

# Influence of non-voters on electoral outcomes

## Tables for European countries since 1990

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*Note:* The Kohler/Rose index is described in Kohler and Rose (2010, 138). All numbers are in percent. *N.P.* (not possible) refers to cases where the vote share among non-voters that is needed by the 2nd strongest party to become the strongest party is greater than 100 per cent.

Country	Election	Turnout	Vote share actual	Kohler/Rose Index	$D_{\text{abs}}$	$D_{\text{rel}}$
AT	10/1990	83.6	32.1	82.9	50.8	158.6
	10/1994	80.2	27.7	57.5	29.8	107.7
	12/1995	84.0	28.3	79.2	51.0	180.1
	10/1999	79.2	26.9	51.4	24.5	91.0
	11/2002	83.0	36.5	62.2	25.7	70.5
	10/2006	77.1	34.3	37.7	3.3	9.7
	9/2008	77.2	26.0	38.0	12.0	46.2
	9/2013	73.5	24.0	32.9	8.9	37.2
	10/2017	79.2	26.9	45.3	18.4	68.6
BE	11/1991	86.3	13.5	40.9	27.4	203.4
	5/1995	84.3	13.1	40.8	27.7	210.6
	6/1999	84.6	14.1	15.6	1.6	11.1
	5/2003	86.8	14.9	18.9	4.0	26.6
	6/2007	86.4	12.5	62.0	49.5	395.5
	6/2010	84.0	13.7	38.4	24.7	179.9
	5/2014	84.2	11.7	68.6	56.9	487.7
BG	6/1990	87.8	36.2	<i>N.P.</i>	–	–

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Country	Election	Turnout	Vote share actual	Kohler/Rose Index	$D_{abs}$	$D_{rel}$
	10/1991	81.6	33.1	38.5	5.4	16.2
	12/1994	77.1	24.2	86.5	62.3	257.0
	4/1997	62.4	22.1	73.7	51.6	233.9
	6/2001	66.4	18.2	70.6	52.4	288.4
	6/2005	54.3	19.9	38.3	18.4	92.4
	7/2009	59.3	17.7	56.5	38.8	219.3
	5/2013	51.2	26.6	32.6	5.9	22.3
	3/2017	51.4	27.2	35.3	8.1	29.8
CH	10/1991	45.3	18.5	22.3	3.8	20.4
	10/1995	41.5	20.2	22.4	2.2	11.0
	10/1999	42.6	22.5	22.6	0.1	0.5
	10/2003	44.4	23.3	27.9	4.6	19.7
	10/2007	46.9	19.5	33.0	13.5	69.0
	10/2011	46.7	19.2	31.9	12.7	66.1
	10/2015	46.8	19.6	34.6	15.0	76.2
CY	5/1991	89.7	30.6	82.7	52.1	170.0
	5/1996	90.1	33.0	48.8	15.8	48.0
	5/2001	87.9	34.0	39.5	5.5	16.3
	5/2006	84.0	30.3	34.7	4.3	14.3
	5/2011	76.1	32.7	37.8	5.2	15.8
	5/2016	64.7	25.7	36.6	10.9	42.4
CZ	6/1990	95.5	13.2	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	6/1992	83.6	14.0	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	5/1996	75.8	26.4	37.2	10.8	40.7
	6/1998	73.5	27.7	41.2	13.5	48.6
	6/2002	57.7	24.5	34.7	10.3	41.9
	6/2006	64.2	32.3	38.4	6.1	18.8
	5/2010	62.2	20.2	24.4	4.1	20.5
	10/2013	59.0	18.7	22.4	3.7	20.0
	10/2017	60.4	11.3	48.4	37.1	327.3
DE	12/1990	76.9	33.5	64.8	31.3	93.7
	10/1994	77.9	36.4	52.6	16.2	44.6
	9/1998	81.1	28.4	79.9	51.5	181.4
	9/2002	78.1	38.5	38.5	0.0	0.1
	9/2005	76.4	34.2	37.2	2.9	8.6

