A Appendix

Supplementary Material

Antidote to Backsliding:
Ethnic Politics and Democratic Resilience

American Political Science Review

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A.1 List of interviews

interview	position	location	date
interview 1	Academic at University of Bratislava	online	29 June 2020
interview 2	Academic at University of Bratislava	online	8 October 2020
interview 3	Hungarian minority politician	online	25 September 2020
interview 4	Civil servant in the Slovak administration	online	12 October 2020
interview 5	Hungarian minority politician	Bratislava	3 November, 2021
interview 6	Hungarian minority politician	Bratislava	3 November, 2021

Table A1: List of interviews

A.2 Measures of Democracy

Figure A1 compares the V-Dem liberal democracy score with the scores of Polity and Freedom House civil liberties and political rights. It demonstrates the great nuance of the V-Dem measure, compared to the relative crudeness of Polity and Freedom House. While the Polity measure is invariant between, the Freedom House measure reflects democratic change only in a crude stepwise manner. V-Dem provides a much more fine grained picture of liberal democratic development in annual increments which makes it better suited for the study of vote share changes and government participation.

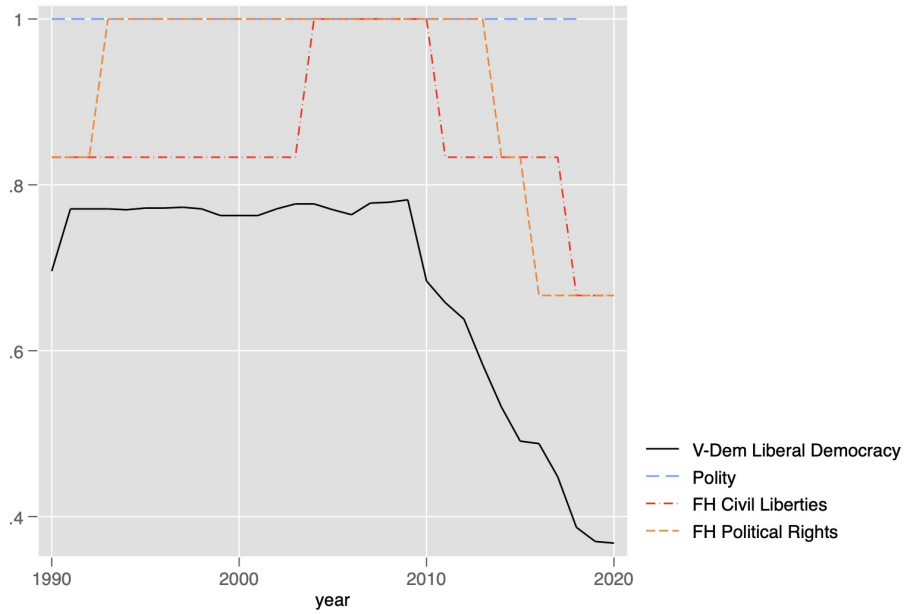

Figure A1: Comparing V-Dem, Polity and Freedom House measures in Hungary

All measures have been rescaled to range from 0 to 1. Freedom House measures have been reversed to capture higher democracy as the value increases.

A.3 Factor analysis of V-Dem measures of democracy

Table A2 below reports the results of a principal factor analysis of the seven key V-Dem democracy measures: polyarchy, liberal democracy, participatory democracy, deliberative democracy, egalitarian democracy, API and MPI. The analysis yields one clear factor. This factor correlates with the measure of liberal democracy in the sample at 0.9926.

Factor	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	6.57152	6.45194	0.9798	0.9798
Factor2	0.11959	0.09872	0.0178	0.9976
Factor3	0.02087	0.00767	0.0031	1.0007
Factor4	0.01320	0.01322	0.0020	1.0027
Factor5	-0.00002	0.00304	-0.0000	1.0027
Factor6	-0.00306	0.01208	-0.0005	1.0023
Factor7	-0.01514	.	-0.0023	1.0000

Table A2: Factor analysis of V-Dem measures of democracy in eastern Europe

A.4 Party Classification

The article classifies political parties into four groups: illiberal, constitutional liberals, ethnic minority parties, and others. Illiberal parties seek to oppose liberalism as a constitutional principle, they undermine political pluralism by advocating majority rule based on flexible often ethnocentric conceptions of 'the people' as the ultimate source of political legitimacy. This broader category includes contemporary 'ethnopopulists,' as well as other anti-pluralist forces, such as the radical right or unreformed communists. The opposite of illiberals are constitutional liberals who actively seek political pluralism that accords political rights and civil liberties to all individuals, and seeks institutional checks and balances as well as the rule of law in order to constrain majority rule. Ethnic minority parties are parties that seek to represent specific or diverse ethnic minorities. These parties receive a majority of their vote from individuals who identify as members of an ethnic minority. Moderate parties that are neither illiberal, nor explicit constitutional liberals, and that do not represent ethnic minorities fall into a residual category.

