

APPENDIX

A DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>
Total Receipts (%)	401	6.13	5.30	0.02	23.37
CAP Receipts (%)	383	3.89	3.90	0.00	17.49
CP Receipts (%)	383	1.46	1.73	0.00	9.19
GDP per capita (EU=100)	401	100.15	41.29	23.05	301.18
Employment Agriculture (ln)	401	5.61	1.59	0.99	8.05
Unemployment Rate (%)	401	8.15	3.65	0.50	21.3
Shapley-Shubik Council (%)	401	7.42	4.82	0.90	17.86
Domestic EU Support (%)	401	45.85	22.86	-30.00	86.00
Election Year (Dummy)	401	0.27	0.45	0.00	1.00
Pre-election Year (Dummy)	401	0.26	0.44	0.00	1.00
Post-election Year (Dummy)	401	0.25	0.43	0.00	1.00
Number of EU Members	401	14.93	5.24	9.00	25.00
New Member State (Dummy)	401	0.23	0.42	0.00	1.00
Incumbent Seats (in %)	398	54.40	10.20	22.01	99
Incumbent Support (in %)	274	31.73	9.61	7.79	60.32
Undecided Voters (in %)	274	16.54	8.81	0.60	48.64
Member Contribution (%)	400	6.73	7.56	0.03	31.22

B CONDITIONAL IPBCs: COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

	<i>Model B1</i>	<i>Model B2</i>	<i>Model B3</i>	<i>Model B4</i>
<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Public Support</i>	<i>Swing Voters</i>	<i>Unemployment</i>	<i>Power</i>
	<i>Common Agricultural Policies (%)</i>			
Preelection Year (Dummy)	0.386** (0.164)	0.085 (0.119)	0.068 (0.102)	-0.044 (0.080)
Public Incumbent Support (Survey)	-0.007 (0.006)			
Pre-election*Public Support	-0.008* (0.005)			
Undecided Voters		-0.004 (0.005)		
Pre-election*Undecided		0.005 (0.005)		
Pre-election*Unemployment			0.006 (0.011)	
Pre-election*Voting Power				0.021** (0.008)
Election Year (Dummy)	0.076 (0.074)	0.055 (0.065)	0.074* (0.043)	0.076* (0.043)
Employment Agriculture (ln)	0.616** (0.267)	0.751** (0.255)	1.161** (0.202)	1.137** (0.198)
Per Capita GDP (EU=100)	0.019** (0.004)	0.020** (0.003)	0.017** (0.003)	0.017** (0.003)
Unemployment Rate	-0.053** (0.021)	-0.053** (0.019)	-0.055** (0.014)	-0.057** (0.013)
Voting Power Council (%)	0.484** (0.049)	0.492** (0.040)	0.581** (0.027)	0.586** (0.026)
Domestic EU Support (%)	0.001 (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)
New Member State (Dummy)	-1.339** (0.182)	-1.319** (0.181)	-0.929** (0.170)	-0.902** (0.165)
Number of EU Members	-0.226** (0.035)	-0.215** (0.034)	-0.028 (0.019)	-0.024 (0.019)
Constant	-2.392 (1.713)	-3.449** (1.628)	-7.894** (0.907)	-7.807** (0.885)
Observations	256	256	383	383
R ²	0.875	0.880	0.895	0.897
Number of country_id	15	15	25	25
chi2	207910	2.917e+06	8.725e+07	9.619e+06

Prais-Winsten regressions with country fixed effects

Panel-corrected standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.05, * p<0.1

