**Supplementary material for the paper ‘Anti-System Parties Revisited: Concept Formation and Guidelines for Empirical Research’, published in *Government and Opposition***

**Mattia Zulianello**

**A list of the alternative ‘anti’ concepts in the literature**

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| **Concept** | **Scholar** | **Definition** |
| A-System Party | Von Beyme (1988:366) | Parties that ‘contributed to make coalition building more complicated […] and challenged the rules of established party system’ |
| APE Party | Schedler (1996: 293-4; 299) | Parties advocating that the ‘society’s fundamental cleavage [is] the conflict between the “ruled” and the “rulers”’. ‘Permanently excluded from participation in government, these parties of 'eternal opposition' are burdened (and blessed) with the image of outsiders distant from and alien to the inner circles of power’. |
| APE Party | Abedi (2004:49) | A party that ‘challenges the status quo in terms of major policy issues and political system issues; [...] perceives itself as a challenger to the parties that make up the political establishment; [...] [and] asserts that there exists a fundamental divide between the political establishment and the people’. |
| Anti-Party-System Party | Katz (2011: 228) | Cartel parties are defined as ‘those in power or are generally perceived to have a high probability to coming to power in the medium term’. ‘An anti-party-system party [represents] the cartel party’s challenger’, and it articulates ‘a sense of frustration that substantive outcomes appear to change little, if at all, regardless of which of the mainstream parties wins an election’ and ‘that all of the mainstream parties are more interested in protecting their own privileges than in advancing the interests of ordinary citizens’. They are as such as long as they are not ‘faced [with] the temptation of joining the cartel and enjoying public office’. |
| Challenger Party | Mackie (1995:174-5) | Parties opposed to ‘the status quo in terms of major policy issues or the nature of political activity’ which ‘are not serious contenders for government office’ or ‘are not regarded as suitable partners by existing government parties’. |
| Challenger Party | Hobolt & Tilley (2016: 972) | ‘Challenger parties seek to challenge the mainstream political consensus and do not ordinarily enter government. These parties are unconstrained by the responsibilities of government and tend to compete on extreme or ‘niche’ issue positions’. |
| Discontent Party | Lane & Ersson (1999:85) | ‘Formed on the basis of some concrete issue to channeling people’s discontent. The element of populism in the programmes of these parties is also obvious [and] are headed by charismatic leaders’ |
| Extremist Party | Strøm (1990:65-66) | ‘Extremist parties (whether serious “contenders” or “protest parties”) are parties that exhibit any of the following characteristics: 1) a well-developed nondemocratic ideology; 2) a proposal to break up or fundamentally alter the boundaries of the state; or 3) diffuse protest, alienation, and distrust of the existing political system […] extremist parties are precisely the kind of parties that are unlikely to be willing to enter [government] negotiations’. |
| New Protest Party | Taggart (1996:9;45) | ‘New politics ideology is defined as left-leaning, anti-system and inclusive, while the new populism is defined as right-leaning, anti-system and exclusive […] in their actions and organizations there is a self-conscious effort to contrast themselves with the “old” established politics’ |
| New Oppositions | Von Beyme (1987:33-34) | ‘only rarely have these new parties entered government and ‘were initially discriminated against [by the] established parties’. |
| Opposition of Principle | Kirchheimer (1966:237) | Parties displaying a ‘the desire for a degree of goal displacement incompatible with the constitutional requirements of a given system’ |
| Outsider party | McDonnell & Newell (2011:445) | Parties that ‘even when their vote-share would have enabled it – due to their ideology and/or attitude towards mainstream parties have gone through a period of not being “coalitionable”, whether of their own volition or that of other parties in the system’. |
| Pariah Party | Downs (2001:24-5) | Parties that are treated as ‘untouchable by the parties already established in the party system’ and that ‘embody diffuse protest, alienation and distrust of the existing political system’ |
| Protest Party | Smith (1989:175) | A party articulating protest and ‘treated as an “untouchable” by the others parties’ |
| Protest Party | Fennema (1997:475) | Parties ‘which can be considered as not just “loyal opposition”. They reject  the political system rather than the government in power, and thus may  attract voters who protest not only against government, but also against the  political regime’. |
| Radical Party | Smith (1987: 60) | Parties advocating goals ‘[in]compatible with the existing regime and its attendant structures’ and adopting ‘a course of action that is acceptable to others, most importantly including the political authorities’ |
| Structural Opposition | Dahl (1966:342) | *Limited structural oppositions* are formations seeking change in the ‘political structure’; *Major structural oppositions* oppose either the ‘political structure’ or the ‘socio-economic structure’ or both |
| Structural Opposition Party | Dewatcher, Lisbont & Tegenbos (1977) | Parties ‘pursuing the change of important structural factors within the system’ that are considered as parties not ‘eligible for government given, on the one hand, the values prevailing in these systems and the values and objectives proposed by these parties, and on the other hand, the values and objectives of the leading political elite embodied in the elitist consensus’ |

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