

Appendix

Table A1. Two-way fixed effects panel models for alternation and the components of PI (standardized coefficients)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	alternation (t)					
alternation (t-1)	0.682***	0.693***	0.783***	0.682***	0.693***	0.783***
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.016)
EPD (t-1)	0.003					
	(0.016)					
EPD (t-2)		0.006				
		(0.015)				
EPD (t-5)			-0.017			
			(0.011)			
age (t-1)				0.002		
				(0.024)		
age (t-2)					-0.005	
					(0.023)	
age (t-5)						-0.016
						(0.018)
Observations	2,400	2,393	2,239	2,400	2,393	2,239
Adjusted R ²	0.506	0.527	0.652	0.506	0.527	0.652
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001					

Table A2. Two-way fixed effects panel models for formula and the components of PI (standardized coefficients)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	formula (t)					
formula (t-1)	0.641***	0.641***	0.744***	0.645***	0.644***	0.748***
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.016)
EPD (t-1)	0.086***					
	(0.021)					
EPD (t-2)		0.094***				
		(0.021)				
EPD (t-5)			0.062***			
			(0.016)			
age (t-1)				0.089**		
				(0.032)		
age (t-2)					0.100**	
					(0.032)	
age (t-5)						0.069**
						(0.025)
Observations	2,400	2,393	2,239	2,400	2,393	2,239

Adjusted R ²	0.416	0.427	0.564	0.413	0.423	0.562
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001					

Table A3. Two-way fixed effects panel models for access and the components of PI (standardized coefficients)

	Dependent variable:					
	access (t)					
access (t-1)	0.500***	0.501***	0.657***	0.508***	0.508***	0.663***
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.021)
EPD (t-1)	0.124***					
	(0.022)					
EPD (t-2)		0.127***				
		(0.022)				
EPD (t-5)			0.107***			
			(0.019)			
age (t-1)				0.125***		
				(0.032)		
age (t-2)					0.140***	
					(0.032)	
age (t-5)						0.146***
						(0.032)
Observations	2,400	2,393	2,239	2,400	2,393	2,239
Adjusted R ²	0.241	0.247	0.460	0.234	0.241	0.457
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001					

Table A4. Two-way fixed effects panel models for EPD and the components of PSI (standardized coefficients)

	Dependent variable:								
	EPD (t)								
EPD (t-1)	0.913***	0.907***	0.915***	0.913***	0.908***	0.913***	0.914***	0.909***	0.912***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)
alternation (t-1)	-0.014								
	(0.010)								
alternation (t-2)		-0.014							
		(0.010)							
alternation (t-5)			0.016						
			(0.009)						
formula (t-1)				-0.006					
				(0.006)					
formula (t-2)					-0.005				
					(0.007)				
formula (t-5)						0.014*			
						(0.006)			

access (t-1)							-0.006		
							(0.006)		
access (t-2)								-0.009	
								(0.006)	
access (t-5)									0.014*
									(0.006)
Observations	2,400	2,340	2,168	2,400	2,340	2,168	2,400	2,340	2,168
Adjusted R ²	0.837	0.834	0.843	0.836	0.834	0.843	0.836	0.834	0.843
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001								

Table A5. Two-way fixed effects panel models for party age and the components of PSI (standardized coefficients)

	Dependent variable:								
	age (t)								
age (t-1)	0.945***	0.945***	0.944***	0.945***	0.944***	0.943***	0.945***	0.945***	0.943***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
alternation (t-1)	-0.005								
	(0.005)								
alternation (t-2)		0.004							
		(0.005)							
alternation (t-5)			0.001						
			(0.005)						
formula (t-1)				-0.003					
				(0.003)					
formula (t-2)					0.001				
					(0.003)				
formula (t-5)						0.004			
						(0.003)			
access (t-1)							-0.004		
							(0.003)		
access (t-2)								-0.001	
								(0.003)	
access (t-5)									0.004
									(0.003)
Observations	2,400	2,340	2,168	2,400	2,340	2,168	2,400	2,340	2,168
Adjusted R ²	0.870	0.870	0.869	0.870	0.870	0.869	0.870	0.870	0.869
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001								

