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Title: Imitating the newcomer. How, when and why established political parties imitate the policy positions and issue attention of new political parties in the electoral and parliamentary arena: the case of the Netherlands

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Appendix 1: categorization scheme

One can see the categories used in this study in table 9.1. This categorization scheme is based on the categories of the Comparative Agendas Project. Several categories are adapted in order to link these categories better to specific new parties and to streamline voting patterns on these issues. The key changes are that a colonial affairs category has been separated out of the foreign affairs and governance category and that moral issue category has been created from parts of the healthcare, agriculture, justice and science categories. Pensioners' affairs have been moved from social affairs to healthcare. Animals have been moved from the environment to agriculture. Immigration has been removed from the labour category and combined with the civil rights category to form an immigration category.

Table 9.1: issue categories

| # | Issue (long name) | Issue (short hand) | Comments |
|----|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Macro-Economy and Taxation | Economic Affairs | |
| 2 | Integration and Immigration | Immigration | Immigration added |
| 3 | Healthcare and Pensioners' Affairs | Healthcare | Pensioners' affairs added Moral issues removed |
| 4 | Agriculture and Animals | Agriculture | Animals added Moral issues removed |
| 5 | Labour | Labour | Immigration removed |
| 6 | Education and Culture | Education | |
| 7 | Environment | Environment | Animals removed |
| 8 | Energy | Energy | |
| 9 | Transport | Transport | |
| 10 | Justice, Courts and Crime | Justice | Moral issues removed |
| 11 | Social Affairs | Social Affairs | Pensioners' affairs and moral issues removed |
| 12 | Community development, Housing and Urban Planning | Housing | |
| 13 | Enterprises, Banks and Internal Trade | Enterprise | |
| 14 | Defence | Defence | |
| 15 | Science, Technology and Communication | Science | Moral issues removed |
| 16 | Foreign Trade | Trade | |
| 17 | Foreign Affairs | Foreign Affairs | Development cooperation removed |
| 18 | Democracy and Governance | Governance | Colonial Affairs removed |
| 19 | Land, Nature and Water Management | Land Management | |
| 20 | Moral issues | Moral Issues | New Category |
| 21 | Colonial Relations and Development Cooperation | Colonial Affairs | New Category |

Appendix 2: attention in the parliamentary arena

Additional regression models are included, which serve as robust checks of the results presented in chapter 5 in table 10.1 to 10.3.

Table 10.1: multivariate regressions for attention in parliament

| Variable | Model 1 | Model 2 |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Dependent Variable | Change in parliamentary attention | Change in parliamentary attention |
| Intercept | -0.0445 (0.0768) | -0.065 (0.061) |
| New Party Activity | 0.0032 (0.0025) | 0.0028 (0.0020) |
| Challenged | 0.0676 (0.0615) | 0.0831* (0.0493) |
| Mobiliser | 0.0745 (0.0466) | 0.0731** (0.0311) |
| Party Distance | 0.000 (0.0584) | - |
| New Party Size | -0.0094 (0.0057) | -0.0091* (0.0046) |
| New Party Organisation | -0.0402 (0.07366) | 0.0016 (0.0571) |
| New Party in Government | 0.2091*** (0.0466) | 0.1897*** (0.0412) |
| Established Party Performance | 0.00120* (0.0007) | 0.0007 (0.0006) |
| R-Squared | 0.200 | 0.145 |
| N | 105 | 165 |

Table 10.2: expanded statistical analysis of attention in parliamentary arena (robustness check, 1)

| Variable | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Intercept | 0.010*** (0.003) | 0.010*** (0.003) | 0.010*** (0.003) | 0.010*** (0.003) |
| New Party Presence | 0.014 (0.015) | - | - | - |
| New Party Attention | - | 0.001 (0.001) | - | - |
| Challenged | - | - | 0.065 (0.063) | - |
| Mobiliser | - | - | - | 0.028 (0.021) |
| R-Squared | 0.000 | 0.003 | 0.001 | 0.000 |

n=3336

Table 10.3: expanded statistical analysis of attention in parliamentary arena (robustness check, 2)

| Variable | Model 6 | Model 7 | Model 8 | Model 9 |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Intercept | 0.010*** (0.003) | 0.010*** (0.003) | 0.010*** (0.003) | 0.010*** (0.003) |
| New Party Presence | - | - | - | 0.014 (0.015) |
| New Party Size | 0.004 (0.003) | - | - | - |
| New Party Organisation | - | 0.015 (0.016) | - | - |
| New Party Government | - | - | 0.111*** (0.033) | - |
| Est. Party Performance | - | - | - | 0.049*** (0.017) |
| Interaction Term | - | - | - | -0.025 (0.080) |
| R-Squared | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.003 | 0.003 |

n=3336

Table 11.2: full party positions (2)

