# CLEA EFFECTIVE NUMBER OF PARTIES AND PARTY NATIONALIZATION DATA

## Codebook

Version: June 17, 2019 (20190617)

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section	Page
INTRODUCTION	
PROJECT DESCRIPTION	3
CLEA DESCRIPTION	3
FUNDING SUPPORT	4
BIBLIOGRAPHIC CITATION	4
CLEA CREDITS	4
DATA PROCEDURES	5
CALCULATION OF VARIABLES IN	5
ENP DATASET	
DOCUMENTATION OF VARIABLES	
VARIABLE LIST	7
VARIABLE DESCRIPTIONS	9
REFERENCES	26
APPENDIX: COMPUTER CODE FOR ENP	27
CALCULATIONS IN STATA AND R	

## INTRODUCTION

#### Effective Number of Parties and Party Nationalization Project Description

The Effective Number of Parties and Party Nationalization datasets uses the Constituency-Level Elections Archive (CLEA) data (described below) to generate the effective number of parties as well as several measures of party nationalization that are described in the political science literature. We present these data in three separate datasets that represent different levels of aggregation: the national level, the party level, and the constituency level. The Effective Number of Parties and Party Nationalization data are provided separately for the lower chamber and upper chamber. This codebook applies to both sets of data as they contain the same variable list and descriptions. Files associated with the lower chamber data begin with 'clea\_lc\_enp' and files associated with the upper chamber data begin with 'clea\_uc\_enp'.

At the national level, we present three measures of the effective number of parties (Laakso and Taagepera, 1979) and nine measures of party system nationalization, or the degree to which the set of political parties in a given country-year have electoral success at the national level (as opposed to more localized or regionalized success).

At the party level, we provide four measures that indicate the level of nationalization for a particular party in a given country-year.

Finally, the constituency level dataset includes the national measures for each constituency in a given country-year, the effective number of parties at the constituency level, and a local inflation measure.

Details about the interpretation and application of the measures are available in the references provided for each variable. Summaries of the measures are provided in this codebook and the appendix provides full computer code for calculations in *Stata* and *R* software.

#### **CLEA Project Description**

The central aim of the Constituency-Level Elections Archive (CLEA) project is to produce a repository of detailed results – i.e. votes received by each candidate/party, total votes cast, number of eligible voters – at a constituency level for the lower chamber and upper chamber legislative elections that have been conducted around the world. Our motivation is to preserve and consolidate these valuable data in one comprehensive reference resource that is publicly available at no cost. This public good is expected to be of use to a range of audiences for purposes of research, education, policy-making, and evaluation.

#### **Funding Support**

We gratefully acknowledge the American National Science Foundation (www.nsf.gov) and the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy for their funding of the project, and we thank the Institute of Political Science at the University of St. Gallen and the Department of Political Science at the University of Zurich for research assistance. The Center for Political Studies (CPS) at the University of Michigan has contributed financially and in kind to the CLEA project.

#### **Bibliographic Citation**

#### APA (6th edition)

Kollman, K., Hicken, A., Caramani, D., Backer, D., & Lublin, D. (2019). *Constituency-Level Elections Archive* [data file and codebook]. Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan [producer and distributor]. Retrieved from http://www.electiondataarchive.org.

#### MLA (8th edition)

Kollman, Ken, Allen Hicken, Daniele Caramani, David Backer, and David Lublin. *Constituency-Level Elections Archive*. Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan [producer and distributor], 2019. Web. 17 June 2019. <a href="http://www.electiondataarchive.org">http://www.electiondataarchive.org</a>

#### Chicago (17th edition)

Kollman, Ken, Allen Hicken, Daniele Caramani, David Backer, and David Lublin. 2019. *Constituency-Level Elections Archive*. Produced and distributed by Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan, http://www.electiondataarchive.org.

These materials are based on work supported by the National Science Foundation (under grants SES-0617101, SES-1021915, and SES-1528262). Any opinions, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in these materials are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the funding organizations.

#### **CLEA Credits**

The co-directors of the CLEA project are Ken Kollman of the University of Michigan, Allen Hicken of the University of Michigan, Daniele Caramani of the University of Zurich, David Backer of the University of Maryland, and David Lublin of American University. The project manager is Yioryos Nardis of the Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan.

Data in this and prior releases have been contributed by David Lublin, Jan Teorell, Jose Manuel Magallanes, Nir Atmor, David Backer, Daniele Caramani, Adam Carr, Cengiz Erisen, Federico Ferrara, Brian Gaines, Judy Geist, Allen Hicken, Ken Kollman, Arend Lijphart, Scott

Morgenstern, Jairo Nicolau, Daniel Posner, Jae-Jae Spoon, Marcelo Leiras, Steven Reed, Chinghsing Yu, Matt Singer, Heather Stoll, Jack Vowles, Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, Daniel Bochsler, Joel Selway, Francesca Jensenius, Gilles Verniers, Yen-Pin Su, Binod Paudel, and Anthony Sayers, as well as ICPSR, The Project on Political Transformation and the Electoral Process in Post-Communist Europe program at the University of Essex, and The Trivedi Centre for Political Data at Ashoka University. Research assistance was provided by Fabricio Vasselai, Kirill Kalinin and Sandra Nwogu.

#### **Data Procedures**

In order to construct this dataset, we have used the CLEA data to recreate several measures described in the party nationalization literature. We have attempted to construct the measures in accordance with the procedures described by the originating authors. Should readers have questions about the interpretation of a variable, the originating work (cited in the description of each variable in this codebook) should be considered the authoritative source. Additionally, although great care has been taken to prepare the data and codebook prior to release, we would appreciate receiving your comments, feedback and notifications of any remaining errors by email to: <a href="mailto:clea-project@umich.edu">clea-project@umich.edu</a>

#### **Calculation of Variables in ENP Dataset**

Variety in electoral systems across countries presents challenges on how to treat party vote totals, constituency and national vote totals, and proportions. The measures in these datasets require calculations of votes cast, votes counted for parties, and votes sometimes aggregated into larger units. These calculations are used in formulae for measures of nationalization. The challenges mean that we need to make decisions that may not seem obvious to all users of the data. As an example, in Germany's mixed system, should the first and second votes be pooled within each constituency to give a party vote for that constituency? In fact, we do not pool; instead, the upper tiers are treated as separate constituencies. We typically do this for countries with upper tiers. This is a choice (perhaps arbitrary), but we are following two principles, one theoretical and one practical.

First, as a general rule in CLEA we try as best we can to organize the data in the main CLEA dataset around how voters encounter their options on ballots. If, for instance, candidate names are given on the ballot and that's how voters choose, then candidates' votes are given in the database. If only parties are listed on ballots as options, then parties are the units with votes in the database. This principle cannot always be followed and we are at the mercy of how data are released by governments. But when faced with decisions about how to organize data, we follow

the principle focusing on voters' options on ballots. Second, the manner in which data are organized in the main CLEA dataset determines how the calculations for nationalization are conducted for these datasets here. Thus, in our example on Germany, since the upper tiers are considered separate constituencies in the large elections database, they are treated that way for calculating nationalization measures. The computer code at the end of this codebook shows, for instance, that to calculate party vote totals in each constituency, we use the party codes as they are assigned for the main CLEA dataset. Refer to the computer code in the appendix to this codebook and to the main CLEA dataset for assistance with questions about the treatment of specific countries. And as always, feel free to give comments, feedback and notifications of any remaining errors by email to: <a href="mailto:clea-project@umich.edu">clea-project@umich.edu</a>

# **DOCUMENTATION OF VARIABLES**

#### Variable List

#### **National Dataset**

ID Election Identifier

CTR\_N Country Name
CTR Country Code
YR Election Year
MN Election Month

CST\_TOT Total Number of Constituencies
NVVI National Valid Vote Indicator

ENP\_NAT Effective Number of Parties (National)
ENP AVG Effective Number of Parties (Average)

ENP WGHT Effective Number of Parties (Weighted Average)

INFLATION1 Cox Inflation Score

INFLATION2 Moenius and Kasuya Inflation Score

INFLATION3 Moenius and Kasuya Weighted Inflation Score

INFLATION4 Kasuya and Moenius Inflation and Dispersion Score

PSNS Party System Nationalization Score

PSNS\_S Standardized Party System Nationalization Score
PSNS W Weighted Party System Nationalization Score

PSNS SW Standardized and Weighted Party System

Nationalization Score

LOCAL\_E Local Entrant Measure

#### **Party Dataset**

ID Election Identifier

CTR\_N Country Name
CTR Country Code
YR Election Year
MN Election Month

CST TOT Total Number of Constituencies

PTY\_N Party Name PTY Party Code

PNS Party Nationalization Score

PNS\_S Standardized Party Nationalization Score
PNS W Weighted Party Nationalization Score

PNS SW Standardized and Weighted Party Nationalization

Score

#### **Constituency Dataset**

ID Election Identifier

CTR\_N Country Name
CTR Country Code
YR Election Year
MN Election Month
CST\_N Constituency Name
CST Constituency Code

CST\_TOT Total Number of Constituencies
NVVI National Valid Vote Indicator
CVVI Constituency Valid Vote Indicator

ENP\_CST Effective Number of Parties (Constituency)
ENP\_NAT Effective Number of Parties (National)
ENP\_AVG Effective Number of Parties (Average)

ENP WGHT Effective Number of Parties (Weighted Average)

INFLATION1 Cox Inflation Score

INFLATION2 Moenius and Kasuya Inflation Score

INFLATION3 Moenius and Kasuya Weighted Inflation Score

INFLATION4 Kasuya and Moenius Inflation and Dispersion Score

INFLATION5 Moenius and Kasuya Local Inflation Score

PSNS Party System Nationalization Score

PSNS\_S Standardized Party System Nationalization Score
PSNS W Weighted Party System Nationalization Score

PSNS SW Standardized and Weighted Party System

Nationalization Score

LOCAL E Local Entrant Measure

## **DOCUMENTATION OF VARIABLES**

# <u>Variable Descriptions</u>

#### ID Election Identifier

This variable uniquely identifies each election in the archive.

NOTE: Early U.S. elections to the House of Representatives were scheduled differently across states and there were no federal laws or regulations requiring specific timing other than that they occur every two years. U.S. House of Representatives elections prior to 1880 are assigned an election identifier of '-999' in the CLEA Lower Chamber data.

-----

#### CTR\_N Country Name

Bhutan

Bolivia

Bosnia & Herzegovina

Names of countries. The following countries are included in the current CLEA release.

