	83.06*** (14.83)
N	336	90	246	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.16	.19	.19	.19	.18

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

**Table S31. The Conditioning Effects of Partisanship as Measured by Levels of Partisan Identification, Voter Familiarity, and Party Age (Party policy distance squared)**

	(1) Voter partisanship	(2) Voter Familiarity	(3) Party Age
<i>Party policy distance (squared)</i>	-17.15*** (5.90)	-21.25** (9.10)	-4.38*** (1.34)
<i>Voter polarization</i>	-17.65* (9.16)	-44.51*** (13.66)	-14.99*** (4.77)
<i>Voter partisanship</i>	-.41 (.38)		
<i>Party stability</i>		-1.04** (.40)	-.86* (.50)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization</i>	6.92*** (2.45)	8.43** (3.42)	1.77*** (.52)
<i>Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i>	.17 (.18)		
<i>Voter polarization x Party stability</i>		.44*** (.16)	.38* (.22)
<i>Party policy distance x Voter partisanship</i>	.25** (.10)		
<i>Party policy distance x Party stability</i>		.21** (.10)	.24 (.24)
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Voter partisanship</i></b>	<b>-.10** (.04)</b>		
<b><i>Party policy distance x Voter polarization x Party stability</i></b>		<b>-.08** (.04)</b>	<b>-.11 (.10)</b>
<i>Number of competitive parties – 5%</i>	-3.84*** (.44)	-3.59*** (.48)	-3.64*** (.44)
Constant	81.34*** (20.36)	142.96*** (33.92)	73.58*** (12.38)
N	331	336	336
R <sup>2</sup>	.18	.17	.17

Notes: Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on election in parentheses. Dependent variable is *Vote share*. \* $p < .10$ , \*\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.