Table A6. Two-way fixed effects panel models for PSI and PI with covariates (standardized coefficients)

	Dependent variable:		
	PSI (t)		
PSI (t-1)	0.630***	0.635***	0.734***

	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.017)
PI (t-1)	0.050**		
	(0.018)		
PI (t-2)		0.056**	
		(0.018)	
PI (t-5)			0.038*
			(0.016)
disproportionality	-0.020	-0.022	0.005
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.015)
log10 GDP	-0.048	-0.052	-0.050
	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.047)
fragmentation	-0.049*	-0.050*	-0.034
	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.019)
polarization	-0.015	-0.015	-0.020
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.015)
Observations	2,400	2,393	2,239
Adjusted R ²	0.422	0.441	0.573
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001		

Table A7. Two-way fixed effects panel models for PI and PSI with covariates (standardized coefficients)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	PI (t)		
PI (t-1)	0.909***	0.905***	0.905***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
PSI (t-1)	-0.014*		
	(0.006)		
PSI (t-2)		-0.009	
		(0.006)	
PSI (t-5)			0.014*
			(0.006)
disproportionality	-0.038***	-0.038***	-0.040***
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)
log10 GDP	0.031	0.031	0.026
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.021)
fragmentation	-0.039***	-0.039***	-0.050***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
polarization	-0.002	-0.001	-0.003
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Observations	2,400	2,340	2,168
Adjusted R ²	0.869	0.868	0.872
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001		

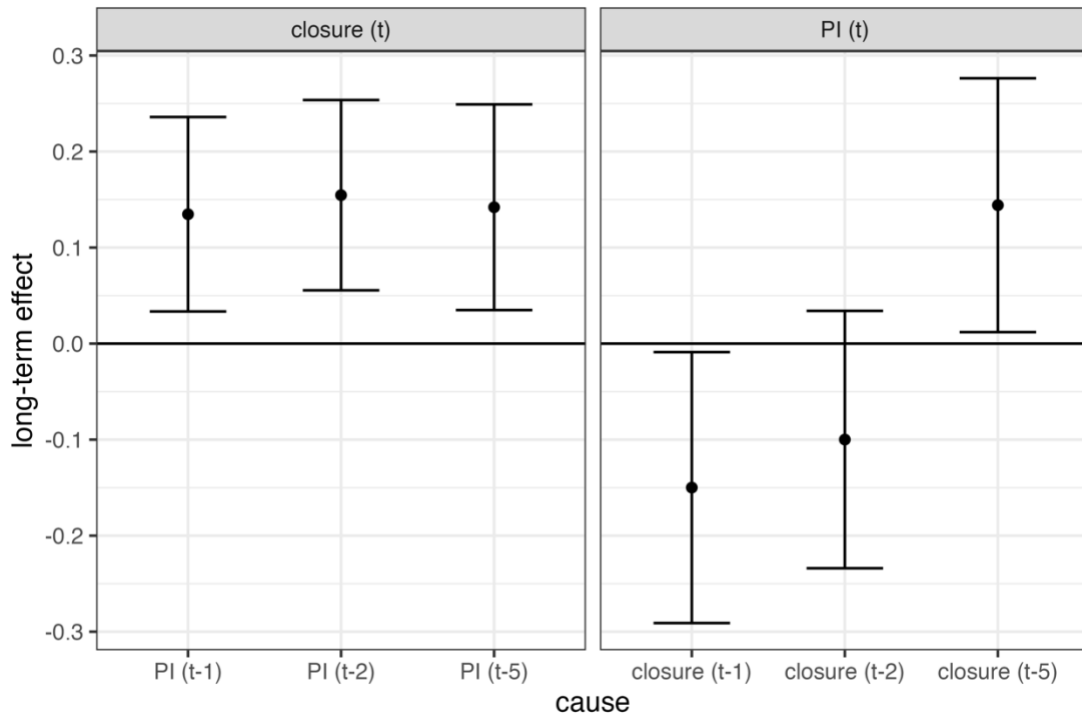


Figure A1. Long-term effects from models presented in Tables A6 and A7.

