## **Appendix**

## List of Challenger Parties

## Operationalization of Challenger Parties

A party is considered a *challenger party* if in any given year it has not been a member of a central government after 1930. A party is considered a *dominant party* if in any given year it has been part of a central government after 1930. Only parties with ministers in cabinet are considered to be members of a central government. A party ceases to be a challenger party once it enters central government (in the election immediately preceding entry into office, it is classified as a challenger party). Participation in a national war/crisis cabinets and national unity governments (e.g., Communists in France's provisional government) does not in itself qualify a party as a dominant party. A dominant party will continue to be considered a dominant party after merging with a challenger party, but a party will be considered a challenger party if it splits from a dominant party.

Using this definition, the following parties were challenger parties in Western Europe in the period under investigation (1950–2017). The parties that became dominant parties during the period are indicated with an asterisk.

Country	Party abbreviation	Party name	Last election in dataset (as challenger party)	
Austria	ALÖ	Alternative List Austria	1983	
	DU	The Independents—Lugner's List	1999	
	FPÖ	Freedom Party of Austria	1983	*
	Fritz	The Citizens' Forum Austria	2008	
	Grüne	The Greens—The Green Alternative	2017	
	LiF	Liberal Forum	2008	
	Martin	Hans-Peter Martin's List	2006	
	Nein	No—Citizens' Initiative against EU Membership	1995	
	NEOS	NEOS—The New Austria	2017	
	TS	Team Stronach	2013	
Belgium	AGL-Gr	Agalev—Green!	1999	*
	DLB	Belgians, Rise Up!	2014	
	Ecolo	Confederated Ecologists for the Organization of Original Struggles	1999	*
	FN	National Front	2007	
	KLS	Cartel of Liberals and Socialists	1958	

	LC	Catholics Lists	1961	
	LD/LDD	List Dedecker/Libertarian, Direct, Democratic	2010	
	N-VA	New Flemish Alliance	2014	*
	PA-PTB	Workers' Party of Belgium	2014	
	PL(B)	Liberal Party (Brussels Region)	1978	
	PP	People's Party	2014	
	PRL	Liberal Reformist Party	1973	*
	PVV/VLD	Party for Freedom and Progress/Flemish Liberals and Democrats	1966	*
	ROSSEM	Radical Reformers Fighting for an Upright Society	1991	
	RvA-UpD	Respect for Labour	1985	
	RW	Walloon Rally	1981	
	V	Alive	1999	
	VB	Flemish Block	2014	
	VU	People's Union	1977	*
Denmark	A	The Alternative	2015	
	CD	Center Democrats	1982	*
	DF	Danish People's Party	2015	
	DU	Independents Party	1968	
	En-Ø	Red-Green Alliance	2015	
	FK	Common Course	1990	
	FrP	Progress Party	2001	
	Grønne	Greens	1988	
	KrF	Christian People's Party	1983	*
	LC	Liberal Center	1968	
	NLA	New-Liberal Alliance	2015	*
	RF	Justice Party	1957	*
	SF	Socialist People's Party	2010	*
	SP	Schleswig Party	1977	
Finland	ÅS	Åland Coalition	201	
	Deva	Democratic Alternative	1987	
	Eko	Ecological Party	1995	
	KD	Christian Democrats	1990	
	NSP	Young Finns	1999	
	Pi	Pirate Party Finland	2015	
	PMP	Party of Smallholders and Rural People	1951	
	POP	Constitutional People's Party	1983	
	RT	Reform Group	1999	
	SEP	Finnish Pensioners Party	1987	
	SKP-Y	Communist Party of Finland (Unity)	2007	
	SKYP	Finnish People's Unity Party	1983	
	SP/P	Finnish Party/True Finns	2015	*
	TPSL	Social Democratic League of Workers and	1972	

