

8 Appendix

8.1 *Corpus Data Availability*

The following figures show the availability of corpus data at the party level for all countries in the sample over the entire available period. The illustration and explanation are based on the validation report for the paper by Dupont and Rachuj (2021).

Each line represents a party, where the name is composed of the Manifesto ID and the English party name. A dot indicates that a manifesto is available at the corresponding election time. The size of the dot reflects the vote share of the respective party, and the color represents the affiliation to the party family. Although many parties are covered in principle, election programs are occasionally missing from the time series. In order to have the longest possible time series for the multi-level analysis, I use the latest available manifesto to close the gap. This procedure is based on the assumption that the old manifesto is still valid.

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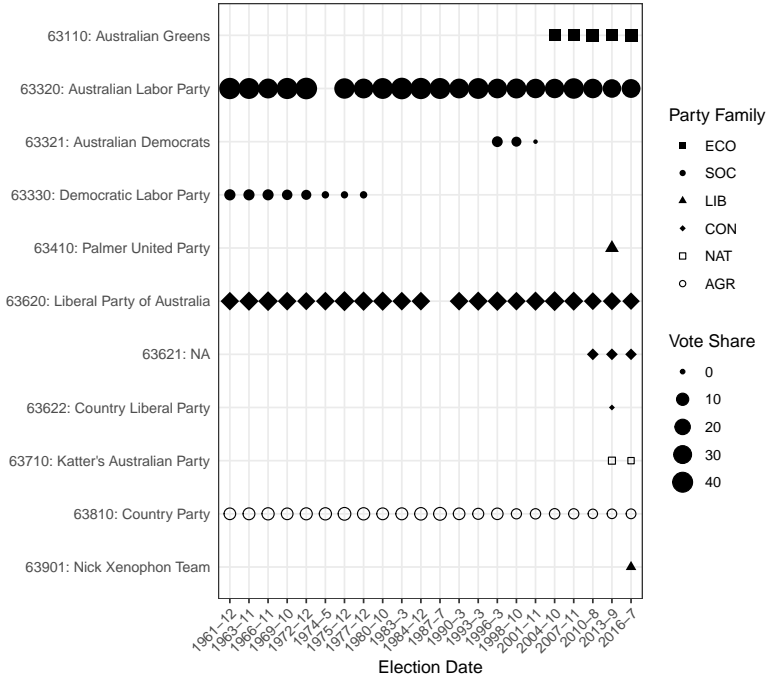


Figure 8.1: Australia: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

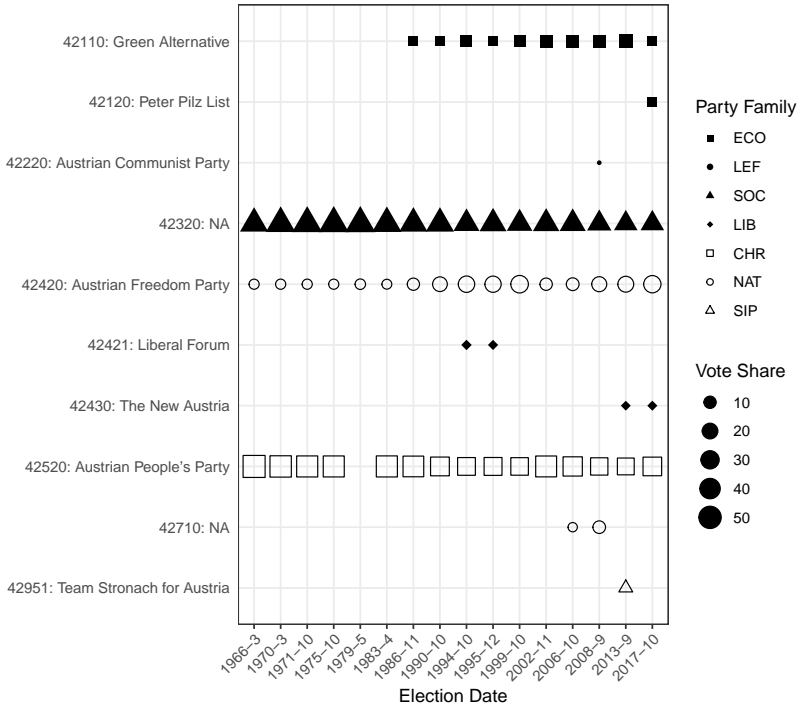


Figure 8.2: Austria: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

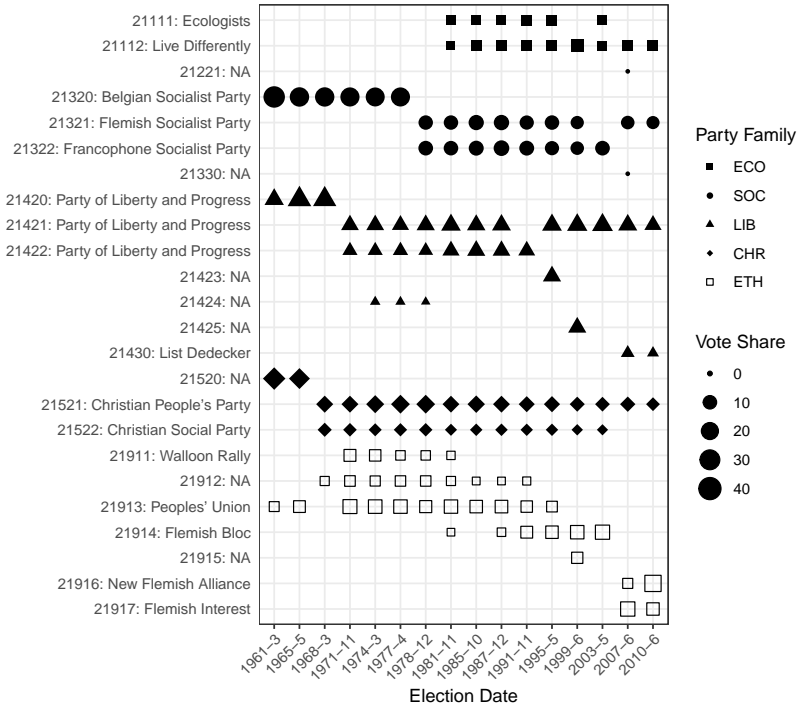


Figure 8.3: Belgium: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

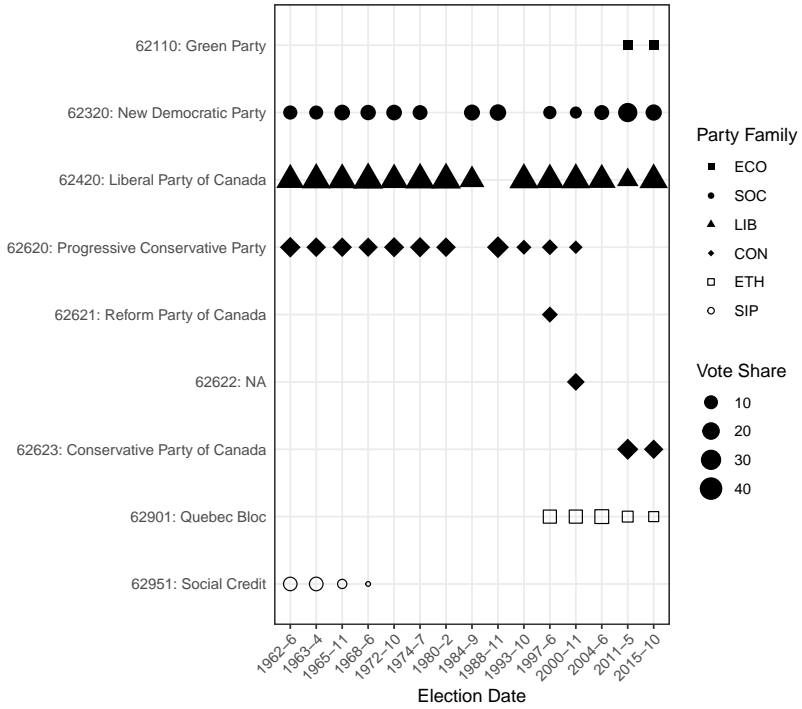


Figure 8.4: Canada: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

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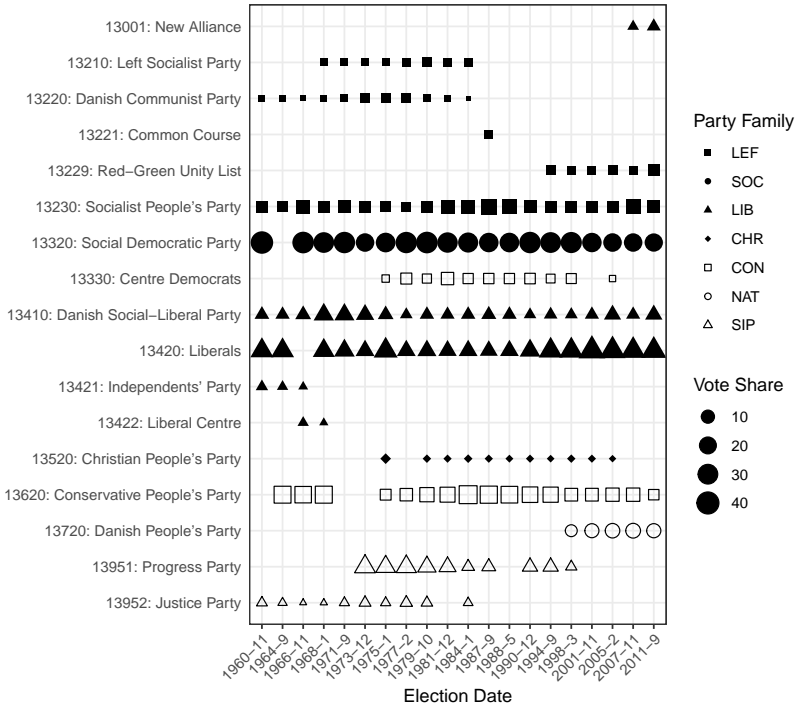


