

## Appendix A: Excluded cabinets<sup>1</sup>

- . *Austria*: Breisky (1922, acting); Bierlein (2019, *ad interim*).
- . *Belgium*: Delacroix (1919, national unity); Carton de Wiart (1920, national unity), Jaspar (1926, national unity); van Zeeland (1935/1936, national unity); Jason (1937, national unity); Spaak (1938, national unity); Pierlot (1939/1944, national unity); Pierlot (1940, in exile); van Acker (1945, national unity); Wilmès (2019, caretaker).
- . *Bulgaria*: Berov (1992, technocratic); Indzhova (1994, caretaker); Sofianski (1997, caretaker); Raykov (2013, caretaker); Oresharski (2013, technocratic); Bliznashki (2014, caretaker); Gerdzhikov (2017, caretaker).
- . *Cyprus*: Vassiliou (1988, non-partisan).
- . *Czechoslovakia*: Černý (1920 and 1926, caretaker); Sirový (1938, caretaker).
- . *Czechia*: Tošovský (1998, caretaker); Topolánek (2006, unsuccessful); Fischer (2009, caretaker); Rusnok (2014, unsuccessful); Babiš (2017, unsuccessful).
- . *Denmark*: Zahle (1916, national unity); Liebe (1920, caretaker); Friis (1920, caretaker); Stauning (1940, national unity); Buhl (1942, national unity); Scavenius, (1942/1943, national unity); Buhl (1945, national unity).
- . *Estonia*: Jaakson (1924, national unity); Pats (1933/1934, non-partisan/acting); Tarand (1994, caretaker).
- . *Finland*: Cajander (1922/1924, caretaker); Tuomioja (1953, caretaker); von Fieandt (1957, caretaker); Kuuskoski (1958, caretaker); Lehto (1963, caretaker); Aura (1970/1971, caretaker); Liinamaa (1975, caretaker).
- . *France*: Hautpoul (1849, presidential); “Small/Last Ministry” (1851, technocratic); de Broglie (1877, presidential); de Rochebouët (1877, unsuccessful); Fallières (1883, *ad interim*); Brisson (1885, caretaker); Viviani (1914, war); Briand (1915/1916, war); Ribot (1917, war); Painlevé (1917, war); Clemenceau (1917, war); Poincaré (1926, national unity); Doumergue (1934, national unity); Reynaud (1940, national unity).
- . *Georgia*: Baramidze (2005, acting).
- . *Germany*: Papen (1932, presidential), Schleicher (1932, presidential); Scheel (1974, acting).
- . *Greece*: Trikoupis (1875, *ad interim*); Kanaris (1877, national unity); Valvis (1886, caretaker); Konstantopoulos (1892, royalist); Sotiropoulos (1893, royalist); N.

---

<sup>1</sup> For more information of the composition of these governments, please see <https://whogoverns.eu/cabinets/>.

Deligiannis, 1895, royalist); Th. Deligiannis (1904, caretaker); Gounarakis (1905, acting); Rallis (1909, unsuccessful); Mavromichalis (1909, authoritarian); Dragoumis (1910, *ad interim*); Gounaris (1915, unsuccessful); Zaimis (1926, ecumenical); Othonaios (1933, emergency); Kondylis (1935, authoritarian); Demertzis (1935, caretaker); Poulitsas (1946, *ad interim*); Maximos (1947, *ad interim*); Grivas (1989, caretaker); Zolotas (1989/1990, ecumenical/caretaker); Papademos (2011/2012, ecumenical); Pikrammenos (2012, caretaker); Thanou-Christophilou (2015, caretaker).

. *Hungary*: Boross (1993, acting).

. *Iceland*: Benediktsson-senior (1961, acting).

. *Italy*: Dini (1995, technocratic); Monti (2010, technocratic); Letta (2013, national unity).

. *Lithuania*: Lubys (1992, caretaker); Degutiene (1999, acting); Gentvilas (2001, acting); Balcytis (2006, acting).

. *Luxembourg*: Dupong (1940/1944/1945, in exile/liberation/national unity).

. *Moldova*: Ciubuc (1997, technocratic); Urechean (1999, acting); Braghiș (1999, technocratic); Gherman (2015, acting); Brega (2015, acting).

. *Netherlands*: De Geer (1926, extra-parliamentary); Colijn (1939, unsuccessful); de Geer (1939/1940, in exile); Gerbrandy (1940/1942/1945, in exile/emergency).

. *North Macedonia*: Georgievski (2000, national unity); Šekerinska (2004, acting); Gruevski (2015, national unity); Dimitriev (2016, *ad interim*).

. *Norway*: Michelsen (1905, national unity); Arctander (1905, acting); Michelsen (1905/1906, national unity); Michelet (1923, acting); Braadland (1932, acting); Trædal (1932, acting); Nyggardsvold (1940/1941/1942/1945, war); Lie (1942, acting); Torp (1945, acting); Gerhardsen (1945, national unity); Stray (1984, acting); Lahnstein (1998, acting).

. *Poland*: Pawlak (1992, unsuccessful).