Afghanistan Botswana **Equatorial Guinea** Albania **Brazil** Estonia Andorra British Virgin Islands Ethiopia Bulgaria Faroe Islands Angola Anguilla Burkina Faso Fiii Antigua and Barbuda Cambodia Finland Argentina Cameroon France Armenia Canada Gabon Aruba Cape Verde Gambia Australia Cayman Islands Georgia Austria Chile Germany Colombia Azerbaijan Ghana **Bahamas** Comoros Gibraltar Costa Rica Greece Bahrain Croatia Bangladesh Greenland Barbados Curação Grenada Guatemala Belarus Cyprus Belgium Czech Republic Guinea Belize Denmark Guinea-Bissau Benin Djibouti Guyana Bermuda Dominica Honduras

ENP Codebook 9

Hungary Iceland

India

Dominican Republic

**Ecuador** 

El Salvador

IndonesiaMongoliaSingaporeIranMontenegroSlovakiaIraqMontserratSloveniaIrelandMozambiqueSolomon Is

IrelandMozambiqueSolomon IslandsIsraelMyanmarSomalilandItalyNamibiaSouth AfricaIvory CoastNauruSpainJamaicaNepalSri Lanka

Japan Netherlands St. Vincent and the Grenadines

Kazakhstan New Zealand Sweden Kenya Switzerland Nicaragua Korea Niger Suriname Taiwan Kosovo Nigeria Norway Tanzania Kuwait Pakistan Thailand Latvia Lebanon Palau Timor-Leste Lesotho Paraguay Togo Liberia Peru Tonga

Libya Philippines Trinidad and Tobago

Liechtenstein Poland Turkey

Lithuania Portugal Turks and Caicos Islands

LuxembourgPuerto RicoUgandaMacedoniaRomaniaUkraine

Madagascar Russian Federation **United Arab Emirates** Malawi Rwanda United Kingdom Saint Kitts and Nevis **United States** Malaysia Maldives Saint Lucia Uruguay Malta Samoa Vanuatu Venezuela Marshall Islands San Marino

MauritiusSenegalZambiaMexicoSerbiaZimbabweMicronesiaSeychelles

Moldova Sierra Leone

#### CTR Country Code

Country codes developed by the UN (<a href="http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49.htm">http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49.htm</a>)

004 Afghanistan 028 Antigua and Barbuda

008 Albania032 Argentina020 Andorra051 Armenia024 Angola533 Aruba660 Anguilla036 Australia

040 Austria	250 France
031 Azerbaijan	266 Gabon
044 Bahamas	270 Gambia
048 Bahrain	268 Georgia
050 Bangladesh	276 Germany
052 Barbados	288 Ghana
112 Belarus	292 Gibraltar
056 Belgium	300 Greece
084 Belize	304 Greenland
204 Benin	308 Grenada
060 Bermuda	320 Guatemala
064 Bhutan	324 Guinea
068 Bolivia	624 Guinea-Bissau
070 Bosnia and Herzegovina	328 Guyana
072 Botswana	340 Honduras
076 Brazil	348 Hungary
092 British Virgin Islands	352 Iceland
100 Bulgaria	356 India
854 Burkina Faso	360 Indonesia
116 Cambodia	364 Iran
120 Cameroon	368 Iraq
124 Canada	372 Ireland
132 Cape Verde	376 Israel
136 Cayman Islands	384 Ivory Coast
152 Chile	380 Italy
170 Colombia	388 Jamaica
174 Comoros	392 Japan
188 Costa Rica	398 Kazakhstan
191 Croatia	404 Kenya
531 Curação	410 Korea
196 Cyprus	414 Kuwait
203 Czech Republic	428 Latvia
208 Denmark	422 Lebanon
262 Djibouti	426 Lesotho
212 Dominica	430 Liberia
<ul><li>214 Dominican Republic</li><li>218 Ecuador</li></ul>	434 Libya 438 Liechtenstein
222 El Salvador	440 Lithuania
226 Equatorial Guinea	442 Luxembourg
233 Estonia	807 Macedonia
231 Ethiopia	450 Madagascar
234 Faroe Islands	454 Malawi
242 Fiji	458 Malaysia
246 Finland	462 Maldives

470 Malta	688 Serbia
584 Marshall Islands	690 Seychelles
480 Mauritius	694 Sierra Leone
484 Mexico	702 Singapore
583 Micronesia	703 Slovakia
498 Moldova	705 Slovenia
496 Mongolia	090 Solomon Islands
499 Montenegro	710 South Africa
500 Montserrat	724 Spain
508 Mozambique	144 Sri Lanka
104 Myanmar	670 St. Vincent and the Grenadines
516 Namibia	740 Suriname
520 Nauru	752 Sweden
524 Nepal	756 Switzerland
528 Netherlands	834 Tanzania
554 New Zealand	764 Thailand
558 Nicaragua	636 Timor-Leste
562 Niger	768 Togo
566 Nigeria	776 Tonga
578 Norway	780 Trinidad and Tobago
586 Pakistan	792 Turkey
585 Palau	796 Turks and Caicos Islands
600 Paraguay	800 Uganda
604 Peru	804 Ukraine
608 Philippines	784 United Arab Emirates
616 Poland	826 United Kingdom
620 Portugal	840 United States
630 Puerto Rico	858 Uruguay
642 Romania	548 Vanuatu
643 Russian Federation	862 Venezuela
646 Rwanda	894 Zambia
659 Saint Kitts and Nevis	716 Zimbabwe
662 Saint Lucia	1001 Taiwan ***
674 San Marino	1002 Kosovo
882 Samoa	1003 Somaliland
686 Senegal	

\*\*\* Taiwan (the Republic of China), Kosovo, and Somaliland do not have a U.N. Standard Country Code. This code is assigned by CLEA.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### YR Election Year

Year of election.

#### MN Election Month

Month of election, if available.

Note: To conduct calculations for elections spanning more than one month, the *mn* variable is set to "-990. Missing Data (information not available /category not applicable)".

- 01. January
- 02. February
- 03. March
- 04. April
- 05. May
- 06. June
- 07. July
- 08. August
- 09. September
- 10. October
- 11. November
- 12. December

.....

#### CST\_N Constituency Name

Name of geographical area that a particular elected representative or group of elected representatives represents.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### CST Constituency Code

A unique numeric code assigned to each constituency in each election in a country. In general, all constituencies in a country are sorted alphabetically, according to their names, and then assigned a constituency code. This code assignment is repeated in each election in the country. Thus, the same code may or may not belong to the same constituency across elections, depending upon whether redistricting occurs between elections. In the event of special districts for minority populations (e.g., the Maori districts in New Zealand prior to the electoral reform in 1996) or

semi-autonomous regions (e.g., Greenland for Danish parliamentary elections) these districts receive the first numeric code following the last alphabetically sorted geographical district.

In a case where a country uses a multi-tier or mixed electoral system, the CLEA dataset uses the following coding scheme:

001-900. Lower-tier electoral districts (in multi-tier PR) or electoral districts where a majoritarian formula is used (in a mixed electoral system)

901-999. Upper-tier electoral districts (in multi-tier PR) or electoral districts where PR is used (in a mixed electoral system)

If a country uses a single-tier system, only constituency codes for lower-tier electoral districts are used.

-----

#### CST\_TOT Total Number of Constituencies

The total number of constituencies in a given election.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### PTY\_N Party Name

Name of a party or electoral alliance. If possible, the official name in the original language is used. If this name is not available, the transliterated or English-translated party name is used. For more information, refer to *Appendix II: Party Codes*.

In some cases where the original data sources we collected have small parties grouped under an "Others" category, "others" is used. In several countries, special kinds of party groupings are used in reported election results. For instance, categories such as "miscellaneous right-wing" and "regionalists and separatists" are used in France. For those special categories, their names are used for this variable and unique numeric codes are assigned to each such category (see "PTY" below for more information about these categories and also refer to Appendix II: Party Codes).

Independent candidates are handled in two different ways when election results are reported. For much of the data we have collected, all independent candidates are grouped under a single category. In such cases, "Independents" is used. However, when each and every individual independent candidate is identified and his/her votes received are reported separately in the election returns, "Independent" is used instead. Different numeric codes are assigned with these different methods. See "PTY" below for more information about numeric codes and Appendix II for the labels for independent candidates.

In a few countries, there are independent candidates who are affiliated with a party, but cannot officially stand under its label. As a result, they may be labeled in a manner that reflects both their

independent status and their party affiliation (e.g., "Independent Labour" or "Independent Greens"). In the CLEA dataset, we treat these candidates as independents in the coding, but keep their label under the PTY\_N.

For a full list of political parties, see *Appendix II: Party Codes*.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### PTY Party Code

A unique numeric code is assigned to each party that runs a candidate in any given election. In general, political parties in a country are sorted alphabetically according to *PTY\_N* and then assigned party codes. Parties have been matched across the lower chamber and upper chamber election results. Therefore, a party in a given country that runs in both chambers receives the same party code. To differentiate political parties and the aforementioned special and residual categories (see *PTY\_N* above), the CLEA dataset uses the following coding scheme:

#### 0001-3999. Political parties

3996. None of these candidates (in some countries, voters have the option to express disapproval for all the candidates on the ballot)

3997. Elected (for several early elections in Iceland and Sweden, the results for political parties are not available)

3998. No against for uncontested (in Denmark)

3999. Unknown

4000. "Others" (i.e., more than two small parties are grouped)

4001-. Special kinds of 'others' (see Appendix II for more information)

4998. Write-in

4999. Blank/Scattering

5001-5999. Electoral coalitions or alliances between political parties

6000. "Independents" (i.e., more than two independent candidates are grouped) 6001-. Independent 1, Independent 2, and so on (i.e., a single unaffiliated candidate), including special kinds of 'independents'.

For a full list of political parties and their codes in each country, see Appendix II: Party Codes.

Each party and electoral alliance is assigned a unique numeric code that remains consistent across elections. If a party changes its name, merges with other parties or splits into separate parties, a new numeric code is given to the party that emerges as a result of such changes.

Party codes for 'other' and 'independent' are assigned to parties or unaffiliated candidates in each election. This code assignment is repeated in each election in the country. Thus, the same code does not belong to the same minor party or independent candidate across elections.

NOTE: In India, there were more than 4,000 independent candidates in several general elections. In such cases, many independent candidates are assigned a five-digit party code.

