

Supplementary Appendix

This appendix contains tables, figures, and additional information referenced in the text of “*The Origins of Dominant Parties: Building Authoritarian Institutions in Post-Soviet Russia*”

I. Appendix for Chapter 6

Table A1: Month in which Russia’s Governors Joined United Russia

Region	Governor	Term Ended ¹	Joined UR ²
Adygea	Sovmen	11/06	10/04
Adygea	Tkakushinov		12/06
Agin-Buryatia	Zhamsuyev		N/A
Altai Republic	Lapshin	11/05	--
Altai Republic	Berdynkov		05/07
Altai Krai	Surikov	02/04	--
Altai Krai	Evdokimov	07/05	--
Altai Krai	Karlin		06/07
Amur Obl	Korotkov	05/07	02/06
Amur Obl	Kolesov		06/07
Arkhangelsk	Efremov	05/04	--
Archangelsk	Kiselyov		06/04
Astrakhan	Guzhvin	11/04	07/03
Astrakhan	Zhilkin		12/04
Bashkortostan	Rakhimov		03/03
Belgorod	Savchenko		10/07
Briansk	Lodkin	12/04	--
Briansk	Denin		01/05
Buryatia	Potapov	05/07	--
Buryatia	Nagovitsyn		06/07
Chechnya	Kadyrov	05/04	N/A
Chechnya	Alkhanov	02/07	N/A
Chechnya	Kadyrov		N/A
Chelyabinsk	Sumin		11/04
Chita	Genniaturin		--
Chukotka	Abramovich		--
Chuvashiya	Fedorov		10/06
Dagestan	Magommedov	01/06	--

¹ This field is blank for those governors whose term ended after November 2007, when this analysis stops or, for several Autonomous Okrugs, when the region ceases to exist.

² N/A=missing. Chechnya is N/A even though Kadyrov is a party member. Chechnya is excluded due to the violence and instability that make that republic such an outlier on so many dimensions. The – symbol indicates that the governor did not join UR either in his term or by November 2007, if the term extended until then. Luzhkov, Shaimiyev, and Rakhimov are listed as joining in March 2003, though their status remains in question as discussed in the text.

Dagestan	Aliev		--
Evenki	Zoltaryev		09/04
Ingushetiya	Zyazikov		07/06
Irkutsk	Govorin	07/05	--
Irkutsk	Tishanin		07/06
Ivanovo	Tikhonov	10/05	--
Ivanovo	Men'		11/05
Jewish AO	Volkov		12/06
Kabardino Balkaria	Kokov	08/05	--
Kabardino Balkaria	Kanokov		09/05
Kaliningrad	Egorov	08/05	
Kaliningrad	Boos		09/05
Kalmykia	Ilyumzhinov		11/04
Kaluga	Artamanov		10/05
Kamchatka	Mashkhovstev	04/07	--
Kamchatka	Kuzmitskii		07/07
Karachaevo-Cherkassia	Batdyev		--
Karelia	Katanandov		12/04
Kemerovo	Tuleev		11/05
Khabarovsk	Ishayev		06/03
Khakassia	Lebed		03/05
Khanty-Mansiisk	Fillipenko		09/03
Kirov	Shaklein		08/05
Komi	Torpolov		12/04
Komi-Permyatsk	Savelyev		N/A
Koryak	Loginov		06/04
Kostroma	Shershunov		02/07
Krasnodar	Tkachev		04/05
Krasnoyarsk	Khloponin		03/03
Kurgan	Bogomolov		11/04
Kursk	Mikhailov		02/05
Leningrad	Serdyukov		11/05
Lipetsk	Korolev		11/05
Magadan	Dudov		03/03
Mari El	Markelov		02/07
Mordovia	Merkushkin		05/04
Moscow City	Luzhkov		03/03
Moscow Obl	Gromov		11/05
Murmansk	Evdokimov		03/06
Nenetsk AO	Butov	01/05	N/A
Nenetsk AO	Bariov	05/06	01/05
Nenetsk AO	Potapenko		06/06
Nizhnii Novgorod	Khodyrev	07/05	--
Nizhnii Novgorod	Shantsev		08/05
North Ossetia	Djasokhov	04/05	
North Ossetia	Mamsurov		05/05

