# **Supplementary Material**

# **“Come Together: Far-Right Parties and Mainstream Coalitions”**

# Nicolas Bichay *(Government and Opposition, 2023)*

Table A1: Radical-Right Parties in Europe: 1989-2018

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Austria | BZO FPÖ |
| Belgium | FN Pp VB |
| Bulgaria | Ataka NFSB RZS Volya |
| Croatia | HDSSB Hrast HSP HSP-AS |
| Cyprus | ELAM |
| Czech Republic | SPD SPR-RSC UPD |
| Denmark | DF FrP |
| Estonia | EKo ERa/EKR |
| Finland | SP|P |
| France | DLR|DLF FN RPF |
| Germany | AfD |
| Greece | LAOS LS-CA POLAN |
| Hungary | Fi-MPSz Jobbik KDNP MIEP |
| Italy | FdI-CN LAM LN MSI |
| Latvia | KPV LV TB |
| Lithuania | JL LTS |
| Netherlands | CD FvD PVV |
| Norway | Fr |
| Poland | K LPR PiS ROP UPR|KNP X |
| Romania | PRM PUNR |
| Slovakia | LsNS SNS SR |
| Slovenia | SDS SNS |
| Sweden | NyD SD |
| Switzerland | FPS LdT MCR NA|SD SVP-UDC |
| United Kingdom | UKIP |

Table A2: Coalitions in Europe: 1989-2018

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Total | Coalitions w/ | Coalitions w/ | Avg. RRP | RRP |
| Country | Coalitions | RRP in Parl | RRP in Govt | Seat-Share | Prime Ministers |
| Austria | 14 | 14 | 5 | 0.21 | 0 |
| Belgium | 15 | 15 | 0 | 0.09 | 0 |
| Bulgaria | 15 | 8 | 1 | 0.06 | 0 |
| Switzerland | 8 | 8 | 7 | 0.27 | 0 |
| Cyprus | 14 | 1 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Czechia | 18 | 7 | 0 | 0.03 | 0 |
| Germany | 9 | 2 | 0 | 0.03 | 0 |
| Denmark | 13 | 13 | 0 | 0.12 | 0 |
| Spain | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Estonia | 16 | 10 | 2 | 0.05 | 0 |
| Finland | 16 | 16 | 1 | 0.08 | 0 |
| France | 21 | 4 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 |
| United Kingdom | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Greece | 18 | 10 | 1 | 0.03 | 0 |
| Croatia | 12 | 12 | 0 | 0.03 | 0 |
| Hungary | 12 | 10 | 5 | 0.23 | 3 |
| Ireland | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Iceland | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Italy | 21 | 21 | 5 | 0.10 | 0 |
| Lithuania | 19 | 8 | 0 | 0.01 | 0 |
| Luxembourg | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Latvia | 25 | 5 | 2 | 0.02 | 0 |
| Netherlands | 14 | 10 | 0 | 0.06 | 0 |
| Norway | 12 | 12 | 3 | 0.15 | 0 |
| Poland | 22 | 17 | 5 | 0.17 | 5 |
| Portugal | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Romania | 25 | 13 | 1 | 0.07 | 0 |
| Slovakia | 18 | 15 | 8 | 0.11 | 0 |
| Slovenia | 17 | 17 | 6 | 0.23 | 2 |
| Sweden | 10 | 4 | 0 | 0.04 | 0 |
| Total | 449 | 254 | 52 | 0.07 | 10 |

Note: “total” value for average seat-share refers to overall mean.

Figure A1 illustrates the theoretical argument as an extensive form game. Overall, I assume far-right parties (player R) would rather be invited than not be invited, but that their preferred outcome is to join the government coalition for the potential to affect government policy, as well as the sense of legitimacy it affords them. As argued, I assume these payoffs do not change as external conditions shift.

When the threat posed by this far-right party is low, the mainstream party (player M) has nothing to gain by coopting them, and would rather avoid cooperation to avoid the associated costs that come with such a partner in government. Under conditions of high threat, however, the payoffs of forming a coalition are larger than not forming a coalition, as the threat of the far-right party has grown while the costs generally remain the same.



Figure A1 Extensive Game of Theoretical Argument

|  |
| --- |
| Table A3: Unemployment Model |
|  | Right Coalition |
|  |
| Unemployment | 0.436\* |
|  | (0.211) |
|  |  |
| Ideological Range | -1.720\*\*\* |
|  | (0.495) |
|  |  |
| Far-right Seat Share | 28.337\*\* |
|  | (9.185) |
|  |  |
| Effective Number of Parties | -1.382\* |
|  | (0.656) |
|  |  |
| Parliamentary System | 7.039\* |
|  | (3.185) |
|  |  |
| GDP Per Capita (Logged) | 3.894 |
|  | (2.661) |
|  |  |
| Polity | 1.401 |
|  | (1.567) |
|  |  |
| Eastern Europe | 0.353 |
|  | (1.853) |
|  |  |
| Constant | -66.048\* |
|  | (28.041) |
|  |  |
|  |
| Observations | 137 |
| Log Likelihood | -21.575 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 69.149 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 107.109 |
|  |
| Standard errors appear in parentheses. Year cubic splines omitted \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 |

Table A4: Immigration Ideological Range

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  |  |
|  | (1) | Right Coalition(2) | (3) |
|  |
| GDP Growth | -18.589 | -21.516\* |  |
|  | (10.468) | (10.978) |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Asylum Inflows | 3.696\* | 4.211\* |  |
|  | (1.828) | (1.963) |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Neighbour Far-Right |  |  | 6.417\*\* |
|  |  |  | (2.001) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Immigration Ideological Range | 0.436\* | 0.456\* | 0.197\* |
|  | (0.177) | (0.195) | (0.099) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Far-Right Seat Share | 9.818\*\* | 10.267\*\* | 5.851\*\*\* |
|  | (3.025) | (3.171) | (1.467) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Effective Number of Parties |  | -0.049 | 0.114 |
|  |  | (0.182) | (0.097) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Parliamentary System |  | -0.833 | -0.501 |
|  |  | (1.166) | (0.482) |
|  |  |  |  |
| GDP Per Capita (Logged) |  | -0.013 | 0.809 |
|  |  | (1.255) | (0.537) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Polity |  | 0.013 | 0.130 |
|  |  | (0.382) | (0.237) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Eastern Europe | 0.956 | 0.908 | 0.533 |
|  | (0.890) | (1.175) | (0.430) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.537\*\* | -1.753 | -11.458\* |
|  | (0.816) | (11.959) | (4.847) |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |
| Observations | 151 | 150 | 180 |
| Log Likelihood | -41.609 | -41.153 | -49.932 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 103.218 | 110.306 | 125.864 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 133.391 | 152.455 | 167.373 |
|  |
| Standard errors appear in parentheses. Year cubic splines omitted \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 |