		Smallholders		
	VIHR	Green League	1995	*
	VL	Liberal League	1962	
	VSL	League for Free Finland	1995	
France	AC	Centrist Alliance	2012	*
	PCF	Communist Party of France	1981	*
	CD	Democratic Center	1974	*
	CDS	Center of Social Democrats	1981	*
	CPNT	Hunting, Fishing, Nature, Tradition	2007	
	DLR/DLF	Arise the Republic/France Arise	2017	
	REM	The Republic on the Move!	2017	*
	FI	Unbowed France	2017	
	FN	National Front	2017	
	GE	Ecology Generation	1993	
	LCR	Revolutionary Communist League	2002	
	LO	Workers' Struggle	2002	
	MDC	Citizens' Movement	2002	
	MF	Movement for France	2007	
	MIM	Martinican Independence Movement	2012	
	MNR	National Republican Movement	2002	
	MR	Reformers Movement	1973	
	PRG	Radical Party of the Left	1981	*
	PSU	Unified Socialist Party	1973	
	RGR	Rally of Republican Lefts	1955	
	RPF	Rally for France	2002	
	UDCA	Union for the Defense of Traders and Artisans – Poujadists	1958	
	UDI	Union of Democrats and Independents	2017	
	UFD	Union of Democratic Forces	1958	
	V	Greens	1997	*
Germany	AfD	Alternative for Germany	2017	
	B90/Greens	Alliance 90/Greens	1998	*
	DFU	German Peace Union	1965	
	DRP	German Reich Party	1961	
	DVU	German People's Union	1998	
	DZ	Center Party	1957	
	GDP	All-German Party	1961	
	GVP	All-German People's Party	1953	
	KPD	Communist Party of Germany	1953	
	Linke	The Left / PDS	2017	
	NPD	National Democratic Party	2017	
	Pi	German Pirate Party	2017	
	Rep	The Republicans	2013	

Greece	AE	Independent Greeks	2015*	*
	DIANA	Democratic Renewal	1990	
	DIKKI	Democratic Social Movement	2004	
	DIMAR	Democratic Left	2012	*
	DX	Recreate Greece	2015	
	EDA	United Democratic Left	1977	
	EDE	National Democratic Union	1974	
	EDIK	Union of the Democratic Center	1977	
	EK	Union of Centrists	2015	
	EMP	Independent Muslim Lists	1990	
	EP	National Alignment	1977	
	KEE(I)	Communist Party of Greece (Interior)	1985	
	KKE	Communist Party of Greece	2015	
	KN	Party of New Liberals	1977	
	KP	Progressive Party	1981	
	LAOS	Popular Orthodox Rally	2011	*
	LE	Popular Unity	2015	
	LS-CA	Golden Dawn	2015	
	OE	Alternative Ecologists	1990	
	OP	Ecologist Greens	2012	*
	PASOK	Panhellenic Socialist Movement	1981	*
	POLAN	Political Spring	1996	
	SYRIZA	Coalition of the Radical Left	2015	*
	TP	The River	2015	
Iceland	В-Н	Civic Movement —The Movement	2009	
	BF	Bright Future	2015	*
	Bf-87	Citizens' Party —1987	1987	
	BJ	Alliance of Social Democrats	1987	*
	Dawn	Dawn—The Organization of Justice, Fairness, and Democracy	2013	
	FF	Liberal Party	2009	*
	FH	Households Party	2013	
	FlF	People's Party	2016	
	FM	Humanist Party	1987	
	Fr	Liberals	1991	
	Græn	Left-Green Movement	2008	*
	HG	Right-Green People's Party	2013	
	IDP	Iceland Democratic Party	2013	
	IL	Icelandic Movement —Living Country	2007	
	KL	Women's Alliance	1995	
	Pi	Pirate Party	2016	
	Rebo	Rainbow	2013	
	SA-S	People's Unity Party – Socialist Party	1953	

	SamSAM	Social Democratic Alliance	2006	*
	V	Revival	2016	*
Ireland	DLP	Democratic Left	1994	*
	DS	Social Democrats	2016	
	DSP	Democratic Socialist Party	1989	
	Green	Green Party	2007	*
	Н-В	Anti H-Block	1981	
	IA	Independent Alliance	2016	*
	IC	Independents 4 Change	2016	
	NPD	National Progressive Democrats	1961	
	PBPA	People Before Profit Alliance	2011	
	PD	Progressive Democrats	1989	*
	RI	Renua Ireland	2016	
	SF	Sinn Féin	2016	
	SP	Socialist Party	2016	
Italy	AD	Democratic Alliance	1994	
	AIE	Associative Italians Abroad	2013	
	CCD+CDU	Christian Democratic Center / United Christian Democrats	2001	*
	CD	Democratic Center	2013	
	CdS	Center Left	1996	*
	CS	Social Christians	1994	
	DCA	Christian Democracy for the Autonomies	2006	*
	DE	European Democracy	2001	
	DL-M	Democracy is Freedom —The Daisy	2001	*
	DP	Proletarian Democracy	1987	
	FdLV	Green Lists	1987	
	FdV	Federation of the Greens	1996	*
	Fed	Federalist Party	1996	
	FiD	Stop the Decline	2013	
	FLI	Future and Freedom for Italy	2013	
	LAM	Southern Action League	1996	
	LN	Northern League	1994	*
	LT	List for Trieste	1979	
	LV	Venetian League	1992	
	M5S	Five Star Movement	2013	*
	MpA	Movement for Autonomy	2008	*
	MSFT	Fiamma Tricolore	2013	
	MSI	Italian Social Movement	1992	
	PD	Democratic Party	2013	*
	PDIUM	Italian Democratic Party of Monarchist Unity	1968	
	PdUP	Proletarian Unity Party	1979	
	PLD	Liberal Democratic Pole	1994	