Table A8. Two-way fixed effects panel models for alternation and the components of PI with covariates (standardized coefficients)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	alternation (t)					
alternation (t-1)	0.675*** (0.020)	0.688*** (0.019)	0.779*** (0.016)	0.675*** (0.020)	0.688*** (0.019)	0.779*** (0.016)
EPD (t-1)	-0.0003 (0.016)					
EPD (t-2)		0.002 (0.015)				
EPD (t-5)			-0.016 (0.012)			
age (t-1)				0.001 (0.025)		
age (t-2)					-0.009 (0.024)	
age (t-5)						-0.010 (0.019)
disproportionality	0.009 (0.014)	0.007 (0.013)	0.006 (0.010)	0.009 (0.014)	0.006 (0.013)	0.008 (0.010)
log10 GDP	-0.060 (0.046)	-0.060 (0.044)	-0.042 (0.032)	-0.061 (0.046)	-0.054 (0.045)	-0.049 (0.032)

fragmentation	-0.048*	-0.052**	-0.026	-0.048*	-0.053**	-0.023
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.014)
polarization	-0.013	-0.012	-0.005	-0.013	-0.011	-0.007
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.011)
Observations	2,400	2,393	2,239	2,400	2,393	2,239
Adjusted R ²	0.510	0.531	0.653	0.510	0.531	0.653
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001					

Table A9. Two-way fixed effects panel models for formula and the components of PI with covariates (standardized coefficients)

	Dependent variable:					
	formula (t)					
formula (t-1)	0.639***	0.638***	0.742***	0.641***	0.640***	0.747***
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.016)
EPD (t-1)	0.083***					
	(0.021)					
EPD (t-2)		0.090***				
		(0.021)				
EPD (t-5)			0.067***			
			(0.017)			
age (t-1)				0.078*		
				(0.033)		
age (t-2)					0.089**	
					(0.033)	
age (t-5)						0.071*
						(0.028)
disproportionality	-0.017	-0.021	0.002	-0.034	-0.037	-0.006
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.017)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.017)
log10 GDP	-0.057	-0.061	-0.068	-0.041	-0.044	-0.056
	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.050)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.051)
fragmentation	-0.013	-0.019	-0.022	-0.031	-0.036	-0.032
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.022)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.021)
polarization	-0.027	-0.024	-0.024	-0.019	-0.015	-0.018
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.018)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.017)
Observations	2,400	2,393	2,239	2,400	2,393	2,239
Adjusted R ²	0.417	0.428	0.565	0.414	0.425	0.563
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001					

Table A10. Two-way fixed effects panel models for access and the components of PI with covariates (standardized coefficients)

	Dependent variable:					
	access (t)					
access (t-1)	0.490***	0.492***	0.654***	0.493***	0.495***	0.657***
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.021)

EPD (t-1)	0.078***					
	(0.024)					
EPD (t-2)		0.088***				
		(0.024)				
EPD (t-5)			0.088***			
			(0.021)			
age (t-1)				0.068		
				(0.035)		
age (t-2)					0.088*	
					(0.035)	
age (t-5)						0.112**
						(0.035)
disproportionality	-0.078**	-0.077**	-0.020	-0.094***	-0.093***	-0.030
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.019)
log10 GDP	0.093	0.084	0.076	0.110	0.099	0.082
	(0.068)	(0.069)	(0.056)	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.057)
fragmentation	-0.065*	-0.055*	-0.045	-0.083**	-0.071**	-0.057*
	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.022)
polarization	0.023	0.017	-0.007	0.030	0.025	0.001
	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.020)
Observations	2,400	2,393	2,239	2,400	2,393	2,239
Adjusted R ²	0.246	0.251	0.462	0.243	0.249	0.459
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001					