Illiberal and constitutionally liberal political parties are identified with the aid of V-Party data that include a measure of 'anti-pluralism', which measures the extent to which a "party shows a lacking commitment to democratic norms", available for all studied countries for the period since 1990 (V-Party data). Given the relatively small number of parties per country and election, assigning a certain percentile of the most pluralist and anti-pluralist parties to the constitutionally liberal and illiberal category respectively, leads to problematic inclusion or exclusion of parties. The parties are thus coded as follows:

country	party	full name	anti-pluralism	differece from median
Bulgaria	ATA	Ataka	0.936	0.803
Bulgaria	BSP	Balgarska sotsialisticheska partiya (year<=1997)	0.643	0.492
Bulgaria	NFSB	Natsionalen Front za Spasenie na Balgariya	0.736	0.517
Bulgaria	VMRO	Balgarsko Natsionalno Dvizhenie	NA	NA
Bulgaria	Volya	Dvizhenie Volya	NA	NA
Croatia	HSP	Hrvatska stranka prava	0.644	0.541
Czech Republic	KSC	Komunisticka strana Ceskoslovenska	0.678	0.568
Czech Republic	KSCM	Komunisticka strana Cech a Moravy	0.460	0.410
Czech Republic	ANO	Akce nespokojenych obcanu	0.237	0.187
Czech Republic	DSSS	Delnicka strana socialni spravedlnosti	NA	NA
Czech Republic	SPD	Svoboda a prima demokracie Tomio Okamura	0.659	0.608
Czech Republic	SPR-RSC	Sdruzeni pro republiku-Republikanska strana	0.761	0.702
Czech Republic	UPD	Usvit prime demokracie	0.642	0.592
Estonia	EKo	Eesti Kodanik	0.303	0.213
Estonia	EKRE	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond	0.560	0.533
Hungary	FKgP	Fuggetlen Kisgazda Part	0.539	0.417
Hungary	Fidesz	Fidesz - Magyar Polgari Szovetseg (year>=2010)	0.816	0.489
Hungary	Jobbik	Jobbik Magyarorszagert Mozgalom	0.733	0.406
Hungary	MIEP	Magyar Igazsag es Elet Partja	0.848	0.740
Latvia	TKL-ZP	Tautas Kustiba Latvijai - Zigerista Partija	0.436	0.242
Latvia	KPV-LV	Kam pieder valsts	0.449	0.301
Latvia	TB-LNNK	Tevzemei un Brivibai/LNNK	0.169	0.028
Lithuania	DK	Drasos kelias	0.428	0.362
Lithuania	TT-LDP	Tvarka ir teisingumas - Liberalu demokratu partija	0.100	0.044
Poland	Korwin	Korwin - Konfederacja Wolnosc i Niepodleglosc	NA	NA
Poland	K	Kukiz'15	0.498	0.394
Poland	LPR	Liga Polskich Rodzin	0.537	0.376
Poland	SRP	Samoobrona	0.761	0.653
Poland	PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc	0.471	0.364
Poland	ZChN	Zjednoczenie Chrzescijansko-Narodowe	0.347	0.162
Poland	KPN	Konfederacja Polski Niepodleglej	NA	NA
Romania	PP-DD	Partidul Poporului - Dan Diaconescu	0.671	0.445
Romania	PRM	Partidul Romania Mare	0.955	0.733
Romania	PRU	Partidul Romania Unita	NA	NA
Romania	PSD	Partidul Social Democrat (year<=1996)	0.702	0.549
Romania	PUNR	Partidul Unitatii Nationale a Romanilor	0.862	0.654
Slovakia	KSS	Komunisticka strana Slovenska	0.622	0.564
Slovakia	HZDS	Hnutie za demokraticke Slovensko	0.652	0.592
Slovakia	LsNS	Ludova strana Nase Slovensko	0.948	0.676
Slovakia	SR	Sme Rodina - Boris Kollar	0.401	0.129
Slovakia	Smer	Smer - socialna demokracia (year>=2012)	0.339	0.175
Slovakia	SNS	Slovenska narodna strana	0.623	0.418
Slovakia	PSNS	Prava Slovenska narodna strana	NA	NA
Slovenia	SNS	Slovenska nacionalna stranka	0.820	0.598
Slovenia	SDS	Slovenska demokratska stranka	0.515	0.369

