

Borbáth, Endre

Article — Published Version

Two faces of party system stability: Programmatic change and party replacement

Party Politics

Provided in Cooperation with:
WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Suggested Citation: Borbáth, Endre (2020) : Two faces of party system stability: Programmatic change and party replacement, Party Politics, ISSN 1460-3683, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, Iss. OnlineFirst Articles,
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1354068820917628>

This Version is available at:
<http://hdl.handle.net/10419/218881>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Supplemental Material: Two Faces of Party System Stability

Programmatic Change and Party Replacement

Supplemental Material A: List of Elections	1
Supplemental Material B: The Core Sentence Dataset	2
Data Sources and Coding Strategy	2
List of Newspapers	5
Issue Aggregation.....	6
Supplemental Material C: The Party Replacement Dataset	7
Data Sources and Coding Strategy	7
List of Genuinely New Parties	10
List of Disappearing Parties	11
Supplemental Material D: Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS)	12
Supplemental Material E: Additional Figures.....	16
Country-Election Level Programmatic Change	16
Party Level Programmatic Change	18

Supplemental Material A: List of Elections

	Pre Crisis1	Pre Crisis2	Post Crisis 1	Post Crisis 2	Post Crisis 3	Post Crisis 4	Post Crisis 5
<i>Austria</i>	1-Oct-06	28-Sep-08	29-Sep-13	15-Oct-17			
<i>United Kingdom</i>	5-May-05		6-May-10	7-May-15	8-Jun-17		
<i>France</i>	22-Apr-07		22-Apr-12	23-Apr-17			
<i>Germany</i>	18-Sep-05		27-Sep-09	22-Sep-13	14-Sep-17		
<i>Netherlands</i>	22-Nov-06		9-Jun-10	12-Sep-12	15-Mar-17		
<i>Switzerland</i>	21-Oct-07		23-Oct-11	18-Oct-15			
<i>Ireland</i>	24-May-07		25-Feb-11	26-Feb-16			
<i>Greece</i>	16-Sep-07		4-Oct-09	6-May-12	17-Jun-12	25-Jan-15	20-Sep-15
<i>Italy</i>	9-Apr-06	13-Apr-08	25-Feb-13				
<i>Portugal</i>	20-Feb-05		27-Sep-09	5-Jun-11	4-Oct-15		
<i>Spain</i>	14-Mar-04	9-Mar-08	20-Nov-11	20-Dec-15	26-Jun-16		
<i>Hungary</i>	9-Apr-06		25-Apr-10	6-Apr-14			
<i>Latvia</i>	7-Oct-06		2-Oct-10	17-Sep-11	4-Oct-14		
<i>Poland</i>	19-Oct-07		9-Oct-11	25-Oct-15			
<i>Romania</i>	28-Nov-04	30-Nov-08	9-Dec-12	11-Dec-16			

Note: In four cases that held general elections in 2008 (Austria, Italy, Spain, and Romania), the data also includes these and the pre-2008 elections. The first data point is Spain (2004) and the last one is Austria (2017).

Supplemental Material B: The Core Sentence Dataset

Data Sources and Coding Strategy

As stated in the data section, the core sentences dataset is based on articles from two newspapers per country. The following table lists the sources for all fifteen countries covered by the study. As an update to the data by Kriesi et al. (2008, 2012) for the six northwestern European countries (i.e., Austria, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland) the major quality and boulevard newspaper were sampled (for additional details see: Hutter and Kriesi, 2019). The data collection strategy in Ireland has been the same. However, in the case of the four eastern European countries and the four southern European countries there was a different sampling strategy implemented. For those countries, the main center-left and center-right newspapers were sampled. The data collection followed a different sampling strategy for two reasons: (a) the media systems in some of these countries tend to be more polarized and therefore even quality newspapers carry an ‘ideological’ bias; (b) the distinction between quality and tabloid newspapers is much less clear-cut than in the six northwestern European countries studied before. In the case of Latvia, the dataset included an additional sample from one of the Russian language newspapers to reflect the issue space from the perspective of the ethnic minority.

All news articles that were published within two months before the national Election Day and which reported on the electoral contest and national party politics more generally were selected. Editorials and commentaries were excluded from the selection. The selection was done by an extensive keyword list including the names and abbreviations of political parties and key politicians from each party. In the case of early elections, the period from the announcement of the election until Election Day was selected. Following the Kriesi et al. (2008; 2012) dataset, in the case of France, the campaign before the first round of the presidential elections is coded.

In the next step, a sample of the selected articles using core sentence analysis (CSA) has been coded. Following this type of relational content analysis, each grammatical sentence of an article is reduced to its most basic ‘core sentence(s)’ structure, which contain(s) only the subject, the object, and the direction of the relationship between the two. The core sentence approach was developed by Kleinnijenhuis and colleagues (e.g. Kleinnijenhuis et al., 1997). This type of quantitative content analysis distinguishes between issue positions and salience. The direction between actors and issues is quantified using a scale ranging from -1 to +1, with three intermediary positions. For example, the grammatical sentence “Party leader A rejects calls for leaving the Eurozone but supports a haircut on the country’s debt” leads to two coded observations (Party A +1 Eurozone membership; Party A +1 haircut). In the analysis only core sentences which capture the relation between party actors and political issues were included, that is, the ones which neglect relations between different actors. The dataset included the function, party affiliation, and (if available) name of actors. Overall, the analyses are based on around 74,929 of these actor-issue sentences (an average of 1,315 per campaign). For the present analysis, the actors were grouped according to their party affiliation. The issues were coded in even more detail (with more than 200 coded categories per election campaign). However, based on the list proposed by Kriesi et al. (2008; 2012) and Hutter and Kriesi (2019) they were aggregated into 17 categories that (a) capture the broad conflicts described in the previous sections and (b) enable comparisons across countries and elections. These categories are: welfare, economic liberalism, economic reform, anti-corruption, renewing the institutions of democracy, reforming democracy, regionalism, Europe, the Euro, cultural liberalism, nationalism, immigration, security, defense, education, the environment, and infrastructure. The table included presents the way narrower issues were aggregated into these categories.