Table A11. Two-way fixed effects panel models for EPD and the components of PSI with covariates (standardized coefficients)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>								
	EPD (t)								
EPD (t-1)	0.883***	0.877***	0.885***	0.883***	0.878***	0.884***	0.883***	0.878***	0.883***
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)
alternation (t-1)	-0.013								
	(0.010)								
alternation (t-2)		-0.014							
		(0.010)							
alternation (t-5)			0.017						
			(0.009)						
formula (t-1)				-0.009					
				(0.006)					
formula (t-2)					-0.008				
					(0.007)				
formula (t-5)						0.013*			
						(0.006)			
access (t-1)							-0.012		
							(0.007)		
access (t-2)								-0.014*	
								(0.007)	

access (t-5)									0.014*
									(0.006)
disproportionality	-0.049***	-0.048***	-0.047***	-0.050***	-0.049***	-0.047***	-0.051***	-0.050***	-0.048***
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
log10 GDP	0.043*	0.045	0.044	0.045*	0.047*	0.041	0.047*	0.049*	0.039
	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.023)
fragmentation	-0.048***	-0.048***	-0.059***	-0.048***	-0.048***	-0.059***	-0.049***	-0.049***	-0.058***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)
polarization	0.003	0.004	-0.001	0.003	0.005	-0.001	0.004	0.006	-0.002
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Observations	2,400	2,340	2,168	2,400	2,340	2,168	2,400	2,340	2,168
Adjusted R ²	0.840	0.838	0.847	0.840	0.837	0.847	0.841	0.838	0.847
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001								

Table A12. Two-way fixed effects panel models for party age and the components of PSI with covariates (standardized coefficients)

	Dependent variable:								
	age (t)								
age (t-1)	0.935***	0.934***	0.932***	0.936***	0.934***	0.932***	0.936***	0.935***	0.932***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
alternation (t-1)	-0.005								
	(0.005)								
alternation (t-2)		0.004							
		(0.005)							
alternation (t-5)			0.002						
			(0.005)						
formula (t-1)				-0.004					
				(0.003)					
formula (t-2)					-0.0001				
					(0.003)				
formula (t-5)						0.004			
						(0.003)			
access (t-1)							-0.007*		
							(0.003)		
access (t-2)								-0.004	
								(0.003)	
access (t-5)									0.004
									(0.003)
disproportionality	-0.013**	-0.014**	-0.017***	-0.013**	-0.014**	-0.017***	-0.014***	-0.015**	-0.017***
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)
log10 GDP	0.010	0.010	0.004	0.011	0.009	0.004	0.012	0.010	0.003
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)
fragmentation	-0.016**	-0.018**	-0.021***	-0.016**	-0.018**	-0.021***	-0.017**	-0.018***	-0.021***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)

polarization	-0.004	-0.003	-0.003	-0.004	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Observations	2,400	2,340	2,168	2,400	2,340	2,168	2,400	2,340	2,168
Adjusted R ²	0.871	0.871	0.870	0.871	0.871	0.870	0.871	0.871	0.870
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001								

