Supplementary Appendix:
Crowded Space, Fertile Ground: Party Entry and the Effective Number of Parties

February 18, 2015

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A1. Documentation of Systematic Programmatic Differences between East and West European Parties

In this section of the appendix, we provide some additional evidence to supplement our claim that West European parties are more constrained in adopting policy positions - on average - than parties in post-communist Eastern Europe. As noted in the text, Kitschelt and Kselman (2013) find that West European parties' *programmatic* campaign platforms tend to be more coherent and identifiable than their East European counterparts. To provide further evidence of this claim, we use an additional approach, which is to proxy a party's constraint in moving within the political space to observed variability in the party's left-right position.[1] The logic is simple: the more variation there is in where a party is perceived to be in the ideological space, the more leeway that party has to shift its position in the future. To provide confirmatory evidence from multiple sources, we again rely on two different types of measures of perceived party position.

(1) Party positioning from platform texts

Lowe et al. (2010) construct a measure of party positioning based on the log-odds of sentences in party manifestos. In contrast to previous attempts to create a measure of those units in manifestos, this one gives the proportion of sentences in favor of a policy alternative and sentences opposing that policy alternative (e.g. 50 sentences favoring EU integration vs 20 sentences opposing EU integration); additionally, the scale incorporates a weighting of importance of policy dimensions to the party of interest.

Using their data and measures, we can calculate 1117 party-election observations on a left-right scale from elections in 42 countries starting in the year 1990, where the standard error associated with party position ranges from .04 to .88 with a mean of .24. When we compare the means we find the following:

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[1]We are extremely grateful to Dominik Duell for preparing these analyses.

Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Difference	p-value	p-value (Wilcoxon)
.20	.26	.07	.00	.00

On average, then, the standard error of party positions is about 30% larger in post-communist Eastern Europe than it is in the more established democracies of Western Europe. Moreover, this difference is statistically significant, and that significance is robust to a variety of different distribution tests.

(2) Party positioning from respondent placements

While constructing party positions from manifestos provides us with a way of assessing how parties hope to be portrayed, we can also measure how voters see the parties. To do so, we rely on data from the 1996-2001 Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) survey project. There were 22 surveys from European countries in the dataset, which gave us 98 party-election observations.[2] Across these data, the standard deviation ranged from 1.1 to 3.5, with a mean level of 2.2. Here is the comparison of means:

Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Difference	p-value	p-value (Wilcoxon)
1.93	2.60	.68	.00	.00

Quite interestingly, we find almost the same result: 30% higher - on average - standard deviations in the party positions of East European post-communist parties than West European parties. Once again - despite the smaller sample size - the differences are still statistically significant.

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[2]Researchers asked respondents for their opinions on at most 9 parties.

A2. Distribution of the Number of New Parties

Figure A1 : Distribution of New Parties, Western Europe
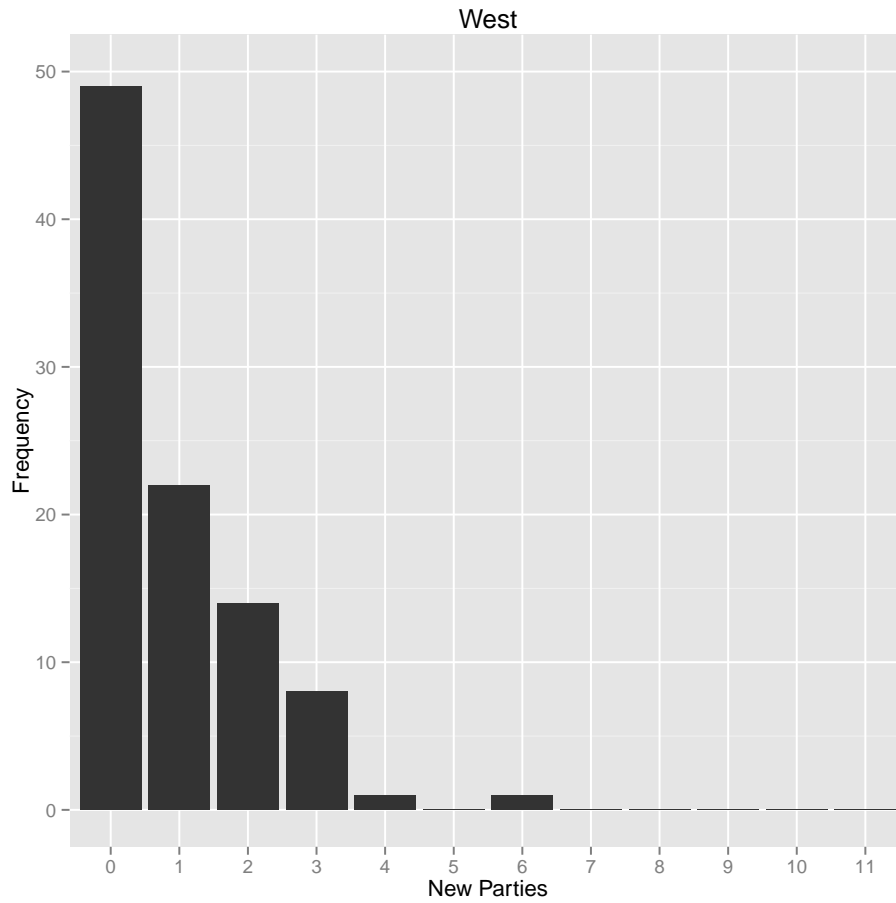
Figure A2 : Distribution of New Parties, Eastern Europe