Figure 8.5: Denmark: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

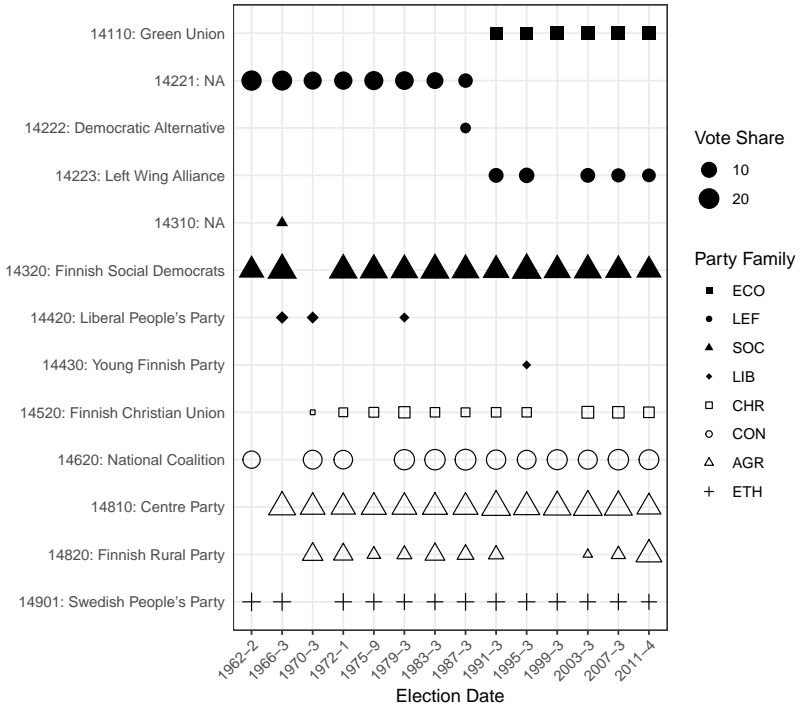


Figure 8.6: Finland: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

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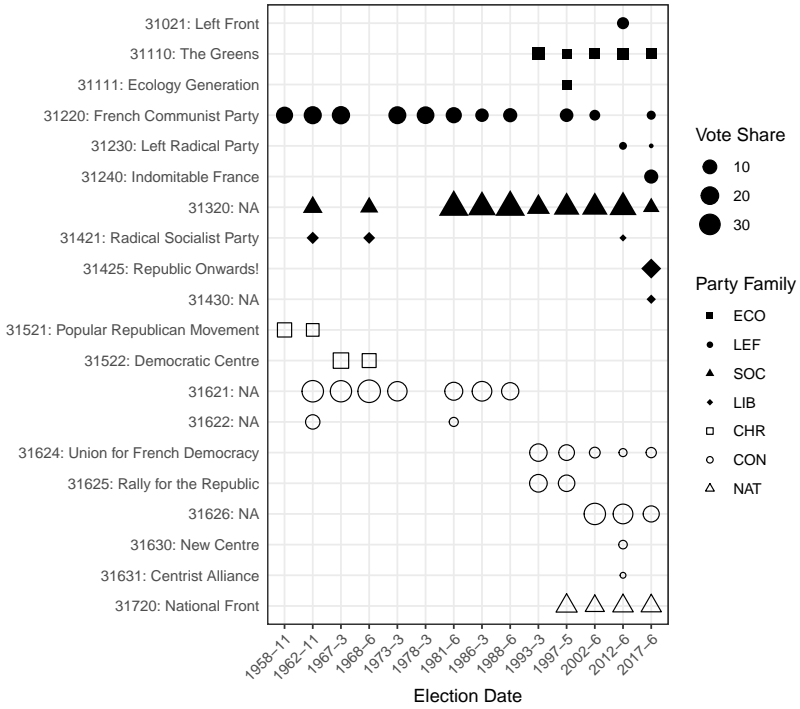


Figure 8.7: France: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

8.1 Corpus Data Availability

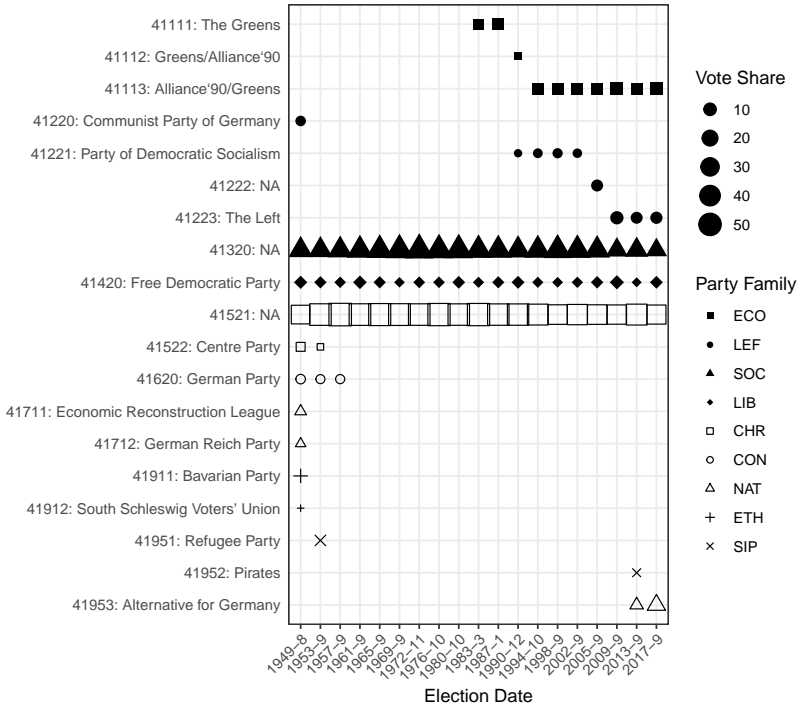


Figure 8.8: Germany: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

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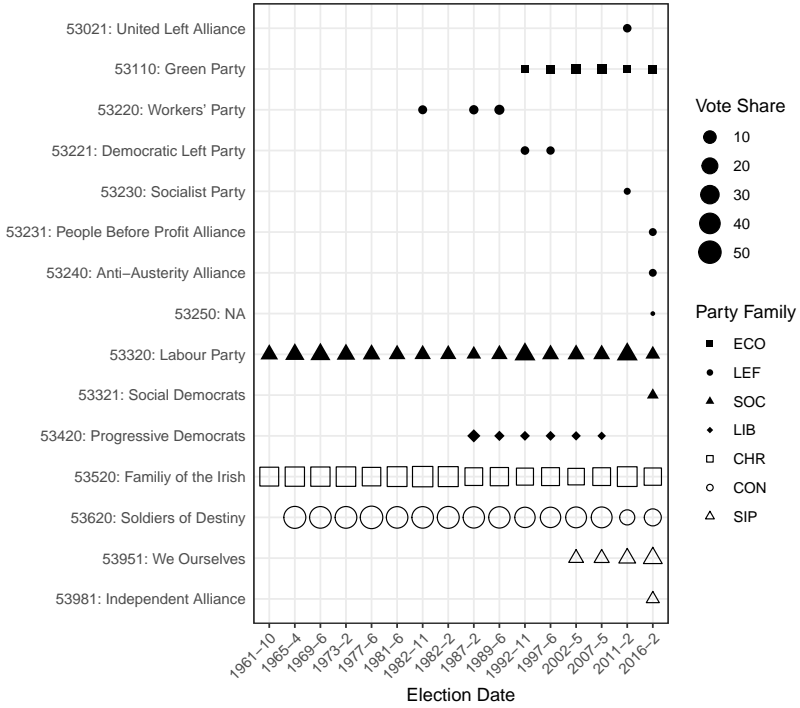


