

Voting for Votes: Opposition Parties' Legislative Activity and Electoral Outcomes

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Online Appendix

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Table A.1. Descriptive statistics – main independent variable (conflict rate)

Country	Conflict (mean)	Conflict (SD)	Conflict (min-max)	Conflict (range)
Canada	.73	.124	.51-.84	.33
Czech Republic	.26	.097	.06-.45	.39
Finland	.53	.202	.30-.91	.61
Germany	.62	.148	.31-.84	.53
Israel	.19	.105	.04-.41	.37
Lithuania	.19	.082	.06-.39	.33
Poland	.24	.075	.12-.38	.26
Spain	.56	.137	.43-.70	.27
Sweden	.40	.137	.17-.73	.56
United Kingdom	.50	.242	.005-.83	.825
Overall	.40	.228	.005-.91	

Table A.2. Descriptive statistics – independent and control variables.

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Vote share (t)	0.105674	0.0917716	0.0034	0.364
Party-gov't distance	0.307645	0.1710968	0.00658	0.6771929
PPOP	0.6173852	0.1356851	0.4261905	0.8523809
GDP Growth	2.040191	2.610626	-5.382388	7.753375
Early elections	0.2426036	0.4299312	0	1
Coalition fragmentation	1.91238	0.920494	1	4.606882
Coalition size	0.5367502	0.099015	0.2913043	0.7833333
Parliament fragmentation	4.454862	1.607075	2.117752	7.843137
federalism	0.1715976	0.3781508	0	1
Proportional system	0.7159763	0.4522883	0	1
Vote frequency	2.856957	2.201782	0.1323811	6.590915
Full record	0.6982249	0.4603923	0	1

Note. PPOP = Policy-making Powers of Opposition Players.

Table A.3. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Additional Control Variables

VARIABLES	(1) No interaction	(2) Institutions	(3) Size	(4) Ideology
Party-gov't conflict rate	0.837** (0.331)	4.311*** (1.175)	0.862* (0.498)	2.015*** (0.684)
Opposition powers	-1.839*** (0.537)	1.534 (1.111)	-1.838*** (0.540)	-1.950*** (0.573)
Vote share (t)	8.435*** (0.555)	8.269*** (0.537)	8.541*** (1.860)	8.315*** (0.554)
Party-gov't distance	0.089 (0.479)	0.132 (0.481)	0.093 (0.467)	1.587* (0.963)
Conflict * opposition powers		-6.025*** (2.106)		
Conflict * vote share			-0.203 (2.986)	
Conflict * distance				-3.783* (2.070)
GDP growth	0.027 (0.019)	0.031* (0.017)	0.028 (0.019)	0.030 (0.020)
Early elections	-0.016 (0.100)	0.065 (0.083)	-0.017 (0.101)	0.005 (0.114)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.537*** (0.098)	-0.410*** (0.110)	-0.538*** (0.098)	-0.523*** (0.106)
Coalition size	3.333*** (0.834)	2.716*** (0.778)	3.343*** (0.828)	3.073*** (1.020)
Minority cabinet	0.215* (0.122)	0.186* (0.103)	0.214* (0.123)	0.175 (0.149)
Oversized cabinet	0.341** (0.137)	0.309*** (0.117)	0.341** (0.138)	0.315* (0.161)
Parliament fragmentation	0.455*** (0.056)	0.381*** (0.055)	0.456*** (0.059)	0.460*** (0.059)
Federalism	0.015 (0.169)	-0.063 (0.152)	0.012 (0.165)	0.262 (0.272)
Proportional system	0.747*** (0.186)	0.964*** (0.202)	0.744*** (0.209)	0.644*** (0.207)
System Openness	-0.534*** (0.165)	-0.456*** (0.145)	-0.537*** (0.169)	-0.594*** (0.182)
Central & East Europe	2.374*** (0.362)	1.957*** (0.279)	2.363*** (0.434)	2.580*** (0.414)
Democratic age	-0.060 (0.151)	-0.079 (0.124)	-0.062 (0.159)	0.038 (0.191)
Vote frequency	-0.321*** (0.083)	-0.299*** (0.071)	-0.319*** (0.086)	-0.322*** (0.089)
Full voting record	0.071 (0.212)	-0.145 (0.201)	0.066 (0.202)	0.225 (0.270)
Constant	-5.163*** (0.884)	-6.703*** (0.806)	-5.171*** (0.867)	-5.924*** (1.060)
Observations	169	169	169	169

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.4. Party-Government conflict on electoral performance: OLS regression

VARIABLES	(1) No interaction	(2) Institutions	(3) Size	(4) Ideology
Party-gov't conflict rate	0.047 (0.031)	0.266** (0.130)	0.045 (0.036)	0.123** (0.048)
Opposition powers	0.019 (0.045)	0.210* (0.119)	0.020 (0.046)	0.008 (0.045)
Vote share (t)	0.987*** (0.056)	0.972*** (0.056)	0.970*** (0.144)	0.979*** (0.055)
Party-gov't distance	0.012 (0.030)	0.015 (0.030)	0.012 (0.031)	0.109* (0.057)
Conflict * opposition powers		-0.399* (0.230)		
Conflict * vote share			0.033 (0.252)	
Conflict * distance				-0.260** (0.128)
GDP growth	0.002 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
Early elections	-0.013 (0.014)	-0.006 (0.015)	-0.013 (0.014)	-0.012 (0.014)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.020 (0.017)	-0.014 (0.017)	-0.019 (0.017)	-0.017 (0.017)
Coalition size	0.123 (0.098)	0.107 (0.098)	0.120 (0.101)	0.086 (0.099)
Parliament fragmentation	0.012 (0.009)	0.010 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	0.010 (0.009)
Federalism	-0.017 (0.019)	-0.025 (0.020)	-0.016 (0.019)	-0.001 (0.020)
Proportional system	0.020 (0.016)	0.042** (0.021)	0.020 (0.016)	0.012 (0.016)
Vote frequency	0.005 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)	0.005 (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)
Full voting record	-0.034 (0.026)	-0.055* (0.028)	-0.034 (0.026)	-0.027 (0.025)
Constant	-0.111 (0.069)	-0.207** (0.088)	-0.108 (0.071)	-0.109 (0.068)
Observations	169	169	169	169
R-squared	0.734	0.739	0.734	0.740

