

This document contains supplementary information for the article:

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\* All data and code needed to replicate the empirical results reported in the article can be found at the following address: <https://leemsavage.wordpress.com/publications/>

Table S1. The constitutional rules of government formation in 10 Central and East European democracies

Bulgaria	<p>Article 99</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Following consultations with the parliamentary groups, the President shall appoint the Prime Minister-designate nominated by the party holding the highest number of seats in the National Assembly to form a government.</li> <li>2. Should the Prime Minister-designate fail to form a government within seven days, the President shall entrust this task to a Prime Minister-designate nominated by the second largest parliamentary group.</li> <li>3. Should the new Prime Minister-designate also fail to form a government within the period established by the preceding paragraph, the President shall entrust the task to a Prime Minister-designate nominated by one of the minor parliamentary groups.</li> <li>4. Should the consultations prove successful, the President shall ask the National Assembly to elect the Prime Minister designate.</li> <li>5. Should no agreement on the formation of a government be reached, the President shall appoint a caretaker government, dissolve the National Assembly and schedule new elections within the period established by Article 64 para 3. The President's act on the dissolution of the National Assembly shall also establish the date of the new general elections.</li> <li>6. The procedure for forming a government established by the preceding paragraphs shall further apply in the cases referred to in Article 111 para 1.</li> </ol>
	<p>Article 111</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The authority of the Council of Ministers shall expire upon any of the following occurrences:             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A vote of no confidence in the Council of Ministers or the Prime Minister;</li> <li>2. The resignation of the Council of Ministers or the Prime Minister;</li> <li>3. Death of the Prime Minister.</li> </ol> </li> <li>2. The Council of Ministers shall hand in its resignation before the newly elected National Assembly.</li> <li>3. Should any of the above occur, the Council of Ministers shall continue to act until the election of a new Council of Ministers.</li> </ol>
Czech Republic	<p>Article 35</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The President of the Republic may dissolve the Assembly of Deputies if:             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. the Assembly of Deputies does not adopt a resolution of confidence in a newly appointed government, the Prime Minister of which was appointed by the President of the Republic on the basis of a proposal of the Chairperson of the Assembly of Deputies;</li> </ol> </li> </ol> <p>Article 62</p> <p>The President of the Republic:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. appoints and recalls the Prime Minister and other members of the government and accepts their resignations, recalls the government and accepts its resignation;</li> <li>d. shall entrust the government whose resignation he has accepted, or which he has recalled, with the temporary performance of its duties until new government is appointed;</li> </ol> <p>Article 68</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Within thirty days of its appointment, the government shall go before the Assembly of Deputies and ask it for a vote of confidence.</li> </ol>

4. If the newly appointed government does not receive a vote of confidence from the Assembly of Deputies, the process in paragraphs 2 and 3 shall be repeated. If the government appointed on this second attempt does not receive vote of confidence from the Assembly of Deputies either, the President of the Republic shall appoint the Prime Minister on the basis of a proposal by the Chairperson of the Assembly of Deputies.

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Estonia

Article 65  
The Riigikogu  
shall:

5. authorize the candidate for Prime Minister to form the Government of the Republic;

Article 78  
The President of the Republic shall:

9. designate the candidate for Prime Minister, pursuant to Article 89 of the Constitution;

Article 89

The President of the Republic shall, within fourteen days after the resignation of the Government of the Republic, designate a candidate for Prime Minister to whom the President of the Republic shall assign the task of forming a new government.

The candidate for Prime Minister shall, within fourteen days after receiving the task of forming a new government, present the bases for the formation of the forthcoming government to the Riigikogu, after which the Riigikogu shall decide, without debate and by an open vote, whether to authorize the candidate for Prime Minister to form a government.

The candidate for Prime Minister who is authorized by the Riigikogu to form a government shall, within seven days, present the membership of the government to the President of the Republic, who shall appoint the government to office within three days.

If the candidate for Prime Minister designated by the President of the Republic does not receive a majority of votes in favor from the Riigikogu, or is unable or declines to form a government, the President of the Republic has the right to present a second candidate for Prime Minister within seven days.