| Issue | Immigration | | Health | | Social Affairs/ Labour | | Immigration | | | Governance | | Agriculture | |
|-------|-------------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------------|-----|-------------|-------|-----|------------|-------|-------------|-----|
| | '77-81 | '82 | '89 | '94 | '89 | '94 | '98 | '02-3 | '06 | '98 | '02-3 | '03 | '06 |
| SGP | 1.5 | 5 | 3 | 7.5 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 3.5 | 4 |
| VVD | 3.5 | 2 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 9 | 2 | 2 |
| CPN | 3.5 | 7 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PSP | 7.5 | 10 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GPV | 1.5 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | | |
| PvdA | 9 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 8 | 6 |
| D66 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 11 | 7 | 10 | 5 | 7 | 10 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| PPR | 7.5 | 11 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| CDA | 5 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3.5 | 3 |
| RPF | | 4 | 5 | 7.5 | 4 | 6 | | | | | | | |
| CP/CD | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| EVP | | 9 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GL | | | 9 | 4 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 5 | 4 | 9 | 8 |
| SP | | | | 5 | | 11 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 10 | 9 |
| U55+ | | | | 2 | | 8 | | | | | | | |
| AOV | | | | 6 | | 7 | | | | | | | |
| CU | | | | | | | 4 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 5 |
| LPF | | | | | | | 4 | | | 2 | 1 | | |
| PVV | | | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | 5 | 1 | |
| PvdD | | | | | | | | | 8 | | | | 10 |

Table 11.3: diagnostic statistics concerning moral issues 1967-1977

| Statistic | 1967-1981 | 1971-1977 | 1977-1981 | 1981-1986 |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| N | 20 | 38 | 39 | 56 |
| PCCC | 0.92 | 0.90 | 0.93 | 0.89 |
| APRE | 0.70 | 0.57 | 0.69 | 0.49 |
| % Unanimous | 0.02 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.06 |
| Correlation | 0.94*** | | 0.82*** | |

Table 11.4: diagnostic statistics concerning governance 1963-1977

| Statistic | 1963-1967 | 1967-1971 | 1971-1977 |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| N | 15 | 46 | 82 |
| PCCC | 0.90 | 0.91 | 0.92 |
| APRE | 0.65 | 0.58 | 0.70 |
| % Unanimous | 0.12 | 0.09 | 0.07 |
| Correlation | 0.92*** | | 0.87*** |

Table 11.5: diagnostic statistics concerning the environment 1967-1977

| Statistic | 1967-1971 | 1971-1977 |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| N | 13 | 157 |
| PCCC | 0.94 | 0.91 |
| APRE | 0.80 | 0.60 |
| % Unanimous | 0.027 | 0.09 |
| Correlation | 0.90*** | |

Table 11.6: diagnostic statistics concerning economic affairs 1967-1977

| Statistic | 1967-1971 | 1971-1977 |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| N | 53 | 106 |
| PCCC | 0.94 | 0.92 |
| APRE | 0.64 | 0.64 |
| % Unanimous | 0.11 | 0.05 |
| Correlation | 0.85*** | |

Table 11.7: diagnostic statistics concerning defence 1977-1986

| Statistics | 1977-1982 | 1982-1986 |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| N | 34 | 39 |
| PCCC | 0.95 | 0.96 |
| APRE | 0.80 | 0.84 |
| % Unanimous | 0.06 | 0.10 |
| Correlation | 0.92*** | |

Table 11.8: diagnostic statistics concerning immigration 1977-1986

| Statistic | 1977-1982 | 1982-1986 |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| N | 13 | 48 |
| PCCC | 0.98 | 0.95 |
| APRE | 0.86 | 0.76 |
| % Unanimous | 0.17 | 0.15 |
| Correlation | 0.56 | |

Table 11.9: diagnostic statistics concerning health 1989-1998

| Statistic | 1989-1994 | 1994-1998 | 1998-2002 |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| N | 59 | 77 | 98 |
| PCCC 1D | 0.90 | 0.93 | 0.90 |
| APRE 1D | 0.49 | 0.55 | 0.53 |
| Mean PCCC 2D | 0.96 | 0.96 | n/a |
| Mean APRE 2D | 0.85 | 0.80 | n/a |
| % Unanimous | 0.24 | 0.20 | n/a |
| Correlation 1D | -0.03 | | n/a |
| Correlation 2D D1 | 0.55 | | n/a |
| Correlation 2D D2 | 0.73** | | n/a |
| Root of Squared Error | 1.31 | | n/a |

Table 11.10: diagnostic statistics concerning labour and social affairs 1989-1994

| Statistic | 1989-1994 | 1994-1998 |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| N | 91 | 117 |
| PCCC | 0.90 | 0.90 |
| APRE | 0.52 | 0.52 |
| % Unanimous | 0.15 | 0.15 |
| Correlation | 0.87*** | |

