**Anghel, Veronica and Maria Thȕrk. 2019. Under the Influence: Pay-Offs to Legislative Support Parties under Minority Governments. *Government & Opposition -*** Appendix -

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**Table 1: Overview of Romanian Cabinets (1990 - 2019)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Cabinet no.** | **Cabinet** | **Date in** | **Date out** | **Maximum possible duration, in days** | **Duration, in days** | **Minority situation in parliament** | **Type of cabinet** | **Cabinet composition** | **Coalition cabinet** | **Coalition Agreement** |
| **1** | Roman | 28.06.1990 | 26.09.1991 | 822 | 455 | No | MWC | FSN | No | No |
| **2** | Stolojan | 17.10.1991 | 27.09.1992 | 346 | 346 | No | Surplus | FSN, PNL, MER, PDAR | Yes | No |
| **3** | Vacaroiu I | 20.11.1992 | 18.08.1994 | 1444 | 636 | Yes | Minority | FDSN | No | No |
| **4** | Vacaroiu II | 18.08.1994 | 03.09.1996 | 808 | 747 | Yes | Minority | PDSR, PUNR | Yes | Yes |
| **5** | Vacaroiu III | 03.09.1996 | 03.11.1996 | 61 | 61 | Yes | Minority | PDSR | No | No |
| **6** | Ciorbea I | 12.12.1996 | 05.12.1997 | 1445 | 358 | Yes | Surplus | PNTCD, PNL, PDL, UDMR, PSDR, PNLCD | Yes | Yes |
| **7** | Ciorbea II | 05.12.1997 | 02.02.1998 | 1087 | 59 | Yes | Surplus | PNTCD, PNL, PDL, UDMR, PSDR | Yes | Yes |
| **8** | Ciorbea III | 11.02.1998 | 30.03.1998 | 1019 | 47 | Yes | Minority | PNTCD, PNL, UDMR, PSDR, PL, PAR | Yes | Yes |
| **9** | Vasile I | 17.04.1998 | 27.10.1998 | 954 | 193 | Yes | Surplus | PNTCD, PNL, PD, UDMR, PSDR, PAR | Yes | Yes |
| **10** | Vasile II | 27.10.1998 | 13.12.1999 | 761 | 412 | Yes | Surplus | PNTCD, PNL, PD, UDMR, PSDR | Yes | Yes |
| **11** | Isarescu | 22.12.1999 | 26.11.2000 | 340 | 340 | Yes | Surplus | PNTCD, PNL, PD, UDMR, PSDR | Yes | Yes |
| **12** | Nastase I | 28.12.2000 | 19.06.2003 | 1431 | 903 | Yes | Minority | PSD, PSDR, PC | Yes | Yes |
| **13** | Nastase II | 19.06.2003 | 28.11.2004 | 528 | 528 | Yes | Minority | PSD | No | No |
| **14** | Popescu-Tariceanu I | 29.12.2004 | 04.12.2006 | 1432 | 705 | Yes | Minority | PNL, PD, UDMR, PC | Yes | Yes |
| **15** | Popescu-Tariceanu II | 04.12.2006 | 05.04.2007 | 727 | 122 | Yes | Minority | PNL, PD, UDMR | Yes | Yes |

