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Socioeconomic factors and shifts in ideological orientation among political parties: Parliamentary elections in Slovakia from 1998 to 2020

Tomáš Bačo[a] – Eduard Baumöhl[*b, c, d]

Abstract

We analyze the election results of political parties and ideological blocs in parliamentary elections held in the Slovak Republic from 1998 to 2020 across 79 districts (LAU 1 level). Interestingly, correlations among parties' election results between consecutive elections are very high across all elections from 1998 until 2016, meaning that any increase or decrease in electoral support was almost uniform across all districts from one election to another. The last elections disrupted this trend, and in line with the significantly lower degree of correlation with prior elections for all ideological groups, we observe territorially heterogeneous voting behavior. Especially in districts with left-wing support, the electorate shifted toward what we refer to as ideologically vague parties. Within a seemingly unrelated regression (SUR) framework, we show that systematic influence of economic variables on the election results is present only for right-wing parties. For other ideological blocs, age and population density appear to be more influential factors. The "economically rational" right-wing election camp, however, has exhibited a decline in electoral support.

Keywords: Economic voting, Elections, Popularity, Government support, Populism

Statements and Declarations

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JEL codes: D72, E24, E61, P20

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1. Introduction

After an optimistic postwar period characterized by the development of democracy in Western Europe and its subsequent transmission to parts of Eastern Europe (Fukuyama, 1992; Gill, 2003) at the beginning of the 1990s, the first indications of stagnation in the spread of liberal-democratic regimes and later, after the global financial crisis in 2008, of their backtracking in countries with weaker economic conditions began to appear (Gatt, 2007; Öniş, 2017; Mainwaring and Bizzarro, 2019). Stagnation starts to manifest itself in the declining interest of citizens in the political space, especially in the context of declining interest in expressing their position in the electoral decision-making process (Huntington, 1996; Blais, 2000; Franklin, 2004; Heath, 2007), in particular among young voters (Smets, 2016). Voters often respond with apathy or consent to attempts to seize power (Bermeo, 2016; Dunning et al., 2019). One of the reasons for this development is the opacity of the political space (Park, 2019), associated, among other things, with the penetration of ideologically vague parties.

Ideological uncertainty involves various forms of antisystemic approaches, which are generally perceived as populist. Populism can be understood as a symptom of growing dissatisfaction with democracy, which arises when people stop believing that political institutions are willing or able to respond to their demands (Berman, 2019). In the case of some countries (Turkey, Venezuela, Thailand, among others), populism has been able to turn democratic regimes into autocracies. The greatest enemy of democracy in these countries did not come from outside but was represented by political elites convinced of their privileged position (Dimitrova, 2018; Lopez-Alves, 2021). In other countries, populism causes a significant reduction in the functioning of executive authorities. In any case, populism limits democracy and reduces the performance of the economy. It is also an obstacle to international cooperation (Walter, 2020; Mattozzi et al., 2020).

At the same time, ideologically vague parties deploying populist rhetoric operate within internal party structures in line with the authoritarian principles of the party leaders (Heinisch and Mazzoleni, 2016; Weyland, 2017). It is typical for such leaders to call into question the original democratic structures of a state in the name of fighting for the good of the people. On the premise of fighting for a "greater good", these parties are willing to significantly change the liberal democratic functioning of states. Populists are not against politics but against representative politics (Taggart, 2002).

Therefore, we believe it is necessary to examine the trend of penetration by populist parties and identify socioeconomic indicators capable of predicting their future success. Recognition and identification of these processes should be a warning signal for established

parties with a clear ideological orientation. People's electoral behavior naturally differs under the influence of different political, socioeconomic and cultural characteristics.

Several authors point to the threat of populism to liberal democracy (Soros, 2007; Mounk, 2019; Luce, 2019). According to them, a game premised on false information enters the political competition, so people make electoral decisions based on a misleading image created by populist parties. This creates a spiral that characterizes populism across political parties, which are differentiated by the extent of their political influence. Thus, the question is not whether the party behaves in a populist manner but to what extent populism manifests in party behavior (Meijers and Zaslove, 2021).

At the same time, we do not presume to class any specific political party in Slovakia as populist; although we have a good perspective, there is no clear and direct data-driven evidence. The reason for this gap is that alternative approaches to defining populism remain under debate; Norris (2020) highlights three of them, none of which have attracted a consensus in the subfield: a conception of populism as (i) an ideology, (ii) a looser "set of ideas," or (iii) a form of political rhetoric. Thus, we prefer to classify political blocs with the help of the Chapel Hill data (https://www.chesdata.eu/), and we simply refer to populist parties as ideologically vague ones.

We use data from the Slovak Republic, and we examine how socioeconomic factors are reflected by support for political parties, which, in turn, should determine the election results of different ideological parties. We analyze the time period from 1998 to 2020 (7 parliamentary elections).[1] Our results only partially confirm the importance of socioeconomic voting, although such voting has had a strong effect in some cases. The effect magnitude is evident in the conditions of the Slovak Republic, especially in the election results of right-wing parties. However, the importance of the influence of socioeconomic factors on the election results of right-wing parties is also accompanied by an overall decline in these parties' electoral success. This electoral decline of right-wing parties is mainly due to the success of newly emerging political parties, which tend to have an ideologically vague character.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we briefly discuss the related literature, and in Section 3, we provide some insights into the Slovakian political situation around the analyzed parliamentary elections. Section 4 discusses the data and utilized methodology. The main results are presented in Section 5, and Section 6 concludes the paper.

[1] Since its establishment (1993), the Slovak Republic has had a unicameral parliament, the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

2. Related literature

Electoral behavior can be examined at the individual level (Branton, 2003), allowing us to identify specific causes of individual disengagement or electoral behavior in general. However, to understand systemic changes, it is also beneficial to examine the aggregate level of electoral interest (Kramer, 1983). Such systemic changes might determine the behavior of political parties, and these in turn affect voter behavior. In this study, we focus on examining aggregate electoral behavior and changes in the ideological orientation of political parties in the political space of the Slovak Republic.[2]

At the same time, the results of socioeconomic electoral research need to be differentiated by the electoral system.[3] From the perspective of an open society and democracy, majority rule seems appropriate. Proportional representation makes it difficult to form a government, and under such a system, parties may lose a sense of responsibility for their actions. Therefore, even when voters are politically dissatisfied, the strongest party has an opportunity to reform the government with smaller parties, even ones that may be differently ideologically oriented (Popper, 1999). We work with a theory of electoral behavior based on the socioeconomic characteristics of the electorate, premised on the original concept of cleavages (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967).[4]

The applicability of original theories of political party typology to practical political environments is often questionable. According to Smith (2005), the main problem with political typologies is that it is impossible to consistently and objectively assign a particular policy to conceptually different categories. That is, these theories cannot overcome obstacles to classification. This problem is also evidenced by the disagreement and different views of the most important classical authors, whose typologies both complement and contrast with each other (Weber, 1958; Duverger, 1959; Sartori, 1976; Katz, 1980; Lijphart, 1981; Giddens, 1994, and others).

In the past, voters found choosing a political party that represented their values and preferences relatively easy to navigate. Such a selection can be facilitated by an ideological

[2] We acknowledge the possible problem of ecological fallacy. However, as argued by several studies (e.g., Kramer, 1983; Russo, 2017; Dassonneville and Lewis-Beck, 2019), macrolevel analysis might still provide valuable insights, even in terms of voting behavior. Using aggregated electoral data to infer individual-level preferences and expectations about the probabilities of various parties winning elections is, of course, rather problematic (Alvarez and Nagler, 2000).

[3] The Slovak Republic has a proportional electoral system in which the above-mentioned tendencies (populism) are more pronounced than in majority electoral systems. A specific party orientation focused only to a narrow circle of "populist" problems would not bring about the same electoral effect in majority electoral systems as in proportional systems.

[4] Party systems under this scheme reflect four cleavages, namely, center-periphery, state-church, city-countryside, and owners-workers.

focus on the part of parties, which makes it possible to orient the parties in consistent ideological groups along a left-right political spectrum. At the same time, the clarity of party systems facilitated research aimed at determining the effects of socioeconomic factors on electoral decision-making.

From the historical development of different types of political parties (Gunther and Diamond, 2003; Hinnebusch, 2017; Rasulova, 2020), it is clear that new types of political parties gradually began to emerge, seeking to occupy specific positions focused on unrepresented preferences of voters. These parties began to create new platform orientations and ideological directions. This was a response to specific emerging social problems. While in 1850 the parties were exclusively elitist, they later became mass oriented. At the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, various narrowly profiled parties began to emerge. These focused on specific social needs, thus filling free space in the existing political arena.

In the most recent years, we have observed the emergence and development of a new phenomenon: the shift of parties toward an area of uncertain ideological orientation, whereby they primarily respond to current changes in public opinion (Adams, 2004). This is an attempt to represent the broadest mass of society by taking positions on a wide range of topics that are often in ideological conflict. This leads to shorter life cycles of these parties because they lack the strong organizational structure and historical roots of traditional parties (Beyens, 2016).

This process offers a natural space for the emergence of populist parties.[5] Their work in this wider political space has proved to be unsystematic and counterproductive not only from the perspective of individual states but also from the perspective of regional or international integration. This may lead to instability of the international political environment, which may also affect international security (De Spiegeleire et al., 2017). Unfortunately, populist parties are undoubtedly on the rise in Western democracies (Bergh and Kärnä,2021).

In the context of research on electoral behavior, three basic directions can be taken. The first is the sociological approach originally introduced by Lazarsfeld et al. (1944). This concept emphasizes the influence of social factors on the formation of political attitudes. The second stream is represented by research focused on psychological characteristics. The work of Campbell et al. (1960) can be considered seminal in this stream of literature. This approach is based on the self-identification of a voter with a political party. The third direction, also referred

[5] For the sake of brevity, we do not discuss issues of populism in more detail. However, for interested readers, we point out some of the works (not mentioned thus far) that examine populism from different perspectives and in different political systems: Decker (2008), Jaschke (2013), Georgiadou (2013), Painter (2013), Stavrakakis and Katsambekis (2014), Alvares (2016), Mudde (2016), Heinisch et al. (2017), and Bergh and Kärnä (2021), among others.

to as the classical framework, is the theory of rational choice, perceived through the prism of economic voting. The key concepts in this stream were defined by Downs (1957).

A new approach to the explanation of electoral behavior was introduced by Thomassen (2005) and focuses on the existence of factors affecting both voter engagement and electoral choice. His research explains the decline in the importance of linking voters' social positions with politics, which in turn has a direct impact on political parties' behavior. Parties are reconsidering their political orientation along classical lines of conflict. Independent variables related to social structure (religiosity, social class), long-term predispositions (party identification, value orientation, ideological orientation), and short-term factors (topics, retrospective evaluation, political leaders) enter the electoral process and determine election results.

A well-conducted review study (Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier, 2013) that analyzed more than 500 research papers confirmed (partially) the hypothesis on the impact of economic and social voting. Based on this study, we can state that state-specific factors (types of elections, electoral and party systems, and political, cultural, social and economic factors) create special political-institutional systems that limit the possibility for generalization.

Most works focused on theories of economic voting assume a connection between movements in the real economy and political support (e.g., Auberger and Dubois, 2005; Martins and Veiga, 2013). Other authors (Kayser and Peress, 2012; Stevenson and Duch, 2013; Campello and Zucco, 2016), on the other hand, state that a connection with real economic results is not as important as voters' subjective perceptions of the economy. These are determined by comparing their subjective economic situation with the environment and over time.

Regardless of the chosen approach, it is safe to assume that a state's economic trends or voters' economic position are significant in the selection of a political party. Research from the 1990s confirmed that the economy in general is a major issue for voters in terms of overall importance (Paldam, 1991, 2004; Anderson, 1995, 2000; Norpoth, 1996).

In countries where it is possible to clearly define responsibility for the state of the economy, the effects of economic voting are more pronounced. The importance of the clarity of the party system is also confirmed by a study by Hellwig and McAllister (2019), which found that in systems with greater polarization, elements of economic voting have a greater influence. This may also be the reason for the efforts of current political parties to break free from clear lines of responsibility and ideology. The validity of the theory of economic voting has also been analyzed in the context of the political system, the age of democracy and democratic

consolidation. Hellwig (2010) examined the extent of economic voting in 77 democracies and confirmed its existence. At the same time, he argued that current incumbents can avoid penalties for worsening economic results by calling early elections.

A strong relationship between economic indicators and electoral behavior was also found in post-communist countries during the transition period. For example, Fidrmuc (2000a) argued that election results reflect voters' experience with economic reforms: those who benefited from the reforms vote for the right-wing pro-reform parties, whereas those who have become worse off vote for the left-wing parties. As an extension, he also considered the impact of growth variables (which directly influence voters' subjective perceptions of their economic situation), incorporating a dynamic dimension into the estimated models. In his other study, Fidrmuc (2000b) found that the voters in transition countries are more likely to be forward looking, not retrospective.

The influence of the state of the political system was confirmed by the research of Trucker et al. (2006),[6] with the authors concluding based on the referendum voting model that established parties achieve better results in countries with good economic performance. According to transitional voting models, parties associated with the new regime are more successful in a strong economy, while parties associated with the old regime have a better chance of success in countries with poor economic performance.

Research on economic voting often overlaps with that on sociological voting. Although we may encounter a tendency to reject the class approach on which sociological research is based, we must admit that even the most developed countries do not represent homogeneous and classless societies. At the same time, it should be noted that this overlap is necessary, as social classes result from economic positions and are largely determined by economic factors. Understanding how and why social groups differ in their political preferences is crucial for examining behavioral trends of political parties, among which we can observe a tendency toward ideological uncertainty.

[6] This work examines the so-called referendum and transitional voting models. While the referendum voting model characterizes situations just after the fall of a regime, the transitional model takes into account the fact that a new political order already exists in the country but the country has still not been able to transform toward a new democratic market model. In the referendum voting model, which characterizes the early 1990s in post-socialist countries, the situation is such that elections take place after the fall of a regime and voters do not yet have enough information about political parties and expected results. Therefore, it is significantly more difficult for parties and voters to establish their left-right identification. In the transitional model, which can be considered to characterize the elections between 1994 and 1998, there is already a latent left-right identification of parties, but the democratic electoral system, whereby voters make choices along a well-understood political spectrum, has yet to be established. The difference is therefore in the availability of information available to voters when they choose a party.

Sociologically oriented research has in the past mapped the association between social groups and political preferences, focusing on the analysis of cleavages (Knutsen, 2007; Frenklin, 2009; Potrafke, 2017). These works found that social stratification has a significant impact on the formation of political preferences and electoral actions. Geoffrey and Graaf (2013) found that party choice along the political spectrum is linked to voters' position within the economic dimensions of the left-right ideological scale. They thus foregrounded the element of voter self-identification with the relevant ideological class.

However, for this finding to be valid, we cannot neglect the space of political party behavior. To reflect the value-oriented preferences of individual classes, it is also necessary for parties to take a clear position on specific values (Elff, 2009; Spies, 2013). Therefore, political party behavior is also important (Langsæther, 2019). The value orientation of classes is also influenced by contextual issues (Gifford and Nilsson, 2014). In the case of internally politically and culturally differentiated states, it is necessary to perform a territorially decomposed analysis of the impact of selected factors on election results (Marisa and George, 2017).