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.5. Party-Government conflict on electoral performance: Tobit regression

VARIABLES	(1) No interaction	(2) Institutions	(3) Size	(4) Ideology
Party-gov't conflict rate	0.050 (0.031)	0.284** (0.131)	0.054 (0.036)	0.131*** (0.049)
Opposition powers	0.018 (0.046)	0.221* (0.120)	0.017 (0.047)	0.007 (0.046)
Vote share (t)	0.998*** (0.057)	0.982*** (0.057)	1.020*** (0.147)	0.989*** (0.056)
Party-gov't distance	0.012 (0.031)	0.015 (0.031)	0.013 (0.032)	0.117** (0.058)
Conflict * opposition powers		-0.425* (0.233)		
Conflict * vote share			-0.042 (0.256)	
Conflict * distance				-0.278** (0.131)
GDP growth	0.002 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
Early elections	-0.016 (0.014)	-0.009 (0.015)	-0.015 (0.014)	-0.015 (0.014)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.019 (0.018)	-0.012 (0.018)	-0.019 (0.018)	-0.016 (0.017)
Coalition size	0.111 (0.100)	0.095 (0.099)	0.114 (0.102)	0.072 (0.100)
Parliament fragmentation	0.011 (0.009)	0.009 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	0.010 (0.009)
Federalism	-0.018 (0.019)	-0.026 (0.020)	-0.018 (0.019)	-0.001 (0.021)
Proportional system	0.021 (0.017)	0.046** (0.021)	0.021 (0.017)	0.013 (0.017)
Vote frequency	0.004 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)
Full voting record	-0.036 (0.026)	-0.058** (0.029)	-0.036 (0.026)	-0.028 (0.026)
var(e.DV)	0.003*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)
Constant	-0.104 (0.070)	-0.207** (0.090)	-0.107 (0.072)	-0.103 (0.069)
Observations	169	169	169	169

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.6. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Country Fixed-Effects

VARIABLES	(1) No interaction	(2) Institutions	(3) Size	(4) Ideology
Party-gov't conflict rate	0.726* (0.384)	3.993*** (1.454)	0.818 (0.551)	2.314*** (0.639)
Opposition powers	7.165*** (2.406)	8.772*** (2.405)	7.077*** (2.405)	7.483*** (2.372)
Vote share (t)	8.305*** (0.501)	8.173*** (0.508)	8.680*** (1.902)	8.186*** (0.463)
Party-gov't distance	0.036 (0.501)	0.069 (0.500)	0.050 (0.492)	1.870** (0.882)
Conflict * opposition powers		-5.612** (2.463)		
Conflict * vote share			-0.717 (3.208)	
Conflict * distance				-4.825*** (1.765)
GDP growth	0.009 (0.025)	0.017 (0.024)	0.009 (0.025)	0.012 (0.024)
Early elections	0.004 (0.193)	0.079 (0.189)	0.000 (0.189)	-0.021 (0.182)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.463** (0.188)	-0.364* (0.203)	-0.464** (0.185)	-0.467** (0.184)
Coalition size	3.168** (1.467)	2.663* (1.564)	3.216** (1.440)	3.105** (1.405)
Parliament fragmentation	0.402*** (0.117)	0.348*** (0.119)	0.404*** (0.118)	0.405*** (0.113)
Federalism	0.524 (0.405)	0.366 (0.413)	0.514 (0.413)	0.962** (0.392)
Proportional system	1.142** (0.465)	1.233*** (0.464)	1.135** (0.473)	1.122** (0.443)
Vote frequency	-0.105 (0.085)	-0.117 (0.081)	-0.105 (0.084)	-0.118 (0.081)
Full voting record	-2.060** (0.953)	-1.856** (0.929)	-2.055** (0.953)	-1.968** (0.921)
Cabinet start date	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Country FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Constant	-9.333*** (1.645)	-10.198*** (1.579)	-9.332*** (1.635)	-10.174*** (1.675)
Observations	169	169	169	169

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.7. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Cabinet Fixed-Effects

VARIABLES	(1) No interaction	(2) Opposition powers	(3) Party size	(4) Party-gov't distance
Party-gov't conflict rate	1.222*** (0.388)	2.979** (1.447)	1.375** (0.545)	2.892*** (0.590)
Opposition powers	-3.393 (2.612)	-1.897 (3.054)	-3.196 (2.571)	-2.548 (2.662)
Vote share (t)	8.584*** (0.452)	8.480*** (0.474)	9.283*** (1.749)	8.395*** (0.445)
Party-gov't distance	-0.057 (0.496)	-0.041 (0.497)	-0.043 (0.488)	2.121** (0.961)
Conflict * opposition powers		-3.024 (2.432)		
Conflict * vote share			-1.314 (3.003)	
Conflict * distance				-5.347*** (1.959)
Federalism	-0.701 (0.495)	-0.771 (0.505)	-0.714 (0.497)	-0.479 (0.492)
Proportional system	-1.198** (0.567)	-1.024* (0.605)	-1.182** (0.564)	-1.018* (0.543)
Vote frequency	0.374 (0.248)	0.338 (0.260)	0.340 (0.255)	0.337 (0.246)
Full voting record	0.019 (0.729)	0.041 (0.743)	0.060 (0.734)	-0.446 (0.613)
Cabinet FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Constant	-2.168 (1.478)	-3.078* (1.756)	-2.272 (1.460)	-2.873** (1.400)
Observations	169	169	169	169

