

# Online Appendix

## Democracy in Hard Times: Economic Decline, Social Capital, and Resilience Against Far-Right Nationalism

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# A Robustness

Table A1: **Robustness. Baseline Models Keeping Observations Fixed**

Panel A			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Far Right	Radical Right
Social Capital	0.11 (0.39)	0.02 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)
Unemployment	1.27 (1.62)	1.15*** (0.31)	0.43 (0.28)
Social Capital X Unemployment	-8.16** (3.23)	-3.10*** (0.80)	-1.66** (0.65)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.39	0.03	0.02
$R^2$	0.32	0.11	0.07
$N$	32672	32519	32672
Number of regions	98	98	98
Number of countries	11	11	11
Panel B			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Far Right	Radical Right
Social Capital	-0.27 (0.41)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.09)
Import Shock	2.09* (1.23)	1.22*** (0.32)	0.54*** (0.10)
Social Capital X Import Shock	-1.49 (1.83)	-1.50*** (0.43)	-0.52** (0.20)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.37	0.03	0.02
$R^2$	0.32	0.11	0.07
$N$	33370	33217	33370
Number of regions	101	101	101
Number of countries	11	11	11

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education, income.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A2: **Robustness: Historical Family Types and Social Behavior**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Help from Others	Help from Others	Help from Others	Help from Others	Help from Others	Help from Others
Social Capital	0.22** (0.09)	0.22** (0.08)			0.25** (0.09)	0.23** (0.09)
Share Non Egalitarian			0.01* (0.01)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)
Regional Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Country FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.95	0.95	0.94	0.94	0.94	0.94
$R^2$	0.81	0.81	0.78	0.78	0.82	0.82
Number of regions	198	167	110	108	108	108
Number of countries	24	19	11	10	10	10

Standard errors clustered at the country level in parentheses.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A3: **Mechanism: Immigration levels**

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Far Right	Radical Right
Social Capital	0.26 (0.59)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.08 (0.07)
Unemployment	1.21 (2.61)	0.03 (0.24)	-0.37 (0.23)
Foreign Born Population	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Social Capital X Unemployment	-7.57 (6.03)	-0.23 (0.52)	0.07 (0.54)
Social Capital X Foreign Born Population	0.03 (0.06)	0.01** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Unemployment X Foreign Born Population	0.48 (0.35)	0.07 (0.05)	0.06 (0.04)
Social Capital X Unemployment X Foreign Born Population	-1.11* (0.64)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.07)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.64	0.05	0.02
$R^2$	0.30	0.13	0.05
$N$	47818	54141	20513
Number of regions	111	126	73
Number of countries	11	12	8

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education, income.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Foreign Born Population imputed from Eurostat.

Table A4: **Robustness: Accounting for Regional Institutional Quality I**

	(1) Nationalism Score	(2) Far Right	(3) Radical Right
Social Capital	-0.27 (0.36)	-0.07 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)
Unemployment	1.37 (1.95)	0.34 (0.24)	0.41* (0.23)
Social Capital X Unemployment	-6.40* (3.71)	-0.95** (0.47)	-1.49*** (0.53)
Institutional Quality	0.16 (0.11)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Institutional Quality X Unemployment	-0.97 (0.68)	0.01 (0.07)	0.16 (0.11)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.72	0.07	0.03
$R^2$	0.32	0.15	0.07
$N$	95275	109253	47804
Number of regions	172	173	112
Number of countries	15	15	12

Table A5: **Robustness: Accounting for Regional Institutional Quality II**

	(1) Nationalism Score	(2) Far Right	(3) Radical Right
Share Non Egalitarian	0.20** (0.08)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
Unemployment	-0.68 (0.72)	0.08 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.06)
Share Non Egalitarian X Unemployment	-3.47*** (1.11)	-0.18** (0.09)	-0.10 (0.08)
Institutional Quality	0.09 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Institutional Quality X Unemployment	-0.76 (0.51)	0.02 (0.05)	0.18*** (0.06)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.66	0.05	0.02
$R^2$	0.32	0.07	0.07
$N$	78747	87470	38045
Number of regions	136	136	97
Number of countries	15	15	12

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A6: **Robustness. Accounting for Regional Inequality I**