. *Portugal*: Pimenta de Castro (1915, presidential); “Junta” (1915, authoritarian); Chagas (1915, unsuccessful); Castro (1915, *ad interim*); Almeida (1916, national unity); Matos (1917, *ad interim*); “Junta” (1917, authoritarian); Pais (1917, authoritarian); Relvas (1919, national unity); Pereira (1919, national unity); Fernandes Costa (1920, unsuccessful); Coelho (1921, authoritarian); Maia Pinto (1921, authoritarian); Cunha Leal (1921, national unity); Nobre da Costa (1978, non-

partisan); Mota Pinto (1978, non-partisan); Pintasilgo (1979, non-partisan), Freitas do Amaral (1980, *ad interim*); Passos Coelho (2015, unsuccessful).

. *Romania*: Dejeu (1998, acting); Athanasiu (1999, acting); Bejenariu (2004, acting); Boc (2009, *ad interim*); Predoiu (2012, acting); Oprea (2015, *ad interim*); Cioloş (2015, technocratic).

. *Russia*: Khristenko (2004, acting); Fradkov (2004, *ad interim*).

. *San Marino*: A. Casali (1951, national unity); Bigi (1957, *ad interim*).

. *Serbia*: Čović (2003, acting); Korać (2003, acting).

. *Spain*: García Prieto (1912/1917/1918, acting/national unity); Maura (1918/1921, national unity); Romanones (1919, authoritarian); Allendesalazar (1921, national unity); Bugallal (1921, acting); Portela Valladares (1935, presidential); Barcía Trelles (1936, acting).

. *Sweden*: de Geer (1920, caretaker); von Sydow (1921, caretaker); Hansson (1939/1940/1944, national unity); Carlsson (1986, acting).

. *Turkey*: Ürgüplü (1965, caretaker); Erim (1971, authoritarian); Melan (1973, authoritarian); Talu (1974, authoritarian); Irmak (1974, caretaker); İnönü (1993, acting); Ciller (1995, caretaker); Ecevit (1999, caretaker).

. *Ukraine*: Marchuk (1995, acting); Durdynets (1997, acting); Azarov (2005, acting); Yekhanurov (2005, acting); Turchynov (2010, acting).

. *United Kingdom*: Lloyd George (1919, war); Chamberlain (1939, war); Churchill (1940/1945, war/caretaker).

## Appendix B: Anti-political-establishment parties in Europe<sup>2</sup>

. *Albania*: Albanian Communist Party; Albanian Democratic Monarchist Movement; Albanian Green League; Albanian Labour Party; Challenge; Communist Party of Albania 8 November; Democratic National Front Party; Green Party of Albania; Group 99; Legality Movement Party; National Front Party; National Movement-King Zogu I; National Unity Party; Party for Justice and Integration; Party for Justice, Integration and Unity; Party for Justice and Unity; Red and Black Alliance.

. *Andorra*: Greens for Andorra; Sovereign Andorra.

. *Armenia*: Armenian Revolutionary Federation; Communist Party of Armenia.

. *Austria*: Action List; Alliance for the Future of Austria; Alternative List; Animal Rights Party; Association Against Corruption; Austrian Beer Party; Austrian Natural Law Party; Christian Party of Austria; Christian Electoral Community; Communist Party of Austria; Democratic Party of Austria; Democratic Progressive Party; Dr. Martin's List; Federation of Independents; Free List Austria; Freedom Party of Austria; Greater German People's Party; Green Alternative; Homeland Bloc; My Vote Counts!; National Democratic Party; National Socialist Bloc; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Natural Free Austria; No-Citizens' Initiative; Now; Pirate Party of Austria; Save Austria; Socialist Left Party; Team Stronach; The Change; The Independents.

. *Belgium*: Act; All Power to the Workers; Animal Protection; Belgian Union; Better Alternative Pursuing if Apathetic Action; Christian Flemish People's Union; Christian Social Rally of Liberty; Committee for Another Policy; Communist Party of Belgium; Communists; Confederation Ecologists for the Organisation of Original Struggles; Democratic Union for the Respect of Labour; DierAnimal; Ecolog; Ecolo-J; Ecopol; Flemish Block; Flemish Concentration; Flemish National Union; Flemish People's Union; Green; Greens; Growing Old in Dignity; Heimattreue Front; Labour Party; Libertarian, Direct, Democracy; Listes Destexhe; Nation; National Belgian Rally; National Front; National Rally; National Renaissance; New Flemish Alliance; Onaf Christ; People's Party; Pirate Party; Pro-Peking Communists; Radical Reformers Fighting for an Upright Society; Revolutionary Workers' League; Rexist Party; Social Revolutionary Action; Socialist Workers' Party; The Right; Troskyists; Wallon

---

<sup>2</sup> For specific dates and support, please see <https://whogoverns.eu/party-systems/polarization/>.

Communist Party; Wallon Democratic Front; Wallon Front; Wallon Insoumise; Wallon Party; Wallon Rally; Wallon Unity Party; Wallon Workers' Party; Workers' Fight.