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Country	Election	Turnout	Vote share actual	Kohler/Rose Index	$D_{abs}$	$D_{rel}$
	9/2009	69.8	23.0	50.4	27.4	118.8
	9/2013	70.6	25.7	47.5	21.7	84.4
	9/2017	75.4	20.5	42.3	21.8	106.3
DK	12/1990	82.2	16.0	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	9/1994	83.4	23.3	82.6	59.3	254.5
	3/1998	85.3	24.0	96.6	72.5	302.1
	11/2001	86.3	29.1	43.9	14.8	50.8
	2/2005	83.9	25.8	44.0	18.2	70.3
	11/2007	86.0	25.5	31.1	5.6	22.1
	9/2011	86.9	24.8	39.8	14.9	60.2
	6/2015	84.9	21.1	54.8	33.8	160.2
EE	9/1992	66.5	13.6	35.4	21.8	160.1
	3/1995	68.4	16.2	56.5	40.3	249.0
	3/1999	56.5	16.1	30.0	13.9	86.4
	3/2003	57.6	24.6	26.1	1.5	5.9
	3/2007	61.3	26.1	29.6	3.5	13.4
	3/2011	63.0	23.3	34.4	11.1	47.6
	3/2015	63.8	24.8	31.1	6.3	25.3
ES	6/1993	75.4	35.0	46.8	11.8	33.7
	3/1996	76.2	38.0	41.5	3.5	9.2
	3/2000	67.2	34.7	55.4	20.7	59.7
	3/2004	73.7	38.3	50.9	12.5	32.7
	3/2008	72.6	39.9	50.5	10.6	26.6
	11/2011	68.1	28.8	62.3	33.5	116.5
	12/2015	68.5	22.2	39.4	17.2	77.7
	6/2016	65.4	22.8	45.7	22.9	100.5
FI	3/1991	67.1	22.1	28.9	6.8	30.8
	5/1995	68.0	19.8	41.2	21.3	107.4
	3/1999	64.6	22.4	23.5	1.1	4.9
	3/2003	66.1	24.5	25.0	0.5	2.2
	3/2007	64.6	22.3	24.3	2.0	9.0
	4/2011	66.9	19.1	22.5	3.4	17.6
	4/2015	66.5	18.2	25.7	7.5	41.2
FR	3/1993	65.7	19.0	22.2	3.2	16.9

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Country	Election	Turnout	Vote share actual	Kohler/Rose Index	$D_{abs}$	$D_{rel}$
	5/1997	65.1	15.4	35.8	20.4	132.3
	6/2002	63.0	23.8	43.2	19.4	81.7
	6/2007	59.3	24.7	50.1	25.4	102.6
	6/2012	56.3	27.1	31.0	3.9	14.2
	6/2017	38.4	22.2	44.6	22.4	100.6
GB	4/1992	77.7	34.4	58.5	24.1	70.0
	5/1997	71.5	30.7	60.9	30.2	98.3
	6/2001	59.4	31.7	46.4	14.8	46.5
	5/2005	61.4	32.4	37.5	5.2	15.9
	6/2010	65.1	29.0	43.5	14.6	50.2
	5/2015	66.2	31.1	43.2	12.1	39.0
GR	4/1990	77.9	38.6	63.5	24.9	64.5
	10/1993	77.9	39.3	61.9	22.7	57.6
	9/1996	74.2	38.1	47.0	8.9	23.3
	4/2000	73.3	42.7	45.3	2.5	5.9
	3/2004	74.8	40.5	52.9	12.4	30.5
	9/2007	72.2	38.1	47.1	9.0	23.6
	10/2009	69.0	33.5	55.9	22.4	66.9
	5/2012	63.6	16.8	21.8	5.0	29.7
	6/2012	61.9	26.9	32.4	5.5	20.6
	1/2015	62.4	27.8	44.0	16.2	58.2
	9/2015	55.2	28.1	39.7	11.6	41.3
HR	4/1990	81.1	35.3	59.9	24.6	69.5
	8/1992	73.9	17.7	93.8	76.1	429.4
	10/1995	66.5	18.3	74.8	56.5	309.6
	1/2000	68.3	27.0	54.6	27.6	101.9
	11/2003	60.6	22.6	43.9	21.3	94.3
	11/2007	58.6	31.3	40.2	8.9	28.3
	12/2011	55.3	23.9	49.7	25.8	107.8
	11/2015	62.0	33.4	35.7	2.3	7.0
	9/2016	53.6	33.5	38.0	4.5	13.5
HU	3/1990	62.8	21.4	28.7	7.3	34.2
	5/1994	67.8	19.7	51.8	32.0	162.3
	5/1998	55.6	28.2	34.9	6.7	23.7
	4/2002	69.7	41.1	43.2	2.1	5.1