Table 11.11: diagnostic statistics concerning governance 1998-2006

| Statistic | 1998-2002 | 2002-2006 |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|
| N | 98 | 64 |
| PCCC 1D | 0.90 | 0.90 |
| APRE 1D | 0.63 | 0.57 |
| Mean PCCC 2D | 0.96 | 0.96 |
| Mean APRE 2D | 0.86 | 0.85 |
| % Unanimous | 0.26 | 0.20 |
| Correlation 1D | 0.02 | |
| Correlation 2D D1 | 0.92*** | |
| Correlation 2D D2 | 0.43 | |
| Root of Squared Error | 1.58 | |

Table 11.12: diagnostic statistics concerning immigration 1998-201

| Statistic | 1998-2002 | 2002-2006 | 2006-2010 |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| N | 95 | 116 | 80 |
| PCCC | 0.91 | 0.93 | 0.94 |
| APRE | 0.62 | 0.76 | 0.75 |
| % Unanimous | 0.13 | 0.15 | 0.05 |
| Correlation | 1*** | | 0.86*** |

Table 11.13: diagnostic statistics concerning agriculture 2003-2010

| Statistic | 2003-2006 | 2006-2010 |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| N | 44 | 93 |
| PCCC | 0.95 | 0.93 |
| APRE | 0.83 | 0.77 |
| % Unanimous | 0.19 | 0.03 |
| Correlation | 0.97*** | |

Table 11.14: multivariate regression for position in parliament

| Variable | Result |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Dependent Variable | Change in parliamentary position |
| Intercept | 0.144*** (0.047) |
| Challenged | -0.021 (0.038) |
| Mobiliser | 0.0012 (0.024) |
| Party Distance | 0.042 (0.025) |
| New Party Size | -0.007** (0.003) |
| New Party Organisation | -0.079* (0.045) |
| New Party in Government | 0.028 (0.027) |
| Established Party Performance | 0.000 (0.000) |
| R-Squared | 0.116 |
| N | 114 |

Table 11.15: comparing two-dimensional models

| Period | APRE ^a | | Votes ^b | Procrustean Analysis | | |
|-----------|-------------------|-------|--------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| | 1D | 2D | | Sum of Squares ^c | Correlation ^d | |
| | | | | | D1 | D2 |
| 1963-1967 | 0.544 | 0.877 | 128 | - | - | - |
| 1967-1971 | 0.574 | 0.812 | 394 | 0.430 | 0.944*** | 0.902*** |
| 1971-1977 | 0.653 | 0.819 | 1218 | 1.045 | 0.966*** | 0.700*** |
| 1977-1981 | 0.594 | 0.838 | 1180 | 0.944 | 0.968*** | 0.745 |
| 1981-1986 | 0.594 | 0.808 | 2005 | 1.142 | 0.985*** | 0.068 |
| 1986-1989 | 0.596 | 0.846 | 626 | 0.337 | 0.970*** | 0.959*** |
| 1989-1994 | 0.507 | 0.853 | 1324 | 0.763 | 0.914*** | 0.914*** |
| 1994-1998 | 0.441 | 0.722 | 1569 | 0.344 | 0.956*** | 0.946*** |
| 1998-2002 | 0.566 | 0.867 | 1395 | 0.134 | 0.970*** | 0.984*** |
| 2002-2006 | 0.617 | 0.848 | 1563 | 0.192 | 0.989*** | 0.967*** |
| 2006-2010 | 0.592 | 0.833 | 1627 | 2.406 | 0.958*** | 0.406 |
| 2010-2011 | 0.650 | 0.845 | 279 | 0.492 | 0.938*** | 0.894*** |

^a Measure of Error for One-Dimensional and Two-Dimensional Model;

^b Number of Votes;

^c Sum of Squared distances between solution in period 1 and period 2;

^d Correlation between vertical and horizontal dimension for period 1 and period 2.