3. A brief introduction to the political situation in Slovakia from 1998 to 2020

The 1998 elections were marked by the turbulent political situation that preceded them. In the period from 1994 to 1998, an ideologically heterogeneous three-party coalition (formed by the HZDS, SNS and ZRS[7]) was in power. Under this coalition, Slovakia's international position weakened, resulting in the country's exclusion from the integration processes with international organizations (the EU and NATO). These factors were also reflected in new electoral legislation, which was adapted to reflect the decline in the government's popularity: as the position of the governing parties weakened, they sought to reverse it by adjusting the electoral system. Initially, introduction of a majority system was considered; this would have favored the main governing party (HZDS) over the fragmented opposition. However, HZDS did not succeed in implementing this system because its smaller coalition partners were aware of the possible disadvantages it would pose for their parties in the upcoming elections. As an alternative solution, shortly before the 1998 elections, the governing coalition amended the electoral law, in a clear attempt to disadvantage the opposition. The reform was mainly an attempt to change the approach to coalition formation, as the threshold for parties' entry into parliament was increased. In addition, a ban on electoral campaigning in private media was

[7] HZDS, SNS, and ZRS election results in 1994 were 34,96%, 5.4%, and 7.34%, respectively. All other election results are presented in Table 1.

introduced, with public media being in the hands of the ruling parties. At the same time, one constituency was introduced in these elections and has survived to the present day (in contrast to four constituencies until the 1994 elections). Further details about the political situation during this period can be found in Bútora and Bútorová (1999).

After the 1998 elections, the parties forming the first (right-wing) government of Mikuláš Dzurinda made several modifications with respect to the Constitutional Court's ruling to eliminate unjustified penalties on coalitions, removing the requirement that each coalition member individually exceed 5% of the vote. This change returned the electoral system to its original setting, with a minimum 7% vote share required for a two-party coalition and 10% share required for three- or multimember coalitions. Constituency boundaries remained unchanged. In addition to this change in the electoral system, Slovakia returned to the integration processes, and major economic reforms began. This is one of the reasons why some authors have described the governing parties of the time as proreform rather than right-wing. More details are provided by, inter alia, Haughton and Rybář (2008).

The last reform of the electoral system dates from 2002 to 2006, when the second Dzurinda government ruled. This right-wing government, in a slightly changed form, continued the reform activities of the previous administration. Although the coalition promised in its electoral manifesto to revert to a greater number of constituencies, this did not occur in practice. Following the approval of the electoral law, preferential voting was strengthened.[8] Despite considerable international success in the field of integration processes, the popularity of this government gradually declined. Even the visible positive effects on the national economy did not help to reverse this drop. The reason for this was the considerably territorially differentiated development of Slovakia, with the country's macro data characterized by a positive shift but its growth in fact territorially concentrated.[9] Thus, the right-wing parties lost their majority support in the 2006 elections, and there was a change in favor of the SMER left-wing government.

From 2006 to 2010, the prime minister was Róbert Fico, who headed a government comprising SMER, SNS and HZDS. From the outset, this was a left-wing government, as the strongest party SMER had entered the elections in 2006 with this ideological orientation. That year, voters expressed a desire for change after the two right-wing governments of Mikuláš Dzurinda, but they probably did not associate this change with HZDS, which had entered the

[8] The 10% threshold valid until then was adjusted to 3%, and this requirement remains in force today.

[9] Regional disparities also appear in the data on average wages and unemployment rates, which we use in this work. This problem of significant regional differences has characterized the Slovak Republic throughout its existence as an independent state.

2006 elections as a party in decline. This is one of the reasons why it can be said that the left-wing SMER party entered the 2010 elections facing a certain penalty, as people associated it with the HZDS party's participation in the government. In these elections, people basically decided on certain party blocs rather than on individual parties. At that time, the relations between the individual parties were already relatively clearly profiled, so it was possible to anticipate potential coalitions, which also influenced voter decision-making. Probably the greatest impact on voters came from the global financial crisis of 2008, which caused the country's economic indicators to deteriorate. More detail on that period can be found in Haughton et al. (2011) or Deegan-Krause and Haughton (2012).

After the 2010 elections, the right-wing parties managed to form a broad government coalition composed of smaller political parties. Given the number of parties involved, there was a strong presumption that conflict situations would arise under this coalition. The risk of conflicts was also increased by the fact that the coalition included the conservative KDH on the one hand and the liberal SaS on the other. Among the opposition parties, the strongest party was SMER, which managed to attract the voters of HZDS and SNS. This government was in office at the time of the global financial crisis, which hit many Eurozone countries hard. The EU's response was to create the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) and the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) to help the most affected countries. In the end, this issue proved to be crucial from the point of view of the functioning of the governing coalition. The coalition combined a vote to approve the EFSF/ESM with a vote of confidence in the government, thereby seeking to override the negative opinion of the SaS party of these "rescue mechanisms." In the end, the SaS party refused to take part in the vote, and so the government did not win the vote of confidence. This led to early parliamentary elections in 2012. The election campaign was marked by a split in the previous government coalition and the "Gorilla file" scandal[10], which discredited some political actors. Similarly, the "Sasanka"[11] case resonated with society,

[10] The Gorilla case is a Slovak political case that was overrun by the escape of a secret document with the code name Gorilla from the Slovak Information Service to the public in December 2011. The file published on the internet contains information on the interception of Jaroslav Haščák, head of the Penta investment group, during 2005 and 2006. The file contains transcripts of Haščák's alleged interviews with political and economic leaders about commissions and bribes, in a conspiracy apartment on Vazova Street in Bratislava. The interviews also contain information on the alleged financing of the parties SDKÚ-DS, Smer-SD, KDH and SMK. The essence of the case according to the file is the distribution of loot from privatization among the participants and the planning of further robbery of the state, directly with the participation of its responsible representatives.

[11] This is a video from 2012 of a scandalous interview between Richard Sulík (head of SAS and, at that time, the Speaker of the National Council of the Slovak Republic) and Marián Kočner (a controversial businessman who was convicted of counterfeiting bills, was on the so-called mafia list, and is suspected of several fraudulent crimes, as well as ordering the murder of journalist Ján Kuciak). They discussed political and governmental affairs, which indicated that Richard Sulík had tried to replace at that time Prime Minister Iveta Radičová, and also discussed the election of the Attorney General.

shaking voters' trust in political leaders. Electoral platforms moved to the background and became objects of secondary interest for individual voters. As a result, SMER, as the only left-wing party entering the 2012 elections, gained 44.41% and formed a one-color government. No other parties were willing to form a coalition with SMER. The elections of 2012 also represent the entrance of ideologically vague parties into a relevant political space – OĽaNO achieved the third best result, and with 8.55%, they started to harness voters' discontent.

The elections in 2016 witnessed the penetration of new voter behavior phenomena. These elections were characterized by the topic of migration crises and led to the deconstruction of the incumbent party system. This further led to the generation of new political parties without a clear ideological profile. Although in some cases these were not entirely new parties, until then, their political support had been so low that they could not be considered relevant to political struggles. These parties mainly included ĽSNS, Sme Rodina and Sieť, which managed to enter parliament and exceed the 5% eligibility threshold. Long-established political parties such as KDH and SMK, which represented certain religious or nationally oriented groups of voters, failed to enter parliament. The elections were held in an antagonistic atmosphere that created two blocs of parties. One bloc was represented by SMER and parties willing to engage in future cooperation with this party. The second was represented by parties that strongly opposed the policies of the previously ruling SMER government. More details on the 2016 elections in Slovakia can be found in Rybář and Spáč (2017) or in Zvada (2018).

One of the themes of the 2020 elections was the unification of the opposition, which was also related to the emergence of new political parties. These parties were referred to as the democratic opposition, with which the KDH party signed a nonaggression pact. The idea was to create a "bloc of change," although this did not materialize. The opposition parties thus entered the elections independently, outside the PS-SPOLU coalition. This coalition was particularly strong in the area of economic policy; it announced the introduction of a new tax, which, however, the KDH party rejected. SaS planned to cancel the doubling of the bank levy. Other parties did not enter the elections with a strong economic policy agenda. A significant breakthrough before these elections was caused by the controversy surrounding the businessman Marián Kočner, who was accused in the case of the murder of journalist Ján Kuciak and his fiancé Martina Kušnírová. Many people began to demand the exit from public life of politicians who had a close relationship with the businessman—not only government officials but also representatives of the opposition parties SaS and Sme Rodina. The most prominent proponent of this view was Igor Matovič, chairman of the OĽaNO party, who ran on an anticorruption platform in the campaign. During the electoral campaign, in the context of

this topic, he used unconventional means of presentation, trying to appeal to the emotional side of the electorate. He based his election campaign solely on trying to remove the then-ruling corrupt officials. The entire campaign was conducted almost exclusively in this spirit and in the spirit of a fight against extremist forces. In the end, this emotional anticorruption narrative played well for Igor Matovič, who became the prime minister.[12] Further details about the latest elections in Slovakia are provided by Lysek et al. (2020). Election results for the examined period are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Election results in Slovakia from 1998 to 2020

Parties	1998	2002	2006	2010	2012	2016	2020
HZDS	27%	19.5%	8.79%	4.32%			
SMK	9.12%						
SOP	8.01%						
SDK	26.33%						
SNS	9.07%	3.32%	11.73%	5.07%	4.55%	8.64%	3.16%
SDĽ	14.66%						
SDKU		15.09%	18.35%	15.42%	6.09%		
SMER		13.46%	29.14%	34.79%	44.41%	28.28%	18.29%
HZD		3.28%					
KSS		6.32%	3.88%				
SMK		11.16%	11.68%	4.33%	4.28%	4.04%	3.9%
KDH		8.25%	8.31%	8.52%	8.82%	4.94%	4.65%
ANO		8.01%					
PSNS		3.65%					
SF			3.47%				
SaS				12.14%	5.88%	12.1%	6.22%
MOST-HÍD				8.12%	6.89%	6.5%	
OĽaNO					8.55%	11.02%	25.02%
Sme Rodina						6.62%	8.24%
ĽSNS						8.04%	7.97%
Sieť						5.6%	
PS-SPOLU							6.96%
Za ľudí							5.77%
Dobrá voľba							3.06%

Notes: We consider only parties reaching a minimum vote share of 3%, which is why the percentages do not sum to 100.

[12] As it turned out, this strategy did not go well for the rest of the country, and many people realized that populism might not be enough for good governance. The entire 2020 parliamentary elections can be characterized as a win for populists in Slovakia. Parties with solid election platforms were left out in front of the door to the parliament or entered it with very low electoral support.

4. Data and methodology

The subject of our research is the election results of political parties and ideological blocs in the parliamentary elections held in the Slovak Republic from 1998 to 2020. The level at which we examine electoral behavior is level-one local administrative units (LAU 1) or districts. This is the lowest level for which relevant socioeconomic statistics on the electorate are available. At the same time, this regional level provides a relevant sample of observations, as the Slovak Republic is divided into 79 such administrative units. The district level also takes into account the fragmentation of the country's territory into heterogeneous socioeconomic units. We examine the period of elections since 1998 because the 1998 elections were marked by the democratic transition of the Slovak Republic.[13]

We consider only parties reaching the minimum threshold of 3% of the votes obtained. The setting of a minimum threshold was necessary to avoid distorting the results by including a large number of insignificant parties.[14] We concluded that parties above this threshold are relevant based on the fact that they receive a contribution from the state for their activities. This allows them to continue to operate in the political space with some influence even if they remain nonparliamentary parties.

Furthermore, we work with annually published data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic.[15] These data have been collected and published since 1998, again at the LAU 1 level to allow a regional breakdown. We selected population density (d), average age (aa), average nominal monthly income (anw) and the unemployment rate (ur) as the basic explanatory variables.[16] These variables capture classical cleavage lines (in the spirit of Lipset and Rokkan, 1967). Population density accounts for the city-countryside and center-periphery cleavages. The average nominal monthly income and the unemployment rate indirectly capture

[13] Because of this context, forces other than socioeconomic indicators were important at that time. Regarding post-communist countries in transition, we refer the reader to the following works: Rose (1994), Janos (2000), McFaul (2005), Outhwaite (2008), Mungiu-Pippidi (2010), and Vachudova (2015), among others.

[14] In each of the elections that we examine, a large number of political parties took part in the electoral competition: 17 in 1998, 26 in 2002, 21 in 2006, 18 in 2010, 26 in 2012, 23 in 2016 and 25 in 2020.

[15] This is the central state administrative body in the field of national statistics and the only one that summarizes and publishes official data sources in accordance with legal regulations and in a reliably standardized manner. All data are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

[16] We also included squared age, as its effect might not be linear. However, our results remained the same, as the average age has only a small variability across districts, i.e., the correlations between age and its squares were almost equal to 1. Higher correlations are also reported in the case of nominal wage and unemployment (the highest correlation was -0.67 in 1998) and between population density and nominal wage (maximal correlation was 0.68 also reported in 1998). After 1998, the correlations of our explanatory variables are smaller and should not represent an issue in our regression models.

the cleavage between owners and workers. Age also indirectly captures the cleavage between church and state, if we assume that older age groups join the church more.[17]

In addition to the above static variables, we include dynamic indicators of economic voting in the model. These should express subjective perceptions of economic performance in the form of changes felt by the voter in economic matters. Specifically, we use the rate of change in the average nominal wage in the last year (ch1anw) and the last four years (ch4anw) and rate of change in the unemployment rate in the last year (ch1ur) and the last four years (ch4ur). The growth indicator for the previous four years reflects the election period, and the growth indicator for the previous year reflects the feeling of current changes just before the elections. In the case of the 2012 elections, we replace the growth indicator for the last four years with the growth indicator for the last 2 years (in 2012, early elections were held, which shortened the original term to 2 years). In the case of the 1998 elections, the variable tracking the change over the previous four years is not used because for the period from 1994 to 1997, official data were collected at different regional/administrative levels.

To estimate the impact of socioeconomic variables on the election results, we use the seemingly unrelated regressions (SUR) model, as it allows the possibility of examining the influence of explanatory variables in a system of equations in which the error terms are correlated.