. *Bulgaria*: Alliance for the King; Attack; Bulgaria Business Bloc; Bulgaria without Citizenship; Bulgarian Communist Party; Bulgarian Communist Party "Fatherland"; Bulgarian Communist Party-Marxists; Bulgarian Fatherland Party-National Union; Bulgarian Green Federation; Bulgarian National Association; Bulgarian National Ecologist Party; Bulgarian National Radical Party; Bulgarian Revolutionary Party of Youth; Bulgarian Socialist Workers' Party; Bulgarian Spring; Bulgarian Worker-Rural Party; Bulgarian Workers' Party; Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria; Coalition "National Union Tsar Kiro"; For the Homeland; Forward Bulgaria Movement; Homeland; IMRO-Bulgarian National Movement; Kingdom of Bulgaria Federation; Kingdom of Bulgaria National Movement for Crowned Democracy; Kingdom of Bulgaria's Union of Monarchists Order, Law and Justice; Left and the Green Party; National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria; National Movement Simeon II; National Patriotic Union Party; National Patriotic Unity; National Republican Party; National Union for Tsar Simeon II; National Unity Movement; Party of Bulgarian Women; Party of the Greens; Patriotism 2000; People for Real, Open and United Democracy; People's Voice; Popular Patriotic Left Front; Radical Christian Party; Revival; Simeon II Coalition; The Greens; Union of Bulgarian Patriots; Union of Communists of Bulgaria; Union of Non-partisan Guarantors; Union of Patriotic Forces and Militaries of the Reserve Defence; Volya.

. *Croatia*: Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja; Croatian Labourists-Labour Party; Croatian Party of Rights; Croatian Party of Rights dr. Ante Starčević; Human Blockade; Party of Labour and Solidarity; Socialist Labour Party of Croatia; Sustainable Development of Croatia.

. *Cyprus*: Animal Party Cyprus; Balance; Citizen's Alliance; Ecological and Environmental Movement; European Democracy; European Party; Fighting Democratic Movement; Flag Social Movement; National Popular Front; New Horizons; Pan-Cyprian Fighting Front; People's Breath; Political Hunting Movement; Progress Party of Working People; Solidarity Movement; Union of Fighters for Justice.

. *Czechia*: Action of Dissatisfied Citizens; Balbín's Poetic Party; Bloc Against Islamisation; Cheer Up-Voting Bloc; Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia;

Czech Pirate Party; Czech Sovereignty; Dawn of Direct Democracy; Democratic Left Party; Equal Opportunities Party; Freedom and Direct Democracy; Friends of Beer Party; Independent Democrats; Moravian National Party; Moravians; National Democratic Unity; National Party; New Democracy; Path of Responsible Society; Party of Free Citizens; Realists; Republicans of Miroslav Sládek; Sovereign-Common Sense Party; Stop; The Crown of Bohemia; Workers' Party of Social Justice.

. *Czechoslovakia*: Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; German National Socialist Workers' Party; German Nationalist Party; Hlinka's Slovak People's Party; Independent Communist Party; National Democratic Party; National Fascist Community; Sudeten German Party.

. *Denmark*: Common Course; Communist Party of Denmark; Communist Workers' Party; Danish People's Party; Danish Unity; Democratic Renewal; Farmers' Party; Greens; Hard Line; Independents' Party; Left Socialist Party; National Socialist Workers' Party of Denmark; Progress Party; Red-Green Unity List; Socialist Workers' Party; The Alternative; The Citizen List; The New Right.

. *Estonia*: Central Committee of Tallinn Trade Unions; Conservative People's Party of Estonia; Estonian Blue Party; Estonian Greens; Estonian Independence Party; Estonian Independent Socialist Workers' Party; Estonian Left Party; Estonian Nationalist Central Union; Estonian Nationalist Independence Party; Estonian United Left Party; Estonian Workers' Party; Forest Party; Future Estonian Party; Independent Royalist Party; Natural Law Party; Richness of Life; Left-wing Workers; Party of Estonian Greens; Workers' United Front.

. *Finland*: Alliance for Free Finland; Animal Justice Party of Finland; Blue and White Front; Change2011; Communist Party of Finland; Communist Workers' Party; Democratic Alternative; Ecological Party the Greens; Farmers' Party; Feminist Party; Finish People's Blue-whites; Finish People's Democratic Union; Finish People First; Finish Rural Party; Finish Smallholders' Party; Finland Rises-People Unites; Forces for Change in Finland; Green League; Independence Party; Movement Now; Natural Law Party; Peasants' List; Pirate Party; Progressive Finish Party; Reform Group; Radical People's Party; Small Farmers' Party; Small Farmers' Party of Finland; Socialist Electoral Organization of Workers and Smallholders; Socialist Workers' Party; Socialist Workers' Party of Finland; True Finns; Women's Party; Workers' Party of Finland.

. *France*: Boulangistes; Ecologists; Ecology Generation; France Unbowed; French Arise; French Communist Party; Gaullist Union; Monarchists; Nationalists; National Centre of Social Republicans; National Front; National Republican Movement; New Ecology; Rally of the French People; Republican Communist Front; Revolutionary Communist Party; The Greens; Unified Socialist Party; Union and French Fraternity; Union for the Defence of Traders and Artisans; Veterans; Workers' Struggle; Other extreme left/right.

. *Georgia*: Alliance of Patriots; Communist Party; Democratic Movement-United Georgia; Georgian Labour Party; Georgian Troupe; State for a People; United Communist Party of Georgia.