Table 11.16: comparing voting on issues and systems

| Period | Issue | B ₁ | B ₂ | R-Squared |
|-----------|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| 1963-1967 | Governance | -7.600 (2.625) | 2.642 (1.420) | 0.641 |
| 1967-1971 | Governance | -14.875 (1.797) | 3.164 (1.068) | 0.883 |
| 1967-1971 | Environment (broad) | -11.979 (1.797) | 1.614 (1.066) | 0.850 |
| 1967-1971 | Economic Affairs | -15.009 (2.221) | 0.2991 (1.320) | 0.820 |
| 1967-1971 | Moral issues | -11.340 (2.277) | 1.592 (1.351) | 0.760 |
| 1971-1977 | Governance | -7.6973 (0.8858) | 0.6937 (1.009) | 0.873 |
| 1971-1977 | Environment (broad) | -7.8583 (0.749) | 0.3412 (0.8535) | 0.850 |
| 1971-1977 | Economic Affairs | -7.956 (1.057) | 3.660 (1.094) | 0.846 |
| 1971-1977 | Moral issues | -7.480 (0.823) | -1.962 (0.9379) | 0.890 |
| 1977-1981 | Migration | -2.582 (0.790) | -2.590 (1.494) | 0.727 |
| 1977-1981 | Defence | -4.592 (0.524) | 0.596 (0.804) | 0.907 |
| 1977-1981 | Moral issues | -4.441 (0.664) | 0.6515 (1.019) | 0.850 |
| 1981-1986 | Migration | -3.584 (1.367) | 2.430 (1.724) | 0.502 |
| 1981-1986 | Defence | -5.230 (0.519) | 2.293 (0.655) | 0.928 |
| 1981-1986 | Moral issues | -3.315 (1.031) | -4.036 (1.554) | 0.735 |
| 1989-1994 | Health | -4.811 (1.689) | -0.436 (1.248) | 0.741 |
| 1989-1994 | Labour and Social Affairs | -5.142 (0.880) | -0.623 (0.940) | 0.853 |
| 1994-1998 | Health | -1.977 (2.508) | -2.725 (2.866) | 0.140 |
| 1994-1998 | Labour and Social Affairs | -7.408 (1.071) | -1.418 (1.224) | 0.844 |
| 1998-2002 | Migration | -4.768 (0.2615) | -0.625 (0.2755) | 0.985 |
| 1998-2002 | Governance | 0.304 (0.796) | -4.733 (0.838) | 0.865 |
| 2002-2006 | Migration | 4.755 (0.756) | 0.068 (0.720) | 0.872 |
| 2002-2006 | Governance | -1.671 (1.727) | 1.729 (1.644) | 0.227 |
| 2002-2006 | Agriculture | 5.697 (0.405) | 0.050 (0.385) | 0.901 |
| 2006-2010 | Migration | -5.242 (1.081) | -1.441 (1.576) | 0.777 |
| 2006-2010 | Agriculture | -5.508 (0.698) | -2.489 (1.018) | 0.907 |

Appendix 4: attention in the electoral arena

In table 12.1 to 12.5 additional regression models are included, which serve as robust checks of the results presented in the chapter.

Table 12.1: multivariate regressions for attention in the electoral arena

| Variable | Model 1 | Model 2 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Dependent Variable | Reactive Change in Electoral Attention | Reactive Change in Electoral Attention |
| Intercept | 0.280*** (0.088) | 0.248* (0.125) |
| New Party Attention | -0.006** (0.003) | -0.007*** (0.003) |
| Challenged | -0.116 (0.172) | -0.054 (0.178) |
| Mobiliser | -0.136 (0.091) | 0.092 (0.136) |
| Party Distance | -0.091 (0.305) | -0.625 (0.387) |
| New Party Size | 0.006 (0.015) | -0.009 (0.016) |
| New Party Organisation | - | 0.005 (0.011) |
| New Party Government | 0.022 (0.133) | 0.152 (0.149) |
| Established Party Performance | -0.004** (0.002) | -0.007*** (0.002) |
| R-Squared | 0.114 | 0.201 |
| N | 151 | 93 |

Table 12.2: expanded statistical analysis of attention in the electoral arena (robustness check, 1)

| Variable | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Intercept | 0.036*** (0.008) | 0.038*** (0.007) | 0.036*** (0.007) | 0.037*** (0.007) | 0.036*** (0.007) |
| New Party Presence | 0.004 (0.034) | - | - | - | - |
| New Party Attention | - | -0.002 (0.001) | - | - | - |
| Challenged | - | - | -0.137 (0.148) | - | - |
| Mobiliser | - | - | - | -0.041 (0.044) | - |
| Party Distance | - | - | - | - | -0.005 (0.150) |
| R-Squared | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |

n=2898, except for the analysis of new party organisation (n=2854); all analyses weighted by the sum of the square roots of the lengths of the manifestos

Table 12.3: expanded statistical analysis of attention in the electoral arena (robustness check, 2)

| Variable | Model 6 | Model 7 | Model 8 | Model 9 |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Intercept | 0.035*** (0.003) | 0.035*** (0.007) | 0.035*** (0.007) | 0.034*** (0.008) |
| New Party Presence | - | - | - | 0.007 (0.033) |
| New Party Size | 0.001 (0.007) | - | - | - |
| New Party Organisation | - | 0.081 (0.081) | - | - |
| New Party Government | - | - | 0.058 (0.075) | - |
| Est. Party Performance | - | - | - | 0.088** (0.043) |
| Interaction Term | - | - | - | -0.273 (0.171) |
| R-Squared | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.002 |

n=2898, except for the analysis of new party organisation (n=2854); all analyses weighted by the sum of the square roots of the lengths of the manifestos

