

Online appendices

It is not how many votes you get, but also where you get them. Territorial determinants and institutional hurdles for the success of ethnic minority parties in post-communist countries

Appendix A: Electoral systems, electoral results, and ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe, sources

General : Alesina et al. (2003) and Gurr et al. (2005) for population data; Jovanović (2004), Shvetsova (1999), and Birch et al. (2002) for information on electoral systems.

Country-specific sources:

- **Albania**

- Central Electoral Commission, <http://www.cec.org.al>
- Census: www.instat.gov.al.
- Radio Free Europe, <http://www.rferl.org/features/2001/11/07112001082921.asp>.
- Koinova, M (2000). *Minorities In Southeast Europe, Roma of Albania*. Center for Documentation and Information on Minorities in Europe – Southeast Europe (CEDIME-SE).
- European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, Albania Update. <http://www.europeanforum.net/country/albania>.
- OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (2005). *Republic of Albania. Parliamentary Elections 3 July 2005*. Election Observation Mission Report. Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR.

- **Bosnia and Herzegovina**

- CIA, World factbook, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook>
- Central Electoral Commission, <http://www.izbori.ba>

- **Bulgaria**

- Census 2001, <http://www.nsi.bg/Census/Ethnos.htm>
- Central Electoral Commission, <http://www.2005izbori.org>

- **Croatia**

- Census 2001, http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/censuses/Census2001/Popis/H01_02_02/H01_02_02.html
- Central Electoral Commission, <http://www.izbori.hr/arhiva/arhiva2003Sabor/index.htm>

- **Czech Republic**

- Radio Praha, Minorities in the Czech Republic. <http://www.radio.cz/en/article/26138>.
- Czech Demographic Handbook 2004, T10-3, Population by nationality and district, as measured by 1 March 2001 census.
- Central Electoral Commission, <http://www.volby.cz/pls/ps2006/ps3?xjazyk=CZ>
- OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (2002). *Czech Republic. Parliamentary Elections 14-15 June 2002*. Final Report, 16 July 2002. Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR.

- **Estonia**

- Statistical Office, <http://pub.stat.ee/px-web.2001/Dialog/Saveshow.asp>
- National Electoral Committee, http://www.vvk.ee/r07/tulemus/eesti_tulemus.html

- Mikkel, E. (2006). Patterns of Party Formation in Estonia: Consolidation Unaccomplished. In S. Jungerstam-Mulders (ed). *Post-communist EU member states: parties and party systems*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

- **Hungary**

- Statistical Office, http://www.nepszamlalas2001.hu/eng/volumes/18/tables/load3_13.html

- Central Electoral Commission, <http://www.valasztas.hu>.

- Nikolenyi, C. (2004). Strategic Co-ordination in the 2002 Hungarian Election. *Europe-Asia Studies* 56(7): 1041–1058.

- **Kosovo**

- Statistical Office of Kosovo, Kosovo and its Population, http://www.sok-kosovo.org/pdf/population/Kosovo_population.pdf

- Central Electoral Commission, <http://internet.cec-ko.org/al>

- **Latvia**

- Zvidrins, P (2005). Characteristics of the Minorities in the Baltic States. University of Princeton, <http://iussp2005.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=50900>

- The Latvian Institute, Ethnic minorities in Latvia, <http://www.li.lv/en/?id=75>

- Mikkel, E & Pettai, V. (2004). The Baltics: Independence with Divergent Electoral Systems. In J.M. Colomer (ed). *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*. Houndmills: Palgrave.

- **Lithuania**

- Central Electoral Commission <http://www.cvk.lv/cgi-bin/wdbcgiw/base/saeima9.GalRezS9.vis>

- Statistical Office, Census 2001,

<http://db.std.lt/census/Database/census%202001/demography/demography.asp>

- Frėjutė-Rakauskienė, M. (2004). *The European Parliament Elections: Participation of the Political Parties of Ethnic Minorities in Lithuania*. Paper presented at the Workshop, Civil Society and Ethnic Minorities in a Changing World, University "Lucian Blaga" Sibiu, 17-19 December 2004.

- Mikkel, E. & Pettai, V. (2004). The Baltics: Independence with Divergent Electoral Systems. J.M. Colomer (ed). *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*. Houndmills: Palgrave.

- **Macedonia**

- Census 2002, Statistical Office, http://www.stat.gov.mk/pdf/kniga_13.pdf

- Electoral Commission www.sec.mk

- Friedman (2005)

- **Moldova**

- Statistical Office, Census 2006, <http://www.statistica.md/recensamint>

- Association for Participatory Democracy, <http://www.elections2005.md>

- **Montenegro**

- Statistical Office, census

- <http://www.njegos.org/census/index.htm>

- CEMI, www.cemi.cg.yu

- OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (2006). *Republic of Montenegro. Parliamentary Elections, 10 September 2006*. Final Report. OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Report. Warsaw: OSCE.