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.8. Party-Government conflict on electoral performance: Clarity of responsibility

VARIABLES	(1) Coalition fragmentation	(2) Minority cabinet	(3) Oversized cabinet
Party-gov't conflict rate	0.560 (0.724)	0.919*** (0.347)	0.597 (0.436)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.398 (0.246)		
Conflict * Coalition fragmentation	0.171 (0.273)		
Minority cabinet		-0.033 (0.282)	
Conflict * Minority cabinet		0.913* (0.520)	
Oversized cabinet			-0.025 (0.360)
Conflict * Oversized cabinet			0.473 (0.542)
Party-gov't distance	0.035 (0.491)	-0.275 (0.445)	0.017 (0.472)
Vote share (t)	8.373*** (0.568)	8.032*** (0.542)	8.148*** (0.538)
GDP growth	0.015 (0.022)	0.021 (0.020)	0.019 (0.023)
Early elections	-0.187 (0.145)	-0.267* (0.144)	-0.178 (0.140)
Coalition size	1.298 (1.186)	0.574 (0.820)	-0.555 (0.757)
Parliament fragmentation	0.244*** (0.094)	0.118** (0.055)	0.085 (0.064)
Federalism	0.162 (0.199)	0.095 (0.177)	0.138 (0.186)
Proportional system	0.141 (0.166)	0.227 (0.172)	0.103 (0.162)
Vote frequency	0.074** (0.034)	0.112*** (0.043)	0.078** (0.039)
Full voting record	-0.076 (0.278)	-0.329 (0.266)	-0.215 (0.272)
Constant	-4.869*** (0.650)	-4.630*** (0.537)	-3.709*** (0.462)
Observations	169	169	169

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.9. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Government Experience

VARIABLES	(1) Continuous	(2) Binary
Party-gov't conflict rate	1.087** (0.430)	0.898* (0.506)
Government experience	0.403 (0.623)	0.012 (0.295)
Conflict * Government experience	-0.449 (1.349)	0.130 (0.711)
Party-gov't distance	0.130 (0.492)	0.075 (0.473)
Vote share (t)	8.062*** (0.832)	8.088*** (0.841)
Opposition powers	0.489 (0.539)	0.491 (0.508)
GDP growth	0.013 (0.022)	0.011 (0.022)
Early elections	-0.131 (0.178)	-0.131 (0.155)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.348* (0.189)	-0.315* (0.182)
Coalition size	1.425 (1.202)	1.222 (1.140)
Parliament fragmentation	0.223** (0.097)	0.214** (0.096)
Federalism	0.055 (0.219)	0.109 (0.216)
Proportional system	0.122 (0.189)	0.093 (0.191)
Vote frequency	0.061 (0.043)	0.065 (0.041)
Full voting record	0.002 (0.266)	0.010 (0.254)
Constant	-5.375*** (0.969)	-5.185*** (0.962)
Observations	169	169

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.10. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Economic Conditions

VARIABLES	(1) GDP only	(2) Interaction	(3) Left and unemployment	(4) Right and inflation
GDP growth	0.017 (0.022)	0.064 (0.044)		
Party-gov't conflict rate		1.198*** (0.369)	1.811** (0.724)	2.343*** (0.804)
Conflict * Growth		-0.117* (0.067)		
Unemployment			0.077* (0.041)	
Conflict * Unemployment			-0.115 (0.087)	
Inflation				0.137* (0.075)
Conflict * Inflation				-0.545** (0.247)
Party-gov't distance	0.276 (0.463)	0.061 (0.474)	0.337 (0.640)	0.397 (0.734)
Vote share (t)	8.625*** (0.582)	8.287*** (0.527)	8.070*** (0.660)	9.293*** (0.757)
Opposition powers	0.365 (0.448)	0.442 (0.475)	1.090* (0.628)	-0.077 (0.821)
Early elections	-0.149 (0.166)	-0.102 (0.148)	0.044 (0.259)	-0.328 (0.347)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.252 (0.184)	-0.283* (0.166)	-0.284 (0.265)	-0.233 (0.426)
Coalition size	1.146 (0.987)	1.137 (1.021)	1.484 (1.365)	0.983 (2.447)
Parliament fragmentation	0.162 (0.100)	0.200** (0.086)	0.118 (0.113)	0.291 (0.217)
Federalism	0.118 (0.189)	0.082 (0.192)	-0.213 (0.309)	0.607 (0.489)
Proportional system	0.114 (0.182)	0.146 (0.190)	0.008 (0.305)	0.266 (0.214)
Vote frequency	0.016 (0.029)	0.054 (0.034)	0.032 (0.057)	0.060 (0.062)
Full voting record	-0.056 (0.254)	0.059 (0.242)	0.029 (0.234)	0.331 (0.480)
Constant	-4.509*** (0.739)	-5.283*** (0.733)	-5.845*** (0.989)	-6.250*** (1.604)
Observations	169	169	91	78

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.11. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Dropping Specific Countries

