

## “Who benefits from the retrospective vote? Bringing new parties in”

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### Appendix A: Data

#### A1: Party Coding

In the case of splits, mergers, or coalitions, we need to decide how to code parties that participated on their own in one election (t-1), but formed a coalition at the next election (t), and with parties that split from other parties. To deal with party mergers we calculated the difference between the new party at time t and the sum of the constituting parties at time t-1. In other words, we created an artificial coalition at time t-1 to calculate the volatility at time t. If, by contrast, a party split from a previously existing party and participated in the following elections (t) as an independent party, we constructed an artificial “old” party to calculate the electoral volatility for the original party (t-1) and the sum of the new and remaining parts of this party at time t. For more clarification, the logic of dealing with splits and mergers is illustrated in tables A1a and A1b.

*Table A1a: Party mergers*

	Election t-1	Election t-1 (artificial)	Election t	Vote difference
Party A	0.1	-	-	
Party B	0.15	-	-	
Party C (A+B)	-	0.25	0.3	0.05

*Table A1b: Party splits*

	Election t-1	Election t	Election t (artificial)	Vote difference
Party A	0.3		0.35	0.05
Party A <sub>1</sub>	-	0.1	-	
Party A <sub>2</sub>	-	0.25	-	

Information on party splits and mergers is predominantly based on the "Notes on recent elections" sections in *Electoral Studies*, various issues of the “Political Data Yearbook” of the *European Journal of Political Research*, and the database on Parliamentary Elections and Political Parties in Europe (Nordsieck 2012). Information on party splits and mergers in Latin America is based on Ruth (2014).

#### Party mergers and government/opposition parties

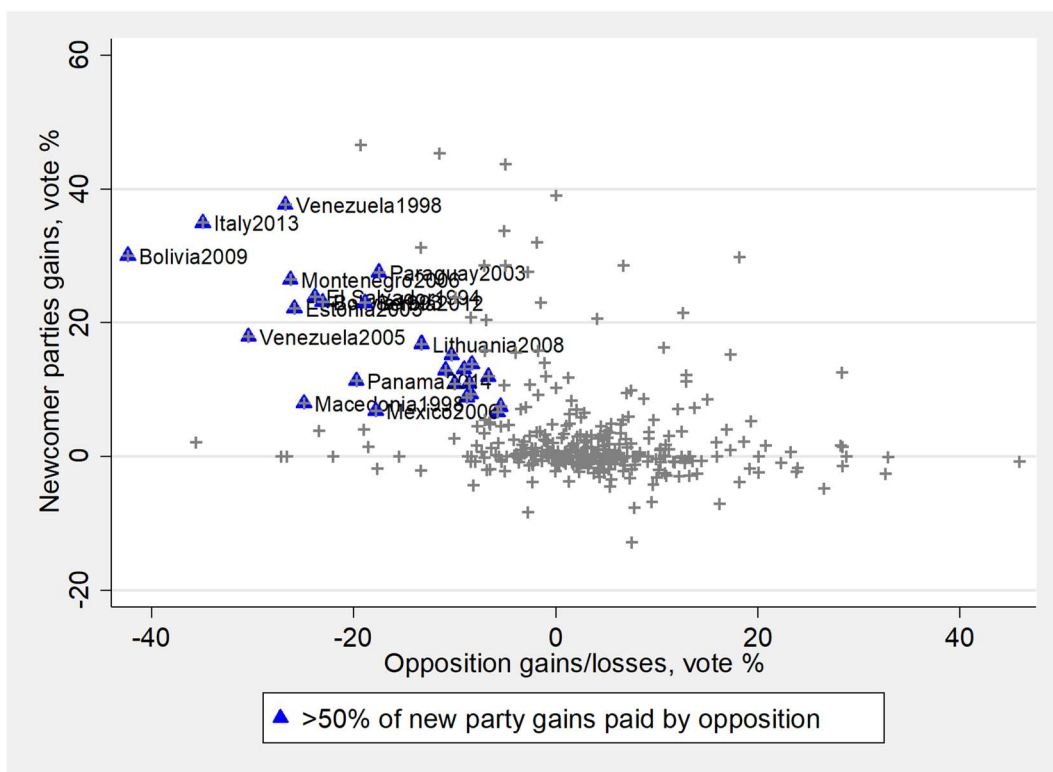
In a few instances, parties from the opposition and the government at one election (t-1) merged for the next election (t). In these cases, we assigned the vote difference to the bigger of the two parties at t-1.

We have excluded the June 2012 elections in Greece, because the May 2012 elections did not result in a government. This makes it impossible to measure incumbent and opposition volatility between the May and the June elections.

There are a few elections where new parties gain, but do so primarily at the expense of the opposition, rather than the government.

Some of the cases (e.g. Italy 2013, Estonia 2003) emerge due to us measuring government participation at the end of the legislative period (90 days before new elections): the cases change their classification if we consider government participation in the major part of the legislative period instead.

Figure A1: Relating opposition gains/losses and newcomer party gains.



## Validity tests of the coding

The dependent variables in our models are different from measures of volatility, since they distinguish electoral gains from losses. Still, they rely on similar coding decisions, related to what constitutes a party or an electoral alliance, and what is considered a party split or a new party. As highlighted in this appendix, there are significant differences in the concepts, so that the coding rules differ among earlier approaches to distinguishing volatility based on party exit/entry, and electoral shifts between established parties (or type A/type B volatility, extra-system volatility, etc.). Similarly, our coding rules do not always follow other coding rules. However, the similarities of the concepts allow us to rely on earlier measures of volatility to assess the validity of our data.

Our measurement approach analyses net electoral gains or losses, and is thus different from other work that looks at electoral volatility, defined as cumulative electoral change across all parties. Also, the distinction of incumbent and opposition parties is uncommon in work on volatility and party system change. However, one of our indices, electoral gains of new parties with a 0% cut-off point, is identical to an index of electoral volatility (vote shifts) that takes only new parties into account. (By definition, parties with 0% votes in preceding elections can only gain votes, but not lose them, which means that the net electoral gains for this group of parties are identical to cumulative electoral change.) We have assessed the correlation of the electoral change due to new parties to measures of extra-system volatility, or their equivalents.

The correlation with previous measures is respectable: it amounts to  $r=0.5$  for our measure and Powell & Tucker's Type-A-volatility. The deviations are driven by differences in the concept. Powell and Tucker consider splits of parties or electoral alliances, as well as vote shifts due to the exit and entry of parties, as Type-A-volatility. Accordingly, their indicator is much higher than ours in the first period after the introduction of multiparty elections, when party systems are in flux, and in elections with important reconfigurations of electoral alliances (e.g. Lithuania in 2004 or Albania in 2005).<sup>1</sup>

Likewise, despite different conceptualisations of new parties and slightly different samples, our measures achieves a correlation of 0.65 with Mainwaring, et al. (2017) for new party volatility, and above 0.8 for the Pederson index of all parties. For instance, Mainwaring et al. (2017) treat the smaller party resulting from a party split as a new party and include independents into their calculation of volatility. This leads to higher volatility scores in their data in years of major party system change and when many independents participate in elections.

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<sup>1</sup> Vice-versa, our score for Bulgaria 2001 is much higher than the Powell-Tucker Type A score. While we count 48% of the votes as gains of new parties, in particular by the National Movement Simeon II by the former king, Powell & Tucker's score looks both at electoral gains and losses. They report a much lower score because most losses are genuine vote shifts away from the incumbent governing party, and some of the opposition parties. Thus on their Type-A-score, genuine vote shifts from "old" to new parties weight much less than electoral change due to party splits.

## A2: Countries and election years covered

Table A2: Countries and election years

<b>Countries</b>	<b>Elections</b> (Election years listed in parentheses used only for lagged vote shares )
Albania	(2001), 2005, 2009, 2013
Argentina	(1989), 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011
Australia	(1987), 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010
Austria	(1986), 1990, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2013
Belgium	(1987), 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2010
Bolivia	(1989), 1993, 1997, 2002, 2005, 2009
Bosnia-Herzegovina	(2002), 2006, 2010
Brazil	(1990), 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010
Bulgaria	(1990), 1991, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013
Canada	(1988), 1993, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2011
Chile	(1989), 1993, 1997, 2005, 2009, 2013
Colombia	(1990), 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010
Costa Rica	(1990), 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014
Croatia	(1995), 2000, 2003, 2007, 2011
Cyprus	(1985), 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011
Czech Republic	(1990), 1992, 1996, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2013
Denmark	(1988), 1990, 1994, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2011
Dominican Republic	(1994), 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010
Ecuador*	(1988), 1990, 1992, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006
El Salvador	(1988), 1991, 1994, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2012
Estonia	(1995), 1999, 2004, 2007, 2011
Finland	(1987), 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011
France	(1988), 1993, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012
Germany	(1987), 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2013
Greece	(1989), 1990, 1993, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2009, 2012
Guatemala	(1995), 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011
Honduras	(1989), 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013
Hungary	(1990), 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010
Ireland	(1989), 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2011
Italy	(1987), 1992, 1994, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2013
Japan	(1990), 1993, 1996, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2009, 2012
Latvia	(1995), 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2011
Lithuania	(2004), 2008, 2012
Luxembourg	(1989), 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2013
Macedonia	(1998), 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011
Malta	(1987), 1992, 1996, 1998, 2003, 2008, 2013
Mexico	(1994), 1997, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2012
Montenegro	(2006), 2009, 2012
Netherlands	(1989), 1994, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2012
New Zealand	(1987), 1990, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2011
Nicaragua	(1990), 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011
Norway	(1989), 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013

Panama	(1994), 1999, 2004, 2009,2014
Paraguay	(1989), 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008, 2013
Peru	(2000), 2001, 2006
Poland	(1991), 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2011
Portugal	(1987), 1991, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2011
Romania	(1992), 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012
Serbia	(2000), 2003, 2007, 2008, 2012
Slovakia	(1992), 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2012
Slovenia	(1996), 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011
South Korea	(1992), 1996, 2004, 2008, 2012
Spain	(1989), 1993, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011
Sweden	(1988), 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010
Switzerland	(1987), 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011
United Kingdom	(1987), 1992, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010
United States	(1988), 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012
Uruguay	(1989), 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009
Venezuela*	(1988), 1993, 1998, 2000, 2005

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\* Countries' most recent elections missing due to Polity IV - Value of less than 6. The Peruvian 2011 elections were not included because of changing alliances, which made it impossible to code incumbency.

### A3: List of new parties

Table A3: List of parties coded as new (all parties with no votes in previous elections)

Country	New parties, by election year
Argentina	1991: AC, MAS, MODIN, MPF, PCP; 1993: FG, PPC; 1995: CG, Línea Abierta, MAB, MPST, PAIS, PC, PRD, PartJ, RC; 1997: AR, DJ, FCS, FPN; 1999: MSE, Movimiento Cívico y Social, Unidad Bonaerense; 2001: Autonomista de Corrientes, AyL, Fiscal, Frente Polo Social, Frente para el Cambio, PSP, PaUFe, Partido Democrata de Capital Federal; 2003: Buenos Aires, Convergencia Federal, Emancipación y Justicia, Encuentro, Encuentro Popular y Social, Eva Perón, FCPC, Frente Popular Bonaerense, Frente de Unidad Provincial, La Argentina de los Valores, M.M.T.A., Nuevo Espacio Entrerriano, PN, PS, Participacion Ciudadana, Partido Nuevo c. la Corrupción, Peronismo Popular, Proyecto Corrientes, Proyecto Social Alternativo, RPC, Recrear Tucuman, Ricardo Balbón, Sin bloque, Soberania Popular, Union por Argentina; 2005: Concertación Entrerriana, FT, Frente Produccion y Trabajo, Guardia Peronista, Movimiento Independiente, Movimiento Pampa Sur, Nacional Sindical, PRO, Por la Verdad, Propuesta Peronista, Red de Encuentro Social; 2007: ARI Autonomo 8+, Buenos Aires para Todos Proyecto Sur, Dialogo de Buenos Aires, Dignidad Peronista, FCS, Frente Cívico y Social de Catamarca, Frente Justicia Union y Libertad, Memoria y Democracia, Partido Liberal de Corrientes, Partido de la Concertación, Union Celeste y Blanco; 2009: Consenso Federal, Corriente de Pensamiento Federal, Córdoba Federal, Frente Cívico Cordoba, Libres del Sur, Movimiento Proyecto Sur, Nuevo Encuentro Popular y Solidario, Partido Justicialista La Pampa, Partido de la Concertación - Forja, Peronismo Juveno, Peronista, Peronista Córdoba Ciudadana, Proyecto Progresista, Salta somos Todos, Si por la Unidad Popular, UF, Valores para mi pais
Austria	2006: MARTIN; 2008: BF, RETTÄ-
Bolivia	1993: ARBOL, ASD, EJE-P, MBL, UCS; 2002: MAS, MIP, NFR, PS-1; 2009: AS, PPB
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1998: DS_penz, HDKU BiH, SNSD, radikalna stranka rs; 2000: DNS Rs, PDP RS; 2002: HDU, NSRzB, stranka penzionera
Brazil	1994: PSD, PV; 1998: PRONA, PSL; 2006: PAN, PHS, PTdoB; 2010: PRP, PRTB
Bulgaria	1991: BBB, KTsB; 1994: DAR, PS, SNI; 1997: Evrolev, Ozt; 2001: COALSim, NSDST, NUSime; 2009: GERB, RZS; 2013: NFSB
Chile	1993: PSCh, UCC; 1997: PRSD, PdS, UCCP; 2009: PCC
Colombia	1991: AD/M-19, AICO, FP, IR, LIDER, MCI, MNP, MRD, MSN, MUC, MUM, MURCO, Movimiento Conservador Humbertista, Movimiento Humbertista, Movimiento Nueva Colombia, Transformación, UNV, Unidos por Colombia; 1994: ASI, CI, MFP, Movimiento Nacional de Comunidades Negras, PNC; 1998: CPC, FE, MAD, MAL, MC, MCSC, MPP, NFD; 2002: CC, MCC, MCS, MEC, MFSP, MHC, MIP, MN, MNL, MORAL, MPC, MPD, MPU, MR, MVA, MVP, Movimiento Unionista, Movimiento Ásnete Colombia, PCR, PPC, PSD, Partido Unidad Democrática, Partido Vanguardia Moral y Social de Colombia, RDN; 2006: AFROUNINCCA, MASA, MIRA, MPPS, Movimiento Huila Nuevo y Liberalismo, PAS, PCD, PDA, POC
Costa Rica	1994: Partido Agrario Nacional, Partido Fuerza Democrática; 1998: PMI, Partido Acción Laborista Alajuese, Partido Integración Nacional, RC; 2002: Independientes; 2006: PUN, Restauración Nacional, Unión para el Cambio; 2010: Accesibilidad sin Exclusión, Alianza Patriótica, Frente Amplio; 2014: ADC
Croatia	2000: HDSS, HSU
Cyprus	1991: ADISOK, PAKOP; 1996: EDI, KOP, NEO; 2001: ADIK
Czech Republic	1992: DZJ, HSS, NEI, SCPZR; 1996: DEU; 2010: VV
Denmark	2007: Y
Ecuador	1990: PCE; 1992: PUR; 1994: APRE; 1996: AL2-14, MUPP-NP; 1998: Independents; 2002: MIP, MPS, PL, PSP, TD; 2006: ARE, MCNP, PS-FA, RED
El Salvador	1991: CD, MAC, UD; 1994: FMLN, MU; 1997: PLD, PRSC; 2000: PAN
Estonia	1995: ETRE, MKE, OI, TEE; 1999: EKRP, ESE; 2003: ESDTP, NA, ResP
France	2007: LNC; 2012: AC
Germany	2009: Pirate Party (PIRATEN)
Greece	2007: ECOGREENS; 2012: ANEL, DIMAR, DISY, DX, IG
Guatemala	1999: DIA, LOV, PLP; 2003: ANN, MR-PSN, PP-MR, PP-PSN, PU, UNE, URNG; 2007: CASA, EG; 2011: CREO, Victoria