If the President of the Republic does not present a second candidate for Prime Minister within seven days or declines to do so, or if the second candidate is unable to obtain authority from the Riigikogu under the conditions and time restraints in paragraphs two and three of this section, or is unable or declines to form a government, then the right to nominate a candidate for Prime Minister shall transfer to the Riigikogu.

The Riigikogu shall nominate a candidate for Prime Minister who shall present the membership of a government to the President of the Republic. If the membership of a government is not presented to the President of the Republic within fourteen days after the transfer to the Riigikogu of the right to nominate a candidate for Prime Minister, the President of the Republic shall declare extraordinary elections to the Riigikogu.

Article 92  
The Government of the Republic shall resign upon:

1. the convention of the new membership of the Riigikogu;
2. the resignation or death of the Prime Minister;
3. the expression of no confidence in the Government of the Republic or the Prime Minister by the Riigikogu.

The President of the Republic shall release the Government of the Republic from office upon the assumption of office of the new Government.

#### Article 97

The Riigikogu may express no-confidence in the Government of the Republic, the Prime Minister, or a minister by a resolution in favor of which a majority of the membership of the Riigikogu votes.

An expression of no-confidence may be initiated by not less than one-fifth of the membership of the Riigikogu by the presentation of a written motion at a session of the Riigikogu.

An expression of no-confidence may be decided not earlier than on the second day after its initiation, unless the Government requires a more expeditious decision.

If no-confidence is expressed in the Government or the Prime Minister, the President of the Republic may, on the proposal of the Government and within three days, declare extraordinary elections to the Riigikogu.

If no-confidence is expressed in a minister, the Chairman of the Riigikogu shall notify the President of the Republic, who shall release the minister from office.

An expression of no-confidence on the same ground may be initiated not earlier than three months after the previous vote of no-confidence.

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#### Hungary

##### Article 1

2. The National Assembly shall:
  - f. shall elect the Prime Minister, decide on any matter of confidence related to the Government;

##### Article 3

3. The President of the Republic, while simultaneously setting a date for new elections, may dissolve the National Assembly if:
  - a. the National Assembly, when the mandate of the Government terminates, fails to elect the person proposed for Prime Minister by the President of the Republic within forty days of presentation of the first proposal,

##### Article 16

3. The Prime Minister shall be elected by the National Assembly on the proposal of the President of the Republic.
4. The Prime Minister shall be elected with the votes of more than half of the Members of the National Assembly. The Prime Minister shall take office upon his or her election.
5. The President of the Republic shall present his or her proposal referred to in Paragraph (3):
  - a. at the constitutive sitting of the new National Assembly, if the Prime Minister's mandate has terminated upon the formation of the newly-elected National Assembly;
  - b. within fifteen days of the termination of the Prime Minister's mandate, if the Prime Minister's mandate has terminated upon his or her resignation, his or her death, the declaration of a conflict of interests, due to the absence of the conditions required for his or her election or because the

National Assembly has expressed its lack of confidence in the Prime Minister in a confidence vote.

#### Article 21

1. One-fifth of the Members of the National Assembly may, together with the designation of a candidate for the office of Prime Minister, submit a written motion of no-confidence against the Prime Minister.
2. If the National Assembly supports the motion of no-confidence, it thereby expresses its lack of confidence in the Prime Minister and simultaneously elects the person proposed for the office of Prime Minister in the motion of no-confidence. For such decision of the National Assembly, the votes of more than half of the Members of the National Assembly shall be required.

#### Article 22

1. From the termination of its mandate until the formation of the new Government, the Government shall exercise its powers as a caretaker government, but may not express consent to be bound by international treaties, and may adopt decrees only on the basis of authorisation by an Act and in cases of urgency.
  2. If the Prime Minister's mandate terminates upon his or her resignation or the formation of the newly-elected National Assembly, the Prime Minister shall exercise his or her powers as a caretaker Prime Minister until the election of the new Prime Minister, but may not propose the dismissal of Ministers or the appointment of new Ministers, and may adopt decrees only on the basis of authorisation by an Act and in cases of urgency.
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Latvia

#### Article 56

The Cabinet shall be formed by the person who has been invited by the President to do so.