Panel A			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Far Right	Radical Right
Social Capital	0.31 (0.38)	0.00 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)
Unemployment	-4.30 (4.93)	0.25 (0.44)	-1.63** (0.65)
Social Capital X Unemployment	-11.81*** (4.35)	-1.41*** (0.45)	-2.55*** (0.72)
Regional Inequality	-3.25 (2.03)	-0.15 (0.18)	-0.63*** (0.22)
Regional Inequality X Unemployment	25.65 (17.08)	0.86 (1.48)	7.87*** (2.29)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.58	0.04	0.02
$R^2$	0.30	0.08	0.07
$N$	68524	76736	31634
Number of regions	146	146	97
Number of countries	14	14	11
Panel B			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Far Right	Radical Right
Social Capital	-0.25 (0.43)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.09)
Import Shock	1.27 (3.27)	0.38 (0.64)	0.80 (0.52)
Social Capital X Import Shock	-1.70 (1.80)	-1.47*** (0.43)	-0.55** (0.22)
Regional Inequality	-1.24 (1.41)	-0.18 (0.20)	-0.06 (0.19)
Regional Inequality X Import Shock	2.81 (9.97)	2.56 (2.01)	-0.78 (1.48)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.37	0.03	0.02
$R^2$	0.32	0.10	0.07
$N$	32331	33345	32331
Number of regions	100	100	100
Number of countries	11	11	11

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education, income.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Regional Inequality Source: Rueda and Stegmueller (2014).

Table A7: **Robustness. Accounting for Regional Inequality II**

Panel A			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Far Right	Radical Right
Social Capital	-1.28 (0.78)	0.00 (0.08)	0.00 (0.14)
Unemployment	-14.35 (9.23)	-3.03 (1.91)	-2.45 (1.68)
Social Capital X Unemployment	-7.35 (4.66)	-2.14*** (0.71)	-1.04 (0.97)
Regional Inequality	-3.62 (2.69)	-1.27** (0.49)	-1.46*** (0.51)
Regional Inequality X Unemployment	50.49* (28.25)	12.10** (5.81)	8.44* (4.64)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.82	0.05	0.05
$R^2$	0.34	0.10	0.07
$N$	15073	16905	10316
Number of regions	89	90	49
Number of countries	7	7	6
Panel B			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Far Right	Radical Right
Social Capital	-1.72*** (0.52)	-0.15** (0.07)	-0.20** (0.09)
Import Shock	3.83 (2.34)	2.17*** (0.27)	-0.38 (0.27)
Social Capital X Import Shock	-3.60 (3.39)	-2.34*** (0.62)	0.43 (0.66)
Regional Inequality	0.54 (1.34)	-0.11 (0.17)	-0.63*** (0.18)
Regional Inequality X Import Shock	-5.06 (10.78)	-2.96* (1.61)	2.67** (1.28)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.22	0.07	0.05
$R^2$	0.31	0.11	0.07
$N$	11014	11605	11014
Number of regions	52	52	52
Number of countries	6	6	6

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education, income.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Regional Inequality Source: Royuela, Veneri, and Ramos (2018).

Table A8: **Robustness. Accounting for Population Density**

Panel A			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Far Right	Radical Right
Social Capital	0.21 (0.41)	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Unemployment	2.90 (2.37)	0.21* (0.12)	-0.28 (0.19)
Social Capital X Unemployment	-10.09** (4.46)	-0.57** (0.22)	0.48 (0.37)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.57	0.04	0.01
$R^2$	0.29	0.07	0.05
$N$	58168	63810	25666
Number of regions	121	121	84
Number of countries	11	11	10
Panel B			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Far Right	Radical Right
Social Capital	-0.37 (0.56)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)
Import Shock	-1.79 (2.36)	-0.24 (0.16)	0.39** (0.18)
Social Capital X Import Shock	3.62 (3.32)	0.37 (0.24)	-0.52* (0.26)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.43	0.02	0.01
$R^2$	0.35	0.06	0.05
$N$	26364	27061	26364
Number of regions	87	87	87
Number of countries	10	10	10

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education, income.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP,

Log regional Population, Log Density Population .

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .



Table A9: **Robustness: Region FEs**

Panel A

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Far Right	Far Right	Radical Right	Radical Right
Import Shock	0.83** (0.40)	0.93** (0.40)	0.16* (0.08)	0.22*** (0.07)
Social Capital X Import Shock	-1.18** (0.56)	-1.31** (0.56)	-0.27** (0.12)	-0.34*** (0.09)
Individual Controls	Yes	No	Yes	No
Extended Individual Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Region FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
$R^2$	0.09	0.09	0.07	0.07
$N$	58546	47035	56945	45805
Number of regions	121	121	121	121
Number of countries	13	13	13	13

Panel B

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Far Right	Far Right	Radical Right	Radical Right
Import Shock	0.11*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.02)
Share Non Egalitarian X Import Shock	-0.14*** (0.02)	-0.15*** (0.02)	-0.14*** (0.02)	-0.15*** (0.02)
Individual Controls	Yes	No	Yes	No
Extended Individual Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Region FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
$R^2$	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07
$N$	44462	35444	43365	34598
Number of regions	103	103	103	103
Number of countries	12	12	12	12

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education.