C CONDITIONAL IPBCs: COHESION POLICIES

	<i>Model C1</i>	<i>Model C2</i>	<i>Model C3</i>	<i>Model C4</i>
<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Public Support</i>	<i>Swing Voters</i>	<i>Unemployment</i>	<i>Power</i>
	<i>Cohesion Policies (%)</i>			
Preelection Year (Dummy)	0.612** (0.226)	-0.082 (0.116)	-0.278* (0.156)	-0.049 (0.065)
Public Incumbent Support (Survey)	-0.002 (0.005)			
Pre-election*Public Support	-0.017** (0.007)			
Undecided Voters		-0.005 (0.004)		
Pre-election*Undecided		0.012** (0.005)		
Pre-election*Unemployment			0.041** (0.020)	
Pre-election*Voting Power				0.014* (0.008)
Election Year (Dummy)	0.067 (0.064)	0.059 (0.060)	0.020 (0.043)	0.019 (0.043)
Employment Agriculture (ln)	-0.885** (0.235)	-0.875** (0.225)	-0.662** (0.188)	-0.693** (0.188)
Per Capita GDP (EU=100)	-0.011** (0.002)	-0.010** (0.002)	-0.009** (0.002)	-0.009** (0.002)
Unemployment Rate	-0.061** (0.018)	-0.057** (0.017)	-0.020 (0.026)	-0.018 (0.028)
Voting Power Council (%)	0.040 (0.026)	0.027 (0.029)	0.003 (0.032)	0.003 (0.031)
Domestic EU Support (%)	-0.013** (0.003)	-0.015** (0.003)	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.006** (0.003)
New Member State (Dummy)	-1.325** (0.179)	-1.362** (0.177)	-0.724** (0.257)	-0.772** (0.267)
Number of EU Members	0.053* (0.030)	0.034 (0.027)	0.039* (0.021)	0.040* (0.021)
Constant	5.873** (1.427)	6.165** (1.443)	4.181** (1.063)	4.361** (1.052)
Observations	256	256	383	383
R^2	0.814	0.814	0.755	0.755
Wald χ^2	6.92e+05**	3.79e+05**	4.59e+06**	7.13e+06**

Prais-Winsten regressions with country fixed effects

Panel-corrected standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.05, * p<0.1

D EARLY ELECTIONS IN COUNTRIES WITH PREMIER-TIMING

<i>Country</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i># Mths</i>	<i>Snap</i>	<i>Reasons for Early Election</i>
Austria	1995	34	—	Collapse of government coalition.
Denmark	1977	24	—	Disagreements about economic policy between minority government and smaller parties.
	1979	16	—	Collapse of government coalition.
	1981	22	—	Government resigns after parliament condemns government plans.
	1984	23	—	Government resigns after defeat of its budget.
	1988	40	✓	Snap election over Danish membership in Western Alliance.
	1990	17	—	Minority government failed to reach agreement over 1991 budget and other economic measures.
Greece	1996	30	—	Change in Prime Minister (same party but radically different policies).
Ireland	1981	12	✓	Prime Minister Haughey calls early elections.
	1982	37	—	Collapse of Fine Gael-Labour coalition after budget fails in parliament by one vote.
	1989	32	✓	Prime Minister Haughey calls early elections.
	1992	19	—	Vote of no confidence.
Italy	1983	12	—	Collapse of government coalition.
	1987	12	—	Collapse of government coalition.
	1994	37	—	Resignation of the Prime Minister after the reform of the voting system for parliamentary elections.
	1996	35	—	No agreement on electoral reform and new rules governing media coverage of electoral campaigns.
Netherlands	1982	32	—	Collapse of government coalition.
	1994	12	—	Collapse of government coalition.
	2003	40	—	Collapse of government coalition.
Spain	1996	15	—	Collapse of government coalition.
United Kingdom	1987	12	✓	Prime Minister Thatcher calls early elections.
	2005	14	✓	Prime Minister Tony Blair calls early elections.