#### Article 59

In order to fulfil their duties, the Prime Minister and other Ministers must have the confidence of the Saeima and they shall be accountable to the Saeima for their actions. If the Saeima expresses no confidence in the Prime Minister, the entire Cabinet shall resign. If there is an expression of no confidence in an individual Minister, then the Minister shall resign and another person shall be invited to replace them by the Prime Minister.

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Lithuania

#### Article 67

The Seimas:

6. shall or shall not give assent to the candidature of the Prime Minister submitted by the President of the Republic;
7. shall consider the programme of the Government presented by the Prime Minister and decide whether to give assent to it;

#### Article 84

The President of the Republic:

4. shall appoint, upon the assent of the Seimas, the Prime Minister, charge him to form the Government, and approve its composition;
5. shall dismiss, upon the assent of the Seimas, the Prime Minister;
6. shall accept the powers returned by the Government upon the election of a new Seimas, and charge it to exercise its duties until a new Government is formed;
7. shall accept the resignation of the Government and, as necessary, charge it to continue exercising its duties or charge one of the Ministers to exercise the duties of the Prime Minister until a new Government is formed; shall

accept resignations of Ministers and may charge them to exercise their duties until a new Minister is appointed;

8. shall, upon the resignation of the Government or after it returns its powers, within 15 days submit to the Seimas the candidature of a new Prime Minister for consideration;

#### Article 92

The Prime Minister shall, with the assent of the Seimas, be appointed and dismissed by the President of the Republic.

The Ministers shall be appointed and dismissed by the President of the Republic upon the submission of the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister, within 15 days of his appointment, shall present to the Seimas the Government which he has formed and which has been approved by the President of the Republic, and shall present its programme to the Seimas for consideration.

The Government shall return its powers to the President of the Republic after the Seimas elections or upon election of the President of the Republic.

A new Government shall receive the powers to act after the Seimas gives assent to its programme by majority vote of the Members of the Seimas participating in the sitting.

#### Article 101

Upon the request of the Seimas, the Government or individual Ministers must give an account of their activities to the Seimas.

When more than half of the Ministers are changed, the Government must once again receive its powers from the Seimas. Otherwise, the Government must resign.

The Government must also resign in the following cases:

1. when the Seimas two times in succession does not give assent to the programme of the newly-formed Government;
2. when the Seimas, by majority vote of all the Members of the Seimas, by secret ballot expresses no-confidence in the Government or in the Prime Minister;
3. when the Prime Minister resigns or dies;
4. after elections to the Seimas, when a new Government is formed.

A Minister must resign when more than half of all the Members of the Seimas, by secret ballot, express no-confidence in him.

The President of the Republic shall accept the resignation of the Government or a Minister.

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#### Poland

#### Article 154

1. The President of the Republic shall nominate a Prime Minister who shall propose the composition of a Council of Ministers. The President of the Republic shall, within 14 days of the first sitting of the Sejm or acceptance of the resignation of the previous Council of Ministers, appoint a Prime Minister together with other members of a Council of Ministers and accept the oaths of office of members of such newly appointed Council of Ministers.

2. The Prime Minister shall, within 14 days following the day of his appointment by the President of the Republic, submit a programme of activity of the Council of Ministers to the Sejm, together with a motion requiring a vote of confidence. The Sejm shall pass such vote of confidence by an absolute majority of votes in

the presence of at least half of the statutory number of Deputies.

3. In the event that a Council of Ministers has not been appointed pursuant to para.1 above or has failed to obtain a vote of confidence in accordance with para. 2 above, the Sejm, within 14 days of the end of the time periods specified in paras 1 and 2, shall choose a Prime Minister as well as members of the Council of Ministers as proposed by him, by an absolute majority of votes in the presence of at least half of the statutory number of Deputies. The President of the Republic shall appoint the Council of Ministers so chosen and accept the oaths of office of its members.