Extended Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education, income.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A10: **Social Capital Alternative X Economic Shocks**

	(1) Nationalism Score	(2) Far Right	(3) Radical Right
Social Capital Pre	0.54 (0.48)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)
Unemployment	0.81 (1.67)	0.08 (0.09)	-0.33** (0.16)
Social Capital Pre X Unemployment	-10.57* (5.55)	-0.53* (0.28)	0.72 (0.48)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.70	0.04	0.01
$R^2$	0.34	0.11	0.05
$N$	66632	75453	27742
Number of regions	130	146	89
Number of countries	16	17	11

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education, income.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A11: **Robustness. Excluding Low N Regions**

## Panel A

	(1) Nationalism Score	(2) Far Right	(3) Radical Right
Social Capital	0.57 (0.52)	0.05 (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)
Unemployment	5.53 (3.96)	0.86** (0.37)	1.54*** (0.45)
Social Capital X Unemployment	-17.02** (6.86)	-2.23*** (0.83)	-3.77*** (1.04)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.59	0.05	0.02
$R^2$	0.30	0.11	0.08
$N$	62293	70738	28780
Number of regions	103	112	56
Number of countries	13	14	10

## Panel B

	(1) Nationalism Score	(2) Far Right	(3) Radical Right
Social Capital	0.20 (0.54)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.12)
Import Shock	3.42*** (1.15)	1.54*** (0.25)	0.45*** (0.10)
Social Capital X Import Shock	-3.33* (1.74)	-1.96*** (0.31)	-0.40 (0.24)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.39	0.03	0.02
$R^2$	0.28	0.11	0.07
$N$	29360	30256	29360
Number of regions	56	56	56
Number of countries	10	10	10

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education, income.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A12: **Robustness: Regional-Level Analysis**

Panel A			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Nationalism Score	Nationalism Score
Social Capital	-0.19 (0.35)	-0.07 (0.40)	-0.35 (0.38)
Unemployment	1.45 (1.11)	1.74 (1.30)	0.62 (1.25)
Social Capital X Unemployment	-7.19** (2.81)	-8.12** (3.45)	-6.42* (3.49)
Regional Controls	No	Yes	No
Extended Regional Controls	No	No	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.67	1.57	1.57
$R^2$	0.85	0.81	0.83
$N$	1134	878	757
Number of regions	182	161	134
Number of countries	17	15	12
Panel B			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Nationalism Score	Nationalism Score	Nationalism Score
Share Non Egalitarian	0.10 (0.08)	0.10 (0.10)	0.09 (0.10)
Unemployment	-0.86 (0.52)	-1.48** (0.63)	-1.53** (0.62)
Share Non Egalitarian X Unemployment	-2.33** (1.05)	-2.12* (1.15)	-2.06* (1.12)
Regional Controls	No	Yes	No
Extended Regional Controls	No	No	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.63	1.56	1.56
$R^2$	0.84	0.82	0.82
$N$	858	762	762
Number of regions	136	136	136
Number of countries	12	12	12

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population

Extended Regional Controls: Log regional GDP,  
Log regional Population, Log Density Population .

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A13: **Robustness. Accounting for ESS Round FEs**

## Panel A

	(1) Nationalism Score	(2) Far Right	(3) Radical Right
Social Capital	0.28 (0.39)	0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)
Unemployment	3.17 (2.19)	0.53*** (0.18)	0.43 (0.28)
Social Capital X Unemployment	-10.47** (4.25)	-1.43*** (0.43)	-1.66** (0.65)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
ESS Round FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.58	0.05	0.02
$R^2$	0.29	0.11	0.07
$N$	69856	79227	32672
Number of regions	148	164	98
Number of countries	14	15	11

## Panel B

	(1) Nationalism Score	(2) Far Right	(3) Radical Right
Social Capital	-0.27 (0.41)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.09)
Import Shock	2.09* (1.23)	1.21*** (0.33)	0.54*** (0.10)
Social Capital X Import Shock	-1.48 (1.83)	-1.50*** (0.46)	-0.52** (0.20)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
ESS Round FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.37	0.03	0.02
$R^2$	0.32	0.10	0.07
$N$	33370	34385	33370
Number of regions	101	101	101
Number of countries	11	11	11

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education, income.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A14: Mechanism. Social Capital Loss, 2008 Crisis