Honduras	1997: PUD; 2013: LIBRE, PAC
Hungary	1994: KP, NDSZ
Italy	1992: RC; 1994: AD, FI, PS; 1996: MS, UDC; 2001: DE, NPSI, Pietro, RE, Sgarbi; 2006: PDCI; 2013: 5stelle, SC, SL
Latvia	1995: MP, TPA; 1998: JP, TP; 2002: JL; 2011: Zatler
Lithuania	1996: LMP, LPKTS, LRS, LTMA, LUP, LVP; 2000: COJ, NKS, NS; 2008: PTT
Macedonia	1994: dp; 1998: DA; 2002: DUI
Mexico	1997: PVEM; 2000: CONV, PAS, PSN; 2006: PASC, PNA
Montenegro	2001: BMK, KiRPJ, LDP, NSSCG, PDP; 2006: AA, Forca, PzP; 2012: PCG
Netherlands	2006: PvdV
Nicaragua	1996: ANC, CCN, PNC, PRN, PRONAL, U; 2001: PCN
Panama	1999: PCD, PLN
Paraguay	1993: PRR; 2003: PPQ, PPS, PUNACE; 2008: ADB, APC, APN, MPT, PDP; 2013: Chaquena Passion Alliance
Peru	2001: Renacimiento Andino, SOLPOP, TV, UN; 2006: RN
Poland	1993: BBWR, KdR, SRP; 1997: BpP, KPEiR, KPEiRRP, PWN-PSN; 2001: PPS
Portugal	1991: Others
Romania	1996: ppr, ps, psmr
Serbia	2003: G17 Plus, JUL, LPS, LS, OiP, PPSSD, SNS, SSV; 2007: Branko Pavlović - "Zato što mora bolje" , CAPV, Demokratska zajednica Srbije - dr Obren Joksimović , Koalicija "Vojvođanske partije" - mr Igor Kurjački , Koalicija Mađarska sloga - Andraš Agošton - dr Pal Šandor , LDP, Partija ujedinjenih penzionera Srbije (PUPS) - Dr Jovan Krkobabić i Socijaldemokratska partija (SDP) - Dr Nebojša Ćeović , Pokret snaga Srbije - Bogoljub Karić , Reformistička stranka - dr Aleksandar Višnjić , Romska partija - Šajn Srđan , Socijaldemokratija - Nenad Vukasović , Unija Roma Srbije - dr Rajko Āurić
Slovakia	1994: HZPCS, NS, SPK; 1998: SOP; 2002: ANO, Smer; 2010: SaS
Slovenia	1992: ds, ldps, sf; 2000: SMS; 2004: sjn
Sweden	1991: SD
United States	1992: Green Party; 1994: Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party; 1996: Natural Law Party; 2004: Independence
Venezuela	1993: CN, MIN; 1998: APERT, IRENE, MDP-BR, MVR, OFM , PRVZL, RENOV, SI, UDH; 2000: CONIVE, LAPY, MDA , MIGATO, MPJ, PUAMA, UNT; 2005: PODEMOS, UPV

*Table A4: List of parties with less than 5% votes in the previous elections*

Note on measurement: Relying on a cut-off point of 5%, we identify both parties that are new, and others that were small in previous elections. Our index measures their electoral gains, and deduces their electoral losses, i.e. measures either the votes gained by parties that are new, and vote gains by small parties who suddenly become important electoral competitors. The rationale is thus to include previously marginal parties who suddenly gain importance in elections, in a manner similar to new parties (see main text for a conceptual discussion thereof). Vice-versa, we expect that minor fluctuations (small vote gains by small parties or regional parties, and small vote losses by small or regional parties) cancel each other out.

Country	New parties, or previously small parties, by election year
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Albania	2005: PADS, PAS, PDK, PDNJ, PSDSH; 2009: LZHK, PADS, PDI, PDK, PDNJ, PDSSH, PLL; 2013: G99, LZHK, PADS, PDI, PDK, PDNJ, PDSSH, PLL, RSP 91
Argentina	1991: AC, AIU, AUS, CFI, CRSJ, DPBB, FR, HL, MAS, MID, MODIN, MPF, MPJ, MPN, MPR, PAL, PBJ, PBSJ, PCP, PD(M), PDC, PDP, PI, PRdS, UCeDé; 1993: AC, AUS, CFI, CR, FG, FR, MAS, MID, MODIN, MPF, MPJ, MPN, PAL, PBJ, PBSJ, PCP, PD(M), PDC, PDP, PI, PPC, PRdS, UCeDé; 1995: AC, AUS, CG, CRSJ, FG, FR, FREPASO, Línea Abierta, MAB, MID, MODIN, MPF, MPJ, MPN, MPSL, PAIS, PAL, PBSJ, PC, PCP, PD(M), PDP, PI, PPC, PRD, PRdS, PartJ, RC, UCeDé; 1997: AC, AR, CG, CRSJ, DJ, FCS, FPN, FR, Línea Abierta, MAB, MODIN, MPF, MPJ, MPN, MPSL, PAIS, PAL, PBSJ, PC, PD(M), PDP, PI, PRD, PRdS, PartJ, RC, UCeDé; 1999: AR, CRSJ, DJ, FCS, FPN, FR, Línea Abierta, MPF, MPJ, MPN, MPSL, MSE, Movimiento Cívico y Social, PAL, PBSJ, PD(M), PDP, PRD, PRdS, UCeDé, Unidad Bonaerense; 2001: AIU, AR, Autonomista de Corrientes, AyL, CFI, CRSJ, DJ, FCS, FPN, FR, Fiscal, Frente Polo Social, Frente para el Cambio, MPF, MPN, MSE, Movimiento Cívico y Social, PAL, PBSJ, PD(M), PDP, PI, PRdS, PSP, PaUFe, Partido Democrata de Capital Federal, RC, UCeDé, Unidad Bonaerense; 2003: AIU, AR, Autonomista de Corrientes, AyL, Buenos Aires, CFI, Convergencia Federal, Emancipación y Justicia, Encuentro, Encuentro Popular y Social, Eva Perón, FCPC, FCS, FPN, FPS, FR, Fiscal, FpeC, Frente Popular Bonaerense, Frente de Unidad Provincial, La Argentina de los Valores, M.M.T.A., MPN, Movimiento Cívico y Social, Nuevo Espacio Entrerriano, PBSJ, PD(M), PDP, PI, PN, PRdS, PS, PSP, PaUFe, Participación Ciudadana, Partido Democrata de Capital Federal, Partido Nuevo c. la Corrupción, Peronismo Popular, Proyecto Corrientes, Proyecto Social Alternativo, RC, RPC, Recrear Tucuman, Ricardo Balbón, Sin bloque, Soberanía Popular, UCeDé, Unión por Argentina; 2005: AIU, AR, AyL, Buenos Aires, Concertación Entrerriana, Convergencia Federal, Emancipación y Justicia, Encuentro, Encuentro Popular y Social, Eva Perón, FCPC, FCS, FR, FT, Frente Polo Social, Frente Popular Bonaerense, Frente Producción y Trabajo, Frente de Unidad Provincial, Frente para el Cambio, Guardia Peronista, La Argentina de los Valores, M.M.T.A., MPN, Movimiento Independiente, Movimiento Pampa Sur, Nacional Sindical, Nuevo Espacio Entrerriano, PD(M), PDP, PI, PRO, PRdS, PS, PaUFe, Participación Ciudadana, Partido Nuevo, Partido Nuevo c. la Corrupción, Peronismo Popular, Por la Verdad, Propuesta Peronista, Proyecto Corrientes, Proyecto Social Alternativo, RPC, Recrear Tucuman, Red de Encuentro Social, Ricardo Balbón, Sin bloque, Soberanía Popular, UCeDé, Unión por Argentina; 2007: AR, ARI Autonomo 8+, Buenos Aires para Todos Proyecto Sur, Concertación Entrerriana, Convergencia Federal, Dialogo de Buenos Aires, Dignidad Peronista, Emancipación y Justicia, Encuentro Popular y Social, FCPC, FCS, FR, FT, Frente Cívico y Social de Catamarca, Frente Justicia Unión y Libertad, Frente Popular Bonaerense, Frente Producción y Trabajo, Frente de Unidad Provincial, Guardia Peronista, MPN, Memoria y Democracia, Movimiento Independiente, Movimiento Pampa Sur, Nacional Sindical, PD(M), PRO, PRdS, PS, PaUFe, Partido Liberal de Corrientes, Partido Nuevo, Partido Nuevo c. la Corrupción, Partido de la Concertación, Por la Verdad, Propuesta Peronista, Proyecto Corrientes, RPC, Red de Encuentro Social, Sin bloque, Unión Celeste y Blanco; 2009: ARI Autonomo 8+, Buenos Aires para Todos Proyecto Sur, Concertación Entrerriana, Consenso Federal, Corriente de Pensamiento Federal, Córdoba Federal, Dialogo de Buenos Aires, Dignidad Peronista, Encuentro Popular y Social, FCS, FJUL, FT, Frente Cívico Córdoba, Frente Cívico y Social de Catamarca, Frente Producción y Trabajo, Guardia Peronista, Libres del Sur, MPN, Memoria y Democracia, Movimiento Independiente, Movimiento Proyecto Sur, Nacional Sindical, Nuevo Encuentro Popular y Solidario, PD(M), PDP, PRO, PRdS, PS, PaUFe, Partido Justicialista La Pampa, Partido Liberal de Corrientes, Partido Nuevo c. la Corrupción, Partido de la Concertación, Partido de la Concertación - Forja, Peronismo Jujeno, Peronista, Peronista Córdoba Ciudadana, Por la Verdad, Proyecto Progresista, RPC, Salta somos Todos, Si por la Unidad Popular, UF, Unión Celeste y Blanco, Valores para mi país; 2011: Consenso Federal, Corriente de Pensamiento Federal, Córdoba Federal, Dialogo de Buenos Aires, FCS, FT, Frente Cívico Córdoba, Frente Cívico y Social de Catamarca, Libres del Sur, MPF, MPN, Movimiento Proyecto Sur, NE, PD(M), PDP, PRO, PRdS, Partido Justicialista La Pampa, Partido Liberal de Corrientes, Partido Socialista, Partido de la Concertación, Partido de la Concertación - Forja, Peronismo Jujeno, Peronista, Peronista Córdoba Ciudadana, Proyecto Progresista, Salta somos Todos, Si por la Unidad Popular, UF, Valores para mi país
Australia	1990: CLP, CPA, DLP, independent/non-partisan; 1993: CLP, Call to Australia (Fred Nile Group), GREENS, independent/non-partisan; 1996: CLP, GREENS, independent/non-partisan; 1998: CLP, GREENS, independent/non-partisan; 2001: CLP, GREENS, independent/non-partisan; 2004: CLP, GREENS, independent/non-partisan; 2007: CLP, FFP, independent/non-partisan; 2010: CLP, DLP, FFP, independent/non-partisan; 2013: CLP, DLP, FFP, LDP, independent/non-partisan
Austria	1990: Grüne, KPÖ; 1994: Grüne, KPÖ; 1995: KPÖ; 1999: KPÖ; 2002: KPÖ; 2006: KPÖ, MARTIN; 2008: BF, KPÖ, MARTIN, RETTÖ; 2013: BF, KPÖ, RETTÖ
Belgium	1991: ECOLO, FDF, Groen, KPB/PCB, PvdA/PTB, VB; 1995: FDF, FN/NF, Groen, PvdA/PTB, Rossem; 1999: FN/NF, Groen, PvdA/PTB; 2003: FN/NF, KPB/PCB, PvdA/PTB, Vivant; 2007: BUB, CDF, Chope, FN/NF, FNB, France, KPB/PCB, LSP, Lib.Appel, MDT, MS, Maria, Noor, Omnium, PCP, PDA, PH-HP, PPR, PvdA/PTB, RSD-PC, RWF, Resist, UFE, Vital, Vivant, veil.Blauw; 2010: FN/NF, LD, PvdA/PTB, RWF
Bolivia	1993: ARBOL, ASD, EJE-P, MBL, UCS; 1997: ARBOL, ASD, EJE-P; 2002: MAS, MIP, NFR, PS-1; 2005: MIP, PS-1; 2009: AS, PPB
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1998: BOSS, BPS, DNZ BiH, DS_penz, GDS BiH, HDKU BiH, HSP, SBiH, SNS, SNSD, SRS RS, radikalna stranka rs; 2000: BOSS, BPS, DNS Rs, DNZ BiH, DS_penz, HDKU BiH, HSP, PDP RS, radikalna stranka rs; 2002: BOSS, BPS, DNS Rs, DNZ BiH, DS_penz, GDS BiH, HDKU BiH, HDU, NSRzB, SNS, radikalna stranka rs, sprs, stranka penzionera; 2006: BOSS, BPS, DNS Rs, DNZ BiH, GDS BiH, HDKU BiH, HDU, HSP, NSRzB, SNS, sprs, stranka penzionera; 2010: BOSS, BPS, DNS Rs, DNZ BiH, GDS BiH, HSP, NSRzB, sprs, stranka