-----

#### NVVI National Valid Vote Indicator

An indicator variable that takes on a value of "1" when the national effective number of parties measures ( $ENP_{NAT}$ ,  $ENP_{AVG}$ , and  $ENP_{WGHT}$ ) rely on the total sum of party votes (rather than the raw number of valid votes), and "0" otherwise. The CLEA data on the number of valid votes cast in a constituency do not always sum to the total number of party votes in the constituency. This is problematic in the calculation of the effective number of parties; we substitute summed party votes for valid votes as indicated by this variable.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### CVVI Constituency Valid Vote Indicator

An indicator variable that takes on a value of "1" when the constituency effective number of parties measure ( $ENP_{CST}$ ) relies on the total sum of party votes (rather than the raw number of valid votes), and "0" otherwise. The CLEA data on the number of valid votes cast in a constituency do not always sum to the total number of party votes in the constituency. This is problematic in the calculation of the effective number of parties; we substitute summed party votes for valid votes as indicated by this variable.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### ENP\_CST Effective Number of Parties (Constituency)

The effective number of (electoral) parties in a country's party system at the constituency level for the specified election year. This is calculated at the constituency level following Laakso and Taagepera's (1979) specification:

$$ENEP_{cst} = \frac{1}{\sum_{1}^{n} p_i^2}$$

Here n represents the number of parties in a district and  $p_i$  represents the party's share of the constituency vote. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Laakso, M., & Taagepera, R. (1979). "Effective Number of Parties: A Measure with Application to West Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 12(1): 3-27.

-----

#### ENP\_NAT Effective Number of Parties (National)

The effective number of (electoral) parties in a country's party system at the national level for the specified election year. This is calculated at the national level following Laakso and Taagepera's (1979) specification:

$$ENP_{nat} = \frac{1}{\sum_{1}^{n} p_i^2}$$

Here n represents the number of parties in a country and  $p_i$  represents the party's share of the national vote. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data. Due to the large number of independent candidates, we do not provide these data for Korea in 1950 or the United States before 1834.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Laakso, M., & Taagepera, R. (1979). "Effective Number of Parties: A Measure with Application to West Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 12(1): 3-27.

-----

#### ENP\_AVG Effective Number of Parties (Average)

The average effective number of (electoral) parties in a country's party system at the national level for the specified election year. The number of parties is calculated at the constituency level, following Laakso and Taagepera's (1979) specification, and then averaged at the national level.

$$ENP_{avg} = \frac{\sum_{1}^{d} ENEP_{cst}}{d}$$

Here *d* represents the number of districts in a country. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data. Due to the large number of independent candidates, we do not provide these data for Korea in 1950 or the United States before 1834.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Laakso, M., & Taagepera, R. (1979). "Effective Number of Parties: A Measure with Application to West Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 12(1): 3-27.

-----

#### ENP\_WGHT Effective Number of Parties (Weighted)

A weighted average of the effective number of (electoral) parties in a country's party system at the national level for the specified election year. The number of parties is calculated at the constituency level, following Laakso and Taagepera's (1979) specification, and then averaged at the national level, weighting each constituency according to its share of voters out of the national total (Moenius & Kasuya, 2004). Formally, this is:

$$ENP_{wght} = \sum_{1}^{d} ENP_{cst} \frac{vot_{cst}}{vot_{nat}}$$

Here, d represents the number of districts in the country,  $vot_{cst}$  indicates the number of votes cast in the constituency and  $vot_{nat}$  indicates the number of votes cast in the country. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data. Due to the large number of independent candidates, we do not provide these data for Korea in 1950 or the United States before 1834.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Laakso, M., & Taagepera, R. (1979). "Effective Number of Parties: A Measure with Application to West Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 12(1): 3-27.

-----

#### INFLATION1 Cox Inflation Score

A measure of party linkage across a country's electoral constituencies that builds on the economic principle of inflation. Here inflation refers to the discrepancy that occurs in party linkage as parties are aggregated from the constituency-level to the national-level party system. This measure was developed by Cox (1999).

$$inflation1 = \frac{ENP_{nat} - ENP_{avg}}{ENP_{nat}}$$

Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Cox, G. (1999). "Electoral Rules and Electoral Coordination." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2(1): 145-161.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### INFLATION2 Moenius and Kasuya Inflation Score

A measure of party linkage across a country's electoral constituencies that builds on the economic principle of inflation. Here inflation refers to the discrepancy that occurs in party linkage as parties are aggregated from the constituency-level to the national-level party system. This measure corresponds with Moenius and Kasuya's (2004) variable *I*, and is distinct from Inflation 1 because it has a different denominator.

$$inflation2 = \frac{ENP_{nat} - ENP_{avg}}{ENP_{avg}}$$

Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Moenius, J., & Kasuya, Y. (2004). "Measuring Party Linkage Across Districts." *Party Politics* 10(5): 543-564.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### INFLATION3 Moenius and Kasuya Weighted Inflation Score

A measure of party linkage across a country's electoral constituencies that builds on the economic principle of inflation. Here inflation refers to the discrepancy that occurs in party linkage as parties are aggregated from the constituency-level to the national-level party system. This measure corresponds with Moenius and Kasuya's (2004) weighted inflation variable  $I_w$ , which accounts for variation in district size.

$$inflation3 = \frac{ENP_{nat} - ENP_{wght}}{ENP_{wght}}$$

Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Moenius, J., & Kasuva, Y. (2004). "Measuring Party Linkage Across Districts." *Party Politics* 10(5): 543-564.

.....

#### INFLATION4 Kasuya and Moenius Inflation and Dispersion Score

A measure of party linkage across a country's electoral constituencies that builds on the economic principle of inflation. Here inflation refers to the discrepancy that occurs in party linkage as parties are aggregated from the constituency-level to the national-level party system. This measure also account for a dispersion, which "refers to the extent to which the contribution of each district's party system to the size of the national-level party system varies across districts" (Kasuya & Moenius, 2008). The formula is:

$$inflation4 = inflation3^{\alpha}D^{1-\alpha}$$

where *inflation3* captures the inflation dimension and *D* captures the dispersion dimension. The formula for dispersion is:

$$D = CV(inflation5)^{\gamma}k(inflation5)^{1-\gamma}$$

Here, CV (the coefficient of variation) and k (the district's kurtosis) both refer to measures of the local inflation measure (inflation5---see next variable). Note that the alpha and gamma parameters and are user-defined. Gamma weights the districts according to their relationship to the aggregate party system inflation rate and alpha is the weight assigned to inflation versus dispersion. For the purposes of this analysis (and following Kasuya and Moenius's basic recommendation) inflation and dispersion are equally weighted (alpha = .5), as are the districts (gamma = 0.5). Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Kasuya, Y., & Moenius, J. (2008). "The Nationalization of Party Systems: Conceptual Issues and Alternative District-focused Measures." *Electoral Studies* 27(1): 126-135.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### INFLATION5 Moenius and Kasuya Local Inflation Score

A measure of party linkage that measures the difference between the party system at the local constituency level and the national level. This measure is similar to Moenius and Kasuya's (2004) weighted inflation variable  $I_i$ :

$$inflation5 = \frac{ENP_{nat} - ENP_{cst}}{ENP_{cst}}$$

Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Moenius, J., & Kasuya, Y. (2004). "Measuring Party Linkage Across Districts." *Party Politics* 10(5): 543-564

\_\_\_\_\_

#### PNS Party Nationalization Score

A measure of the nationalization of a party, based on the Gini coefficient of inequality ( $G_i$ ) in vote shares across constituencies (Jones & Mainwaring, 2003). To calculate, we take the inverse of the Gini coefficient:

$$PNS = 1 - G_i$$

The Stata program *INEQDECO* (Jenkins, 1999) was used to create the Gini coefficient. We do not calculate the Party Nationalization Score for parties that received less than a five percent share of the national vote in an election. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Jones, M. P., & Mainwaring, S. (2003). "The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems." *Party Politics* 9(2): 139-166.

-----

#### PNS\_S Standardized Party Nationalization Score

A measure of the nationalization of a party, based on the Gini coefficient of inequality in vote shares across constituencies (Jones & Mainwaring, 2003). For this measure, the Party Nationalization Score (*PNS*) is standardized to account for variation in the number of territorial units across countries (Bochsler, 2006). The formula is:

$$PNS_S = (PNS)^{\frac{1}{\log(d)}}$$

where *d* is the number of districts in a country. The Stata program *INEQDEC0* (Jenkins, 1999) was used to create the Gini coefficient. We do not calculate the Standardized Party Nationalization Score for parties that received less than a five percent share of the national vote in an election. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Bochsler, D. (2006). "The Nationalization of Political Parties: A Triangle Model, Applied on the Central and Eastern European Countries." *CEU Political Science Journal* 1(4): 6-32.

-----

#### PNS\_W Weighted Party Nationalization Score

A measure of the nationalization of a party, based on the Gini coefficient of inequality in vote shares across constituencies (Bochsler, 2010). The formula is:

$$PNS_{w} = 2 * \frac{\sum_{1}^{d} (vot_{cst} * (\sum_{1}^{i} pty_{j} - \frac{pty_{i}}{2}))}{\sum_{1}^{d} vot_{cst} * \sum_{1}^{d} pty_{i}}$$

The number of votes (absolute) in the constituency is  $vot_{cst}$  and  $pty_i$  is the number of votes for party i (absolute) in the constituency. Here  $pty_j$  is the cumulative number of votes for party i in the election, with districts sorted (increasing) according to the party's vote share in the constituency. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Bochsler, D. (2010). "Measuring Party Nationalisation: A New Gini-based Indicator that Corrects for the Number of Units." *Electoral Studies* 29(1): 155-168.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### PNS\_SW Standardized and Weighted Party Nationalization Score

A measure of the nationalization of a party that standardizes for the number of territorial units in a country and also weights for the size of the territorial units (Bochsler, 2010). This measure builds upon the weighted party nationalization score (*PNS\_W*) by adding an additional correction for the unequal sizes of units across countries. The formula is:

$$PNS_{SW} = (PNS_W)^{\frac{1}{\log(E)}}$$

where, the variable E is a constant calculated at the national level as follows:

$$E = \frac{\left(\sum_{1}^{d} vot_{cst}\right)^{2}}{\sum_{1}^{d} vot_{cst}^{2}}$$

where  $vot_{cst}$  is the raw number of votes cast in constituency *i*. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Bochsler, D. (2010). "Measuring Party Nationalisation: A New Gini-based Indicator that Corrects for the Number of Units." *Electoral Studies* 29(1): 155-168.

-----

#### PSNS Party System Nationalization Score

A summary expression of the level of nationalization of a party system (Jones & Mainwaring, 2003). It is calculated according to the following formula:

$$PSNS = \sum_{1}^{n} PNS_{i} * p_{i}$$

where  $p_i$  is the party's share of the national vote. Parties that received less than a five percent share of the vote at the national level are excluded from this analysis. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Jones, M. P., & Mainwaring, S. (2003). "The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems." *Party Politics* 9(2): 139-166.