Figure 8.9: Ireland: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

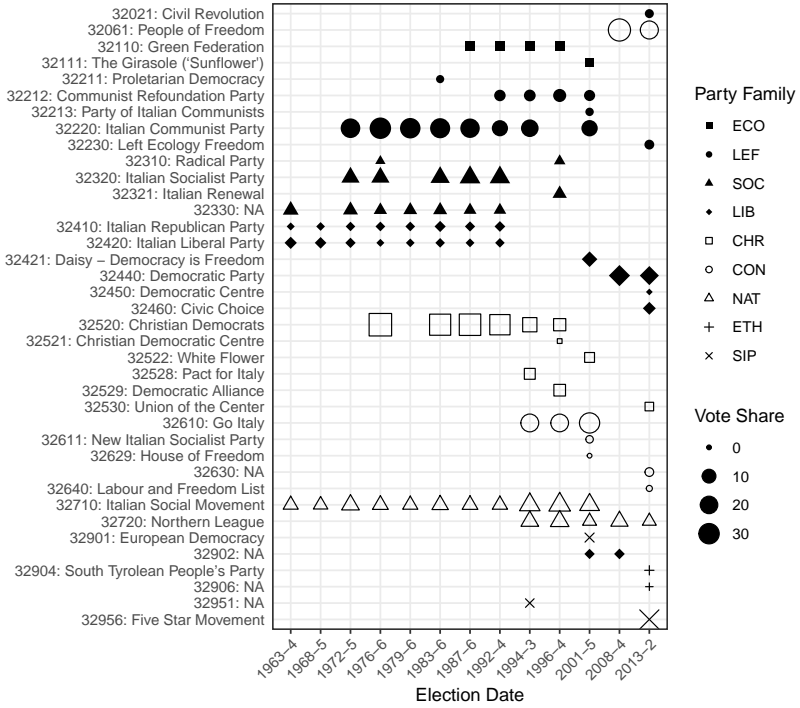


Figure 8.10: Italy: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

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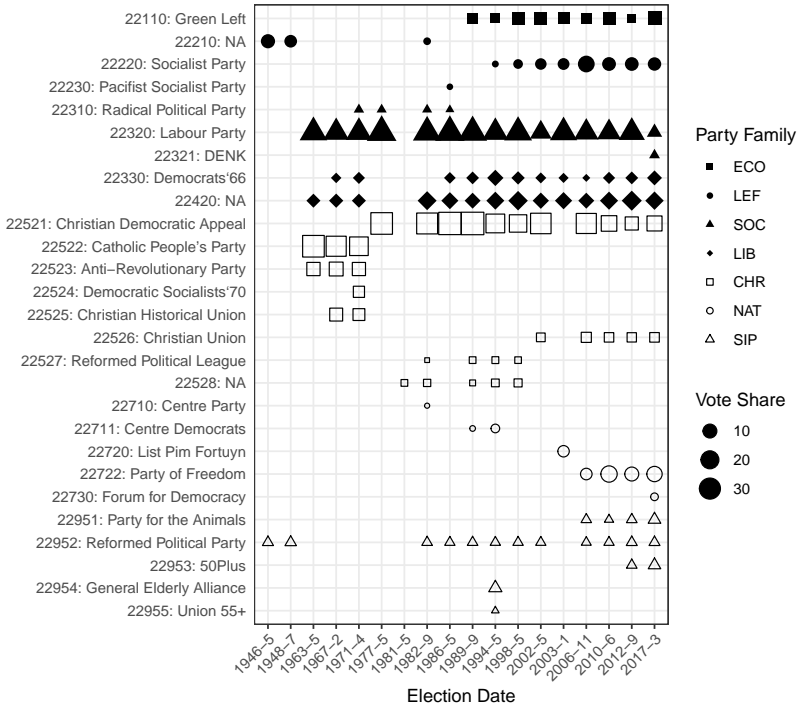


Figure 8.11: The Netherlands: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

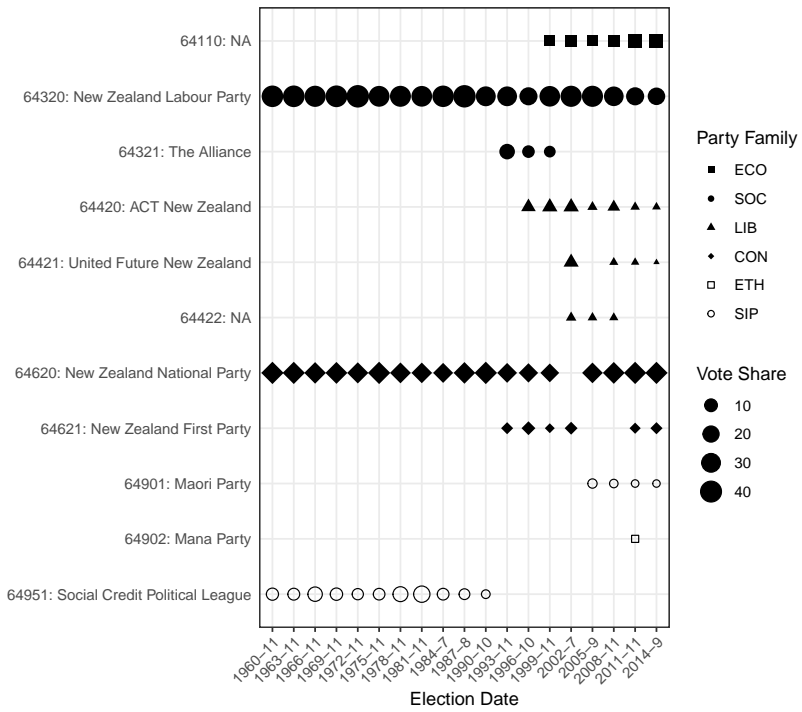


Figure 8.12: New Zealand: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

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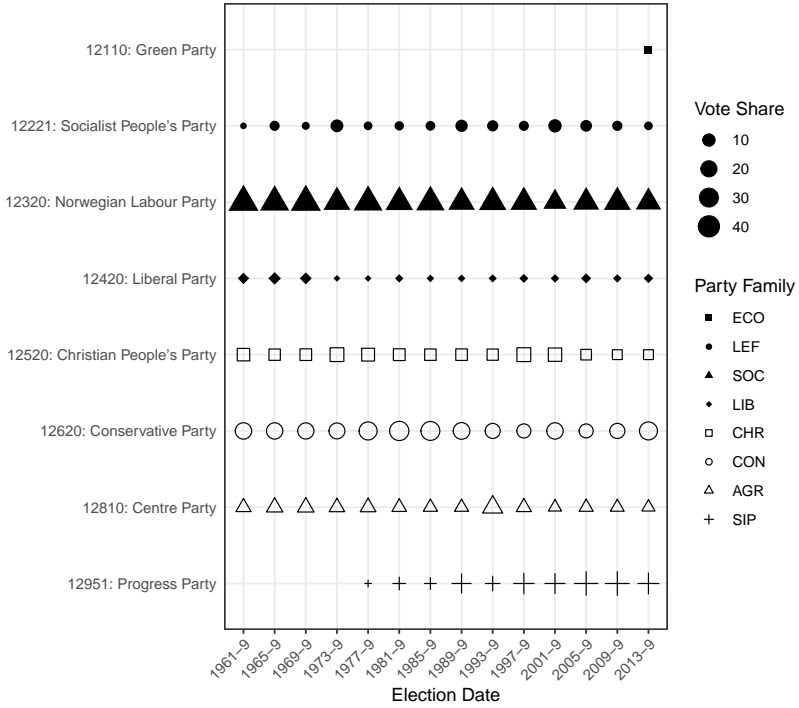


Figure 8.13: Norway: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

8.1 Corpus Data Availability

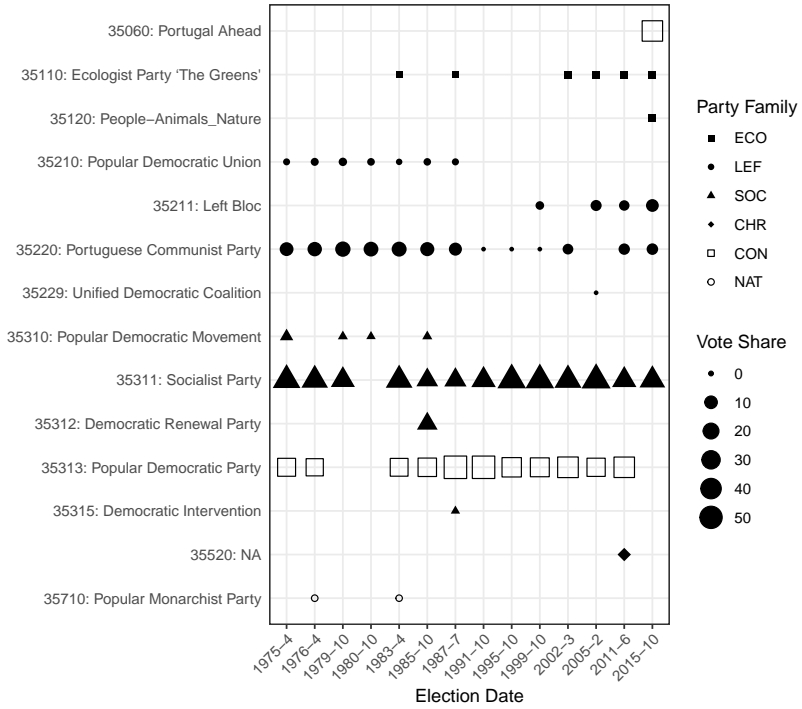


Figure 8.14: Portugal: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

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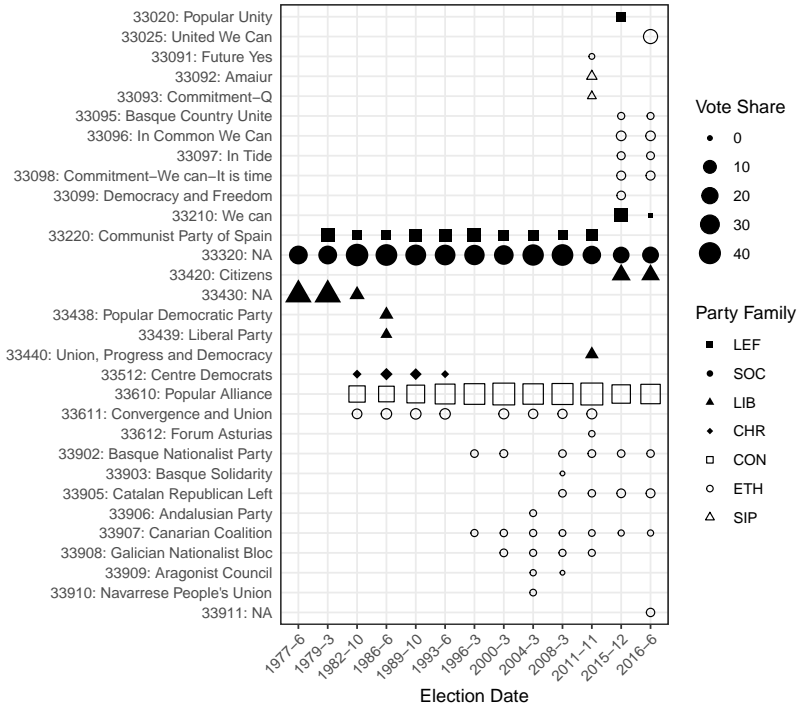