Literature:

Hutter S and Kriesi H (eds) (2019) *European Party Politics in Times of Crises*. Cambridge University Press.

Kleinnijenhuis J, Ridder JA de and Rietberg EM (1997) *Reasoning in Economic Discourse: An Application of the Network Approach to the Dutch Press*. *Text Analysis for the Social Sciences: Methods of Drawing Statistical Inferences from Texts and Transcripts*. Available at: <https://research.vu.nl/en/publications/reasoning-in-economic-discourse-an-application-of-the-network-app-2> (accessed 28 May 2018).

Kriesi H, Grande E, Lachat R, et al. (2008) *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kriesi H, Grande E, Dolezal M, et al. (2012) *Political Conflict in Western Europe*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

List of Newspapers

	First Source	Second Source	Third Source
<i>Austria</i>	Die Presse	Kronenzeitung	
<i>United Kingdom</i>	The Times	The Sun (English ed.)	
<i>France</i>	Le Monde	Le Parisien	
<i>Germany</i>	Sueddeutsche Zeitung	Bild	
<i>Netherlands</i>	NRC Handelsblad	Algemeen Dagblad	
<i>Switzerland</i>	NZZ	Blick	
<i>Ireland</i>	The Irish Times	The Sun (Irish ed.)	
<i>Greece</i>	Ta Nea	Kathimerini	
<i>Italy</i>	La Repubblica	Corriere della Sera	
<i>Portugal</i>	Público	Diário de Notícias	
<i>Spain</i>	El Mundo	El País	
<i>Hungary</i>	Nepszabadsag	Magyar Nemzet	
<i>Latvia</i>	Latvijas Avīze	Diena	Vesti segodnya
<i>Poland</i>	Gazeta Wyborcza	Rzeczpospolita	
<i>Romania</i>	Jurnalul National	Adevarul	

Issue Aggregation

Categories	Description (a position of +1 stands for ...)
1. <i>Welfare</i>	support for an expansion of the welfare state; objection to welfare state retrenchment; support for tax reforms with a redistributive character; calls for employment and health care programs
2. <i>Economic Liberalism</i>	opposition to market regulation, economic protectionism in agriculture and other sectors of the economy; support for deregulation, more competition, and privatization; support for a rigid budgetary policy; reduction of the state deficit and taxes without direct redistributive effects
3. <i>Economic Reform (vague)</i>	support for general economic reforms without clear direction (e.g., fighting economic crisis; fighting unemployment)
4. <i>Education</i>	support for education and research
5. <i>Infrastructure</i>	support for improving the country's roads, railways, and other physical infrastructure
6. <i>Democratic Renewal</i>	support for institutional reforms to make the political system more democratic or transparent
7. <i>Democratic Reform (vague)</i>	support for general reforms of the political system, condemning the fascist or communist past
8. <i>Anti-Corruption</i>	Accusations of corruption, obstruction of justice, abuse of power.
9. <i>Regionalism</i>	support for regional autonomy or independence
10. <i>Europe</i>	support for European integration in general, deepening and widening
11. <i>Euro</i>	support for the euro as a common currency, opposition to leaving the Eurozone
12. <i>Cultural Liberalism</i>	support for cultural diversity, international cooperation, gender equality, homosexuals; opposition to national traditions and traditional moral values.
13. <i>Anti-Immigration</i>	support for restrictive immigration and integration policies
14. <i>Nationalism</i>	support for nationalist ideas; opposition to rights of ethnic minorities (e.g., Roma)
15. <i>Environment</i>	support for environmental protection; opposition to nuclear energy
16. <i>Security</i>	support for more law and order, fighting crime (except tax fraud and corruption)
17. <i>Defense</i>	support for military interventions, the armed forces, a strong national defense, and nuclear weapons

Supplemental Material C: The Party Replacement Dataset

Data Sources and Coding Strategy

To construct the party replacement indicator, I construct a dataset which codes each competing formation in the 57 elections under consideration. The dataset is based on ParlGov (Döring and Manow, 2019) and includes all parties which gained more than 1% of the vote in one election in the sample. For each of these formations I coded the following: (1) genuine newness; (2) splinter; (3) merger or (4) joint list with a new name; (5) merger or (6) joint list without a name change; (7) did not run or (8) has been disbanded. Variants of indicators of organizational change using similar measures are used by Marinova (2016) or Ibenskas and Sikk (2017). The measure of extra-system volatility is one variant of this measure with two key differences.