-----

#### PSNS\_S Standardized Party System Nationalization Score

A summary expression of the level of nationalization of a party system that is standardized to account for variation in the number of territorial units across countries (Bochsler, 2006).

$$PSNS_{s} = \sum_{1}^{n} PNS_{s,i} * p_{i}$$

where  $p_i$  is the party's share of the national vote. Parties that received less than a five percent share of the vote at the national level are excluded from this analysis. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Bochsler, D. (2006). "The Nationalization of Political Parties: A Triangle Model, Applied on the Central and Eastern European Countries." *CEU Political Science Journal* 1(4): 6-32.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### PSNS\_W Weighted Party System Nationalization Score

A summary expression of the level of nationalization of a party system that is weighted to account for variation in the size of the territorial units across countries (Bochsler, 2010).

$$PSNS_W = \sum_{1}^{n} PNS_{W,i} * p_i$$

where  $p_i$  is the party's share of the national vote. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Bochsler, D. (2010). "Measuring Party Nationalisation: A New Gini-based Indicator that Corrects for the Number of Units." *Electoral Studies* 29(1): 155-168.

-----

#### PSNS\_SW Standardized and Weighted Party System Nationalization Score

A summary expression of the level of the nationalization of a party system that standardizes for the number of territorial units and also weights for the size of the territorial units (Bochsler, 2010).

$$PSNS_{SW} = \sum_{1}^{n} PNS_{SW,i} * p_{i}$$

where  $p_i$  is the party's share of the national vote. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Bochsler, D. (2010). "Measuring Party Nationalisation: A New Gini-based Indicator that Corrects for the Number of Units." *Electoral Studies* 29(1): 155-168.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### LOCAL\_E Local Entrant Measure

A measure of party system nationalization based on parties' entry decisions (Lago & Montero, 2010). This measure accounts for the differential size of territorial units, the variance in party supply across districts, and party votes shares. It varies between 0 and 1. The formula for this measure is:

$$local_E = \sum_{1}^{n} v_i * s_i$$

Here,  $v_i$  is the proportion of votes obtained by party i at the national level and  $s_i$  is the proportion of seats of the national total to be allocated in those districts where party i entered the race. Values coded as "-990" indicate missing data.

For more information on the interpretation and calculation of this variable, see: Lago, I., & Montero, J. R. (2010). *The Nationalisation of Party Systems Revisited: A New Measure Based on Parties' Entry Decisions, Electoral Results, and District Magnitude.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Concordia University, Montreal, PQ.

\_\_\_\_\_

## **REFERENCES**

- Bochsler, D. (2006). The Nationalization of Political Parties: A Triangle Model, Applied on the Central and Eastern European Countries. *CEU Political Science Journal*, *1*(4), 6 32.
- Bochsler, D. (2010). Measuring Party Nationalisation: A New Gini-based Indicator that Corrects for the Number of Units. *Electoral Studies*, 29(1), 155-168.
- Cox, G. (1999). Electoral Rules and Electoral Coordination. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2(1), 145-161.
- Jenkins, S. P. (1999). INEQDEC0: Stata Module to Calculate Inequality Indices with Decomposition by Subgroup: Boston College Department of Economics.
- Jones, M. P., & Mainwaring, S. (2003). The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems. *Party Politics*, 9(2), 139-166.
- Kasuya, Y., & Moenius, J. (2008). The Nationalization of Party Systems: Conceptual Issues and Alternative District-focused Measures. *Electoral Studies*, 27(1), 126-135.
- Laakso, M., & Taagepera, R. (1979). Effective Number of Parties: A Measure with Application to West Europe. *Comparative political studies*, 12(1), 3-27.
- Lago, I., & Montero, J. R. (2010). The Nationalisation of Party Systems Revisited: A New Measure Based on Parties' Entry Decisions, Electoral Results, and District Magnitude. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Concordia University, Montreal, PQ.
- Moenius, J., & Kasuya, Y. (2004). Measuring Party Linkage Across Districts. *Party Politics*, 10(5), 543-564.

# APPENDIX: COMPUTER CODE FOR ENP CALCULATIONS

The CLEA ENP datasets are created using the following code in *Stata*. The equivalent code is also provided for *R* on page 41.

The three ENP datasets are created by first calculating the Gini index for parties, followed by the party level of aggregation, national level of aggregation, and lastly the constituency level of aggregation.

#### **Stata Code for Calculations**

#### 1. Gini coefficient calculation

/\*This file creates the Gini index for CLEA data, indicating the inequality in vote shares received by parties in districts. This information is used for calculating Jones and Mainwaring's (2003) Party Nationalization Score (PNS).\*/

\*To create the Gini index, we use the command INEQDEC0. The code below installs the command.

ssc inst ineqdec0, replace

\*Create Gini using CLEA data use "clea\_20190617.dta", clear

\*Eliminate single constituency elections use "clea\_20190617.dta", clear bysort id ctr yr mn (cst): gen single\_constituency = cst[1] == 1 & cst[\_N] == 1 drop if single\_constituency==1 save "CLEA.no.SC.dta", replace

\*Move the data from candidate-cst level to party-cst level collapse (first) ctr\_n vv1 pv1 if vv1 >0 & pv1 > 0, by (id ctr yr mn pty cst)

\*Drop observations where the party wins less than five percent of the national party vote egen nat\_vv1 = sum(pv1), by(id ctr yr mn) egen pty\_nat\_vv1 = sum(pv1), by(id ctr yr mn pty) gen nat\_pvs = pty\_nat\_vv1/ nat\_vv1 drop if nat\_pvs < .05 drop nat\_vv1 pty\_nat\_vv1 nat\_pvs save "CLEA.list.dta", replace

```
*Create a shell dataset that includes all the parties/constituencies
drop pty ctr n vv1 pv1
duplicates drop
save "CLEA.unique.constituencies.dta", replace
use "CLEA.list.dta", clear
drop cst ctr n vv1 pv1
duplicates drop
joinby id ctr yr mn using "CLEA.unique.constituencies.dta", unmatched(both)
drop _merge
joinby id ctr yr mn cst pty using "CLEA.no.SC.dta", unmatched(master)
drop _merge release rg sub cst_n mag pty_n can pev1 vot1 ivv1 to1 cv1 cvs1 cvs1 pvs1
save "CLEA.gini.dta", replace
*Create party vote share (constituency) variable
gen pvs = pv1/vv1
replace pvs = 0 if pvs ==.
*gen gini placeholder
gen gini = .
*Now we use the INEQDECO command to create the Gini index using the CLEA data
egen group = group(id ctr yr mn pty) if gini == .
save, replace
su group, meanonly
forval i = 1/r(max)' {
    ineqdec0 pvs if group == `i'
    replace gini = r(gini) if group == i'
}
save "CLEA.gini.dta", replace
**cleaning**
drop ctr_n vv1 pv1 pvs
sort id ctr yr mn cst
save "CLEA.gini.dta", replace
```

#### 2. Party level of aggregation

```
*Create Party System Nationalization Score (PSNS) and Standardized Party Nationalization
Score (PSNS s)
use "clea_20190617.dta", clear
keep ctr ctr_n yr mn pty_n pty
sort id ctr yr mn pty
duplicates drop
save "clea_enp_20190617_party.level.dta", replace
use "clea_20190617.dta", clear
*Move data from candidate-cst level to pty-cst level
collapse (first) ctr_n vv1 pv1 if vv1 >0 & pv1 > 0, by (id ctr yr mn pty cst)
*Call in the gini data
joinby id ctr yr mn pty cst using "CLEA.gini.dta", unmatched(using)
drop _merge
*Gen PNS
gen PNS = 1 - gini
*Standardized PNS (PNS_s)
by id ctr yr mn cst, sort: gen districts = n == 1
egen n_districts = sum(districts), by(id ctr yr mn)
gen power = 1/(\log(n_{districts}))
gen PNS_s = PNS^power
drop districts n_districts power
keep id ctr yr mn pty PNS PNS_s
duplicates drop
joinby id ctr yr mn pty using "clea_enp_20190617_ party.level.dta", unmatched(using)
drop _merge
save "clea_enp_20190617_party.level.dta", replace
*Create Bochsler's PNS_w and PNS_sw (2010)
use "clea_20190617.dta", clear
collapse (first) pv1 vv1 ,by (id ctr yr mn pty cst)
*Create the denominator
drop if pv1 < 0
drop if vv1 < 0
egen nat_vv1 = sum(pv1), by(id ctr yr mn)
egen pty_vv1 = sum(pv1), by(id ctr yr mn pty)
gen denominator = nat_vv1 * pty_vv1
```

```
*Create the numerator
rename vv1 cst vv1
gen vote_share = pv1/cst_vv1
sort id ctr yr mn pty vote_share
by id ctr yr mn pty: gen p_j = sum(pv1)
gen inside = cst_vv1 * (p_j - (pv1/2))
egen numerator = sum(inside), by(id ctr yr mn pty)
gen PNS_w = (2 * numerator) / denominator
*FIX PNS_w for countries where sum(pv1) != vv1 & -990 values lead to inaccuracies
egen cst_vv1_new = sum(pv1), by(id ctr yr mn cst)
gen vote_share_new = pv1/cst_vv1_new
sort id ctr yr mn pty vote_share_new
by id ctr yr mn pty: gen p_j_new =sum(pv1)
gen inside_new = cst_vv1_new * (p_j_new - (pv1/2))
egen numerator new = sum(inside new), by(id ctr yr mn pty)
gen PNS_w_new = (2 * numerator_new)/ denominator
gen alt_vv1 = 1 if PNS_w >= 1
replace PNS_w = PNS_w_new if PNS_w >= 1
replace PNS_w = -990 if pty == 3999 \mid pty >= 6000
*Setting single constituencies to missing (single constituencies cause inaccurate PNS_w scores)
by sort id ctr yr mn (cst): gen single_constituency = cst[1] == 1 & cst[N] == 1
replace PNS w = -990 if single constituency==1
drop single constituency
*Also PNS w is messed up for one cst in US in 1959, so correct
replace PNS_w = -990 if ctr == 840 & yr == 1959 & cst == 435
replace PNS w = -990 if PNS w ==.
replace alt vv1 = 0 if PNS w == -990
keep ctr yr mn cst pty cst_vv1 nat_vv1 PNS_w alt_vv1
*Create the PSNS_sw measure from the PNS_w measure
gen top = nat vv1 * nat vv1
gen square = cst_vv1 * cst_vv1
gen helper = .
by id ctr yr mn cst, sort: gen pid = n
replace helper = square if pid == 1
egen bottom = sum(helper), by(id ctr yr mn)
gen power_E = top/bottom
gen PNS_sw = (PNS_w)^{(1/(log10(power_E)))}
replace PNS_sw = -990 if PNS_w == -990
```

```
replace PNS sw = -990 if PNS sw > 1 | PNS sw ==.
keep id ctr yr mn pty PNS_w PNS_sw
duplicates drop
sort id ctr yr mn pty
joinby id ctr yr mn pty using "clea_enp_20190617_party.level.dta", unmatched (using)
drop _merge
label var ctr_n "Country name"
label var yr "Election year"
label var mn "Election month"
label var pty_n "Party name"
label var pty "Party code"
label var ctr "CLEA country code"
label var PNS "Jones & Mainwaring Party Nationalization Score"
label var PNS_s "Bochsler standardized Party Nationalization Score"
label var PNS w "Bochsler weighted Party Nationalization Score"
label var PNS_sw "Bochsler standarized & weighted Party Nationalization Score"
*Cleaning
replace PNS = -990 if PNS ==.
replace PNS_s = -990 if PNS_s ==.
replace PNS w = -990 if PNS w ==.
replace PNS_sw = -990 if PNS_sw ==.
compress
replace PNS = -990 if PNS == 1
replace PNS = -990 if pty >= 3999 & pty < 5000
replace PNS s = -990 \text{ if } pty >= 3999 \& pty < 5000
replace PNS_w = -990 if pty >= 3999 & pty < 5000
replace PNS sw = -990 if pty >= 3999 & pty < 5000
replace pty = 3999 if pty == -990
replace PNS= -990 if pty >= 3996 \& pty < 5000
replace PNS_s= -990 if pty >= 3996 \& pty < 5000
replace PNS w = -990 if pty > = 3996 & pty < 5000
replace PNS_sw= -990 if pty >= 3996 \& pty < 5000
order ctr_n id ctr yr mn pty_n pty PNS PNS_s PNS_w PNS_sw, first
sort ctr_n id ctr yr mn pty_n pty PNS PNS_s PNS_w PNS_sw
*drop all duplicates
duplicates drop id ctr yr mn pty, force
```