Figure 8.15: Spain: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

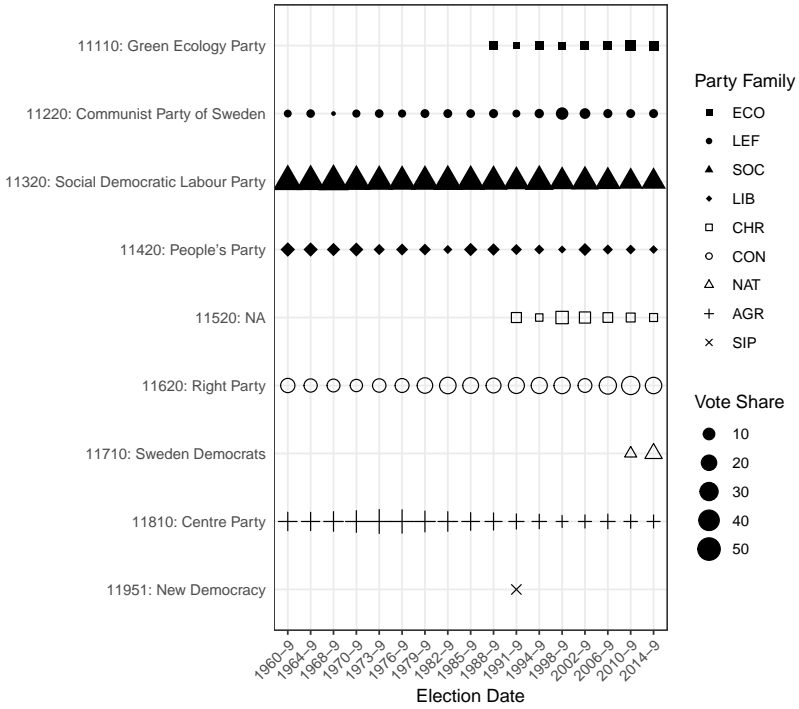


Figure 8.16: Sweden: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

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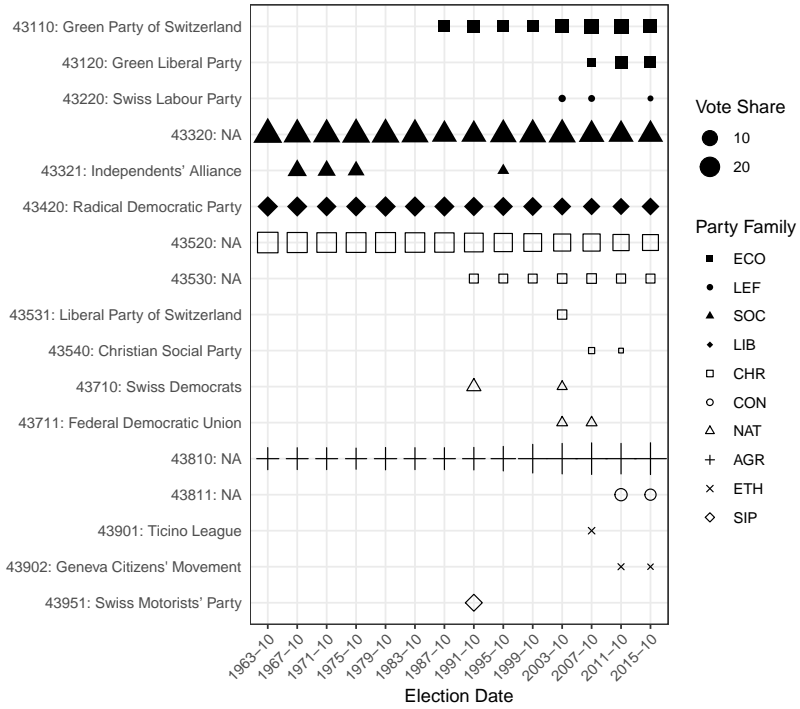


Figure 8.17: Switzerland: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

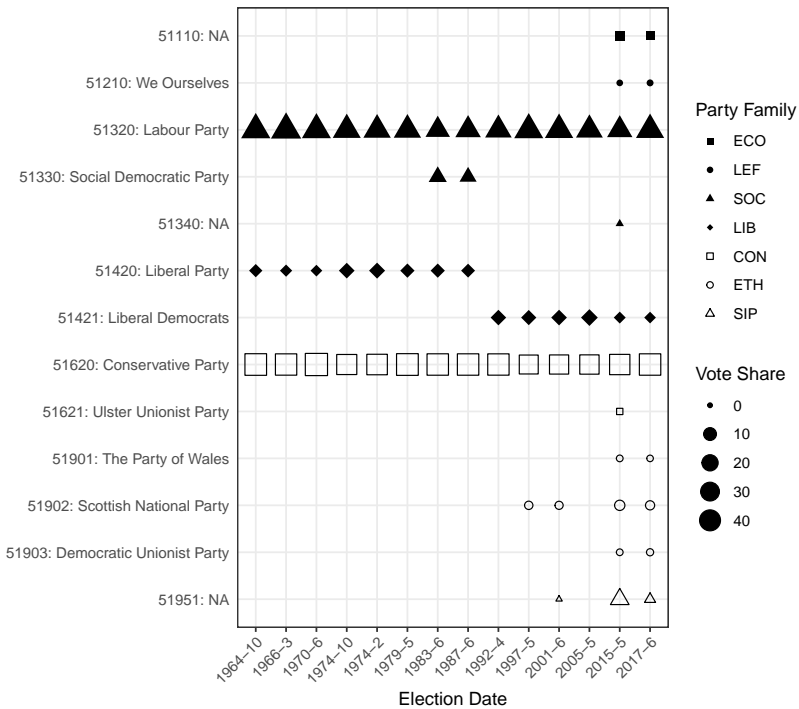


Figure 8.18: United Kingdom: Corpus Data Availability on Party Level

8.2 New Parties in the Sample

The table below lists all the new parties that I was able to identify based on the "Parties, Institutions & Preferences" (Jahn et al., 2018a) dataset. The column "First Election" indicates the year the party first succeeded in entering parliament. In contrast, the column "Last Election" is the year in which the party last won at least one seat in parliament. I have left parties that emerged from a split in the analysis because the resulting organizations are not identical to the original party. This coding decision applies particularly to Belgium, where, for example, the Party of Liberty and Progress split into a Walloon and a Flemish party (Hecking, 2006, p. 54), which again managed to win seats in parliament. The Belgian Socialist Party underwent a similar development, so it appears twice in the list.

Table 8.1: New Parties Included in the Analysis

Country	CMP Code	Party Name	Time		Vote Share		
			First Election	Last Election	Min	Max	Mean
Australia	63110	Australian Greens	2010	2016	8.70	11.80	9.97
Australia	63410	Palmer United Party	2013	2013	5.50	5.50	5.50
Australia	63710	Katter's Australian Party	2013	2016	0.50	1.00	0.78
Austria	42110	Green Alternative	1986	2013	4.80	12.40	8.42
Austria	42421	Liberal Forum	1994	1995	5.50	6.00	5.75
Austria	42710	Alliance for the Future of Austria	2006	2008	4.10	10.70	7.77
Austria	42430	The New Austria	2013	2017	5.00	5.30	5.15
Austria	42951	Team Stronach for Austria	2013	2013	5.70	5.70	5.70
Austria	42120	Peter Pilz List	2017	2017	4.40	4.40	4.40
Belgium	21912	Francophone Democratic Front of Francophones of Brussels	1965	1991	1.20	5.90	3.21
Belgium	21521	Christian People's Party	1968	2014	10.90	23.70	18.02
Belgium	21522	Christian Social Party	1968	2014	5.50	12.60	8.58
Belgium	21911	Walloon Rally	1968	1981	1.10	5.80	3.14
Belgium	21421	Party of Liberty and Progress	1971	2014	7.40	15.40	11.29
Belgium	21422	Party of Liberty and Progress	1971	1991	3.40	10.20	7.08
Belgium	21424	Brussels Liberal Party	1971	1978	0.30	1.60	0.91
Belgium	21321	Belgian Socialist Party	1978	2014	8.80	14.90	12.08
Belgium	21322	Belgian Socialist Party	1978	2014	10.20	15.60	12.95
Belgium	21914	Flemish Bloc	1978	2014	1.10	12.00	6.26
Belgium	21111	Ecologists	1981	2014	2.20	7.40	4.04
Belgium	21112	Live Differently	1981	2014	2.30	7.00	4.24
Belgium	21426	Liberal Reformation Party - Francophone Democratic Front	1995	2014	10.10	12.50	11.11
Belgium	21916	New Flemish Alliance	2003	2014	3.10	20.30	12.38
Belgium	21430	List Dedecker	2007	2010	2.30	4.00	3.19
Canada	62621	Reform Party of Canada	1993	2000	19.40	25.50	22.45
Canada	62901	Quebec Bloc	1993	2015	4.70	12.40	8.85

Table 8.1: New Parties Included in the Analysis (continued)