Our baseline model for the *m*-th political party (ideological bloc) has the following form (for each election, we have *M* such equations, depending on the number of analyzed subjects):

$$V_{m,t} = \alpha_{0,m} + \sum_i^4 \beta_i X_{i,t} + \sum_i^4 \varphi_i \Delta X_{i,t} + \varepsilon_{m,t}, \quad (1)$$

where $V_{m,t}$ is the election result of the *m*-th political party/bloc in the elections held at time *t*, $X_{i,t}$ represents selected socioeconomic factors at the level of individual districts, $\Delta X_{i,t}$ is the growth indicators of selected socioeconomic factors and $\varepsilon_{m,t}$ denotes the error terms.[18]

In this study, we classify political parties according to the classical left-right typology, which we supplement with nationalist parties and ideologically uncertain parties. In an effort to avoid evaluative judgments and to be value neutral, we avoid using terms such as extreme right-wing, left-wing, or populist and instead classify certain parties as ideologically vague, even if

[17] This variable does not capture religiosity but focuses on membership of church institutions, which is smaller among lower age groups. This general premise is also confirmed by Packard and Ferguson (2019).
[18] A limited dependent variable model could be considered as well, but as in-sample predictions are not out of the 0-100% interval, a SUR model offers a reasonable approximation.

they display a rejection of this designation.[19] We classify the parties into groups for each election separately, as the parties underwent natural evolution throughout our study sample period. Our classification takes into account not only what parties declare but also how they manifest themselves in real political activity.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of explanatory variables (N = 79)

Var.	Mean	Med.	Std.	Min.	Max.	Var.	Mean	Med.	Std.	Min.	Max.
Average age (aa)						*Population density (d)*					
aa98	35.40	35.66	2.14	29.52	42.86	**d98**	267.77	97.75	625.00	29.97	4886.90
aa02	36.48	36.77	2.10	30.35	43.47	**d02**	259.82	98.14	590.43	29.46	4605.78
aa06	37.68	37.96	2.07	31.43	44.18	**d06**	256.87	97.51	567.51	28.74	4370.33
aa10	38.71	39.14	2.02	32.49	44.14	**d10**	257.56	98.08	558.02	28.20	4253.75
aa12	39.32	39.77	2.07	32.94	44.49	**d12**	252.54	103.96	536.19	28.94	4048.70
aa16	40.42	40.93	2.06	33.84	43.90	**d16**	255.99	104.62	546.63	28.38	4140.87
aa20	41.37	41.88	2.12	34.66	44.74	**d20**	258.71	98.01	571.05	11.59	4402.39
Average nominal monthly income (anw)						*Unemployment rate (ur)*					
anw98	309.77	298.21	51.56	250.28	504.28	**ur98**	16.65	16.40	7.05	3.60	33.30
anw02	426.34	409.41	83.86	318.96	736.34	**ur02**	18.40	16.91	8.24	3.16	37.22
anw06	590.43	562.30	131.61	435.54	1117.17	**ur06**	10.35	8.55	6.21	1.69	28.34
anw10	726.34	692.00	155.22	492.00	1327.00	**ur10**	13.52	12.23	6.57	3.18	33.64
anw12	788.16	754.00	138.79	604.00	1260.00	**ur12**	15.65	14.02	7.25	4.15	35.59
anw16	909.24	870.00	170.55	658.00	1486.00	**ur16**	9.48	7.85	5.22	3.29	24.58
anw20	1200.91	1158.00	184.36	895.00	1797.00	**ur20**	8.10	6.95	3.97	3.68	20.26
Change of the average nominal wage (over 1 year)						*Change of the unemployment rate (over 1 year)*					
ch1anw98	8.01	8.01	2.52	0.70	12.81	**ch1ur98**	27.86	25.42	15.12	4.55	120.00
ch1anw02	10.86	10.49	3.59	0.20	21.39	**ch1ur02**	-7.57	-6.78	10.49	-32.64	22.95
ch1anw06	9.18	8.55	3.54	3.96	30.39	**ch1ur06**	-18.05	-18.02	8.30	-34.24	-2.27
ch1anw10	5.54	4.27	6.78	-3.37	35.99	**ch1ur10**	-2.72	-1.81	9.10	-31.02	18.51
ch1anw12	2.68	3.01	2.87	-17.95	7.06	**ch1ur12**	7.87	6.88	6.77	-4.35	28.36
ch1anw16	3.66	3.55	2.84	-4.23	9.99	**ch1ur16**	-18.68	-19.54	10.11	-45.17	13.17
ch1anw20	5.78	5.48	3.89	-2.77	24.26	**ch1ur20**	61.42	54.94	28.14	21.23	197.21
Change of the average nominal wage (over 4 years)						*Change of the unemployment rate (over 4 years)*					
ch4anw02	37.17	36.68	5.81	22.97	57.09	**ch4ur02**	10.58	12.30	19.13	-30.91	66.50
ch4anw06	38.12	37.35	7.22	24.12	70.64	**ch4ur06**	-46.52	-47.38	11.85	-71.42	-17.57
ch4anw10	23.35	23.14	7.65	4.45	43.36	**ch4ur10**	45.43	34.35	37.03	0.30	195.92
ch2anw12	9.28	9.83	6.13	-7.73	27.21	**ch2ur12**	17.50	17.20	9.25	-2.05	46.84
ch4anw16	15.36	15.18	6.69	-8.23	33.33	**ch4ur16**	-39.86	-40.91	12.62	-62.06	0.64
ch4anw20	32.88	33.04	6.72	14.78	49.12	**ch4ur20**	-10.05	-13.45	15.38	-37.51	35.56

[19] This group of political parties is the most heterogeneous, but due to the focus of our research, the differentiation of political parties in a given bloc is not important. A common feature in this bloc is the abandonment of the classical left-right political identification. While this group also includes professional parties with a substantive political platform, these are internally polarized from the point of view of classical left-right political values. Therefore, the group includes both parties with relevant political agendas and parties without an identifiably "populist" profile. It also includes extremist or antisystemic parties. Although extremist parties may be on either side of the left-right political spectrum, in the sense of Eysneck's model (1954), they are closer to each other than to other parties on the same side of the political spectrum. Likewise, their ideological focus emphasizes political values not nested neatly within the classical left-right divide.

For objectivity, we use a publication prepared by the Slovak author Mikuš (2018) that deals with the development of individual political parties operating on the Slovak political scene from 1989 to 2018. We supplement this with results from the Chapel Hill project, in which political parties are evaluated by experts at various levels from universities and organizations (see Appendix 1). The project also covers the general ideological and economic orientation of parties along the left-right spectrum. The evaluation results for individual parties are the average of the evaluations of several consulted experts.[20] However, these evaluations are not carried out on a regular basis[21] and do not correspond to election years in Slovakia, so we can only use them as supporting criteria for the party's inclusion in the respective ideological bloc.

5. Results

Our data confirm the hypothesis that governing parties in Slovakia are penalized. In all analyzed elections, governing parties received fewer total votes than parties out of government (see the bottom panel in Figure 1). Outside the 2010 elections, this difference in favor of nongovernmental parties is striking. Especially in the last three elections (in 2012, 2016 and 2020), the gap in support is more than 30%. In 2020, this difference exceeded 50%. Support for nongovernmental parties still did not automatically lead to replacement of the main party in government. Some nongovernmental parties did not automatically present an alternative for political turnover due to their lack of coalition potential. The smallest difference in support for governmental and nongovernmental parties corresponds to the 2010 elections, when the right-wing parties managed to form a broad government coalition composed of smaller political parties. The trend of support for nongovernmental parties may also be associated with the dissatisfaction of citizens who perceive the Slovak Republic as still economically lagging behind the developed countries of Western Europe. This economic performance is a legacy of the country's post-communist period and will probably last for a long time.

By comparing the electoral support for parliamentary and nonparliamentary parties, we find that in the Slovak Republic, voters tend to support established political entities. Even emerging parties that received relevant voter support were generally formed as spinoffs from establishment parties. Slovak voters are conservative in this respect and are not willing to

[20] This study's appendix reports the individual evaluations within the project by evaluation year and each party's final classification in the respective ideological bloc.

[21] The ratings for Slovak political parties were provided in 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014 and 2019. Parties are assessed on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 expresses the extreme left-wing position and 10 the extreme right-wing position of the party. The evaluation variables used in our research are LRGEN, which expresses the general ideological orientation of the party, and LRECON, which represents the economic orientation of the party.

support parties about which they have no historical knowledge. Nonparliamentary parties were more successful in 2002 and 2016. In recent years, their share has been approximately 20%. Even within this share, a substantial part is drawn by entities that have been active in politics for a long time.

The main part of our research examines the trends in electoral success of the ideological blocs of parties. In the group of national and ethnic parties, electoral support remains at a relatively stable level, ranging from 15% to 20%, which reflects the proportion of national minorities and voters sensitive to national and ethnic issues. An exception is the latest elections in 2020. In this case, there was a significant decline in these parties' electoral gains. This was driven by the penalty imposed on the national and ethnic party MOST-HÍD (mostly supported by the Hungarian minority in Slovakia), which was part of the government in the previous election period. This party—the strongest among its Hungarian nationally-oriented peers—was punished mainly for being part of the government coalition with the SNS (supported mostly by Slovak national voters), which is considered its main opponent. The nationally-oriented SNS was also significantly penalized for the same reason.

It is more interesting to observe the trend of right-wing parties' declining support, which in 2020 fell below 18%. This decrease can also be seen for the left-wing parties in the cases of the last three elections, whose vote share in 2016 was 16.13 percentage-point lower than that in 2012. The trend of declining support for traditional left-right ideological blocs has been accompanied by growing support for ideologically vague parties, which practically did not exist on the Slovak political scene until 2010. An exception is 2002, when a new party (SMER), which presented itself as a "third way" party, joined the elections. However, shortly after its creation, it moved to a left-wing position, from which it operates today.[22] In 2020, ideologically vague parties received support of up to 50.06%.[23]

[22] The SMER party was founded by Róbert Fico, who originally came from the left-wing SDĽ party. Therefore, it is questionable whether it was truly a party of the third way, as it was presented. Due to its rapid transformation into a leftist party, it is possible that its initial presentation was a marketing move rather than a real attempt by Fico to abandon his original left-wing ideological orientation. If we include SMER in the group of left-wing parties for the 2002 elections, we can talk about the emergence of ideologically vague parties only from 2012.

[23] If we include the coalition of PS-SPOLU parties in this group, then this support would be at the level of 57.02%. In this work, we include this coalition in the right-wing ideological bloc, mainly due to its strongly right-wing economic platform, but some observers may class this coalition in a centrist position.

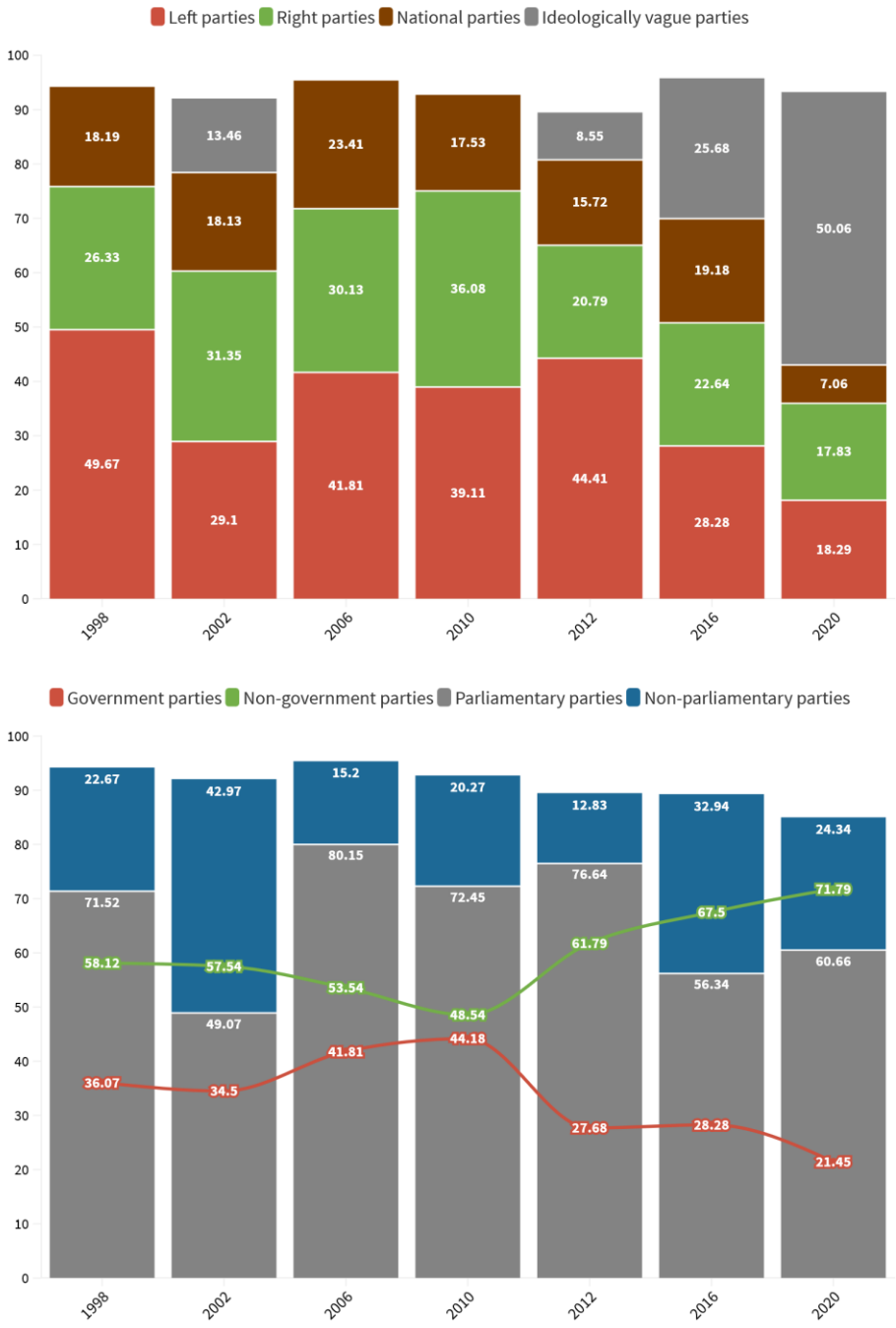

Figure 1: Election results of political party groups

Notes: The classification of political parties into ideological blocs and the corresponding Chapel Hill values are presented in the appendix (Table A.1). Note also that we consider only parties reaching a minimum vote share of 3%, which is why the percentages in our figures do not sum to 100.

Table 3 shows the development of the degree of explained variability (R-squared) in our estimated models of the influence of socioeconomic factors on the election results of ideological blocs. Naturally, in the case of the national and ethnic parties, socioeconomic characteristics are not likely to be that important for the electorate, and we confirm this: the explained variability of our models is rather low. For ideologically vague parties, it is not possible to draw

a relevant conclusion about the presence of economic voting, as these parties are still a new phenomenon. However, we can see from our sample period that the proportion of explained variability for these parties is low. This characteristic was also reflected in these parties' pre-election campaigning, which most often focused on the anticorruption theme and not on economic issues or future economic development.

Our socioeconomic models are the most relevant in relation to the right-wing parties. The selected variables explain approximately 60% of the support of these parties for elections since 2002, and even for 2012 and 2016, the degree of explained variability reaches 70%. Our results indicate that socioeconomic variables are of most importance for right-wing voters. From this, it can be concluded that in their electoral decision-making, right-wing voters align most closely to the rational sociotropic voting model. The general validity of this voting model has also been confirmed by previous research (Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier, 2013). However, in the context of the gradual decline in support for right-wing parties, we can speak of a gradual change in voters' behavior. They have gradually stopped orienting their voting based on rational economic attributes and electoral platforms. The latter cannot be assessed directly from aggregate election results, but as some elected parties in Slovakia had no platforms or, to be more precise, only a platform with three bullet points, we feel confident in this inference.

From our research, no relevant conclusions can be drawn about a causal link between changes in voter behavior and in the ideological orientation of the parties. On the other hand, a comparison of the last two elections shows an increase in support for ideologically vague parties, for which the degree of explained variability across socioeconomic variables is the lowest. Therefore, it can be stated that to espousing ideological vagueness is becoming an effective electoral strategy that can reach broad masses of the electorate.

Table 3: Explained variability for ideological blocs (elections 1998-2020)

Ideological bloc	R^2 from SUR models						
	1998	**2002**	**2006**	**2010**	**2012**	**2016**	**2020**
Left-wing parties	29%	35%	36%	37%	28%	30%	40%
Right-wing parties	18%	57%	67%	62%	70%	76%	61%
National and ethnic parties	23%	18%	28%	28%	**13%**	20%	33%
Ideologically vague parties	n/a	**14%**	n/a	n/a	46%	24%	19%

Notes: The table shows the measures of explained variability. In cases where statistical significance of a model was not confirmed (a joint null of all the coefficients equal to zero via the chi-squared test), we highlight the corresponding R^2 in bold. This is the case for 2002 for ideologically vague parties and for 2012 for national and ethnic parties.

Our main findings are presented in Tables 4-7, which display the results of the regression models explaining the election results of ideological blocs across districts. For right-wing parties, socioeconomic variables usually have a statistically significant effect on their election results. However, this finding does not hold for our growth variables, which are not statistically significant in most cases. These growth variables capture the impact of subjective assessments of economic performance, and thus, it appears that voters for right-wing parties care most about recent economic development. In other words, right-wing voters reflect more on their current socioeconomic position than on its change over time. The right-wing parties are mostly supported by the urban population, which is expressed by the positive regression coefficient on the population density variable. In other words, support for right-wing parties is territorially differentiated. Positive coefficients also appear for the nominal wage variable, which is naturally complemented by a negative coefficient for the unemployment rate variable. Increases in age have a negative impact on support for right-wing parties, which confirms the well-known assumption that right-wing parties are supported more by the younger population.