save "clea\_enp\_20190617\_party.level.dta", replace

3. National level of aggregation

```
***************
*Party Nationalization Measures - National Level Dataset
***************
use "clea 20190617.dta", clear
keep ctr n id ctr yr mn
duplicates drop
save "clea_enp_20190617_national.level.dta", replace
*Create ENEP national
use "clea_20190617.dta", clear
*Get rid of candidate level by moving data to pty-cst level
collapse (first) vv1 pv1 if vv1 >0 & pv1 > 0, by (id ctr yr mn pty cst)
sort id ctr yr mn cst pty
*Move to pty-ctr level
collapse(sum) pv1, by (id ctr yr mn pty)
egen nat vv1 = sum(pv1), by(id ctr yr mn)
gen party_prop_nat2 = (pv1/nat_vv1) * (pv1/nat_vv1)
egen denom = sum(party_prop_nat2), by(id ctr yr mn)
gen ENEP nat = 1/denom
drop pty pv1 nat_vv1 party_prop_nat2 denom
duplicates drop
replace ENEP_nat = . if yr < 1834 \& ctr == 840
replace ENEP_nat = . if yr == 1950 \& ctr == 410
joinby id ctr yr mn using "national.level.dta", unmatched (using)
drop merge
save "clea_enp_20190617_national.level.dta", replace
clear
*Create ENEP national average & ENEP national weighted average
use "clea_20190617.dta", clear
keep id ctr yr mn cst pty vv1 pv1
duplicates drop
collapse (sum) pv1 if pv1 >=0 & vv1 >0, by (id ctr yr mn pty cst)
egen new vv1 = sum(pv1), by (id ctr yr mn cst)
duplicates drop
```

```
save "clea_enp_20190617_national.level.pv1.dta", replace
use "clea 20190617.dta", clear
keep id ctr yr mn cst pty vv1 pv1
duplicates drop
collapse (first) vv1 if pv1 \ge 0 & vv1 > 0, by (id ctr yr mn pty cst)
joinby id ctr yr mn pty cst using "national.level.pv1.dta", unmatched(using)
drop _merge
gen indicator = 1 if new_vv1 != vv1
gen share2 = (pv1/new_vv1) * (pv1/new_vv1)
egen denom = sum(share2), by (id ctr yr mn cst)
gen ENEP cst = 1/denom
drop pv1 vv1 share2 denom pty
duplicates drop
egen nat_vv1 = sum(new_vv1), by(id ctr yr mn)
gen cst wght = new vv1/nat vv1
gen weighted = cst_wght * ENEP_cst
egen ENEP_wght = sum(weighted), by(id ctr vr mn)
egen ENEP_avg = mean(ENEP_cst), by(id ctr yr mn)
drop new_vv1 ENEP_cst cst nat_vv1 cst_wght weighted
duplicates drop
collapse (first) ENEP_avg ENEP_wght (max) indicator, by (id ctr yr mn)
joinby id ctr yr mn using "national.level.dta", unmatched(using)
drop _merge
order ctr ctr_n yr mn ENEP_nat ENEP_avg ENEP_wght, first
replace ENEP nat = . if yr < 1834 \& ctr == 840
replace ENEP_nat = . if yr == 1950 \& ctr == 410
replace ENEP_avg = . if yr < 1834 \& ctr == 840
replace ENEP avg = . if yr == 1950 \& ctr == 410
replace ENEP_wght = . if yr < 1834 \& ctr == 840
replace ENEP wght = . if yr == 1950 \& ctr == 410
duplicates drop
save "clea enp 20190617 national.level.dta", replace
*Create Cox score (Cox)
gen Cox = (ENEP_nat - ENEP_avg)/ ENEP_nat
*Create Moenius & Kasuya Inflation score (MK I)
gen MK_I = ( ENEP_nat - ENEP_avg)/ ENEP_avg
*Create Moenius & Kasuya Weighted Inflation score (MK_I_w)
gen MK_I_w = ( ENEP_nat - ENEP_wght)/ ENEP_wght
duplicates drop
```

```
save "clea_enp_20190617_national.level.dta", replace
*Create composite party system nationalization measure (MK N)
*Note: first define the values of the scalars: gamma, alpha, and beta
/*According to Kasuya and Moenius, these scalars are arbitrary and depend upon the research
question at hand.
To give equal weight to the inflation and dispersion measures, define alpha = 0.5, gamma = 0.5,
and beta = 0.25.*/
scalar alpha = .5
scalar beta = .25
scalar gamma = .5
use "clea_20190617.dta", clear
collapse (first) pv1 vv1 if pv1 \geq=0 & vv1 \geq 0, by (id ctr yr mn pty cst)
egen new vv1 = sum(pv1), by (id ctr yr mn cst)
gen share2 = (pv1/new_vv1) * (pv1/new_vv1)
egen denom = sum(share2), by (id ctr yr mn cst)
gen ENEP_cst = 1/denom
*Create I i
joinby id ctr yr mn using "national.level.dta", unmatched (using)
drop _merge
duplicates drop
gen I_i = (( ENEP_nat- ENEP_cst)/ ENEP_cst) * 100
*Create W tilde
egen n_{districts} = max(cst), by(id ctr yr mn)
egen nat vote = sum(new vv1), by(id ctr yr mn)
gen cst_vote_proportion = new_vv1/nat_vote
gen product = ENEP_cst * cst_vote_proportion
egen sum_cst = sum (product), by (id ctr yr mn)
gen denominator = n districts * sum
gen W_tilde = ENEP_cst/ denominator
drop denominator
*Create I w
gen I w = ((ENEP \text{ nat - sum cst})/\text{sum cst})*100
*Create coefficient of variation
gen numerator = (I_i - I_w)^2 * W_{tilde}
egen sum_numerator = sum(numerator), by(id ctr yr mn)
gen coeff var I i = sqrt(sum numerator)/ I w
```

```
*Create kurtosis measure
gen numerator2 = ((I_i - I_w)^4) * W_tilde
egen sum numerator2 = sum(numerator2), by (id ctr yr mn)
gen denominator2 = ((I_i - I_w)^2) * W_tilde
egen sum_denominator2 = sum(denominator2), by (id ctr yr mn)
gen sq sum denominator2 = (sum denominator2)^2
gen kurtosis_I_i = sum_numerator2/sq_sum_denominator2
*Create dispersion measure
gen D = (coeff_var_I_i)^gamma * (kurtosis_I_i)^(1 - gamma)
*Create composite measure (Inflation and Dispersion)
gen MK N = ((I \ w)^a lpha) * (D^(1 - alpha))
gen MK_N_two = ((I_w)^a)^* ((coeff_var_I_i)^b)^* ((kurtosis_I_i)^(1 - alpha - beta))
collapse (first) MK_N MK_N_two, by (id ctr yr mn)
joinby id ctr yr mn using "national.level.dta", unmatched(both)
drop _merge
save "clea enp 20190617 national.level.dta", replace
*Create Party System Nationalization Score (PSNS) measures
use "clea 20190617.dta", clear
*Move data from candidate-cst level to pty-cst level
collapse (first) ctr_n vv1 pv1 if vv1 >0 & pv1 > 0, by (id ctr yr mn pty cst)
egen nat vv1 = sum(pv1), by(id ctr yr mn)
egen pty_vv1 = sum(pv1), by(id ctr yr mn pty)
keep id ctr yr mn pty pty vv1 nat vv1
duplicates drop
joinby id ctr yr mn pty using "clea_enp_20190617_party.level.dta", unmatched(using)
order ctr ctr_n yr mn pty pty_n
drop _merge
*Gen Party System Nationalization Score (PSNS)
replace PNS = . if PNS == -990
replace PNS s = .if PNS s == -990
replace PNS_w = . if PNS_w = -990
replace PNS sw = .if PNS sw == -990
gen weight = pty_vv1/nat_vv1
egen PSNS = sum(PNS * weight), by(id ctr yr mn)
```

```
egen PSNS_s = sum(PNS_s * weight), by(id ctr yr mn)
egen PSNS_w = sum(PNS_w * weight), by(id ctr yr mn)
egen PSNS sw = sum(PNS sw *weight), by(id ctr yr mn)
keep ctr ctr n yr mn PSNS PSNS s PSNS w PSNS sw
duplicates drop
replace PSNS = -990 if PSNS == 0
replace PSNS s = -990 if PSNS s == 0
replace PSNS w = -990 if PSNS w ==0
replace PSNS_sw = -990 if PSNS_sw == 0
replace PSNS = -990 if PSNS > 1
replace PSNS_s = -990 if PSNS_s > 1
replace PSNS sw = -990 if PSNS sw > 1
replace PSNS_w = -990 if PSNS_w > 1
joinby id ctr yr mn using "national.level.dta", unmatched (both)
drop _merge
save "clea_enp_20190617_national.level.dta", replace
*Create Local Entrant Measure E
use "clea_20190617.dta", clear
collapse (first) ctr n vv1 pv1 (sum)seat cv1 if seat \geq 0 & vv1 \geq 0 & pv1 \geq 0, by (id ctr yr mn pty
cst)
egen nat_vote = sum(pv1) if pv1>= 0, by (id ctr yr mn)
egen seat_cst = sum(seat), by (id ctr yr mn cst)
collapse (first) ctr_n vv1 pv1 nat_vote seat_cst (sum) cv1 seat if vv1 >0 & pv1 >0 & seat >=0,
by (id ctr yr mn pty cst)
sort id ctr yr mn pty
gen party_vote_proportion = pv1/ nat_vote
egen seat_total = sum(seat), by (id ctr yr mn)
egen seat_contest = sum(seat_cst), by (id ctr yr mn pty)
gen seat proportion = seat contest/seat total
gen local_E = party_vote_proportion * seat_proportion
collapse (sum) local_E, by(id ctr yr mn)
joinby id ctr yr mn using "national.level.dta", unmatched(both)
drop _merge
drop MK N two
label var ctr n "Country name"
label var ctr "CLEA country code"
label var yr "Election year"
label var mn "Election month"
label var ENEP_nat "Effective Number of Electoral Parties nationally"
```

```
label var ENEP_avg "Average Effective Number of Electoral Parties nationally"
label var ENEP_wght "Weighted average of Effective Number of Electoral Parties nationally"
label var Cox "Cox inflation score"
label var MK_I "Moenius & Kasuya inflation score"
label var MK I w "Moenius & Kasuya weighted inflation score"
label var MK_N "Moenius & Kasuya composite measure"
label var PSNS "Jones & Mainwaring Party System Nationalization Score"
label var PSNS_s "Bochsler standardized Party System Nationalization Score"
label var PSNS_w "Bochsler weighted Party System Nationalization Score"
label var PSNS sw "Bochsler standarized & weighted Party System Nationalization Score"
label var local_E "Local entrant measure"
label var indicator "National Valid Vote Indicator"
compress
save "clea enp 20190617 national.level.dta", replace
*Cleaning
rename Cox inflation1
rename MK_I inflation2
rename MK_I_w inflation3
rename MK_N inflation4
rename indicator nvvi
replace nvvi = 0 if nvvi ==.
replace ENEP nat = -990 if ENEP nat = .
replace ENEP_avg = -990 if ENEP_avg ==.
replace ENEP wght = -990 if ENEP wght ==.
replace inflation 1 = -990 if inflation 1 = -990
replace inflation2 = -990 if inflation2 ==.
replace inflation3 = -990 if inflation3 ==.
replace inflation4 = -990 if inflation4 ==.
replace PSNS = -990 if PSNS ==.
replace PSNS_s = -990 if PSNS_s = -990
replace PSNS w = -990 if PSNS w ==.
replace PSNS sw = -990 if PSNS sw ==.
replace local E = -990 if local E = -990
rename ENEP_nat ENP_nat
rename ENEP_avg ENP_avg
rename ENEP wght ENP wght
replace ENP nat = -990 if ctr == 144 & yr == 1947 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1952 | ctr == 144 & yr
== 1956 \mid ctr == 144 \& yr == 1960 \mid ctr == 144 \& yr == 1965 \mid ctr == 144 \& yr == 1970 \mid ctr == 197
144 \& vr == 1977
```

```
replace ENP_avg = -990 if ctr == 144 & yr == 1947 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1952 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1956 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1960 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1965 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1970 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1977
```