Country	CMP Code	Party Name	Time		Vote Share		
			First Election	Last Election	Min	Max	Mean
Canada	62623	Conservative Party of Canada	2004	2015	31.90	39.60	35.75
Canada	62110	Green Party	2011	2015	3.40	3.90	3.65
Denmark	13230	Socialist People's Party	1960	2015	3.90	14.60	8.10
Denmark	13421	Independents' Party	1960	1964	1.60	3.30	2.38
Denmark	13422	Liberal Centre	1966	1966	2.50	2.50	2.50
Denmark	13210	Left Socialist Party	1968	1984	1.50	3.70	2.44
Denmark	13330	Centre Democrats	1973	1998	2.20	8.30	4.66
Denmark	13520	Christian People's Party	1973	2001	1.80	5.30	2.76
Denmark	13951	Progress Party	1973	1998	2.40	15.90	8.90
Denmark	13221	Common Course	1987	1987	2.20	2.20	2.20
Denmark	13229	Red-Green Unity List	1994	2015	2.20	7.80	3.93
Denmark	13720	Danish People's Party	1998	2015	7.40	21.10	13.05
Denmark	13001	New Alliance	2007	2015	2.80	7.50	5.10
Finland	14820	Finnish Smallholders' Party	1966	2015	1.00	19.10	7.07
Finland	14520	Finnish Christian Union	1970	2015	1.10	5.30	3.47
Finland	14110	Green Union	1983	2015	6.50	8.50	7.52
Finland	14222	Democratic Alternative	1987	1987	4.20	4.20	4.20
Finland	14223	Left Wing Alliance	1991	2015	7.10	11.20	9.49
Finland	14430	Young Finnish Party	1995	1995	2.80	2.80	2.80
France	31624	Union for French Democracy	1978	2017	1.80	19.10	7.98
France	31720	National Front	1986	2017	4.30	14.90	10.83
France	31110	The Greens	1997	2017	3.20	6.80	4.93
France	31230	Left Radical Party	2012	2017	0.40	1.60	1.00
France	31630	Democratic Movement	2012	2012	2.20	2.20	2.20
France	31631	Centrist Alliance	2012	2012	0.60	0.60	0.60
France	31240	Indomitable France	2017	2017	4.90	4.90	4.90
France	31425	Republic Onwards!	2017	2017	43.10	43.10	43.10
Germany	41113	The Greens	1983	2017	1.20	10.70	7.49
Germany	41221	Party of Democratic Socialism	1990	2017	2.40	11.90	6.96
Germany	41953	Alternative for Germany	2017	2017	12.60	12.60	12.60

Table 8.1: New Parties Included in the Analysis (continued)

Country	CMP Code	Party Name	Time		Vote Share		
			First Election	Last Election	Min	Max	Mean
Ireland	53220	Workers' Party	1981	1989	3.10	5.00	4.05
Ireland	53420	Progressive Democrats	1987	2007	2.70	11.80	5.35
Ireland	53110	Green Party	1989	2016	1.40	4.70	2.82
Ireland	53221	Democratic Left Party	1992	1997	2.50	2.80	2.65
Ireland	53951	We Ourselves	1997	2016	6.50	13.90	9.90
Ireland	53021	United Left Alliance	2011	2011	1.60	1.60	1.60
Ireland	53230	Socialist Party	2011	2011	1.10	1.10	1.10
Ireland	53231	People Before Profit Alliance	2016	2016	1.90	1.90	1.90
Ireland	53240	Anti-Austerity Alliance	2016	2016	1.90	1.90	1.90
Ireland	53321	Social Democrats	2016	2016	3.00	3.00	3.00
Italy	32310	Radical Party	1976	1994	1.10	3.50	2.26
Italy	32211	Proletarian Democracy	1983	1987	1.50	1.70	1.60
Italy	32110	Green Federation	1987	2006	2.10	2.80	2.47
Italy	32212	Communist Refoundation Party	1992	2006	5.00	8.60	6.18
Italy	32720	Northern League	1992	2018	3.90	17.30	7.39
Italy	32951	The Network/Movement for Democracy	1992	1994	1.90	1.90	1.90
Italy	32528	Pact for Italy	1994	1994	4.60	4.60	4.60
Italy	32529	Democratic Alliance	1994	1996	6.80	6.80	6.80
Italy	32610	Go Italy	1994	2018	14.00	29.40	22.48
Italy	32321	Italian Renewal	1996	1996	1.90	1.90	1.90
Italy	32213	Party of Italian Communists	2001	2006	1.70	2.30	1.96
Italy	32421	Daisy - Democracy is Freedom	2001	2001	14.50	14.50	14.50
Italy	32530	White Flower	2001	2013	1.80	6.80	3.89
Italy	32611	New Italian Socialist Party	2001	2006	0.80	1.00	0.91
Italy	32440	Olive Tree	2006	2018	18.80	33.20	25.31
Italy	32902	List Di Pietro - Italy of Values	2006	2008	4.40	4.40	4.40
Italy	32904	South Tyrolean People's Party	2006	2018	0.40	0.40	0.40

Table 8.1: New Parties Included in the Analysis (continued)

Country	CMP Code	Party Name	Time		Vote Share		
			First Election	Last Election	Min	Max	Mean
Italy	32061	People of Freedom	2008	2013	21.60	37.40	26.11
Italy	32230	Left Ecology Freedom	2013	2013	3.20	3.20	3.20
Italy	32450	Democratic Centre	2013	2013	0.50	0.50	0.50
Italy	32460	Civic Choice	2013	2013	8.30	8.30	8.30
Italy	32630	Brothers of Italy - National Centre-right	2013	2018	2.00	4.30	2.77
Italy	32956	Five Star Movement	2013	2018	25.60	32.60	27.93
Netherlands	22330	Democrats '66	1967	2017	2.00	15.50	7.52
Netherlands	22310	Radical Political Party	1971	1986	1.30	4.80	2.28
Netherlands	22524	Democratic Socialists '70	1971	1977	0.70	5.30	3.65
Netherlands	22521	Christian Democratic Appeal	1977	2017	8.50	35.30	22.93
Netherlands	22528	Reformatory Political Federation	1981	1998	1.00	2.00	1.57
Netherlands	22527	Reformed Political League	1982	1998	0.80	1.30	1.16
Netherlands	22710	Centre Party	1982	1982	0.80	0.80	0.80
Netherlands	22230	Pacifist Socialist Party	1986	1986	1.20	1.20	1.20
Netherlands	22110	Green Left	1989	2017	2.30	9.10	5.52
Netherlands	22711	Centre Democrats	1989	1994	0.90	2.50	1.83
Netherlands	22220	Socialist Party	1994	2017	1.30	16.60	7.95
Netherlands	22954	General Elderly Alliance	1994	1994	3.60	3.60	3.60
Netherlands	22955	Union 55+	1994	1994	0.90	0.90	0.90
Netherlands	22526	Christian Union	2002	2017	2.10	4.00	3.14

Table 8.1: New Parties Included in the Analysis (continued)

Country	CMP Code	Party Name	Time		Vote Share		
			First Election	Last Election	Min	Max	Mean
Netherlands	22720	List Pim Fortuyn	2002	2003	5.70	5.70	5.70
Netherlands	22722	Party of Freedom	2006	2017	5.90	15.50	11.04
Netherlands	22951	Party for the Animals	2006	2017	1.30	3.20	2.12
Netherlands	22953	50Plus	2012	2017	1.30	3.10	2.28
Netherlands	22321	DENK	2017	2017	2.10	2.10	2.10
Netherlands	22730	Forum for Democracy	2017	2017	1.80	1.80	1.80
New Zealand	64951	Social Credit Political League	1966	1984	6.70	20.70	11.73
New Zealand	64321	The Alliance	1993	1999	7.70	18.20	11.13
New Zealand	64621	New Zealand First Party	1993	2017	4.10	13.40	7.31
New Zealand	64420	ACT New Zealand	1996	2017	0.50	7.10	3.25
New Zealand	64110	Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand	1999	2017	5.20	11.10	7.57
New Zealand	64421	United Future New Zealand	2002	2014	0.20	6.70	2.15
New Zealand	64422	Jim Anderton's Progressive Coalition	2002	2008	0.90	1.70	1.25
New Zealand	64901	Maori Party	2005	2014	1.30	2.40	1.82
New Zealand	64902	Mana Party	2011	2011	1.10	1.10	1.10
Norway	12221	Socialist People's Party	1961	2017	2.40	12.50	6.62
Norway	12951	Anders Lange's Party	1973	2017	1.90	22.90	12.45
Norway	12110	Green Party	2013	2017	2.80	3.20	3.00
Portugal	35110	Ecologist Party 'The Greens'	1983	2015	0.40	2.70	1.08

Table 8.1: New Parties Included in the Analysis (continued)

Country	CMP Code	Party Name	Time		Vote Share		
			First Election	Last Election	Min	Max	Mean
Portugal	35312	Democratic Renewal Party	1985	1987	4.90	17.90	11.99
Portugal	35211	Left Bloc	1999	2015	2.40	10.60	6.73
Portugal	35120	People-Animals-Nature	2015	2015	1.40	1.40	1.40
Spain	33438	Popular Democratic Party	1982	1986	5.20	5.20	5.20
Spain	33512	Centre Democrats	1982	1989	2.90	9.20	7.10
Spain	33439	Liberal Party	1986	1986	2.70	2.70	2.70
Spain	33907	Canarian Coalition	1993	2016	0.20	1.10	0.59
Spain	33908	Galician Nationalist Bloc	1996	2011	0.75	1.30	0.87
Spain	33909	Aragonist Council	2004	2004	0.40	0.40	0.40
Spain	33091	Future Yes	2011	2011	0.17	0.17	0.17
Spain	33092	Amaiur	2011	2011	1.37	1.37	1.37
Spain	33093	Commitment-Q	2011	2011	0.51	0.51	0.51
Spain	33440	Union, Progress and Democracy	2011	2011	4.69	4.69	4.69
Spain	33612	Forum Asturias	2011	2011	0.40	0.40	0.40
Spain	33095	Basque Country Unite	2015	2016	0.80	0.90	0.85
Spain	33096	In Common We Can	2015	2016	3.60	3.70	3.65
Spain	33097	In Tide	2015	2016	1.50	1.60	1.55
Spain	33098	Commitment-We can-It is time	2015	2016	2.70	2.80	2.75
Spain	33210	We can	2015	2015	12.80	12.80	12.80
Spain	33420	Citizens	2015	2016	13.20	14.00	13.60
Sweden	11110	Green Ecology Party	1988	2014	3.40	7.30	5.33
Sweden	11520	Christian Democratic Community Party	1991	2014	4.10	11.80	6.90
Sweden	11951	New Democracy	1991	1991	6.70	6.70	6.70
Sweden	11710	Sweden Democrats	2010	2014	5.70	12.90	9.30
Switzerland	43530	Protestant People's Party of Switzerland	1971	2015	1.80	2.40	2.04
Switzerland	43710	National Action against Foreign Domination	1971	2003	1.00	3.40	2.26
Switzerland	43110	Greens	1979	2015	4.90	9.60	7.06