Table 1 continued

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **16** | Popescu-Tariceanu III | 05.04.2007 | 30.11.2008 | 605 | 605 | Yes | Minority | PNL, UDMR | Yes | Yes |
| **17** | Boc I | 22.12.2008 | 01.10.2009 | 1448 | 283 | Yes | MWC | PDL, PSD | Yes | Yes |
| **18** | Boc II | 01.10.2009 | 13.10.2009 | 1165 | 12 | Yes | Minority | PDL | No | No |
| **19** | Boc III | 23.12.2009 | 20.04.2010 | 1082 | 118 | Yes | Minority | PDL, UDMR | Yes | Yes |
| **20** | Boc IV | 20.04.2010 | 06.02.2012 | 964 | 657 | Yes | Minority | PDL, UDMR, UNPR | Yes | Yes |
| **21** | Ungureanu | 09.02.2012 | 27.04.2012 | 304 | 78 | Yes | Minority | PDL, UDMR, UNPR | Yes | Yes |
| **22** | Ponta I | 07.05.2012 | 09.12.2012 | 216 | 216 | Yes | Minority | PSD, PNL, PC | Yes | Yes |
| **23** | Ponta II | 21.12.2012 | 26.02.2014 | 1435 | 429 | Yes | Surplus | PSD, PNL, PC, UNPR | Yes | Yes |
| **24** | Ponta III | 26.02.2014 | 05.03.2014 | 1006 | 6 | Yes | Minority | PSD, PC, UNPR | Yes | Yes |
| **25** | Ponta IV | 05.03.2014 | 17.12.2014 | 1000 | 287 | Yes | MWC | PSD, UDMR, PC, UNPR | Yes | Yes |
| **26** | Ponta V | 17.12.2014 | 04.11.2015 | 713 | 322 | Yes | Surplus | PSD, UNPR, PC, PLR | Yes | Yes |
| **27** | Ciolos1 | 17.11.2015 | 11.12.2016 | 391 | 391 | Yes | Technocrat | non-partisan | No | No |
| **28** | Grindeanu | 04.01.2017 | 21.06.2017 | 169 | tbd | Yes | MWC | PSD, ALDE | Yes | Yes |
| **29** | Tudose | 29.06.2017 | 15.01.2017 | 201 | tbd | Yes | MWC | PSD, ALDE | Yes | Yes |
| **30** | Dancila | 29.01.2018 | tbd | tbd | tbd | Yes | MWC | PSD, ALDE | Yes | Yes |

Notes: 1 Ciolos was a non-partisan caretaker cabinet and was thus ignored in our analysis.

**Table 2: Overview of Romanian Minority Cabinets (1990 - 2019)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Cabinet no.** | **Cabinet** | **Date in** | **Date out** | **Total number of seats** | **Cabinet seat share (date in)** | **Cabinet support (date in)** | | **Cabinet composition** | **Opposition support** | **Support party2** |
| **Explicit cabinet support strenght** | **Investiture vote (pro)1** |
| **3** | Vacaroiu I | 20.11.1992 | 18.08.1994 | 484 | 166 | 250 | 260 | FDSN | Explicit | PUNR |
| **4** | Vacaroiu II | 18.08.1994 | 03.09.1996 | 483 | 207 | 246 | No | PDSR, PUNR | Explicit | PRM, PSM |
| **5** | Vacaroiu III | 03.09.1996 | 03.11.1996 | 482 | 154 | 0 | No | PDSR | No |  |
| **8** | Ciorbea III | 11.02.1998 | 30.03.1998 | 484 | 210 | 273 | 315 | PNTCD, PNL, UDMR, PSDR, PL, PAR | Explicit | PD |
| **12** | Nastase I | 28.12.2000 | 19.06.2003 | 485 | 218 | 300 | 314 | PSD, PSDR, PC | Explicit | UDMR, PNL |
| **13** | Nastase II | 19.06.2003 | 28.11.2004 | 483 | 223 | 262 | 267 | PSD | Explicit | UDMR |
| **14** | Popescu-Tariceanu I | 29.12.2004 | 04.12.2006 | 469 | 223 | 0 | 265 | PNL, PD, UDMR, PC | No |  |
| **15** | Popescu-Tariceanu II | 04.12.2006 | 05.04.2007 | 467 | 200 | 0 | No | PNL, PD, UDMR | No |  |
| **16** | Popescu-Tariceanu III | 05.04.2007 | 30.11.2008 | 466 | 105 | 255 | 303 | PNL, UDMR | Implicit | PSD |
| **18** | Boc II | 01.10.2009 | 13.10.2009 | 471 | 166 | 0 | No | PDL | No |  |
| **19** | Boc III | 23.12.2009 | 20.04.2010 | 470 | 198 | 212 | 276 | PDL, UDMR | Implicit | (UNPR) |
| **20** | Boc IV | 20.04.2010 | 06.02.2012 | 470 | 212 | 230 | No | PDL, UDMR, UNPR | Explicit | minorities |
| **21** | Ungureanu | 09.02.2012 | 27.04.2012 | 464 | 227 | 245 | 237 | PDL, UDMR, UNPR | Explicit | minorities |
| **22** | Ponta I | 07.05.2012 | 09.12.2012 | 459 | 285 | 329 | 284 | PSD, PNL, PC | Explicit | UNPR , minorities |
| **24** | Ponta III | 26.02.2014 | 05.03.2014 | 581 | 262 | 279 | No | PSD, PC, UNPR | Explicit | minorities |

Notes: 1 Investiture votes not required for party reshuffles in cabinet.  
 2 Parties in parentheses are implicit support parties.