Table A3: illiberal parties

country	party	full name	anti-pluralism	differece from median
Bulgaria	BNG	Dvizhenie Balgariya na grazhdanite	NA	NA
Bulgaria	NDSV	Natsionalno Dvizhenie Simeon Vtori	0.047	-0.015
Bulgaria	ODS	Obedineni Demokraticni Sili	0.069	-0.012
Bulgaria	SDS	Suyuz na Demokratichnite Sili	0.099	-0.025
Croatia	HNS	Hrvatska narodna stranka	0.033	-0.050
Croatia	ORaH	Odrzivi razvoj Hrvatske	NA	NA
Croatia	SDP	Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske	0.052	-0.041
Czech Republic	OF	Obcanske Forum	0.021	-0.089
Czech Republic	OH	Obcanske Hnuti	NA	NA
Czech Republic	ODA	Obcanska demokraticka aliance	0.030	-0.030
Czech Republic	SZ	Strana zelenych	0.041	-0.008
Czech Republic	TOP09	Tradice Odpovednost Prosperita 09	0.025	-0.027
Czech Republic	US/DEU	Unie svobody	0.016	-0.023
Estonia	E200	Erakond Eesti 200	NA	NA
Estonia	EER	Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised	0.025	-0.003
Estonia	ER	Eesti Reformierakond	0.037	-0.006
Estonia	SDE-M	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond - Moodukad	0.026	-0.023
Hungary	Egyutt	Egyutt - A Korszakvaltok Partja	0.039	-0.074
Hungary	LMP	Lehet Mas a Politika	0.054	-0.273
Hungary	PM	Parbeszed Magyarorszagert	NA	NA
Hungary	SzDSz	Szabad Demokratak Szovetsege	0.022	-0.079
Latvia	LPP/LC	Latvijas Pirma partija / Latvijas Cels	0.047	-0.060
Latvia	V	Vienotiba	0.068	-0.049
Lithuania	LCS	Lietuvos centro sajunga	0.041	-0.005
Lithuania	LLS	Lietuvos laisves sajunga	0.032	-0.008
Lithuania	LRLS	Lietuvos Respublikos liberalu sajudis	0.022	-0.037
Lithuania	LiCS	Liberalu ir centro sajunga	0.024	-0.024
Poland	PO	Platforma Obywatelska	0.057	-0.050
Poland	RP	Twoj Ruch (Palikota)	0.078	-0.000
Poland	SDPL	Socjaldemokracja Polska	NA	NA
Poland	UP	Unia Pracy	0.029	-0.111
Poland	UW-PD	Unia Wolnosci	0.020	-0.134
Romania	PER	Partidul Ecologist Roman	0.027	-0.114
Romania	PNL	Partidul National Liberal	0.098	-0.098
Romania	USR	Uniunea Salvati Romania	0.061	-0.086
Slovakia	VPN	Verejnost proti nasilju	NA	NA
Slovakia	ANO	Aliancia noveho obcana	0.058	0.000
Slovakia	DuS/APR	Demokraticka unia	0.042	-0.002
Slovakia	SF	Slobodne forum	NA	NA
Slovakia	SDK	Slovenska demokraticka koalicia	NA	NA
Slovakia	SDKU-DS	Slovenska demokraticka a krestanska unia	0.045	-0.013
Slovakia	SaS	Sloboda a solidarita	0.066	-0.062
Slovenia	L	Levica	0.068	-0.015
Slovenia	LDS	Liberalna demokracija Slovenije	0.075	-0.086
Slovenia	SD / ZLSD	Socialni demokrati	0.076	-0.063
Slovenia	SMS	Strana mladih Slovenije	NA	NA
Slovenia	DL	Dravljanska lista	0.059	-0.052
Slovenia	Zares	Zares - socialno-liberalni	0.056	-0.010

Table A4: Constitutionally Liberal parties

country	party	full name
Bulgaria	DPS	Dvizhenie za prava i svobodi
Croatia	SDSS	Samostalna demokratska srpska stranka
Croatia	IDS	Istarski demokratski sabor
Estonia	VEE	Vene Erakond Eestis
Estonia	K-EUR	Konstitutsioonierakond Eestimaa Uhendatud Rahvapartei
Estonia	EK	Eesti Keskerakond (year>=1999)
Latvia	LSP	Latvijas Socialistiska partija
Latvia	TSP	Tautas Saskanas partija
Latvia	PCTVL	Par cilveka tiesibam vienota Latvija
Latvia	LKS	Latvijas Krievu savieniba
Latvia	L	Lidztiesiba
Latvia	LKPP	Latvijas Krievu pilsonu partija
Latvia	S	Socialdemokratiska partija Saskana
Lithuania	LLRA	Lietuvos lenku rinkimu akcija
Lithuania	LRS	Lietuvos rusu sajunga
Poland	MN	Mniejszosc niemiecka w Polsce
Romania	UDMR	Uniunea Democrata Maghiara din Romania
Slovakia	MOS	Madarska obcianska strana
Slovakia	S-E	Spoluzitie
Slovakia	MK	Strana Madarske Koalicie / Komunity
Slovakia	MH	Most-Hid

Table A5: Ethnic parties

Figure A2 provides a summary of anti-pluralism scores of the different party types.

