**Appendix**

**Appendix 1. List of countries included in the study**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Australia | Denmark | Japan | Serbia |
| Austria | Estonia | Latvia | Slovakia |
| Belgium | Finland | Lithuania | South Africa |
| Brazil | France | Mexico | South Korea |
| Bulgaria | Germany | Netherlands | Spain |
| Canada | Greece | Norway | Sweden |
| Chile | Hungary | Peru | Switzerland |
| Colombia | Ireland | Poland | United Kingdom |
| Croatia | Israel | Portugal |  |
| Czech Republic | Italy | Romania |  |

**Appendix 2. Variables and Sources**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Abbreviation** | **Variable** | **Source** |
| PTYNAME | Party name | PPDB |
| PTYID | Party code | PPDB |
| PGID | Parlgov party code | ParlGov |
| COUNTRY | Country name | PPDB |
| CTRYID | Country ID | PPDB |
| ***Baseline***  |
| party\_age | Years since party foundation (logged) | MAPP / other internet sources |
| age\_democracy | Age of current regime (logged years)  | Polity V |
| ENEP | Effective number of electoral parties | PPDB/Gallagher |
| N\_parties | Number of parties in each country | ---- |
| ***Dependent variable*** |
| ME\_ratio | Membership ratio: R12MBRNUM/electorate | PPDB and MAPP |
| ***Country-level variables*** |
| system | System of government (dummy) | Cheibub et al (2010), PPDB Round 2 |
| RAI | RAI country score 2015 | RAI (Hooghe et al. 2016) |
| party\_law | National party law index (0-1 scale, less-more incentives for affiliation). See rationale below | PPDB (raw data) |
| trust\_parties | General trust in political parties (1-5 scale, no trust-complete trust) | WVS waves 5-7; ESS 8.0/9.0 |
| formative\_environm | Mean of *polity2* score in the 5 initial years after party foundation. Recoded to 0-1 scale (strongly autocratic-strongly democratic) | Polity V (2020) |
| ***Party-level variables*** |
| partisan\_affinity | % party attachment (‘feel closer to the party’)  | CSES Modules 4/5; ESS 8.0/9.0 |
| party\_family | PPDB PARTYFAM3 variable (round 1) and PARTYFAMNEW (round 2), recoded to match PARTYFAM3 (used for fixed effects models) | PPDB |
| Benefits\_joining | Benefits (0-1 scale, no rights for members - full rights for members). See rationale below. | PPDB (raw data) |
| costs\_joining | Costs-to-entry index (0-1 scale, low-high costs and barriers to entry, financial/ procedural). See rationale below. | PPDB (raw data) |
| representativ\_index | Representativeness index (0-1 scale, less-more representativeness of sub-groups). See rationale below. | PPDB (raw data) |

**Appendix 3. Calculation of indexes**

**A3A. Party law incentives**

Arithmetic mean of four country-level PPDB variables. The index ranges from 0 to 1 (less-more incentives for party affiliation).

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Subsidy allocation reflects the N of party members | Legal status of political contributions |
| **PPDB Variables** | A9SUBMBR | A17FINCORP, A19FINGRP, A21FINPRIV  |
| **Allocated value**  | Yes – 1.0 No – 0.0 | 1. 0.02. 1.03. 0.754. 0.50 |

**A3B. Plebiscitary benefits scale**

Arithmetic mean of the PPDB party-level variables listed below. The index ranges from 0 (no plebiscitary rights for members) to 1 (full plebiscitary rights for members).

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Members may vote on the election of the political leader | Members may vote on the party election manifesto | Members may vote on candidate selection |
| **PPDB****variables** | C40PLVT2  | C105MAN6 | B22CANSELA (input)B22CANSELB (input)B22CANSELC (vote) |
| **Allocated value**  | Yes – 1.0 No – 0.0 | No rights – 0.0Input or vote - 0.50 Full rights (input and vote) – 1.0 | Neither input (A, B) nor voting (C) rights - 0.0Input (A and/or B) **or** vote (C) - 0.5Input (A and/or B) **and** vote (C) – 1.0 |

**A3C. Costs of joining**

Costs and barriers (financial and procedural) to entry: arithmetic mean of seven PPDB party-level variables. The index ranges from 0 (low costs and barriers) to 1 (high costs and barriers).

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Requirements for full party membership | Can join party from national party web page | New forms of affiliation |
| **PPDB variables** | A37MRBWAIT, A38SPONSOR, A40AFFIRM, A41EXCLUSIVE, A43MBRDUES | A98WEBMBR1 | CR7FRIEND |
| **Allocated value**  | Yes – 1.0 No – 0.0 | 1. 1.02. 0.53. 0.04. 0.5 | Yes – 1.0No – 0.0 |

**A3D. Representativeness index**

Average of three groups of party-level variables regarding intraparty sub-groups (21 PPDB variables). Rescaled from 0 to 1 (less-more representativeness)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **Level of representation** |
|  | Mentioned in party statutes | May send delegates to party Congress | Ex officio seats on the highest executive body |
| **PPDB variables** | A49 to A55  | A58 to A64 | A68 to A74 |
| **Allocated value**  | Yes – 0.5No – 0.0 | Yes – 0.75No – 0.0 | Yes – 1.0No – 0.0 |

**Appendix 4. Descriptive statistics**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Dependent variable** | N | Min. | Mean | Median | Max. |
| M/E ratio (%) | 223 | 0.01 | 0.73 | 0.28 | 10.39 |
| **Country-level variables** | N | Min. | Mean | Median | Max. |
| RAI score 2015 | 37 | 0.0 | 13.7 | 11.3 | 37.0 |
| Party law index (0-1) | 38 | 0.0 | 0.43 | 0.56 | 0.94 |
| Formative environment (0-1)  | 223 | 0.17 | 0.85 | 0.95 | 1.00 |
| Trust in parties (1-5) | 38 | 1.4 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 3.1 |
| **Party-level variables** | N | Min. | Mean | Median | Max. |
| Benefits of joining index (0-1) | 205 | 0.00 | 0.36 | 0.33 | 1.00 |
| Costs of joining index (0-1) | 222 | 0.00 | 0.54 | 0.57 | 1.00 |
| Representativeness index (0-1) | 213 | 0.00 | 0.13 | 0.10 | 0.71 |
| Partisan attachment (%) | 214 | 0.0 | 6.9 | 4.2 | 38.1 |
| **Control variables** | N | Min. | Mean | Median | Max. |
| ENEP | 38 | 2.3 | 5.6 | 5.0 | 18.0 |
| N of parties in each country  | 38 | 1 | 5.9 | 6.0 | 12 |
| Age of democracy (years) | 38 | 18 | 56.7 | 43.5 | 171 |
| Party age (years) | 223 | 1 | 44.5 | 30.0 | 185 |