. *Germany*: Action Community of Independent Germans; Alliance for Germany; Alliance of Germans; Alternative for Germany; Anarchist Pogo Party; Animal Protection Alliance; Animal Protection Party; Bavarian Party; Change 2000; Christian Social Reich Party; Communist League of West Germany; Communist Party of Germany; Ecological Democratic Party; Economic Reconstruction League; Federation of Free Citizens-The Offensive; Federation of National Collection; For German Centre; German Communist Party; German Community; German National People's Party; German Peace Union; German People's Union; German Reich Party; German Social Party; German Workers' Party; Greens; Greys; Independent Social Democratic Party; Left Communists; List of Beggars; Marxist-Leninist Party; National Democratic Party; National Freedom Party; National Rural League; National Socialist Freedom Movement; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Natural Law Party; Old Social Democratic Party of Germany; Party of Democratic Socialism; Party for a Rule of Law Offensive; Patriotic-National Bloc; Patriots for Germany; Pirate Party; Radical Middle Class; Republicans; Responsible Citizens; Schamlix Greater German List; Socialist League; Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; Solidarity; The Centre; The Left; The Party; The Violets; The Women; Thuringian Agricultural League.

. *Greece*: Alternative Anti-Capitalist Cohesion; Alternative Ecologists; Communist Archio-Marxist Party of Greece; Coalition of the Radical Left; Communist Left; Communist Party of Greece; Communist Party of Greece (interior); Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist); Course of Freedom; Democratic Social Movement; Ecologists Greece; Ecologist Greens; Ecologist Movement-Political Renewal; Ecologist-Peace Supporters-Greens; EDE-Trotskyists; European Realistic

Disobedience Front; For a Revolutionary Left; Freethinkers' Party; Front of Greek Anti-capitalist Left; Front Line; Golden Dawn; Greek Assembly; Greek People's Democratic Liberation; Greek Solution; Hellenic Front; I Don't Pay Movement; Independent Greeks; Independent Political Movement; Independent Royal Supporters; Left and Progress Coalition; Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Greece; National Alignment; National Coalition; National Democratic Party; National Democratic Union; National Hope; National Political Union; National Union of Greece; New Left Current; Organization for the Reconstruction of the Communist Patriotic Union-Greek Popular Gathering; Party of Greece; Party of Hellenism; Party X; Pirate Party of Greece; Popular Orthodox Rally; Popular Unity; Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece; Socialist Workers' Party of Greece; Union of Ecologists; United Popular Front; Workers' Revolutionary Party.

. *Hungary*: Green Party of Hungary; Homeland Is Not For Sale Movement; Hungarian Justice and Life Party; Hungarian Two-tailed Dog Party; Hungarian Workers' Party; Movement for a Better Hungary; Party of Greens; Politics Can Be Different;

. *Iceland*: Candidature Party; Centre Party; Citizens' Movement; Citizens' Party; Communist Movement-Marists-Leninists; Dawn; Democracy Movement; Green Candidature; Home Rule Association; Icelandic Movement-Living Country; Icelandic National Front; Left-Green Movement; National Awakening; National Party; Natural Law Party; New Force; People's Front of Iceland; People's Party; Pirate Party; Rainbow; Revolutionary Communist League; The Sunshine Party; Sturla Jónsson; Women's Alliance.

. *Ireland*: Ailtiri na hAserighe; Anti-H-Block; Catholic Democrats; Christian Solidarity Party; Clann na Poblachta; Clann na Talmhan; Coras na Poblachta; Direct Democracy Ireland; Dublin Trades Council; Green Party; Immigration Control Platform; Irish Workers' League; Irish Housewives' Association; Irish Republican Sociality Party; Monetary Reform Party; Natural Law Party; People Before Profit; Revolutionary Workers' Groups; Sinn Fein; Socialist Party; Socialist Workers' Party; Workers' Party; Workers and Unemployed Action.

. *Italy*: Auto-determination; Autonomous Veneto; Bonino List; Brothers of Italy; CasaPound; Civil Revolution; Citizens' Union for South Tyrol; Clean Hands; Common Man Front; Communist Party; Communist Refoundation; Communist Workers' Party; Critical Left; Democratic Party of the Left; Democratic Union for the New Republic; Die Freiheitlichen; Five Star Movement; For the Common Good;



Forza Italia; Free and Equal; Greens; Greens Greens; Green Federation; Hunting, Fishing, Environment; Il Manifesto; Italian Communist Party; Italian Democratic Party of Monarchist Unity; Italian (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party; Italian Radicals; Italian Social Movement; Italy of Values; Left Ecology Freedom; Lega Alpina Lombarda; List for Trieste; Lombard League; Monarchist National Party; Movement for Democracy; National Alliance; National Front; National Right; National Unionist Bloc; Nationalist Movement for the Social Democracy; Natural Law Party; New Force; New United Left; No Euro; North-East Project; Northern League; Panella List; Party of Italian Communists; People's Monarchist Party; Piedmont Regional Autonomy; Piedmont Union; Political Movement of Workers; Popular Monarchist Party; Power to the People; Rose in the Fist; Proletarian Democracy; Radical Party; Referendum List; Sardinia Nation; Sardinian Action Party; Sicilian Independence Movement; Social Alternative; Socialist Party; Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity; Southern Action League; The Network; The Right; Tricolour Flame; Venetian Independence; Venetian League; Veneto Front League; We Sicilians-National Sicilian Front.

. *Kosovo*: Self-determination

. *Latvia*: Agudas Israel; All for Latvia!; Communist Party of Latvia; Equal Rights; Euroskeptic Party; Fatherland Union; For an Alternative; For Fatherland and Freedom; For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK; For Latvia from the Heart; Freedom Party; Green List; Latvia National Independence Party; Latvian Nationalists; Latvian Revival Party; Latvian Russian Union; Latvian's Latvia National Political Defence Organisation; Latvian's Party; Last Party; Mara's Land; Motherland; National Alliance; National Power Unity; National Union; Our Land Party; People's Control; People's Movement for Latvia; Responsibility; Russian Party; Socialdemocratic Women's Organization; Socialist Party of Latvia; United for Latvia; Who Owns the State?; Women's Union.