#### Article 155

1. In the event that a Council of Ministers has not been appointed pursuant to the provisions of Article 154, para. 3, the President of the Republic shall, within a period of 14 days, appoint a Prime Minister and, on his application, other members of the Council of Ministers. The Sejm, within 14 days following the appointment of the Council of Ministers by the President of the Republic, shall hold, in the presence of at least half of the statutory number of Deputies, a vote of confidence thereto.

2. In the event that a vote of confidence has not been granted to the Council of Ministers pursuant to para. 1, the President of the Republic shall shorten the term of office of the Sejm and order elections to be held.

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#### Romania

##### Article 85

1. The President of Romania designates a candidate for the post of Prime Minister

and appoints the Government on the basis of a vote of confidence from Parliament.

2. In the case of a cabinet reshuffle or if a post becomes vacant, the President dismisses and appoints the relevant members of the Government upon proposal by the Prime Minister.

3. If the political structure or composition of the Government is changed through the reshuffle process, the President of Romania shall be entitled to exercise the power regulated in paragraph 2 only with the approval of Parliament, granted following the proposal by the Prime Minister.

##### Article 103

1. The President of Romania appoints a candidate for the office of Prime Minister after consulting the party disposing of an absolute majority in Parliament or, if no such party exists, after consulting the parties represented in Parliament.

2. Within 10 days of his/her appointment, the candidate for the office of Prime Minister will ask for a vote of confidence from Parliament for his/her program and the list of ministers.

3. The program and the list are discussed by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate in joint session. Parliament grants confidence to the government by the vote of the majority of the deputies and senators.

##### Article 106

Membership in the Government is terminated by resignation, removal from office, loss of voting rights, incompatibility, or death, as well as in other cases established by law.

##### Article 110

1. The Government exercises its functions until the validation of the general parliamentary elections.

2. The Government resigns from office on the date Parliament withdraws its confidence or if the Prime Minister finds himself/herself in one of the situations defined in Article 106 - with the exception of removal from office - or if he/she is

unable to exercise his/her functions for more than 45 days.

3. In the situations stipulated in paragraph 2, the provisions of Article 103 shall apply accordingly.

4. The Government whose term of office has expired in accordance with paragraphs 1 and 2 will carry out only those functions which are necessary for taking care of public business until the members of the new Government are sworn in.

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Slovakia

Article 88

1. A vote of no-confidence in the Government of the Slovak Republic or a member thereof may be submitted to, and considered by, the National Council of the Slovak Republic provided one fifth of the members so require.

2. A no-confidence vote in the Government of the Slovak Republic or a member thereof shall be passed provided an absolute majority of all members concur.

Article 102

1. The President

g. shall appoint and remove the Prime Minister and other members of Government of the Slovak Republic, charge them with direction of Ministries and accept their resignation; he shall recall the Prime Minister and other Ministers in cases defined in Arts.115 and 116,

Article 110

1. The Prime Minister shall be appointed and removed by the President of the Slovak Republic.

Article 113

The Government shall be obliged, within thirty days of its formation, to present itself to all members of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and to submit to them its Government Program and thus initiate a vote of confidence.

Article 115

1. In the event that the National Council has passed a vote of no-confidence or overruled a motion for a vote of confidence, the President shall dismiss the Government.

2. In the case where the President has accepted resignation of the Government, he

shall delegate all powers continuously to be exercised by the former Government until a new Government has been appointed.

3. If the President of the Slovak Republic recalls the government in accordance with section (1), then by a decision promulgated in the Collection of Laws, the President shall charge that government with further performing its competences until a new government is appointed, but solely those competences set out in Article 119.a.b.e.f.m.n.o.p.r; in addition, however, the performance of government competences set out in Article 119.m.r requires the prior approval of the President in each individual case.