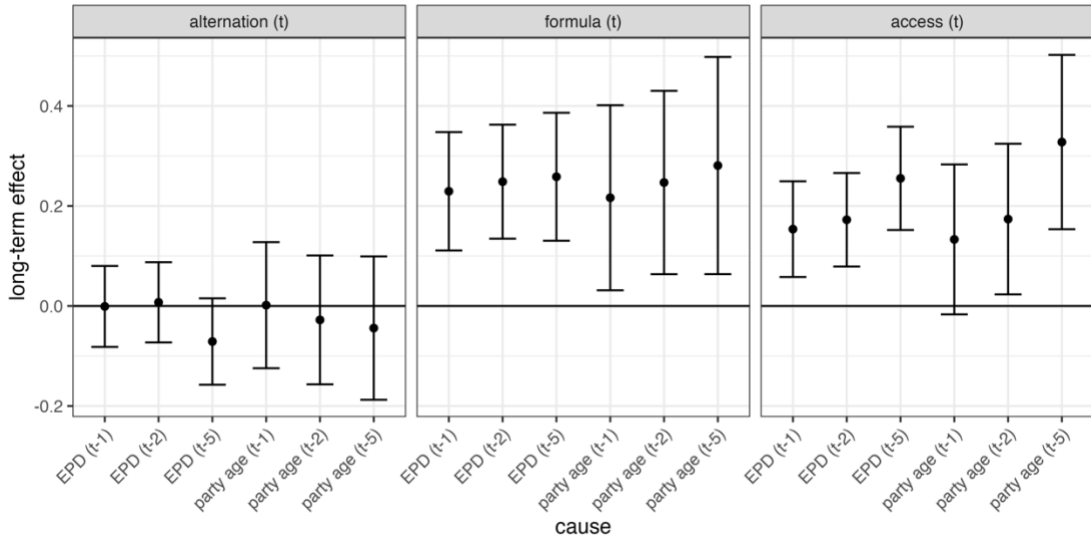


Figure A2. Long-term effects from models presented in Tables A8, A9 and A10

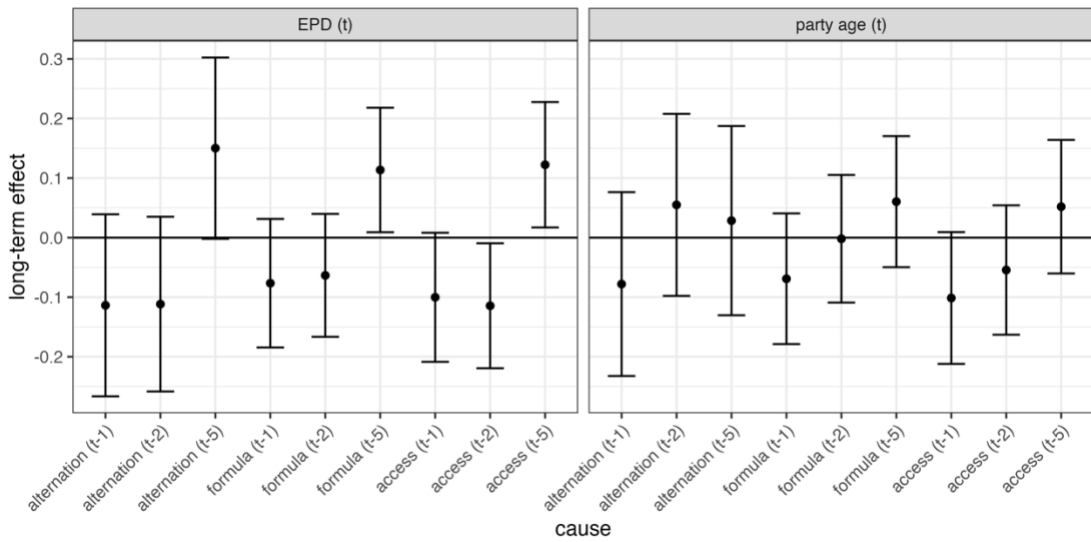


Figure A3. Long-term effects from models presented in Tables A11 and A12

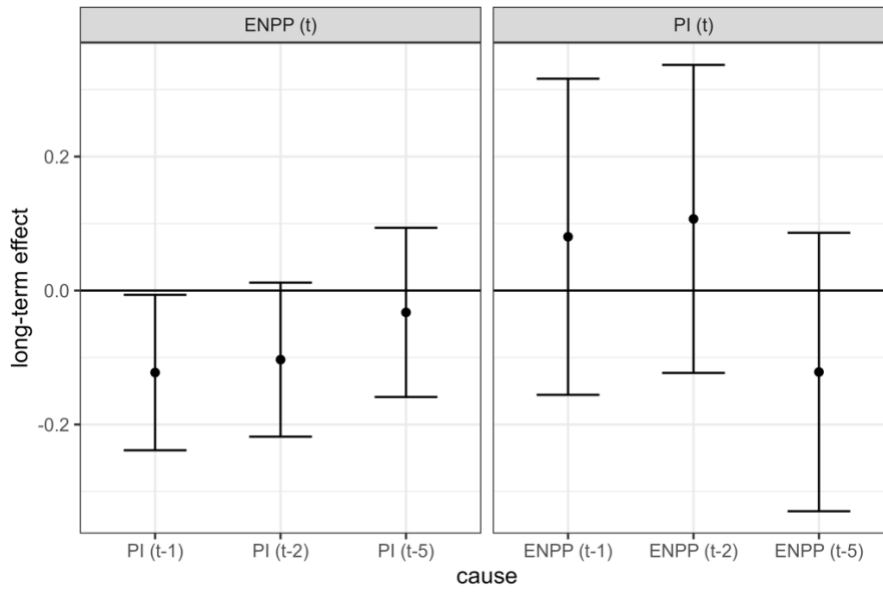