. *Liechtenstein*: Free List

. *Lithuania*: Democratic Party of Labour and Unity; Front Party; Lithuania Liberty Union; Lithuanian Centre Party; Lithuanian Green Party; Lithuanian Liberty League; Lithuanian Nationalist Union; Lithuanian People's Party; Lithuanian Popular Union; Lithuanian Socialist Party; National Progress Party; Order and Justice; Republican Party Socialist People's Front; The Way of Courage; Union of Lithuania's Patriots; Young Lithuania.

. *Luxembourg*: Action Committee for Democracy and Pension Justice; Alternative List; Citizens' List; Communist Party of Luxembourg; Ecologist of the North; Enroles de Force; Free Party; Green Alternative; Greens; Independent National Party; Independent Party of the Middle Class; Luxembourg Sovereignty Group; National Movement; National Solidarity; Neutral and Independent Human Rights Party; New Left; Party for Full Democracy; Pirate P; Pirate Party Luxembourg; Popular Independent Movement; The Conservatives; The Left

. *Malta*: Communist Party of Malta; Democratic Alternative; Maltese Patriots Movement; National Action.

. *Moldova*: Communist Reformist Party; Democracy at Home; Ecologist Green Party; Labour Party; Motherland Party; Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova; Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova; Patriots of Moldova; People's Will Party; Popular Movement Anti-Mafia Party; Şor Party: Unity Movement for Equality.

. *Montenegro*: Alternative Montenegro; Fatherland Serbian Party; Montenegrin Communists; Party of Serb Radicals; Serb List; Serb National Alliance; Serb Party; Together.

. *Netherlands*: Actie Bowman; Ad Bos Collective; Alliance for National Reconstruction; Binding Right; Brug Group; Catholic National Party; Catholic Political Party; Centre Democrats; Centre Party; Centre Party'86; Christian National Action; Christian Union; Communist Party of the Netherlands; Democratic Political Turning Point; Democrats'66; Dutch Bellamy Party; Dutch People's Fascism; Dutch People's Union; Evangelical People's Party; Farmers' Party; For Netherlands; Forum for Democracy; General Association of Elderly People; General Dutch Fascist League; Green Left; God with Us; Independent National Group; Independent Socialist Party; Kabouters; League of Christian Socialists; League of Communists in the Netherlands; Livable Netherlands; Loesje; Loses Group; Middle Class Party; National Socialist Movement in the Netherlands; National Opposition Union; National Union; Natural Law Party; New Communist Party of the Netherlands; New Democratic Party; New Middle Party; New Roads; New Roman Party; New Solidarity Elderly Union; Non-voters; One NL; Pacifist Socialist Party; Party for Environment and Justice; Party for Freedom; Party for Justice, Freedom and Welfare; Party for the Netherlands; Party of the Animals; Party of the Middle Groups; Party of the Unmarried; Pim Fortuyn List; Pirate Party; Political Reformed Party; Progressive Party of the World Government; Protestant Union; Radical Political Party; Ratelband

List; Realistic Netherlands; Reformed Political Federation; Reformed Political League; Reformed State Party; Revolutionary Communist Party; Revolutionary Socialist Party; Roman Catholic Party of the Netherlands; Seniors 2000; Socialist (“Kolthek”) Party; Socialist Party; Socialist Union; Solidarity Farmers’ Party; Sustainable Netherlands; The Greens; Union 55+; Union of Actualists; Women’s Party; Young Conservative Union.

. *North Macedonia*: Communist Party of Macedonia; Fatherland Macedonian Organisation of Radical Renewal-Vardar-Aegean-Pirin-Prespa; Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party; Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Fatherland; Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization; Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Macedonian; Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Macedonian National Democratic Alliance; League of Communists of Macedonia; Leftist Forces of Macedonia; Macedonian Party; Movement for All-Macedonian Action; National Alternative; National Democratic Party; National Democratic Union; New Democratic Forces; People’s Movement of Macedonia; Permanent Macedonian Radical Unification; Radical Party of Serbs in Macedonia; United for Macedonia; Union of Tito’s Left Forces; Workers’ Party; Workers’ Party of Macedonia.

. *Norway*: Christian Conservative Party; Christian Unity Party; Democrats in Norway; Fatherland Party; Green Party; Labour Party; National Unity; Natural Law Party; New Future Coalition Party; Norwegian Communist Party; Norwegian People’s Party; People’s Action Future for Finnmark; Pirate Party; Progress Party; Red Alliance; Single Person’s Party; Stop Immigration; The Alliance; The Political Party.

. *Poland*: Ancestral Home; Coalition for the Renewal of the Republic-Freedom and Hope; Committee Zbigniew Stonoga; Communist Party of Poland; Confederation of Independent Poland; Congress of the New Right; Effective; God Bless You!; JOW Non-partisan; Kukiz 2015; League of Polish Families; Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland; Movement for the Republic; National Polish Society; National Revival of Poland Party X; Patriotic Movement; Polish Beer-Lovers’ Party; Polish Confederation-Dignity and Work; Polish Labour Party; Polish National Party; Polish People’s Party “Left”; Radical Peasant Party; Right of the Republic; Self-

defence of the Republic of Poland; Social Alternative Movement; Spring; The Greens; Together; Women's Party.