Table 12.4: expanded statistical analysis of anticipation in attention in the electoral arena (robustness check, 1)

| Variable | Model 10 | Model 11 | Model 12 | Model 13 | Model 14 |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Intercept | 0.022*** (0.006) | 0.027*** (0.006) | 0.022*** (0.006) | 0.024*** (0.006) | 0.022*** (0.006) |
| New Party Presence | -0.001 (0.028) | - | - | - | - |
| New Party Attention | - | -0.002 (0.001) | - | - | - |
| Challenged | - | - | -0.022 (0.128) | - | - |
| Mobiliser | - | - | - | -0.077** (0.038) | - |
| Party Distance | - | - | - | - | -0.013 (0.184) |
| R-Squared | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.000 |

n=4011, except for the analysis of new party organisation (n=3967); all analyses by the sum of the square roots of the lengths of the manifestos

Table 12.5: expanded statistical analysis of anticipation in attention in the electoral arena (robustness check, 2)

| Variable | Model 15 | Model 16 | Model 17 | Model 18 |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Intercept | 0.021*** (0.006) | 0.025*** (0.006) | 0.027*** (0.006) | 0.022*** (0.006) |
| New Party Presence | - | - | - | 0.006 (0.029) |
| Divorce | 0.061 (0.047) | - | - | - |
| New Party Size | - | 0.003 (0.006) | - | - |
| New Party Organisation | - | - | -0.000 (0.006) | - |
| Est. Party Performance | - | - | - | 0.028 (0.032) |
| Interaction Term | - | - | - | -0.326** (0.131) |
| R-Squared | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.002 |

n=4011, except for the analysis of new party organisation (n=3967); all analyses by the sum of the square roots of the lengths of the manifestos

Appendix 5: party positions in the electoral arena

An additional regression model is presented in table 13.1. This serves as a robustness check of the results presented in the chapter.

Table 13.1: multivariate regressions for position in the electoral arena

| Variable | Model 1 | Model 2 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Dependent Variable | Reactive Change in Electoral Position | Anticipatory Change in Electoral Position |
| Intercept | 0.040*** (0.012) | 0.293*** (0.075) |
| Challenged | -0.005 (0.028) | -0.024 (0.177) |
| Mobiliser | -0.011 (0.016) | 0.035 (0.088) |
| Party Distance | -0.054 (0.057) | 0.544 (0.350) |
| New Party Size | 0.001 (0.003) | 0.028** (0.012) |
| New Party Government | -0.027 (0.026) | - |
| Established Party Performance | -0.087** (0.034) | -0.010 (0.010) |
| R-Squared | 0.060 | 0.064 |
| N | 161 | 161 |

Appendix 6: all new parties

Table 14.1 provides an overview of all parties that ran in elections for the *Tweede Kamer* between 1946 and 2010. Out of this list the new parties that are studied are selected. This list includes the party name in Dutch and English, the year in which the party first ran in elections, the election result, the inclusion and the reasons for (not) including the party.

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in *Tweede Kamer* elections 1946-2010

| # | Party Name | | First Election | | Inclusion | |
|----|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|
| | Dutch | English | Year | Seats | Incl. | Reason |
| 1 | <i>Katholieke Volkspartij</i> | Catholic People's Party | 1946 | 32 | no | transformation |
| 2 | <i>Lijst-Bellamy</i> | List-Bellamy | 1946 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 3 | <i>Lijst-Lopez</i> | List-Lopez | 1946 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 4 | <i>Protestantse Unie</i> | Protestant Union | 1946 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 5 | <i>Partij van de Arbeid</i> | Labour Party | 1946 | 29 | no | merger |
| 6 | <i>Partij voor de Vrijheid</i> | Freedom Party | 1946 | 6 | no | transformation |
| 7 | <i>Lijst-Welter</i> | List-Welter | 1948 | 2 | yes | |
| 8 | <i>Middenstandspartij</i> | Small Business Party | 1948 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 9 | <i>Onafhankelijke Nationale Groep</i> | Independent National Group | 1948 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 10 | <i>Oud Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiderspartij</i> | Former Social-Democratic Workers' Party | 1948 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 11 | <i>Revolutionaire Communistische Partij</i> | Revolutionary Communist Party | 1948 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 12 | <i>Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie</i> | People's Party for Freedom and Democracy | 1948 | 0 | no | transformation |
| 13 | <i>Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond</i> | Reformed Political League | 1952 | 1 (1963) | yes | |
| 14 | <i>Jong Conservatief Verbond</i> | Young Conservative League | 1952 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 15 | <i>Katholiek Nationale Partij</i> | Catholic National Party | 1952 | 2 | no | transformation |
| 16 | <i>Partij voor Recht en Vrijheid</i> | Party for Justice and Liberty | 1952 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 17 | <i>Socialistische Unie</i> | Socialist Union | 1952 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 18 | <i>Nationale Oppositie Unie</i> | National Opposition Union | 1956 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 19 | <i>Nationale Unie</i> | National Union | 1956 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 20 | <i>BP/BMP</i> | | 1959 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 21 | <i>Lijst-Wagenaar</i> | List-Wagenaar | 1959 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 22 | <i>Protestants-Christelijke Nationale Unie</i> | Protestant-Christian National Union | 1959 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 23 | <i>Pacifistisch-Socialistische Partij</i> | Pacifist-Socialist Party | 1959 | 2 | yes | |
| 24 | <i>Boerenpartij</i> | Farmers Party | 1963 | 3 | yes | |