For the left-wing parties, the nominal wage has the exact opposite effect as for the right-wing counterparts. A higher nominal wage has a negative effect and a lower nominal wage a positive effect on left-wing parties' results. Unlike right-wing parties, however, this effect does not hold for all the analyzed elections (the exceptions are the elections in 2012 and 2020). This may also be a manifestation of the gradual elimination of the cleavage between workers and owners, which was characterized by large income differences. It is possible that the gradual erasure of differences within middle-income groups eliminates the influence of nominal wages on their electoral decisions, at least for left-wing voters.

In the case of ideologically vague parties, we see no systematic influence of any particular explanatory variable. This unsystematic influence of socioeconomic variables on the election results of ideologically uncertain parties may indicate a certain similarity in these voters' behavior with that of voters for left-wing parties. Therefore, voters who support ideologically vague parties may originate from the left-wing camp, as they are not bound to these parties by any systematic variables that determine their electoral actions. On the other hand, in the case of national and ethnic parties, the systematic impact on their support from the older age group is evident.

Table 4: SUR results for right-wing parties

Variables	Right-wing parties						
	1998	**2002**	**2006**	**2010**	**2012**	**2016**	**2020**
Population density	0.004***	0.005***	0.006***	0.003*	0.005***	0.003***	0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	0.001)
Average age	-1.706***	-2.696***	-2.291***	-2.426***	-1.722***	-1.660***	-0.677**
	(0.357)	(0.467)	(0.421)	(0.476)	(0.288)	(0.227)	(0.273)
Average nominal monthly income	0.090***	0.078***	0.046***	0.039***	0.025***	0.007	0.011***
	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Unemployment rate	-0.153	-0.322**	-0.918***	-0.737***	-0.354***	-1.094***	-0.289
	(0.125)	(0.161)	(0.218)	(0.180)	(0.097)	(0.163)	(0.190)
Change in average nominal wage (1 year)	0.957***	0.028	0.315	-0.042	0.231	-0.125	-0.065
	(0.282)	(0.240)	(0.259)	(0.145)	(0.173)	(0.177)	(0.155)
Change in average nominal wage (4 years)	n/a	-0.283	-0.219	-0.116	-0.029	-0.136*	-0.038
	n/a	(0.197)	(0.143)	(0.118)	(0.097)	(0.079)	(0.095)
Change in unemployment rate (1 year)	0.054	0.084	0.000	-0.139	-0.007	0.093	-0.028
	(0.046)	(0.130)	(0.119)	(0.107)	(0.097)	(0.088)	(0.023)
Change in unemployment rate (4 year)	n/a	0.044	0.256**	-0.014	0.014	0.209**	0.048
	n/a	(0.063)	(0.106)	(0.027)	(0.075)	(0.070)	(0.040)
Constant	49.935	110.831	113.778	112.616	71.545	104.317	35.899
	(13.664)	(18.638)	(16.739)	(19.287)	(12.011)	(11.654)	(13.344)
R^2	0.18	0.57	0.67	0.62	0.70	0.76	0.61
χ^2 *test*	137.74***	105.79***	163.56***	127.26***	183.31***	253.04***	123.73***

*Notes: ***, **, and * denote significance at 1%, 5%, and 10%, respectively. Standard errors are in parentheses. We use small-sample adjustment to the estimated covariance of the disturbances. The Breusch-Pagan χ^2 test rejects the null of independence of equations (the disturbance covariance matrix is diagonal) in all cases at the 1% significance level.*

Table 5: SUR results for left-wing parties

Variables	**Left-wing parties**						
	1998	**2002**	**2006**	**2010**	**2012**	**2016**	**2020**
Population density	-0.001	-0.001	0.000	0.000	-0.005	-0.004	-0.002*
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Average age	-0.600	0.788	0.660	-0.167	0.064	0.906*	0.004
	(0.637)	(0.581)	(0.610)	(0.672)	(0.717)	(0.466)	(0.316)
Average nominal monthly income	-0.077**	-0.100***	-0.041***	-0.024*	-0.020	-0.021**	-0.008
	(0.039)	(0.025)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.005)
Unemployment rate	-0.372*	-0.525***	-0.451	0.046	-0.117	-0.197	-0.335
	(0.223)	(0.200)	(0.317)	(0.254)	(0.241)	(0.335)	(0.220)
Change in average nominal wage (1 year)	-0.549	-0.477	-0.172	-0.071	0.099	0.056	-0.390**
	(0.504)	(0.298)	(0.375)	(0.205)	(0.431)	(0.362)	(0.180)
Change in average nominal wage (4 years)	n/a	0.531**	0.239	0.283*	0.261	0.125	0.215*
	n/a	(0.245)	(0.207)	(0.167)	(0.241)	(0.162)	(0.110)
Change in unemployment rate (1 year)	0.145*	0.265	-0.621***	-0.618***	0.605**	0.323*	-0.106***
	(0.083)	(0.162)	(0.173)	(0.151)	(0.242)	(0.180)	(0.026)
Change in unemployment rate (4 year)	n/a	-0.097	0.566***	0.033	-0.124	-0.040	-0.028
	n/a	(0.078)	(0.154)	(0.038)	(0.188)	(0.144)	(0.046)
Constant	104.034	43.923	56.688	56.033	57.590	18.079	33.632
	(24.418)	(23.174)	(24.252)	(27.236)	(29.942)	(23.906)	(15.440)
R^2	0.29	0.35	0.36	0.37	0.28	0.30	0.40
χ^2 *test*	16.14***	41.98***	44.62***	46.48***	29.98***	33.49***	52.90***

*Notes: ***, **, and * denote significance at 1%, 5%, and 10%, respectively. Standard errors are in parentheses. We use small-sample adjustment to the estimated covariance of the disturbances. The Breusch-Pagan χ^2 test rejects the null of independence of equations (the disturbance covariance matrix is diagonal) in all cases at the 1% significance level.*

Table 6: SUR results for national and ethnic parties

Variables	National and ethnic parties						
	1998	**2002**	**2006**	**2010**	**2012**	**2016**	**2020**
Population density	-0.003	-0.003	-0.006	-0.003	-0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Average age	2.045***	2.084**	1.563*	2.769***	2.419***	1.254*	0.523
	(0.749)	(0.916)	(0.837)	(0.858)	(0.944)	(0.697)	(0.396)
Average nominal monthly income	0.009	0.022	-0.004	-0.050	-0.012	0.011	-0.006
	(0.046)	(0.040)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.006)
Unemployment rate	0.370	0.914***	1.302***	0.528	0.563*	1.796***	0.715***
	(0.262)	(0.315)	(0.434)	(0.324)	(0.318)	(0.501)	(0.276)
Change in average nominal wage (1 year)	-0.409	0.516	-0.044	0.113	-0.614	0.134	0.074
	(0.592)	(0.470)	(0.514)	(0.262)	(0.568)	(0.542)	(0.225)
Change in average nominal wage (4 years)	n/a	-0.190	-0.065	-0.142	-0.209	0.094	-0.071
	n/a	(0.386)	(0.284)	(0.213)	(0.317)	(0.243)	(0.138)
Change in unemployment rate (1 year)	-0.206**	-0.455*	0.631***	0.849***	-0.484	-0.693***	0.173***
	(0.098)	(0.255)	(0.237)	(0.193)	(0.319)	(0.270)	(0.033)
Change in unemployment rate (4 year)	n/a	0.089	-0.877***	-0.005	0.134	-0.064	-0.057
	n/a	(0.123)	(0.211)	(0.048)	(0.248)	(0.216)	(0.058)
Constant	-55.550	-88.806	-74.332	-79.384	-75.123	-77.301	-22.912
	(28.691)	(36.520)	(33.250)	(34.768)	(39.440)	(35.790)	(19.313)
R^2	0.23	0.18	0.28	0.28	0.13	0.20	0.33
χ^2 *test*	12.89**	17.67**	30.09***	30.92***	11.54	20.27***	39.44***

*Notes: ***, **, and * denote significance at 1%, 5%, and 10%, respectively. Standard errors are in parentheses. We use small-sample adjustment to the estimated covariance of the disturbances. The Breusch-Pagan χ^2 test rejects the null of independence of equations (the disturbance covariance matrix is diagonal) in all cases at the 1% significance level.*

Table 7: SUR results for ideologically vague parties

Variables	Ideologically vague parties						
	1998	**2002**	**2006**	**2010**	**2012**	**2016**	**2020**
Population density	n/a	-0.001	n/a	n/a	0.000	0.000	-0.004**
	n/a	(0.001)	n/a	n/a	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Average age	n/a	0.039	n/a	n/a	-0.525***	-0.681***	-0.009
	n/a	(0.187)	n/a	n/a	(0.162)	(0.255)	(0.344)
Average nominal monthly income	n/a	-0.004	n/a	n/a	0.005	0.006	0.005
	n/a	(0.008)	n/a	n/a	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Unemployment rate	n/a	-0.156**	n/a	n/a	-0.285***	-0.543***	-0.465*
	n/a	(0.064)	n/a	n/a	(0.054)	(0.183)	(0.240)
Change in average nominal wage (1 year)	n/a	-0.030	n/a	n/a	0.146	-0.005	0.316
	n/a	(0.096)	n/a	n/a	(0.097)	(0.198)	(0.195)
Change in average nominal wage (4 years)	n/a	-0.036	n/a	n/a	-0.013	-0.096	-0.074
	n/a	(0.079)	n/a	n/a	(0.054)	(0.089)	(0.120)
Change in unemployment rate (1 year)	n/a	0.035	n/a	n/a	-0.079	0.226**	-0.092***
	n/a	(0.052)	n/a	n/a	(0.055)	(0.099)	(0.029)
Change in unemployment rate (4 year)	n/a	-0.012	n/a	n/a	-0.042	-0.117	0.060
	n/a	(0.025)	n/a	n/a	(0.042)	(0.079)	(0.050)
Constant	n/a	19.338	n/a	n/a	30.683	54.366	56.110
	n/a	(7.448)	n/a	n/a	(6.749)	(13.099)	(16.807)
R^2	n/a	0.14	n/a	n/a	0.46	0.24	0.19
χ^2 *test*	n/a	12.41	n/a	n/a	68.62***	25.21***	18.85**

*Notes: ***, **, and * denote significance at 1%, 5%, and 10%, respectively. Standard errors are in parentheses. We use small-sample adjustment to the estimated covariance of the disturbances. The Breusch-Pagan χ^2 test rejects the null of independence of equations (the disturbance covariance matrix is diagonal) in all cases at the 1% significance level.*

We expand our analysis by examining the relationship between the election results of selected political parties. For this purpose, we use a simple correlation analysis (see Figure 2). We find that for elections until 2016, there is a very strong correlation in the results of selected parties in consecutive elections across districts. This trend was disrupted by the elections in 2020. Only in the case of the strongly nationally-oriented political party SMK (later MKO) is a strongly positive correlation found at $r_{16/20} = 0.81$. The remaining strong preferences are also found in the case of the classically right-wing party SaS $r_{16/20}= 0.84$. Such a high positive correlation is not found for other political parties. It follows that in the last elections, there was great volatility in the voter bases across the parties and a decrease in the systemic influence of socioeconomic factors on voter decision-making. If we include in our models the previous election results as a new explanatory variable, the coefficient of determination would be significantly higher (approximately 0.9).

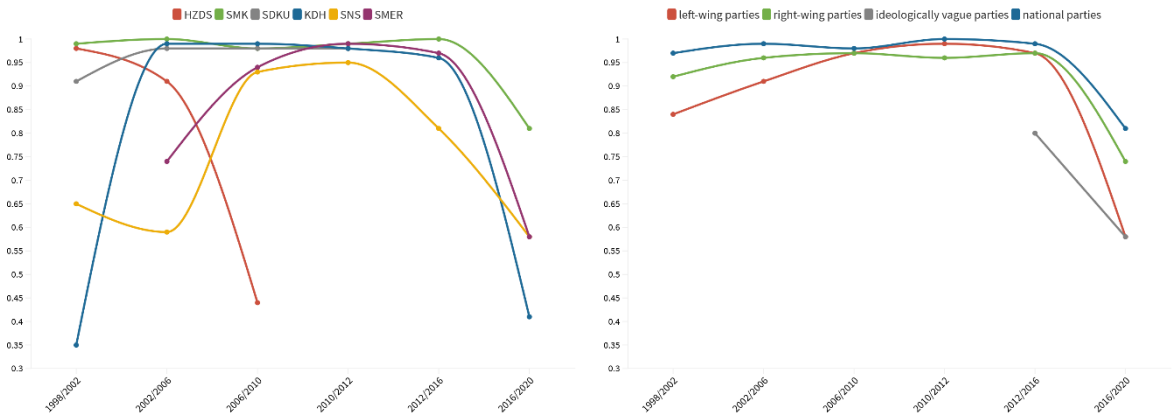

Figure 2: Correlations among consecutive election results. Left panel: selected parties; right panel: ideological blocs

The disruption of the systemic effect of socioeconomic factors on the electoral support of ideological blocs can also be documented based on the correlation across their previous election results. The correlation results within the ideological blocs show a very strong positive correlation until the 2020 elections; this correlation was apparently disrupted by the rise of ideologically vague parties. Electoral support trends in all of the preceding elections (1998-2016) were very similar in all districts. It follows that the change in electoral support has been relatively homogeneous throughout the territory, so any increase or decrease in support was almost uniform across all districts.

The last elections ruptured this trend, and in line with the significantly lower degree of correlation for all ideological groups, we observe territorially heterogeneous voting behavior. It can also be concluded that in the last elections, the emergence of ideologically vague parties did not manifest itself in the same way in all districts. Especially in districts with left-wing support, the electorate shifted toward ideologically vague parties.

6. Concluding remarks

Our research on the case of the Slovak Republic confirms the validity of the hypothesis about the influence of socioeconomic factors on support for ideological groups of political parties. The influence of individual factors is naturally different. For economic variables, a systematic influence of their dynamics is not confirmed. This result can be explained by the fact that voters do not take past events into account when voting. This is one of the reasons why practical politics reflects the efforts of ruling political parties to implement all popular measures at the end of their term of office. Among the selected factors, social variables such as age and population density appear to be more influential than economic ones.

The difference in the influence of these factors also appears across ideological blocs. Economic factors are most significant for support of right-wing parties. It appears that right-wing voters make decisions when choosing a party more on the basis of rational arguments. This rationality of the right-wing election camp is, however, also accompanied by a decline in electoral support for right-wing parties.

It is possible to observe the onset, especially in the last 10 years, of a new phenomenon in the Slovak Republic, namely, a change in the behavior of political parties, both well established and new. They are trying to abandon classical left-right ideological orientations and are beginning to operate in the field of ideological vagueness, whether in populist, antisystem or centrist manifestations. The parties thus try to reflect public opinion, which has no rational basis. Even parties that remain on the left-right spectrum come up with proposals that do not correspond to their ideological focus.

The factor of rationality thus disappears from the political space and creates increasingly more space for the influence of various marketing activities, either within electoral campaigns or within specific political activities. This is increasingly reflected in irrational and inefficient decision-making. The parties are trying to attract the electorate and gain its support for their governance. However, this creates a spiral, as these decisions do not improve quality of life in the long run, and this further leads to voter apathy and frustration. In such a situation, it is naturally easier for parties that base their focus on promises to take swift and "miraculous" actions to penetrate the political space.

As mentioned earlier, the 2020 parliamentary elections in Slovakia could be characterized as a win for populism. Unfortunately, this shift in political orientation towards populism and vagueness not only represents an academic debate but also has severe practical implications, as demonstrated heavily during the Covid-19 pandemic. Despite the overall scientific disagreement, a unique experiment has been conducted in Slovakia – several rounds of a mass testing for SARS-CoV-2 infection at the end of 2020, followed by continuous weekly testing from the beginning of 2021, all based on the rapid serological tests for antibodies, an idea brought to light and implemented by our Prime Minister. People in Slovakia were hit hard by the pandemic after these scientifically ungrounded experiments and without proper actions from the government. As summarized by Medo et al. (2021): “Hospital admissions started to rise two weeks after the second round of mass testing, followed by a steady increase in excess deaths, eventually resulting in overloaded hospitals, a 4-month lockdown from January 2021, and the world’s foremost position in reported deaths per capita in February 2021”. Due to the vague attitude towards the vaccination from our political representatives, both those in the government

and those in the opposition, as of mid November 2021, we are also one of the least vaccinated populations within the EU. Even though the third wave has not yet manifested its full strength at the time this article is finished, we already know it will be unfortunate for all ordinary citizens of Slovakia.