penzionera

Brazil	1994: PCB, PCdoB, PDC, PL, PMN, PP, PPS, PRB, PRS, PSB, PSC, PSD , PST, PTR, PV; 1998: PCdoB, PL, PMN, PPS, PRONA, PSB, PSC, PSD , PSL, PST, PV; 2002: PCdoB, PL, PMN, PPS, PRONA, PSB, PSC, PSD , PSL, PST, PV; 2006: PAN, PCdoB, PHS, PMN, PPS, PRB, PRONA, PSB, PSC, PSD , PSL, PST, PTdoB, PV; 2010: PAN, PCdoB, PHS, PMN, PPS, PR, PRB, PRONA, PRP, PRTB, PSC, PSL, PTC, PTdoB, PV
Bulgaria	1991: BBB, BNRP, KTsb, OPnT; 1994: BBB, BNRP, DAR, KTsb, OPnT, PS, SNI; 1997: BBB, BNRP, DAR, Evrolev, KTsb, Ozt, PS, SNI; 2001: BNRP, COALSim, NSDST, NUSime, Ozt; 2005: BNRP, COALSim, NUSime; 2009: GERB, RZS; 2013: Lider, NFSB, RZS
Canada	1993: GPC, RPC; 1997: GPC, National; 2000: GPC; 2004: GPC; 2006: GPC; 2008: GPC
Chile	1993: Candidatos Independientes, PH, PR, PSCh, UCC, Unidad para la Democracia; 1997: Candidatos Independientes, PR, PRSD, PdS, UCC, UCCP; 2001: Candidatos Independientes, PRSD, PdS, UCCP; 2009: Candidatos Independientes, FRI, PCC; 2013: Candidatos Independientes, PCCh, Partido Regionalista de los Independientes
Colombia	1991: AD/M-19, AICO, FP, IR, LIDER, MCI, MNC, MNP, MRD, MSN, MUC, MUM, MURCO, Movimiento Conservador Humbertista, Movimiento Humbertista, Movimiento Nueva Colombia, Transformaci3n, UNV, UP, Unidos por Colombia, others; 1994: AICO, ASI, CI, FP, IR, LIDER, MCI, MFP, MNC, MNP, MRD, MUC, MUM, MURCO, Movimiento Conservador Humbertista, Movimiento Humbertista, Movimiento Nacional de Comunidades Negras, Movimiento Nueva Colombia, PNC, Transformaci3n, UNV, UP, Unidos por Colombia, others; 1998: ASI, CI, CPC, FE, IR, MAD, MAL, MC, MCSC, MFP, MNC, MNP, MPP, MUM, MURCO, Movimiento Humbertista, Movimiento Nacional de Comunidades Negras, Movimiento Nueva Colombia, NFD, PNC; 2002: AICO, ASI, CC, CI, CPC, FE, IR, MAD, MAL, MC, MCC, MCS, MCSC, MEC, MFP, MFSP, MHC, MIP, MN, MNC, MNL, MNP, MORAL, MPC, MPD, MPP, MPU, MR, MVA, MVP, Movimiento Humbertista, Movimiento Nueva Colombia, Movimiento Unionista, Movimiento 3nete Colombia, NFD, PCR, PNC, PPC, PSD, Partido Unidad Democr3tica, Partido Vanguardia Moral y Social de Colombia, RDN; 2006: AFROUNINCCA, AICO, CC, CI, CPC, FSP, IR, MAL, MASA, MCC, MCS, MCSC, MEC, MFP, MHC, MIP, MIRA, MN, MNL, MNP, MPC, MPD, MPP, MPPS, MPU, MR, MVA, MVP, Movimiento Huila Nuevo y Liberalismo, Movimiento Unionista, Movimiento 3nete Colombia, NFD, PAS, PCD, PCR, PDA, PNC, POC, PPC, PSD, Partido Unidad Democr3tica, Partido Vanguardia Moral y Social de Colombia, RALM, RDN; 2010: AFROUNINCCA, ASI, CC, HNL, IR, MAL, MASA, MEC, MIRA, MN, MNP, MORAL, MPP, MPPS, MPU, PAS, PCD, PDA, PIN, POC, PV
Costa Rica	1994: PU, Partido Agrario Nacional, Partido Fuerza Democr3tica, Uni3n Agr3cola Cartaginesa, Uni3n Generalena; 1998: FD, PML, Partido Acci3n Laborista Alajuense, Partido Agrario Nacional, Partido Integraci3n Nacional, RC, Uni3n Agr3cola Cartaginesa; 2002: Independientes, PIN, PML, Partido Acci3n Laborista Alajuense, RC; 2006: PUN, RC, Restauraci3n Nacional, Uni3n para el Cambio; 2010: Accesibilidad sin Exclusi3n, Alianza Patri6tica, Frente Amplio, PUN, RC, Restauraci3n Nacional, Uni3n para el Cambio; 2014: ADC, PAP, PFA, RC, Restauraci3n Nacional
Croatia	2000: HDSS, HSU; 2003: HDSS, HSU, h3sp; 2007: HDSS, HIP, HSU, h3sp; 2011: HDSS, HDSSB, HSU
Cyprus	1991: ADISOK, Independent, PAKOP; 1996: ADISOK, EDI, Independent, KOP, NEO, PAKOP; 2001: ADIK, ADISOK, EDI, Independent, KOP, NEO; 2006: ADIK, EDI, Independent, KOP; 2011: EDI, EK, Independent, KED, KOP
Czech Republic	1992: CSS, CSSD, DZJ, HSS, NEI, SB, SCPZR, SPP, SPR-RSC, SZ, SZV; 1996: DEU, DZJ, HSS, NEI, SCPZR, SPP; 1998: DEU, DZJ, NEI, SZ; 2002: DEU, DZJ, NEI, SZ; 2006: Bobosikova, DZJ, SN, SZ; 2010: Bobosikova, SN, VV; 2013: Bobosikova
Denmark	1990: CD, DKP, KrF, VS; 1994: EL, KrF; 1998: EL, KrF; 2001: EL, KrF; 2005: EL, KrF; 2007: EL, KrF, Y; 2011: EL, KrF, LB
Ecuador	1990: FADI, FRA, MPD, PCE, PLRE; 1992: FADI, FRA, MPD, PCE, PLRE, PUR; 1994: APRE, FADI, FRA, MPD, PLRE; 1996: AL2-14, APRE, FRA, MUPP-NP, PLRE; 1998: AL2-14, APRE, FRA, Independents; 2002: FRA, Independents, MIP, MPS, PL, PSP, TD; 2006: ARE, Independents, MCNP, MIP, MPS, PL, PS-FA, RED, TD
El Salvador	1991: CD, MAC, UD; 1994: FMLN, MAC, MU, UD; 1997: MU, PLD, PRSC; 2000: MU, PAN, PLD, PRSC; 2003: PAN
Estonia	1995: EEE, EPL, ER, ETRE, MKE, OI, PK, TEE, VA; 1999: EKRP, ESE, ETRE, OI, PK, TEE; 2003: EKRP, ESDTP, ESE, NA, PK, ResP; 2007: EKRP, ESDTP, NA; 2011: EKRP, NA
Finland	1991: A, DEVA, KD, LKP, Vihr; 1995: A, KD, LKP; 1999: A, KD, LKP, NUORS; 2003: A, KD, LKP; 2007: A
France	1993: Cons, Extreme Left, Extreme Right, MRG, Verts; 1997: Cons, Extreme Left, GE, Other Ecologists, Verts; 2002: Cons, Extreme Left, Extreme Right, Other Ecologists, Other Left, Verts; 2007: CPNT, DI, Extreme Left, Extreme Right, LCR, LNC, LO, MNR, MPF, Other Ecologists, Other Left, Other Right, PR, PRG, RPF, Reg, Verts; 2012: AC, CPNT, Extreme Left, Extreme Right, FDG, MPF, NC, Other Ecologists, PRG, Reg, Verts

Germany	1990: BP, NPD, Zentrum; 1994: BP, Greens-90, NPD, PDS, REP; 1998: BP, NPD, PDS, REP; 2002: BP, NPD, REP; 2005: BP, NPD, REP; 2009: BP, NPD, Pirate Party (PIRATEN), REP; 2013: BP, NPD, Pirate Party (PIRATEN), REP
Greece	1996: POLA; 2000: ASKE, DIKKI, EK, EKE, EL, IE, KE, KEK, LEL, LS, M-L KKE, MA, OAKKE, Olympismo, POLA, S; 2004: ASKE, DIKKI, ENOSI, EO, Enosi, M-L KKE, Symmaxia; 2007: AN-NEM, ANT-SYM, ASKE, DIKKI, ECOGREENS, ELLMET, En.Kent, KKE-ML, KOM.FIL, LAOS, M-L KKE, MERA, OA-KKE, SYRIZA; 2009: ECOGREENS, KKE-ML, LAOS; 2012: ANEL, DIMAR, DISY, DX, Democratic Alliance (DISY), ECOGREENS, Ecologist Greens, IG, KKE (ML), KKE-ML, LEL, Recreate Greece (DX), SYRIZA
Guatemala	1999: DIA, LOV, LOV/UD, PLP; 2003: ANN, LOV, LOV/UD, MR-PSN, PLP, PP-MR, PP-PSN, PU, UNE, URNG; 2007: ANN, CASA, EG, LOV/UD, MR-PSN, PP-MR, PP-PSN, PU, URNG; 2011: CASA, CREO, EG, LOV/UD, PU, URNG, Victoria
Honduras	1993: PINU-SD; 1997: PDCH, PINU-SD, PUD; 2001: PDCH, PINU-SD, PUD; 2005: PDCH, PINU-SD, PUD; 2009: PDCH, PINU-SD, PUD; 2013: LIBRE, PAC, PDCH, PINU-SD, PUD
Hungary	1994: ASZ, HVK, KP, MNP, MP, MSZDP, MZP, NDSZ, VP; 1998: ASZ, KP, MP, MSZDP, MZP, NDSZ, VP; 2002: MP, MSZDP, MZP, OMC, VP; 2006: MP, OMC; 2010: MP, OMC
Ireland	1992: GP, Ourselves; 1997: DL, GP, Ourselves, WP; 2002: DL, GP, Ourselves, SP, WP; 2007: GP, SP, WP; 2011: GP, PPA, SP, ULA, WP
Italy	1992: DP, FLI, FdV, Lombard, PR, PRI, PSDI, Pensioners, RC, SVP; 1994: AD, FI, FLI, FdV, PR, PRI, PS, PSDI, Pensioners, SVP; 1996: AD, FdV, MS, PR, SVP, UDC; 2001: DE, FdV, MS, NPSI, PR, PS, Pensioners, Pietro, RE, SVP, Sgarbi; 2006: DE, FdV, MS, NPSI, PDCI, Pensioners, Pietro, RE, SVP, Sgarbi; 2008: FdV, MS, NPSI, PDCI, Panella, Pensioners, Pietro, SVP; 2013: 5stelle, MS, Pensioners, Pietro, SC, SL, SVP
Japan	1990: NLC, SDF; 1993: PP, SDF; 1996: NP, SDF; 2000: Democratic Reform Union, Liberal League, NP, New Socialist Party; 2003: Independents Party, Liberal League, New Conservative Party; 2009: NPD, NPN, PNP; 2012: NPD, NPN, PNP, YP
Latvia	1995: DCP, LKPP, LSDSP, LTF, LVP, MP, TPA, ZS, others; 1998: JP, LKPP, LSDA, LSDSP, LTF, MP, TP, TPA, others; 2002: JL, LPP, others; 2006: LG, SLP, others; 2010: SLP; 2011: Zatler
Lithuania	1996: LCS, LKDS, LLL, LLRA, LLS, LMC, LMP, LPKTS, LRS, LTMA, LTS-NP, LUP, LVP, Liberty, TPJ; 2000: COJ, LKDS, LLL, LLRA, LLS, LMP, LPKTS, LRS, LTMA, LTS-LDP, LUP, LVP, Liberty, NKS, NS, TPJ; 2004: COJ, LLRA, LTS-LDP, LVP, Liberty, NKS; 2008: LLRA, LTS, NKS, PTT, soed2000; 2012: Front, LLRA
Luxembourg	1994: GAP, GLEI; 1999: NL; 2004: DL; 2009: DL; 2013: DL
Macedonia	1994: SPM, dp, ndp3; 1998: DA, NDP; 2002: DUI; 2006: DU; 2008: dom; 2011: pei
Mexico	1997: PT, PVEM; 2000: CONV, PAS, PSN, PT, PVEM; 2003: CONV, PAS, PSN, PT, PVEM; 2006: MC, PASC, PNA, PT, PVEM; 2009: CONV, PASC, PNA, PT, PVEM; 2012: MC, PNA, PT, PVEM
Montenegro	2001: BMK, DAM, DUA, JULu, KiRPJ, LDP, LUBM, NSSCG, PDP, PljP, SDACG, SDŠ, SKJ, SNRSCG, SNS, SPZ, SRS, SZSU, ZS; 2002: BMK, DAM, DUA, JULu, KiRPJ, LDP, NSSCG, PDP, SRS, SZSU; 2006: AA, BMK, DUA, Forca, NSSCG, PzP, Serb list; 2009: AA, DUA, Forca; 2012: AKP, DUA, Forca, PCG
Netherlands	1994: CD, GL, GPV, RPF, SGP, SP; 1998: AOV, CD, GL, GPV, RPF, SGP, SP; 2002: AOV, CD, RPF, SGP, SP; 2003: CU, LN, SGP; 2006: CU, LN, PvdD, PvdV, SGP; 2010: CU, PvdD, SGP; 2012: CU, PvdD, SGP, TON
New Zealand	1990: Dignity and Self Respect for Aotearoa, NZP, Values Party; 1993: CHP, Democratic Party, Dignity and Self Respect for Aotearoa, NZP, Social Credit; 1996: CHP, McGillicuddy Serious, Natural Law Party, independent/non-partisan; 1999: ALCP, CHP, Manna Maori Party, McGillicuddy Serious, Natural Law Party, UNZ; 2002: ALCP, CHP, Dignity and Self Respect for Aotearoa, FNZ, UNZ; 2005: ALCP, CHP, Dignity and Self Respect for Aotearoa, Manna Maori Party; 2008: ALCP, CHP, Manna Maori Party; 2011: ALCP, MP
Nicaragua	1996: ANC, CCN, MUR, PNC, PRN, PRONAL, PSC, U; 2001: ANC, CCN, PCN, PNC, PRN, PRONAL, U; 2006: PCN
Norway	1993: FMS, LFP, MP, Pp, SI, V; 1997: CP, FP, Future, GEP, KKP, Pp, RV, V; 2001: FP, GEP, NiP, NKP, Pp, RV, TF, V; 2005: DLF, DPP, FLP, GEP, KSP, Kyst, NE, NKP, NKP2, NLP, Pp, RV, Sd, TVKD, V; 2009: Abort, DEM, DLF, GEP, KSP, Kyst, NKP2, Pp, RP, RV, SAME; 2013: GEP, Kyst, Pp, RV
Panama	1999: MORENA, PALA, PCD, PDC/PP, PL, PL-Aut, PLN, PLRep, PRC, UDI; 2004: MORENA, PCD, PLN, PRC; 2009: PCD, PLN; 2014: Independents, PLN
Paraguay	1993: PLR, PRF, PRR; 2003: PPQ, PPS, PUNACE; 2008: ADB, APC, APN, MPT, PDP, PPS; 2013: ADB, APC, APN, Chaquena Passion Alliance, MPT, PDP
Peru	2001: A, AP, FREPAP, Renacimiento Andino, SOLPOP, TV, UN; 2006: AP, RN, Renacimiento Andino, SOLPOP,