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Country	Election	Turnout	Vote share actual	Kohler/Rose		
				Index	$D_{abs}$	$D_{rel}$
	4/2006	67.2	42.1	44.2	2.2	5.2
	4/2010	63.9	19.3	79.7	60.4	313.2
	4/2014	61.2	25.6	58.8	33.3	130.0
IE	11/1992	67.5	24.5	56.9	32.4	132.6
	6/1997	65.3	27.9	51.0	23.0	82.3
	5/2002	61.9	22.5	57.3	34.8	155.0
	5/2007	66.4	27.3	56.7	29.4	107.5
	2/2011	69.4	19.4	61.0	41.5	213.6
	2/2016	64.5	24.3	27.0	2.7	10.9
IS	4/1991	86.3	18.9	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	4/1995	86.0	23.3	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	5/1999	82.3	26.8	89.5	62.7	234.2
	5/2003	86.7	31.0	49.9	18.9	61.1
	5/2007	82.3	26.8	73.0	46.2	172.7
	4/2009	82.1	23.7	54.0	30.3	127.8
	4/2013	79.4	24.4	34.1	9.7	39.7
	10/2016	76.9	15.9	64.9	49.0	308.0
	10/2017	79.0	16.9	53.0	36.1	213.7
IT	4/1992	82.7	16.1	88.6	72.5	450.0
	3/1994	80.4	20.4	23.6	3.2	15.8
	4/1996	76.9	20.6	22.5	1.9	9.4
	5/2001	75.4	16.6	60.8	44.2	266.9
	4/2006	81.2	23.7	58.4	34.7	146.3
	4/2008	77.5	33.2	47.2	14.0	42.2
	2/2013	69.4	25.1	26.2	1.1	4.5
LI	2/2001	84.6	41.3	80.4	39.1	94.5
	5/2005	83.7	38.2	84.0	45.8	119.8
	2/2009	81.5	43.5	58.3	14.8	34.1
	2/2013	76.1	33.5	53.0	19.4	57.9
	2/2017	74.4	33.7	38.1	4.3	12.8
LT	10/1992	72.9	21.2	82.0	60.8	287.2
	10/1996	50.3	10.4	43.0	32.6	312.3
	10/2000	56.0	19.6	39.5	19.8	100.9
	10/2004	44.8	20.6	31.4	10.8	52.2

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Country	Election	Turnout	Vote share actual	Kohler/Rose Index	$D_{abs}$	$D_{rel}$
	10/2008	45.9	15.1	22.3	7.2	47.6
	10/2012	50.7	19.2	21.7	2.6	13.3
	10/2016	42.7	24.9	28.8	4.0	15.9
LU	6/1999	72.7	23.7	41.5	17.8	74.9
	6/2004	72.7	27.6	57.8	30.2	109.3
	6/2009	76.2	23.0	69.7	46.7	203.0
	10/2013	84.9	20.3	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
LV	6/1993	89.8	13.4	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	9/1995	71.3	15.0	15.8	0.8	5.6
	10/1998	71.2	18.1	27.9	9.7	53.5
	10/2002	70.8	19.1	33.5	14.4	75.2
	10/2006	60.5	16.8	23.1	6.3	37.3
	10/2010	63.3	26.6	37.5	10.8	40.8
	9/2011	58.7	21.0	35.5	14.5	69.2
	10/2014	58.4	22.0	24.3	2.2	10.2
ME	9/2006	69.9	14.7	94.3	79.7	542.8
	1/2009	65.0	16.8	83.8	67.0	397.7
	10/2012	69.4	23.2	75.4	52.2	225.0
	10/2016	72.4	20.3	76.7	56.4	277.4
MK	10/1998	70.7	25.1	33.3	8.2	32.4
	9/2002	71.9	25.0	67.4	42.4	169.4
	7/2006	53.7	23.3	37.9	14.6	62.4
	6/2008	55.5	23.6	60.0	36.4	153.8
	6/2011	61.7	32.8	43.8	11.0	33.5
	4/2014	60.8	26.2	57.3	31.1	118.6
	12/2016	64.7	37.9	40.7	2.9	7.6
MT	2/1992	95.3	46.5	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	10/1996	95.2	47.8	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	9/1998	94.1	47.0	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	4/2003	94.7	47.5	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	3/2008	92.2	48.8	55.8	7.0	14.4
	3/2013	92.6	43.3	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
NL	5/1994	78.4	22.2	29.5	7.3	32.7