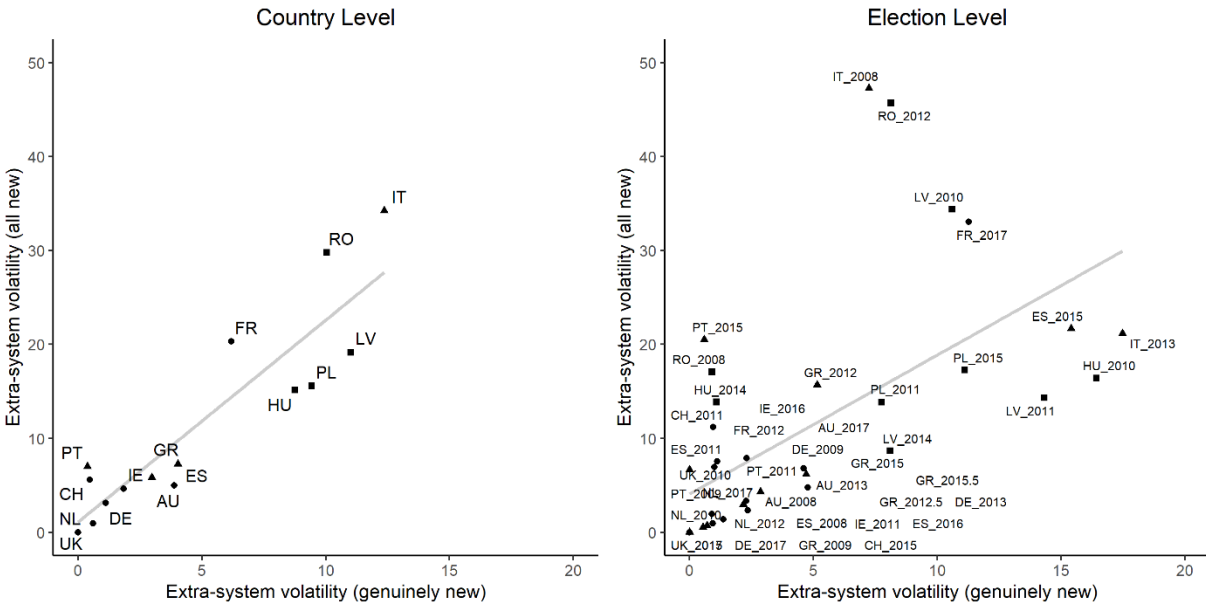
Firstly, in calculating extra-system volatility organizational change is weighted by the corresponding vote share. This decision is warranted by the party system perspective, to avoid equating systems where small parties regularly enter parliament but do not become popular with systems where the most popular parties were established shortly before the elections. Secondly, the indicator of extra-system volatility I calculate only considers the entrance of genuinely new parties and the death of established ones, as opposed to a wider range of changes including mergers and splits. As Marinova (2016) shows, mergers, joint lists, or splits carry less “novelty” than the entry of a genuinely new party. Nevertheless, as shown below, the index is robust to this decision.

Operationalizing the index implies two key decisions (Casal Bértoa et al. 2017): the threshold of inclusion and party continuity over time. The threshold I use corresponds to the 1% guideline. The question of continuity is less straightforward since there are no good reasons to follow one alternative over another (Casal Bértoa et al. 2017, p. 152). Each rule proposes a

different way of treating party mergers, joint lists, or splits. If these forms of cooperation are accompanied by new party labels they appear as choices previously not on the ballot. Nevertheless, as Marinova (2016) shows, mergers, joint lists, or splits carry less ‘novelty’ than the entry of a genuinely new party.

Figure 1 presents extra-system volatility scores calculated according to two different rules of continuity. Either by considering new all mergers, joint lists, or splits with a new name, or by only counting as new the entry of a genuinely new party. The figure presents the averages of all elections at the ‘country level’, next to the scores of individual elections.

Figure 1: Extra-system volatility calculated using two different rules of continuity



As the figure shows, at the country level the two differently calculated scores are strongly related. Nevertheless, there are important differences. In countries above the line, most notably in Italy, Romania, France, parties frequently enter into mergers and coalitions, whereas in other cases, e.g., Austria, similar forms of cooperation are rare.

As the election level figure shows, there are two outliers: Italy (2008) and Romania (2012). In the Italian case, the two largest formations changed their previous (2006) name. Forza Italia

joined forces with the National Alliance and established The People of Freedom. The centre-left parties of the previous Olive Tree coalition merged into a new formation, the Democratic Party. These two new mergers secured 72% of the vote, increasing extra-system volatility without the entry of a genuinely new party. In the Romanian case, the National Liberal Party joined the Social Democratic Party and ran as a new joint list called the Social Liberal Union. In turn, the centre-right Democratic Liberal Party formed a new joint list with smaller parties called the Right Romania Alliance. The two joint lists won 75% of the vote, and additionally the genuinely new People's Party - Dan Diaconescu entered parliament with 14% of the vote.

Both examples highlight the limited impact of these new forms of cooperation for the electorate which voted for the new mergers in similar numbers as they previously voted for their component formations. The high electoral support these mergers secured is a sign of the survival of the existing parties and not of their decline. Therefore, I rely on extra-system volatility calculated with the entry of genuinely new parties, as it reflects organizational changes which are not controlled by the elites of existing parties and goes beyond a temporary cooperation between established formations.

Literature:

Casal Bértoa F, Deegan-Krause K and Haughton T (2017) The volatility of volatility: Measuring change in party vote shares. *Electoral Studies* 50: 142–156.