Poland	1993: BBWR, ChD, JL, KRAKOW, KWP, KdR, MN, PChD, PIAST, PPPP, PX, PZZ, RAS, RDS, S81, SD, SKPTZ, SP, SRP, UP, UPR, UWL, WiP, ZP; 1997: BdP, KPEiR, KPEiRRP, KdR, MN, PPPP, PWN-PSN, PX, RAS, ROP, SRP, UPR, UPR-Mikke; 2001: BdP, KPEiR, KPEiRRP, MN, PPS, PWN-PSN, SRP, UPR-Mikke; 2005: MN, PPS, UPR-Mikke; 2007: Labour, MN, RKN, SDPL, UPR-Mikke; 2011: Labour, MN, UPR-Mikke
Portugal	1991: MDP, Others , PCR, PCTP/MRPP, PDC, POUS, PP, PPM, PSR, UDP; 1995: FER, Others , PCTP/MRPP, PDA, PP, PPM, PSN, PSR, UDP; 1999: PCTP/MRPP, PDA, PG, POUS, PPM, PPM/MPT, PSN, PSR, UDP, UMW; 2002: BE, Others , PCTP/MRPP, PDA, PH, POUS, PPM, PPM/MPT, PSN; 2005: BE, BE-UDP, MPT, Others , PCTP/MRPP, PDA, PH, PNR, POUS, PPM; 2009: Others , PCTP/MRPP, PDA, PH, PND, PNR, POUS, PPM; 2011: Hope for Portugal Movement (MEP), MPT, Others , PCTP/MRPP, PPM
Romania	1996: AUR, MER, PDAR, PRM, PSD, PSM, ppr, ps, psmr; 2000: PRM, PSM, ppr, ps, psmr; 2004: Newgen, PSM, ppr; 2008: Newgen, pntcd3; 2012: Newgen
Serbia	2003: G17 Plus, JUL, LPS, LS, OiP, PPSSD, SNS, SPO, SSV; 2007: Branko Pavlović - "Zato što mora bolje" , CAPV, Demokratska zajednica Srbije - dr Obren Joksimović , JUL, Koalicija "Vojvodanske partije" - mr Igor Kurjački , Koalicija Mađarska sloga - Andraš Agošton - dr Pal Šandor , LDP, LPS, LS, OiP, PPSSD, Partija ujedinjenih penzionera Srbije (PUPS) - Dr Jovan Krkobabić i Socijaldemokratska partija (SDP) - Dr Nebojša Ćeović , Pokret snaga Srbije - Bogoljub Karić , Reformistička stranka - dr Aleksandar Višnjić , Romska partija - Šajin Srđan , SNS, SSV, Socijaldemokratija - Nenad Vukasović , Unija Roma Srbije - dr Rajko Ā urić ; 2008: Branko Pavlović - "Zato što mora bolje" , CAPV, Demokratska zajednica Srbije - dr Obren Joksimović , Koalicija "Vojvodanske partije" - mr Igor Kurjački , Koalicija Mađarska sloga - Andraš Agošton - dr Pal Šandor , Partija ujedinjenih penzionera Srbije (PUPS) - Dr Jovan Krkobabić i Socijaldemokratska partija (SDP) - Dr Nebojša Ćeović , Pokret snaga Srbije - Bogoljub Karić , Reformistička stranka - dr Aleksandar Višnjić , Romska partija - Šajin Srđan , Socijaldemokratija - Nenad Vukasović , Unija Roma Srbije - dr Rajko Ā urić ; 2012: CAPV, Koalicija "Vojvodanske partije" - mr Igor Kurjački , Pokret snaga Srbije - Bogoljub Karić , Reformistička stranka - dr Aleksandar Višnjić , Romska partija - Šajin Srđan , Unija Roma Srbije - dr Rajko Ā urić
Slovakia	1992: DS, ROISR, SD, SPV, SS, SZ; 1994: HZPCS, NS, ROISR, SD, SPK, SS, SZ; 1998: DS, HZPCS, NS, ROISR, SOP, SPK; 2002: ANO, ROISR, Smer; 2006: ROISR; 2010: Nadej, SaS
Slovenia	1992: SOPS, ds, independ, lceq, ldps, ls, sf, za; 1996: SOPS, ds, independ, ldps, ls, sf, za; 2000: SMS, SOPS, ls, sf, za, zz; 2004: SDS, SMS, sjn, zz; 2008: SMS, sjn, zz; 2011: zz
South Korea	1992: HDP, PP; 1996: PNPR, PP; 2004: DPP; 2012: NPP, RKP
Spain	1993: AC-INC, ACI, AIC, AR, AV, BNG, CEU, CG, COA, CSD, CU, EA, EE, ERC, EU, FJONS, FPG, GRM, HB, IGC, LV, LVE, MV, PAM, PANCAL, PAR, PAS, PCPE-PCC, PED, PH, PNG, PNV/EAJ, PORE, PREPAL, PSA/PA, PSG, PSM-EN, PST, Ruiz-Mateos, SEV, UA-CHA, UB, UNA, UPV, URV, UV, Verde; 1996: ACI, AG, APP, ARDE, AV-MEC, Arcoiris, BNG, CC, CNG, CiU, EA, ENV-URV, ERC, EU, FJONS, FPG, GIL, HB, LV, LVE, NPS, P. Riojano, PAP, PAR, PAS, PC, PCPE-PCC, PDB, PGC, PH, PLN, PNV/EAJ, POR, PRC, PREPAL, PREX, PRIM, PSA/PA, PSM, PSM-EN, PST, PVPA, Ruiz-Mateos, SEES, TC-PNC, UA, UA-CHA, UF-FI-AT, UMMP, UPCA, UPL, UPV, URCL, UV; 2000: AR, AUN, AV, BNG, CC, CDN, CEX, CG, CR, CiU, EA, ERC, EU, FEA, FPG, FREPIC, GIL, HB, ICV-GORORDO, LV, LVE2, LVM, NA, NR, P. Riojano, PAR, PAS, PCPE-PCC, PDB, PEC-Verde, PH, PLN, PNV/EAJ, PRCM, PREPAL, PREX, PRIM, PRT, PRV, PSA/PA, PSM-EN, PSPC, SIEX, SOS, TC-PNC, UA-CHA, UC, UF-FI-AT, UM, UPL, UPV, URCL, UV; 2004: A, AA, AR, AUTO.NO.MO, AV, AV-MEC, BLM, BNG, BNV, CC, CDN, CG, CNC, CiU, E Catala, EA, EL-PAPI, ERC, EU, FE, FEA, FJONS, FPG, GIL, IA, IR, LI-LIT-CI, LV, LV-GV, LVE2, LVM, NA, P. Riojano, PADE, PAE, PAR, PAS, PAVIEL, PCARL, PCL, PCPE-PCC, PDB, PDG, PEDA, PH, PIL, PKD, PLN, PNCA, PNV/EAJ, POSI, PREPAL, PREX, PRIM, PSA/PA, PSM-EN, SIEX, TC-PNC, UA-CHA, UF-FI-AT, UM, UM-INME, UPL, UPZ, URAS, URCL, USI, UV; 2008: A, AA, ADN, APCA, AUTO.NO.MO, AV, Alazar, BNG, BNV, CC, CDN, CENB, CG, CHA, CNC, CiU, DN, EA, EI, ERC, EU, FE, FEA, FJONS, FPG, GVE, I.D.E.S, IR, IRV, LV, LV-Extre, LV-GV, LVE2, LVM, MSR, NaBai, OTRADEM, P. Cannabis, PADE, PAE, PAR, PAS, PCARL, PCL, PCPE-PCC, PFYV, PH, PKD, PMAR, PNC, PNV/EAJ, POSI, PREPAL, PSA/PA, PSM-EN, PTRE, TC-PNC, UM, UPL, UPSA, verdes Asturias; 2011: AV, BNG, BNV, CC, CENB, CHA, CiU, EA, EI, ERC, EU, FEA, FJONS, IR, LV, LV-GV, LVE2, NaBai, PAR, PCARL, PCPE-PCC, PFYV, PH, PNV/EAJ, POSI, PREPAL, PSA/PA, TC-PNC, UPL, UPyD
Sweden	1991: KD, SD; 1994: SD; 1998: SD; 2002: SD; 2006: SD; 2010: SD
Switzerland	1991: CP, EVP/PEP, FGA, FPS, LPS/PLS, LdU/ADI, POCH, PSU, PV, SD; 1995: A, CSP, EDU, EVP/PEP, LPS/PLS, LdT, LdU/ADI, POCH, PdAS/PST, SD; 1999: A, CSP, EDU, EVP/PEP, LPS/PLS, LdT, LdU/ADI, PdAS/PST, SD; 2003: A, CSP, EDU, EVP/PEP, LPS/PLS, LdT, LdU/ADI, PdAS/PST, SD, Solidarité; 2007: A, CSP, EDU, EVP/PEP, FGA, LPS/PLS, LdT, PdAS/PST, SD, Solidarité; 2011: CSP, EDU, EVP/PEP, FGA, LPS/PLS, LdT, PdAS/PST, SD, Solidarité
United Kingdom	1992: DUP, GREENS, PC, SDLP, SNP; 1997: APNI, DUP, GREENS, NLP, PC, SDLP, SF, SNP, UUP; 2001: APNI, DUP, GREENS, NLP, PC, Referendum, SDLP, SF, SNP, UKIP, UUP; 2005: APNI, BNP, DUP, GREENS, Health Concern, Independents, LP, Lidderminster, PC, SA, SDLP, SF, SLP, SNP, SSA, UKIP, UKUP, UUP; 2010: APNI, BNP, Candidate, DUP, ED, GREENS, Independents, LP, Lidderminster, PC, Respect, SDLP, SF, SLP, SNP, SSA, Speaker, UKIP, UKUP, UUP, Veritas

United States 1990: Conservative Party, Independent, LP, Peace and Freedom Party, Right to live Party; 1992: Conservative Party, Green Party, Independent, LP, Peace and Freedom Party, Right to live Party; 1994: Conservative Party, Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party, Green Party, Independent, LP, Peace and Freedom Party, Right to live Party; 1996: Conservative Party, Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party, Green Party, Independent, LP, Natural Law Party, Peace and Freedom Party, Right to live Party; 1998: Conservative Party, Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party, Green Party, Independent, LP, Natural Law Party, Peace and Freedom Party, Reform Party, Right to live Party; 2000: Conservative Party, Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party, Green Party, Independent, LP, Natural Law Party, Reform Party, Right to live Party; 2002: Conservative Party, Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party, Green Party, Independent, LP, Natural Law Party, Reform Party; 2004: Conservative Party, Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party, Green Party, Independence, Independent, LP, Reform Party; 2006: Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party, Green Party, Independence, Independent, LP, Reform Party; 2008: Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party, Green Party, Independence, Independent, LP, Reform Party; 2010: Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party, Green Party, Independence, Independent, LP; 2012: Constitution Party/Taxpayer Party, Green Party, Independence, Independent, LP, Reform Party

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Venezuela 1993: CN, F-1, ICR, MEP, MIN, NGD, ORA, PCV, URD; 1998: APERT, IRENE, MDP-BR, MEP, MIN, MVR, NGD, OFM , ORA, PCV, PRVZL, RENOV, SI, UDH, URD; 2000: APERT, CONIVE, IRENE, LOPY, MDA , MDP-BR, MEP, MIGATO, MIN, MPJ, OFM , ORA, PCV, PUAMA, RENOV, SI, UDH, UNT, URD; 2005: CONIVE, LOPY, MDA , MEP, MIGATO, MPJ, PCV, PODEMOS, PUAMA, UNT, UPV

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## Appendix B1: Models with different sets of control variables (and operationalisation)

Table B1: Growth model without controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )
Growth	0.69** (0.19)	0.07 (0.13)	0.22 (0.15)	0.62** (0.19)	0.49** (0.18)
Corruption	1.34* (0.52)	2.37*** (0.40)	2.44*** (0.42)	-0.70 (0.62)	-0.74 (0.62)
Constant	6.86* (3.38)	-1.35 (2.41)	-0.92 (2.77)	7.92* (3.48)	7.56* (3.39)
Country-level Variance	7.52* (6.19)	7.59*** (3.32)	4.59* (3.27)	23.86*** (9.67)	27.54*** (10.02)
Election-level Variance	92.12*** (8.36)	44.22*** (3.85)	62.34*** (5.38)	88.49*** (7.98)	81.69*** (7.33)
<i>N</i>	333	333	333	333	333
<i>BIC</i>	2641.68	2414.38	2509.82	2659.57	2641.00
Log-Likelihood	-1236.62	-1122.97	-1170.69	-1245.57	-1236.28

Standard errors in parentheses:  $^+ p < 0.10$ ,  $^* p < 0.05$ ,  $^{**} p < 0.01$ ,  $^{***} p < 0.001$ , election fixed effects included

Table B2: Unemployment model without controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )
Unemployment	0.39 (0.43)	0.54 <sup>+</sup> (0.29)	0.70* (0.34)	-0.15 (0.43)	-0.31 (0.41)
Corruption	1.13* (0.54)	2.34*** (0.40)	2.36*** (0.42)	-0.98 (0.62)	-0.96 (0.62)
Constant	5.26 (3.44)	-1.66 (2.38)	-1.57 (2.74)	6.65 <sup>+</sup> (3.55)	6.60 <sup>+</sup> (3.43)
Country-level Variance	9.62** (6.87)	7.88*** (3.34)	5.31** (3.37)	23.24*** (9.79)	27.16*** (10.14)
Election-level Variance	95.69*** (8.71)	43.71*** (3.82)	61.13*** (5.29)	94.02*** (8.51)	85.57*** (7.71)
<i>N</i>	331	331	331	331	331
<i>BIC</i>	2643.30	2398.38	2492.09	2661.72	2639.31
Log-Likelihood	-1237.52	-1115.06	-1161.91	-1246.73	-1235.52

Standard errors in parentheses:  $^+ p < 0.10$ ,  $^* p < 0.05$ ,  $^{**} p < 0.01$ ,  $^{***} p < 0.001$ , election fixed effects included

## Operationalisation of linkages and cleavage structure

We control for linkages between parties and voters, because strong linkages may lower the chances for new parties. We consider *linkages between parties and voters* in two ways (Benton 2005: 420). First, linkages are operationalized using Kitschelt's (2012) expert survey on democratic accountability and political linkages. We use an additive index consisting of three dummy variables which assess whether a party makes a special effort to attract either urban or rural voters, or voters from specific ethnic groups. Since several experts rated the parties, the mean value of the additive index was calculated for each party and then averaged over all parties to calculate a value for the intensity of linkages per country. Second, we consider the number of party members as a share of the total population as an alternative measure of linkages (Van Biezen et al. 2012).

In addition, a country's *cleavage structure* may affect the demand for new parties. We approximate cleavages with two measures on issue congruence between parties and voters, and issue dimensionality, respectively. We measure issue congruence as the congruence in the distribution of parties and voters' left-right position with CMP and survey data. For issue dimensionality, we rely on van de Wardt's dataset (2017) which follows Stoll's (2010) approach for calculating raw ideological dimensionality over all the issues that parties emphasize in their manifestos using CMP data.

Table B3: Models with growth and linkages

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opp.		Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opp.	
		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)
Growth	0.76*** (0.19)	0.09 (0.14)	0.21 (0.16)	0.66*** (0.20)	0.55** (0.19)	0.48+ (0.27)	-0.03 (0.22)	0.04 (0.25)	0.49+ (0.28)	0.40 (0.28)
Corruption	1.25 (0.82)	1.99*** (0.60)	2.77*** (0.65)	-0.49 (0.88)	-1.08 (0.87)	1.99* (0.96)	2.63*** (0.78)	3.57*** (0.91)	-0.24 (1.07)	-1.03 (1.11)
Democratic Experience	-0.05 (0.47)	0.99** (0.35)	1.08** (0.35)	-1.11* (0.55)	-1.19* (0.55)	0.11 (0.62)	0.57 (0.50)	0.71 (0.59)	-0.44 (0.73)	-0.58 (0.79)
Enepe	-0.43 (0.41)	0.26 (0.30)	-0.22 (0.32)	-0.74+ (0.45)	-0.07 (0.44)	-0.33 (0.51)	0.41 (0.42)	-0.00 (0.49)	-0.72 (0.56)	-0.27 (0.58)
Eff. Nat. Threshold	0.37 (0.83)	-0.46 (0.61)	-1.02 (0.62)	0.90 (0.95)	1.56+ (0.94)	-1.21 (1.06)	-0.76 (0.86)	-2.02* (1.01)	-0.34 (1.23)	0.95 (1.31)
Latin America	-4.14 (3.51)	5.55* (2.60)	1.55 (2.64)	-10.47** (4.01)	-7.09+ (3.97)					
CEE	2.29 (3.65)	7.06** (2.71)	5.72* (2.72)	-5.47 (4.23)	-4.71 (4.19)	0.10 (4.06)	4.93 (3.28)	3.18 (3.86)	-5.36 (4.74)	-3.87 (5.09)
Southern Europe	1.41 (3.43)	7.00** (2.56)	6.48** (2.48)	-6.23 (4.07)	-5.95 (4.04)	-0.41 (3.12)	4.20+ (2.53)	3.76 (2.97)	-4.95 (3.66)	-4.59 (3.94)
Asia	2.83 (4.20)	2.77 (3.14)	0.43 (3.03)	-0.44 (4.99)	1.39 (4.96)					
Presidential elections	1.58 (1.81)	0.66 (1.35)	0.59 (1.33)	0.86 (2.10)	1.11 (2.08)	2.45 (1.84)	0.01 (1.49)	0.45 (1.75)	2.39 (2.13)	1.92 (2.28)
Size of gov. Coal. Crisis 2008 (dummy)	0.19*** (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	0.14** (0.05)	0.11* (0.05)	0.16* (0.08)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.16* (0.08)	0.15+ (0.08)
Linkages	-2.27 (1.45)	-1.92+ (1.09)	-2.68* (1.04)	-0.38 (1.73)	0.61 (1.72)					
Party Membership						-0.12 (0.20)	0.20 (0.17)	0.13 (0.19)	-0.32 (0.24)	-0.26 (0.26)
Constant	0.30 (6.27)	-7.00 (4.61)	-2.66 (4.88)	7.68 (6.88)	3.17 (6.79)	-4.36 (7.73)	-6.80 (6.26)	-2.43 (7.35)	2.13 (8.59)	-1.71 (9.00)
Country Variance	6.32+ (6.43)	4.10+ (3.02)	0.40 (2.90)	15.27*** (7.98)	15.53*** (8.02)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	4.99 (6.19)	8.11* (7.22)
Election Variance	88.89*** (8.55)	46.32*** (4.26)	64.09*** (5.87)	88.55*** (8.28)	84.89*** (7.98)	66.77*** (7.54)	43.77*** (4.94)	60.36*** (6.81)	68.72*** (8.98)	69.10*** (9.01)
N	309	309	309	309	309	157	157	157	157	157
BIC	2511.04	2313.24	2393.68	2528.05	2516.59	1292.23	1225.94	1276.37	1306.20	1311.55
LL	-1140.9	-1042.0	-1082.2	-1149.4	-1143.6	-552.6	-519.4	-544.6	-559.6	-562.2

Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Variables measuring voter-party linkages and party membership are available only for a subsample of cases.

Regional variables for Latin America / Asia missing in models 6-10, due to the limited data coverage of the control variable for party membership.