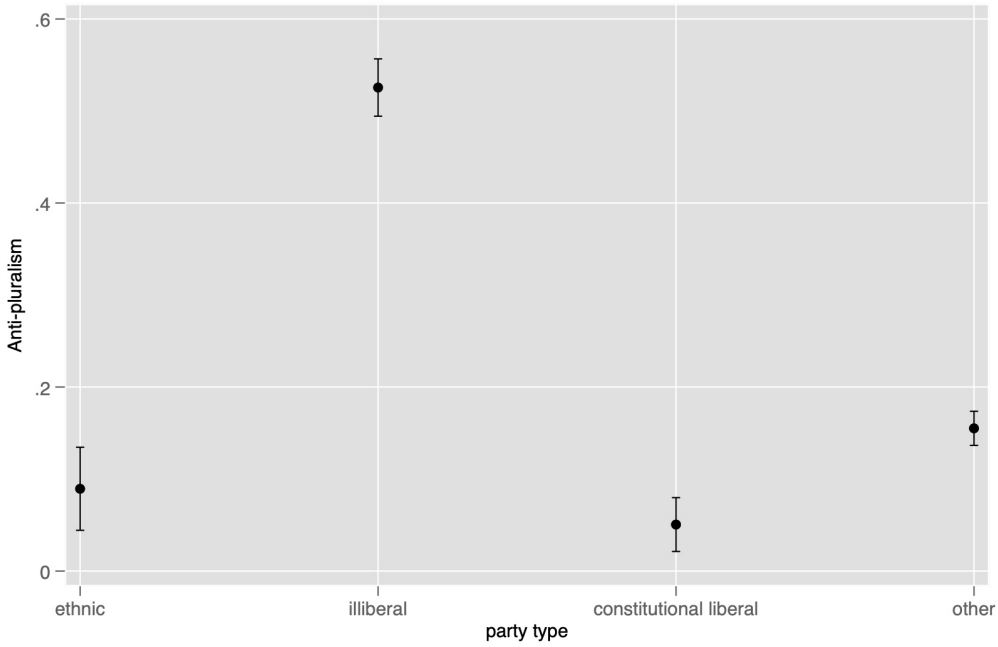

Figure A2: Party types and anti-pluralism
Note: Mean placements with 95% confidence intervals. V-Party data

A.5 Alternative party classification and robustness check

Alternatively, illiberal and liberal political parties can be specified according to more traditional party families, as nationalist parties, and social liberal parties. Nationalist parties include the radical right a nationalist illiberal parties: the Bulgarian BSP, Czech ANO, Romanian PSD, and Slovak HZDS and Smer after 2012, as identified by the literature (Vachudova 2005, Mesežnikov and Gyarfášová 2018, Vachudova 2020). Ethnic parties are the same as in table A5, and the following parties are coded as illiberal and social liberal in this classification:

country	party	full name
Bulgaria	ATA	Ataka
Bulgaria	BSP	Balgarska sotsialisticheska partiya (year<=1997)
Bulgaria	NFSB	Natsionalen Front za Spasenie na Balgariya
Bulgaria	VMRO	Balgarsko Natsionalno Dvizhenie
Bulgaria	Volya	Dvizhenie Volya
Croatia	HSP	Hrvatska stranka prava
Czech Republic	ANO	Akce nespokojenych obcanu
Czech Republic	DSSS	Delnicka strana socialni spravedlnosti
Czech Republic	SPD	Svoboda a prima demokracie Tomio Okamura
Czech Republic	SPR-RSC	Sdruzeni pro republiku-Republikanska strana Ceskoslovenska
Czech Republic	UPD	Usvit prime demokracie
Estonia	EKo	Eesti Kodanik
Estonia	EKRE	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond
Hungary	FKgP	Fuggetlen Kisgazda Part
Hungary	Fidesz	Fidesz - Magyar Polgari Szovetseg (year>=2010)
Hungary	Jobbik	Jobbik Magyarorszagert Mozgalom
Hungary	MIEP	Magyar Igazsag es Elet Partja
Latvia	TKL-ZP	Tautas Kustiba Latvijai - Zigerista Partija
Latvia	KPV-LV	Kam pieder valsts
Latvia	TB-LNNK	Tevzemei un Brivibai/LNNK
Lithuania	DK	Drasos kelias
Lithuania	TT-LDP	Tvarka ir teisingumas - Liberalu demokratu partija
Poland	Korwin	Korwin - Konfederacja Wolnosc i Niepodleglosc
Poland	K	Kukiz'15
Poland	LPR	Liga Polskich Rodzin
Poland	PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc
Poland	ZChN	Zjednoczenie Chrzescijansko-Narodowe
Poland	KPN	Konfederacja Polski Niepodleglej
Romania	PP-DD	Partidul Poporului - Dan Diaconescu
Romania	PRM	Partidul Romania Mare
Romania	PRU	Partidul Romania Unita
Romania	PSD	Partidul Social Democrat (year<=1996)
Romania	PUNR	Partidul Unitatii Nationale a Romanilor
Slovakia	HZDS	Hnutie za demokraticke Slovensko
Slovakia	LsNS	Ludova strana Nase Slovensko
Slovakia	SR	Sme Rodina - Boris Kollar
Slovakia	Smer	Smer - socialna demokracia (year>=2012)
Slovakia	SNS	Slovenska narodna strana
Slovakia	PSNS	Prava Slovenska narodna strana
Slovenia	SNS	Slovenska nacionalna stranka
Slovenia	SDS	Slovenska demokratska stranka