Table 8.1: New Parties Included in the Analysis (continued)

Country	CMP Code	Party Name	Time		Vote Share		
			First Election	Last Election	Min	Max	Mean
Switzerland	43951	Swiss Motorists' Party	1987	1995	4.00	5.10	4.51
Switzerland	43220	Swiss Labour Party	1991	2015	0.40	0.90	0.68
Switzerland	43531	Liberal Party of Switzerland	1991	2007	1.80	2.20	1.98
Switzerland	43711	Federal Democratic Union	1991	2007	1.30	1.30	1.30
Switzerland	43120	Green Liberal Party	2007	2015	4.60	9.60	6.59
Switzerland	43540	Christian Social Party	2007	2007	0.40	0.40	0.40
Switzerland	43901	Ticino League	2007	2015	0.60	1.00	0.86
Switzerland	43811	Conservative Democratic Party of Switzerland	2011	2015	4.10	5.40	4.78
Switzerland	43902	Geneva Citizens' Movement	2011	2015	0.30	0.40	0.35
Great Britain	51330	Social Democratic Party	1983	1987	5.10	6.60	5.85
Great Britain	51421	Liberal Democrats	1992	2017	7.40	23.00	13.09
Great Britain	51621	Ulster Unionist Party	1992	2015	0.40	0.40	0.40
Great Britain	51902	Scottish National Party	1992	2017	1.50	4.70	3.03
Great Britain	51903	Democratic Unionist Party	1992	2017	0.60	0.90	0.73
Great Britain	51210	We Ourselves	1997	2017	0.60	0.70	0.64
Great Britain	51110	Green Party of England and Wales	2015	2017	1.60	3.80	2.82
Great Britain	51340	Social Democratic and Labour Party	2015	2015	0.30	0.30	0.30

Table 8.1: New Parties Included in the Analysis (continued)

Country	CMP Code	Party Name	Time		Vote Share		
			First Election	Last Election	Min	Max	Mean
Great Britain	51901	The Party of Wales	2015	2017	0.50	0.60	0.56
Great Britain	51951	United Kingdom Independence Party	2015	2015	12.60	12.60	12.60