E ROBUSTNESS CHECKS

Dependent Variable	<i>Model E1</i> Total Shares	<i>Model E2</i> Total Shares	<i>Model E3</i> Total Shares	<i>Model E4</i> Total Shares	<i>Model E5</i> Total Shares	<i>Model E6</i> Net Receipts (ln)
Preelection Year (Dummy)	0.107* (0.062)				0.105* (0.063)	0.027* (0.014)
Preelection Indicator		0.200* (0.102)				
Preelection Year (President)			-0.010 (0.127)			
Years to Election				-0.025 (0.025)		
Financial Framework					0.144* (0.082)	
Election Year (Pres/Leg)	0.650 (1.184)	0.038 (0.066)	0.021 (0.123)		0.037 (0.067)	0.010 (0.014)
Employment Agriculture (ln)	0.888** (0.298)	0.634** (0.303)	0.643** (0.316)	0.665** (0.312)	0.632** (0.308)	0.280** (0.070)
Per Capita GDP (EU=100)	0.021** (0.006)	0.026** (0.006)	0.027** (0.006)	0.026** (0.006)	0.026** (0.006)	0.001** (0.001)
Unemployment Rate	0.045 (0.028)	0.061** (0.031)	0.058** (0.030)	0.058* (0.030)	0.058* (0.030)	0.004 (0.004)
Voting Power Council (%)	0.601** (0.060)	0.625** (0.061)	0.622** (0.063)	0.622** (0.062)	0.632** (0.063)	0.007 (0.014)
Domestic EU Support (%)	-0.008** (0.004)	-0.008** (0.004)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.004** (0.001)
New Member State (Dummy)	-1.336** (0.266)	-1.318** (0.280)	-1.316** (0.283)	-1.317** -1.335** (0.282)	-0.154** (0.283)	(0.041)
Number of EU Members	-0.032 (0.029)	-0.038 (0.028)	-0.040 (0.029)	-0.040 * -0.036 (0.029)	-0.008 (0.029)	(0.006)
Residuals	-0.272 (0.534)					
Constant	-6.740** (1.448)	-6.044** (1.322)	-6.060** (1.350)	-6.092	-6.090** (1.338)	-1.599** (0.337)
Observations	395	401	401	401	401	400
R ²	0.872	0.871	0.872	0.871	0.871	0.691
Wald χ^2	3.45e+07**	5.47e+05**	7.71e+08**	1.37e+06**	4.14e05**	2.14e+07**

Prais-Winsten regressions with country fixed effects

Panel-corrected standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.05, * p<0.1

F LAGGED DEPENDENT VARIABLE MODELS

<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Model F1 Total Shares</i>	<i>Model F2 CAP Shares</i>	<i>Model F3 CP Shares</i>	<i>Model F4 Net Receipts (ln)</i>
Lagged Dependent Variable	0.648** (0.020)	0.686** (0.022)	0.612** (0.068)	0.644** (0.028)
Pre-election Year (Dummy)	0.078 (0.077)	0.076* (0.043)	0.066 (0.051)	0.043** (0.018)
Election Year (Dummy)	-0.003 (0.081)	0.081* (0.045)	-0.050 (0.050)	0.012 (0.020)
Employment Agriculture (ln)	0.337** (0.151)	0.369** (0.127)	-0.344* (0.183)	0.114** (0.047)
Per Capita GDP (EU=100)	0.001 (0.002)	0.004** (0.001)	-0.005** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)
Unemployment Rate	0.005 (0.019)	0.008 (0.006)	0.018 (0.018)	0.008** (0.004)
Voting Power Council (%)	0.336** (0.047)	0.199** (0.040)	-0.026 (0.025)	-0.014 (0.015)
Domestic EU Support (%)	-0.011** (0.003)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.006** (0.003)	-0.002** (0.001)
New Member State (Dummy)	-0.399* (0.207)	-0.282** (0.079)	-0.393* (0.222)	-0.046 (0.034)
Number of EU Members	0.021 (0.014)	-0.007 (0.012)	0.006 (0.017)	-0.017** (0.004)
Constant	-2.517** (0.722)	-2.764** (0.724)	2.411** (0.998)	-0.567** (0.235)
Observations	376	358	358	375
R^2	0.960	0.971	0.904	0.879
Wald χ^2	44489	10162	352876	323807

LDV regressions with country fixed effects
 Panel-corrected standard errors in parentheses
 ** p<0.05, * p<0.1