Article 116

1. Members of the Government shall be individually accountable to the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

2. Any member of the Government may submit his or her resignation to the President of the Slovak Republic.

3. The National Council of the Slovak Republic may also pass a vote of no-confidence in an individual member of the Government; in such case the member shall be dismissed by the President of the Slovak Republic;

4. A motion for the dismissal of a member of the Government may be presented also by the Prime Minister.

5. In the event of the Prime Minister's resignation, the whole Government shall resign.
6. In a case where the National Council of the Slovak Republic has passed a vote of no-confidence in the Prime Minister, the Prime Minister shall be dismissed by the President of the Republic. The dismissal of the Prime Minister shall result in the resignation of the Government.
7. In a case where the President has accepted the resignation of a member of the Government, or if he has dismissed a member of the Government, he shall designate another member to be temporarily responsible for fulfilling the duties of the resigning member.

#### Article 117

The incumbent Government shall submit its resignation after the opening session of the newly elected National Council of the Slovak Republic; the former Government shall, however, remain in office until the new Government is formed.

#### Slovenia

##### Article 111: Election of the President of the Government

After consultation with the leaders of parliamentary groups the President of the Republic proposes to the National Assembly a candidate for President of the Government.

The President of the Government is elected by the National Assembly by a majority vote of all deputies unless otherwise provided by this Constitution. Voting is by secret ballot.

If such candidate does not receive the necessary majority of votes, the President of the Republic may after renewed consultation propose within fourteen days a new

candidate, or the same candidate again, and candidates may also be proposed by parliamentary groups or a minimum of ten deputies. If within this period several candidates have been proposed, each one is voted on separately beginning with the candidate proposed by the President of the Republic, and if this candidate is not elected, a vote is taken on the other candidates in the order in which they were proposed.

If no candidate is elected, the President of the Republic dissolves the National Assembly and calls new elections, unless within forty-eight hours the National Assembly decides by a majority of votes cast by those deputies present to hold new elections for President of the Government, whereby a majority of votes cast by those deputies present is sufficient for the election of the candidate. In such new elections a vote is taken on candidates individually in order of the number of votes received in the earlier voting and then on the new candidates proposed prior to the new vote, wherein any candidate proposed by the President of the Republic takes precedence.

If in such elections no candidate receives the necessary number of votes, the President of the Republic dissolves the National Assembly and calls new elections.

##### Article 115: Termination of Office of the President of the Government and Ministers

The President of the Government and ministers cease to hold office when a new National Assembly convenes following elections; ministers also cease to hold office whenever the President of the Government ceases to hold office and whenever such ministers are dismissed or resign; ministers must, however, continue to perform their regular duties until the election of a new President of the Government or until the appointment of new ministers.

##### Article 116: Vote of No Confidence

The National Assembly may pass a vote of no confidence in the Government only by electing a new President of the Government on the proposal of at least ten deputies

and by a majority vote of all deputies. The incumbent President of the Government is thereby dismissed, but together with his ministers he must continue to perform his regular duties until the swearing in of a new Government.

No less than forty-eight hours must elapse between the lodging of a proposal to elect a new President of the Government and the vote itself, unless the National Assembly decides otherwise by a two-thirds majority vote of all deputies, or if the country is at war or in a state of emergency.

Where a President of the Government has been elected on the basis of the fourth paragraph of Article 111 a vote on no confidence is expressed in him if on the proposal of at least ten deputies, the National Assembly elects a new President of the Government by a majority of votes cast.

#### Article 117: Vote of Confidence

The President of the Government may require a vote of confidence in the Government. If the Government does not receive the support of a majority vote of all deputies, the National Assembly must elect within thirty days a new President of the Government or in a new vote express its confidence in the incumbent President of the Government, or failing this, the President of the Republic dissolves the National Assembly and calls new elections. The President of the Government may tie the issue of confidence to the adoption of a law or to some other decision in the National Assembly. If such decision is not adopted, it is deemed that a vote of no confidence in the Government has been passed.

No less than forty-eight hours must elapse between the requirement of a vote of confidence and the vote itself.