. *Portugal*: Christian Democratic Party; Communist Party (reconstructed); Earth Party; Enough; Free; Internationalist Communist League; Left Bloc; Left Revolutionary Front; Movement of Socialist Left; National Renovator Party; New Democracy; Party for Animals and Nature; Party of the People; People's Democratic Union; People's Monarchist Party; People's Socialist Front; Portugal Pro-Life; Portuguese Communist Party; Portuguese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist); Portuguese Democratic Movement; Portuguese Marxist-Leninist Communist Organisation; Portuguese Workers' Communist Party; Revolutionary Socialist Party; Socialist Workers' League; United Party of Retirees and Pensioners; Worker-Peasant Alliance; Workers' Party of Socialist Unity.

. *Romania*: Alliance for an United Romania; Ecological Convention Party of Romania; Ecologist Party of Romania; Greater Romania Party; Green Ecologist Party; National Christian Democratic Party; National Liberal Ecologist Alliance; New Generation Party-Christian Democratic; Party of the Motherland; Party of the Revival of Romania "Ion Mihalache"; People's Party-Dan Dionescu; Republican Party; Romanian National Unity Party; Romanian Socialist Party; Romanian Workers' Party; Save Romania Union; Socialist Alliance Party; Socialist Party of Labour; United Romania Party.

. *Russia*: All-Russian Political Movement in Support of the Army; All-Russian Socio-Political Movement "Spiritual Heritage"; Communist Party of Russia; Congress of Russian Communities; For a Holy Russia; Genuine Patriots of Russia; Liberal Democratic Party of Russia; Motherland-National Patriotic Union; Party of Peace and Unity; Party of Russia's Rebirth; People's Republican Party of Russia; Russian All-People's Union; Russian Communist Workers' Party; Russian Ecological Party "The Greens"; Russian Party for the Protection of Women; Stalinist Bloc for the USSR; Women of Russia.

. *San Marino*: Civic 10; Committee for the Defence of the Republic; Democratic Movement San Marino United; Democratic Socialist Left; Movement for Constitutional Freedoms; Patriotic Independent Labour Association; RETE Movement; Sammarinese Communist Party; Sammarinese Communist Party-Marxist-Leninist; Sammarinese Communist Refoundation; Sammarinese Fascist Party; Sammarinese Socialist Party; United Left

. *Serbia*: Communist Party; Democratic Communist of Serbia; Dveri Movement; Green Party; Movement of Workers and Peasants; None of the Above; Party of Serbian Unity; Republican Party; Russian Party; Serbian Radical Party; Serbian Renewal Movement; Socialist Party of Serbia; Yugoslav Party.

. *Slovakia*: Anti-corruption Party; B-Revolutionary Workers' Party; Chance; Cheerful Political Party; 995-Civic Choice; Coalition for a Modern Slovakia; Common People; Communist Party of Slovakia; Courage-Great National and Pro-Russian Coalition; Green Party; Green Party of Slovakia; Greens; Law and Justice; Left Bloc; Party of National Unification; People's Party Our Slovakia; Rally for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia; Resistance-Labour Party; Slovak National Party; Slovak National Unity; Slovak People's Party; True Slovak National Party; United Labour Party of Slovakia; Union of the Workers of Slovakia; Woman and Family; Workers' Party-Rosa.

. *Slovenia*: Communist Party of Slovenia; Forward Slovenia; Green Alternative of Slovenia; Green Coalition; Greens of Slovenia; I Believe; List of Marjan Šarec; National Labour Party; Party of Ecological Movement of Slovenia; Party of Slovenian People; Republican Association of Slovenia; Slovenian National Party; Slovenian National Right; Slovenian Pirate Party; The Linden; United Slovenia; Voice of Slovenian Women; Youth Party-European Greens.

. *Spain*: Act; Amaiur; Animalist Party Against Mistreatment of Animals; Aragonese Union; Aralar; Basque Country Left; Basque Solidarity; Bildu; Canarian Assembly-Canarian Nationalist Left; Canarian People's Union; Carlist Party; Commitment Coalition-EQUO; Communist Movement-Communist Left Organisation; Communist Party of Spain; Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist); Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain; Communist Party of the Workers of Spain; Communist Unification of Spain; Communist Unity Board; Democratic Convergence of Catalonia; En Masse; Equo; For a Fairer World; Galician Left; Galician National-Popular Bloc; Galician Nationalist Bloc; Galician Socialist Party; Green Alternative-Ecologist Movement of Catalonia; Green Alternative List; Independent Liberal Group; Independent Monarchists; Initiative for Catalonia-Greens; International Socialist Workers' Party; Left Bloc for National Liberation; Left Nationalists; More Left; New Force; Party of Labour of Spain; Party of the Communists of Catalonia; People's Unity; Platform for Catalonia; Popular Unity Candidacy; Republican Front; Republican Left; Republican Left of Catalonia; Revolutionary Communist League;

Ruiz Mateos' Group; Socialist Union of Catalonia; Spanish Communist Workers' Party; Spanish Falange; Spanish Falange of the JONS; Spanish Renovation; Spanish Socialist Worker's Party; Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (historic); Spanish Solidarity; Spanish Vertex Ecological Development Revindication; Syndicalist Party; The Ecologists; The Greens; The Greens Ecopacifists; The Greens-Green Group; The Greens-The Ecologist Alternative; Together for Catalonia; Traditionalism Communion; United Left; We Can; Workers' Communist Party; Worker's Party of Marxist Unification; Workers' Party of Spain-Communist Unity; Workers' Revolutionary Organisation; Worker's Socialist Party; Zero Cuts-Green Group.