Döring H and Manow P (2019) *Parliaments and governments database (ParlGov): Information on parties, elections and cabinets in modern democracies*.

Ibenskas R and Sikk A (2017) Patterns of party change in Central and Eastern Europe, 1990–2015. *Party Politics* 23(1): 43–54.

Marinova D (2016) *Coping with Complexity: How Voters Adapt to Unstable Parties*. ECPR Press.

List of Genuinely New Parties

Country	Election	Genuinely New Party
<i>Austria</i>	2008	The Citizens' Forum Austria
	2013	Team Stronach
<i>Germany</i>	2009	German Pirate Party
	2013	Alternative for Germany
<i>Greece</i>	2012	Front of the Greek Anticapitalist Left
	2012	Peoples Association -- Golden Dawn
	2012	Recreate Greece
	2015	Dot -- Apostolos Gkletsos
	2015	The River
<i>Hungary</i>	2010	Jobbik Movement for a Better Hungary
	2010	Politics Can Be Different
<i>Ireland</i>	2016	Independents 4 Change
	2016	Renua Ireland
<i>Italy</i>	2013	Civic Choice
	2013	Five Star Movement
	2013	Stop the Decline
<i>Latvia</i>	2011	Reform Party
	2014	For Latvia from the Heart
<i>Netherlands</i>	2012	50PLUS
	2017	Forum for Democracy
<i>Poland</i>	2011	Real Politics Union Congress of the New Right
	2015	Kukiz'15
	2015	Modern
	2015	Together Party
<i>Portugal</i>	2011	Party for Animals and Nature
	2015	Republican Democratic Party
<i>Romania</i>	2012	People's Party -- Dan Diaconescu
	2016	Save Romania Union
	2016	United Romania Party
<i>Spain</i>	2008	Animalist Party Against Mistreatment to Animals
	2008	Union, Progress and Democracy
	2015	Citizens -- Party of the Citizenry
	2015	We Can

List of Disappearing Parties

Country	Election	Disappearing Party
<i>Austria</i>	2008	Martin
	2013	Fritz
	2013	LIF
	2017	BZO
	2017	TS
<i>France</i>	2012	MF
	2017	PCF
	2017	UDFMD
	2017	V
<i>Greece</i>	2012	D-FS
	2012	DISY
	2015	DX
	2015	DIMAR
	2015	DISY
	2015	KIDISO
	2015	LAOS
<i>Hungary</i>	2010	MIEP
	2010	SzDSz
	2014	MDF
<i>Ireland</i>	2011	PD
	2016	PBPA
<i>Italy</i>	2008	AN
	2008	LUP
	2008	UDEUR
<i>Latvia</i>	2010	JD
	2010	JL
	2010	LSDSP
	2010	SDLP
	2010	VL
	2011	PLL
	2014	LPP/LC
<i>Poland</i>	2011	LPR
	2011	LiD
	2015	PjN
<i>Romania</i>	2008	PNT-CD
	2012	PNG-CD
	2016	PD-L
	2016	PP-DD
<i>Spain</i>	2015	CiU
<i>Switzerland</i>	2011	LPS

Supplemental Material D: Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS)

The aim of MDS is to obtain a graphical representation of the relative locations of a set of objects in a low-dimensional space. Starting from information on the proximities between pairs of objects, MDS finds the optimal space in which these objects can be located while distorting as little as possible the original proximities. In the present analysis, the distances between parties at different time points are considered, which were determined with the help of content analyses, and use MDS to construct a representation of the locations of these parties and issues in a (two-dimensional) space.

It is not the purpose of this short review to explain all details of MDS. Overviews of this statistical method can be found in Borg and Groenen (1997), Cox and Cox (2001), or Kruskal and Wish (1978). Rabinowitz (1975) also presents a good and simple introduction to the topic but limited to the case of nonmetric MDS. Rather, to review some of the peculiarities of the analyses performed, which differ from a 'standard' MDS. Most important among these are the unfolding technique and the use of weights.