Panel A				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Nationalism Score	Nationalism Score	Nationalism Score	Nationalism Score
Social Capital Loss	-0.93*** (0.33)	-0.98*** (0.33)	-1.30*** (0.40)	-1.02*** (0.33)
Unemployment	-0.92 (0.81)	-1.39 (0.93)	-1.19 (0.98)	-1.08 (1.00)
Social Capital Loss X Unemployment	7.02* (4.12)	8.12* (4.14)	10.83** (4.57)	7.27* (4.10)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Extended Regional Controls	No	No	Yes	No
Social capital pre crisis level	No	No	No	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	1.54	1.48	1.29	1.48
$R^2$	0.35	0.37	0.29	0.37
$N$	40427	33730	27002	33730
Number of regions	153	123	93	123
Number of countries	19	16	11	16
Panel B				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Far Right	Far Right	Far Right	Far Right
Social Capital Loss	-0.11*** (0.04)	-0.11*** (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.05)	-0.12*** (0.04)
Unemployment	0.01 (0.07)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.04 (0.07)
Social Capital Loss X Unemployment	0.83** (0.37)	0.92*** (0.35)	1.42*** (0.48)	0.71** (0.33)
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Extended Regional Controls	No	No	Yes	No
Social capital pre crisis level	No	No	No	Yes
CountryXYear FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Dep. Var	0.07	0.06	0.05	0.06
$R^2$	0.13	0.12	0.06	0.12
$N$	46125	38299	28919	38299
Number of regions	154	139	93	139
Number of countries	19	17	11	17

Standard errors clustered at the regional level in parentheses.

Individual Controls: Gender, age, age squared, education, income.

Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population.

Extended Regional Controls: Log regional GDP, Log regional Population, Log density population

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## B Parties and Regions

### Far-right Parties

Country	Party Name	Country	Party Name
Austria	FPÖ	Hungary	Hungarian Justice and Life Party
	BZÖ		MIEP-Jobbik Third Way Alliance of Parties
Belgium	Flemish Block		Movement for a Better Hungary
	Front National	Italy	Alleanza Nazionale
	Flemish Interest		Movimiento Sociale -Fiamma Tricolore
	SP.A. + VB Spirit		Fratelli d'Italia
	Parti Populaire		La Destra
Bulgaria	Coalition Ataka	Netherlands	Party of Freedom
	PP Ataka	Poland	Liberty
Cyprus	European Party		Law and Justice
Czech Rep.	Dawn of Direct Democracy		League of Polish Families
	Republicans of Miroslav Sladek		Self-Defence of the Republic of Poland
Denmark	Danish People's Party	Romania	Partidul Romania Mare
	Progress Party		New Generation Party - Christian Democratic
Estonia	Conservative People's Party	Slovakia	Slovak National Party
Finland	True Finns	Slovenia	Slovenian National Party
France	Front National		Party Lime Tree
	National Reublican Movement	Sweden	Sweden Democrats
Germany	Alternative for Germany	Switzerland	Swiss People's Party
	National Democratic Party of Germany		Freedom Party of Switzerland
	National Democratic Party - German People's Union	UK	British National Party
Greece	Republican Party		UK Independence Party
	Golden Dawn		
	Popular Orthodox Rally		

## Countries and Regions

Country	Regional ID	Region Name	Country	Regional ID	Region Name
Austria	AT11	Burgenland	Switzerland	CH01	Lake Geneva region
	AT12	Niederösterreich		CH02	Espace Mittelland
	AT13	Wien		CH03	Northwestern Switzerland
	AT21	Kärnten		CH04	Zurich
	AT22	Steiermark		CH05	Eastern Switzerland
	AT31	Oberösterreich		CH06	Central Switzerland
	AT32	Salzburg		CH07	Ticino
	AT33	Tirol			
	AT34	Vorarlberg			
Belgium	BE10	Région de Bruxelles Capitale	Cyprus	CY0	Cyprus
	BE20	Flanders	Czech Rep.	CZ01	Prague
	BE21	Antwerp		CZ02	Central Bohemia
	BE22	Limburg		CZ03	Southwest
	BE23	East Flanders		CZ04	Northwest
	BE24	Flemish Brabant		CZ05	Northeast
	BE25	West Flanders		CZ06	Southeast
	BE30	Wallonia		CZ07	Central Moravia
	BE31	Walloon Brabant		CZ08	Moravian-Silesian
	BE32	Hainaut	Germany	DE1	Baden-Württemberg
	BE33	Liège		DE2	Bavaria
	BE34	Luxembourg Belgium		DE3	Berlin
	BE35	Namur		DE4	Brandenburg
Bulgaria	BG31	Northwestern		DE5	Bremen
	BG32	Northern Central		DE6	Hamburg
	BG33	Northeastern		DE7	Hesse
	BG34	Southeastern		DE8	Mecklenburg-Vorpommern
	BG41	Southwestern		DE9	Lower Saxony
	BG42	Southern Central		DEA	North Rhine-Westphalia
				DEB	Rhineland-Palatinate