Table B4: Models with unemployment and linkages

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opp.		Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opp.	
		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)
Unemp	0.20 (0.44)	0.51 <sup>+</sup> (0.31)	0.60 <sup>+</sup> (0.36)	-0.33 (0.44)	-0.39 (0.43)	0.03 (0.54)	0.53 (0.42)	0.35 (0.49)	-0.56 (0.56)	-0.39 (0.56)
Corrup	1.06 (0.86)	2.02 <sup>***</sup> (0.61)	2.82 <sup>***</sup> (0.65)	-0.76 (0.91)	-1.32 (0.89)	2.08 <sup>*</sup> (1.02)	2.66 <sup>***</sup> (0.79)	3.68 <sup>***</sup> (0.93)	-0.23 (1.13)	-1.09 (1.17)
Democrat ic Experienc e Enep	-0.04 (0.49)	1.01 <sup>**</sup> (0.35)	1.10 <sup>**</sup> (0.35)	-1.12 <sup>*</sup> (0.57)	-1.20 <sup>*</sup> (0.56)	0.37 (0.65)	0.63 (0.51)	0.83 (0.59)	-0.22 (0.78)	-0.41 (0.84)
Eff. Nat. Threshold LA	-0.61 (0.43)	0.32 (0.30)	-0.17 (0.32)	-1.02 <sup>*</sup> (0.46)	-0.34 (0.45)	-0.52 (0.53)	0.54 (0.41)	0.10 (0.49)	-1.08 <sup>+</sup> (0.58)	-0.61 (0.60)
CEE	0.13 (0.85)	-0.43 (0.62)	-1.01 (0.62)	0.62 (0.97)	1.28 (0.96)	-1.40 (1.10)	-0.68 (0.85)	-1.91 <sup>+</sup> (1.00)	-0.69 (1.29)	0.55 (1.37)
SE	-4.32 (3.64)	5.41 <sup>*</sup> (2.63)	1.33 (2.64)	-10.43 <sup>*</sup> (4.13)	-7.11 <sup>+</sup> (4.09)					
Asia	3.12 (3.80)	6.82 <sup>*</sup> (2.75)	5.58 <sup>*</sup> (2.73)	-4.32 (4.36)	-3.75 (4.32)	1.36 (4.23)	4.84 (3.29)	3.24 (3.86)	-3.83 (5.01)	-2.51 (5.35)
Presidenti al elections	1.89 (3.53)	7.04 <sup>**</sup> (2.58)	6.51 <sup>**</sup> (2.46)	-5.78 (4.16)	-5.58 (4.13)	-0.15 (3.24)	4.22 <sup>+</sup> (2.52)	3.90 (2.95)	-4.76 (3.87)	-4.51 (4.14)
Size of gov. Coal. Crisis 2008 (dummy)	0.62 (1.88)	0.69 (1.37)	0.42 (1.33)	-0.15 (2.18)	0.34 (2.16)	2.18 (1.92)	0.26 (1.49)	0.67 (1.75)	1.86 (2.27)	1.51 (2.42)
Linkages	0.13 <sup>**</sup> (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.09 <sup>+</sup> (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)
Party Members hip	-1.80 (6.73)	0.44 (4.67)	0.31 (5.41)	-1.47 (6.78)	-0.96 (6.59)	-26.81 <sup>**</sup> (9.41)	-5.82 (7.31)	-6.71 (8.58)	-19.73 <sup>*</sup> (9.85)	-17.95 <sup>+</sup> (9.91)
Constant						-0.07 (0.21)	0.16 (0.17)	0.11 (0.19)	-0.24 (0.25)	-0.20 (0.27)
Country Variance	3.31 (6.46)	-7.51 (4.61)	-2.81 (4.84)	11.54 (7.05)	6.76 (6.94)	1.74 (7.84)	-7.69 (6.09)	-2.77 (7.15)	10.27 (8.81)	6.07 (9.17)
Election Variance	6.43 <sup>+</sup> (7.20)	4.41 <sup>*</sup> (3.07)	0.30 (2.91)	15.62 <sup>***</sup> (8.57)	16.19 <sup>***</sup> (8.43)	0.00 <sup>***</sup> (0.00)	0.00 <sup>**</sup> (0.00)	0.00 <sup>***</sup> (0.00)	5.85 (6.84)	9.38 <sup>**</sup> (7.89)
N	95.97 <sup>***</sup> (9.42)	45.87 <sup>***</sup> (4.23)	63.76 <sup>***</sup> (5.88)	94.91 <sup>***</sup> (8.97)	89.53 <sup>***</sup> (8.45)	72.02 <sup>***</sup> (8.18)	43.50 <sup>***</sup> (4.94)	59.82 <sup>***</sup> (6.80)	74.92 <sup>***</sup> (9.83)	74.19 <sup>***</sup> (9.72)
BIC	307	307	307	307	307	155	155	155	155	155
LL	2518.70	2298.07	2377.35	2533.10	2517.64	1289.41	1211.24	1260.64	1305.47	1308.65
	-1144.81	-1034.50	-1074.14	-1152.01	-1144.28	-551.40	-512.32	-537.02	-559.43	-561.02

Standard errors in parentheses: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , <sup>\*</sup>  $p < 0.05$ , <sup>\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.01$ , <sup>\*\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.001$

Variables measuring voter-party linkages and party membership are available only for a subsample of cases.

Regional variables for Latin America / Asia missing in models 6-10, due to the limited data coverage of the control variable for party membership.



Table B5: Models with growth and saliency of cleavages

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opp.		Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opp.	
		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )	all parties	excl. marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )	all parties	excl. marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )
Growth	0.98*** (0.23)	-0.05 (0.16)	0.01 (0.18)	1.02*** (0.24)	0.93*** (0.23)	0.65* (0.26)	-0.29+ (0.17)	-0.27 (0.20)	0.96*** (0.27)	1.00*** (0.27)
Corruption	1.08 (0.89)	1.59* (0.64)	2.65*** (0.67)	-0.35 (0.94)	-1.46 (0.91)	1.68+ (0.94)	1.53* (0.69)	2.37** (0.80)	0.07 (0.96)	-0.77 (0.97)
Democratic Experience	0.17 (0.50)	0.95** (0.36)	1.27*** (0.34)	-0.81 (0.55)	-1.09* (0.51)	0.30 (0.60)	1.03+ (0.54)	1.48* (0.60)	-0.80 (0.62)	-1.26* (0.62)
Enep	-0.16 (0.46)	0.55+ (0.33)	0.25 (0.34)	-0.77 (0.50)	-0.38 (0.48)	-0.33 (0.47)	1.09** (0.35)	0.55 (0.40)	-1.06* (0.48)	-0.69 (0.48)
Eff. Nat. Threshold	-0.30 (0.90)	-0.89 (0.64)	-1.86** (0.63)	0.60 (0.98)	1.57+ (0.92)	-0.97 (0.88)	-0.31 (0.74)	-1.44+ (0.84)	-0.38 (0.91)	0.55 (0.92)
Latin America	-0.30 (3.39)	6.61** (2.42)	3.48 (2.39)	-7.30* (3.71)	-4.05 (3.49)	-5.40 (6.03)	2.82 (5.24)	0.84 (5.84)	-7.13 (6.20)	-5.46 (6.28)
CEE	4.50 (3.67)	6.65* (2.62)	5.74* (2.58)	-2.52 (4.03)	-1.69 (3.78)	1.11 (4.17)	7.99* (3.59)	7.75+ (4.02)	-6.70 (4.29)	-6.22 (4.35)
Southern Europe	-0.20 (3.23)	3.73 (2.31)	2.33 (2.23)	-4.32 (3.57)	-2.65 (3.33)	-1.13 (3.13)	5.45+ (2.80)	4.32 (3.12)	-6.25+ (3.23)	-5.45+ (3.27)
Asia	-0.24 (5.30)	-0.35 (3.79)	-2.15 (3.60)	-0.14 (5.88)	1.66 (5.47)	-0.88 (3.75)	2.43 (3.44)	0.28 (3.82)	-2.74 (3.87)	-0.60 (3.91)
Presidential elections	1.15 (1.99)	1.56 (1.42)	1.91 (1.36)	-0.45 (2.19)	-0.82 (2.05)	2.59 (1.63)	1.51 (1.43)	2.38 (1.60)	0.82 (1.67)	-0.07 (1.69)
Size of gov.	0.19*** (0.05)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.21*** (0.06)	0.18** (0.06)	0.10 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.12+ (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)
Coal. Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-6.82 (6.05)	-1.35 (4.35)	-3.48 (4.87)	-5.57 (6.28)	-4.38 (6.17)	-4.24 (5.36)	0.84 (3.38)	-0.41 (4.01)	-3.65 (5.43)	-2.51 (5.56)
Issue Congr.	-0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)					
Issue Dim.						-2.30 (1.98)	1.12 (1.43)	0.47 (1.67)	-3.44+ (2.03)	-2.76 (2.06)
Constant	-4.26 (7.33)	-6.06 (5.26)	-3.33 (5.51)	2.59 (7.83)	0.90 (7.52)	5.99 (7.26)	-12.71* (5.80)	-8.05 (6.61)	16.15* (7.45)	12.17 (7.56)
Country Variance	8.42* (8.42)	4.16+ (3.34)	0.26 (3.25)	13.23*** (9.19)	9.44* (8.94)	0.00 (0.00)	7.40*** (3.40)	7.88*** (4.60)	0.61 (4.24)	0.19 (4.69)
Election Variance	72.47*** (8.97)	37.63*** (4.24)	49.84*** (5.65)	76.69*** (9.10)	75.21*** (9.31)	61.40*** (6.35)	21.53*** (2.61)	30.88*** (3.87)	62.58*** (7.64)	65.87*** (8.24)
N	228	228	228	228	228	187	187	187	187	187
BIC	1823.88	1673.63	1718.56	1844.48	1833.70	1494.17	1334.95	1395.84	1499.50	1507.87
ll	-822.36	-747.23	-769.70	-832.66	-827.27	-650.31	-570.70	-601.15	-652.97	-657.16

Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ 

Variables measuring issue congruence and dimensions are available only for a subsample of cases.

Table B6: Models with unemployment and saliency of cleavages

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opp.		Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opp.	
		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)
Unemp	0.60 (0.52)	0.87* (0.35)	0.70+ (0.39)	-0.24 (0.55)	-0.23 (0.53)	0.37 (0.57)	0.15 (0.35)	-0.33 (0.41)	0.35 (0.59)	0.91 (0.60)
Corrup	0.79 (0.92)	1.65** (0.64)	2.67*** (0.67)	-0.79 (1.00)	-1.69+ (0.97)	1.62+ (0.97)	1.53* (0.70)	2.29** (0.81)	0.02 (1.02)	-0.80 (1.03)
Democrat ic Experienc e Enep	0.16 (0.51)	0.97** (0.37)	1.27*** (0.36)	-0.84 (0.57)	-1.13* (0.57)	0.15 (0.57)	0.86+ (0.51)	1.04+ (0.59)	-0.73 (0.60)	-0.93 (0.61)
Eff. Nat. Threshold LA	-0.61 (0.93)	-0.70 (0.67)	-1.73** (0.65)	0.14 (1.03)	1.14 (1.01)	-0.18 (0.44)	1.24*** (0.33)	0.88* (0.38)	-1.10* (0.46)	-0.90+ (0.47)
CEE	-0.67 (3.52)	6.96** (2.53)	3.86 (2.48)	-7.82* (3.89)	-5.07 (3.82)	-4.44 (6.27)	2.87 (5.29)	1.66 (6.06)	-6.13 (6.60)	-4.74 (6.67)
SE	4.62 (3.80)	7.10** (2.74)	6.41* (2.67)	-2.66 (4.22)	-2.44 (4.15)	1.32 (4.21)	7.65* (3.58)	6.71 (4.10)	-5.80 (4.44)	-4.38 (4.49)
Asia	-0.31 (3.35)	4.07+ (2.43)	2.42 (2.33)	-4.59 (3.73)	-3.19 (3.68)	-1.27 (3.22)	5.01+ (2.81)	3.18 (3.21)	-5.77+ (3.39)	-4.31 (3.43)
Presidenti al elections	0.97 (5.46)	-0.55 (4.00)	-2.40 (3.77)	1.40 (6.12)	2.90 (6.04)	-2.00 (3.89)	3.03 (3.47)	0.76 (3.96)	-4.17 (4.11)	-2.01 (4.15)
Size of gov. Coal. Crisis 2008 (dummy)	0.60 (2.08)	1.27 (1.51)	1.48 (1.44)	-0.70 (2.32)	-0.88 (2.29)	1.74 (1.67)	1.16 (1.45)	1.49 (1.66)	0.15 (1.77)	-0.43 (1.78)
Issue Congr. Issue Dim Constant	0.11* (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	0.12* (0.06)	0.10+ (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)
						-2.25 (2.02)	1.08 (1.44)	0.02 (1.68)	-3.04 (2.13)	-1.86 (2.15)
	2.88 (7.54)	-8.33 (5.24)	-4.88 (5.48)	11.08 (8.14)	9.50 (7.95)	6.31 (7.20)	-14.86** (5.58)	-11.92+ (6.44)	18.20* (7.57)	15.54* (7.66)
Country Variance	8.00+ (9.60)	6.09** (3.65)	1.91 (3.68)	13.20** (10.36)	13.64*** (10.27)	0.00*** (0.00)	7.53*** (3.50)	9.33*** (4.85)	0.47 (5.35)	0.22 (5.86)
Election Variance	81.47*** (10.39)	35.65*** (4.02)	47.51*** (5.48)	88.50*** (10.66)	82.73*** (10.05)	66.40*** (6.88)	22.18*** (2.71)	30.68*** (3.81)	72.00*** (9.10)	74.46*** (9.66)
N	227	227	227	227	227	186	186	186	186	186
BIC	1840.40	1662.99	1707.99	1866.55	1853.30	1496.36	1328.79	1386.68	1512.62	1518.21
ll	-830.69	-741.98	-764.48	-843.76	-837.14	-654.12	-570.33	-599.28	-662.25	-665.04

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

Models 6-10 do not converge if effective national Threshold is included. The remaining models are all robust to the exclusion of this variable.

Variables measuring issue congruence and dimensions are available only for a subsample of cases.