. *Sweden*: Alternative for Sweden; Animal Party; Citizens' Coalition; Civilization Party; Clerical People's Party; Communist League Marxist-Leninist; Communist Party; Communist Party of Sweden; Communist Party of Sweden (Hüglund Tendency); Feminist Initiative; Greens; Left Socialist Party; National Democrats; National League of Sweden; Nationalist Socialist Workers' Party; New Democracy; Party of the Swedes; Pirate Party; Swedish National Socialist Party; Social Democratic Left Party; Socialist Justice Party; Socialist Party; Socialist Party of Sweden; Sweden Democrats; The New Party; The Skania Party; Unity; Workers' Party Communists

. *Switzerland*: Alternative Left; Alternative List; Animal Party of Switzerland; Autonomous Socialist Party; Communist Party; Communist Party Opposition; Ecopop; Federal Democratic Union; Free Voters and Non-party Voters; Freedom Party of Switzerland; Geneva Citizens' Movement; Green Alternatives; Motorists' Party Switzerland; National Action for People and Homeland; National Front; National Union; Pirate Party; Progressive Organisations of Switzerland; Republican Movement; Right of Independents; Solidarity; Swiss Democrats; Swiss Nationalist Party; Swiss Party of Labour; Swiss Socialist Party; Ticino League; Vigilance; Union for Economic Defence; Women Making Politics.

. *Turkey*: Anatolia Party; Centre Party; Communist Party; Communist Party of Turkey; Democratic People's Party; Felicity Party; Great Union Party; Independent Turkey Party; Labour Party; Nation Party; National Salvation Party; Nationalists Movement Party; Nationalist Workers' Party; New Party; Patriotic Party; People's Democracy Party; People's Liberation Party; People's Voice Party; Republican Villagers Nation Party; Reformist Democracy Party; Rights and Equality Party;

Socialist Government Party; Virtue Party; Welfare Party; Workers' Party; The Workers' Party; Young Party.

. *Ukraine*: All-Ukrainian Party of Workers; All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda"; Communist Party of Workers and Peasants; Communist Party of Ukraine; Communist Party of Ukraine (renewed); Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists; Greens; Internet Party of Ukraine; One Rus; Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists; Party of Defenders of the Fatherland; Party of Environmental Help; Party of Greens of Ukraine; Party of Patriotic Forces of Ukraine; Party of Slavic Unity of Ukraine; Party "Union"; Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine; Radical Party; Right Sector; Russian Bloc; Slavic Party; State Independence of Ukraine; Social Ecological Party; Social-National Party of Ukraine; Ukrainian National Assembly; Ukrainian Party "Green Planet"; Ukrainian Party of Honour, Fight with Corruption and Organised Crime

. *United Kingdom*: Anti-Federalist League; Brexit Party; British National Party; British Socialist Party; Common Wealth Party; Communist Party of Great Britain; English Democrats; Green Party; Independent Labour Party; Irish Independence Party; Irish Parliamentary Party; Monster Raving Loony; National Democratic Party; National Front; National Party of Scotland; Nationalist Party; Natural Law Party; New Party; Plaid Cymru; Referendum Party; Respect; Scottish Green Party; Scottish Militant Labour; Scottish National Party; Scottish Socialist Party; Sinn Féin; Socialist Alliance; Socialist Labour Party; The Workers' Party; UK Independence Party; Veritas; Workers' Revolutionary Party

. *Yugoslav Kingdom*: Ante Trumbić; Croatian Peasant Party; League of Communist of Yugoslavia; Party of Rights; Republican Party; Yugoslav Muslim Organization.

### Appendix C: Tables

Table C1. Linear regression of alternation, formula and access on the most important explanatory variables

	Alternation	Formula	Access
Party institutionalisation	0.31	0.259**	0.357**
Parliamentary fragmentation	-0.455***	0.139	0.224*
GDP (logged)	0.17	0.199	0.141
Majoritarian electoral system	0.123	-0.071	-0.062
Polarisation	-0.169*	-0.081	-0.196*
Age of democracy	0.324*	0.439**	0.399*
Year of transition	0.269	0.195	0.169
Parliamentarism	0.117	0.129	0.031
Observations	65		
R <sup>2</sup>	0.707	0.575	0.581
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.665	0.514	0.521
F Statistic	16.901	9.474	9.713

\* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001



Table C2. Percentage of seats of German parliamentary parties, above the 3 per cent threshold (1919-2017)