	PMP	Popular Monarchist Party	1958	
	PNM	Monarchist National Party	1958	
	PNP	National Pensioners' Party	1983	
	PRC	Communist Refoundation Party	2006	*
	PSA	Sardinian Action Party	1987	
	PSI	Italian Socialist Party	1963	*
	PSIUP	Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity	1972	
	R	Radicals	2005	*
	RC	Civil Revolution	2013	
	Rete	Movement for Democracy —The Net	1994	
	SL	Left (Ecology) Freedom	2013	
	SVP	South Tyrol Peoples Party	2013	
	UdC	Union of the Center	2013	*
	UV	Valdotanian Union	2001	
Luxembourg	AR /ADR	Action Committee Pensions   Alternative Democratic Reform Party	2013	
	DL	The Left	2013	
	GAP	Green Alternative	1983	
	GLA	Green and Liberal Alliance	1999	
	GLEI	Green Left Ecological Initiative	1989	
	Greng	The Greens	2013	*
	MPI	Popular Independent Movement	1968	
	NB	National Movement	1994	
	Pi	Pirate Party Luxembourg	2013	
	PICM	Independent Party of the Middle Class	1954	
	PID	Party for Full Democracy	2013	
	PSI	Jean Gremling List —Independent Socialists	1984	
	SDP	Social Democratic Party	1979	
	Z-EF	Coerced Conscripts	1979	
Malta	AD	Democratic Alternative	2017	
	DAP	Democratic Action Party	1950	
	JP	Jones Party	1951	
	MWP	Malta Workers' Party	1953	
	PDN	Democratic Nationalist Party	1966	
	PHN	Christian Workers' Party	1966	
	PK	Constitutionalist Party	1953	
	PKP	Progressive Constitutionalist Party	1971	
Netherlands	50+	50PLUS	2017	
	AOV VSP	General Senior Union / United Seniors Party	2002	
	BP	Farmers Party	1977	
	CD	Center Democrats	1998	
	СР	Center Party	1994	
	CU-SGP	Christian Union —Reformed Political Party	2017	

	D66	Democrats 66	1973	*
	DENK	Think	2017	
	FvD	Forum for Democracy	2017	
	GL	Green Left	2017	
	GPV	Reformed Political League	1998	
	KNP	Catholic National Party	1952	
	LN	Livable Netherlands	2002	
	MP	New Middle Party	1972	
	PPR	Radical Political Party	1973	*
	PSP	Pacifist Socialist Party	1986	
	PvdD	Party for the Animals	2017	
	PVV	Party for Freedom	2017	
	RPF	Reformatory Political Federation	1998	
	SGP	Political Reformed Party	2017	
	SP	Socialist Party	2017	
Norway	DLF	Liberal People's Party	1977	
	Fr	Progress Party	2013	*
	Кр	Coastal Party	2005	
	KrF	Christian Democratic Party	1963	*
	MDG	Green Party	2017	
	P	Pensioners Party	1993	
	RV	Red Electoral Alliance	2005	
	SF	Socialist People's Party	1969	
	SV	Socialist Left Party	2005	*
Portugal	AD	Democratic Alliance	1979	*
	APU	United People Alliance	1985	
	ASDI	Independent Social Democrats	1980	
	BE	Bloc of the Left	2015	
	CDS-PP	Democratic and Social Center —People's Party	1978	*
	CDU	Unified Democratic Coalition	2015	
	FRS	Republican and Socialist Front	1980	
	MDP	Democratic Movement	1985	
	MES	Movement of Socialist Left	1975	
	PAN	Party for Animals and Nature	2015	
	PCP	Portuguese Communist Party	2015	
	PDC	Christian Democratic Party	1983	
	PDR	Republican Democratic Party	2015	
	PEV	Ecology Party —Greens	2005	
	POUS	Workers Party of Socialist Unity	1980	
	PPM	Popular Monarchist Party	1979	*
	PRD	Democratic Renewal Party	1987	
	PS	Socialist Party	1976	*
	PSD	Social Democratic Party	1978	*