replace ENP\_wght = -990 if ctr == 144 & yr == 1947 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1952 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1956 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1960 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1965 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1970 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1977

```
replace inflation 1 = -990 if inflation 1 = 0 replace inflation 2 = -990 if inflation 2 = 0 replace inflation 3 = -990 if inflation 3 = 0 replace inflation 4 = -990 if inflation 4 = 0
```

order ctr\_n id ctr yr mn nvvi ENP\_nat ENP\_avg ENP\_wght inflation1 inflation2 inflation3 inflation4 PSNS PSNS\_s PSNS\_w PSNS\_sw local\_E, first sort ctr\_n id ctr yr mn nvvi ENP\_nat ENP\_avg ENP\_wght inflation1 inflation2 inflation3 inflation4 PSNS PSNS s PSNS w PSNS sw local E

\*drop all duplicates duplicates drop id ctr yr mn, force save "clea\_enp\_20190617\_national.level.dta", replace

# 4. Constituency level of aggregation

/\*Note: this part of the file uses CLEA data to create several alternate measures of party nationalization identified in the literature \*/

\*Create frame dataset use "clea\_20190617.dta", clear keep ctr\_n id ctr yr mn cst\_n cst

duplicates drop save "clea\_enp\_20190617\_cst.level.dta", replace

\*Create ENP constituency use "clea\_20190617.dta", clear collapse (first) pv1 vv1 if pv1 >=0 & vv1 > 0, by (id ctr yr mn pty cst) egen new\_vv1 = sum(pv1), by (id ctr yr mn cst)

```
gen share2 = (pv1/new_vv1) * (pv1/new_vv1)
egen denom = sum(share2), by (id ctr yr mn cst)
gen ENP cst = 1/denom
gen cvvi = 1 if vv1 != new_vv1
drop share2 denom pv1 vv1 new vv1 pty
duplicates drop
joinby id ctr yr mn cst using "cst.level.dta", unmatched (using)
drop _merge
save "clea_enp_20190617_cst.level.dta", replace
*Add national level data
joinby id ctr yr mn using "national.level.dta", unmatched (master)
drop _merge
save "clea enp 20190617 cst.level.dta", replace
compress
gen inflation5 = (ENP_nat - ENP_cst)/ENP_cst if ENP_nat != -990 & ENP_cst != -990
replace inflation5 = -990 if inflation5 ==.
duplicates drop
order ctr n id ctr yr mn cst n cst nvvi cvvi ENP cst ENP nat ENP avg ENP wght inflation1
inflation2 inflation3 inflation4 inflation5 PSNS PSNS_s PSNS_w PSNS_sw local_E
sort ctr_n id ctr yr mn cst_n cst nvvi cvvi ENP_cst ENP_nat ENP_avg ENP_wght inflation1
inflation2 inflation3 inflation4 inflation5 PSNS PSNS s PSNS w PSNS sw local E
label var ctr_n "Country Name"
label var ENP cst "Effective Number of Electoral Parties at the constituency level"
label var inflation5 "Moenius & Kasuya local inflation measure"
label var cvvi "Constituency Valid Vote Indicator"
replace ENP cst = -990 if ENP cst ==.
replace cvvi = 0 if cvvi == .
replace ENP_nat = -990 if ENP_nat ==.
replace ENP avg = -990 if ENP avg ==.
replace ENP wght = -990 if ENP wght ==.
replace inflation 1 = -990 if inflation 1 = -990
replace inflation 2 = -990 if inflation 2 = -990
replace inflation3 = -990 if inflation3 ==.
replace inflation4 = -990 if inflation4 ==.
replace inflation5 = -990 if inflation5 ==.
replace PSNS = -990 if PSNS ==.
replace PSNS_s = -990 if PSNS_s ==.
replace PSNS w = -990 if PSNS w ==.
replace PSNS sw = -990 if PSNS sw ==.
replace local_E =-990 if local_E ==.
```

replace  $ENP_cst = -990 \text{ if yr} < 1834 \& ctr == 840$ 

\*remove all duplicates duplicates drop ctr yr cst mn, force save "clea\_enp\_20190617\_cst.level.dta", replace

# R Code for Calculations

```
#Build_ENP_Datasets(file.name="", mn=FALSE, ineq.ind="Gini", filterIndependents=FALSE,
filterSingleConstituencies=TRUE)
#Parameters:
# file name
                        - file's name. If omitted the script attempts to download CLEA data
(Stata file) from the CLEA website.
# ineq.ind
                      - by default computes indices based on "Gini" (other inequality indices,
which can be tried include "RS", "Atkinson", "Theil", "Kolm", "var", "square.var", "entropy" --
see package "ineq" for more detail).
                     produced Gini indices can be different from the ones produced by the
Stata's INEQDECO module
   filterIndependents
                          - by default includes independents.
   filterSingleConstituencies - by default excludes single constituencies.
#Build_ENP_Datasets() - downloads CLEA data from the CLEA website and computes the
datasets using default values.
#Output consists of three files "party.level.csv", "national.level.csv", "cst.level.csv"
#Steps to run the script:
#Step 1 Highlight the function, and press the "Run" button to get it into R's memory.
#Step 2 Run the function: Build_ENP_Datasets(), defining any parameters of interest.
#Step 3 To run the function producing the data identical to CLEA's 9.0 version,
      enter full path of the file: Build_ENP_Datasets("C:/R10_mnel.dta", mn=TRUE)
#
###FUNCTION STARTS HERE
Build_ENP_Datasets<-function(file.name="", mn=FALSE, ineq.ind="Gini",
filterIndependents=FALSE,
                 filterSingleConstituencies=TRUE){
 usePackage <- function(required.package) {</pre>
  if (!is.element(required.package, installed.packages()[,1]))
   install.packages(required.package, dep = TRUE)
  require(required.package, character.only = TRUE)
 }
 usePackage("foreign")
 usePackage("readstata13")
 usePackage("plyr")
 usePackage("magrittr")
 usePackage("dplyr")
 usePackage("ineq")
 usePackage("XML")
```

```
#Supplementary script
if (file.name==""|length(file.name)==0){
 doc.html = htmlTreeParse('http://www.electiondataarchive.org/datacenter.html', useInternal =
TRUE)
 doc.text = xpathSApply(doc.html, "//a/@href")
 download.link <- doc.text[which(grepl("clea \\d+ stata.zip", doc.text))]
 temp <- tempfile()
 print("Loading data from http://www.electiondataarchive.org/...", quote=FALSE)
 download.file(paste("http://www.electiondataarchive.org", download.link, sep=""),temp)
 print("Opening data file...", quote=FALSE)
 file.name<-gsub(".zip", "", gsub("/data/releases/", "", download.link))
 data <- read.dta13(unzip(temp, paste(file.name,"/", gsub("_stata", ".dta", file.name), sep="")),
convert.factors = FALSE)
 unlink(temp)} else {
  file.ext<-regmatches(file.name, regexpr(".\\w+$", file.name))
  folder.name<-gsub("\\/\\w+.\\w+$", "", file.name)
  if(nchar(folder.name)!=nchar(file.name)){ setwd(folder.name)}
  if(file.ext==".csv"){data<-read.csv(file.name, stringsAsFactors = FALSE)}
  if(file.ext==".dta"){data<-read.dta13(file.name, convert.factors = FALSE)}
  if(file.ext==".tsv"){data<-read.table(file.name, stringsAsFactors = FALSE, sep="\t", quote =
"", header=TRUE, fill = TRUE)}
if ((mn==TRUE & !"mn"%in%names(data))|mn==FALSE){data$mn=data$mn}
```