## Countries and Regions

Country	Regional ID	Region Name	Country	Regional ID	Region Name
	DEC	Saarland		ES70	Canarias
	DED	Saxony	Finland	FI19	West Finland
	DEE	Saxony-Anhalt	France	FR10	Île de France
	DEF	Schleswig-Holstein		FR20	Bassin Parisien
	DEG	Thuringia		FR21	Champagne-Ardenne
Denmark	DK01	Hovedstaden		FR22	Picardie
	DK02	Sjælland		FR23	Haute-Normandie
	DK03	Southern Denmark		FR24	Centre
	DK04	Midtjylland		FR25	Basse-Normandie
	DK05	Nordjylland		FR26	Bourgogne
Estonia	EE0	Estonia		FR30	Nord-Pas-de-Calais
Spain	ES11	Galicia		FR40	Est
	ES12	Principado de Asturias		FR41	Lorraine
	ES13	Cantabria		FR42	Alsace
	ES21	País Vasco		FR43	Franche-Comté
	ES22	Comunidad Foral de Navarra		FR50	Ouest
	ES23	La Rioja		FR51	Pays de la Loire
	ES24	Aragón		FR52	Bretagne
	ES30	Comunidad de Madrid		FR53	Poitou-Charentes
	ES41	Castilla y León		FR60	Sud-Ouest
	ES42	Castilla-La Mancha		FR61	Aquitaine
	ES43	Extremadura		FR62	Midi-Pyrénées
	ES51	Cataluña		FR63	Limousin
	ES52	Comunidad Valenciana		FR70	Centre-Est
	ES53	Islas Baleares		FR71	Rhône-Alpes
	ES61	Andalucía		FR72	Auvergne
	ES62	Región de Murcia		FR80	Méditerranée
	ES63	Ciudad Autónoma de Ceuta		FR81	Languedoc-Roussillon
				FR82	Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

## Countries and Regions

Country	Regional ID	Region Name	Country	Regional ID	Region Name	
Greece	GR11	Eastern Macedonia and Thrace	Italy	ITC4	Lombardia	
	GR12	Central Macedonia		ITF1	Abruzzo	
	GR13	Western Macedonia		ITF3	Campania	
	GR14	Epirus		ITF4	Puglia	
	GR21	Thessaly		ITF5	Basilicata	
	GR22	Ionian Islands		ITF6	Calabria	
	GR23	Western Greece		ITG1	Sicilia	
	GR24	Central Greece		ITG2	Sardegna	
	GR25	Peloponnese		Netherlands	NL11	Groningen
	GR30	Attica			NL12	Friesland
	GR41	North Aegean			NL13	Drenthe
	GR42	South Aegean			NL21	Overijssel
	GR43	Crete			NL22	Gelderland
	Hungary	HU10			Budapest	NL23
HU21		Central Transdanubia	NL31		Utrecht	
HU22		Western Transdanubia	NL32	North Holland		
HU23		Southern Transdanubia	NL33	South Holland		
HU31		Northern Hungary	NL34	Zeeland		
HU32		Northern Great Plain	NL41	North Brabant		
Ireland		IE01	Border, Midland and Western	NL42	Limburg	
		IE02	Southern and Eastern	Poland	PL11	Lódzkie
	Iceland	IS0	Iceland		PL12	Mazowieckie
Italy		ITC1	Piemonte		PL21	Malopolskie
	ITC2	Valle d'Aosta	PL22		Slaskie	
	ITC3	Liguria	PL31		Lubelskie	
			PL32		Podkarpackie	
			PL33		Swietokrzyskie	
			PL34	Podlaskie		
			PL41	Wielkopolskie		

## Countries and Regions

Country	Regional ID	Region Name	Country	Regional ID	Region Name
	PL42	Zachodniopomorskie	Slovenia	SI01	Eastern Slovenia
	PL43	Lubuskie		SI02	Western Slovenia
	PL51	Dolnoslaskie	Slovakia	SK01	Bratislava Region
	PL52	Opolskie		SK02	Western Slovakia
	PL61	Kujawsko-Pomorskie		SK03	Central Slovakia
	PL62	Warmińsko-Mazurskie		SK04	Eastern Slovakia
	PL63	Pomorskie	UK	UKC	North East
Portugal	PT11	Norte		UKD	North West
	PT15	Algarve		UKE	Yorkshire and the Humber
	PT16	Centro		UKF	East Midlands
	PT17	Lisboa		UKG	West Midlands
	PT18	Alentejo		UKH	East of England
Sweden	SE11	Stockholm		UKI	London
	SE12	East Middle Sweden		UKJ	South East
	SE21	Smaland and the islands		UKK	South West
	SE22	South Sweden		UKL	Wales
	SE23	West Sweden		UKM	Scotland
	SE31	North Middle Sweden		UKN	Northern Ireland
	SE32	Middle Norrland			
	SE33	Upper Norrland			

## C Operationalizing Social Capital

**Mean\_social\_capital\_ess:** Using the module on Citizens Involvement from ESS Round 1, we calculate the regional average of social capital based on the membership or participation of the respondent in at least one of the following organizations: sports, cultural, humanitarian, environmental, science, social club, or voluntary organization. To do so, first, we create the dummy `social_capital_ess` which takes the value of 1 if the respondent belongs to at least one of the aforementioned organizations, and 0 otherwise. Then, we generate the variable `mean_social_capital_ess` calculating the regional averages of `social_capital_ess`.