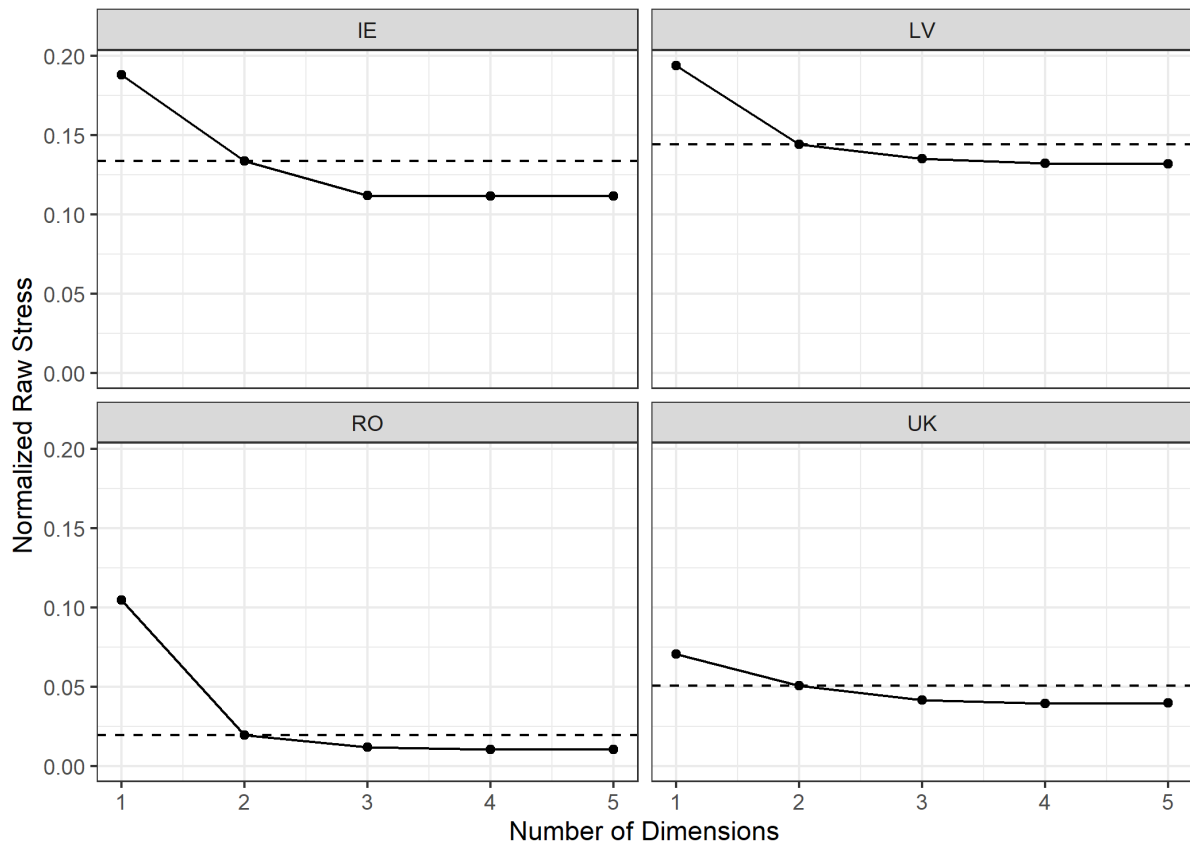
Unfolding models are special cases of MDS where information is available on the proximities between objects of two different sets, but not on the proximities between objects within each of the two sets. In my analyses, I have used information on the distances between parties and issues. However, there is no comparable measures of the distances between pairs of parties or between pairs of issues in the dataset. Such data can be analysed with standard MDS techniques, but it means that at least half of the cells in the proximity matrix have missing values. When such data are analysed with nonmetric MDS (which for instance implies a transformation of the original proximities into rank orders), the solutions 'are subject to many potential degeneracies' (Borg and Groenen, 1997: 231). Metric MDS, however, is more robust and avoids the problems linked with nonmetric MDS in the case of unfolding (Borg and Groenen, 1997: 245ff.).

The second particularity of our MDS analyses is the use of weights. As explained above, MDS locates the objects in a space while keeping the distances between them as close as possible to the original proximities. However, as the aim is to obtain a representation of the objects in a low dimensional space, some distortion of the original distances is unavoidable. The degree of distortion is measured by a ‘Stress’ statistic, which is based on the sum of the squared distances between the original proximities and the proximities obtained in the solution. The higher the value of the Stress statistic, the worse is the fit between the solution and the data. The aim is thus to find the solution that minimizes the value of Stress. In the case of the present analysis the aim is to obtain a configuration of parties and issues where the distances between them are as close as possible to those in the original data.

By using weights, the analysis allows for the possibility that some distortions of original distances have a larger impact on the value of Stress than others. In other words, it lends more importance to representing some distances faithfully and less importance to the degree of distortion affecting other distances. The rationale for this is that not all relations between parties and issues have the same importance. In a campaign, parties address some issues very frequently while other issues play a minor role in their statements. Similarly, not all parties are central actors in a campaign. I account for such variation by computing weights that reflect the salience of a given party \times issue relationship. These weights are calculated as the number of core sentences corresponding to a given party \times relationship, expressed as a proportion of the total number of relationships between parties and issues.

Figure 1 presents change in the Stress statistic in the MDS analysis of the four countries, as a function of the number of dimensions extracted. As the figure shows, the marginal effect of extracting an additional dimension in terms of reducing the stress statistic sharply declines after the second dimension. In other words, albeit with some variation, the political space of all four countries is accurately reflected in a two-dimensional space.

Figure 1: Change in raw stress as a function of the number of dimensions extracted (MDS analysis)



As in any spatial analysis, it is important to note that the focus on dimensions comes at the expense of details. That is, MDS allows us to identify main lines of opposition in the party system as if under a magnifying glass. The trade-off is that less salient issues and actors are less accurately represented. MDS configurations can only be interpreted regarding distances between objects. The orientation of a configuration is arbitrary, which implies that it can be freely rotated. To facilitate comparison of the spaces shown in the paper, is rotated in such a way that the issues ‘welfare’ and ‘economic liberalism’ are situated on a horizontal line.

Literature:

Borg, Ingwer and Patrick Groenen (1997). *Modern Multidimensional Scaling: Theory and Applications*. Springer Series in Statistics. New York: Springer.

Cox, Trevor F. and Michael A. A. Cox (2001). *Multidimensional Scaling*. Second Edition. London: Chapman & Hall.

Kruskal, Joseph B. and Myron Wish (1978). *Multidimensional Scaling*. Sage University Paper series on Quantitative Application in the Social Sciences, 07-011. Newbury Park: Sage.