Figure A4. Long-term effects, substituting fragmentation for closure.

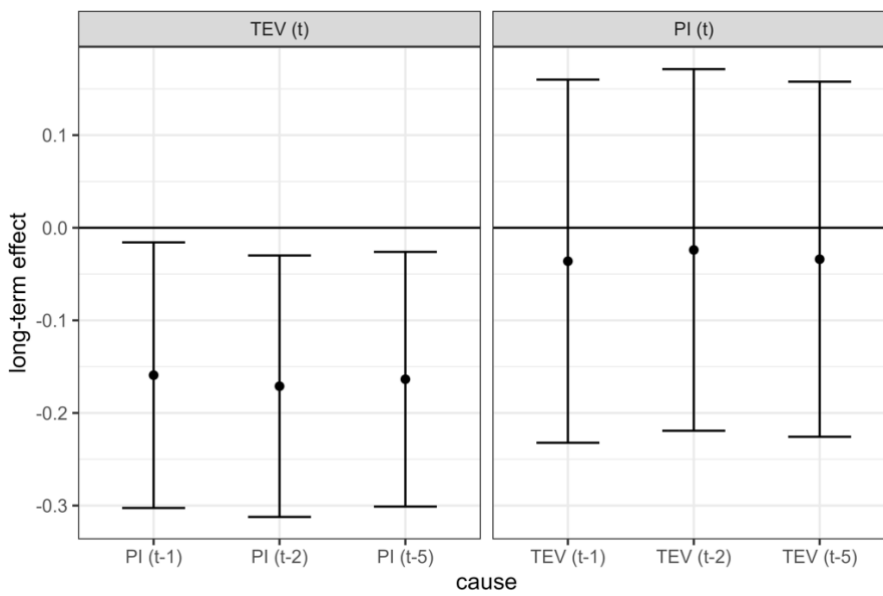


Figure A5. Long-term effects, substituting volatility for closure.

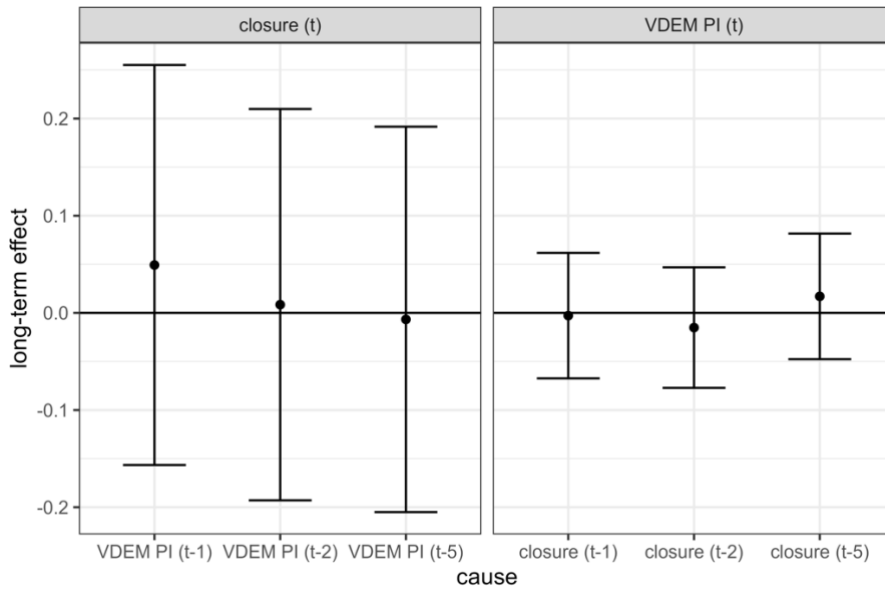


Figure A6. Long-term effects, substituting VDEM index of party institutionalization for PI.