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Source: Official constitutions of each country, accessed from the Constitute Project website  
<https://www.constituteproject.org/>

Table S2: Conditional logit models of the determinants of coalition formation in new democracies – replicates Table 1 from the manuscript

	Model 1 b/se	Model 2 b/se	Model 3 b/se
Minimal winning coalition	1.062*** (0.331)	0.857** (0.344)	0.865** (0.345)
Minority government	-0.055 (0.435)	-0.405 (0.459)	-0.423 (0.460)
Largest party	1.717*** (0.303)	1.661*** (0.339)	1.726*** (0.341)
No. parties coalition	-0.854*** (0.175)	-0.866*** (0.184)	-0.758*** (0.191)
Pre-electoral coalition present	0.142 (0.291)	0.400 (0.316)	0.310 (0.320)
Ideological diversity	-0.009 (0.010)	-0.004 (0.011)	-0.006 (0.011)
Median party	0.703*** (0.254)	0.617** (0.271)	0.596** (0.273)
Ex-dominant party		-1.421*** (0.325)	-1.430*** (0.325)
Party of incumbent PM		-0.635* (0.359)	-0.675* (0.359)
Similarity		0.545*** (0.184)	0.512*** (0.185)
New party			-0.631* (0.338)
Potential governments	16393	15439	15439
Formation opportunities	95	89	89
Log-likelihood	-338.340	-304.218	-302.438

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Table S3: Conditional logit models of interaction effects and coalition formation in new democracies – replicates Table 2 from the manuscript

	Model 4 b/se	Model 5 b/se	Model 6 b/se	Model 7 b/se	Model 8 b/se	Model 9 b/se
Minimal winning coalition	0.875** (0.347)	1.268*** (0.324)	0.836** (0.347)	0.996*** (0.360)	0.938*** (0.348)	1.096*** (0.242)
Minority government	-0.462 (0.464)		-0.431 (0.466)	-0.048 (0.486)	0.269 (0.515)	
Largest party	1.814*** (0.351)	1.720*** (0.340)	1.591*** (0.348)	1.442*** (0.345)	1.666*** (0.345)	1.794*** (0.330)
No. parties coalition	-0.782*** (0.192)	-0.758*** (0.192)	-0.770*** (0.195)	-0.662*** (0.201)	-0.734*** (0.191)	-0.671*** (0.165)
Pre-electoral coalition present	0.342 (0.319)	0.310 (0.320)	0.325 (0.323)	0.180 (0.331)	0.323 (0.322)	0.312 (0.319)
Ideological diversity	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.004 (0.012)	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.011)
Median party	0.622** (0.275)	0.606** (0.273)	0.603** (0.278)	0.583** (0.287)	0.577** (0.274)	0.648** (0.268)
Ex-dominant party	-0.629 (0.447)	-1.317*** (0.372)	-1.348*** (0.327)	-1.205*** (0.341)	-1.461*** (0.329)	-1.366*** (0.316)
Party of incumbent PM	-0.615* (0.364)	-0.677* (0.359)	0.433 (0.491)	-0.714* (0.398)	-0.665* (0.357)	-0.649* (0.356)
Similarity	0.480*** (0.185)	0.516*** (0.185)	0.627*** (0.193)	2.560*** (0.419)	0.548*** (0.185)	0.521*** (0.185)
New party	-0.635* (0.343)	-0.633* (0.338)	-0.641* (0.343)	-0.730** (0.356)	-0.615* (0.338)	-0.685 (0.486)

Ex-dominant party X Third gen. election	-1.377**					
	(0.596)					
oversized		0.525				
		(0.488)				
Ex-dominant party X Oversized coalition		-0.335				
		(0.577)				
Party of incumbent PM X Post-election formation			-2.404***			
			(0.631)			
Similarity X Post-election formation				-2.715***		
				(0.432)		
Minority government Post-election formation					-1.414***	
					(0.478)	
New party X Third gen. election						0.110
						(0.627)
Potential governments	15439	15439	15439	15439	15439	15439
Formation opportunities	89	89	89	89	89	89
Log-likelihood	-299.768	-302.270	-294.245	-275.938	-297.779	-302.845

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01