East
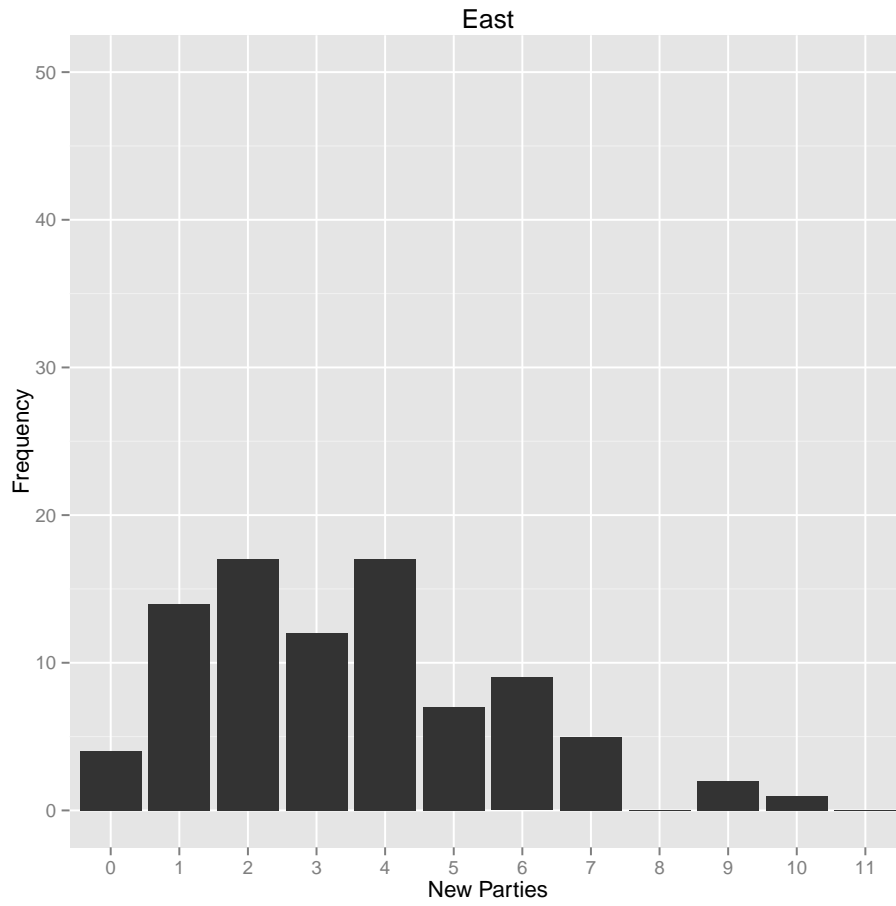
A3. Negative Binomial Models

Table A1 : Negative Binomial, Effective Number of Parties and Count of New Parties in Western Europe, 1987-2009