**Table 3: Overview of Support Agreements (1990 - 2019)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Cabinet** | **Parties in agreement1** | **Type of agreement** | **Date** | **Size (words)** | **Policies (%)** | | | | | | **Distribution of Offices (%)** | **Functioning Mechanisms (%)** | **Ceremonial and other (%)** |
| **Total policy** | Structural (%) | Economic (%) | Social (%) | Foreign Affairs (%) | Group specific (%) |
| Vacaroiu I | **FDSN**, PUNR | Explicit | 22.01.1994 | 1755 | 31.31 | 9.45 | 7.06 | 2.39 | 8.77 | 3.64 | 31 | 29.05 | 8.64 |
| Vacaroiu II | **PDSR**, **PUNR**, PSM, PRM | Explicit | 22.01.1995 | 1205 | 51.02 | 11.7 | 14.19 | 0 | 17.75 | 7.38 | 2.32 | 25.22 | 21.44 |
| Vacaroiu III | No support | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Ciorbea III | **PNTCD**, **PNL**, **UDMR**, PD, **PSDR** | Explicit | 05.02.1998 | 476 | 0.00 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 79.62 | 20.38 |
| Nastase I (a) | **PDSR**, PNL | Explicit | 15.12.2000 | 552 | 57.42 | 14.31 | 33.33 | 3.44 | 6.34 | 0 | 9.05 | 20.47 | 13.06 |
| Nastase I (b) | **PDSR**, UDMR | Explicit | 19.02.2003 | 3527 | 72.59 | 9.78 | 8.50 | 17.01 | 1 | 36.3 | 0 | 17.80 | 9.61 |
| Nastase II | **PSD**, UDMR | Explicit | 09.03.2004 | 3001 | 67.76 | 11.49 | 6.66 | 19.56 | 1.46 | 27.59 | 0 | 20.95 | 11.29 |
| Popescu-Tariceanu I | **PD**, **PNL**, **UDMR**, **PC**, minority caucus | Implicit | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Popescu-Tariceanu II | **PD**, **PNL**, **UDMR**, minority caucus | Implicit | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Popescu-Tariceanu III | **PNL**, **UDMR**, PSD | Implicit | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Boc II | No support | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Boc III | **PDL**, **UDMR**, UNPR | Implicit | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA |

**Table 3 continued**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Boc IV | **PDL**, **UDMR**, **UNPR**, minority caucus | Explicit2 | 01.03.2011 | 745 | 72.59 | 10.73 | 28.72 | 14.22 | 18.12 | 0.8 | 0 | 2.41 | 25 |
| Ungureanu | **PDL**, **UDMR**, **UNPR**, minority caucus | Explicit | 02.03.2011 | 745 | 72.59 | 10.73 | 28.72 | 14.22 | 18.12 | 0.8 | 0 | 2.41 | 25 |
| Ponta I (a) | **PSD**, UNPR | Explicit | 03.05.2012 | 162 | 61.1 | 18.51 | 42.59 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18.51 | 20.39 |
| Ponta I (b) | **PSD**, minority caucus | Explicit | 07.05.2012 | 182 | 71.42 | 0 | 28.02 | 0 | 6.59 | 36.81 | 0 | 17.58 | 11 |
| Ponta III | **PSD**, minority caucus | Explicit | 03.03.2014 | 602 | 47.16 | 0 | 11.62 | 0 | 3.98 | 31.56 | 0 | 28.23 | 24.61 |

Notes: 1 Parties in bold indicate cabinet member parties.  
 2 This is also the coalition agreement. The Minority Caucus was included in the agreement but abstained from cabinet offices.