1919	1920	1924M	1924D	1928	1930	1932J-1932N	1949	1953	1957	1961-1980	1983-1987	1990	1994-1998	2002	2005-2009	2013	2017
SPD (38.7)	SPD (22.2)	SPD (21.2)	SPD (26.6)	SPD (31.2)	SPD (24.8)	NSDAP (35.7)	SPD (32.6)	CDU (38.7)	CDU (42.8)	SPD (43.4)	SPD (38.1)	SPD (40.5)	SPD (41)	SPD (41.6)	CDU (30.3)	CDU (40.5)	CDU (28.2)
Z (21.6)	USPD (18.3)	DNVP (20.1)	DNVP (20.9)	DNVP (14.9)	NSDAP (18.5)	SDP (21.3)	CDU (28.6)	SPD (31.8)	SPD (34.9)	CDU (37.8)	CDU (37.3)	CDU (36.1)	CDU (33)	CDU (31.5)	SPD (29.9)	SPD (30.5)	SPD (21.6)
DDP (17.8)	DNVP (15.5)	Z (13.8)	Z (14)	Z (12.4)	KPD (13.3)	KPD (15.9)	FDP (12.9)	FDP (10.4)	CSU (10.6)	CSU (9.7)	CSU (9.8)	CSU (11.9)	CSU (7.2)	CSU (9.6)	FDP (12.5)	DL (10.2)	AfD (13.3)
DNVP (10.5)	DVP (14.2)	KPD (13.1)	DVP (10.3)	KPD (11)	Z (11.8)	Z (12.2)	CSU (6)	CSU (10.2)	FDP (8.5)	FDP (9.1)	FDP (8)	FDP (7.7)	DG (7.2)	DG (9.1)	DL (10.5)	DG (10)	FDP (11.3)
USPD (5.2)	Z (13.9)	DVP (9.5)	KPD (9.1)	DVP (9.2)	DNVP (7.1)	DNVP (7.4)	BP (4.2)	GB (5.3)	DP (3.3)		DG (7)		FDP (6.7)	FDP (7.8)	DG (9.6)	CSU (8.9)	DL (9.7)
DVP (4.5)	DDP (8.5)	NSFP (6.8)	DDP (6.5)	DDP (5.1)	DVP (5.2)	BVP (3.5)	DP (4.2)						PDS (5)		CSU (7.4)		DG (9.4)
	BVP (4.4)	DDP (5.9)	BVP (3.9)	WP (4.7)	WP (4)		KPD (3.7)										CSU (6.5)
		BVP (3.4)		BVP (3.5)	DStP (3.5)		WAV (3)										
					CNBL (3.3)												
					BVP (3.3)												

Source: Nohlen and Stöver (2010)

Table C3. Percentage of seats of Spanish parliamentary parties, above the 3 per cent threshold (1931-2019)

1931	1933	1936	1979	1982	1986	1989	1993-1996	2000	2004-2008	2011	2015-2016	2019A	2019N
PSOE (24.6)	CEDA (21.4)	CEDA (21.8)	UCD (48)	PSOE (57.7)	PSOE (52.6)	PSOE (50)	PSOE (42.9)	PP (52.3)	PSOE (47.6)	PP (53.1)	PP (37.1)	PSOE (35.1)	PSOE (34.3)
PRR (14.8)	PRR (18.1)	PSOE (18.4)	PSOE (34.6)	AP (30.6)	AP (30)	PP (30.6)	PP (42.5)	PSOE (35.7)	PP (43.2)	PSOE (31.4)	PSOE (25)	PP (18.9)	PP (25.4)
PRRS (12.5)	PSOE (12.3)	IR (16.4)	PCE (6.6)	CiU (3.4)	CDS (5.4)	CiU (5.1)	IU (5.6)	CiU (4.3)		CiU (4.6)	UP* (20)	C's (16.3)	Vox (14.9)
ERC (6.4)	PAE (10.4)	UR (7.1)		UCD (3.1)	CiU (5.4)	IU (4.9)	CiU (4.8)			IU (3.1)	C's (10.3)	UP* (12)	UP* (10)
DLR (5.5)	LR (4.8)	ERC (5.1)				CDS (4)						Vox (6.9)	ERC (3.7)
AR (4.5)	ERC (3.7)	PC (4)										ERC (4.3)	
PRF (3.5)	PRC (3.5)	CT (3.2)											
ORGA (3.3)	RE (3.2)												

\* As Podemos in 2015 and UP (electoral coalition of Podemos and IU) after 2016.

Source: Nohlen and Stöver (2010)

Table C4. Percentage of seats of Hungarian parliamentary parties, above the 3 per cent threshold (1990-2018)

1990	1994	1998	2002	2006	2010	2012	2016
MDF (42.5)	MSZP (54.1)	Fidesz (38.3)	MSZP (46.1)	Fidesz (49.7)	Fidesz (58.8)	Fidesz (58.8)	Fidesz (58.8)
SZDSZ (23.8)	SZDSZ (17.9)	MSZP (34.7)	Fidesz (42.5)	MSZP (36.5)	MSZP (15.3)	MSZP (7.5)	Jobbik (6.7)
FKgP (11.4)	MDF (9.8)	FKgP (12.4)	MDF (6.2)	SZDSZ (4.7)	Jobbik (12.2)	Jobbik (6)	MSZP (5.2)
MSZP (8.5)	FKgP (6.7)	SZDSZ (6.2)	SZDSZ (4.9)	KDNP (6)	KDNP (9.3)	KDNP (4.1)	KDNP (4.1)
KDNP (5.4)	KDNP (5.7)	MDF (4.4)			LPM (4.1)		
Fidesz (5.4)	Fidesz (5.2)	MIÉP (3.6)					

Source: Nohlen and Stöver (2010)