VARIABLES	(1) Count	(2) Count
Effective Numb Parties Yr1	0.270***	0.279***
	(0.076)	(0.103)
Parliamentary System		-0.449*
		(0.379)
PR Rules Election 2		-0.466*
		(0.256)
GDP Change		-0.112
		(1.281)
Turnout		0.023**
		(0.010)
Ethnic Fractionalization		-0.666
		(1.152)
Weighted Mag Yr2		0.001
		(0.004)
Constant	-1.427***	-2.746
	(0.364)	(1.933)
Observations	95	95

Standard Errors Clustered by Country
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A2 : Negative Binomial Model, New Parties in Eastern Europe, 1991-2009

VARIABLES	(1) Count	(2) Count	(3) % New
Effective Numb Parties Yr1	0.017	0.024	0.132
	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.727)
Parliamentary System		-0.201	
		(0.131)	
PR Rules Election 2		-0.120	
		(0.119)	
GDP Change		-0.742***	
		(0.202)	
Turnout		0.009	
		(0.009)	
Ethnic Fractionalization		0.149	
		(0.372)	
Weighted Mag Yr2		-0.001	
		(0.002)	
Constant	1.144***	1.538**	31.541***
	(0.181)	(0.766)	(5.228)
Observations	88	88	88
R-squared			0.000

Standard Errors Clustered by Country
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Negative Binomial Model used for Count Data.
OLS used for % New Parties.

Table A3 : Negative Binomial Model, ENP, Democratic Experience and Entry

VARIABLES	(1) Count	(2) Count	(3) % New	(4) % New
Effective Numb Parties Yr1	0.136***	0.133***	1.832***	1.658***
	(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.535)	(0.574)
Democratic Stock	-0.003***	-0.003***	-0.049***	-0.044***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.008)	(0.012)
ENP * Dem Stock	0.000***	0.000***	0.003**	0.003
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Parliamentary System		-0.010		-3.005
		(0.131)		(2.995)
PR Rules Election 2		-0.145		-7.134*
		(0.153)		(4.199)
GDP Change		-0.623***		-6.810
		(0.167)		(6.074)
Turnout		0.008		0.123
		(0.007)		(0.124)
Ethnic Fractionalization		0.029		9.945
		(0.483)		(10.495)
Weighted Mag Yr2		-0.000		-0.020
		(0.002)		(0.035)
Constant	-0.017	0.263	12.387***	17.313**
	(0.183)	(0.604)	(3.492)	(13.249)
Observations	183	183	183	183
R-squared			0.375	0.407

Standard Errors Clustered by Country
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Negative Binomial Model used for Count Data.
OLS used for % New Parties.

A4. Robustness Tests

Table A4 : Robustness Tests of Table 1 (Count of New Parties, Western Europe) with Different District Magnitude Measures

VARIABLES	(1) Count	(2) Count	(3) Count	(4) Count	(5) Count
Effective Numb Parties Yr1	0.287**	0.291*	0.288*	0.309**	0.310**
	(0.109)	(0.143)	(0.142)	(0.133)	(0.134)
Parliamentary System		-0.118	-0.134	-0.018	-0.015
		(0.342)	(0.336)	(0.330)	(0.336)
PR Rules Election 2		-0.653	-0.673	-0.543	-0.547
		(0.388)	(0.400)	(0.362)	(0.368)
GDP Change		-0.006	-0.010	-0.009	-0.011
		(0.841)	(0.843)	(0.842)	(0.842)
Turnout		0.027***	0.028***	0.024**	0.024**
		(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Ethnic Fractionalization		-0.010	0.026	-0.264	-0.268
		(1.189)	(1.164)	(1.093)	(1.099)
Tier 1 Magnitude Yr1		0.004			
		(0.003)			
Tier 1 Magnitude Yr2			0.005		
			(0.003)		
Weighted Mag Yr1				-0.000	
				(0.004)	
Weighted Mag Yr2					-0.000
					(0.004)
Constant	-0.427	-1.997	-1.995	-1.896	-1.886
	(0.370)	(1.367)	(1.376)	(1.358)	(1.353)
Observations	95	95	95	95	95
R-squared	0.180	0.276	0.279	0.265	0.265