VARIABLES	(1) without Canada	(2) without Cz. Rep.	(3) without Germany	(4) without Spain	(5) without Finland	(6) without UK	(7) without Israel	(8) without Lithuania	(9) without Poland	(10) without Sweden	(11) Without ESP & LIT
Party-gov't conflict rate	0.943*** (0.332)	1.153*** (0.329)	1.022*** (0.321)	1.041*** (0.327)	0.852** (0.363)	0.798** (0.385)	0.609 (0.399)	0.920*** (0.320)	0.826** (0.328)	1.176*** (0.386)	0.940*** (0.318)
Opposition powers	1.514*** (0.425)	0.733 (0.517)	3.958*** (0.989)	0.0457 (0.444)	0.639 (0.486)	0.0615 (0.436)	-0.106 (0.490)	3.988*** (0.976)	0.565 (0.487)	0.333 (0.540)	3.709*** (1.421)
Vote share (t)	8.534*** (0.580)	8.309*** (0.559)	8.255*** (0.645)	8.237*** (0.545)	8.122*** (0.553)	7.760*** (0.585)	8.209*** (0.537)	8.517*** (0.524)	8.234*** (0.571)	8.647*** (0.631)	8.460*** (0.529)
Party-gov't distance	0.0456 (0.450)	-0.0461 (0.496)	0.0190 (0.476)	-0.0775 (0.484)	0.260 (0.527)	0.111 (0.503)	0.288 (0.548)	-0.391 (0.465)	0.0528 (0.514)	-0.0432 (0.606)	-0.412 (0.476)
GDP growth	0.00494 (0.0205)	-0.0172 (0.0208)	0.0117 (0.0199)	0.0102 (0.0211)	0.0150 (0.0223)	0.0214 (0.0267)	0.0185 (0.0195)	0.00243 (0.0166)	-0.00617 (0.0202)	0.0165 (0.0219)	0.00283 (0.0167)
Early elections	-0.248 (0.153)	-0.0681 (0.205)	-0.0791 (0.111)	-0.205 (0.145)	-0.108 (0.144)	-0.192 (0.147)	0.0948 (0.128)	-0.112 (0.0896)	-0.133 (0.121)	-0.127 (0.138)	-0.125 (0.104)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.486*** (0.141)	-0.348** (0.166)	-0.331** (0.161)	-0.415** (0.167)	-0.393** (0.172)	-0.349* (0.186)	-0.492*** (0.114)	-0.306** (0.139)	-0.267* (0.161)	-0.195 (0.244)	-0.314** (0.146)
Coalition size	2.769*** (0.899)	1.403 (0.942)	2.021* (1.129)	1.884* (0.994)	1.283 (1.027)	1.635 (1.083)	2.555*** (0.868)	1.807* (0.997)	1.257 (1.046)	1.186 (1.283)	1.824* (0.995)
Parliament fragmentation	0.279*** (0.0688)	0.216** (0.107)	0.274*** (0.0689)	0.229*** (0.0870)	0.237*** (0.0876)	0.180* (0.0935)	0.392*** (0.0604)	0.287*** (0.0609)	0.161** (0.0809)	0.213** (0.109)	0.281*** (0.0609)
Federalism	-0.463*** (0.171)	0.0973 (0.205)	0.441*** (0.139)	0.447*** (0.148)	0.0671 (0.178)	-0.588*** (0.147)	0.0114 (0.195)	0.553*** (0.125)	0.157 (0.202)	0.164 (0.216)	0.587*** (0.143)
Proportional system	0.428** (0.204)	0.0357 (0.212)	0.782*** (0.269)	0.121 (0.178)	0.109 (0.181)	0.143 (0.172)	0.277 (0.176)	-1.849*** (0.426)	-0.0176 (0.180)	0.0795 (0.203)	-1.737*** (0.607)
Vote frequency	0.0453 (0.0303)	0.0585 (0.0475)	-0.00299 (0.0346)	0.0771** (0.0352)	0.0727** (0.0370)	0.0707** (0.0345)	0.0530* (0.0316)	-0.00619 (0.0359)	0.0146 (0.0450)	0.111* (0.0660)	0.00158 (0.0460)
Full voting record	-0.122 (0.207)	0.228 (0.302)	-1.071*** (0.324)	0.318 (0.229)	-0.131 (0.278)	-0.785*** (0.251)	-0.193 (0.263)	1.535*** (0.413)	0.298 (0.269)	-0.164 (0.325)	1.494*** (0.454)
Constant	-6.670*** (0.713)	-5.485*** (0.738)	-7.404*** (1.047)	-5.426*** (0.724)	-5.241*** (0.781)	-4.040*** (0.825)	-5.763*** (0.700)	-7.237*** (0.957)	-5.028*** (0.817)	-5.485*** (0.879)	-7.111*** (1.035)
Observations	159	155	153	166	149	144	138	156	157	144	153

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.12. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Dropping Specific Countries (Institutions Interaction)