8.3 Validation for the Party System Similarity Score

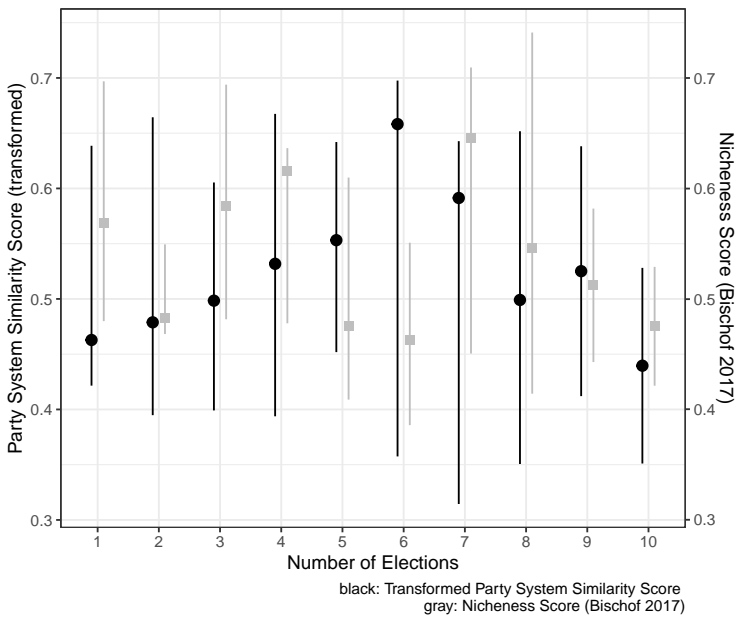


Figure 8.19: Nicheness Scores of Socialist New Parties

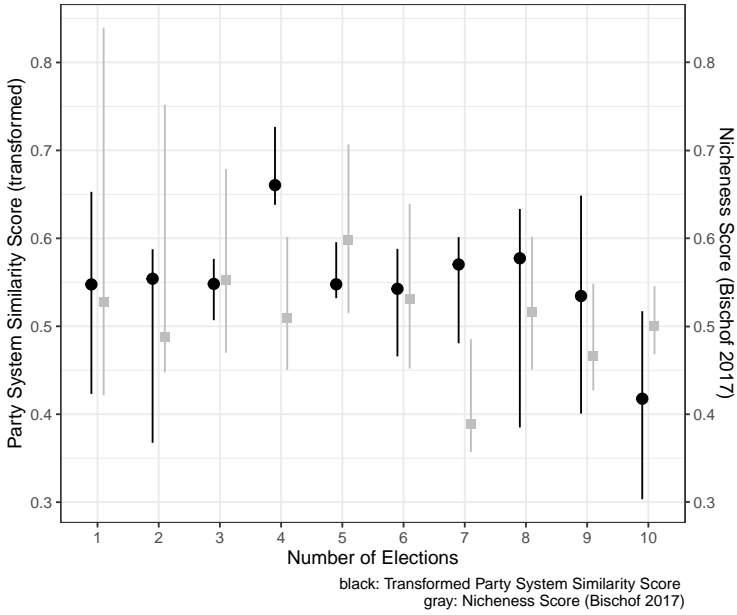


Figure 8.20: Niche Scores of Social Democratic New Parties

8.3 Validation for the Party System Similarity Score

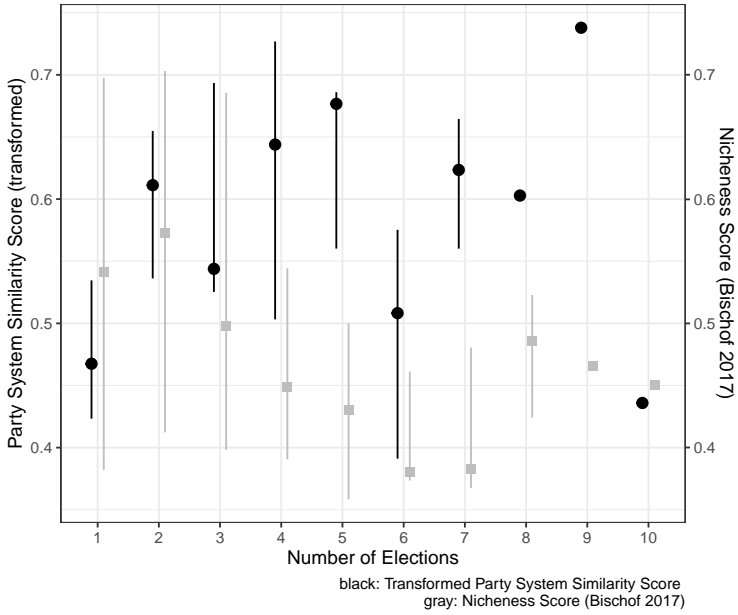


Figure 8.21: Nicheless Scores of Liberal New Parties

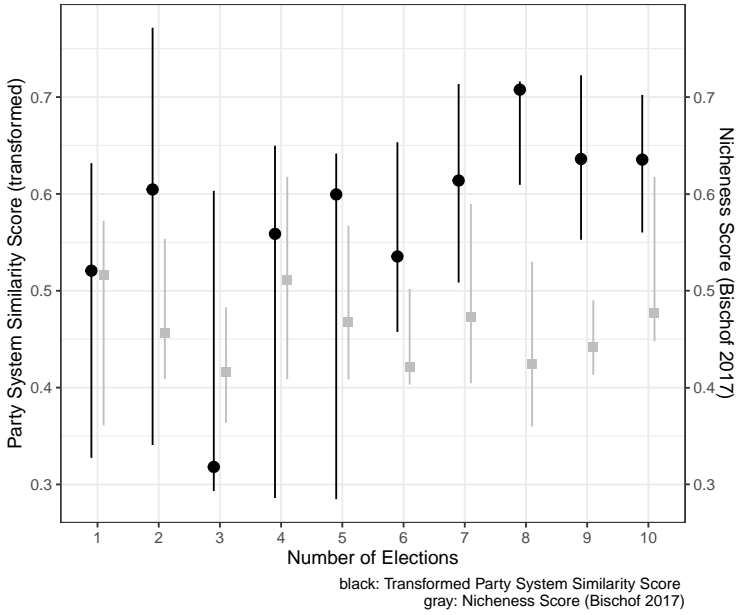


Figure 8.22: Niche Scores of Christian New Parties

8.3 Validation for the Party System Similarity Score

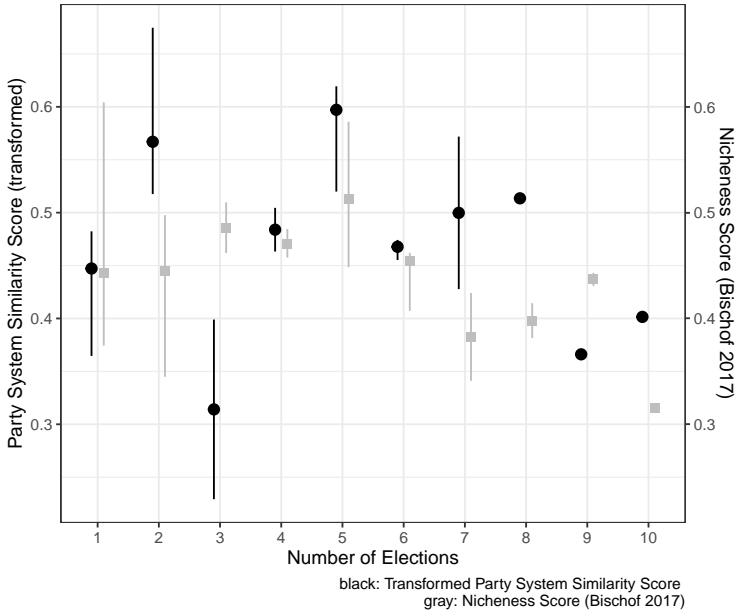


Figure 8.23: Niche Scores of Conservative New Parties

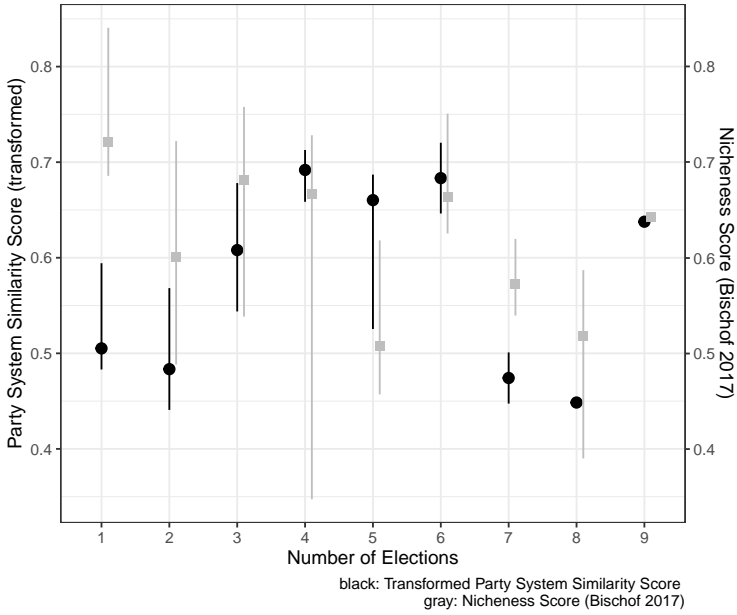


Figure 8.24: Niche Scores of Nationalist New Parties

8.3 Validation for the Party System Similarity Score

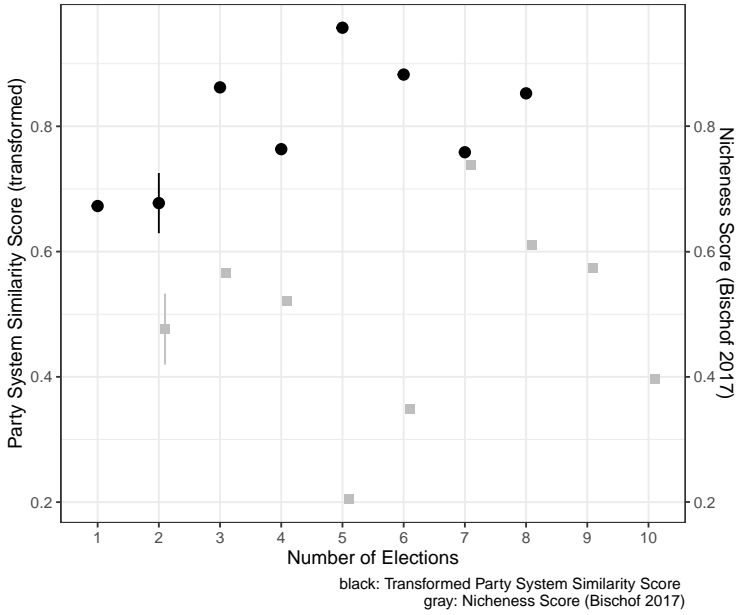


Figure 8.25: Niche Scores of Agrarian New Parties

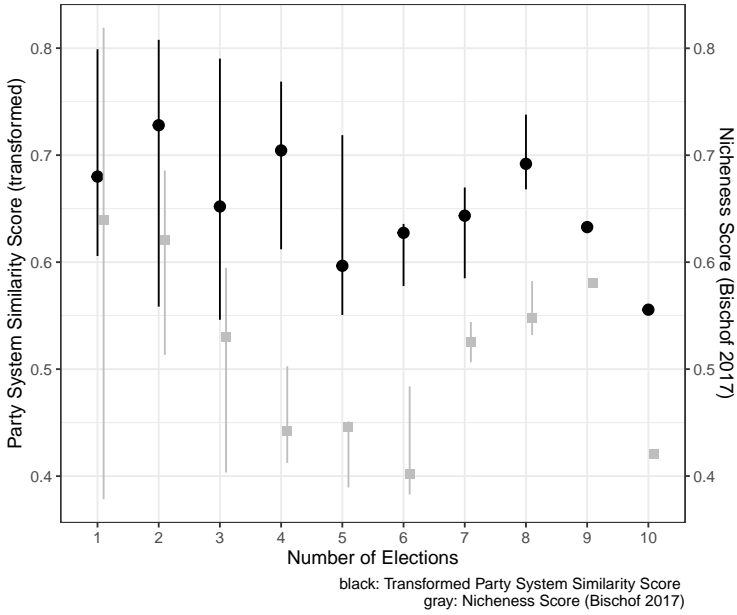


Figure 8.26: Niche Scores of Regional New Parties

8.3 Validation for the Party System Similarity Score

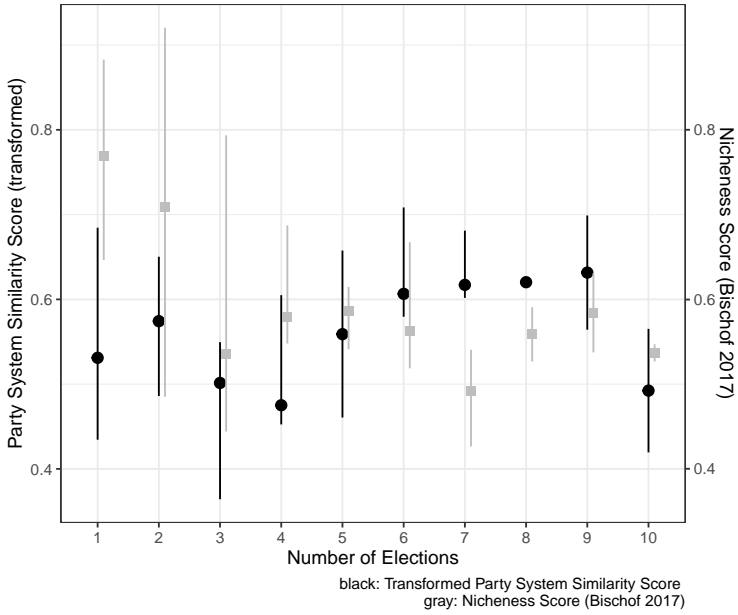


Figure 8.27: Nicheness Scores of Special Issue New Parties

8.4 Robustness Check for Issue Competition Base Model

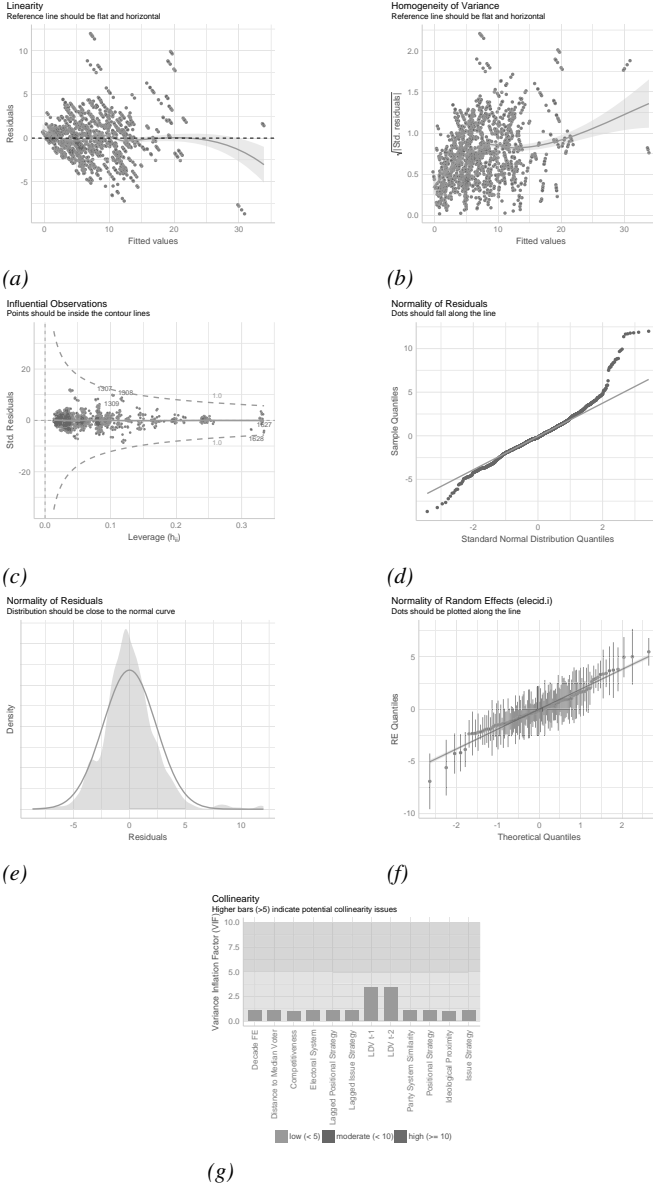


Figure 8.28: Robustness Checks for Issue Competition Base Models

8.5 Binning Estimation of Linear-Interactive Moderation Effects

As discussed in section 6.1, I present here the result of a binning estimation for the interaction effect between the issue competition strategy and the party system similarity score, respectively, the competitiveness of the established parties. This allows the linearity of the interaction effect to be tested, as suggested by Hainmueller et al. (2019). However, I do not report the binning plot for the interaction effect of the party family because it does not make sense for a dummy-coded moderator to calculate other values of the moderator additionally.