Table A6: Alternative illiberal parties

country	party	full name
Bulgaria	BNG	Dvizhenie Balgariya na grazhdanite
Bulgaria	NDSV	Natsionalno Dvizhenie Simeon Vtori
Bulgaria	ODS	Obedineni Demokraticni Sili
Bulgaria	SDS	Suyuz na Demokratichnite Sili
Croatia	HNS	Hrvatska narodna stranka
Croatia	ORaH	Odrzivi razvoj Hrvatske
Croatia	SDP	Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske
Czech Republic	OF	Obcanske Forum
Czech Republic	OH	Obcanske Hnuti
Czech Republic	ODA	Obcanska demokraticka aliance
Czech Republic	SZ	Strana zelenych
Czech Republic	Pirati	Piratska strana
Czech Republic	US/DEU	Unie svobody
Estonia	E200	Erakond Eesti 200
Estonia	EER	Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised
Hungary	DK	Demokratikus Koalicio
Hungary	Egyutt	Egyutt - A Korszakvaltok Partja
Hungary	LMP	Lehet Mas a Politika
Hungary	PM	Parbeszed Magyarorszagert
Hungary	SzDSz	Szabad Demokratak Szovetsege
Latvia	RP	Zatlera Reformu Partija
Latvia	V	Vienotiba
Lithuania	LCS	Lietuvos centro sajunga
Lithuania	LLS	Lietuvos laisves sajunga
Lithuania	LRLS	Lietuvos Respublikos liberalu sajudis
Lithuania	LiCS	Liberalu ir centro sajunga
Poland	Razem	Razem
Poland	LR	Lawica Razem
Poland	RP	Twoj Ruch (Palikota)
Poland	UW-PD	Unia Wolnosci
Romania	PER	Partidul Ecologist Roman
Romania	PNL	Partidul National Liberal
Slovakia	VPN	Verejnost proti nasilju
Slovakia	ANO	Aliancia noveho obcana
Slovakia	DuS/APR	Demokraticka unia
Slovakia	SF	Slobodne forum
Slovakia	SDK	Slovenska demokraticka koalicia
Slovakia	SaS	Sloboda a solidarita
Slovakia	PS	Progresivne Slovensko
Slovenia	L	Levica
Slovenia	LDS	Liberalna demokracija Slovenije
Slovenia	ZdLe	Zdruzena levica
Slovenia	SMS	Strana mladih Slovenije
Slovenia	DL	Dravljanska lista
Slovenia	Zares	Zares - socialno-liberalni

Table A7: Alternative liberal parties

The results using this alternative operationalization are robust, as outlined in figure A8.

	(1) liberal democracy	(2) liberal democracy	(3) liberal democracy
illiberal vote	-0.0031	-0.0031	-0.0038
	(0.001)***	(0.001)***	(0.001)***
ethnic party vote	-0.0012		
	(0.002)		
illiberal vote × ethnic party vote	0.0003		
	(0.000)***		
const liberal vote		-0.0007	
		(0.000)$^{+}$	
illiberal vote × const liberal vote		0.0000	
		(0.000)	
combined ethnic & lib vote			-0.0011
			(0.001)$^{+}$
illiberal vote × combined ethnic & lib vote			0.0001
			(0.000)***
ethnic gov participation	0.0312	0.0357	0.0371
	(0.009)**	(0.008)**	(0.009)**
year	-0.0031	-0.0013	-0.0008
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
GDP per capita	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
gini	0.0105	0.0046	0.0050
	(0.005)$^{+}$	(0.006)	(0.005)
unemployment	0.0074	0.0076	0.0074
	(0.002)**	(0.002)**	(0.002)*
quality of government	0.1074	0.1900	0.1427
	(0.073)	(0.090)$^{+}$	(0.095)
EU membership	0.0294	0.0247	0.0265
	(0.022)	(0.025)	(0.024)
Constant	6.4533	2.8926	2.0063
	(4.362)	(4.307)	(3.868)
Observations	317	317	317
Adjusted R^2	0.503	0.437	0.466
σ_a	0.1181	0.0906	0.0981
σ_u	0.0518	0.0551	0.0537

Country-clustered robust standard errors in parentheses
$^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A8: Results with alternative party classification

A.6 Additional party classification robustness tests

To additionally test the robustness of the results to the illiberal and constitutional liberal party classifications, this section carries out additional analyses. It takes the union of both classifications discussed above, including all parties that could be considered as illiberal or as liberals. Then it carries out the analyses reported in the text of the article 1000 times, each time randomly removing 3% of the illiberal and 3% of the constitutional liberal cases. This amounts to randomly removing about 5 observations from each category in each iteration. Figure A3 plots the distributions of key β coefficients from these 1000 analyses.