	PSN	National Solidarity Party	1991	
	PSR	Revolutionary Socialist Party	1991	
	Ref	Reformists	1979	
	UDP	Popular Democratic Union	1987	
Spain	AIC	Canary Islands Group	1989	
	AP-P	Alliance – People's Party	1996	*
	ARM	Ruiz-Mateos List	1989	
	Bai	Yes	2011	
	BNG	Galician Nationalist Block	2011	
	C-PC	Citizens—Party of the Citizenry	2016	
	C/AV	Compromise / A la Valenciana	2016	
	CA	Aragonese Council	2004	
	CC	Canary Coalition	2016	
	CDC	Democratic Convergence of Catalonia	2016	
	CDS	Democratic and Social Center	1993	
	CiU	Convergence and Union	2011	
	EA	Basque Solidarity	2011	
	ECP	In Common We Can	2016	
	EDC	Electoral Coalition of Christian Democratic Team	1977	
	EE	Basque Left	1989	
	EHB	Basque Country Unite	2016	
	ERC	Republican Left of Catalonia	2016	
	HB	United People	1996	
	Podemos	We Can	2016	
	PA	Andalusian Party	2004	
	PACMA	Animalist Party Against Mistreatment to Animals	2016	
	PAR	Aragonese Regionalist Party	1993	
	PCE/IU	Communist Party /United Left	2015	
	PNV	Basque Nationalist Party	2016	
	PSP	People's Socialist Party	1977	
	PTE	Party of Labour of Spain	1979	
	PTE-UC	Workers' Party of Spain—Communist Unity	1986	
	UCDCC	Union of Center and Christian Democracy of Catalonia	1977	
	UN	National Union	1979	
Sweden	FI	Feminist Initiative	2014	
	KD	Christian Democrats	1991	*
	MbS	Citizens Coalition	1968	
	MP	Greens	2014	*
	NyD	New Democracy	1994	
	Pi	Pirate Party	2010	
	SD	Sweden Democrats	2014	

	SPI	Swedish Senior Citizen Interest Party	1998
	V	Left Party (Communists)	2014
	VSP	Left Socialist Party	1958
Switzerland	CsP-PCS	Christian Social Party	2007
	DG	Democratic Group	1967
	EDU-UDF	Federal Democratic Union of Switzerland	2015
	EJ	Agreement Jura	1991
	EVP-PEP	Protestant Peoples Party	2015
	FGr-ASF	Feminists and Green-Alternative Groups	2003
	FPS	Automobile Party   Freedom Party of Switzerland	2003
	GPL-PVL	Green Liberal Party	2015
	Grüne	Greens	2015
	KHM	Committee Herbert Maeder	1991
	LdT	Ticino League	2015
	LdU-ADI	Independents Alliance	1999
	LF/PEB	Liberal Socialist Party	1955
	LPS	Liberal Party of Switzerland	2007
	MCR	Geneva Citizens' Movement	2015
	NA /SD	National Action—Swiss Democrats	2007
	PdA	Swiss Party of Labour	2015
	РОСН	Progressive Organizations of Switzerland	1991
	PSA	Autonomous Socialist Party	1991
	RB	Republican Movement	1983
	S	Solidarity	2003
United Kingdom	BNP	British National Party	2010
	СР	The Christian Party —Christian Peoples Alliance in England	2015
	CPGB	Communist Party of Great Britain	1951
	DUP	Democratic Unionist Party	2017
	GP	Green Party	2017
	N	Nationalist Party	1951
	NF	National Front	1979
	PC	Plaid Cymru	2017
	R	Respect —The Unity Coalition	2005
	RepLP	Republican Labour Party	1970
	RP	Referendum Party	1997
	SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party	2015
	SDP	Social Democratic Party	1987
	SF	Sinn Féin	2017
	SNP	Scottish National Party	2017
	U	Unity	1970
	UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party	2017

UPUP	Ulster Popular Unionist Party	1992	
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party	2015	