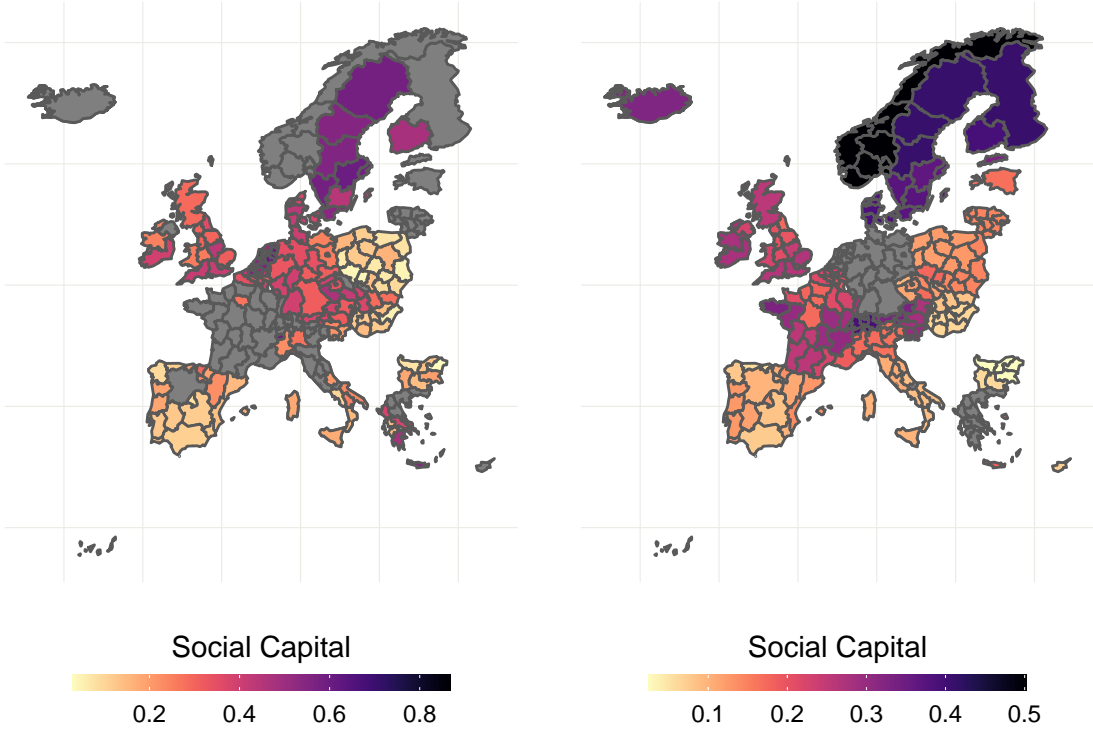
**Mean\_social\_capital\_evs:** Using data from the European Values Study from 1981 to 2010, we calculate the regional average of social capital based on the membership or voluntary work of the respondent in at least one of the following organizations: cultural, human rights, conservation of environment and animals, conservation of environment, animal rights, youth, sports, or health. To do so, first, we generate the variable `social_capital_evs` which takes the value of 1 if the respondent belongs to at least one of the organizations, 0 otherwise. Then, calculating the regional average of `social_capital_evs`, we generate the variable `mean_social_capital_evs`.

**Mean\_social\_capital\_evs\_pre:** Using data from the European Values Study from 1981 to 2010, we calculate the regional average of social capital pre-crisis based on the membership or voluntary work of the respondent in at least one of the following organizations: cultural, human rights, conservation of environment and animals, conservation of environment, animal rights, youth, sports, or health. To do so, first, we generate the dummy `post_crisis` which takes value 1 if the survey year was in 2008 or after, and 0 if it was previous to 2008. Then, we calculate region-crisis averages of `social_capital_evs` generating the variable `mean_social_capital_evs_rc`. Using this variable and the `post_crisis` dummy, we create the variable `mean_social_capital_evs_pre` for observations with survey year before 2008.