Standard Errors Clustered by Country
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A5 : Robustness Tests of Table 1 Minimum of 5% to be considered a New Party (Count New Parties, Western Europe)

VARIABLES	(1) Count	(2) Count	(3) Count	(4) Count	(5) Count
Effective # Parties Yr1	0.142**	0.136**	0.136**	0.140***	0.140***
	(0.051)	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.047)	(0.047)
Parliamentary System		-0.111	-0.115	-0.079	-0.072
		(0.158)	(0.155)	(0.145)	(0.149)
PR Rules Election 2		-0.214	-0.219	-0.216*	-0.223**
		(0.163)	(0.162)	(0.103)	(0.101)
GDP Change		-0.525	-0.526	-0.541	-0.545
		(0.335)	(0.335)	(0.340)	(0.341)
Turnout		0.022***	0.022***	0.021***	0.021***
		(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Ethnic Fractionalization		0.203	0.213	0.147	0.140
		(0.529)	(0.515)	(0.470)	(0.474)
Tier 1 Magnitude Yr1		0.001			
		(0.001)			
Tier 1 Magnitude Yr2			0.001		
			(0.001)		
Weighted Mag Yr1				-0.001	
				(0.001)	
Weighted Mag Yr2					-0.001
					(0.001)
Constant	-0.259	-1.135**	-1.137**	-1.067**	-1.050**
	(0.175)	(0.482)	(0.487)	(0.481)	(0.471)
Observations	95	95	95	95	95
R-squared	0.138	0.278	0.278	0.278	0.279

Standard Errors Clustered by Country
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A6 : Robustness Tests of Table 2 (% new party, Western Europe) with Different District Magnitude Measures

VARIABLES	(1) % New	(2) % New	(3) % New	(4) % New	(5) % New
Effective Numb Parties Yr1	2.266***	2.432**	2.402**	2.522***	2.528***
	(0.733)	(0.894)	(0.877)	(0.803)	(0.805)
Parliamentary System		-1.899	-2.043	-1.130	-1.066
		(2.391)	(2.312)	(2.208)	(2.258)
PR Rules Election 2		-5.645*	-5.820*	-5.506***	-5.572***
		(2.778)	(2.795)	(1.831)	(1.843)
GDP Change		-0.072	-0.091	-0.368	-0.406
		(5.263)	(5.270)	(5.334)	(5.340)
Turnout		0.260***	0.264***	0.243***	0.242***
		(0.060)	(0.061)	(0.059)	(0.058)
Ethnic Frac		-1.739	-1.397	-3.200	-3.267
		(8.389)	(8.116)	(7.560)	(7.603)
Tier 1 Magnitude Yr1		0.018			
		(0.022)			
Tier 1 Magnitude Yr2			0.023		
			(0.019)		
Weighted Mag Yr1				-0.012	
				(0.024)	
Weighted Mag Yr2					-0.014
					(0.025)
Constant	-4.505*	-19.276**	-19.330**	-17.805**	-17.669**
	(2.306)	(8.215)	(8.304)	(7.960)	(7.896)
Observations	95	95	95	95	95
R-squared	0.167	0.281	0.283	0.281	0.282

Standard Errors Clustered by Country
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A7 : Robustness Tests of Left Side of Table 3 (Count of New Parties, East-Central Europe) with Different District Magnitude Measures