VARIABLES	(1) without Canada	(2) without Cz. Rep.	(3) without Germany	(4) without Spain	(5) without Finland	(6) without UK	(7) without Israel	(8) without Lithuania	(9) without Poland	(10) without Sweden
Party-gov't conflict rate	5.186*** (1.593)	5.827*** (1.523)	5.048* (2.647)	5.639*** (1.537)	5.811*** (1.416)	5.963*** (1.913)	4.643*** (1.204)	4.975*** (1.195)	5.078*** (1.559)	5.748*** (1.450)
Opposition powers	4.937*** (1.217)	4.845*** (1.216)	6.696*** (1.825)	4.218*** (1.292)	4.899*** (1.104)	4.624*** (1.588)	3.518*** (0.876)	6.435*** (0.916)	4.207*** (1.203)	4.424*** (1.160)
Vote share (t)	8.293*** (0.571)	8.126*** (0.551)	8.210*** (0.628)	8.039*** (0.528)	7.853*** (0.535)	7.829*** (0.613)	8.010*** (0.514)	8.377*** (0.493)	7.951*** (0.552)	8.417*** (0.630)
Party-gov't distance	0.193 (0.441)	-0.00188 (0.496)	0.0437 (0.481)	0.0235 (0.481)	0.265 (0.521)	0.276 (0.500)	0.306 (0.553)	-0.326 (0.471)	0.0560 (0.519)	0.0316 (0.602)
Conflict * opposition powers	-7.283*** (2.726)	-8.171*** (2.654)	-7.353 (4.941)	-8.034*** (2.663)	-8.516*** (2.452)	-8.678*** (3.177)	-6.928*** (2.066)	-7.104*** (2.030)	-7.367*** (2.740)	-8.060*** (2.503)
GDP growth	0.0145 (0.0179)	-0.00247 (0.0179)	0.0169 (0.0173)	0.0195 (0.0172)	0.0244 (0.0172)	0.0322 (0.0199)	0.0248 (0.0167)	0.0115 (0.0144)	0.00687 (0.0165)	0.0240 (0.0172)
Early elections	-0.0981 (0.136)	0.0833 (0.156)	0.0309 (0.103)	-0.0363 (0.116)	0.0440 (0.107)	-0.0103 (0.110)	0.178* (0.0994)	0.00250 (0.0800)	-0.0110 (0.106)	0.0193 (0.105)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.356** (0.149)	-0.241 (0.154)	-0.229 (0.167)	-0.270* (0.162)	-0.241 (0.166)	-0.240 (0.174)	-0.356*** (0.121)	-0.188 (0.139)	-0.152 (0.175)	-0.0739 (0.206)
Coalition size	2.254** (0.898)	1.205 (0.856)	1.685 (1.071)	1.419 (0.938)	0.957 (0.941)	1.364 (1.021)	2.028** (0.839)	1.206 (0.966)	0.789 (1.087)	0.821 (1.083)
Parliament fragmentation	0.232*** (0.0670)	0.182** (0.0880)	0.219*** (0.0711)	0.181** (0.0757)	0.179** (0.0752)	0.164** (0.0786)	0.310*** (0.0549)	0.229*** (0.0611)	0.125 (0.0828)	0.159* (0.0898)
Federalism	-0.418*** (0.129)	0.00114 (0.168)	0.280* (0.162)	0.242 (0.161)	-0.0406 (0.152)	-0.525*** (0.142)	-0.0695 (0.168)	0.346** (0.137)	0.0465 (0.175)	0.0518 (0.187)
Proportional system	0.732*** (0.230)	0.459* (0.261)	0.990*** (0.305)	0.542** (0.236)	0.559** (0.236)	0.604** (0.250)	0.606*** (0.221)	-0.899* (0.494)	0.418* (0.253)	0.504** (0.257)
Vote frequency	0.00448 (0.0290)	-0.00244 (0.0372)	-0.0413 (0.0388)	0.0214 (0.0314)	0.0166 (0.0296)	0.0148 (0.0311)	0.00835 (0.0288)	-0.0323 (0.0314)	-0.0124 (0.0379)	0.0487 (0.0572)
Full voting record	-0.310 (0.213)	-0.0343 (0.297)	-1.008*** (0.277)	-0.0239 (0.261)	-0.366 (0.259)	-0.828*** (0.219)	-0.368 (0.251)	0.851* (0.444)	-0.0525 (0.303)	-0.379 (0.297)
Constant	-8.537*** (0.696)	-7.886*** (0.818)	-8.873*** (1.060)	-7.683*** (0.810)	-7.681*** (0.745)	-7.184*** (1.261)	-7.596*** (0.624)	-8.521*** (0.835)	-7.009*** (0.709)	-7.705*** (0.884)
Observations	159	155	153	166	149	144	138	156	157	144

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.13. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Dropping Specific Countries (Size Interaction)

VARIABLES	(1) without Canada	(2) without Cz. Rep.	(3) without Germany	(4) without Spain	(5) without Finland	(6) without UK	(7) without Israel	(8) without Lithuania	(9) without Poland	(10) without Sweden
Party-gov't conflict rate	1.025** (0.453)	1.426*** (0.458)	1.230*** (0.437)	1.218*** (0.433)	0.967* (0.502)	1.130** (0.476)	0.542 (0.570)	1.433*** (0.405)	1.050** (0.477)	1.471*** (0.520)
Opposition powers	1.478*** (0.426)	0.656 (0.518)	3.915*** (0.982)	0.0227 (0.440)	0.609 (0.486)	-0.0109 (0.433)	-0.105 (0.487)	3.675*** (0.929)	0.512 (0.480)	0.243 (0.533)
Vote share (t)	8.927*** (1.805)	9.848*** (2.083)	9.165*** (1.799)	9.108*** (1.730)	8.591*** (1.818)	9.566*** (1.712)	7.938*** (1.702)	10.95*** (1.518)	9.357*** (2.022)	10.10*** (2.160)
Party-gov't distance	0.0700 (0.443)	0.0708 (0.452)	0.0786 (0.459)	-0.0179 (0.469)	0.279 (0.514)	0.223 (0.484)	0.276 (0.531)	-0.316 (0.454)	0.121 (0.500)	0.0615 (0.587)
Conflict * vote share	-0.771 (2.884)	-2.755 (3.105)	-1.795 (2.915)	-1.647 (2.714)	-0.891 (2.863)	-3.765 (2.742)	0.516 (2.771)	-4.426* (2.350)	-2.035 (3.045)	-2.680 (3.230)
GDP growth	0.00612 (0.0207)	-0.0153 (0.0193)	0.0127 (0.0195)	0.0122 (0.0209)	0.0160 (0.0219)	0.0286 (0.0250)	0.0180 (0.0191)	0.00701 (0.0158)	-0.00364 (0.0189)	0.0191 (0.0211)
Early elections	-0.244 (0.154)	-0.0566 (0.204)	-0.0846 (0.113)	-0.201 (0.145)	-0.109 (0.145)	-0.180 (0.145)	0.0980 (0.131)	-0.131 (0.0909)	-0.131 (0.118)	-0.130 (0.140)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.492*** (0.144)	-0.378** (0.164)	-0.356** (0.165)	-0.433*** (0.165)	-0.403** (0.170)	-0.360** (0.181)	-0.487*** (0.118)	-0.352*** (0.131)	-0.298* (0.162)	-0.262 (0.247)
Coalition size	2.815*** (0.941)	1.718* (0.968)	2.231* (1.238)	2.034** (1.013)	1.388 (1.064)	1.844* (1.084)	2.518*** (0.872)	2.039** (0.990)	1.523 (1.128)	1.669 (1.399)
Parliament fragmentation	0.284*** (0.0746)	0.232** (0.115)	0.290*** (0.0780)	0.242*** (0.0922)	0.244*** (0.0921)	0.192** (0.0972)	0.391*** (0.0611)	0.333*** (0.0684)	0.179** (0.0890)	0.252*** (0.124)
Federalism	-0.467*** (0.173)	0.0512 (0.193)	0.415*** (0.131)	0.406*** (0.153)	0.0552 (0.172)	-0.557*** (0.156)	0.0175 (0.191)	0.476*** (0.129)	0.130 (0.196)	0.134 (0.206)
Proportional system	0.423** (0.213)	0.0437 (0.220)	0.783*** (0.276)	0.121 (0.184)	0.110 (0.183)	0.146 (0.181)	0.279 (0.180)	-1.775*** (0.398)	-0.0162 (0.181)	0.0862 (0.208)
Vote frequency	0.0429 (0.0316)	0.0509 (0.0490)	-0.00779 (0.0348)	0.0710* (0.0364)	0.0692* (0.0381)	0.0566 (0.0356)	0.0545* (0.0319)	-0.0162 (0.0343)	0.00752 (0.0435)	0.106 (0.0648)
Full voting record	-0.141 (0.204)	0.165 (0.303)	-1.115*** (0.327)	0.263 (0.234)	-0.141 (0.276)	-0.813*** (0.249)	-0.185 (0.253)	1.345*** (0.386)	0.256 (0.261)	-0.245 (0.314)
Constant	-6.705*** (0.762)	-5.735*** (0.819)	-7.580*** (1.133)	-5.567*** (0.787)	-5.334*** (0.843)	-4.295*** (0.892)	-5.722*** (0.744)	-7.465*** (0.977)	-5.250*** (0.935)	-5.853*** (1.041)
Observations	159	155	153	166	149	144	138	156	157	144