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APPENDIX

Table A.1: Classification of political parties into ideological blocs and the corresponding Chapel Hill values

	1998	2002	2006	2010	2012	2016	2020
HZDS	**lp** n/a	**lp** 4.38;4.17	**lp** 5.54; 4.46	**lp** 5.00;4.43			
HZD		**lp** 4.23; 3.91					
SOP	**lp** n/a						
SDĽ	**lp** n/a						
SMER		**ivp** 3.54; 3.75	**lp** 3.08; 2.36	**lp** 3.36; 2.23	**lp** 3.69; 2.57	**lp** 3.69; 2.57	**lp** 4.25; 3.5
DV							**ivp** n/a
KSS		**lp** 0.64; 0.67	**lp** 0.54; 0.50				
SMK	**nap** n/a	**nap** 6.57; 5.67	**nap** 6.08; 6.00	**nap** 5.92; 5.69	**nap** 6.77; 5.71	**nap** 6.77; 5.71	
MKO							**nap** n/a
MOST				**nap** 6.08; 6.29	**nap** 6.21; 6.36	**nap** 6.21; 6.36	
SNS	**nap** n/a	**nap** 8.29; 3.67	**nap** 8.31; 5.00	**nap** 7.85; 4.27	**nap** 8.36; 4.77	**nap** 8.36; 4.77	**nap** 7.43; 4.44
PSNS		**nap** 8.50; 3.75					
ĽSNS						**ivp** n/a	**ivp** 9.31; 3.94
SDK	**rp** n/a						
SDKÚ-DS		**rp** 7.07; 7.25	**rp** 7.31; 8.29	**rp** 6.64; 7.57	**rp** 6.86; 7.56		
KDH		**rp** 7.64; 7.08	**rp** 7.15; 6.79	**rp** 6.83; 6.29	**rp** 6.93; 6.00	**rp** 6.93; 6.00	**rp** 6.63; 6.19
SF			**rp** 5.46; 6.58				
ANO		**rp** 6.71; 7.5					
SaS				**rp** 6.79; 8.36	**rp** 7.29; 8.57	**rp** 7.29; 8.57	**rp** 7.00; 8.13
Sme Rodina						**ivp** n/a	**ivp** 7.13; 4.86
Sieť						**rp** 7.08; 7.17	-
OĽaNO					**ivp** 6.50; 6.55	**ivp** 6.50; 6.55	**ivp** 6.57; 6.00
Za ľudí							**ivp** 6.00; 6.63
PS-Spolu							**rp** 3.8-5.3; 5-6.1

Notes: "rp" stands for right-wing parties, "lp" for left-wing parties, "nap" for national and ethnic parties and "ivp" for ideologically vague parties. Note that the Chapel Hill values presented in this table are from 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014, and 2019. The parties are assessed on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 expresses the extreme left-wing position and 10 expresses the extreme right-wing position of the party. The evaluation variables used in our research are (in this order) LRGEN, which expresses the general ideological orientation of the party, and LRECON, which represents the economic orientation of the party. The Chapel Hill values for the PS-Spolu coalition are presented for both parties (the first number is for PS and the second one for Spolu).

Online supplementary material

Table S.1: Elections 1998 – results for individual parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
hzds98	79	0.29	32.50	0.00
smk98	79	0.18	17.67	0.01
sop98	79	0.23	23.64	0.00
sdk98	79	0.64	137.74	0.00
sns98	79	0.24	25.47	0.00
sdl98	79	0.07	5.82	0.44

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
hzds98					**sdk98**				
d98	-0.001	0.002	-0.490	0.626	*d98*	0.004	0.001	2.890	0.004
aa98	-0.246	0.566	-0.430	0.664	*aa98*	-1.706	0.357	-4.790	0.000
anw98	-0.129	0.035	-3.690	0.000	*anw98*	0.090	0.022	4.120	0.000
ur98	-0.729	0.198	-3.680	0.000	*ur98*	-0.153	0.125	-1.220	0.221
ch1anw98	-0.255	0.448	-0.570	0.569	*ch1anw98*	0.957	0.282	3.390	0.001
ch1ur98	0.115	0.074	1.550	0.121	*ch1ur98*	0.054	0.046	1.160	0.245
_cons	88.976	21.693	4.100	0.000	*_cons*	49.935	13.664	3.650	0.000
smk98					**sns98**				
d98	-0.002	0.003	-0.630	0.528	*d98*	-0.001	0.001	-1.140	0.253
aa98	2.314	0.817	2.830	0.005	*aa98*	-0.270	0.255	-1.060	0.291
anw98	0.039	0.050	0.770	0.439	*anw98*	-0.030	0.016	-1.930	0.053
ur98	0.757	0.286	2.650	0.008	*ur98*	-0.387	0.089	-4.330	0.000
ch1anw98	-0.335	0.647	-0.520	0.604	*ch1anw98*	-0.074	0.202	-0.370	0.714
ch1ur98	-0.255	0.107	-2.390	0.017	*ch1ur98*	0.049	0.033	1.460	0.144
_cons	-89.792	31.327	-2.870	0.004	*_cons*	34.242	9.787	3.500	0.000
sop98					**sdl98**				
d98	0.002	0.001	1.590	0.111	*d98*	-0.001	0.001	-1.320	0.187
aa98	-0.733	0.289	-2.540	0.011	*aa98*	0.378	0.253	1.490	0.135
anw98	0.036	0.018	2.050	0.041	*anw98*	0.015	0.016	0.990	0.324
ur98	0.309	0.101	3.060	0.002	*ur98*	0.047	0.089	0.540	0.592
ch1anw98	-0.142	0.229	-0.620	0.535	*ch1anw98*	-0.152	0.200	-0.760	0.447
ch1ur98	0.007	0.038	0.180	0.856	*ch1ur98*	0.023	0.033	0.700	0.481
_cons	18.215	11.071	1.650	0.100	*_cons*	-3.157	9.707	-0.330	0.745

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (15) = 181.331, p-value = 0

Table S.2: Elections 1998 – results for parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
p98	79	0.13	12.05	0.06
np98	79	0.11	9.85	0.13

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
parliamentary					non-parliamentary				
d98	0.000	0.002	-0.110	0.912	*d98*	0.001	0.002	0.300	0.764
aa98	0.093	0.491	0.190	0.850	*aa98*	-0.355	0.422	-0.840	0.401
anw98	-0.030	0.030	-0.980	0.326	*anw98*	0.052	0.026	1.990	0.046
ur98	-0.511	0.172	-2.980	0.003	*ur98*	0.356	0.148	2.410	0.016
ch1anw98	0.292	0.389	0.750	0.452	*ch1anw98*	-0.294	0.334	-0.880	0.378
ch1ur98	-0.038	0.064	-0.590	0.558	*ch1ur98*	0.030	0.055	0.550	0.584
_cons	83.361	18.817	4.430	0.000	*_cons*	15.058	16.182	0.930	0.352

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 72.723, Pr. = 0

Table S.3: Elections 1998 – results for government and non-government parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
p98	79	0.29	32.54	0.00
np98	79	0.30	34.36	0.00

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
government					non-government				
d98	-0.002	0.003	-0.740	0.459	*d98*	0.003	0.003	0.790	0.427
aa98	-0.515	0.766	-0.670	0.501	*aa98*	0.254	0.806	0.310	0.753
anw98	-0.159	0.047	-3.370	0.001	*anw98*	0.181	0.050	3.650	0.000
ur98	-1.115	0.268	-4.160	0.000	*ur98*	0.960	0.282	3.410	0.001
ch1anw98	-0.329	0.606	-0.540	0.587	*ch1anw98*	0.327	0.638	0.510	0.608
ch1ur98	0.163	0.100	1.630	0.102	*ch1ur98*	-0.171	0.105	-1.620	0.104
_cons	123.218	29.358	4.200	0.000	*_cons*	-24.799	30.884	-0.800	0.422

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 76.467, Pr. = 0

Table S.4: Elections 1998 – correlations among the parties' election results

	hzds98	smk98	sop98	sdk98	sns98	sdl98
hzds98	1.00					
smk98	-0.61	1.00				
sop98	-0.36	-0.13	1.00			
sdk98	-0.46	-0.24	0.21	1.00		
sns98	0.73	-0.47	-0.47	-0.29	1.00	
sdl98	-0.01	-0.46	0.13	0.12	-0.06	1.00

Table S.5: Elections 1998 – correlations among the ideological blocks' election results

	lp98	rp98	nap98
lp98	1.00		
rp98	-0.30	1.00	
nap98	-0.75	-0.38	1.00

Table S.6: Elections 2002 – results for individual parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
sdku02	79	0.75	232.44	0.00
smer02	79	0.14	12.41	0.13
hzds02	79	0.33	38.68	0.00
hzd02	79	0.11	9.67	0.29
kss02	79	0.31	36.19	0.00
smk02	79	0.21	21.53	0.01
kdh02	79	0.41	55.96	0.00
ano02	79	0.27	29.00	0.00
sns02	79	0.28	31.47	0.00
psns02	79	0.18	17.84	0.02

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
sdku02					**smer02**				
d02	0.004	0.001	3.300	0.001	*d02*	-0.001	0.001	-1.550	0.121
aa02	-0.648	0.270	-2.400	0.017	*aa02*	0.039	0.187	0.210	0.836
anw02	0.067	0.012	5.710	0.000	*anw02*	-0.004	0.008	-0.490	0.621
ur02	-0.263	0.093	-2.820	0.005	*ur02*	-0.156	0.064	-2.420	0.016
ch1anw02	0.102	0.139	0.730	0.464	*ch1anw02*	-0.030	0.096	-0.310	0.754
ch4anw02	-0.261	0.114	-2.290	0.022	*ch4anw02*	-0.036	0.079	-0.460	0.647
ch1ur02	0.102	0.075	1.360	0.175	*ch1ur02*	0.035	0.052	0.680	0.500
ch4ur02	-0.012	0.036	-0.340	0.736	*ch4ur02*	-0.012	0.025	-0.490	0.627
_cons	22.427	10.783	2.080	0.038	*_cons*	19.338	7.448	2.600	0.009
hzds02					**hzd02**				
d02	-0.001	0.002	-0.580	0.562	*d02*	0.000	0.001	0.010	0.992
aa02	0.137	0.476	0.290	0.773	*aa02*	0.182	0.157	1.160	0.247
anw02	-0.074	0.021	-3.570	0.000	*anw02*	-0.015	0.007	-2.180	0.029
ur02	-0.586	0.164	-3.570	0.000	*ur02*	-0.066	0.054	-1.230	0.219
ch1anw02	-0.357	0.244	-1.460	0.144	*ch1anw02*	-0.005	0.080	-0.060	0.951
ch4anw02	0.400	0.201	1.990	0.046	*ch4anw02*	0.137	0.066	2.070	0.039
ch1ur02	0.142	0.132	1.070	0.283	*ch1ur02*	0.005	0.044	0.120	0.906
ch4ur02	-0.035	0.064	-0.550	0.586	*ch4ur02*	-0.006	0.021	-0.300	0.767
_cons	48.718	18.991	2.570	0.010	*_cons*	-0.478	6.252	-0.080	0.939
kss02					**smk02**				
d02	0.000	0.001	-0.150	0.881	*d02*	-0.003	0.004	-0.780	0.437
aa02	0.469	0.211	2.220	0.026	*aa02*	2.184	0.975	2.240	0.025
anw02	-0.011	0.009	-1.240	0.215	*anw02*	0.044	0.042	1.040	0.299
ur02	0.128	0.073	1.760	0.079	*ur02*	1.104	0.336	3.290	0.001
ch1anw02	-0.115	0.108	-1.070	0.287	*ch1anw02*	0.716	0.500	1.430	0.152
ch4anw02	-0.006	0.089	-0.060	0.949	*ch4anw02*	-0.421	0.411	-1.020	0.306
ch1ur02	0.118	0.059	2.010	0.044	*ch1ur02*	-0.522	0.271	-1.920	0.054
ch4ur02	-0.056	0.028	-2.000	0.046	*ch4ur02*	0.079	0.131	0.600	0.547
_cons	-4.316	8.406	-0.510	0.608	*_cons*	-106.571	38.868	-2.740	0.006
kdh02					**ano02**				
d02	0.002	0.001	1.660	0.098	*d02*	0.000	0.001	0.040	0.967

aa02	-1.534	0.238	-6.440	0.000	*aa02*	-0.515	0.166	-3.100	0.002
anw02	-0.007	0.010	-0.700	0.484	*anw02*	0.018	0.007	2.550	0.011
ur02	-0.150	0.082	-1.830	0.067	*ur02*	0.090	0.057	1.580	0.114
ch1anw02	-0.042	0.122	-0.340	0.731	*ch1anw02*	-0.032	0.085	-0.370	0.708
ch4anw02	0.106	0.100	1.050	0.293	*ch4anw02*	-0.128	0.070	-1.830	0.068
ch1ur02	-0.002	0.066	-0.030	0.980	*ch1ur02*	-0.017	0.046	-0.360	0.721
ch4ur02	0.004	0.032	0.130	0.901	*ch4ur02*	0.052	0.022	2.340	0.020
_cons	66.601	9.503	7.010	0.000	*_cons*	21.804	6.623	3.290	0.001
sns02					**psns02**				
d02	0.000	0.000	-0.450	0.651	*d02*	0.000	0.001	0.070	0.944
aa02	0.192	0.091	2.120	0.034	*aa02*	-0.292	0.164	-1.790	0.074
anw02	-0.012	0.004	-3.100	0.002	*anw02*	-0.010	0.007	-1.410	0.158
ur02	-0.101	0.031	-3.230	0.001	*ur02*	-0.089	0.056	-1.580	0.115
ch1anw02	-0.025	0.047	-0.540	0.587	*ch1anw02*	-0.174	0.084	-2.070	0.038
ch4anw02	0.107	0.038	2.790	0.005	*ch4anw02*	0.124	0.069	1.800	0.073
ch1ur02	-0.002	0.025	-0.060	0.951	*ch1ur02*	0.068	0.045	1.500	0.134
ch4ur02	0.016	0.012	1.280	0.200	*ch4ur02*	-0.005	0.022	-0.240	0.810
_cons	-0.316	3.623	-0.090	0.931	*_cons*	18.081	6.520	2.770	0.006

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (45) = 396.858, Pr. = 0

Table S.7: Elections 2002 – results for parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties

Equation	**Obs**	**R^2**	**χ^2**	**p-value**
p02	79.00	0.20	20.12	0.01
np02	79.00	0.20	20.11	0.01

	Coeff.	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**		**Coeff.**	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**
parliamentary					non-parliamentary				
d02	-0.001	0.003	-0.280	0.781	d02	0.000	0.002	0.160	0.872
aa02	1.866	0.660	2.830	0.005	aa02	-1.652	0.582	-2.840	0.005
anw02	0.025	0.029	0.870	0.383	anw02	-0.029	0.025	-1.150	0.250
ur02	0.154	0.227	0.680	0.497	ur02	-0.243	0.200	-1.210	0.225
ch1anw02	0.435	0.339	1.280	0.199	ch1anw02	-0.398	0.299	-1.330	0.182
ch4anw02	-0.175	0.278	-0.630	0.530	ch4anw02	0.196	0.245	0.800	0.423
ch1ur02	-0.279	0.184	-1.520	0.129	ch1ur02	0.208	0.162	1.290	0.199
ch4ur02	0.047	0.088	0.530	0.593	ch4ur02	-0.024	0.078	-0.310	0.757
_cons	-35.743	26.321	-1.360	0.174	_cons	121.029	23.195	5.220	0.000