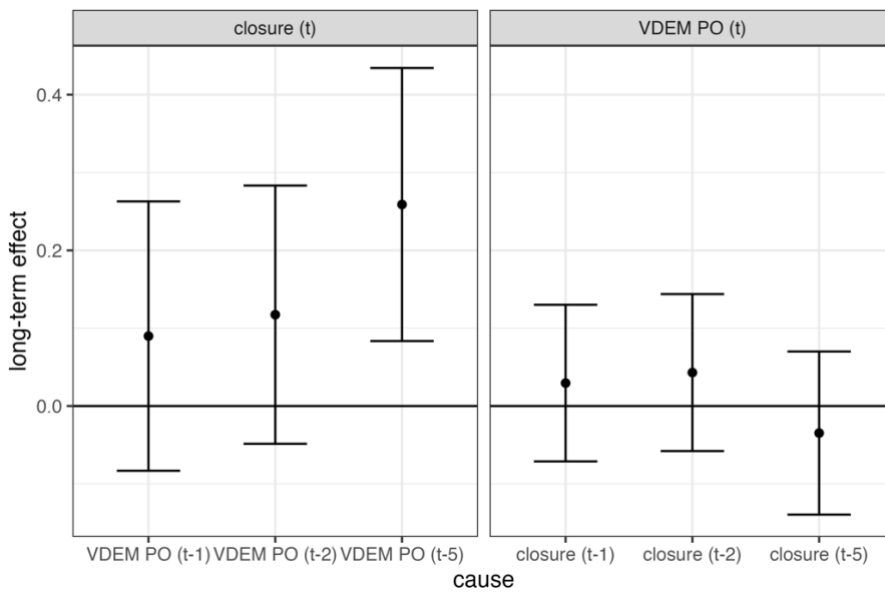


Figure A7. Long-term effects, substituting VDEM index of party organizations for PI.

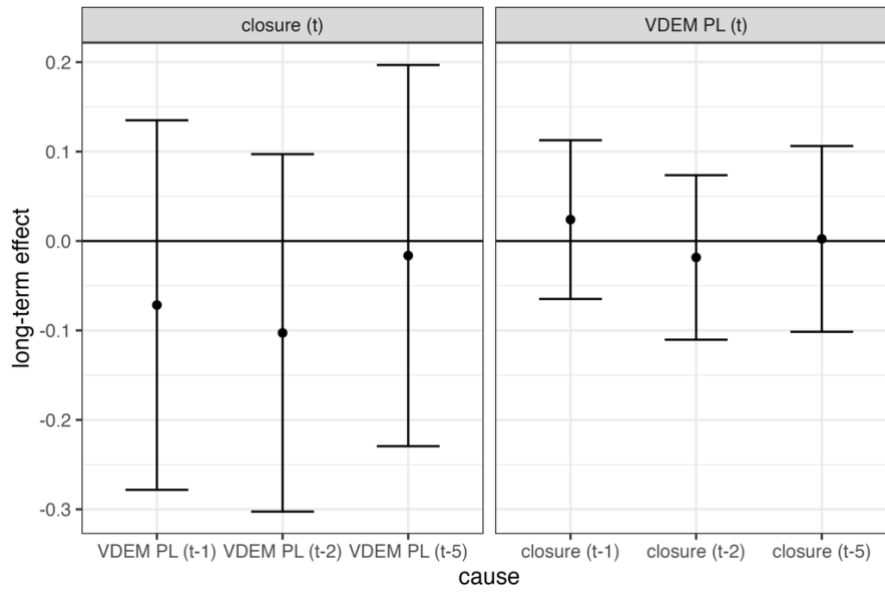


Figure A8. Long-term effects, substituting VDEM index of party linkages for PI.