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.14. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Dropping Specific Countries (Ideology Interaction)

VARIABLES	(1) without Canada	(2) without Cz. Rep.	(3) without Germany	(4) without Spain	(5) without Finland	(6) without UK	(7) without Israel	(8) without Lithuania	(9) without Poland	(10) without Sweden
Party-gov't conflict rate	2.495*** (0.653)	2.311*** (0.731)	2.604*** (0.733)	2.421*** (0.757)	2.019* (1.055)	2.020** (0.908)	1.923** (0.775)	2.174*** (0.739)	1.969** (0.791)	2.483*** (0.844)
Opposition powers	1.605*** (0.493)	0.617 (0.614)	4.747*** (1.135)	-0.256 (0.463)	0.519 (0.559)	-0.192 (0.464)	-0.269 (0.555)	4.669*** (1.122)	0.463 (0.549)	0.145 (0.603)
Vote share (t)	8.545*** (0.576)	8.246*** (0.548)	8.234*** (0.647)	8.184*** (0.535)	7.948*** (0.577)	7.709*** (0.563)	8.108*** (0.520)	8.347*** (0.541)	8.140*** (0.569)	8.589*** (0.607)
Party-gov't distance	1.933** (0.931)	1.427 (0.982)	1.998** (1.001)	1.568 (0.986)	1.378 (1.043)	1.400 (1.015)	2.195** (1.067)	1.258 (0.997)	1.592 (1.080)	1.423 (1.048)
Conflict * distance	-5.302*** (1.771)	-3.623* (2.040)	-5.122** (2.323)	-4.262* (2.195)	-3.093 (2.463)	-3.514 (2.443)	-4.364** (2.171)	-3.945* (2.265)	-3.661 (2.240)	-3.869* (2.227)
GDP growth	0.00879 (0.0220)	-0.0152 (0.0253)	0.0159 (0.0200)	0.0132 (0.0230)	0.0173 (0.0236)	0.0202 (0.0294)	0.0228 (0.0214)	0.00628 (0.0174)	-0.00634 (0.0228)	0.0194 (0.0235)
Early elections	-0.228 (0.157)	-0.0729 (0.223)	-0.0525 (0.110)	-0.233 (0.160)	-0.112 (0.154)	-0.218 (0.161)	0.0716 (0.166)	-0.0983 (0.0895)	-0.145 (0.130)	-0.132 (0.149)
Coalition fragmentation	-0.467*** (0.151)	-0.330* (0.169)	-0.317** (0.147)	-0.435** (0.170)	-0.372** (0.175)	-0.364* (0.186)	-0.447*** (0.127)	-0.305** (0.130)	-0.244 (0.159)	-0.223 (0.251)
Coalition size	2.361** (0.980)	1.036 (0.985)	1.793 (1.093)	1.711* (1.011)	0.972 (1.096)	1.440 (1.104)	2.185** (0.928)	1.771* (0.980)	0.846 (1.086)	1.143 (1.324)
Parliament fragmentation	0.271*** (0.0738)	0.211* (0.110)	0.278*** (0.0640)	0.232*** (0.0891)	0.235*** (0.0878)	0.185* (0.0945)	0.380*** (0.0670)	0.291*** (0.0595)	0.157** (0.0759)	0.241** (0.107)
Federalism	-0.312 (0.191)	0.296 (0.282)	0.843*** (0.269)	0.810*** (0.226)	0.253 (0.287)	-0.566*** (0.134)	0.235 (0.285)	0.847*** (0.247)	0.356 (0.276)	0.430 (0.311)
Proportional system	0.350* (0.201)	-0.0648 (0.212)	0.814*** (0.259)	-0.00119 (0.185)	0.0169 (0.202)	0.0330 (0.193)	0.158 (0.196)	-2.364*** (0.577)	-0.150 (0.203)	-0.0304 (0.202)
Vote frequency	0.0337 (0.0297)	0.0608 (0.0500)	-0.0257 (0.0390)	0.0823** (0.0363)	0.0777* (0.0402)	0.0784** (0.0363)	0.0498 (0.0328)	-0.0219 (0.0384)	0.00337 (0.0471)	0.132* (0.0737)
Full voting record	-0.00763 (0.231)	0.334 (0.335)	-1.187*** (0.338)	0.549** (0.270)	0.00415 (0.345)	-0.856*** (0.253)	-0.0927 (0.302)	1.981*** (0.536)	0.438 (0.327)	-0.108 (0.365)
Constant	-7.102*** (0.835)	-5.725*** (0.791)	-8.313*** (1.173)	-5.790*** (0.774)	-5.509*** (0.843)	-4.063*** (0.826)	-6.060*** (0.753)	-8.065*** (1.102)	-5.238*** (0.875)	-5.985*** (0.949)
Observations	159	155	153	166	149	144	138	156	157	144