## 1. Gini coefficient calculation

```
na\_cand \leftarrow ifelse(is.na(x$vv1) | is.na(x$pv1),1,0)
      data.frame(x, na_cand)})(.)) %>%
   distinct(.keep all = TRUE) %>%
   filter(na_cand==0)%>%
   select(-na cand)
data.c<-data %>%
   do((function(x) {
      x$vv1<-ifelse(x$vv1<0,NA,x$vv1)
      xpv1<-ifelse(xpv1<0,NA,xpv1)
      x$seat<-ifelse(x$seat<0,NA,x$seat)
      na_cand \leftarrow ifelse(is.na(x$vv1) | is.na(x$pv1) | is.na(x$seat),1,0)
      data.frame(x, na cand))(.) %>%
   distinct(.keep_all = TRUE) %>%
   filter(na cand==0)%>%
   select(-na_cand)
if(filterSingleConstituencies==TRUE){
   if(filterIndependents==TRUE){
   data.a<-data.a %>%
   group by(ctr, yr, mn)%>%
   arrange(cst)%>%
   do((function(x) {
      \sin_{const} < -ifelse(x$cst[1] == 1 & x$cst[length(x$cst)] == 1, 1, 0)
      data.frame(x, sin const)})(.)) %>%
   filter(sin_const==0, pty!= 6000) %>%
   select(-sin_const)%>%
   ungroup()
   data.b<-data.b %>%
   filter(pty!=6000)
   data.c<-data.c %>%
   filter(pty!=6000) else
   data.a<-data.a %>%
   group_by(ctr, yr, mn)%>%
   arrange(cst)%>%
   do((function(x) {
      \sin \cosh < -ifelse(x + ifelse(x + if
      data.frame(x, sin_const)})(.)) %>%
   filter(sin const==0) %>%
   select(-sin_const) %>%
   ungroup()}}
if(filterSingleConstituencies==FALSE & filterIndependents==TRUE){
```

```
data.a<-data.a %>%
 filter(pty!=6000)
 data.b<-data.b %>%
 filter(pty!=6000)
 data.c<-data.c %>%
 filter(pty!= 6000)}
#Main Script
print("Computing inequality measures...", quote=FALSE)
start.timer <- proc.time()</pre>
gini<-data.b%>%
 distinct(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty, .keep_all = TRUE)%>% #distinct(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty, .keep_all =
TRUE)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty) %>%
 mutate(
  vv1=sum(vv1,na.rm=TRUE),
  pv1=sum(pv1,na.rm=TRUE)) %>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn) %>%
 mutate(
  nat vv1 = sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE)) \%>\%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, pty) %>%
 mutate(
  pty_nat_vv1 = sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE)) %>%
 mutate(
  nat_pvs = pty_nat_vv1/nat_vv1) %>%
 filter(nat_pvs>0.05) %>%
 mutate(
  pvs=pv1/vv1,
  pvs=ifelse(is.infinite(pvs), NA, pvs),
  pvs=ifelse(is.na(pvs), 0, pvs))%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, pty) %>%
 do((function(x) {
  giniI<-ineq(x$pvs, NULL, type = ineq.ind, na.rm=TRUE)
  data.frame(x, giniI)})(.)) %>%
 mutate(
  giniI=ifelse(giniI<0,0,giniI),
  giniI=ifelse(giniI==0,NA,giniI)) %>%
 select(ctr n, ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty, giniI, pv1, vv1) %>%
 arrange(ctr_n, ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty) %>%
 as.data.frame()
```