The binning plots support the assumption of linear interaction effects because the separate estimation for low, middle, and high values does not deviate too much from the linear estimate.

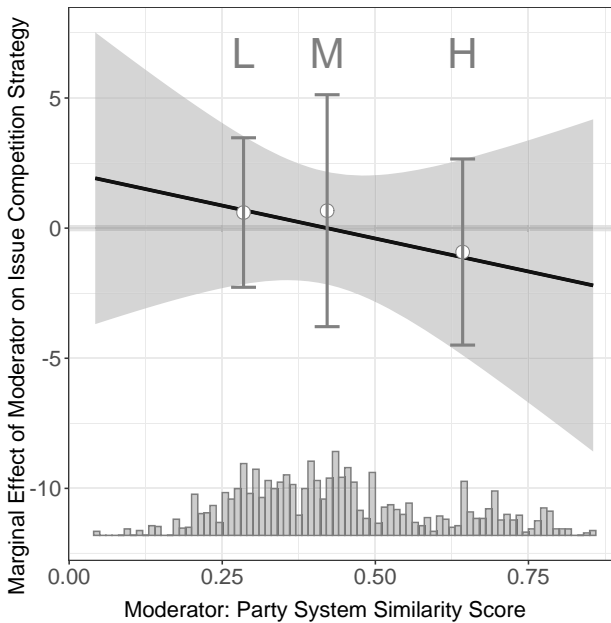


Figure 8.29: Binning Plot for the Party System Similarity Score Interaction

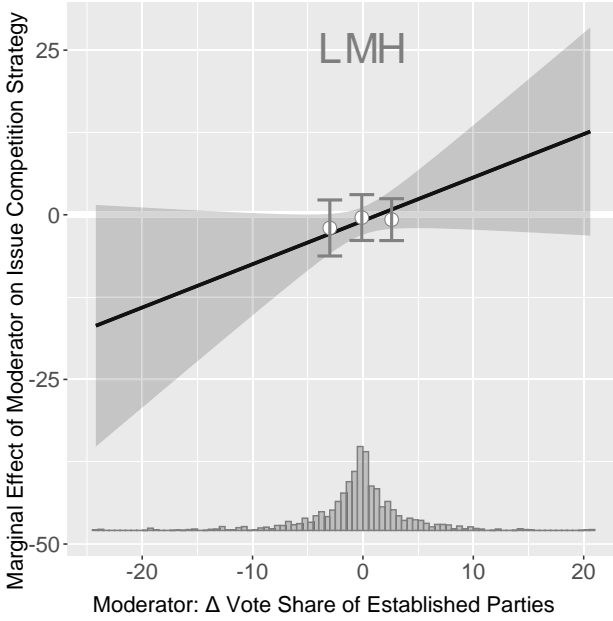


Figure 8.30: Binning Plot for the Previous Vote Gains/Losses of Established Parties

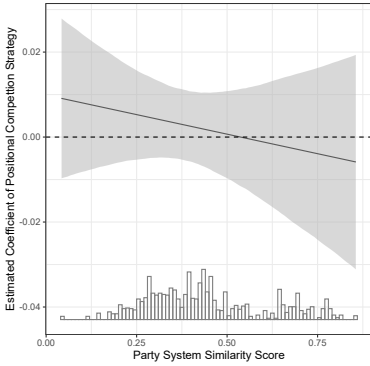
8.6 Models for Positional Competition

Table 8.2: Multilevel Regression Models for the Vote Share of New Parties

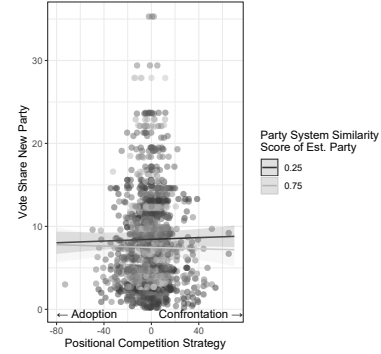
	Base	Nicheness	Proximity	Competitiveness	Full
LDV t_1	0.72*** 0.02	0.72*** 0.02	0.71*** 0.03	0.71*** 0.03	0.72*** 0.02
LDV t_2	0.12*** 0.02	0.12*** 0.02	0.12*** 0.02	0.12*** 0.02	0.12*** 0.02
Issue Competition	-0.34 0.71	-0.34 0.71	-0.36 0.72	-0.36 0.72	-0.27 0.71
Lagged Issue Competition t_1	-0.49 0.73	-0.48 0.73	-0.63 0.73	-0.67 0.73	-0.50 0.73
Positional Competition	0.00 0.01	0.00 0.01	0.01 0.01	0.01 0.01	0.01 0.01
Lagged Positional Competition t_1	0.00 0.00	0.00 0.00	0.00 0.00	0.00 0.00	0.00 0.00
Party System Similarity Score	-1.94** 0.81	-1.92** 0.81	-1.95** 0.81	-1.95** 0.81	-1.95** 0.81
Electoral System	-0.11 0.42	-0.09 0.42	-0.11 0.43	-0.10 0.43	-0.10 0.42
Distance Median Voter New Party	-0.02*** 0.01	-0.02*** 0.01	-0.02*** 0.01	-0.03*** 0.01	-0.02*** 0.01
Δ Vote Share Est. Party (Competitiveness)	-0.07*** 0.02	-0.07*** 0.02			-0.07*** 0.02
Dummy Ideological Proximity	0.06 0.13		0.06 0.13		0.05 0.13
Positional Competition \times Competitiveness		0.00 0.00			0.00 0.00
Positional Competition \times Ideological Proximity			-0.01 0.01		-0.01 0.01
Positional Competition \times Party System Similarity Score				-0.02 0.03	-0.02 0.03
Intercept	3.22*** 0.99	3.21*** 0.99	3.28*** 1.00	3.28*** 1.00	3.21*** 0.99
Decade FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Var. elec.id.i (Intercept)	4.77	4.76	4.87	4.86	4.75
Var. Residual	6.05	6.05	6.12	6.12	6.05
Num. groups: elec.id.i	122	122	122	122	122
AIC	7863.45	7872.95	7883.63	7878.50	7891.51
BIC	7965.96	7975.46	7986.13	7975.61	8010.20
Log Likelihood	-3912.73	-3917.48	-3922.81	-3921.25	-3923.75
Num. obs.	1628	1628	1628	1628	1628

Note: Multilevel models with non-hierarchical random intercepts for elections; decade FEs included but not shown
Levels of significance: *** p < 0.01; ** p < 0.05; * p < 0.1

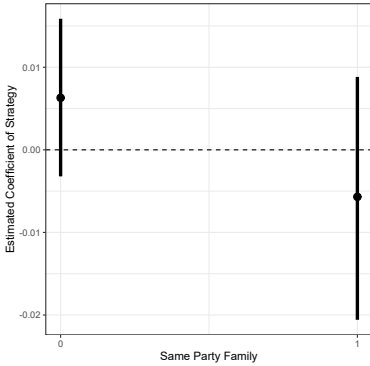
8 Appendix



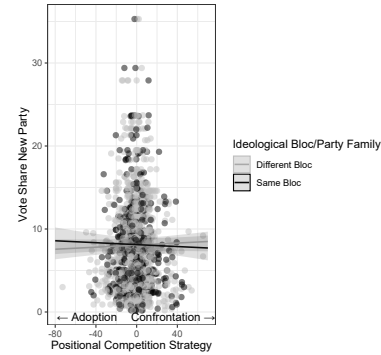
(a) Marginal Effect Plots for the Moderation of Positional Competition Strategy by the Nicheness of the New Party



(b) Predicted Values for the Vote Share of New Parties Depending on the Positional Competition Strategy and the Nicheness of the New Party

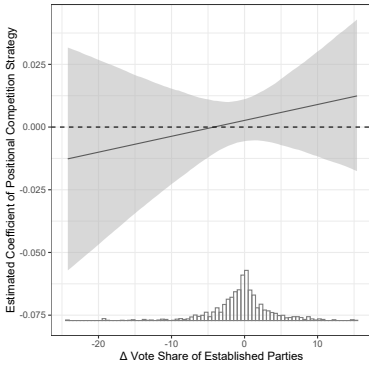


(a) Marginal Effect Plots for the Moderation of Positional Competition Strategy by the Affiliation in the Same Ideological Bloc

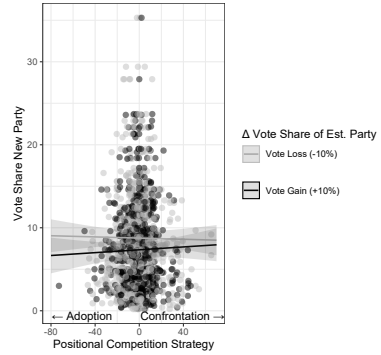


(b) Predicted Values for the Vote Share of New Parties Depending on the Positional Competition Strategy and the Affiliation in the Same Ideological Bloc

8.6 Models for Positional Competition



(a) Marginal Effect Plots for the Moderation of Positional Competition Strategy by the Previous Vote Gains/Losses of Established Parties



(b) Predicted Values for the Vote Share of New Parties Depending on the Positional Competition Strategy and the Previous Vote Gains/Losses of Established Parties