**Mean\_social\_capital\_evs\_post:** Using data from the European Values Study from

1981 to 2010, we calculate the regional average of social capital post-crisis based on the membership or voluntary work of the respondent in at least one of the following organizations: cultural, human rights, conservation of environment and animals, conservation of environment, animal rights, youth, sports, or health. To do so, first, we generate the dummy `post_crisis` which takes value 1 if the survey year was in 2008 or after, and 0 if it was previous to 2008. Then, we calculate region-crisis averages of `socialcapital_evs` generating the variable `mean_socialcap_evs_rc`. Using this variable and the `post_crisis` dummy, we create the variable `mean_socialcapital_evs_post` for observations with survey year in 2008 or after.

Figure C1: Social Capital








Distribution of Social Capital across European Regions using data from the EVS (left) and EU-SILC (right)

## D Descriptive Statistics

Table D15: Summary Statistics

Descriptive Statistics of Sample.

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Histogram</b>
Nationalism Score	1.70	1.24	-4.03	5.05	
Far-right	0.06	0.24	0.00	1.00	.
Radical Right	0.04	0.19	0.00	1.00	.
Unemployment	0.08	0.04	0.02	0.30	
Import Shock	0.15	0.37	-0.06	3.30	
Social Capital	0.52	0.19	0.00	0.83	
Share Non-egalitarian	0.71	0.40	0.00	1.00	┌┐
Female	0.54	0.50	0.00	1.00	
Age	48.34	18.85	13.00	123.00	
Income Quintile	2.84	1.34	1.00	5.00	

# E Marginal Effects: Mechanisms

Figure E2: Insurance Mechanism (direct channel)

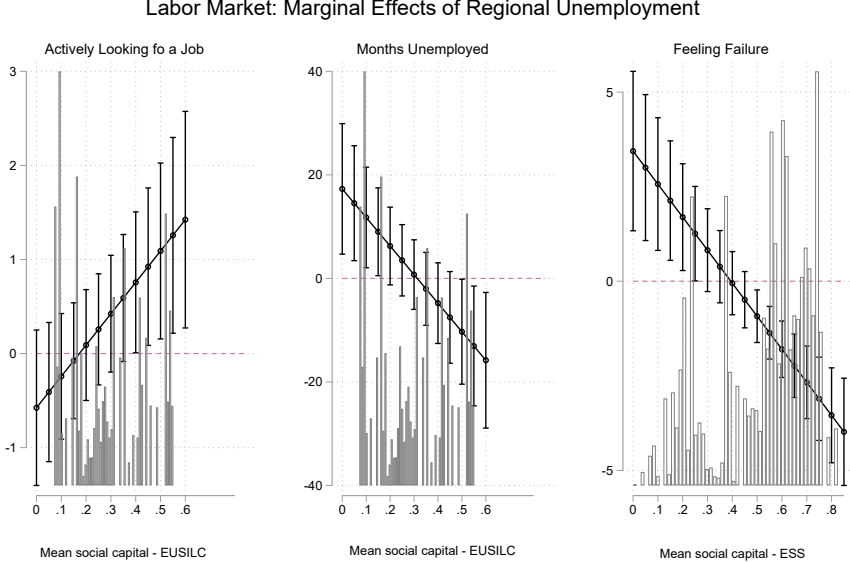
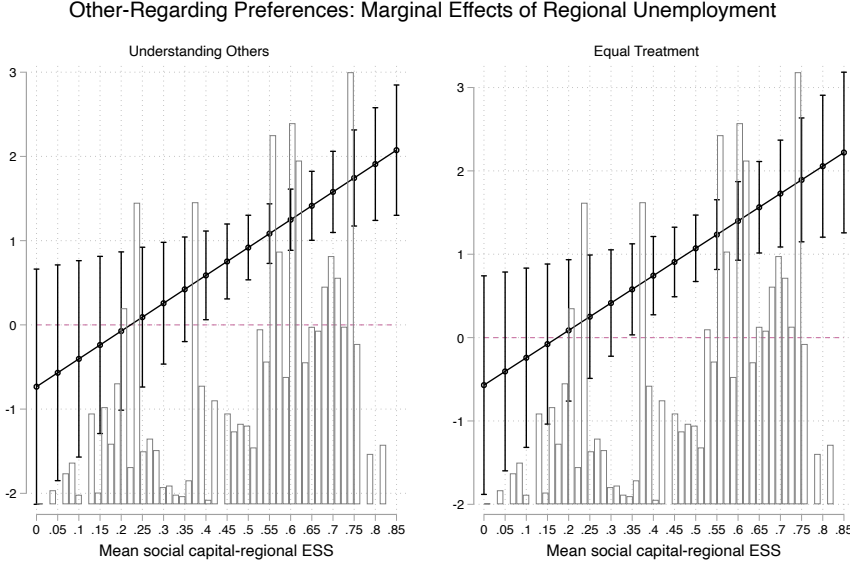


Figure E3: Other Regarding Preferences (indirect channel)