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 73.003, Pr. = 0

Table S.8: Elections 2002 – results for government and non-government parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
p02	79	0.26	28.05	0.00
np02	79	0.29	31.50	0.00

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
government					non-government				
d02	0.002	0.004	0.610	0.543	*d02*	-0.003	0.003	-0.750	0.451
aa02	0.002	0.867	0.000	0.998	*aa02*	0.212	0.820	0.260	0.796
anw02	0.104	0.038	2.760	0.006	*anw02*	-0.108	0.036	-3.030	0.002
ur02	0.691	0.299	2.310	0.021	*ur02*	-0.780	0.282	-2.760	0.006
ch1anw02	0.775	0.445	1.740	0.082	*ch1anw02*	-0.739	0.421	-1.760	0.079
ch4anw02	-0.576	0.366	-1.570	0.115	*ch4anw02*	0.598	0.346	1.730	0.084
ch1ur02	-0.421	0.241	-1.750	0.081	*ch1ur02*	0.350	0.228	1.540	0.124
ch4ur02	0.070	0.116	0.610	0.545	*ch4ur02*	-0.047	0.110	-0.430	0.666
_cons	-17.544	34.586	-0.510	0.612	*_cons*	102.830	32.693	3.150	0.002

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 76.467, Pr. = 0

Table S.9: Elections 2002 – correlations among the parties' election results

	sdku02	smer02	hzds02	hzd02	kss02	smk02	kdh02	ano02	sns02	psns02
sdku02	1.00									
smer02	0.03	1.00								
hzds02	-0.44	0.48	1.00							
hzd02	-0.18	0.13	0.28	1.00						
kss02	-0.29	0.44	0.09	0.09	1.00					
smk02	-0.19	-0.73	-0.59	-0.30	-0.32	1.00				
kdh02	0.06	0.18	0.28	0.10	-0.08	-0.54	1.00			
ano02	0.32	0.13	-0.38	-0.22	0.31	-0.24	0.02	1.00		
sns02	-0.18	0.37	0.64	0.45	-0.12	-0.43	0.20	-0.33	1.00	
psns02	-0.24	0.01	0.46	0.19	-0.06	-0.32	0.10	-0.04	0.09	1.00

Table S.10: Elections 2002 – correlations among the ideological blocks' election results

	lp02	rp02	nap02	ivp02
lp02	1.00			
rp02	-0.35	1.00		
nap02	-0.59	-0.52	1.00	
ivp02	0.57	0.14	-0.75	1.00

Table S.11: Elections 2006 – results for individual parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
kdh06	79.00	0.50	78.39	0.00
smk06	79.00	0.33	39.05	0.00
sf06	79.00	0.64	138.60	0.00
hzds06	79.00	0.41	55.84	0.00
kss06	79.00	0.45	65.14	0.00
sdku06	79.00	0.72	198.26	0.00
smer06	79.00	0.31	34.84	0.00
sns06	79.00	0.34	40.35	0.00

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
kdh06					**smk06**				
d06	0.002	0.001	2.230	0.026	*d06*	-0.005	0.004	-1.320	0.188
aa06	-1.791	0.219	-8.190	0.000	*aa06*	1.825	0.925	1.970	0.049
anw06	0.003	0.005	0.540	0.586	*anw06*	0.005	0.021	0.230	0.815
ur06	-0.246	0.113	-2.170	0.030	*ur06*	1.617	0.480	3.370	0.001
ch1anw06	0.272	0.134	2.020	0.043	*ch1anw06*	0.062	0.568	0.110	0.913
ch4anw06	-0.113	0.074	-1.520	0.130	*ch4anw06*	-0.237	0.314	-0.750	0.451
ch1ur06	-0.115	0.062	-1.860	0.063	*ch1ur06*	0.938	0.262	3.580	0.000
ch4ur06	0.046	0.055	0.840	0.401	*ch4ur06*	-1.107	0.234	-4.740	0.000
_cons	78.595	8.684	9.050	0.000	*_cons*	-104.709	36.758	-2.850	0.004
sf06					**hzds06**				
d06	0.001	0.000	2.330	0.020	*d06*	0.000	0.001	-0.470	0.640
aa06	-0.033	0.054	-0.610	0.542	*aa06*	-0.099	0.169	-0.580	0.559
anw06	0.006	0.001	4.790	0.000	*anw06*	-0.008	0.004	-2.060	0.039
ur06	-0.090	0.028	-3.250	0.001	*ur06*	-0.239	0.088	-2.710	0.007
ch1anw06	0.001	0.033	0.030	0.978	*ch1anw06*	0.142	0.104	1.360	0.174
ch4anw06	-0.028	0.018	-1.550	0.120	*ch4anw06*	0.086	0.058	1.500	0.134
ch1ur06	-0.005	0.015	-0.330	0.743	*ch1ur06*	-0.193	0.048	-4.030	0.000
ch4ur06	0.043	0.014	3.190	0.001	*ch4ur06*	0.128	0.043	2.990	0.003
_cons	4.870	2.129	2.290	0.022	*_cons*	18.167	6.733	2.700	0.007
kss06					**sdku06**				
d06	0.000	0.000	-0.710	0.478	*d06*	0.003	0.001	2.690	0.007
aa06	0.419	0.078	5.390	0.000	*aa06*	-0.468	0.302	-1.550	0.121
anw06	-0.005	0.002	-2.730	0.006	*anw06*	0.038	0.007	5.430	0.000
ur06	-0.016	0.040	-0.400	0.691	*ur06*	-0.582	0.156	-3.720	0.000
ch1anw06	-0.102	0.048	-2.150	0.032	*ch1anw06*	0.042	0.185	0.230	0.819
ch4anw06	0.034	0.026	1.280	0.201	*ch4anw06*	-0.079	0.103	-0.770	0.443
ch1ur06	-0.059	0.022	-2.670	0.008	*ch1ur06*	0.120	0.085	1.400	0.161
ch4ur06	0.090	0.020	4.590	0.000	*ch4ur06*	0.166	0.076	2.180	0.029
_cons	-5.554	3.084	-1.800	0.072	*_cons*	30.313	11.987	2.530	0.011
smer06					**sns06**				
d06	0.000	0.002	0.100	0.924	*d06*	-0.001	0.001	-0.550	0.584
aa06	0.340	0.458	0.740	0.458	*aa06*	-0.262	0.274	-0.960	0.339
anw06	-0.028	0.011	-2.700	0.007	*anw06*	-0.009	0.006	-1.410	0.158

ur06	-0.196	0.238	-0.830	0.408	*ur06*	-0.314	0.142	-2.210	0.027
ch1anw06	-0.212	0.281	-0.750	0.452	*ch1anw06*	-0.106	0.168	-0.630	0.528
ch4anw06	0.119	0.156	0.760	0.446	*ch4anw06*	0.172	0.093	1.850	0.065
ch1ur06	-0.369	0.130	-2.840	0.004	*ch1ur06*	-0.307	0.077	-3.960	0.000
ch4ur06	0.348	0.116	3.010	0.003	*ch4ur06*	0.230	0.069	3.330	0.001
_cons	44.076	18.212	2.420	0.016	*_cons*	30.378	10.877	2.790	0.005

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (28) = 371.337, Pr. = 0

Table S.12: Elections 2006 – results for parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties

Equation	**Obs**	**R^2**	**χ^2**	**p-value**
p06	79.00	0.32	36.60	0.00
np06	79.00	0.32	37.84	0.00

	Coeff.	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**		**Coeff.**	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**
parliamentary					non-parliamentary				
d06	0.000	0.001	-0.030	0.977	*d06*	0.000	0.001	-0.090	0.929
aa06	0.227	0.283	0.800	0.423	*aa06*	-0.295	0.278	-1.060	0.289
anw06	0.004	0.007	0.620	0.536	*anw06*	-0.003	0.006	-0.470	0.640
ur06	0.338	0.147	2.300	0.021	*ur06*	-0.405	0.144	-2.810	0.005
ch1anw06	0.204	0.174	1.170	0.242	*ch1anw06*	-0.105	0.171	-0.620	0.538
ch4anw06	-0.189	0.096	-1.970	0.049	*ch4anw06*	0.143	0.094	1.520	0.129
ch1ur06	0.322	0.080	4.010	0.000	*ch1ur06*	-0.312	0.079	-3.960	0.000
ch4ur06	-0.328	0.071	-4.590	0.000	*ch4ur06*	0.273	0.070	3.890	0.000
_cons	60.887	11.250	5.410	0.000	*_cons*	35.248	11.042	3.190	0.001

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 67.960, Pr. = 0

Table S.13: Elections 2006 – results for government and non-government parties

Equation	**Obs**	**R^2**	**χ^2**	**p-value**
gp06	79	0.41	54.84	0.00
ngp06	79	0.41	54.58	0.00

	Coeff.	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**		**Coeff.**	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**
government					non-government				
d06	0.001	0.003	0.270	0.789	*d06*	-0.001	0.003	-0.320	0.751
aa06	-0.466	0.775	-0.600	0.548	*aa06*	0.398	0.757	0.530	0.599
anw06	0.051	0.018	2.880	0.004	*anw06*	-0.050	0.017	-2.890	0.004
ur06	0.699	0.402	1.740	0.082	*ur06*	-0.766	0.392	-1.950	0.051
ch1anw06	0.377	0.476	0.790	0.428	*ch1anw06*	-0.279	0.465	-0.600	0.549
ch4anw06	-0.456	0.263	-1.730	0.083	*ch4anw06*	0.410	0.257	1.600	0.110
ch1ur06	0.938	0.219	4.270	0.000	*ch1ur06*	-0.928	0.214	-4.330	0.000
ch4ur06	-0.851	0.196	-4.350	0.000	*ch4ur06*	0.796	0.191	4.160	0.000
_cons	9.069	30.789	0.290	0.768	*_cons*	87.066	30.069	2.900	0.004

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 77.511, Pr. = 0

Table S.14: Elections 2006 – correlations among the parties' election results

	kdh06	smk06	sf06	hzds06	kss06	sdku06	smer06	sns06
kdh06	1.00							
smk06	-0.55	1.00						
sf06	0.04	-0.38	1.00					
hzds06	0.34	-0.60	-0.19	1.00				
kss06	-0.14	-0.48	-0.05	0.24	1.00			
sdku06	0.09	-0.27	0.87	-0.28	-0.21	1.00		
smer06	0.20	-0.69	-0.16	0.50	0.76	-0.33	1.00	
sns06	0.28	-0.56	-0.11	0.71	0.23	-0.30	0.41	1.00

Table S.15: Elections 2006 – correlations among the ideological blocks' election results

	lp06	rp06	nap06
lp06	1.00		
rp06	-0.19	1.00	
nap06	-0.66	-0.60	1.00

Table S.16: Elections 2010 – results for individual parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
sas10	79.00	0.55	97.16	0.00
smk10	79.00	0.31	35.84	0.00
hzds10	79.00	0.37	46.61	0.00
sns10	79.00	0.25	26.25	0.00
kdh10	79.00	0.47	68.80	0.00
sdku10	79.00	0.71	188.87	0.00
smer10	79.00	0.35	41.79	0.00
most10	79.00	0.26	28.25	0.00

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
sas10					**smk10**				
d10	-0.001	0.001	-0.880	0.377	*d10*	-0.001	0.002	-0.740	0.457
aa10	-0.128	0.190	-0.670	0.501	*aa10*	1.355	0.396	3.420	0.001
anw10	0.015	0.004	4.060	0.000	*anw10*	-0.010	0.008	-1.350	0.177
ur10	-0.279	0.072	-3.870	0.000	*ur10*	0.362	0.150	2.410	0.016
ch1anw10	0.049	0.058	0.840	0.399	*ch1anw10*	0.031	0.121	0.250	0.799
ch4anw10	-0.112	0.047	-2.360	0.018	*ch4anw10*	-0.083	0.099	-0.840	0.401
ch1ur10	-0.035	0.043	-0.810	0.416	*ch1ur10*	0.366	0.089	4.100	0.000
ch4ur10	-0.010	0.011	-0.920	0.356	*ch4ur10*	-0.001	0.022	-0.040	0.971
_cons	12.547	7.719	1.630	0.104	*_cons*	-43.689	16.060	-2.720	0.007
sns10					**hzds10**				
d10	-0.001	0.001	-1.990	0.047	*d10*	0.000	0.001	-0.300	0.762
aa10	0.014	0.145	0.100	0.924	*aa10*	0.082	0.128	0.640	0.522
anw10	-0.001	0.003	-0.380	0.704	*anw10*	0.001	0.002	0.360	0.717
ur10	-0.047	0.055	-0.850	0.394	*ur10*	0.221	0.048	4.580	0.000
ch1anw10	0.147	0.044	3.330	0.001	*ch1anw10*	-0.021	0.039	-0.530	0.597
ch4anw10	-0.017	0.036	-0.460	0.645	*ch4anw10*	0.041	0.032	1.280	0.199
ch1ur10	0.002	0.033	0.070	0.941	*ch1ur10*	-0.086	0.029	-2.990	0.003
ch4ur10	0.015	0.008	1.890	0.058	*ch4ur10*	0.010	0.007	1.430	0.153
_cons	5.359	5.868	0.910	0.361	*_cons*	-3.421	5.173	-0.660	0.508
kdh10					**sdku10**				
d10	0.002	0.001	1.720	0.086	*d10*	0.002	0.001	2.350	0.019
aa10	-1.937	0.241	-8.050	0.000	*aa10*	-0.361	0.229	-1.570	0.115
anw10	0.001	0.005	0.120	0.906	*anw10*	0.024	0.004	5.560	0.000
ur10	-0.199	0.091	-2.190	0.029	*ur10*	-0.258	0.087	-2.980	0.003
ch1anw10	-0.004	0.073	-0.060	0.952	*ch1anw10*	-0.086	0.070	-1.230	0.219
ch4anw10	0.078	0.060	1.300	0.194	*ch4anw10*	-0.082	0.057	-1.440	0.150
ch1ur10	-0.061	0.054	-1.120	0.262	*ch1ur10*	-0.044	0.052	-0.850	0.396
ch4ur10	0.013	0.014	0.990	0.325	*ch4ur10*	-0.018	0.013	-1.380	0.168
_cons	83.260	9.759	8.530	0.000	*_cons*	16.808	9.292	1.810	0.070
smer10					**most10**				
d10	0.000	0.003	-0.100	0.921	*d10*	0.000	0.002	-0.040	0.967
aa10	-0.249	0.618	-0.400	0.687	*aa10*	1.400	0.529	2.650	0.008
anw10	-0.024	0.012	-2.080	0.038	*anw10*	-0.009	0.010	-0.850	0.396

ur10	-0.175	0.234	-0.750	0.455	*ur10*	0.213	0.200	1.070	0.286
ch1anw10	-0.051	0.189	-0.270	0.788	*ch1anw10*	-0.065	0.161	-0.400	0.689
ch4anw10	0.242	0.154	1.570	0.115	*ch4anw10*	-0.043	0.132	-0.330	0.744
ch1ur10	-0.532	0.139	-3.820	0.000	*ch1ur10*	0.481	0.119	4.040	0.000
ch4ur10	0.023	0.035	0.660	0.509	*ch4ur10*	-0.020	0.030	-0.670	0.505
_cons	59.454	25.065	2.370	0.018	*_cons*	-41.055	21.444	-1.910	0.056

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (3) = 72.027, Pr. = 0

Table S.17: Elections 2010 – results for parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties

Equation	**Obs**	**R^2**	**χ^2**	**p-value**
p10	79.00	0.28	31.14	0.00
np10	79.00	0.33	38.72	0.00

