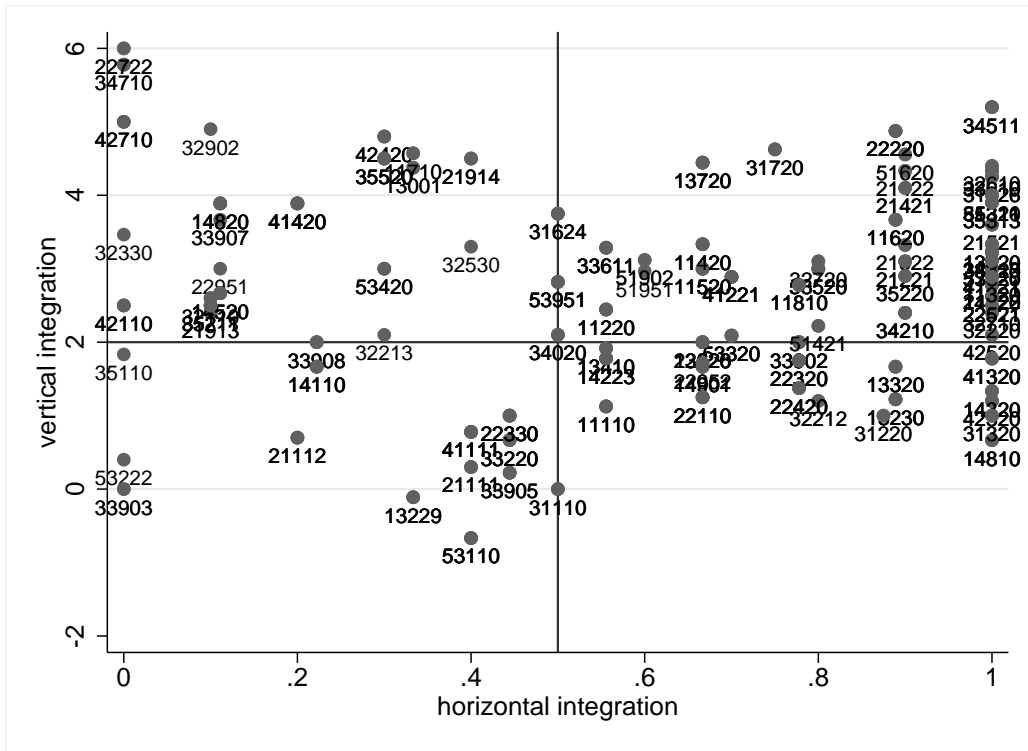


caption

Bringing party organization back in:
A comparative analysis of party
representation in Europe

Supplementary Information

Figure 1: Two dimensions of party organization - an empirical illustration



Note: The labels refer to CMP codes which can be found online under

Table 1: Descriptive statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Relative Congruence	196	-0.11	0.15	-0.73	0.00
Objective Congruence	196	-1.52	0.54	-4.51	-0.74
Subjective Congruence	196	-1.31	0.68	-5.18	-.46
Absolute Distance	196	0.63	0.77	.003	4.47
Standard deviation	196	1.71	0.32	0.94	2.71
Mass Membership	196	0.700	0.302	0.000	1.00
Leadership domination	196	2.582	1.363	-.666	6.00
Vote Share	196	16.06	12.16	1.18	46.4
Gov. participation	196	0.321	0.47	0.00	1.00
Year of foundation	196	1945.34	37.56	1859	2006
Niche party dummy	196	0.07	0.26	0.00	1.00

Table 2: Empty model for variance decomposition

Variables	Model 1 (Rel. cong.)
Constant	-.119 (.015)
Random effects	
Country level variance	.0013 (.002)
Party level variance	.020 (.002)
Model fit	
N (countries)	196 (14)
Log likelihood	100.54

** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$

Table 3: Robustness test with party positions from highly educated individuals only