Rabinowitz, George B. (1975). "An Introduction to Nonmetric Multidimensional Scaling", *American Journal of Political Science* 19(2): 343-390.

Supplemental Material E: Additional Figures

Country-Election Level Programmatic Change

Figure 1: Level of programmatic change by issues on the country/election level

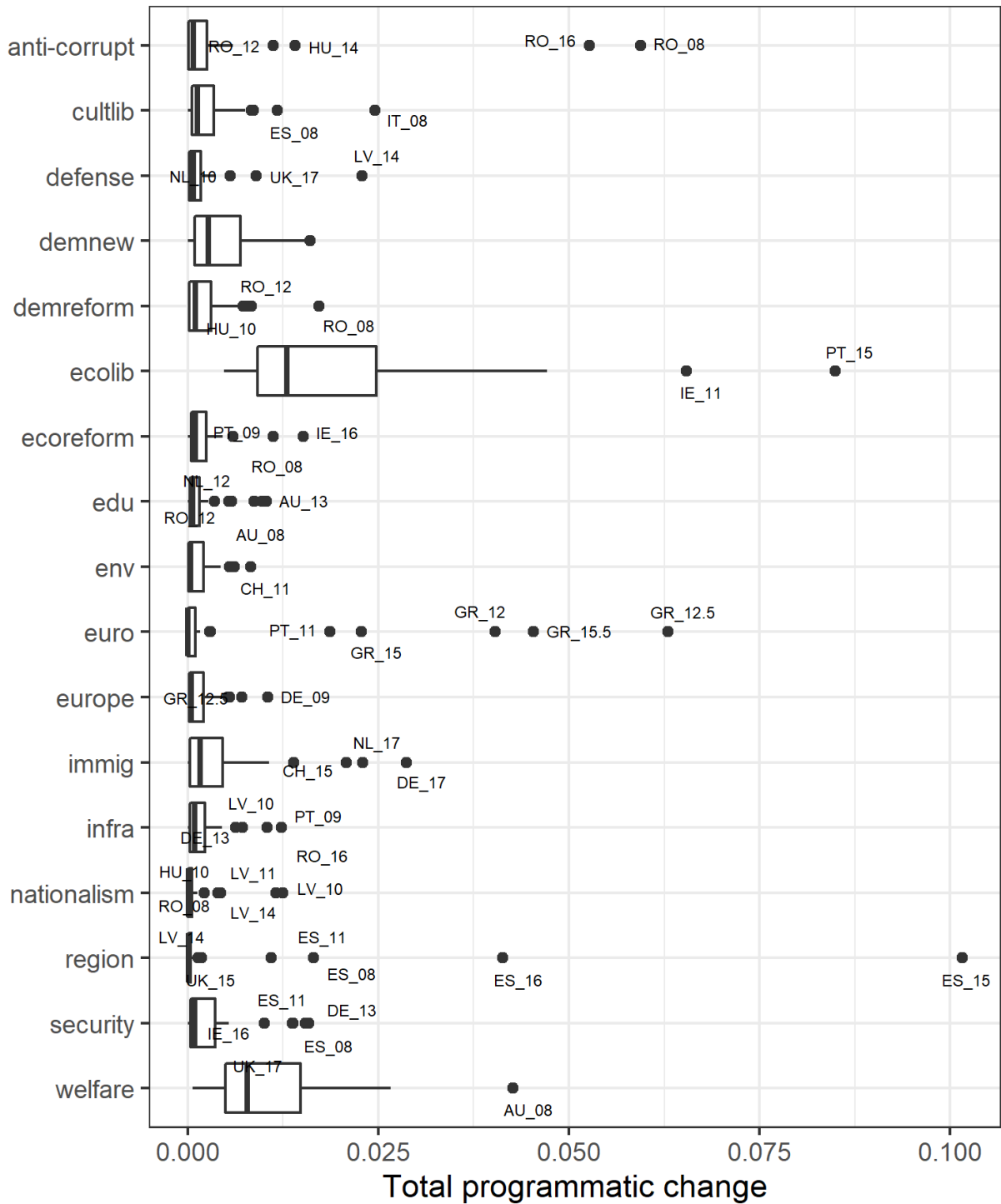


Figure 2: Level of programmatic change by country and issues



Party Level Programmatic Change

Figure 3: Programmatic change on the party level in the United Kingdom

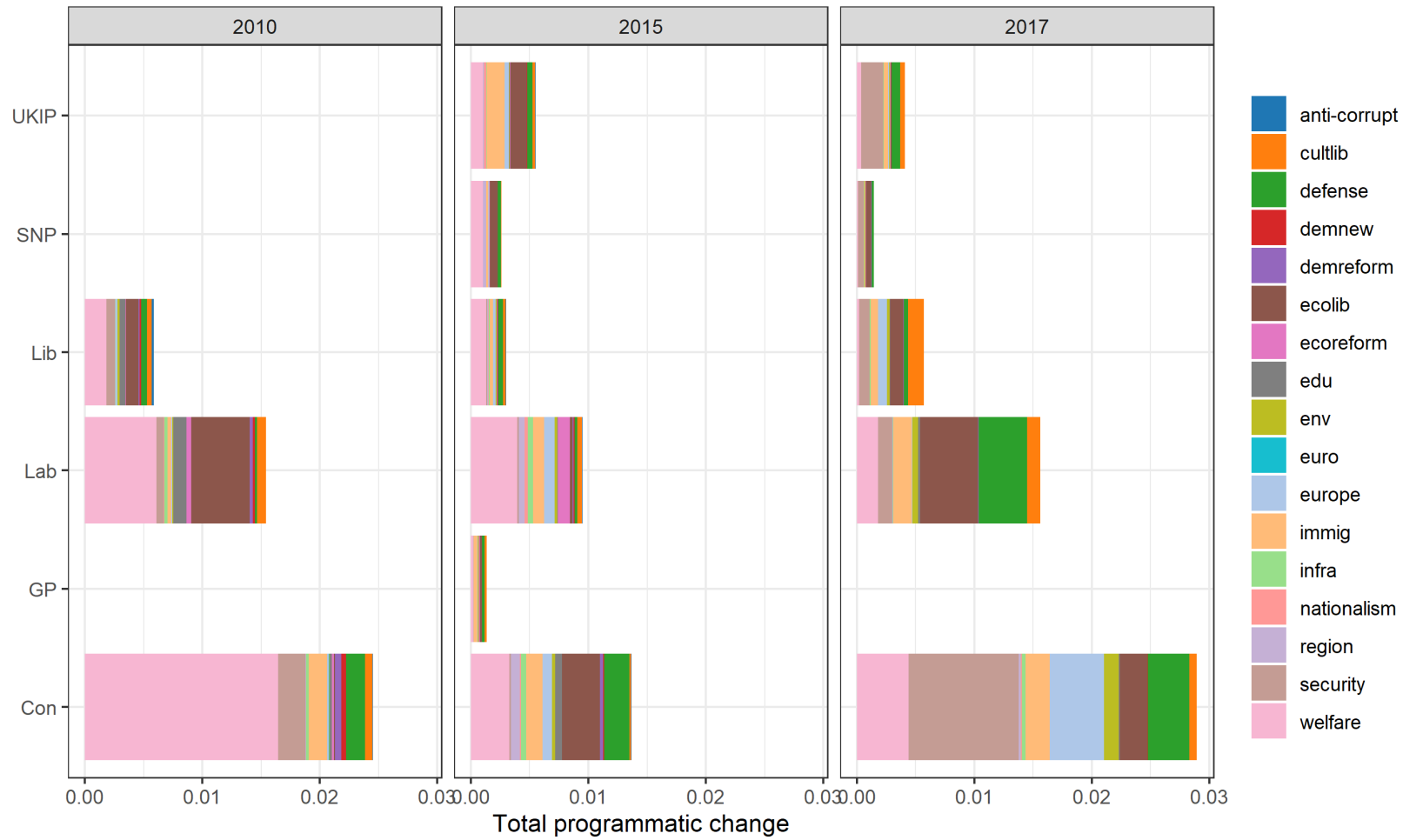