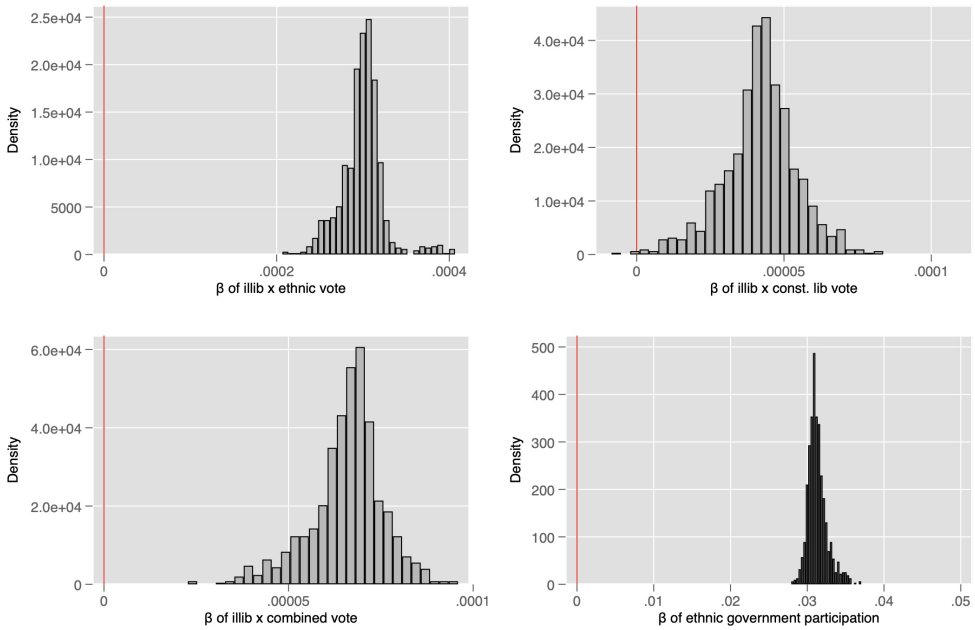

Figure A3: Robustness of key β coefficients to various specification of ethnopopulist and constitutional liberal party categories

Each panel of figure A3 shows the distribution of the key β coefficients testing the hypotheses of the analyses – the interaction between illiberal and

ethnic party vote share (H2) in the first panel; the interaction between illiberal and constitutionally liberal party vote share (H3) in the second panel; the interaction between illiberal and combined ethnic and constitutional liberal vote share (H4) in the third panel; and ethnic party government participation (H5) in the fourth panel – across the 1000 estimations with randomly sampled subsets of illiberal and constitutional liberal parties. All coefficients are on the correct side of 0, with the exception of a small share of the βs capturing the moderating effect of constitutionally liberal parties (second panel). This underscores the limited moderating influence of constitutional liberals apparent in the core model and discussed in the paper. Overall, these analyses demonstrate significant robustness of the results to diverse classifications of illiberal and constitutionally liberal parties.

A.7 Robustness checks time-series cross-section

This section reanalyzes the time-series cross-section analysis presented in table 1 in the paper. Model 1 uses multi-level estimation with random country-level intercepts. Model 2 uses the common democracy principal factor, summarized in table A2 above, as the dependent variable. Model 3 includes a lagged dependent variable with country fixed effects. Model 4 includes country and year fixed effects. Model 5 includes bootstrap standard errors.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	lib dem	dem factor	lib dem	lib dem	lib dem
illiberal vote	-0.0031	-0.0260	-0.0014	-0.0034	-0.0032
	(0.000)***	(0.005)***	(0.000)**	(0.001)***	(0.000)***
ethnic party vote	-0.0015	-0.0096	-0.0026	-0.0022	-0.0012
	(0.001)$^{+}$	(0.015)	(0.001)***	(0.002)	(0.004)
illiberal vote × ethnic party vote	0.0003	0.0025	0.0001	0.0003	0.0003
	(0.000)***	(0.000)***	(0.000)**	(0.000)**	(0.000)***
ethnic gov participation	0.0302	0.2389	0.0161	0.0281	0.0309
	(0.009)***	(0.073)**	(0.005)**	(0.012)*	(0.009)***
year	-0.0036	-0.0310	-0.0026		-0.0034
	(0.001)**	(0.019)	(0.001)*		(0.002)$^{+}$
GDP per capita	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
	(0.000)**	(0.000)	(0.000)$^{+}$	(0.000)	(0.000)
gini	0.0101	0.0850	0.0024	0.0044	0.0111
	(0.002)***	(0.041)$^{+}$	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.006)*
unemployment	0.0081	0.0679	0.0022	0.0063	0.0078
	(0.001)***	(0.019)**	(0.001)*	(0.002)**	(0.002)***
quality of government	0.1142	0.6578	0.0280	0.1733	0.0946
	(0.051)*	(0.614)	(0.035)	(0.104)	(0.093)
EU membership	0.0301	0.2043	0.0184	0.0127	0.0299
	(0.012)*	(0.190)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.015)*
L.liberal democracy			0.6528		
			(0.137)***		
Constant	7.4065	58.0451	5.3896	0.2245	6.9359
	(2.598)**	(37.479)	(1.954)*	(0.160)	(3.559)$^{+}$
country fixed effects		yes	yes	yes	yes
year fixed effects				yes	
country-clustered robust SE		yes	yes	yes	
country-clustered bootstrap SE					yes
Observations	317	317	306	317	317
Adjusted R^2		0.471	0.811	0.552	0.505
σ_a		0.9989	0.0376	0.1049	0.1265
σ_u		0.4535	0.0296	0.0492	0.0517

$^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9: Alternative models – effect of ethnic party vote share