Variables	Model 1 (Rel. cong.)	Model 2 (Abs. cong.)	Model 3 (Abs. distance)
Mass membership	-.109 (.05)*	-.341 (.18)	.682 (0.25)**
Leadership-dom.	-.025 (.01)**	-.095 (.030)**	
Vote share	.003 (.001)*	.004 (.004)	-.011 (.010)
Gov. participation	-.002 (.024)	.034 (.09)	-.114 (.13)
Year of foundation	-.000 (.000)	-.001 (0.001)	.0037 (.002)
Niche party dummy	.002 (.039)	.168 (0.15)	-.215 (.213)
Constant	.779 (.63)	1.660 (2.54)	-6.77 (3.26)
Random effects			
Country level variance	.000 (.00)	.177 (.07)	.000 (.001)
Party level variance	.143 (.007)	.136 (.01)	.768 (.039)
Model fit			
N (countries)	196 (14)	196 (14)	196 (14)
Log likelihood	102.91	-151.72	-226.59

** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$

Table 4: Robustness test without niche parties

Variables	Model 1 (Abs. cong.)	Model 2 (Rel. cong.)	Model 3 (Subj. cong.)	Model 4 (Abs. distr.)	Model 5 (Std. distr.)
Mass membership	-.141 (.05)*	-.406 (.17)*	-.559 (.23)*	.824 (.261)**	.045 (.02)**
Leadership-dom.	-.021 (.01)*	-.081 (.03)**	-.081 (.03)*		.005 (.002)*
Vote share	.002 (.001)	.004 (.004)	.010 (.006)	-.011 (.01)	-.099 (.05)
Gov. participation	-.007 (.02)	.011 (.09)	-.0002 (.11)	-.064 (.13)	-.0003 (.0007)
Year of foundation	-.0004 (.0003)	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)	.004 (.001)*	
Constant	.860 (.68)	1.392 (2.67)	1.03 (3.24)	-7.019 (3.59)	2.19 (1.32)
Random effects					
Country level variance	.029 (.020)	.234 (.079)	.408 (.11)	.162 (.11)	.164 (.04)
Party level variance	.138 (.01)	.494 (.03)	.598 (.03)	.743 (.04)	.254 (.014)
Model fit					
N (countries)	182 (14)	182 (14)	180 (14)	182 (14)	182 (14)
Log likelihood	99.68	-139.1	-175.8	-207.4	-21.46

** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$.

Table 5: Interaction models (horizontal and vertical integration)

Variables	Model 1 (Rel. cong.)	Model 2 (Abs. cong.)	Model 3 (Subj. cong.)
Mass membership	-.22 (.09)*	-.858 (.34)*	-1.30 (.42)**
Leadership-dom.	-.030 (.02)	-.160 (.06)**	-.206 (.07)**
Mass membership x Leadership dom.	.027 (.03)	.159 (.092)	.244 (.11)*
Vote share	.003 (.001)*	.003 (.004)	.010 (.005)*
Gov. participation	-.010 (.02)	.015 (.08)	.000 (.10)
Year of foundation	-.000(.000)*	- .001 (.001)	- .001 (.001)
Niche party dummy	-.001(.03)	.131 (.143)	.210 (.17)**
Constant	1.35 (.72)	2.69 (2.7)	2.98 (3.19)
Random effects			
Country level variance	.034 (.02)	.237 (.08)	.412 (.11)
Party level variance	.136 (.007)	.477 (.025)	.572 (.03)
Model fit			
N (countries)	196 (14)	196 (14)	195 (14)
Log likelihood	107.94	-142.8	-181.9

** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$

Table 6: Interaction models (categorical)

Variables	Model 1 (Rel. cong.)	Model 2 (Abs. cong.)	Model 3 (Subj. cong.)
Mass membership	-.069 (.03)*	-.309 (.13)**	-.465 (.15)**
Leadership-dom.	-.058 (.03)	-.217 (.12)	-.252 (.15)
Mass membership x Leadership dom.	.065 (.05)	.289 (.16)	.417 (.20)*
Vote share	.001 (.001)*	-.002 (.004)	.004 (.005)
Gov. participation	-.015 (.02)	.014 (.004)	-.0139 (.10)
Year of foundation	-.000(.000)	-.001 (.001)	- .001 (.001)
Niche party dummy	-.002(.04)	.124 (.146)	.19 (.17)
Constant	1.03 (.70)	2.46 (2.7)	2.53 (3.16)
Random effects			
Country level variance	.037 (.02)	.237 (.08)	.413 (.11)
Party level variance	.138 (.01)	.485 (.03)	.578 (.03)
Model fit			
N (countries)	196 (14)	196 (14)	195 (14)
Log likelihood	104.28	-145.98	-183.92

** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$

Table 7: Robustness with elections as second level

Variables	Model 1 (Rel. cong.)	Model 2 (Abs. cong.)	Model 3 (Subj. cong.)	Model 4 (Abs. distr.)	Model 5 (Std. distr.)
Mass membership	-.10 (.05)*	-.27 (.17)	-.37 (.20)	.59 (.25)*	.05 (.02)**
Leadership-dom.	-.01 (.01)	-.06 (.03)*	-.05 (.03)		-.005 (.002)*
Vote share	.002 (.001)	.002 (.004)	.009 (.005)	-.009 (.006)	-.10 (.05)*
Gov. participation	.000 (.02)	-.039 (.08)	-.016 (.10)	-.115 (.12)	-.001 (.001)
Year of foundation	.000 (.000)	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)	.003 (.002)	.023 (.08)
Niche party dummy	-.003 (.04)	-.24 (.14)	.38 (.16)	-.31 (.20)	2.61 (1.21)*
Constant	.74 (.63)	.32 (2.28)	-.04 (2.67)	-5.26 (3.24)	
Random effects					
Election level variance	.038 (.02)	.280 (.053)	.39 (.06)	.29 (.08)	.180 (.03)
Party level variance	.13 (.07)	.44 (.03)	.52 (.03)	.29 (.08)	.25 (.01)
Model fit					
N (countries)	189 (36)	189 (36)	187 (39)	189 (36)	189 (36)
Log likelihood	105.76	-134.80	-168.3	-205.8	-27.9

** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$,

Table 8: Robustness with parties as additional level

Variables	Model 1 (Rel. cong.)	Model 2 (Abs. cong.)	Model 3 (Subj. cong.)	Model 4 (Abs. distr.)	Model 5 (Std. distr.)
Mass membership	-.13 (.05)*	-.33 (.20)	-.52 (.22)*	.75 (.28)*	.048 (.02)**
Leadership-dom.	-.018 (.01)	-.076 (.03)*	-.07 (.04)*		.005 (.002)*
Vote share	.002 (.001)	.003 (.004)	.011 (.005)*	-.011 (.01)	-.071 (.04)
Gov. participation	-.02 (.02)	-.013 (.08)	-.004 (.10)	-.041 (.12)	.000 (.000)
Year of foundation	-.0004 (.0003)	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)	.004 (.001)	.04 (.08)
Niche party dummy	-.008 (.04)	.11 (.15)	.22 (.17)	-.11 (.22)	1.54 (1.63)
Constant	.86 (.79)	.91 (2.8)	.42 (3.0)	-6.96 (3.96)	
Random effects					
Country level variance	.012 (.05)	.23 (.08)	.42 (.11)	.05 (.36)	.12 (.04)
Party (constant) level variance	.081 (.016)	.18 (.079)	.00 (.00)	.41 (.09)	.18 (.03)
Party level variance	.12 (.01)	.45 (.03)	.58 (.03)	.63 (.044)	.22 (.01)
Model fit					
N (countries)	196 (14)	196 (14)	195 (14)	196 (14)	196 (14)
Log likelihood	112.6	-143.5	-184.3	-214.6	-21.8

** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$,

Table 9: Robustness test with fixed effects for countries

Variables	Model 1 (Relative cong.)	Model 2 (Relative cong.)	Model 3 (Relative cong.)
Mass membership	-.11 (.05)**		-.12 (.05)**
Leadership-dom.		-.014 (.01)	-.015 (.001)*
Vote share	.001 (.001)*	.000 (.001)	.002 (.001)**
Gov. participation	.001 (.02)	-.022 (.02)	-.013 (.02)
Year of foundation	-.001 (.000)**	-.000 (.000)	-.000 (.000)*
Niche party dummy	.02 (.04)	.01 (.04)	.02 (.04)
Constant	1.49 (.71)*	.58 (.67)	1.24 (.72)
Model fit			
N	196	196	196
Log likelihood	119.35	118.45	121.17

** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$, fixed effects not shown