	Coeff.	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**		**Coeff.**	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**
parliamentary					non-parliamentary				
d10	0.001	0.002	0.600	0.550	*d10*	-0.001	0.002	-0.380	0.701
aa10	-1.097	0.454	-2.420	0.016	*aa10*	1.272	0.494	2.580	0.010
anw10	-0.010	0.009	-1.160	0.248	*anw10*	0.006	0.009	0.660	0.512
ur10	-0.097	0.172	-0.560	0.572	*ur10*	-0.065	0.187	-0.350	0.726
ch1anw10	0.016	0.138	0.120	0.908	*ch1anw10*	-0.016	0.151	-0.100	0.918
ch4anw10	0.179	0.113	1.590	0.112	*ch4anw10*	-0.155	0.123	-1.260	0.208
ch1ur10	-0.354	0.102	-3.470	0.001	*ch1ur10*	0.446	0.111	4.010	0.000
ch4ur10	0.043	0.026	1.700	0.089	*ch4ur10*	-0.030	0.028	-1.070	0.285
_cons	117.772	18.388	6.400	0.000	*_cons*	-28.508	20.025	-1.420	0.155

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 74.880, Pr. = 0

Table S.18: Elections 2010 – results for government and non-government parties

Equation	**Obs**	**R^2**	**χ^2**	**p-value**
p10	79	0.35	43.16	0.00
np10	79	0.38	48.40	0.00

	Coeff.	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**		**Coeff.**	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**
government					non-government				
d10	-0.002	0.003	-0.510	0.609	*d10*	0.002	0.003	0.590	0.558
aa10	-0.153	0.757	-0.200	0.839	*aa10*	0.329	0.800	0.410	0.681
anw10	-0.025	0.014	-1.710	0.088	*anw10*	0.021	0.015	1.370	0.172
ur10	-0.001	0.286	0.000	0.998	*ur10*	-0.162	0.303	-0.530	0.593
ch1anw10	0.076	0.231	0.330	0.743	*ch1anw10*	-0.075	0.244	-0.310	0.758
ch4anw10	0.266	0.188	1.410	0.157	*ch4anw10*	-0.242	0.199	-1.220	0.224
ch1ur10	-0.615	0.170	-3.610	0.000	*ch1ur10*	0.707	0.180	3.930	0.000
ch4ur10	0.049	0.043	1.140	0.253	*ch4ur10*	-0.035	0.045	-0.780	0.437
_cons	61.392	30.683	2.000	0.045	*_cons*	27.872	32.425	0.860	0.390

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 77.490, Pr. = 0

Table S.19: Elections 2010 – correlations among the parties' election results

	sas10	**smk10**	**hzds10**	**sns10**	**kdh10**	**sdku10**	**smer10**	**most10**
sas10	1.00							
smk10	-0.43	1.00						
hzds10	-0.43	-0.17	1.00					
sns10	0.01	-0.40	0.18	1.00				
kdh10	0.08	-0.52	-0.05	0.13	1.00			
sdku10	0.84	-0.25	-0.47	-0.33	0.02	1.00		
smer10	-0.27	-0.65	0.43	0.51	0.24	-0.47	1.00	
most10	-0.28	0.93	-0.28	-0.48	-0.52	-0.05	-0.78	1.00

Table S.20: Elections 2010 – correlations among the ideological blocks' election results

	lp10	**rp10**	**nap10**
lp10	1.00		
rp10	-0.32	1.00	
nap10	-0.67	-0.48	1.00

Table S.21: Elections 2012 – results for individual parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
kdh12	79.00	0.45	65.11	0.00
sns12	79.00	0.13	11.86	0.16
olano12	79.00	0.46	68.62	0.00
sas12	79.00	0.80	310.24	0.00
,smer12	79.00	0.28	29.98	0.00
most12	79.00	0.10	9.19	0.33
sdku12	79.00	0.75	241.17	0.00
smk12	79.00	0.16	14.61	0.07

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
kdh12					**sns12**				
d12	0.002	0.001	1.770	0.076	*d12*	-0.001	0.001	-2.120	0.034
aa12	-1.572	0.200	-7.840	0.000	*aa12*	0.104	0.142	0.730	0.463
anw12	0.003	0.004	0.880	0.380	*anw12*	0.000	0.003	-0.090	0.930
ur12	-0.191	0.068	-2.830	0.005	*ur12*	-0.066	0.048	-1.380	0.169
ch1anw12	0.096	0.121	0.800	0.427	*ch1anw12*	-0.021	0.086	-0.250	0.802
ch2anw12	0.024	0.067	0.360	0.719	*ch2anw12*	-0.023	0.048	-0.480	0.634
ch1ur12	0.089	0.068	1.320	0.188	*ch1ur12*	0.067	0.048	1.390	0.164
ch2ur12	-0.022	0.053	-0.420	0.674	*ch2ur12*	-0.047	0.037	-1.260	0.207
_cons	70.014	8.373	8.360	0.000	*_cons*	2.721	5.942	0.460	0.647
olano12					**sas12**				
d12	0.000	0.001	-0.570	0.571	*d12*	0.002	0.000	3.760	0.000
aa12	-0.525	0.162	-3.250	0.001	*aa12*	-0.036	0.096	-0.380	0.704
anw12	0.005	0.003	1.600	0.109	*anw12*	0.011	0.002	6.060	0.000
ur12	-0.285	0.054	-5.240	0.000	*ur12*	-0.108	0.032	-3.350	0.001
ch1anw12	0.146	0.097	1.510	0.132	*ch1anw12*	0.076	0.058	1.310	0.189
ch2anw12	-0.013	0.054	-0.240	0.813	*ch2anw12*	-0.019	0.032	-0.600	0.546
ch1ur12	-0.079	0.055	-1.450	0.146	*ch1ur12*	-0.053	0.032	-1.620	0.105
ch2ur12	-0.042	0.042	-0.980	0.325	*ch2ur12*	0.023	0.025	0.920	0.356
_cons	30.683	6.749	4.550	0.000	*_cons*	-0.649	4.008	-0.160	0.871
smer12					**most12**				
d12	-0.005	0.003	-1.470	0.142	*d12*	0.001	0.002	0.290	0.769
aa12	0.064	0.717	0.090	0.929	*aa12*	1.045	0.515	2.030	0.042
anw12	-0.020	0.014	-1.430	0.152	*anw12*	-0.002	0.010	-0.260	0.799
ur12	-0.117	0.241	-0.490	0.627	*ur12*	0.271	0.174	1.560	0.119
ch1anw12	0.099	0.431	0.230	0.818	*ch1anw12*	-0.248	0.310	-0.800	0.423
ch2anw12	0.261	0.241	1.090	0.278	*ch2anw12*	-0.087	0.173	-0.500	0.617
ch1ur12	0.605	0.242	2.500	0.013	*ch1ur12*	-0.307	0.174	-1.760	0.078
ch2ur12	-0.124	0.188	-0.660	0.508	*ch2ur12*	0.103	0.135	0.770	0.444
_cons	57.590	29.942	1.920	0.054	*_cons*	-35.888	21.523	-1.670	0.095
sdku12					**most12**				
d12	0.002	0.000	4.980	0.000	*d12*	-0.001	0.002	-0.260	0.797
aa12	-0.113	0.106	-1.060	0.288	*aa12*	1.269	0.493	2.570	0.010
anw12	0.011	0.002	5.340	0.000	*anw12*	-0.010	0.009	-1.040	0.298

ur12	-0.055	0.036	-1.540	0.125	*ur12*	0.359	0.166	2.160	0.031
ch1anw12	0.059	0.064	0.920	0.357	*ch1anw12*	-0.345	0.297	-1.160	0.246
ch2anw12	-0.034	0.036	-0.960	0.340	*ch2anw12*	-0.099	0.166	-0.600	0.548
ch1ur12	-0.043	0.036	-1.210	0.227	*ch1ur12*	-0.243	0.167	-1.460	0.144
ch2ur12	0.013	0.028	0.460	0.643	*ch2ur12*	0.077	0.130	0.600	0.550
_cons	2.180	4.438	0.490	0.623	*_cons*	-41.955	20.614	-2.040	0.042

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (28) = 442.208, Pr. = 0

Table S.22: Elections 2012 – results for parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties

Equation	**Obs**	**R^2**	**χ^2**	**p-value**
p12	79.00	0.17	16.26	0.04
np12	79.00	0.12	10.28	0.25

	Coeff.	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**		**Coeff.**	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**
parliamentary					non-parliamentary				
d12	0.000	0.002	0.110	0.912	*d12*	-0.001	0.002	-0.490	0.625
aa12	-0.508	0.387	-1.310	0.190	*aa12*	0.744	0.447	1.670	0.096
anw12	0.003	0.007	0.390	0.693	*anw12*	-0.005	0.008	-0.570	0.569
ur12	-0.266	0.130	-2.040	0.041	*ur12*	0.074	0.150	0.490	0.624
ch1anw12	0.060	0.233	0.260	0.797	*ch1anw12*	-0.198	0.269	-0.740	0.461
ch2anw12	0.122	0.130	0.940	0.346	*ch2anw12*	-0.112	0.150	-0.750	0.454
ch1ur12	0.358	0.131	2.730	0.006	*ch1ur12*	-0.323	0.151	-2.140	0.032
ch2ur12	-0.054	0.102	-0.530	0.594	*ch2ur12*	0.036	0.117	0.300	0.761
_cons	95.968	16.185	5.930	0.000	*_cons*	-11.273	18.661	-0.600	0.546

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 67.951, Pr. = 0

Table S.23: Elections 2012 – results for government and non-government parties

Equation	**Obs**	**R^2**	**χ^2**	**p-value**
p12	79	0.49	74.93	0.00
np12	79	0.51	81.46	0.00

	Coeff.	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**		**Coeff.**	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**
government					non-government				
d12	0.006	0.002	3.070	0.002	*d12*	-0.007	0.002	-3.640	0.000
aa12	-0.676	0.455	-1.490	0.137	*aa12*	0.912	0.432	2.110	0.035
anw12	0.023	0.009	2.620	0.009	*anw12*	-0.025	0.008	-3.000	0.003
ur12	-0.083	0.153	-0.540	0.587	*ur12*	-0.109	0.145	-0.750	0.452
ch1anw12	-0.018	0.274	-0.070	0.948	*ch1anw12*	-0.120	0.260	-0.460	0.643
ch2anw12	-0.116	0.153	-0.760	0.448	*ch2anw12*	0.126	0.145	0.870	0.384
ch1ur12	-0.314	0.154	-2.040	0.041	*ch1ur12*	0.349	0.146	2.390	0.017
ch2ur12	0.117	0.119	0.980	0.325	*ch2ur12*	-0.136	0.113	-1.200	0.230
_cons	35.657	19.010	1.880	0.061	*_cons*	49.038	18.028	2.720	0.007

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 68.109, Pr. = 0

Table S.24: Elections 2012 – correlations among the parties' election results

	kdh12	sns12	olano12	sas12	smer12	most12	sdku12	smk12
kdh12	1.00							
sns12	-0.04	1.00						
olano12	0.44	0.03	1.00					
sas12	0.06	-0.14	0.51	1.00				
smer12	0.17	0.50	-0.14	-0.44	1.00			
most12	-0.54	-0.43	-0.36	-0.02	-0.79	1.00		
sdku12	0.14	-0.29	0.49	0.95	-0.48	-0.01	1.00	
smk12	-0.54	-0.37	-0.47	-0.24	-0.66	0.93	-0.23	1.00

Table S.25: Elections 2012 – correlations among the ideological blocks' election results

	lp12	rp12	nap12	ivp12
lp12	1.00			
rp12	-0.29	1.00		
nap12	-0.70	-0.44	1.00	
ivp12	-0.14	0.64	-0.44	1.00

Table S.26: Elections 2016 – results for individual parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
olano16	79.00	0.53	89.63	0.00
rodina16	79.00	0.37	46.72	0.00
most16	79.00	0.17	15.76	0.05
sns16	79.00	0.19	18.97	0.02
smer16	79.00	0.30	33.49	0.00
kdh16	79.00	0.50	77.62	0.00
lsns16	79.00	0.33	39.64	0.00
siet16	79.00	0.42	57.35	0.00
smk16	79.00	0.20	20.22	0.01
sas16	79.00	0.84	426.62	0.00

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
olano16					**rodina16**				
d16	0.001	0.001	1.220	0.222	*d16*	-0.001	0.000	-1.670	0.096
aa16	-0.602	0.133	-4.530	0.000	*aa16*	0.064	0.079	0.810	0.416
anw16	0.004	0.003	1.690	0.092	*anw16*	0.001	0.002	0.690	0.491
ur16	-0.403	0.096	-4.210	0.000	*ur16*	-0.239	0.057	-4.230	0.000
ch1anw16	-0.055	0.103	-0.540	0.592	*ch1anw16*	0.016	0.061	0.260	0.792
ch4anw16	-0.045	0.046	-0.970	0.330	*ch4anw16*	-0.034	0.027	-1.230	0.220
ch1ur16	0.061	0.051	1.180	0.237	*ch1ur16*	0.075	0.030	2.450	0.014
ch4ur16	0.025	0.041	0.600	0.549	*ch4ur16*	-0.021	0.024	-0.850	0.396
_cons	37.456	6.823	5.490	0.000	*_cons*	6.347	4.043	1.570	0.116
most16					**sns16**				
d16	0.002	0.002	1.050	0.292	*d16*	-0.001	0.001	-1.710	0.087
aa16	0.448	0.366	1.220	0.221	*aa16*	0.161	0.176	0.910	0.362
anw16	0.008	0.007	1.160	0.247	*anw16*	-0.004	0.003	-1.140	0.254
ur16	0.808	0.263	3.070	0.002	*ur16*	-0.183	0.127	-1.440	0.149
ch1anw16	0.072	0.285	0.250	0.800	*ch1anw16*	0.044	0.137	0.320	0.749
ch4anw16	-0.026	0.128	-0.200	0.839	*ch4anw16*	0.033	0.061	0.530	0.593
ch1ur16	-0.364	0.142	-2.570	0.010	*ch1ur16*	0.124	0.068	1.820	0.069
ch4ur16	0.040	0.114	0.350	0.724	*ch4ur16*	-0.057	0.055	-1.040	0.300
_cons	-33.377	18.808	-1.770	0.076	*_cons*	7.810	9.038	0.860	0.388
smer16					**kdh16**				
d16	-0.004	0.002	-1.640	0.101	*d16*	0.001	0.001	1.620	0.105
aa16	0.906	0.466	1.950	0.052	*aa16*	-1.077	0.133	-8.110	0.000
anw16	-0.021	0.009	-2.300	0.021	*anw16*	-0.005	0.003	-1.800	0.071
ur16	-0.197	0.335	-0.590	0.556	*ur16*	-0.285	0.095	-2.990	0.003
ch1anw16	0.056	0.362	0.160	0.876	*ch1anw16*	-0.021	0.103	-0.200	0.841
ch4anw16	0.125	0.162	0.770	0.443	*ch4anw16*	-0.035	0.046	-0.750	0.453
ch1ur16	0.323	0.180	1.790	0.073	*ch1ur16*	0.057	0.051	1.110	0.268
ch4ur16	-0.040	0.144	-0.280	0.780	*ch4ur16*	0.003	0.041	0.080	0.933
_cons	18.079	23.906	0.760	0.449	*_cons*	57.273	6.820	8.400	0.000
lsns16					**siet16**				

d16	0.000	0.001	-0.690	0.487	*d16*	0.001	0.000	2.620	0.009
aa16	-0.144	0.141	-1.020	0.308	*aa16*	-0.503	0.086	-5.830	0.000
anw16	0.000	0.003	0.030	0.975	*anw16*	0.000	0.002	-0.020	0.980
ur16	0.099	0.102	0.980	0.329	*ur16*	-0.197	0.062	-3.180	0.001
ch1anw16	0.034	0.110	0.310	0.757	*ch1anw16*	-0.117	0.067	-1.750	0.081
ch4anw16	-0.017	0.049	-0.340	0.736	*ch4anw16*	-0.012	0.030	-0.390	0.698
ch1ur16	0.091	0.055	1.660	0.097	*ch1ur16*	0.050	0.033	1.490	0.135
ch4ur16	-0.121	0.044	-2.760	0.006	*ch4ur16*	-0.007	0.027	-0.250	0.806
_cons	10.563	7.252	1.460	0.145	*_cons*	28.731	4.432	6.480	0.000
smk16					**sas16**				
d16	0.001	0.002	0.270	0.783	*d16*	0.001	0.001	1.310	0.189
aa16	0.645	0.451	1.430	0.153	*aa16*	-0.080	0.148	-0.540	0.589
anw16	0.007	0.009	0.730	0.463	*anw16*	0.012	0.003	4.050	0.000
ur16	1.171	0.325	3.610	0.000	*ur16*	-0.611	0.106	-5.750	0.000
ch1anw16	0.018	0.351	0.050	0.960	*ch1anw16*	0.013	0.115	0.120	0.908
ch4anw16	0.087	0.158	0.560	0.579	*ch4anw16*	-0.089	0.052	-1.730	0.083
ch1ur16	-0.452	0.175	-2.590	0.010	*ch1ur16*	-0.014	0.057	-0.250	0.803
ch4ur16	-0.048	0.140	-0.340	0.733	*ch4ur16*	0.212	0.046	4.610	0.000
_cons	-51.734	23.182	-2.230	0.026	*_cons*	18.313	7.597	2.410	0.016