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Country	Election	Turnout	Vote share actual	Kohler/Rose Index	$D_{\text{abs}}$	$D_{\text{rel}}$
	5/1998	73.2	24.7	37.8	13.1	52.9
	5/2002	78.9	17.0	63.0	46.0	270.9
	1/2003	79.9	27.3	33.1	5.9	21.5
	11/2006	80.2	21.2	45.4	24.2	114.3
	6/2010	75.2	19.6	22.8	3.2	16.1
	9/2012	74.3	24.8	30.5	5.7	22.9
	3/2017	81.6	13.1	57.0	44.0	336.7
NO	9/1993	75.5	17.0	81.5	64.5	378.6
	9/1997	78.0	15.3	89.8	74.5	487.0
	9/2001	75.1	21.2	32.0	10.8	51.0
	9/2005	77.1	22.1	60.1	38.1	172.6
	9/2009	76.0	22.9	63.9	41.0	178.8
	9/2013	77.9	26.8	41.9	15.1	56.2
	9/2017	77.7	25.0	34.0	9.0	35.7
PL	10/1991	40.8	12.0	12.5	0.5	4.2
	9/1993	49.9	15.4	23.8	8.4	54.5
	9/1997	46.1	27.1	35.9	8.8	32.4
	9/2001	44.3	12.7	48.5	35.8	282.6
	9/2005	39.1	24.1	27.7	3.5	14.7
	10/2007	52.7	32.1	45.1	12.9	40.3
	10/2011	46.7	29.9	41.5	11.6	38.8
	10/2015	49.6	24.1	42.8	18.7	77.5
PT	10/1991	66.5	29.7	70.8	41.0	138.2
	1/1995	65.0	34.8	52.9	18.1	52.0
	10/1999	59.9	33.0	52.0	19.0	57.8
	3/2002	60.3	38.6	42.5	4.0	10.3
	2/2005	62.4	29.6	58.5	28.8	97.3
	9/2009	57.8	30.0	42.6	12.6	41.8
	6/2011	56.5	29.2	46.3	17.1	58.5
	10/2015	53.8	33.6	40.4	6.8	20.3
RO	9/1992	66.4	20.0	38.6	18.6	92.8
	11/1996	71.1	21.5	45.6	24.1	111.8
	11/2000	61.2	19.5	52.0	32.5	166.9
	11/2004	56.6	31.3	39.7	8.4	26.8
	11/2008	37.3	32.4	33.2	0.8	2.5

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Country	Election	Turnout	Vote share actual	Kohler/Rose Index	$D_{abs}$	$D_{rel}$
	12/2012	40.2	16.5	59.1	42.6	257.6
	12/2016	38.3	20.0	47.0	27.0	134.6
SE	9/1991	85.3	21.9	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	9/1994	85.5	22.4	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	9/1998	79.7	22.9	76.7	53.8	235.0
	9/2002	78.9	15.3	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	9/2006	80.5	26.2	63.2	36.9	140.8
	9/2010	83.7	30.1	33.3	3.2	10.8
	9/2014	85.0	23.3	71.1	47.8	205.0
SI	12/1992	79.7	14.5	55.9	41.3	284.9
	11/1996	69.3	19.4	40.0	20.6	106.2
	10/2000	68.0	15.8	64.8	49.0	309.9
	10/2004	59.3	22.8	34.7	11.9	52.3
	9/2008	62.0	29.3	31.6	2.3	8.0
	12/2011	64.5	26.2	31.3	5.1	19.4
	7/2014	51.0	20.7	41.2	20.5	99.0
SK	6/1990	93.2	19.2	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	6/1992	81.8	14.7	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	9/1994	74.2	10.4	88.1	77.7	745.8
	9/1998	83.5	26.3	30.1	3.8	14.4
	9/2002	69.1	15.1	27.9	12.8	84.9
	6/2006	53.9	18.4	36.5	18.1	98.7
	6/2010	58.0	15.4	50.1	34.7	224.8
	3/2012	58.1	8.8	69.5	60.7	687.7
	3/2016	58.9	12.1	43.8	31.7	261.8
TR	12/1995	82.3	19.7	29.2	9.6	48.8
	4/1999	83.3	18.0	43.1	25.1	139.5
	11/2002	76.1	19.4	69.9	50.5	260.5
	7/2007	81.9	20.9	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	6/2011	85.4	25.9	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
	6/2015	81.5	25.0	93.4	68.5	274.4
	11/2015	84.0	25.3	<i>N.P.</i>	—	—
UA	10/2012	57.0	25.5	33.4	7.8	30.6
	10/2014	50.9	21.8	22.4	0.5	2.4



## References

Kohler, U. and R. Rose (2010). Under what circumstances could maximizing turnout alter an election result? *Representation* 46(2), 119–138.