Figure 4: Programmatic change on the party level in Romania

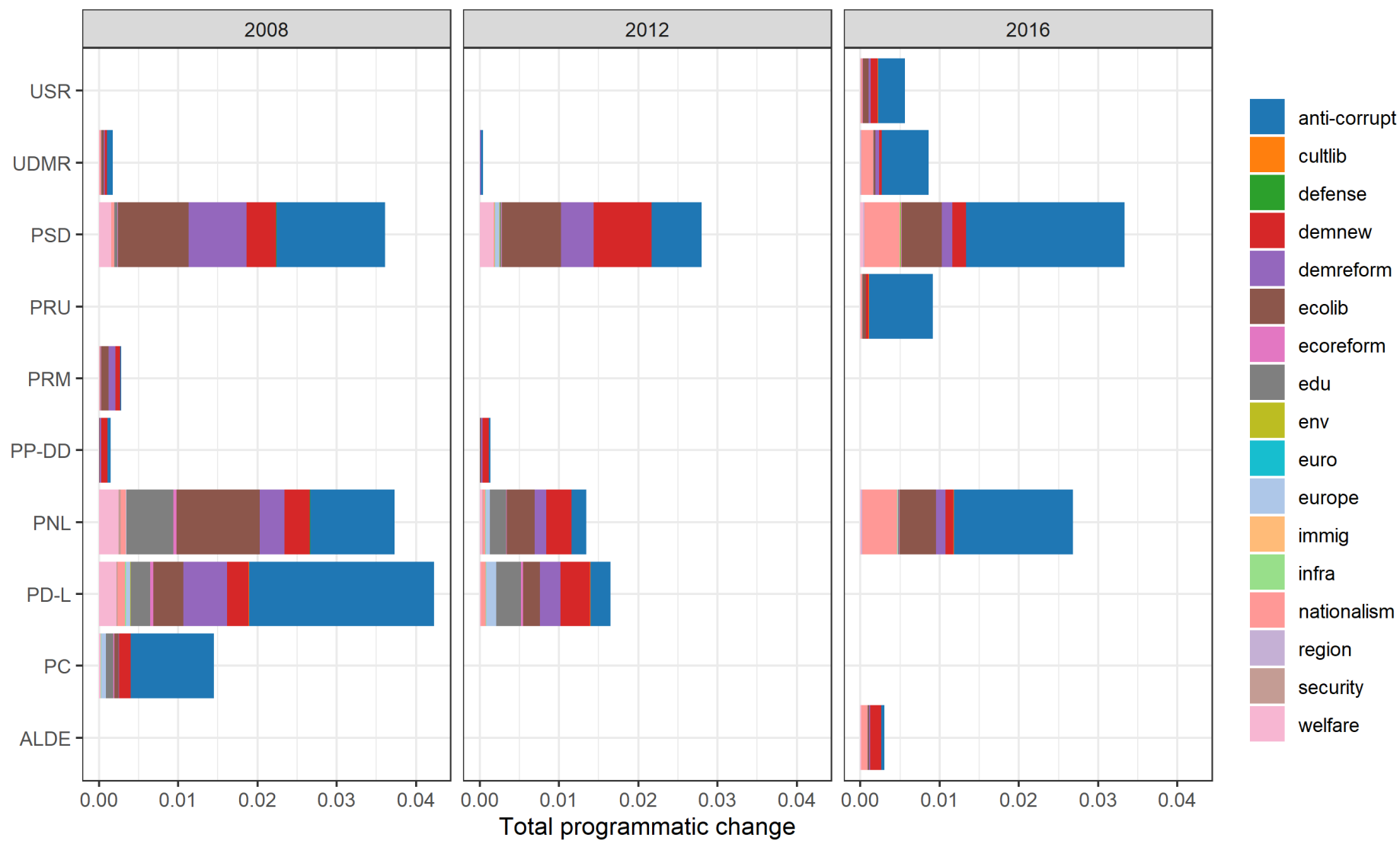


Figure 5: Programmatic change on the party level in Ireland

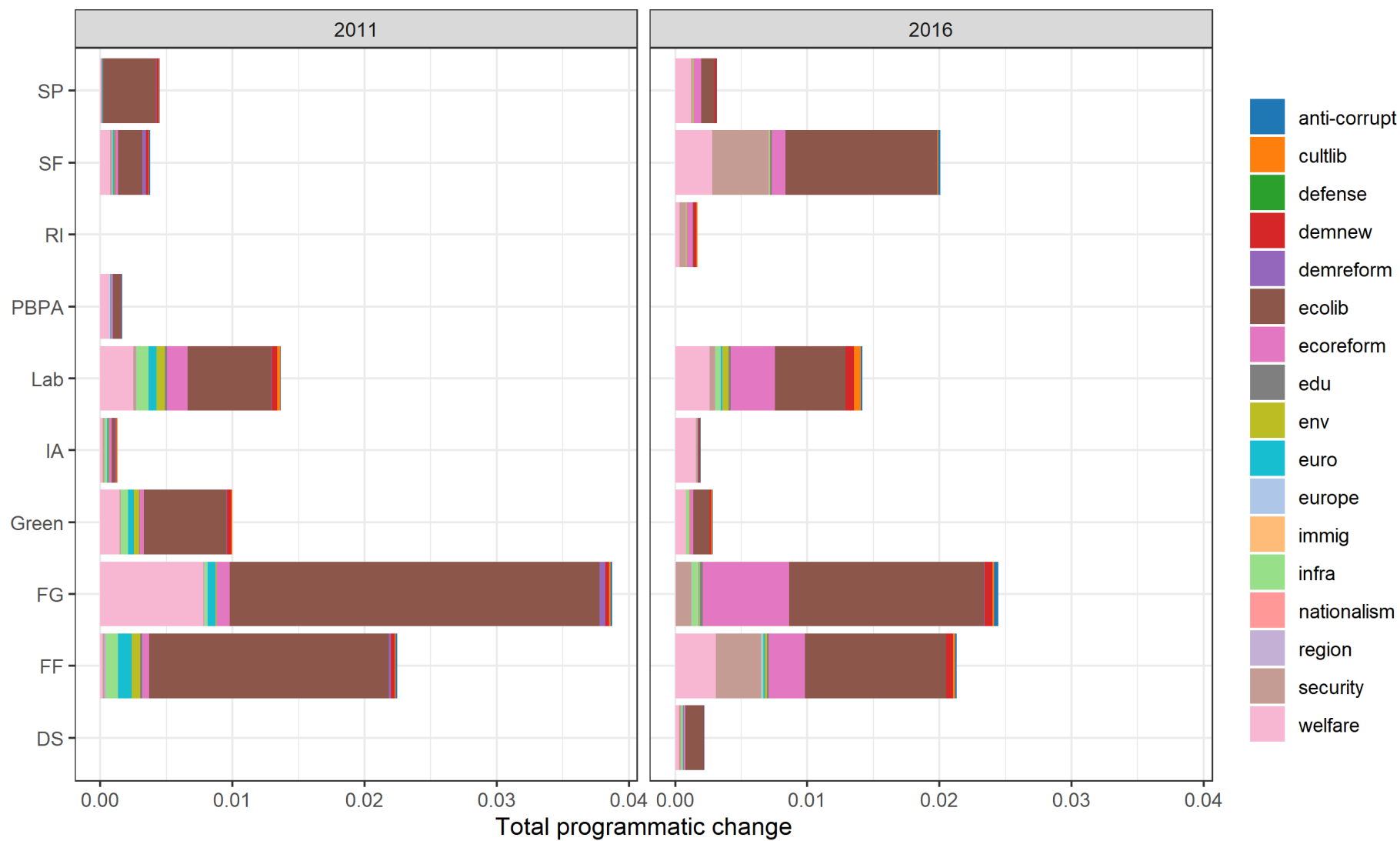


Figure 6: Programmatic change on the party level in Latvia