VARIABLES	(1) Count	(2) Count	(3) Count	(4) Count	(5) Count
Effective Numb Parties Yr1	0.064	0.064	0.075	0.083	0.090
	(0.112)	(0.109)	(0.109)	(0.111)	(0.115)
Parliamentary System		-0.636	-0.730*	-0.613	-0.654
		(0.395)	(0.418)	(0.448)	(0.454)
PR Rules Election 2		-0.318	-0.256	-0.500	-0.474
		(0.413)	(0.421)	(0.465)	(0.453)
GDP Change		-2.981***	-2.776***	-2.961***	-2.876***
		(0.919)	(0.953)	(0.914)	(0.939)
Turnout		0.028	0.033	0.029	0.031
		(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Ethnic Fractionalization		0.627	0.646	0.545	0.535
		(1.353)	(1.326)	(1.367)	(1.317)
Tier 1 Magnitude Yr1		-0.006			
		(0.004)			
Missing Mag Tier 1 Yr 1		-1.171*			
		(0.568)			
Tier 1 Magnitude Yr2			-0.006*		
			(0.003)		
Missing Mag Tier 1 Yr 2			-1.176**		
			(0.532)		
Weighted Mag Yr1				-0.003	
				(0.005)	
Missing Weighted Mag Yr 1				-1.110*	
				(0.538)	
Weighted Mag Yr2					-0.003
					(0.004)
Missing Weighted Mag Yr 2					-1.104**
					(0.516)
Constant	3.102***	5.298*	4.704	5.210*	4.946
	(0.669)	(2.806)	(2.938)	(2.823)	(2.931)
Observations	88	88	88	88	88
R-squared	0.005	0.203	0.213	0.191	0.195

Standard Errors Clustered by Country
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A8 : Robustness Tests of Right Side of Table 3 (% New Party, East-Central Europe) with Different District Magnitude Measures

VARIABLES	(1) % New	(2) % New	(3) % New	(4) % New	(5) % New
Effective Numb Parties Yr1	0.132	-0.064	0.035	0.154	0.217
	(0.727)	(0.797)	(0.788)	(0.785)	(0.843)
Parliamentary System		-7.831	-8.998*	-8.573	-8.625
		(4.959)	(5.076)	(5.139)	(5.232)
PR Rules Election 2		-5.683	-4.774	-7.041	-6.820
		(5.927)	(5.898)	(6.062)	(5.970)
GDP Change		-11.498	-9.497	-11.409	-10.339
		(6.973)	(6.977)	(6.797)	(6.745)
Turnout		0.067	0.121	0.085	0.112
		(0.313)	(0.314)	(0.309)	(0.316)
Ethnic Fractionalization		17.200	17.813	17.994	17.165
		(19.841)	(20.245)	(20.100)	(20.067)
Tier 1 Magnitude Yr1		-0.050			
		(0.038)			
Missing Mag Tier 1 Yr 1		-8.148			
		(5.045)			
Tier 1 Magnitude Yr2			-0.056		
			(0.039)		
Missing Mag Tier 1 Yr 2			-8.353		
			(5.288)		
Weighted Mag Yr1				-0.049	
				(0.042)	
Missing Weighted Mag Yr 1				-7.977	
				(5.220)	
Weighted Mag Yr2					-0.041
					(0.044)
Missing Weighted Mag Yr 1					-7.735
					(5.266)
Constant	31.541***	44.952*	39.139	44.198*	40.999
	(5.228)	(24.582)	(24.784)	(24.278)	(24.721)
Observations	88	88	88	88	88
R-squared	0.000	0.087	0.101	0.088	0.089

Standard Errors Clustered by Country
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A9 : Pooled Model

VARIABLES	(1) Count	(2) Count	(3) % New	(4) % New
Effective Numb Parties Yr1	0.287**	0.253**	2.266***	1.975**
	(0.108)	(0.111)	(0.725)	(0.790)
ENP X Eastern Europe	-0.223	-0.167	-2.134**	-1.680
	(0.155)	(0.156)	(1.022)	(1.178)
Post-Communist Country	3.530***	3.541***	36.046***	34.453***
	(0.757)	(0.898)	(5.660)	(8.654)
Parliamentary System		-0.308		-4.705*
		(0.252)		(2.631)
PR Rules Election 2		-0.591*		-7.201*
		(0.341)		(3.950)
GDP Change		-2.421***		-7.702
		(0.696)		(5.898)
Turnout		0.031**		0.224
		(0.013)		(0.134)
Ethnic Fractionalization		0.335		6.586
		(0.733)		(8.886)
Weighted Mag Yr2		-0.002		-0.022
		(0.003)		(0.033)
Missing Weighted Mag Yr 2		-1.051*		-5.459
		(0.531)		(4.779)
Constant	-0.427	0.817	-4.505*	-3.243
	(0.366)	(1.683)	(2.280)	(13.504)
Observations	183	183	183	183
R-squared	0.386	0.480	0.397	0.440

Standard Errors Clustered by Country
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1