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in Tweede Kamer elections 1946-2010

| # | Party Name | | First Election | | Inclusion | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------|-------|-----------|-------------------|
| | Dutch | English | Year | Seats | Incl. | Reason |
| 25 | <i>Christelijk Nationale Volkspartij</i> | Christian National People's Party | 1963 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 26 | <i>Lijst-Grol</i> | List-Grol | 1963 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 27 | <i>Liberale Staatspartij</i> | Liberal State Party | 1963 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 28 | <i>Nieuwe Democratische Partij</i> | New Democratic Party | 1963 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 29 | <i>Partij Economisch Appel</i> | Party Economic Appeal | 1963 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 30 | <i>Partij voor Volksreferendum</i> | Party for a Popular Referendum | 1963 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 31 | <i>Veilig Verkeer/100.000 woningen</i> | Safe Traffic/100.000 houses | 1963 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 32 | <i>Alarm</i> | Alarm | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 33 | <i>Christen-Democratische Unie</i> | Christian Democratic Union | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 34 | <i>Democraten '66</i> | Democrats 66 | 1967 | 7 | yes | |
| 35 | <i>Landsbelangen</i> | National Interests | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 36 | <i>Lijst-Germeaux</i> | List-Germeaux | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 37 | <i>Lijst-Rodermond</i> | List-Rodermond | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 38 | <i>Lijst-Voogd</i> | List-Voogd | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 39 | <i>Liberale Volkspartij</i> | Liberal People's Party | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 40 | <i>Noodraad</i> | Emergency Council | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 41 | <i>Nederlandse Werknemerspartij</i> | Dutch Employees Council | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 42 | <i>Partij van het Recht</i> | Justice Party | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 43 | <i>Partij voor Ongehuwden</i> | Party for the Unmarried | 1967 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 44 | <i>Algemene Bejaardenpartij Nederland</i> | General Elderly Party Netherlands | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 45 | <i>Bejaarden en Arbeiderspartij</i> | Elderly and Workers' Party | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 46 | <i>Bejaardenpartij 65+</i> | Elderly Party 65+ | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 47 | <i>Bejaardenpartij Algemeen Belang</i> | Elderly Party General Interest | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 48 | <i>Binding Rechts</i> | Binding Rightwing | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 49 | <i>Democraten 2000, Partij voor de Gewone Man</i> | Democrats 2000, Party for the Common Man | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 50 | <i>Democratisch Socialisten 1970</i> | Democratic Socialists 1970 | 1971 | 8 | yes | |
| 51 | <i>Kabouters</i> | Leprechaun | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 52 | <i>Lijst-Van Velsen</i> | List-Van Velzen | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 53 | <i>Landelijke Part voor Bejaarden</i> | National Elderly Party | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 54 | <i>Nederlands Appel</i> | Dutch Appeal | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 55 | <i>Nieuwe Midden Partij</i> | New Centre Party | 1971 | 2 | yes | |
| 56 | <i>Nieuwe Roomse Partij</i> | New Roman Party | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 57 | <i>Politieke Partij Radicaalen</i> | Political Party Radicals | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in Tweede Kamer elections 1946-2010

| # | Party Name | | First Election | | Inclusion | |
|----|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|
| | Dutch | English | Year | Seats | Incl. | Reason |
| 58 | <i>Positief Social-Democraten</i> | Positive Social-Democrats | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 59 | <i>Stichting Gedupeerde Groepen 18-65+</i> | Foundation for Disadvantaged Groups 18-65+ | 1971 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 60 | <i>Anti-Woningnood Actie</i> | Anti Housing Shortage Action | 1972 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 61 | <i>Democratische Middenstandspartij</i> | Democratic Small Business Party | 1972 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 62 | <i>Lijst-Stam</i> | List-Stam | 1972 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 63 | <i>Rooms-Katholieke Partij Nederland</i> | Roman-Catholic Party Netherlands | 1972 | 1 | yes | |
| 64 | <i>Christen-Democratisch Appel</i> | Christian Democratic Appeal | 1977 | 49 | no | merger |
| 65 | <i>Democratisch Actiecentrum</i> | Democratic Action Centre | 1977 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 66 | <i>Europese Conservatieve Unie</i> | European Conservative Union | 1977 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 67 | <i>Federatie Bejaardenpartijen Nederland</i> | Federation Elderly Parties the Netherlands | 1977 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 68 | <i>Kommunistische Eenheidspartij Nederland</i> | Communist Unity Party Netherlands | 1977 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 69 | <i>Lijst-Griek</i> | List-Griek | 1977 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 70 | <i>Lijst-Jusia</i> | List-Jusia | 1977 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 71 | <i>Nederlandse Volksunie</i> | Dutch People's Union | 1977 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 72 | <i>Partij voor de Belastingbetalers</i> | Tax Payers' Party | 1977 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 73 | <i>Reformatorisch Politieke Federatie</i> | Reformed Political Federation | 1977 | 2 (1981) | yes | |
| 74 | <i>Socialistische Partij</i> | Socialist Party | 1977 | 2 (1994) | yes | |
| 75 | <i>Verbond tegen Ambtelijke Willekeur</i> | League against Bureaucratic Arbitrariness | 1977 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 76 | <i>Centrumpartij</i> | Centre Party | 1981 | 1 | yes | |
| 77 | <i>Evangelische Volkspartij</i> | Evangelical People's Party | 1981 | 1 | yes | |
| 78 | <i>God met Ons</i> | God with Us | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 79 | <i>International Kommunistenbond</i> | International Communist League | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 80 | <i>Kleine Partij</i> | Small Party | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 81 | <i>Leefbaar Nederland</i> | Liveable Netherlands | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 82 | <i>Nederlandse Evolutiepartij</i> | Dutch Evolution Party | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 83 | <i>Partij Likwidatie van Nederland</i> | Party for the Liquidation of the Netherlands | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in Tweede Kamer elections 1946-2010