- **Poland**

- Central Electoral Commission, webpage.

- Ministry of Interior and Administration, Characteristics of ethnic and national minorities in Poland. http://www.mswia.gov.pl/index_eng_wai.php?dzial=10&id=56

- Born, K.M. & Cordell, K. (2002). The Strategy of the German List at the Polish Local and Regional Elections of 1998. *East European Politics and Societies* 15(3): 625–648.

- **Romania**

- Central Electoral Commission <http://www.bec2004.ro/rezultate.htm>

- National Office of Statistics, census 2002, <http://www.recensamant.ro/pagini/tabele/t40.pdf>.

- Popescu, M. (2003). The parliamentary and presidential elections in Romania, November 2000. *Electoral Studies* 22(2): 325–335.

- **Serbia**

- Cesid, <http://www.cesid.org.yu>

- Republic Statistical Office, census 2002, <http://www.statserb.sr.gov.yu/zip/esn31.pdf>

- **Slovak Republic**

- Statistical Office/Central Electoral Commission, <http://www.statistics.sk/struk/volby.htm>

- Statistical Office, Census 2001, <http://www.statistics.sk/webdata/english/census2001/tab/tab3a.pdf>

- Friedman (2005).

- Millard, F. et al. (2004). *Elections, Parties and Representation in Post-Communist Europe*. Houndmills: Palgrave, p. 86.

- **Slovenia**

- Electoral Commission, <http://volitve.gov.si>

- Statistical Office, Census 2002, <http://www.stat.si/popis2002>

- Toplak, J. (2006). The parliamentary election in Slovenia, October 2004. *Electoral Studies* 25(4): 825–831.

- **Ukraine**

- State Statistics Committee, Census 2001, <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/results/general/nationality>

- Central Electoral Commission, <http://www.cvk.gov.ua>

Appendix B: Significance measures for the identified paths

This appendix provides for measures of significance for the four identified paths of the positive outcome. As proposed by Grenstad (2007), I provide a cross-table and χ^2 statistics for each identified path, and for the proposed solution as a whole (table C1, right-hand side).

For each of the four paths, I find that cases identified by the path are significantly more likely to be related to a positive outcome than those identified by no path.

outcome R	1 st path: bDT-> R			2 nd path: bCPT-> R			3 rd path: bCM-> R			4 th path: bS -> R			any of the 4 paths	
	no	yes	other paths ¹	no	yes	other paths ¹	no	yes	other paths ¹	no	yes	other paths ¹	no	yes
no	74	12	3	74	10	5	74	2	12	74	0	14	74	15
yes	0	20	14	0	15	19	0	2	33	0	19	16	0	34
χ^2		57.0**			52.3**			38.0**			93.0**			71.0**

Table C1: Cross-tables and measures of significance for hypothesis test of the four paths.

¹Cases where the relevant path is coded negatively, but another path explains a positive outcome, are not considered for the calculation of the χ^2 statistics.

Appendix C: Minimisation with no logical remainders or full inclusion of logical remainders, for positive and negative outcomes

Positive outcome, no logical remainders included

$$b * (DTPm + CPTsm + CMsDP + Sm (tP + Cdp)) -> R$$

Positive outcome, full inclusion of logical remainders

$$DT + CPT + bCM + S -> R$$

Hypothesis for negative outcome

$$B + s * (c + m) * (t + p + cd) -> r$$

Negative outcome, no inclusion of logical remainders

$$s * (ctP * (BD + d) + m * (t * (dP + bd) + bd (p + c)) + CBtMdp -> r$$

Negative outcome, full inclusion of logical remainders

$$B + s * (tm + p + cd) -> r$$

Bibliography

- Alesina, Alberto, Arnaud Devleeschauwer, William Easterly, Sergio Kurat, and Romain Wacziarg. 2003. "Fractionalization." *Journal of Economic Growth* 8 (2):155-94.
- Birch, Sarah, Frances Millard, Marina Popescu, and Kieran Williams. 2002. *Embodying Democracy. Electoral System Design in Post-Communist Europe*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Grenstad, Gunnar. 2007. "Causal Complexity and Party Preference." *European Journal of Political Research* 46 (1):121-49.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. *Minorities at Risk Project* 2005 [cited 6 June 2008. Available from <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar/>].
- Jovanović, Milan. 2004. *Izborni sistemi postkomunističkih država*. Beograd: Službeni list SCG/Fakultet političkih nauka/Institut za političke studije.
- Shvetsova, Olga. 1999. "A survey of post-communist electoral institutions: 1990-1998." *Electoral Studies* 18 (3):397-409.