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	lib dem	dem factor	lib dem	lib dem	lib dem
illiberal vote	-0.0035	-0.0281	-0.0017	-0.0039	-0.0034
	(0.000)***	(0.008)**	(0.000)**	(0.001)***	(0.001)***
const liberal vote	-0.0005	-0.0040	-0.0005	-0.0006	-0.0005
	(0.000)	(0.006)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
illiberal vote × const liberal vote	0.0001	0.0005	0.0000	0.0001	0.0001
	(0.000)***	(0.000)$^{+}$	(0.000)**	(0.000)**	(0.000)
ethnic gov participation	0.0295	0.2383	0.0139	0.0285	0.0305
	(0.009)**	(0.057)**	(0.003)***	(0.009)**	(0.010)**
year	-0.0008	-0.0080	-0.0006		-0.0005
	(0.001)	(0.012)	(0.001)		(0.001)
GDP per capita	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
gini	0.0044	0.0364	-0.0006	-0.0015	0.0052
	(0.002)$^{+}$	(0.042)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.007)
unemployment	0.0086	0.0722	0.0018	0.0072	0.0082
	(0.001)***	(0.020)**	(0.001)*	(0.002)*	(0.002)***
quality of government	0.2190	1.5292	0.0692	0.2456	0.2021
	(0.051)***	(0.613)*	(0.041)	(0.083)*	(0.096)*
EU membership	0.0247	0.1589	0.0135	0.0054	0.0246
	(0.013)$^{+}$	(0.207)	(0.012)	(0.022)	(0.019)
L.liberal democracy			0.6763		
			(0.141)***		
Constant	2.0025	13.0407	1.3161	0.3279	1.2457
	(2.853)	(23.242)	(2.301)	(0.160)$^{+}$	(1.795)
country fixed effects		yes	yes	yes	yes
year fixed effects				yes	
country-clustered robust SE		yes	yes	yes	
country-clustered bootstrap SE					yes
Observations	317	317	306	317	317
Adjusted R^2		0.425	0.803	0.509	0.457
σ_a		0.7569	0.0300	0.0842	0.0976
σ_u		0.4727	0.0302	0.0515	0.0541

$^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A10: Alternative models – effect of liberal vote share

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	lib dem	dem factor	lib dem	lib dem	lib dem
illiberal vote	-0.0039	-0.0317	-0.0020	-0.0043	-0.0039
	(0.000)***	(0.006)***	(0.000)**	(0.000)***	(0.001)***
combined ethnic & lib vote	-0.0006	-0.0050	-0.0006	-0.0007	-0.0006
	(0.000)*	(0.005)	(0.000)$^{+}$	(0.001)	(0.001)
illiberal vote × combined ethnic & lib vote	0.0001	0.0006	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001
	(0.000)***	(0.000)**	(0.000)***	(0.000)***	(0.000)*
ethnic gov participation	0.0292	0.2340	0.0149	0.0282	0.0300
	(0.009)**	(0.062)**	(0.003)***	(0.009)**	(0.010)**
year	-0.0006	-0.0058	-0.0007		-0.0002
	(0.001)	(0.012)	(0.001)		(0.001)
GDP per capita	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
gini	0.0052	0.0419	0.0000	-0.0009	0.0059
	(0.002)*	(0.037)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.006)
unemployment	0.0086	0.0727	0.0022	0.0073	0.0083
	(0.001)***	(0.020)**	(0.001)*	(0.002)*	(0.001)***
quality of government	0.1980	1.3762	0.0564	0.2358	0.1829
	(0.050)***	(0.582)*	(0.034)	(0.080)*	(0.086)*
EU membership	0.0248	0.1601	0.0134	0.0045	0.0247
	(0.013)*	(0.201)	(0.012)	(0.022)	(0.018)
L.liberal democracy			0.6553		
			(0.141)***		
Constant	1.5653	8.6279	1.6400	0.3272	0.7105
	(2.748)	(24.334)	(1.817)	(0.154)$^{+}$	(2.006)
country fixed effects		yes	yes	yes	yes
year fixed effects				yes	
country-clustered robust SE		yes	yes	yes	
country-clustered bootstrap SE					yes
Observations	317	317	306	317	317
Adjusted R^2		0.448	0.812	0.538	0.483
σ_a		0.7996	0.0345	0.0889	0.1031
σ_u		0.4630	0.0295	0.0500	0.0528

$^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A11: Alternative models – effect of combined ethnic and const. liberal vote

A.8 Robustness checks time-series cross-section 2

This section reanalyzes the time-series cross-section analysis presented in table 1 in the paper, removing outlying observations, and controlling for anti-pluralism of other political parties.

	(1) liberal democracy	(2) liberal democracy	(3) liberal democracy	(4) liberal democracy	(5) liberal democracy	(6) liberal democracy
illiberal vote	-0.0033	-0.0033	-0.0038	-0.0016	-0.0009	-0.0014
	(0.001)***	(0.001)**	(0.001)**	(0.000)**	(0.001)	(0.001)
ethnic party vote	-0.0103			-0.0005		
	(0.003)*			(0.001)		
illiberal vote × ethnic party vote	0.0004			0.0002		
	(0.000)***			(0.000)*		
const liberal vote		-0.0006			0.0004	
		(0.001)			(0.001)	
illiberal vote × const liberal vote		0.0001			0.0000	
		(0.000)+			(0.000)	
combined ethnic & lib vote			-0.0009			0.0002
			(0.001)			(0.001)
illiberal vote ×			0.0001			0.0000
combined ethnic & lib vote			(0.000)**			(0.000)*
ethnic gov participation	0.0334	0.0266	0.0290	0.0287	0.0262	0.0257
	(0.012)*	(0.009)*	(0.010)*	(0.008)**	(0.007)**	(0.008)**
year	-0.0035	-0.0014	-0.0007	-0.0009	0.0008	0.0011
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
GDP per capita	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
gini	0.0139	0.0103	0.0098	0.0081	0.0068	0.0068
	(0.006)+	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
unemployment	0.0063	0.0076	0.0077	0.0059	0.0048	0.0048
	(0.002)**	(0.002)**	(0.002)**	(0.002)*	(0.002)*	(0.002)*
quality of government	0.0790	0.2266	0.2086	0.0094	0.0344	0.0326
	(0.086)	(0.078)*	(0.077)*	(0.097)	(0.087)	(0.084)
EU membership	0.0463	0.0400	0.0367	0.0045	0.0081	0.0078
	(0.024)+	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.015)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Constant	7.2341	3.1114	1.6642	2.2198	-1.2903	-1.7501
	(4.537)	(3.293)	(3.667)	(3.741)	(3.139)	(3.140)
Excludes	EE & LV	EE & LV	EE & LV	HU & PO	HU & PO	HU & PO
Observations	260	260	260	256	256	256
Adjusted R^2	0.572	0.533	0.549	0.309	0.302	0.312
σ_a	0.1285	0.1210	0.1237	0.1260	0.1209	0.1237
σ_u	0.0496	0.0519	0.0509	0.0459	0.0461	0.0458