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (45) = 656.472, Pr. = 0

Table S.27: Elections 2016 – results for parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties

Equation	**Obs**	**R^2**	**χ^2**	**p-value**
p16	79.00	0.25	25.74	0.00
np16	79.00	0.52	84.64	0.00

	Coeff.	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**		**Coeff.**	**S.E.**	**z-stat**	**p-value**
parliamentary					non-parliamentary				
d16	-0.001	0.003	-0.360	0.720	*d16*	-0.001	0.001	-0.790	0.427
aa16	-0.852	0.534	-1.600	0.110	*aa16*	0.222	0.226	0.980	0.327
anw16	-0.010	0.011	-0.910	0.361	*anw16*	0.004	0.004	0.830	0.409
ur16	-1.496	0.384	-3.900	0.000	*ur16*	0.651	0.163	4.000	0.000
ch1anw16	-0.006	0.415	-0.020	0.988	*ch1anw16*	-0.006	0.176	-0.030	0.974
ch4anw16	-0.045	0.186	-0.240	0.810	*ch4anw16*	0.058	0.079	0.740	0.461
ch1ur16	0.427	0.207	2.060	0.039	*ch1ur16*	-0.113	0.088	-1.290	0.198
ch4ur16	0.200	0.166	1.200	0.228	*ch4ur16*	-0.252	0.070	-3.590	0.000
_cons	131.121	27.421	4.780	0.000	*_cons*	1.717	11.626	0.150	0.883

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 59.382, Pr. = 0

Table S.28: Elections 2016 – results for government and non-government parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
p16	79	0.30	33.49	0.00
np16	79	0.34	40.85	0.00

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
government					non-government				
d16	-0.004	0.002	-1.640	0.101	*d16*	0.004	0.002	1.630	0.103
aa16	0.906	0.466	1.950	0.052	*aa16*	-1.088	0.478	-2.280	0.023
anw16	-0.021	0.009	-2.300	0.021	*anw16*	0.024	0.009	2.500	0.012
ur16	-0.197	0.335	-0.590	0.556	*ur16*	0.159	0.343	0.460	0.643
ch1anw16	0.056	0.362	0.160	0.876	*ch1anw16*	0.004	0.372	0.010	0.992
ch4anw16	0.125	0.162	0.770	0.443	*ch4anw16*	-0.137	0.167	-0.820	0.411
ch1ur16	0.323	0.180	1.790	0.073	*ch1ur16*	-0.374	0.185	-2.020	0.043
ch4ur16	-0.040	0.144	-0.280	0.780	*ch4ur16*	0.028	0.148	0.190	0.853
_cons	18.079	23.906	0.760	0.449	*_cons*	81.382	24.528	3.320	0.001

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 78.263, Pr. = 0

Table S.29: Elections 2016 – correlations among the parties' election results

	olano16	rodina16	most16	sns16	smer16	kdh16	lsns16	siet16	smk16	sas16
olano16	1.00									
rodina16	0.49	1.00								
most16	-0.28	-0.33	1.00							
sns16	-0.21	0.04	-0.71	1.00						
smer16	-0.38	0.02	-0.72	0.69	1.00					
kdh16	0.36	-0.12	-0.53	0.22	0.19	1.00				
lsns16	-0.12	-0.08	-0.60	0.61	0.51	0.35	1.00			
siet16	0.52	0.12	-0.32	-0.06	-0.15	0.52	-0.04	1.00		
smk16	-0.47	-0.43	0.93	-0.56	-0.55	-0.47	-0.44	-0.42	1.00	
sas16	0.71	0.44	0.01	-0.31	-0.50	-0.15	-0.42	0.33	-0.28	1.00

Table S.30: Elections 2016 – correlations among the ideological blocks' election results

	lp16	rp16	nap16	ivp16
lp16	1.00			
rp16	-0.37	1.00		
nap16	-0.55	-0.52	1.00	
ivp16	0.06	0.55	-0.74	1.00

Table S.31: Elections 2020 – results for individual parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
dv20	79.00	0.34	40.73	0.00
sas20	79.00	0.64	139.11	0.00
rodina20	79.00	0.32	37.47	0.00
zl20	79.00	0.54	94.45	0.00
sns20	79.00	0.33	39.67	0.00
olano20	79.00	0.28	30.70	0.00
ps20	79.00	0.72	198.34	0.00
kdh20	79.00	0.14	13.22	0.10
smer20	79.00	0.40	52.90	0.00
mko20	79.00	0.33	39.53	0.00
lsns20	79.00	0.40	52.68	0.00

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
dv20					**sas20**				
d20	0.000	0.000	-2.050	0.040	*d20*	0.001	0.000	3.210	0.001
aa20	-0.062	0.035	-1.780	0.075	*aa20*	-0.133	0.111	-1.200	0.231
anw20	0.001	0.001	1.530	0.125	*anw20*	0.008	0.002	4.390	0.000
ur20	-0.033	0.024	-1.360	0.172	*ur20*	-0.068	0.078	-0.870	0.385
ch1anw20	-0.019	0.020	-0.990	0.322	*ch1anw20*	-0.064	0.063	-1.020	0.309
ch4anw20	0.011	0.012	0.940	0.346	*ch4anw20*	-0.004	0.039	-0.100	0.920
ch1ur20	-0.009	0.003	-3.260	0.001	*ch1ur20*	-0.001	0.009	-0.060	0.951
ch4ur20	-0.013	0.005	-2.620	0.009	*ch4ur20*	0.005	0.016	0.310	0.754
_cons	5.203	1.692	3.080	0.002	*_cons*	2.610	5.442	0.480	0.632
rodina20					**zl20**				
d20	-0.001	0.000	-3.420	0.001	*d20*	0.002	0.000	3.890	0.000
aa20	0.179	0.094	1.890	0.058	*aa20*	-0.225	0.097	-2.310	0.021
anw20	-0.001	0.001	-0.470	0.638	*anw20*	0.004	0.002	2.590	0.010
ur20	-0.113	0.066	-1.720	0.085	*ur20*	-0.012	0.068	-0.180	0.856
ch1anw20	-0.051	0.054	-0.950	0.340	*ch1anw20*	0.122	0.055	2.210	0.027
ch4anw20	0.026	0.033	0.780	0.437	*ch4anw20*	-0.088	0.034	-2.600	0.009
ch1ur20	-0.021	0.008	-2.640	0.008	*ch1ur20*	0.003	0.008	0.380	0.706
ch4ur20	-0.009	0.014	-0.660	0.510	*ch4ur20*	-0.015	0.014	-1.040	0.296
_cons	3.824	4.611	0.830	0.407	*_cons*	11.450	4.737	2.420	0.016
sns20					**olano20**				
d20	0.000	0.000	-1.480	0.140	*d20*	-0.002	0.001	-1.580	0.114
aa20	-0.133	0.071	-1.880	0.060	*aa20*	-0.201	0.239	-0.840	0.401
anw20	-0.002	0.001	-1.850	0.064	*anw20*	0.002	0.004	0.520	0.605
ur20	-0.130	0.049	-2.640	0.008	*ur20*	-0.351	0.167	-2.110	0.035
ch1anw20	-0.067	0.040	-1.660	0.096	*ch1anw20*	0.327	0.136	2.410	0.016
ch4anw20	0.052	0.025	2.100	0.036	*ch4anw20*	-0.108	0.084	-1.290	0.197
ch1ur20	-0.018	0.006	-3.080	0.002	*ch1ur20*	-0.023	0.020	-1.140	0.252
ch4ur20	-0.002	0.010	-0.190	0.847	*ch4ur20*	0.098	0.035	2.790	0.005
_cons	12.399	3.460	3.580	0.000	*_cons*	37.592	11.683	3.220	0.001

ps20				
d20	0.003	0.001	5.590	0.000
aa20	-0.114	0.124	-0.920	0.358
anw20	0.008	0.002	4.070	0.000
ur20	-0.056	0.086	-0.640	0.521
ch1anw20	-0.111	0.070	-1.570	0.116
ch4anw20	-0.003	0.043	-0.060	0.950
ch1ur20	0.001	0.010	0.110	0.916
ch4ur20	0.003	0.018	0.170	0.864
_cons	1.883	6.052	0.310	0.756

kdh20				
d20	0.001	0.001	0.660	0.509
aa20	-0.429	0.203	-2.110	0.035
anw20	-0.004	0.003	-1.300	0.193
ur20	-0.166	0.142	-1.170	0.242
ch1anw20	0.110	0.115	0.950	0.340
ch4anw20	-0.031	0.071	-0.440	0.658
ch1ur20	-0.028	0.017	-1.670	0.094
ch4ur20	0.040	0.030	1.340	0.181
_cons	31.406	9.928	3.160	0.002

smer20				
d20	-0.002	0.001	-1.870	0.062
aa20	0.004	0.316	0.010	0.990
anw20	-0.008	0.005	-1.550	0.121
ur20	-0.335	0.220	-1.520	0.128
ch1anw20	-0.390	0.180	-2.170	0.030
ch4anw20	0.215	0.110	1.940	0.052
ch1ur20	-0.106	0.026	-4.050	0.000
ch4ur20	-0.028	0.046	-0.600	0.551
_cons	33.632	15.440	2.180	0.029

mko20				
d20	0.001	0.002	0.660	0.512
aa20	0.656	0.424	1.550	0.121
anw20	-0.004	0.007	-0.610	0.542
ur20	0.845	0.295	2.860	0.004
ch1anw20	0.141	0.241	0.590	0.557
ch4anw20	-0.123	0.148	-0.830	0.405
ch1ur20	0.192	0.035	5.440	0.000
ch4ur20	-0.055	0.062	-0.880	0.380
_cons	-35.311	20.686	-1.710	0.088

lsns20				
d20	-0.002	0.001	-2.980	0.003
aa20	0.299	0.153	1.950	0.051
anw20	-0.001	0.002	-0.460	0.643
ur20	0.045	0.107	0.420	0.675
ch1anw20	-0.063	0.087	-0.720	0.473
ch4anw20	0.085	0.054	1.580	0.114
ch1ur20	-0.042	0.013	-3.330	0.001
ch4ur20	0.000	0.022	-0.020	0.984
_cons	-1.959	7.486	-0.260	0.794

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (45) = 662.559, Pr. = 0

Table S.32: Elections 2020 – results for parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
p20	79.00	0.37	46.95	0.00
np20	79.00	0.44	61.09	0.00

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
parliamentary					non-parliamentary				
d20	-0.005	0.002	-2.890	0.004	*d20*	0.006	0.002	3.810	0.000
aa20	-0.164	0.406	-0.410	0.685	*aa20*	-0.173	0.370	-0.470	0.640
anw20	-0.001	0.006	-0.200	0.845	*anw20*	0.004	0.006	0.770	0.442
ur20	-0.840	0.283	-2.970	0.003	*ur20*	0.579	0.258	2.240	0.025
ch1anw20	-0.256	0.230	-1.110	0.266	*ch1anw20*	0.243	0.210	1.160	0.248
ch4anw20	0.240	0.142	1.690	0.091	*ch4anw20*	-0.234	0.129	-1.810	0.070
ch1ur20	-0.190	0.034	-5.640	0.000	*ch1ur20*	0.158	0.031	5.140	0.000
ch4ur20	0.073	0.059	1.230	0.219	*ch4ur20*	-0.040	0.054	-0.730	0.465
_cons	84.275	19.807	4.250	0.000	*_cons*	14.630	18.087	0.810	0.419

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 70.120, Pr. = 0

Table S.33: Elections 2020 – results for government and non-government parties

Equation	Obs	R^2	χ^2	p-value
p20	79	0.41	54.75	0.00
np20	79	0.44	63.05	0.00

	Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value		Coeff.	S.E.	z-stat	p-value
government					non-government				
d20	-0.003	0.002	-1.900	0.058	*d20*	0.003	0.001	1.740	0.082
aa20	-0.129	0.367	-0.350	0.725	*aa20*	-0.030	0.352	-0.080	0.933
anw20	-0.010	0.006	-1.690	0.091	*anw20*	0.012	0.006	2.220	0.026
ur20	-0.466	0.256	-1.820	0.069	*ur20*	0.091	0.245	0.370	0.710
ch1anw20	-0.457	0.208	-2.190	0.028	*ch1anw20*	0.392	0.200	1.970	0.049
ch4anw20	0.267	0.128	2.080	0.038	*ch4anw20*	-0.236	0.123	-1.920	0.055
ch1ur20	-0.125	0.030	-4.080	0.000	*ch1ur20*	0.072	0.029	2.450	0.014
ch4ur20	-0.030	0.054	-0.550	0.582	*ch4ur20*	0.054	0.052	1.050	0.296
_cons	46.031	17.920	2.570	0.010	*_cons*	56.698	17.169	3.300	0.001

Breusch-Pagan test of independence chi2 (1) = 64.051, Pr. = 0

Table S.34: Elections 2020 – correlations among the parties' election results

	dv20	sas20	rodina20	zl20	sns20	olano20	ps20	kdh20	smer20	mko20	lsns20
dv20	1.00										
sas20	0.01	1.00									
rodina20	0.53	-0.29	1.00								
zl20	-0.03	0.81	-0.41	1.00							
sns20	0.44	-0.48	0.43	-0.58	1.00						
olano20	-0.13	0.32	0.03	0.42	-0.31	1.00					
ps20	-0.04	0.95	-0.37	0.77	-0.46	0.17	1.00				
kdh20	0.02	-0.14	-0.04	0.05	0.36	0.24	-0.15	1.00			
smer20	0.65	-0.49	0.64	-0.60	0.75	-0.43	-0.45	0.02	1.00		
mko20	-0.67	-0.23	-0.52	-0.17	-0.47	-0.28	-0.18	-0.40	-0.50	1.00	
lsns20	0.33	-0.54	0.56	-0.58	0.60	-0.27	-0.52	0.07	0.62	-0.36	1.00

Table S.35: Elections 2020 – correlations among the ideological blocks' election results

	lp20	rp20	nap20	ivp20
lp20	1.00			
rp20	-0.32	1.00		
nap20	-0.40	-0.53	1.00	
ivp20	-0.19	0.53	-0.75	1.00