| # | Party Name | | First Election | | Inclusion | |
|-----|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|
| | Dutch | English | Year | Seats | Incl. | Reason |
| 84 | <i>Partij voor Rijksgenoten</i> | Party for Kingdom inhabitants | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 85 | <i>Realisten '81</i> | Realists 81 | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 86 | <i>Rechtse Volkspartij</i> | Rightwing People's Party | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 87 | <i>Save Our Souls</i> | Save Our Souls | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 88 | <i>Vredespartij</i> | Peace Party | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 89 | <i>Wereld Welzijn Bewustwording</i> | World Wellbeing Consciousness | 1981 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 90 | <i>Behoud Milieu Werk Maatschappij</i> | Keep Environment Work Society | 1982 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 91 | <i>Anti-Revolutionairen '85</i> | Anti-Revolutionaries '85 | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 92 | <i>Centrum-Democraten</i> | Centre Democrats | 1986 | 1 (1989) | no | transformation |
| 93 | <i>Federatieve Groenen</i> | Federated Greens | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 94 | <i>Humanistische Partij</i> | Humanist Party | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 95 | <i>Lijst-Brummer</i> | List-Brummer | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 96 | <i>Lijst-Wissink</i> | List-Wissink | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 97 | <i>Loesje</i> | | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 98 | <i>Partij Algemeen Belang</i> | Party for the General Interest | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 99 | <i>Partij van Ambtenaren en Trendvolgers</i> | Party for Civil Servants and Trends Followers | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 100 | <i>Partij Geluk voor Iedereen</i> | Party for Happiness for Everyone | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 101 | <i>Partij voor de Middengroepen</i> | Party for Centre Groups | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 102 | <i>Socialistische Arbeiderspartij</i> | Socialist Workers' Party | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 103 | <i>Verbond Communisten Nederland</i> | League of Communists Netherlands | 1986 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 104 | <i>Anti-Werkeloosheidspartij</i> | Anti-Unemployment Party | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 105 | <i>Bejaarden Centraal</i> | Elderly Central | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 106 | <i>De Groenen</i> | The Greens | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 107 | <i>Grote Alliance Partij</i> | Large Alliance Party | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 108 | <i>GroenLinks</i> | GreenLeft | 1989 | 6 | no | merger |
| 109 | <i>Milieu Defensie Partij 2000+</i> | Environment Defense Party 2000+ | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 110 | <i>Partij Democratisch-Socialisten</i> | Party Democratic Socialists | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 111 | <i>Politieke Partij voor Ouderen</i> | Political Party for the Elderly | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 112 | <i>Realisten Nederland</i> | Realists the Netherlands | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 113 | <i>Staatskundige Federatie</i> | Political Federation | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 114 | <i>Socialistische Minderheden Partij</i> | Socialist Minorities Party | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in Tweede Kamer elections 1946-2010