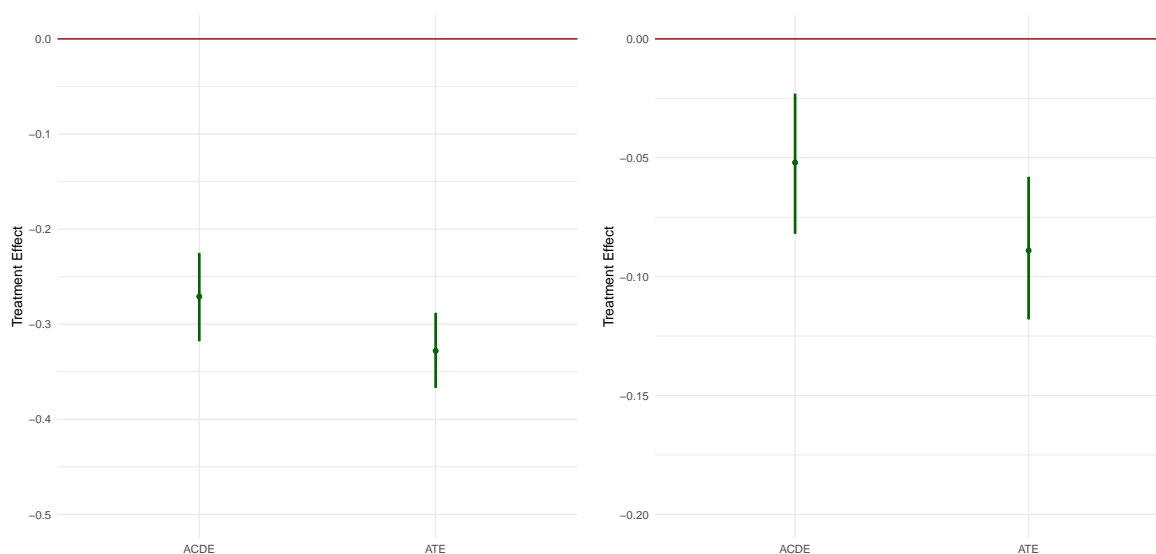
## F Controlled Direct Effects

We avoid running IV models (instrumenting social capital with the share of non-egalitarian historical family types) because we believe there might be reasonable concerns regarding the plausibility of the exclusion restriction. The assumption would be that the share of non-egalitarian historical family types should only affect contemporary voting outcomes through the current-day levels of social capital. We believe that this would be a too strong assumption.

Instead, to provide more evidence that historical family types shape contemporary voting outcomes through the channel of social capital, we carry out a mediation analysis in which we examine the controlled direct effects of historical family types on far-right nationalist voting using g-estimation (Acharya et al., 2016). The framework uses a linear model to estimate the effect of the mediator and then removes that effect from the dependent variable to estimate the direct effect of treatment without post-treatment bias. Thus, it allows us to estimate the effect of non-historical family types once we take social capital into account. By comparing the controlled direct effect with the total effect we can infer whether social capital appears to be mediating the relationship between historical family types and far-right nationalist voting. If the controlled direct effect is smaller than the total effect, part of the total effect of historical family types can be attributable to social capital.



Figure F4: **Controlled Direct Effects**



For this analysis, we limit the sample to regions where levels of unemployment is high and, thus, where the share of non-egalitarian family types reduces far-right nationalist voting (see Figure 3). If the effect becomes smaller once accounting for social capital, there is reason to believe that non-egalitarian family types shape patterns of voting today through the channel of social capital. The framework also allows us to take into account intermediate confounders (e.g., post-treatment, pre-mediator variables). In the panel to the left, we control for historical institutional quality as an intermediate confounder (Tabellini, 2010). In the panel to the right we control for contemporaneous levels of institutional quality using the EQI score (Charron et al., 2019). ACDE denotes the controlled direct effect, and ATE the total effect (average treatment effect).

As can be observed, the effect size is smaller in both figures once we take into account social capital. The evidence therefore suggests that historical family types shape contemporaneous voting patterns *because* they have shaped levels of social capital. The evidence should be treated as suggestive, however. It is not clear whether the effect is significantly smaller. Note also that we have not clustered standard errors at the level of regions in this analysis and therefore confidence intervals are likely to be underestimated.

## References

- Acharya, A., Blackwell, M., and Sen, M. (2016). Explaining Causal Findings without Bias: Detecting and Assessing Direct Effects. *American Political Science Review*, 110(3):512–529.
- Charron, N., Lapuente, V., and Annoni, P. (2019). Measuring Quality of Government in EU Regions across Space and Time. *Papers in Regional Science*, 98(5):1925–1953.
- Tabellini, G. (2010). Culture and Institutions: Economic Development in the Regions of Europe. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 8(4):677–716.