## 2. Party level of aggregation

```
*************
*Party Nationalization Measures -Party Level Dataset
**************
print("Computing Party Level Dataset...", quote=FALSE)
party.level<-data.b %>%
 distinct(.keep_all = TRUE) %>%
 left_join(gini) %>%
 mutate(
  PNS= 1 - giniI)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr)%>%
 mutate(
 district_size=length(unique(cst)),
  PNS s = PNS^{(1/(\log(district size))))} > \%
 distinct(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty, .keep_all = TRUE)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn)%>%
 mutate(
  nat_vv1=as.double(sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE)))%>%
 group by(ctr, yr, mn, pty)%>%
 mutate(
  pty_vv1=as.double(sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE)),
  denominator = nat vv1 * pty vv1,
  cst_vv1=vv1,
  vote share=pv1/cst vv1)%>%
 arrange(ctr, yr, mn, pty, vote_share) %>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, pty)%>%
 mutate(
  p_j=cumsum(pv1),
  inside = cst_vv1 * (p_j - (pv1/2)),
  numerator = sum(inside, na.rm=TRUE),
  PNS_w = (2 * numerator) / denominator) %>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, cst)%>%
 mutate(
  cst_vv1_new = sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE),
  vote_share_new = pv1/cst_vv1_new) %>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, pty)%>%
 mutate(
  p_i_new=cumsum(pv1),
  inside_new = cst_vv1_new * (p_j_new - (pv1/2)),
  numerator_new = sum(inside_new, na.rm=TRUE),
  PNS w_new = (2 * numerator_new)/ denominator,
  alt vv1 = 0,
  alt_vv1 = ifelse(PNS_w >= 1, 1, alt_vv1),
```

```
PNS_w = ifelse(PNS_w>=1, PNS_w_new, PNS_w),
  PNS_w = ifelse(PNS_w==1, NA, PNS_w),
  PNS w = ifelse(PNS w) = 1, PNS w new, PNS w),
  PNS_s = ifelse(PNS_s == 0, NA, PNS_s),
  PNS w = ifelse(pty == 3999|pty >= 6000|ctr == 292|
                ctr == 376 | ctr == 674 |
                (ctr == 840 \& yr == 1959 \& cst == 435), NA, PNS w),
  alt_vv1 = ifelse(is.na(PNS_w), 0, alt_vv1))%>%
  select(ctr_n, ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty_n, pty, cst_vv1, nat_vv1, PNS, PNS_s, PNS_w,
alt vv1)%>%
 mutate(
  top = nat_vv1^2,
  square = cst vv1^2)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, cst)%>%
 mutate(
  pid=1:length(nat_vv1),
  helper = rep(NA, length(nat vv1)),
  helper = ifelse(pid==1, square, helper)) %>% group_by(ctr, yr)%>%
 mutate(
  bottom=sum(helper, na.rm=TRUE),
  power_E = top/bottom,
  PNS sw = (PNS \text{ w})^{(1/(\log 10(power \text{ E})))},
  PNS_sw = ifelse(is.na(PNS_sw), NA, PNS_sw),
  PNS_sw = ifelse(PNS_sw>=1, NA, PNS_sw),
  PNS = ifelse(PNS==1, NA, PNS),
  PNS_s = ifelse(PNS_s == 1, NA, PNS_s),
  PNS s = ifelse(pty >= 3996 \& pty < 5000, NA, PNS s),
  PNS_w=ifelse(pty >= 3996 & pty < 5000, NA, PNS_w),
  PNS_sw=ifelse(pty >= 3996 & pty < 5000, NA, PNS_sw))%>%
 right join(data.grid)%>%
 select(ctr_n, ctr, yr, mn, pty_n, pty, PNS, PNS_s, PNS_w, PNS_sw)%>%
 arrange(ctr n, ctr, yr, mn, pty n, pty, PNS, PNS s, PNS w, PNS sw)%>%
 distinct(ctr, yr, mn, pty, .keep_all = TRUE)
write.csv(party.level, "party.level.csv")
print(paste("Party Level Dataset has been successfully saved to the folder", getwd(), sep=""),
quote=FALSE)
3. National level of aggregation
***************
```

```
*Party Nationalization Measures - National Level Dataset
****************
print("Computing National Level Dataset...", quote=FALSE)
national.level.nat<-data.b %>%
```

```
distinct(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty, .keep_all = TRUE)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, pty) %>%
 mutate(
  pv1=sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE)) %>%
 distinct(ctr, yr, mn, pty, .keep_all = TRUE)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn) %>%
 mutate(
  nat_vv1 = sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE),
  party_prop_nat2 = (pv1/nat_vv1)^2,
  denom = sum(party_prop_nat2),
  ENEP_nat = 1/denom) \% > \%
 select(ctr_n, ctr, yr, mn, ENEP_nat)%>%
 mutate(
  ENEP_nat = ifelse(yr < 1834 \& ctr == 840, NA, ENEP_nat),
  ENEP_nat= ifelse(yr == 1950 & ctr == 410, NA, ENEP_nat))%>%
 distinct(ctr_n, ctr, yr, mn, .keep_all = TRUE)%>%
 arrange(ctr n, ctr, yr, mn)
national.level.nat2<-data.b %>%
 select(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty, vv1, pv1)%>%
 distinct(.keep all = TRUE)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty)%>%
 mutate(
 pv1=sum(pv1))%>%
 arrange(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty)%>%
 distinct(.keep_all = TRUE)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, cst)%>%
 mutate(
  new vv1=sum(pv1),
  share2 = (pv1/new_vv1)^2,
  denom = sum(share2),
  ENEP_cst = 1/denom,
  indicator = 0,
  indicator= ifelse(new vv1 != vv1, 1, indicator))%>%
 distinct(ctr, yr, mn, cst, .keep_all = TRUE)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn)%>%
 mutate(
  indicator = ifelse(sum(indicator, na.rm=TRUE)>0,1,indicator),
  nat vv1 = sum(new vv1, na.rm=TRUE),
  cst_wght = new_vv1/nat_vv1,
  weighted = cst wght * ENEP cst,
  ENEP_wght = sum(weighted, na.rm=TRUE),
  ENEP_avg = mean(ENEP_cst, na.rm=TRUE))%>%
 right join(national.level.nat)%>%
 select(ctr_n, ctr, yr, mn, ENEP_nat, ENEP_avg, ENEP_wght, indicator)%>%
```

```
mutate(
  ENEP avg= ifelse(vr < 1834 \& ctr == 840, NA, ENEP avg),
  ENEP avg= ifelse(yr == 1950 \& ctr == 410, NA, ENEP avg),
  ENEP_wght= ifelse(yr < 1834 & ctr == 840, NA, ENEP_wght),
  ENEP wght= ifelse(yr == 1950 & ctr == 410, NA, ENEP wght))%>%
 distinct(ctr_n, ctr, yr, mn, .keep_all = TRUE)%>%
 mutate(
  Cox = (ENEP_nat - ENEP_avg)/ ENEP_nat,
  MK_I = (ENEP_nat - ENEP_avg)/ ENEP_avg,
  MK I w = (ENEP \text{ nat - ENEP wght})/ENEP \text{ wght})
national.level.mk_n<- data.b %>%
 distinct(ctr, yr, mn, pty, cst, .keep all = TRUE)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, cst)%>%
 mutate(
  new_vv1=sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE),
  share2 = (pv1/new vv1) * (pv1/new vv1),
  denom = sum(share2, na.rm=TRUE),
  ENEP_cst = 1/denom)\% > \%
 left_join(national.level.nat2)%>%
 mutate(
  I i = ((ENEP nat-ENEP cst)/ENEP cst) * 100)\%>\%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn)%>%
 mutate(
  alpha = .5,
  beta = .25,
  gamma = .5,
  n districts = max(cst),
  nat_vote = sum(new_vv1, na.rm=TRUE),
  cst vote proportion = new vv1/nat vote,
  product = ENEP_cst * cst_vote_proportion,
  sum cst = sum(product, na.rm=TRUE),
  denominator = n_districts * sum_cst,
  W_tilde = ENEP_cst/ denominator,
  I w = ((ENEP \text{ nat - sum cst})/\text{sum cst})*100,
  numerator = (I i - I w)^2 * W tilde,
  sum numerator = sum(numerator, na.rm=TRUE),
  coeff var I i = sqrt(sum numerator)/I w,
  numerator2 = ((I_i - I_w)^4) * W_tilde,
  sum numerator2 = sum(numerator2, na.rm=TRUE),
  denominator2 = ((I_i - I_w)^2) * W_{tilde}
  sum denominator2 = sum(denominator2, na.rm=TRUE),
  sq\_sum\_denominator2 = (sum\_denominator2)^2,
  kurtosis I i = sum numerator2/sq sum denominator2,
  D = (coeff\_var\_I\_i)^gamma * (kurtosis\_I\_i)^(1 - gamma),
  MK_N = ((I_w)^a lpha) * (D^(1 - alpha)),
```

```
MK_N_two = ((I_w)^alpha) * ((coeff_var_I_i)^beta) * ((kurtosis_I_i)^(1 - alpha - I_i)^beta) * ((kurtosis_I_i)^(1
beta)))%>%
  arrange(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty)%>%
     group_by(ctr, yr, mn)%>%
  mutate(
     nat_vv1 = sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE))%>%
  group_by(ctr, yr, mn, pty)%>%
  mutate(
     pty vv1 = sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE))\%>\%
  select(-c(cst,cst_n, pty_n))%>%
  distinct(ctr, yr, mn, pty, .keep_all = TRUE)%>%
  left_join(party.level)%>%
  arrange(ctr, ctr_n, yr, mn, pty, pty_n)%>%
  mutate(
     weight = pty_vv1/nat_vv1)%>%
  group_by(ctr, yr, mn)%>%
  mutate(
     PSNS = sum(PNS * weight, na.rm=TRUE),
     PSNS_s = sum(PNS_s * weight, na.rm=TRUE),
     PSNS_w = sum(PNS_w * weight, na.rm=TRUE),
     PSNS_sw = sum(PNS_sw *weight, na.rm=TRUE),
     PSNS = ifelse(PSNS == 0|PSNS > 1, NA, PSNS),
     PSNS s = ifelse(PSNS \ s == 0 \mid PSNS \ s > 1, NA, PSNS \ s),
     PSNS_w = ifelse(PSNS_w == 0 | PSNS_w > 1, NA, PSNS_w),
     PSNS_sw = ifelse(PSNS_sw == 0 | PSNS_sw > 1, NA, PSNS_sw),
     MK N two = as.numeric(sprintf("%.3f", MK N two)),
     MK_N = as.numeric(sprintf("%.3f", MK_N)))%>%
  select(ctr, yr, mn, PSNS, PSNS_s, PSNS_w, PSNS_sw, MK_N, MK_N_two)%>%
  summarise_each(funs(mean(., na.rm=TRUE)))%>%
  distinct(ctr, yr, mn, .keep all = TRUE)
national.level.psns<-data.c %>%
  distinct(ctr, yr, mn, pty, cst, .keep_all = TRUE)%>%
  group_by(ctr, yr, mn)%>%
  mutate(
     nat_vote = sum(pv1, na.rm=TRUE))%>%
  group_by(ctr, yr, mn, cst)%>%
  mutate(
     seat_cst = sum(seat, na.rm=TRUE),
     party vote proportion = pv1/nat vote)%>%
  arrange(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty)%>%
  group_by(ctr, yr, mn)%>%
  mutate(
     seat_total = sum(seat, na.rm=TRUE))%>%
  group_by(ctr, yr, mn, pty)%>%
  mutate(
```

```
seat_contest = sum(seat_cst, na.rm=TRUE),
  seat_proportion = seat_contest/seat_total,
  local E = party vote proportion * seat proportion)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn)%>%
 mutate(
  local_E = sum(local_E, na.rm=TRUE))%>%
 select(ctr, ctr n, yr, mn, local E)%>%
 distinct(ctr_n, ctr, yr, mn, .keep_all = TRUE)
national.level<-national.level.nat2 %>%
 left_join(national.level.nat)%>%
 right join(national.level.mk n)%>%
 left join(national.level.psns)%>%
 rename(inflation1=Cox, inflation2=MK_I, inflation3=MK_I_w, inflation4=MK_N,
nvvi=indicator,
      ENP_nat=ENEP_nat, ENP_avg=ENEP_avg, ENP_wght=ENEP_wght)%>%
 mutate(
  nvvi = replace(nvvi, is.na(nvvi), 0))%>%
 mutate(
  inflation1 = ifelse(inflation1==0, NA, inflation1),
  inflation2 = ifelse(inflation2==0, NA, inflation2),
  inflation3 = ifelse(inflation3==0, NA, inflation3),
  inflation4 = ifelse(inflation4==0, NA, inflation4),
  local_E = ifelse(local_E == 0, NA, local_E),
  ENP_nat = ifelse(ctr == 144 & yr == 1947 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1952 | ctr == 144 & yr ==
1956 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1960 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1965 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1970 | ctr == 144
& yr == 1977, NA, ENP nat),
  ENP_avg = ifelse(ctr == 144 & yr == 1947 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1952 | ctr == 144 & yr ==
1956 \mid \text{ctr} == 144 \& \text{yr} == 1960 \mid \text{ctr} == 144 \& \text{yr} == 1965 \mid \text{ctr} == 144 \& \text{yr} == 1970 \mid \text{ctr} == 144
& yr == 1977, NA, ENP avg),
  ENP_wght = ifelse(ctr == 144 & yr == 1947 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1952 | ctr == 144 & yr ==
1956 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1960 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1965 | ctr == 144 & yr == 1970 | ctr == 144
& yr == 1977, NA, ENP_wght))%>%
  right_join(data.grid)%>%
  distinct(ctr n, ctr, yr, mn, .keep all = TRUE)%>%
  select(ctr n, ctr, yr, mn, nvvi, ENP nat, ENP avg, ENP wght, inflation1, inflation2,
inflation3.
      inflation4, PSNS, PSNS_s, PSNS_w, PSNS_sw, local_E)%>%
  arrange(ctr_n, ctr, yr, mn, nvvi, ENP_nat, ENP_avg, ENP_wght, inflation1, inflation2,
inflation3.
       inflation4, PSNS, PSNS_s, PSNS_w, PSNS_sw, local_E)
write.csv(national.level, "national.level.csv")
print(paste("National Level Dataset has been successfully saved to the folder ", getwd(), sep=""),
quote=FALSE)
```

## 4. Constituency level of aggregation

```
******************
*Party Nationalization Measures - Constituency Level Dataset
*******************
*Note: this part of the file uses CLEA data to create several alternate measures of party
nationalization identified in the literature */
print("Computing Constituency Level Dataset...", quote=FALSE)
cst.level<-data.b %>%
 distinct(ctr, yr, mn, cst, pty, .keep all = TRUE)%>%
 group_by(ctr, yr, mn, cst) %>%
 mutate(
  new_vv1 = sum(pv1,na.rm=TRUE),
  share 2 = (pv1/new vv1)^2,
  denom = sum(share2),
  ENP_cst = 1/denom,
  cvvi = 0,
  cvvi = ifelse(vv1!= new_vv1, 1, cvvi))%>%
 select(ctr, yr, mn, cst, cst_n, ENP cst, cvvi)%>%
 distinct(ctr, yr, mn, cst, .keep_all = TRUE)%>%
 left_join(national.level)%>%
 mutate(
  inflation5 = (ENP_nat - ENP_cst)/ENP_cst,
  ENP cst=ifelse(yr < 1834 & ctr == 840, NA, ENP cst))%>%
 right join(data.grid)%>%
 mutate(
  nvvi = ifelse(is.na(nvvi), 0, nvvi),
  cvvi = ifelse(is.na(cvvi), 0, cvvi))%>%
 select(ctr_n, ctr, yr, mn, cst_n, cst, nvvi, cvvi, ENP_cst, ENP_nat, ENP_avg,
     ENP_wght, inflation1, inflation2, inflation3, inflation4, inflation5,
     PSNS, PSNS_s, PSNS_w, PSNS_sw, local_E)%>%
 arrange(ctr n, ctr, yr, mn, cst n, cst, nvvi, cvvi, ENP cst, ENP nat, ENP avg,
      ENP wght, inflation1, inflation2, inflation3, inflation4, inflation5,
       PSNS, PSNS s, PSNS w, PSNS sw, local E)%>%
 distinct(ctr, vr, mn, cst, .keep all = TRUE)
write.csv(cst.level, "cst.level.csv")
print(paste("Constituency Level Dataset has been successfully saved to the folder", getwd(),
sep=""), quote=FALSE)
cat("The entire computation took ", proc.time()[1]-start.timer[1], "secs \n")
print("Done!", quote=FALSE)
#FUNCTION ENDS HERE
```