| # | Party Name | | First Election | | Inclusion | |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|-------|-----------|-------------------|
| | Dutch | English | Year | Seats | Incl. | Reason |
| 115 | <i>Vooruitstrevende Minderhedenpartij</i> | Progressive Minorities Party | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 116 | <i>Vrouwenpartij</i> | Vrouwenpartij | 1989 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 117 | <i>Algemene Democratische Partij</i> | General Democratic Party | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 118 | <i>Algemeen Ouderenverbond</i> | General Pensioners' League | 1994 | 6 | yes | |
| 119 | <i>Centrumpartij '86</i> | Centre Party 86 | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 120 | <i>De Nieuwe Partij</i> | The New Party | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 121 | <i>Libertarische Partij</i> | Libertarian Party | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 122 | <i>Nieuwe Communistische Partij Nederland</i> | New Communist Party Netherlands | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 123 | <i>Partij Democratisch Appel</i> | Party Democratic Appeal | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 124 | <i>Partij voor Milieu en Recht</i> | Party for the environment and Justice | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 125 | <i>Pacifistisch-Socialistische Partij '92</i> | Pacifist-Socialist Party '92 | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 126 | <i>Solidair '93</i> | Social '93 | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 127 | <i>Socialistische Arbeiderspartij - Rebel</i> | Socialist Workers' Party - Rebel | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 128 | <i>Solidariteit Boerenpartij</i> | Solidarity Farmers' Party | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 129 | <i>Unie 55+</i> | Union 55+ | 1994 | 1 | yes | |
| 130 | <i>Vrije Indische Partij</i> | Free Indian Party | 1994 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 131 | <i>Algemeen Ouderenverbond/Unie 55+</i> | General Pensioners' League/Union 55+ | 1998 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 132 | <i>Idealisten/Jij</i> | Idealists & You | 1998 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 133 | <i>Het Kiezers Collectief</i> | The Electors' Collective | 1998 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 134 | <i>Katholieke Politieke Partij</i> | Catholic Political Party | 1998 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 135 | <i>Nederland Mobiel</i> | Netherlands Mobile | 1998 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 136 | <i>Nieuw Solidair Ouderen Verbond</i> | New Social Elderly League | 1998 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 137 | <i>Senioren 2000</i> | Seniors 2000 | 1998 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 138 | <i>Natuurwetpartij</i> | Natural Law Party | 1998 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 139 | <i>ChristenUnie</i> | ChristianUnion | 2002 | 4 | no | merger |
| 140 | <i>Duurzaam Nederland</i> | Sustainable Netherlands | 2002 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 141 | <i>Lijst Pim Fortuyn</i> | List Pim Fortuyn | 2002 | 26 | yes | |
| 142 | <i>Partij van de Toekomst</i> | Party of the Future | 2002 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 143 | <i>Vrije Indische Partij/Ouderenunie</i> | Free Indian Party/Elderly Union | 2002 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 144 | <i>Verenigde Senioren Partij</i> | United Seniors Party | 2002 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 145 | <i>Republikeinse Volkspartij</i> | Republican People's Party | 2002 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 146 | <i>Leefbaar Nederland</i> | Liveable Netherlands | 2002 | 2 | yes | |
| 147 | <i>Alliantie Vernieuwing en Democratie</i> | Alliance Renewal and Democracy | 2003 | 0 | no | no representation |

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in Tweede Kamer elections 1946-2010

| # | Party Name | | First Election | | Inclusion | |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|
| | Dutch | English | Year | Seats | Incl. | Reason |
| 148 | <i>De Conservatieven.nl</i> | The Conservatives.nl | 2003 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 149 | <i>Lijst-Ratelband</i> | List-Ratelband | 2003 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 150 | <i>Lijst-Veldhoen</i> | List-Veldhoen | 2003 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 151 | <i>Partij voor de Dieren</i> | Party for the Animals | 2003 | 2 (2006) | yes | |
| 152 | <i>Ad Bos Collectief</i> | Ad Bos Collective | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 153 | <i>Continue Direct Democratie Partij</i> | Continuous Direct Democracy Party | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 154 | <i>Een NL</i> | One Netherlands | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 155 | <i>Groen Vrij Internet Partij</i> | Green Free Internet Party | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 156 | <i>Liberaal-Democratische Partij</i> | Liberal Democratic Party | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 157 | <i>Lijst 14</i> | List 14 | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 158 | <i>Lijst 21</i> | List 21 | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 159 | <i>Liefde, Respect en Vrijheid - Het Zeteltje</i> | Love, Respect, Freedom - the Small Seat | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 160 | <i>Lijst Vijf Fortuyn</i> | List Five Fortuyn | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 161 | <i>Nederland Transparant</i> | Netherlands Transparent | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 162 | <i>Partij voor Nederland</i> | Party for the Netherlands | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 163 | <i>Tamara's Open Partij</i> | Tamara's Open Party | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 164 | <i>Solide Multiculturele Partij</i> | Solid Multicultural Party | 2006 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 165 | <i>Partij voor de Vrijheid</i> | Freedom Party | 2006 | 9 | yes | |
| 166 | <i>Trots op Nederland</i> | Proud of the Netherlands | 2010 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 167 | <i>Partij voor Mens en Spirit</i> | Party for Human and Spirit | 2010 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 168 | <i>Piratenpartij</i> | Pirate Party | 2010 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 169 | <i>Lijst 17</i> | List 17 | 2010 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 170 | <i>Nieuw Nederland</i> | New Netherlands | 2010 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 171 | <i>Partij Eén</i> | Party One | 2010 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 172 | <i>Heel NL</i> | Whole NL | 2010 | 0 | no | no representation |
| 173 | <i>Lijst 19</i> | List 19 | 2010 | 0 | no | no representation |

Source: Kiesraad (2011)

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