B7: Models with growth, controlling for entanglement of opposition

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opp.	
		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)
Growth	0.73 <sup>***</sup> (0.18)	0.08 (0.13)	0.21 (0.15)	0.64 <sup>***</sup> (0.19)	0.52 <sup>**</sup> (0.18)
Corruption	0.90 (0.80)	1.60 <sup>**</sup> (0.58)	2.37 <sup>***</sup> (0.65)	-0.54 (0.86)	-1.12 (0.85)
Democratic Experience	0.11 (0.47)	0.93 <sup>**</sup> (0.35)	1.05 <sup>**</sup> (0.35)	-0.85 (0.55)	-0.96 <sup>+</sup> (0.54)
Enep	-0.34 (0.40)	0.26 (0.29)	-0.23 (0.31)	-0.65 (0.43)	0.04 (0.43)
Eff. Nat. Threshold	0.24 (0.82)	-0.79 (0.61)	-1.53 <sup>*</sup> (0.63)	1.11 (0.94)	1.88 <sup>*</sup> (0.92)
Latin America	-2.24 (3.18)	5.93 <sup>*</sup> (2.37)	3.06 (2.45)	-8.57 <sup>*</sup> (3.64)	-6.14 <sup>+</sup> (3.59)
CEE	3.06 (3.46)	6.06 <sup>*</sup> (2.59)	4.99 <sup>+</sup> (2.64)	-3.39 (3.99)	-2.63 (3.94)
Southern Europe	1.44 (3.10)	4.82 <sup>*</sup> (2.33)	3.73 (2.34)	-3.77 (3.62)	-2.56 (3.57)
Asia	0.30 (4.15)	-0.19 (3.13)	-2.71 (3.11)	0.16 (4.87)	2.58 (4.81)
Presidential elections	2.11 (1.82)	1.13 (1.36)	0.80 (1.38)	0.92 (2.10)	1.30 (2.07)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.14 <sup>**</sup> (0.05)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)	0.13 <sup>**</sup> (0.05)	0.11 <sup>*</sup> (0.05)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-2.99 (6.03)	0.26 (4.30)	-1.06 (5.09)	-2.91 (6.23)	-1.77 (6.11)
Entangled Opp. %	-6.39 <sup>***</sup> (1.93)	-3.07 <sup>*</sup> (1.39)	-2.71 <sup>+</sup> (1.60)	-3.62 <sup>+</sup> (2.04)	-3.76 <sup>+</sup> (2.00)
Constant	-1.62 (5.93)	-6.15 (4.34)	-2.83 (4.74)	4.45 (6.50)	0.97 (6.39)
Country-level Variance	10.08 <sup>***</sup> (6.59)	6.63 <sup>***</sup> (2.98)	3.28 (3.16)	18.70 <sup>***</sup> (8.07)	18.44 <sup>***</sup> (7.89)
Election-level Variance	78.65 <sup>***</sup> (7.33)	39.68 <sup>***</sup> (3.49)	57.39 <sup>***</sup> (5.10)	82.35 <sup>***</sup> (7.45)	79.04 <sup>***</sup> (7.16)
<i>N</i>	328	328	328	328	328
<i>BIC</i>	2625.40	2407.84	2506.94	2656.46	2643.87
Log Likelihood	-1196.84	-1088.06	-1137.61	-1212.4	-1206.07

Standard errors in parentheses: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , <sup>\*</sup>  $p < 0.05$ , <sup>\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.01$ , <sup>\*\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.001$

B8: Models with unemployment, controlling for entanglement of opposition

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opp.	
		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)
Unemployment	0.25 (0.41)	0.57* (0.28)	0.69* (0.33)	-0.33 (0.42)	-0.41 (0.41)
Corruption	0.70 (0.84)	1.65** (0.58)	2.41*** (0.65)	-0.85 (0.89)	-1.40 (0.87)
Democratic Experience	0.15 (0.49)	0.96** (0.35)	1.09** (0.35)	-0.84 (0.56)	-0.95+ (0.55)
Eneq	-0.50 (0.41)	0.34 (0.29)	-0.16 (0.31)	-0.90* (0.45)	-0.22 (0.44)
Eff. Nat. Threshold	0.04 (0.85)	-0.74 (0.61)	-1.51* (0.62)	0.84 (0.96)	1.62+ (0.94)
Latin America	-2.50 (3.34)	5.82* (2.38)	2.94 (2.44)	-8.62* (3.76)	-6.23+ (3.68)
CEE	3.76 (3.63)	5.85* (2.60)	4.92+ (2.64)	-2.39 (4.11)	-1.79 (4.03)
Southern Europe	1.88 (3.24)	4.99* (2.33)	3.94+ (2.32)	-3.46 (3.71)	-2.30 (3.64)
Asia	-0.83 (4.34)	-0.20 (3.13)	-2.97 (3.08)	-0.99 (4.98)	1.63 (4.89)
Presidential elections	1.46 (1.92)	1.20 (1.38)	0.68 (1.38)	0.19 (2.18)	0.80 (2.14)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.08+ (0.05)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-1.79 (6.25)	-0.30 (4.29)	-1.49 (5.07)	-1.08 (6.46)	-0.09 (6.28)
Entangled Opp. %	-6.95*** (2.01)	-3.00* (1.39)	-2.68+ (1.59)	-4.22* (2.11)	-4.33* (2.06)
Constant	0.99 (6.13)	-6.99 (4.31)	-3.30 (4.68)	8.11 (6.66)	4.36 (6.51)
Country-level Variance	11.31*** (7.41)	6.73*** (2.98)	3.16 (3.13)	19.16*** (8.67)	18.80*** (8.23)
Election-level Variance	84.02*** (7.94)	39.21*** (3.46)	56.75*** (5.07)	88.22*** (8.07)	83.42*** (7.60)
<i>N</i>	326	326	326	326	326
<i>BIC</i>	2633.35	2391.31	2488.91	2662.59	2645.52
Log Likelihood	-1200.94	-1079.92	-1128.72	-1215.56	-1207.02

Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Appendix B2: Models with alternative operationalisations of the economy, corruption, and opposition parties, and additional control variables**

Table B9: Models with inflation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )	all parties	excl. marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )
Inflation	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Corruption	1.39 (0.90)	2.06*** (0.63)	2.86*** (0.69)	-0.70 (0.90)	-1.39 (0.89)
Democratic Experience	0.21 (0.53)	0.70+ (0.36)	0.86* (0.37)	-0.48 (0.52)	-0.59 (0.51)
Enep	-0.38 (0.44)	0.49 (0.30)	0.01 (0.33)	-0.85+ (0.44)	-0.24 (0.43)
Eff. Nat. Threshold	-0.17 (0.96)	-0.16 (0.66)	-0.93 (0.68)	-0.04 (0.95)	0.68 (0.93)
Latin America	-0.58 (3.61)	5.02* (2.48)	2.25 (2.56)	-5.50 (3.56)	-2.82 (3.47)
CEE	3.28 (3.81)	4.83+ (2.61)	3.72 (2.66)	-1.43 (3.74)	-0.31 (3.64)
Southern Europe	0.33 (3.37)	3.47 (2.31)	2.52 (2.30)	-3.02 (3.31)	-1.78 (3.21)
Asia	0.44 (4.51)	0.75 (3.08)	-2.42 (3.04)	-0.27 (4.41)	2.79 (4.28)
Presidential elections	0.31 (1.98)	0.21 (1.35)	-0.13 (1.36)	0.14 (1.94)	0.61 (1.88)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.14** (0.05)	0.07* (0.03)	0.07+ (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-1.90 (6.36)	0.28 (4.46)	-0.97 (5.26)	-2.37 (6.40)	-1.73 (6.37)
Constant	-1.43 (6.55)	-11.48* (4.54)	-7.54 (4.98)	10.08 (6.52)	6.47 (6.41)
Country-level	12.89*** (8.74)	5.56** (3.08)	1.87 (3.38)	11.37*** (7.72)	9.76** (7.26)
Election-level	87.33*** (8.69)	43.21*** (3.96)	62.39*** (5.83)	89.08*** (8.62)	88.60*** (8.56)
<i>N</i>	307	307	307	307	307
<i>BIC</i>	2499.41	2280.17	2371.96	2502.09	2497.26
Log-Likelih.	-1138.03	-1028.41	-1074.31	-1139.37	-1136.95

Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table B10: Models with Growth and Kitschelt's Patronage variable instead of corruption

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )
Growth	0.73*** (0.20)	0.06 (0.14)	0.21 (0.17)	0.66*** (0.20)	0.51** (0.19)
Patronage	-2.15 (1.62)	3.01* (1.30)	3.18* (1.37)	-5.35** (1.81)	-5.54** (1.87)
Democratic Experience	-0.15 (0.46)	0.97** (0.37)	0.99* (0.39)	-1.20* (0.51)	-1.22* (0.53)
Enep	-0.45 (0.40)	0.31 (0.30)	-0.10 (0.34)	-0.80+ (0.42)	-0.30 (0.43)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	0.43 (0.78)	-0.66 (0.61)	-0.99 (0.67)	1.25 (0.85)	1.50+ (0.87)
Latin America	2.98 (3.46)	7.23** (2.78)	5.44+ (2.93)	-4.14 (3.86)	-2.47 (4.00)
CEE	5.85+ (3.49)	7.60** (2.80)	7.69** (2.96)	-1.82 (3.89)	-1.96 (4.02)
Southern Europe	2.82 (3.23)	5.55* (2.61)	5.28+ (2.74)	-2.90 (3.63)	-2.55 (3.77)
Asia	4.52 (4.09)	1.04 (3.30)	-0.73 (3.47)	3.66 (4.59)	5.13 (4.76)
Presidential elections	1.53 (1.78)	0.06 (1.42)	-0.10 (1.51)	1.43 (1.97)	1.60 (2.03)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.19*** (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)	0.08* (0.04)	0.14** (0.05)	0.10* (0.05)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-4.54 (6.52)	-1.16 (4.68)	-2.80 (5.59)	-2.85 (6.53)	-1.82 (6.39)
Constant	2.14 (6.86)	-14.64** (5.26)	-13.33* (5.85)	16.85* (7.32)	16.14* (7.40)
Country-level Variance	4.54 (5.94)	5.34** (3.27)	3.00 (3.70)	10.22*** (6.58)	13.06*** (7.04)
Election-level Variance	92.83*** (8.81)	46.64*** (4.26)	68.33*** (6.24)	90.70*** (8.36)	85.95*** (7.92)
<i>N</i>	312	312	312	312	312
<i>BIC</i>	2536.31	2335.26	2439.48	2542.44	2532.41
<i>ll</i>	-1156.17	-1055.64	-1107.75	-1159.23	-1154.21

Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table B11: Models with Unemployment and Kitschelt's Patronage variable instead of corruption

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )
Unemployment	0.01 (0.44)	0.55 <sup>+</sup> (0.30)	0.58 <sup>+</sup> (0.35)	-0.54 (0.44)	-0.58 (0.42)
Patronage	-2.61 (1.71)	2.86* (1.32)	2.64 <sup>+</sup> (1.45)	-5.61** (1.83)	-5.48** (1.88)
Democratic Experience	-0.14 (0.48)	1.00** (0.37)	1.04* (0.41)	-1.19* (0.52)	-1.25* (0.53)
Eneq	-0.76 <sup>+</sup> (0.42)	0.37 (0.31)	-0.28 (0.35)	-1.17** (0.44)	-0.51 (0.43)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	0.02 (0.83)	-0.68 (0.63)	-1.39* (0.70)	0.78 (0.88)	1.51 <sup>+</sup> (0.90)
Latin America	3.33 (3.64)	7.35** (2.81)	6.34* (3.09)	-3.94 (3.90)	-2.89 (4.02)
CEE	7.24* (3.66)	7.55** (2.82)	8.18** (3.10)	-0.39 (3.92)	-0.96 (4.03)
Southern Europe	3.27 (3.39)	5.77* (2.63)	5.57 <sup>+</sup> (2.89)	-2.62 (3.65)	-2.45 (3.77)
Asia	3.46 (4.29)	1.14 (3.33)	-0.90 (3.66)	2.44 (4.61)	4.28 (4.76)
Presidential elections	0.09 (1.86)	0.23 (1.43)	-0.65 (1.58)	-0.17 (1.99)	0.67 (2.04)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.12* (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-3.06 (6.74)	-1.72 (4.67)	-2.89 (5.43)	-0.80 (6.79)	0.33 (6.55)
Constant	8.00 (7.22)	-14.63** (5.33)	-9.58 (6.00)	22.80** (7.54)	18.37* (7.55)
Country-level Variance	5.68 (6.86)	5.69** (3.27)	5.58* (3.86)	9.24** (6.91)	12.32*** (7.01)
Election-level Variance	98.48*** (9.50)	46.16*** (4.20)	63.09*** (5.71)	98.43*** (9.16)	90.40*** (8.33)
<i>N</i>	311	311	311	311	311
<i>BIC</i>	2549.22	2326.76	2417.33	2556.75	2538.06
ll	-1162.68	-1051.46	-1096.74	-1166.45	-1157.10

Standard errors in parentheses: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table B12: Models with Growth and the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) of Corruption

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties (<5%)	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties (<5%)
Economic Growth	0.54*	0.05	-0.00	0.55*	0.59*
	(0.25)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.26)
CPI	0.12	1.56**	1.50*	-1.38 <sup>+</sup>	-1.17
	(0.64)	(0.57)	(0.62)	(0.72)	(0.73)
Democratic Experience	0.07	1.23*	1.19*	-1.15*	-1.11 <sup>+</sup>
	(0.50)	(0.51)	(0.53)	(0.58)	(0.59)
Effective Number of Parties	-0.97*	-0.04	-0.75 <sup>+</sup>	-1.09*	-0.41
	(0.47)	(0.41)	(0.45)	(0.52)	(0.53)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	-0.22	-0.95	-1.19	1.02	1.31
	(0.85)	(0.86)	(0.90)	(1.00)	(1.01)
Latin America	-0.17	3.63	2.13	-3.99	-2.87
	(3.64)	(3.57)	(3.75)	(4.20)	(4.27)
CEE	5.27	5.98	6.05	-0.82	-1.30
	(3.68)	(3.69)	(3.85)	(4.27)	(4.34)
Southern Europe	0.04	0.80	0.10	-1.28	-1.05
	(3.34)	(3.51)	(3.62)	(3.96)	(4.03)
Asia	1.98	-0.36	-1.15	2.60	3.15
	(4.16)	(4.41)	(4.54)	(4.94)	(5.03)
Presidential elections	1.81	1.07	0.76	0.86	0.96
	(1.81)	(1.95)	(2.00)	(2.17)	(2.21)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.09	0.01	0.04	0.09	0.06
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-8.15	-1.17	-2.98	-4.50	-3.43
	(6.28)	(4.30)	(5.04)	(6.44)	(6.47)
Constant	1.84	-10.70 <sup>+</sup>	-7.01	13.07	9.14
	(7.70)	(6.46)	(7.10)	(8.41)	(8.51)
yearly fixed-effects included					
Country-level	0.00	16.92***	14.27***	9.62*	10.60**
Variance	(0.00)	(6.05)	(6.78)	(8.85)	(8.84)
Election-level	87.45***	35.28***	49.97***	86.00***	86.62***
Variance	(8.47)	(4.18)	(6.00)	(10.56)	(10.51)
<i>N</i>	213	213	213	213	213
<i>BIC</i>	1728.36	1591.55	1649.28	1744.31	1747.34
Log-Likelihood	-778.40	-710.00	-738.86	-786.38	-787.89

Standard errors in parentheses: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , election fixed effects included



Table B13: Models with Unemployment and the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) of Corruption

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )
Unemployment $\Delta$	-0.08 (0.52)	0.28 (0.34)	0.19 (0.40)	-0.49 (0.53)	-0.39 (0.53)
CPI	0.09 (0.65)	1.61** (0.57)	1.52* (0.62)	-1.52* (0.72)	-1.27+ (0.74)
Democratic Experience	0.11 (0.51)	1.21* (0.50)	1.19* (0.52)	-1.08+ (0.58)	-1.05+ (0.59)
Effective Number of Parties	-1.07* (0.48)	0.02 (0.40)	-0.71 (0.44)	-1.26* (0.53)	-0.60 (0.53)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	-0.50 (0.87)	-0.89 (0.84)	-1.16 (0.89)	0.58 (0.99)	0.91 (1.01)
Latin America	-0.45 (3.75)	3.47 (3.51)	2.03 (3.72)	-3.88 (4.21)	-2.87 (4.30)
CEE	5.28 (3.75)	5.52 (3.60)	5.92 (3.79)	-0.28 (4.24)	-1.04 (4.32)
Southern Europe	0.15 (3.43)	0.69 (3.44)	0.07 (3.59)	-0.83 (3.93)	-0.77 (4.03)
Asia	1.03 (4.28)	-0.50 (4.31)	-1.22 (4.48)	1.70 (4.90)	2.12 (5.02)
Presidential elections	1.65 (1.82)	0.88 (1.89)	0.74 (1.96)	0.90 (2.12)	0.84 (2.17)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.04 (0.06)	0.02 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-7.47 (6.46)	-1.69 (4.32)	-3.28 (5.04)	-3.16 (6.68)	-2.07 (6.69)
Constant	4.58 (7.85)	-11.84+ (6.36)	-7.43 (7.01)	16.79* (8.48)	12.58 (8.58)
yearly fixed effects included					
Country-level Variance	0.00 (0.00)	15.69** (5.78)	13.65** (6.58)	7.07 (8.89)	8.72* (8.78)
Election-level Variance	92.21** (8.91)	35.70** (4.21)	50.00** (5.98)	93.76** (11.53)	93.32** (11.25)
<i>N</i>	214	214	214	214	214
<i>BIC</i>	1747.17	1597.89	1655.23	1764.72	1766.56
Log-Likelihood	-787.73	-713.09	-741.76	-796.50	-797.43

Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , , election fixed effects included

Table B14: Models with Growth, controlling for trade

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. marginal parties	previously incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties (<5%)
Economic Growth	0.77*** (0.19)	0.09 (0.13)	0.22 (0.16)	0.67*** (0.19)	0.55** (0.19)
Corruption	1.26 (0.81)	1.97*** (0.59)	2.68*** (0.65)	-0.48 (0.86)	-1.01 (0.84)
Democratic Experience	0.03 (0.46)	0.83* (0.35)	0.96** (0.35)	-0.85 (0.53)	-0.97+ (0.53)
Effective Number of Parties	-0.24 (0.40)	0.32 (0.29)	-0.16 (0.32)	-0.61 (0.43)	0.06 (0.42)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	0.22 (0.81)	-0.76 (0.61)	-1.47* (0.63)	1.06 (0.92)	1.82* (0.91)
Latin America	-1.51 (3.20)	5.70* (2.40)	3.01 (2.48)	-7.83* (3.63)	-5.47 (3.61)
CEE	2.54 (3.41)	5.33* (2.56)	4.39+ (2.63)	-3.33 (3.89)	-2.66 (3.88)
Southern Europe	0.03 (3.07)	3.56 (2.31)	2.79 (2.34)	-4.14 (3.55)	-3.10 (3.54)
Asia	1.96 (4.11)	0.09 (3.11)	-2.33 (3.11)	1.49 (4.79)	3.87 (4.79)
Presidential elections	1.15 (1.77)	0.44 (1.33)	0.16 (1.36)	0.59 (2.03)	0.93 (2.02)
Size of gov.	0.18*** (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	0.13** (0.05)	0.11* (0.05)
Coal. Trade	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-4.15 (6.25)	-0.64 (4.51)	-1.95 (5.24)	-3.07 (6.31)	-1.95 (6.18)
Constant	-3.51 (6.03)	-7.55+ (4.46)	-4.53 (4.82)	4.18 (6.54)	0.71 (6.47)
yearly fixed-effects included					
Country-level Variance	7.83* (6.48)	5.35** (3.06)	2.33 (3.12)	16.25*** (7.83)	16.93*** (7.85)
Election-level Variance	84.77*** (7.96)	43.85*** (3.91)	61.04*** (5.43)	84.46*** (7.70)	80.65*** (7.37)
<i>N</i>	328	328	328	328	328
<i>BIC</i>	2642.91	2432.64	2522.38	2659.64	2647.15
Log-Likelihood	-1205.60	-1100.46	-1145.33	-1213.96	-1207.71

Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , election fixed effects included.