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.15. Party-Government Conflict, Likability and Perceived Extremism in Survey Data

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Likability	Extremism	Likability	Extremism	2 Levels Likability	2 Levels Extremism	3 Levels Likability	3 Levels Extremism
Party-gov't conflict rate	1.158*** (0.101)	0.597*** (0.065)	0.244* (0.139)	1.104*** (0.111)	0.501*** (0.130)	1.135*** (0.113)	0.227* (0.138)	1.048*** (0.115)
Vote share	-0.839*** (0.248)	0.665*** (0.136)	-4.605*** (0.507)	0.764*** (0.137)	-3.805*** (0.466)	0.794*** (0.127)	-4.407*** (0.478)	0.769*** (0.132)
Party-gov't distance		-0.249*** (0.074)		0.328** (0.129)		0.187 (0.134)		0.326** (0.132)
Conflict * Vote share			8.131*** (0.893)		7.800*** (0.852)		7.854*** (0.891)	
Conflict * distance				-1.464*** (0.270)		-1.364*** (0.284)		-1.389*** (0.284)
Resp.-party distance	-0.552*** (0.004)	0.277*** (0.002)	-0.552*** (0.004)	0.277*** (0.002)	-0.579*** (0.004)	0.269*** (0.002)	-0.552*** (0.004)	0.277*** (0.002)
Voted for party = 1	2.587*** (0.029)	0.432*** (0.016)	2.592*** (0.029)	0.433*** (0.016)	2.469*** (0.029)	0.422*** (0.016)	2.592*** (0.031)	0.433*** (0.016)
Extremism (experts)	-0.342*** (0.025)	0.004 (0.012)	-0.341*** (0.025)	-0.006 (0.012)	-0.354*** (0.025)	-0.010 (0.013)	-0.325*** (0.024)	0.004 (0.013)
Age	-0.019*** (0.004)	0.005*** (0.002)	-0.019*** (0.004)	0.005*** (0.002)			-0.019*** (0.003)	0.005*** (0.002)
Age-squared	0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)			0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)
Gender = male	-0.103*** (0.021)	-0.037*** (0.010)	-0.103*** (0.021)	-0.037*** (0.010)			-0.103*** (0.017)	-0.037*** (0.009)
Education = primary	-0.318* (0.166)	-0.105 (0.083)	-0.327** (0.166)	-0.102 (0.083)			-0.325*** (0.106)	-0.101* (0.056)
Education = secondary	-0.310* (0.166)	-0.153* (0.083)	-0.322* (0.166)	-0.147* (0.083)			-0.321*** (0.106)	-0.147*** (0.056)
Education = post-secondary	-0.286* (0.169)	-0.166** (0.085)	-0.291* (0.169)	-0.157* (0.085)			-0.292*** (0.110)	-0.158*** (0.057)
Education = university	-0.264 (0.167)	-0.177** (0.083)	-0.274* (0.167)	-0.172** (0.083)			-0.274** (0.107)	-0.172*** (0.056)
Country FEs	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	--	--
Party FEs	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	--	--
Constant	6.501*** (0.220)	1.385*** (0.112)	7.139*** (0.234)	1.396*** (0.112)	6.071*** (0.132)	1.437*** (0.064)	7.237*** (0.212)	1.022*** (0.135)
Observations	81,839	81,839	81,839	81,839	81,839	81,839	81,839	81,839
R-squared	0.368	0.452	0.369	0.452				
Number of groups					27,371	27,371	8	8

Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by respondent. Models 5 and 6: Multilevel models with random intercepts for respondents. Models 7 and 8: Multilevel models with random intercepts for countries and parties.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.16. Perceived Party-Government Ideological Distance in Survey Data

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)
Party-gov't conflict rate	0.851*** (0.111)	1.671*** (0.176)
Ideological gap	5.151*** (0.121)	6.084*** (0.209)
Conflict * gap		-2.369*** (0.428)
Resp.-party distance	0.226*** (0.005)	0.226*** (0.005)
Voted for party = 1	0.743*** (0.024)	0.745*** (0.024)
Extremism (experts)	-0.073*** (0.018)	-0.087*** (0.019)
Vote share	2.107*** (0.203)	2.268*** (0.207)
Age	0.007** (0.003)	0.007** (0.003)
Age-squared	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Gender = male	-0.107*** (0.016)	-0.107*** (0.016)
Education = primary	-0.043 (0.115)	-0.037 (0.115)
Education = secondary	-0.081 (0.115)	-0.071 (0.115)
Education = post-secondary	-0.153 (0.118)	-0.138 (0.117)
Education = university	-0.075 (0.115)	-0.066 (0.115)
Country FEs	YES	YES
Party FEs	YES	YES
Constant	0.186 (0.166)	0.205 (0.166)
Observations	81,569	81,569
R-squared	0.321	0.322

Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by respondent

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure A.1. Histograms of Opposition Party and Coalition Positions in Legislative Voting

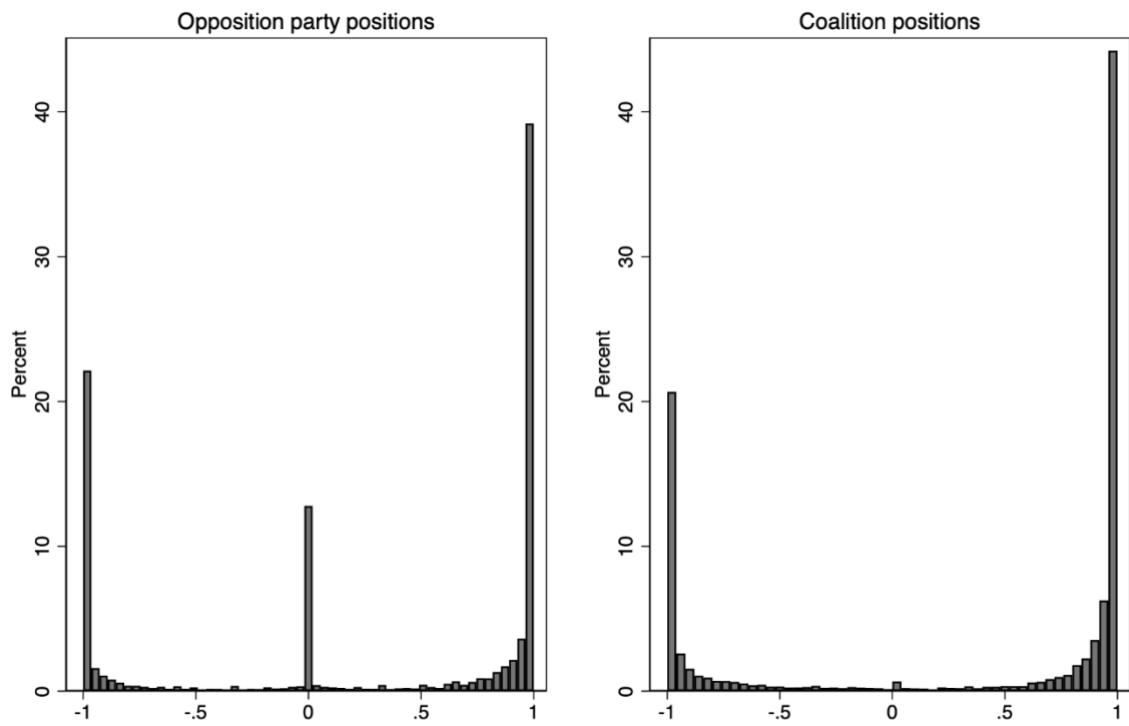
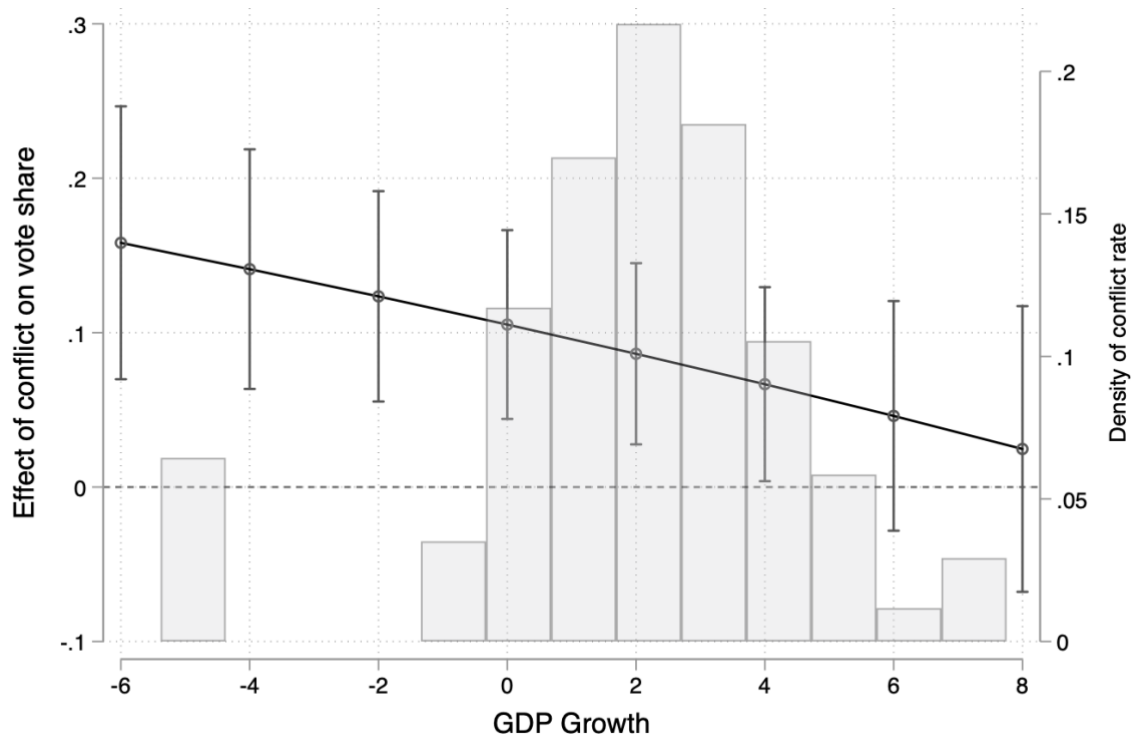


Figure A.2. Interaction Between Conflict and Economic Growth



Note. Based on model 2 in table A.10. Gray bars represent density of the x-axis variable. 95% confidence intervals used.