Country-clustered robust standard errors in parentheses.
EE=Estonia, LV=Latvia, HU=Hungary, PO=Poland.
$^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A12: Alternative models – omitting outlying countries

	(1) liberal democracy	(2) liberal democracy	(3) liberal democracy
illiberal vote	-0.0030	-0.0032	-0.0036
	(0.000)***	(0.000)***	(0.000)***
ethnic party vote	-0.0015		
	(0.002)		
illiberal vote × ethnic party vote	0.0002		
	(0.000)***		
const liberal vote		-0.0002	
		(0.000)	
illiberal vote × const liberal vote		0.0000	
		(0.000)*	
combined ethnic & lib vote			-0.0004
			(0.000)
illiberal vote × combined ethnic & lib vote			0.0001
			(0.000)***
ethnic gov participation	0.0280	0.0258	0.0259
	(0.010)*	(0.009)*	(0.009)*
year	-0.0028	-0.0002	-0.0000
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
GDP per capita	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
gini	0.0074	0.0027	0.0034
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
unemployment	0.0081	0.0081	0.0082
	(0.002)**	(0.002)**	(0.002)**
quality of government	0.0334	0.1039	0.0925
	(0.059)	(0.050)$^{+}$	(0.052)
EU membership	0.0267	0.0234	0.0230
	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.021)
anti-pluralism	-0.3110	-0.3615	-0.3424
	(0.082)**	(0.076)***	(0.071)***
Constant	6.0080	0.8265	0.5152
	(4.057)	(2.971)	(2.894)
Observations	317	317	317
Adjusted R^2	0.568	0.550	0.566
σ_a	0.1064	0.0862	0.0915
σ_u	0.0483	0.0493	0.0484

Country-clustered robust standard errors in parentheses
$^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A13: Alternative models – controlling for anti-pluralism of other parties

	(1) liberal democracy	(2) liberal democracy	(3) liberal democracy
illiberal vote	-0.0013	-0.0015	-0.0018
	(0.000)*	(0.001)*	(0.001)*
ethnic party vote	-0.0030		
	(0.001)***		
illiberal vote × ethnic party vote	0.0001		
	(0.000)**		
const liberal vote		-0.0005	
		(0.000)	
illiberal vote × const liberal vote		0.0000	
		(0.000)*	
combined ethnic & lib vote			-0.0007
			(0.000)+
illiberal vote × combined ethnic & lib vote			0.0001
			(0.000)**
ethnic gov participation	0.0148	0.0131	0.0143
	(0.006)*	(0.004)*	(0.004)**
GDP per capita	0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
gini	0.0034	0.0006	0.0009
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
unemployment	0.0012	0.0012	0.0016
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
quality of government	0.0547	0.0729	0.0737
	(0.045)	(0.062)	(0.056)
EU membership	-0.0012	-0.0081	-0.0094
	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.010)
L.liberal democracy	0.6835	0.7167	0.6910
	(0.129)***	(0.143)***	(0.144)***
Constant	0.1727	0.2227	0.2324
	(0.098)	(0.127)	(0.121)+
country fixed effects	yes	yes	yes
year fixed effects	yes	yes	yes
country-clustered robust SE	yes	yes	yes
N	11	11	11
Observations	306	306	306
Adjusted R^2	0.834	0.818	0.828
σ_a	0.0399	0.0322	0.0364
σ_u	0.0277	0.0291	0.0283

$^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A14: Alternative models – lagged dependent variable and year FE

A.9 Human subject data collection and ethical issues

The research for this paper has been reviewed by the Research Ethics Committee and legal department of my university. All procedures regarding the collection and usage of data involving human subjects and their subsequent use in analyses has been unanimously approved by the committee. The committee did not identify any particular ethical threats to human subjects posed by this research.

This paper relies on public quantitative dataset, and on interviews with academic, civil servant and political actors. All interviewees have been informed about the general aims of the research project, as well as of their rights to data protection. All interviewees have given their informed consent to the interview and its subsequent usage, in line with the research protocol reviewed by the Research Ethics Committee.