Trade is measured as total exports and imports as a share of gross domestic product (GDP) (World Bank 2018, 2016).

Table B15: Models with unemployment: controlling for trade

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties (<5%)	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties (<5%)
Unemployment $\Delta$	0.30 (0.42)	0.57 <sup>+</sup> (0.29)	0.69* (0.34)	-0.28 (0.43)	-0.36 (0.42)
Corruption	1.09 (0.85)	2.00*** (0.59)	2.71*** (0.65)	-0.75 (0.89)	-1.27 (0.87)
Democratic Experience	0.04 (0.49)	0.86* (0.35)	1.00** (0.35)	-0.86 (0.55)	-0.98 <sup>+</sup> (0.54)
Effective Number of Parties	-0.39 (0.42)	0.38 (0.29)	-0.09 (0.32)	-0.85 <sup>+</sup> (0.44)	-0.19 (0.44)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	-0.00 (0.85)	-0.74 (0.61)	-1.47* (0.62)	0.78 (0.94)	1.56 <sup>+</sup> (0.93)
Latin America	-1.89 (3.36)	5.59* (2.41)	2.83 (2.47)	-7.96* (3.73)	-5.61 (3.70)
CEE	3.28 (3.60)	5.22* (2.58)	4.38 <sup>+</sup> (2.63)	-2.36 (4.01)	-1.83 (3.98)
Southern Europe	0.16 (3.22)	3.69 (2.32)	2.92 (2.32)	-4.08 (3.63)	-3.09 (3.62)
Asia	0.72 (4.31)	-0.01 (3.11)	-2.67 (3.09)	0.29 (4.90)	2.86 (4.88)
Presidential elections	0.26 (1.88)	0.48 (1.35)	0.01 (1.36)	-0.34 (2.11)	0.23 (2.09)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.13** (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)
Trade	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-3.22 (6.49)	-1.16 (4.50)	-2.41 (5.23)	-1.52 (6.55)	-0.48 (6.37)
Constant	-0.49 (6.27)	-8.08 <sup>+</sup> (4.43)	-4.74 (4.77)	8.02 (6.71)	4.32 (6.60)
yearly fixed effects included					
Country-level	9.10** (7.37)	5.47** (3.06)	2.24 (3.10)	16.62*** (8.42)	17.37*** (8.22)
Variance	90.92*** (8.65)	43.42*** (3.88)	60.50*** (5.41)	90.71*** (8.36)	85.32*** (7.84)
<i>N</i>	326	326	326	326	326
<i>BIC</i>	2652.42	2416.57	2505.01	2666.54	2649.72
Log-Likelihood	-1210.47	-1092.54	-1136.76	-1217.53	-1209.12

Standard errors in parentheses: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , , election fixed effects included

**Table B16: Opposition parties: all established opposition parties or main party, models with growth**

Specification 3 uses as dependent variable the electoral gains or losses achieved by the main opposition party. We code as the main opposition party, the party with the largest vote share in the previous election among all parties that were in opposition (90 days before the elections).

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Established Opposition		
	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties (<5%)	Only main opposition party
Economic Growth	0.66*** (0.19)	0.55** (0.18)	0.43* (0.17)
Corruption	-0.45 (0.86)	-0.99 (0.84)	-0.78 (0.68)
Democratic Experience	-0.88 (0.53)	-0.99+ (0.53)	-0.15 (0.39)
Effective Number of Parties	-0.62 (0.43)	0.05 (0.42)	-0.17 (0.35)
Eff. Nat.	1.03 (0.92)	1.80* (0.92)	0.72 (0.60)
Threshold (ln)	-8.22* (3.57)	-5.84 (3.56)	-0.93 (2.10)
Latin America	-3.42 (3.90)	-2.73 (3.89)	0.83 (2.71)
CEE	-4.32 (3.51)	-3.23 (3.51)	2.27 (2.08)
Southern Europe	0.98 (4.73)	3.40 (4.73)	-6.67* (2.91)
Asia	0.48 (2.03)	0.83 (2.03)	2.26* (1.09)
Presidential elections	0.13** (0.05)	0.11* (0.05)	0.05 (0.06)
Size of gov. Coal.	-3.32 (6.28)	-2.16 (6.15)	3.17 (3.27)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	4.99 (6.40)	1.47 (6.33)	1.23 (5.50)
Constant	yearly fixed-effects included		
Country-level	16.69*** (7.83)	17.40*** (7.86)	
Variance			
Election-level	84.08*** (7.64)	80.30*** (7.30)	
Variance			
<i>N</i>	329	329	329
<i>BIC</i>	2660.81	2648.37	2501.31
Log-Likelihood	-1217.38	-1211.16	-1143.43

Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , election fixed effects included

**Table B17: Opposition parties: all established opposition parties or main party, models with unemployment**

Specification 3 uses as dependent variable the electoral gains or losses achieved by the main opposition party. We code as the main opposition party, the party with the largest vote share in the previous election among all parties that were in opposition (90 days before the elections).

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Established Opposition		
	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties (<5%)	Only main opposition party
Unemployment	-0.28 (0.43)	-0.36 (0.41)	-0.40 (0.37)
Corruption	-0.74 (0.89)	-1.26 (0.87)	-0.85 (0.69)
Democratic	-0.87 (0.55)	-1.00 <sup>+</sup> (0.54)	-0.16 (0.39)
Experience Effective	-0.86 <sup>+</sup>	-0.20	-0.26
Number of Parties	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.36)
Eff. Nat.	0.77	1.54 <sup>+</sup>	0.63
Threshold (ln)	(0.94)	(0.93)	(0.60)
Latin America	-8.16 <sup>*</sup> (3.67)	-5.82 (3.65)	-1.11 (2.05)
CEE	-2.39 (4.02)	-1.86 (3.99)	0.67 (2.74)
Southern Europe	-4.12 (3.58)	-3.09 (3.57)	2.50 (2.00)
Asia	0.03 (4.82)	2.61 (4.81)	-6.94 <sup>**</sup> (2.48)
Presidential elections	-0.41 (2.11)	0.16 (2.09)	1.78 (1.14)
Size of gov.	0.08 <sup>+</sup>	0.07	0.04
Coal.	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-1.63 (6.51)	-0.58 (6.33)	4.23 (3.41)
Constant	8.47 (6.56)	4.77 (6.45)	1.67 (5.33)
yearly fixed-effects included			
Country-level	16.85 <sup>***</sup> (8.41)	17.63 <sup>***</sup> (8.22)	
Variance			
Election-level	90.35 <sup>***</sup> (8.30)	85.01 <sup>***</sup> (7.78)	
Variance			
<i>N</i>	327	327	327
<i>BIC</i>	2667.54	2650.78	2495.22
Log-Likelihood	-1220.87	-1212.48	-1140.49

Standard errors in parentheses: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , <sup>\*</sup>  $p < 0.05$ , <sup>\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.01$ , <sup>\*\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.001$ , election fixed effects included

**Table B18: Models with growth and alternative operationalisation of incumbency/opposition**

We code as opposition parties those which were in opposition for at least half of the time period since the first government was formed after the previous elections.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties (<5%)	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties (<5%)
Economic Growth	0.76 <sup>**</sup> (0.20)	0.17 (0.14)	0.36 <sup>*</sup> (0.16)	0.57 <sup>**</sup> (0.21)	0.40 <sup>*</sup> (0.20)
Corruption	1.06 (0.80)	2.00 <sup>***</sup> (0.60)	2.63 <sup>***</sup> (0.67)	-0.94 (0.86)	-1.52 <sup>+</sup> (0.84)
Democratic Experience	0.11 (0.43)	0.75 <sup>*</sup> (0.37)	0.88 <sup>*</sup> (0.38)	-0.74 (0.50)	-0.84 <sup>+</sup> (0.48)
Effective Number of Parties	0.01 (0.42)	0.29 (0.33)	-0.45 (0.36)	-0.36 (0.47)	0.39 (0.45)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	0.53 (0.76)	-0.39 (0.64)	-1.16 <sup>+</sup> (0.67)	1.21 (0.87)	1.88 <sup>*</sup> (0.84)
Latin America	0.07 (2.94)	6.46 <sup>**</sup> (2.49)	3.59 (2.61)	-6.53 <sup>+</sup> (3.38)	-3.75 (3.26)
CEE	4.76 (3.24)	5.07 <sup>+</sup> (2.76)	4.06 (2.88)	-0.57 (3.74)	0.48 (3.60)
Southern Europe	1.79 (2.82)	2.74 (2.49)	1.35 (2.55)	-1.45 (3.33)	0.03 (3.20)
Asia	3.16 (3.63)	0.74 (3.30)	-2.64 (3.34)	2.75 (4.37)	5.89 (4.19)
Presidential elections	1.77 (1.66)	0.48 (1.46)	0.30 (1.50)	1.24 (1.96)	1.49 (1.88)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.18 <sup>***</sup> (0.05)	0.07 <sup>*</sup> (0.03)	0.07 <sup>+</sup> (0.04)	0.13 <sup>**</sup> (0.05)	0.12 <sup>**</sup> (0.05)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-4.45 (6.32)	-0.37 (4.33)	-2.09 (5.07)	-3.16 (6.42)	-1.74 (6.31)
Constant	-6.09 (5.81)	-9.60 <sup>*</sup> (4.52)	-4.46 (4.95)	2.27 (6.36)	-2.15 (6.18)
yearly fixed-effects included					
Country-level Variance	1.70 (4.96)	7.68 <sup>***</sup> (3.85)	4.96 <sup>*</sup> (4.01)	9.73 <sup>**</sup> (7.15)	8.06 <sup>*</sup> (7.26)
Election-level Variance	90.29 <sup>***</sup> (8.65)	39.69 <sup>***</sup> (3.82)	56.11 <sup>***</sup> (5.37)	89.39 <sup>***</sup> (8.68)	86.81 <sup>***</sup> (8.69)
<i>N</i>	301	301	301	301	301
<i>BIC</i>	2437.57	2224.14	2310.48	2454.65	2442.75
Log-Likelihood	-1107.50	-1000.78	-1043.95	-1116.04	-1110.09

Standard errors in parentheses: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , <sup>\*</sup>  $p < 0.05$ , <sup>\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.01$ , <sup>\*\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.001$ , election fixed effects included

**Table B19: Models with unemployment and alternative operationalisation of incumbency/opposition**

We code as opposition parties, all parties that were in opposition for at least half of the time period since the first government was formed after the previous elections.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ )
Unemployment $\Delta$	0.43 (0.50)	1.05** (0.32)	1.33*** (0.38)	-0.65 (0.50)	-0.93+ (0.49)
Corruption	0.85 (0.82)	1.96** (0.60)	2.60*** (0.67)	-1.18 (0.88)	-1.73* (0.85)
Democratic Experience	0.15 (0.43)	0.79* (0.38)	0.95* (0.38)	-0.74 (0.49)	-0.86+ (0.47)
Effective Number of Parties	-0.02 (0.43)	0.35 (0.33)	-0.38 (0.36)	-0.50 (0.47)	0.21 (0.45)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	0.34 (0.76)	-0.37 (0.65)	-1.17+ (0.67)	1.03 (0.87)	1.70* (0.83)
Latin America	0.04 (2.98)	6.46* (2.52)	3.48 (2.59)	-6.40+ (3.39)	-3.58 (3.24)
CEE	6.19+ (3.31)	5.25+ (2.80)	4.36 (2.87)	0.71 (3.75)	1.60 (3.59)
Southern Europe	2.36 (2.83)	2.97 (2.51)	1.65 (2.52)	-1.09 (3.29)	0.22 (3.14)
Asia	2.95 (3.62)	0.84 (3.33)	-2.74 (3.31)	2.51 (4.31)	5.71 (4.10)
Presidential elections	1.01 (1.67)	0.45 (1.48)	0.14 (1.49)	0.44 (1.95)	0.85 (1.86)
Size of gov. coal.	0.13** (0.05)	0.06+ (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)	0.09+ (0.05)	0.10* (0.05)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-3.93 (6.56)	-1.29 (4.27)	-2.99 (5.01)	-1.38 (6.63)	-0.00 (6.44)
Constant	-4.19 (5.91)	-10.22* (4.49)	-4.80 (4.87)	4.71 (6.40)	0.25 (6.16)
yearly fixed effects included					
Country-level Variance	0.27 (5.16)	8.24*** (3.94)	4.98* (4.06)	7.79* (7.30)	6.27 (7.42)
Election-level Variance	97.99*** (9.50)	38.26*** (3.70)	54.38*** (5.28)	95.68*** (9.44)	90.80*** (9.30)
<i>N</i>	299	299	299	299	299
<i>BIC</i>	2442.53	2202.82	2287.67	2454.57	2436.33
Log-Likelihood	-1110.11	-990.25	-1032.68	-1116.13	-1107.01

Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , , election fixed effects included

Table B20: Growth and alternative operationalisation of DV: seat share threshold

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ of seats)	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ of seats)
Growth	0.77*** (0.19)	0.10 (0.14)	0.23 (0.16)	0.67*** (0.19)	0.55** (0.18)
Corruption	1.26 (0.80)	1.98** (0.61)	2.66*** (0.65)	-0.43 (0.84)	-0.99 (0.84)
Democratic Experience	0.04 (0.46)	0.86* (0.34)	0.99** (0.35)	-0.87+ (0.53)	-0.99+ (0.53)
Enep	-0.24 (0.40)	0.25 (0.30)	-0.14 (0.32)	-0.54 (0.42)	0.05 (0.42)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	0.23 (0.81)	-0.77 (0.61)	-1.43* (0.63)	1.09 (0.91)	1.80* (0.92)
Latin America	-1.43 (3.13)	5.93* (2.36)	3.37 (2.43)	-8.06* (3.53)	-5.84 (3.56)
CEE	2.57 (3.39)	5.19* (2.56)	4.44+ (2.63)	-3.23 (3.85)	-2.73 (3.89)
Southern Europe	0.10 (3.00)	3.19 (2.26)	2.89 (2.29)	-3.71 (3.46)	-3.23 (3.51)
Asia	2.07 (4.01)	0.47 (3.02)	-1.84 (3.05)	1.15 (4.67)	3.40 (4.73)
Presidential elections	1.18 (1.76)	0.62 (1.32)	0.31 (1.35)	0.46 (2.01)	0.83 (2.03)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.18*** (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	0.13** (0.05)	0.11* (0.05)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-4.08 (6.21)	0.31 (4.68)	-1.55 (5.22)	-4.10 (6.20)	-2.16 (6.15)
Constant	-3.66	-7.76+	-5.24	4.27	1.47

Standard errors in parentheses: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



Table B21: Unemployment and alternative operationalisation of DV: seat share threshold

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Total Opp.	New Parties		Established Opposition	
		excl. previously marginal parties	incl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ of seats)	all parties competing in previous elections	excl. previously marginal parties ( $<5\%$ of seats)
Unemployment	0.30 (0.42)	0.56 <sup>+</sup> (0.31)	0.69 <sup>*</sup> (0.34)	-0.26 (0.42)	-0.36 (0.41)
Corruption	1.07 (0.84)	2.00 <sup>***</sup> (0.61)	2.69 <sup>***</sup> (0.65)	-0.71 (0.88)	-1.26 (0.87)
Democratic Experience	0.07 (0.48)	0.90 <sup>**</sup> (0.34)	1.03 <sup>**</sup> (0.35)	-0.87 (0.54)	-1.00 <sup>+</sup> (0.54)
Eneq	-0.38 (0.41)	0.31 (0.30)	-0.08 (0.32)	-0.78 <sup>+</sup> (0.44)	-0.20 (0.44)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	0.02 (0.84)	-0.75 (0.61)	-1.42 <sup>*</sup> (0.62)	0.83 (0.93)	1.54 <sup>+</sup> (0.93)
Latin America	-1.58 (3.28)	5.85 <sup>*</sup> (2.37)	3.25 (2.43)	-8.00 <sup>*</sup> (3.63)	-5.82 (3.65)
CEE	3.38 (3.56)	5.11 <sup>*</sup> (2.57)	4.45 <sup>+</sup> (2.63)	-2.21 (3.97)	-1.86 (3.99)
Southern Europe	0.41 (3.13)	3.34 (2.26)	3.09 (2.28)	-3.50 (3.54)	-3.09 (3.57)
Asia	1.12 (4.19)	0.40 (3.02)	-2.12 (3.03)	0.19 (4.76)	2.61 (4.81)
Presidential elections	0.34 (1.85)	0.66 (1.34)	0.16 (1.35)	-0.44 (2.08)	0.16 (2.09)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.12 <sup>**</sup> (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-3.00 (6.46)	-0.16 (4.67)	-1.92 (5.20)	-2.41 (6.44)	-0.58 (6.33)
Constant	-1.03 (6.12)	-8.28 <sup>+</sup> (4.42)	-5.55 (4.71)	7.73 (6.48)	4.77 (6.45)
Country-level Variance	8.61 <sup>*</sup> (7.22)	4.42 <sup>*</sup> (3.00)	2.27 (3.11)	16.35 <sup>***</sup> (8.20)	17.63 <sup>***</sup> (8.22)
Election-level Variance	91.01 <sup>***</sup> (8.64)	47.61 <sup>***</sup> (4.25)	60.59 <sup>***</sup> (5.41)	88.38 <sup>***</sup> (8.12)	85.01 <sup>***</sup> (7.78)
<i>N</i>	327	327	327	327	327
<i>BIC</i>	2653.37	2441.12	2506.91	2660.12	2650.78
ll	-1213.78	-1107.66	-1140.55	-1217.15	-1212.48

Standard errors in parentheses: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , <sup>\*</sup>  $p < 0.05$ , <sup>\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.01$ , <sup>\*\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.001$

Table B22 shows the results of a different operationalisation of the dependent variable: we distinguish between an opposition which is entangled in power, and political outsiders, i.e. political parties not associated with power in the national government.

Entangled opposition: Cumulative vote gains (or losses) for opposition parties which have been in government in the 10 years preceding the election.

Political outsiders: Cumulative vote gains (or losses) for new political parties, as well as opposition parties, which have not been in government in the 10 years preceding the election.

*Table B22: Growth and unemployment models with alternative operationalisation of DV: entangled oppositions*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Political outsiders		Entangled oppositions	
	Growth	Unemployment	Growth	Unemployment
Growth	0.19** (0.07)		0.58*** (0.17)	
Unemployment		0.38* (0.16)		-0.08 (0.38)
Corruption	0.98** (0.30)	0.94** (0.31)	0.41 (0.74)	0.24 (0.77)
Democratic Experience	0.35* (0.16)	0.37* (0.16)	-0.31 (0.43)	-0.30 (0.45)
Enep	0.02 (0.15)	0.02 (0.15)	-0.25 (0.37)	-0.41 (0.38)
Eff. Nat. Threshold (ln)	-0.37 (0.29)	-0.40 (0.29)	0.60 (0.76)	0.42 (0.78)
Latin America	2.45* (1.12)	2.40* (1.14)	-4.13 (2.93)	-4.22 (3.05)
CEE	1.71 (1.20)	1.78 (1.23)	0.68 (3.19)	1.42 (3.32)
Southern Europe	1.36 (1.05)	1.50 (1.07)	-1.40 (2.83)	-1.25 (2.93)
Asia	0.96 (1.39)	0.82 (1.41)	0.91 (3.79)	0.08 (3.93)
Presidential elections	0.26 (0.62)	0.16 (0.63)	0.86 (1.65)	0.11 (1.73)
Size of gov. Coal.	0.07*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.11** (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-1.07 (2.46)	-1.17 (2.48)	-2.95 (5.64)	-1.71 (5.83)
Constant	-4.82* (2.20)	-4.71* (2.22)	1.16 (5.46)	3.75 (5.62)
Country-level Variance	0.30 (0.65)	0.39 (0.69)	7.99** (5.70)	8.69** (6.28)
Election-level Variance	13.71*** (1.22)	13.78*** (1.23)	69.30*** (6.49)	73.50*** (6.97)
<i>N</i>	329	327	329	327
<i>BIC</i>	2027.80	2020.22	2582.95	2588.25
<i>ll</i>	-900.88	-897.21	-1178.45	-1181.22

Standard errors in parentheses

+  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

## **Appendix B3: Models on subsets of countries**

We were concerned that the effect of the economy and corruption might be driven by regional effects. Our re-analysis on subsets of cases, excluding Central and Eastern European democracies (appendix B3, table B23), a region notorious for the formation of new parties (Tavits 2005), alters the effect of growth in model 2 (it becomes significant), but does not otherwise affect our main variables. Restricting the analysis to third-wave democracies does not substantially alter our results (appendix B3, table B24).

Table B23: Models restricted to third-wave democracies and without CEE, growth variable

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)		
	Total	New Parties			Established Opp.		Total	New Parties			Established Opp.	
	Opp.	excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)	Opp.	excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)		
	No CEE					Only third-wave democracies						
Growth	1.09*** (0.22)	0.34* (0.15)	0.50** (0.18)	0.76*** (0.23)	0.59** (0.22)	0.72** (0.26)	0.02 (0.20)	0.14 (0.23)	0.70** (0.26)	0.58* (0.26)		
Corruption	1.44 (0.88)	1.84** (0.60)	2.46*** (0.66)	-0.44 (0.90)	-1.08 (0.87)	2.32+ (1.23)	3.11** (0.98)	4.51*** (1.06)	-0.91 (1.25)	-1.81 (1.28)		
Democratic Experience	-0.22 (0.54)	0.69* (0.34)	0.83* (0.34)	-0.87 (0.54)	-0.97+ (0.51)	-4.57* (2.07)	2.95+ (1.69)	2.50 (1.71)	-7.64*** (2.08)	-7.26** (2.23)		
Eneq	-0.50 (0.54)	-0.03 (0.35)	-0.30 (0.37)	-0.43 (0.54)	0.09 (0.52)	0.45 (0.57)	0.60 (0.45)	0.38 (0.49)	-0.13 (0.57)	0.21 (0.59)		
Effective Nat. Threshold	0.16 (0.95)	-0.62 (0.62)	-1.15+ (0.63)	0.73 (0.95)	1.24 (0.91)	2.60 (1.60)	-0.14 (1.31)	-0.32 (1.34)	2.74+ (1.62)	3.01+ (1.72)		
Latin America	-1.42 (3.61)	6.02** (2.33)	3.95+ (2.38)	-7.29* (3.61)	-5.18 (3.43)	-8.87 (6.29)	1.59 (5.14)	1.13 (5.26)	-10.24 (6.35)	-10.89 (6.76)		
CEE						-6.12 (6.44)	2.67 (5.27)	3.95 (5.39)	-8.83 (6.50)	-10.80 (6.92)		
Southern Europe	-1.82 (3.60)	2.72 (2.29)	2.17 (2.27)	-4.29 (3.57)	-3.18 (3.39)	0.28 (7.11)	-1.37 (5.85)	3.52 (5.88)	1.86 (7.16)	-3.13 (7.70)		
Asia	2.33 (4.70)	0.16 (2.99)	-2.01 (2.94)	2.20 (4.66)	4.33 (4.42)							
Presidential elections	0.13 (2.56)	0.53 (1.62)	0.02 (1.59)	-0.32 (2.53)	0.37 (2.40)	2.14 (2.88)	-0.42 (2.36)	0.87 (2.39)	2.58 (2.91)	1.21 (3.10)		
Size of gov. Coalition	0.19** (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)	0.07+ (0.04)	0.14** (0.05)	0.10* (0.05)	0.17** (0.07)	0.12* (0.05)	0.11+ (0.06)	0.06 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)		
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	-0.77 (6.98)	-0.17 (4.89)	-0.77 (5.77)	-0.63 (7.26)	-0.22 (7.01)	-19.75+ (11.07)	-2.59 (8.66)	-4.10 (9.82)	-17.08 (11.25)	-15.04 (11.21)		
constant	-1.05 (6.72)	-6.00 (4.44)	-4.51 (4.73)	5.04 (6.79)	3.27 (6.49)	-4.08 (11.60)	-19.52* (9.20)	-21.74* (10.11)	15.20 (11.76)	16.74 (11.98)		
Country-level Variance	17.92*** (9.70)	6.02*** (3.27)	3.01 (3.39)	16.18*** (8.61)	14.06*** (8.14)	4.75 (12.73)	5.23 (5.39)	0.00 (0.01)	4.27 (10.78)	10.11* (11.28)		
Election-level	68.06***	33.70***	48.20***	73.93***	69.03***	102.13***	61.05***	83.29***	105.93***	101.67***		

Variance	(7.20)	(3.39)	(4.92)	(7.59)	(7.19)	(15.20)	(7.63)	(9.09)	(14.59)	(13.43)
<i>N</i>	260	260	260	260	260	173	173	173	173	173
<i>BIC</i>	2086.71	1894.72	1970.38	2103.59	2084.08	1494.28	1410.26	1451.85	1499.73	1500.06
ll	-937.70	-841.71	-879.54	-946.14	-936.39	-649.23	-607.22	-628.01	-651.95	-652.12

Standard errors in parentheses: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . From Asia only South Korea is included for the models restricted to third-wave democracies, therefore the regional dummy is dropped.

Table B24: Models restricted to third-wave democracies and without CEE, unemployment

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)		
	Total	New Parties			Established Opp.		Total	New Parties			Established Opp.	
	Opp.	excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	parties all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)	Opp.	excl. marginal parties	incl. marginal parties (<5%)	parties all parties	excl. marginal parties (<5%)		
	No CEE					Only third-wave democracies						
Unemployment	1.48** (0.54)	1.22*** (0.35)	1.59*** (0.42)	0.24 (0.55)	-0.18 (0.53)	-0.23 (0.55)	0.42 (0.41)	0.97* (0.47)	-0.69 (0.55)	-1.17* (0.55)		
Corruption	1.34 (0.92)	1.74** (0.60)	2.49*** (0.68)	-0.51 (0.92)	-1.18 (0.88)	2.00 (1.29)	3.23** (0.99)	4.66*** (1.08)	-1.40 (1.27)	-2.57* (1.29)		
Democratic Experience	-0.11 (0.56)	0.70+ (0.36)	0.86* (0.37)	-0.79 (0.54)	-0.90+ (0.52)	-4.19* (2.10)	2.96+ (1.67)	2.03 (1.73)	-7.35*** (2.03)	-6.22** (2.09)		
Enep	-0.27 (0.56)	-0.03 (0.36)	-0.42 (0.39)	-0.21 (0.55)	0.34 (0.53)	0.29 (0.59)	0.67 (0.45)	0.45 (0.49)	-0.34 (0.58)	-0.12 (0.59)		
Effective Nat. Threshold	-0.01 (1.00)	-0.61 (0.64)	-1.23+ (0.67)	0.57 (0.96)	1.14 (0.93)	1.98 (1.64)	-0.08 (1.29)	-0.47 (1.35)	2.06 (1.59)	2.44 (1.62)		
Latin America	-1.73 (3.75)	6.00* (2.43)	3.59 (2.52)	-7.47* (3.64)	-5.16 (3.50)	-6.20 (6.35)	1.63 (5.02)	2.45 (5.23)	-7.59 (6.15)	-8.87 (6.30)		
CEE						-2.31 (6.48)	2.92 (5.13)	5.56 (5.34)	-5.35 (6.28)	-7.95 (6.44)		
Southern Europe	-0.81 (3.74)	2.92 (2.41)	2.14 (2.43)	-3.41 (3.58)	-2.33 (3.45)	2.78 (7.13)	-1.30 (5.71)	5.71 (5.83)	4.39 (6.87)	-2.86 (7.07)		
Asia	0.33 (4.89)	0.16 (3.15)	-1.90 (3.16)	0.38 (4.67)	2.29 (4.51)							
Presidential elections	-0.45 (2.66)	0.19 (1.71)	-0.49 (1.71)	-0.58 (2.54)	0.27 (2.45)	0.50 (3.03)	-0.48 (2.41)	1.10 (2.48)	1.05 (2.92)	-0.53 (3.00)		
Size of gov.	0.17*** (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	0.12* (0.05)	0.10* (0.05)	0.11+ (0.07)	0.11* (0.05)	0.09 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)		
Crisis 2008 (dummy)	0.03 (7.22)	-0.60 (4.78)	-1.07 (5.70)	0.73 (7.46)	1.15 (7.12)	-21.35+ (11.64)	-3.01 (8.68)	-5.38 (9.87)	-18.59 (11.61)	-16.26 (11.62)		
constant	-3.38 (6.96)	-6.64 (4.54)	-4.81 (4.90)	3.25 (6.87)	1.47 (6.60)	1.06 (12.08)	-19.53* (9.17)	-21.72* (10.15)	20.43+ (11.94)	22.86+ (12.04)		
Country-level Variance	19.60*** (10.40)	7.79*** (3.63)	5.17* (4.04)	15.57*** (8.62)	14.83*** (8.32)	2.46 (15.43)	4.44 (5.34)	0.00** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	2.00 (11.85)		
Election-level	72.76***	31.96***	46.35***	78.22***	71.21***	114.96***	61.71***	84.08***	116.45***	114.93***		

Variance	(7.68)	(3.22)	(4.79)	(8.03)	(7.38)	(18.79)	(7.81)	(9.09)	(12.59)	(16.59)
<i>N</i>	259	259	259	259	259	171	171	171	171	171
<i>BIC</i>	2097.29	1881.65	1961.52	2108.61	2085.37	1495.43	1395.98	1438.49	1494.19	1494.78
ll	-943.07	-835.25	-875.18	-948.73	-937.11	-650.03	-600.30	-621.55	-649.40	-649.70

Standard errors in parentheses: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

From Asia only South Korea is included for the models restricted to third-wave democracies, therefore the regional dummy is dropped.

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