Novgorod	Prusak	05/07	02/05
Novgorod	Mitin		06/07
Novosibirsk	Tolokonskii		10/05
Omsk	Polezhayev		06/04
Orel	Stroyev		11/05
Orenburg	Chernyshev		05/06
Penza	Bochkaryov		05/05
Perm	Trutnev	09/05	--
Perm	Chirkunov		--
Primoriya	Darkin		11/04
Pskov	Mikhailov	12/04	--
Pskov	Kuznetsov		11/05
Ryazan	Lyubimov	02/04	--
Ryazan	Shpak		11/05
Rostov	Chub		06/05
Sakha-Yakutia	Shtyrov		07/06
Sakhalin	Farkhutdinov	11/03	
Sakhalin	Malakhov		03/05
Samara	Titov	10/07	11/05
Samara	Artyakov		10/07
Saratov	Ayatskov	02/05	09/03
Saratov	Ipatov		03/05
Smolensk	Maslov		06/05
St. Petersburg	Matvienko		--
Stavropol	Chernogorov		12/06
Sverdlovsk	Rossel		10/04
Taimyr	Budargin		03/06
Tambov	Betin		03/03
Tatarstan	Shaimiev		03/03
Tyumen	Sobyanin	10/05	05/03
Tyumen	Yakushev		11/05
Tomsk	Kress		05/04
Tula	Starodubstev	03/05	--
Tula	Dudka		05/07
Tuva	Oorzhak	03/07	02/05
Tuva	Sholban		04/07
Tver	Platov	12/03	--
Tver	Zelenin		01/04
Udmurtia	Volkov		N/A
Ulyanovsk	Shamanov	11/04	--
Ulyanovsk	Morozov		12/04
Ust-Ordynskii AO	Maleev		03/03
Vladimir	Vinogradov		--
Volgograd	Maksyuta		--
Vologda	Pozgalev		10/04
Voronezh	Kulakov		10/04
Yamalo-Nenets	Neyolov		12/06

II. Appendix for Chapter 8

Table A2 shows a list of all dominant parties existing since 1946.

Table A2 Dominant Parties Around the World: 1946-2006

Party	Country	Years
National Liberation Front (FLN)	Algeria	1962-1991
National Liberation Front (FLN)	Algeria	2002-
Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLN)	Angola	1976-
Justicialist Party	Argentina	1951-1955
Intransigent Radical Civic Union	Argentina	1958-1962
New Azerbaijan Party (YAP)	Azerbaijan	1995-
Awami League (AL)	Bangladesh	1971-1975
Jatiya Party	Bangladesh	1986-1991
Benin People's Revolutionary Party (PRPB)	Benin	1974-1990
Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR)	Bolivia	1956-1964
Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	Botswana	1966-
National Renewal Alliance Party (ARENA)/PDS	Brazil	1964-1984
Voltaic Democratic Union-African Democratic Rally (UDV-RDA)	Burkina Faso (Upper Volta)	1960-1966
Voltaic Democratic Union-African Democratic Rally (UDV-RDA)	Burkina Faso	1970-1974
Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP)	Burkina Faso	1992-
Union for National Progress (UPRONA)	Burundi	1962-1966
Union for National Progress (UPRONA)	Burundi	1982-1987
National Council for the Defense of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD)	Burundi	2005-
Sangkum	Cambodia	1955-1970
Communist Party of Kampuchea	Cambodia	1975-1979
Cambodian People's Party (CPP)	Cambodia	1998-
Cameroon National Union/Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (RPDC)	Cameroon	1961-
African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV)	Cape Verde	1975-1991

Movement for the Social Evolution of Black Africa (MESAN)	Central African Republic	1961-1965
Chadian Progressive Party (PPT)	Chad	1960-1975
Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS)	Chad	1991-
Chinese Communist Party (CCP)	China	1949-
Conservative Party	Colombia	1951-1957
National Revolutionary Movement(MNR)	Congo Brazzaville	1963-1969
Congolese Labor Party (PCT)	Congo Brazzaville	1973-1992
Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR)	Congo Kinshasa	1967-1992
Cuban Communist Party	Cuba	1959-
People's Rally for Progress (RPP)	Djibouti	1981-
Dominican Party (PD)	Dominican Republic	1930-1962
Reformist Party	Dominican Republic	1966-1978
Wa'fd Party	Egypt	1946-1952
Liberation Rally/Arab Socialist Union/National Democratic Party (NDP)	Egypt	1952-
Revolutionary Party of Democratic Unification (PRUD)	El Salvador	1952-1961
National Conciliation Party (PCN)	El Salvador	1962-1979
Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (PDGE)	Equatorial Guinea	1987-
People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ)	Eritrea	1993-
Ethiopian People's Democratic Revolutionary Front (EPRDF)	Ethiopia	1994-
Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG)	Gabon	1960-
Peoples Progressive Party (PPP)	Gambia	1965-1994
Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction	Gambia	1997-
Citizens Union of Georgia (CUG)	Georgia	1999-2003
United National Movement (UNM)	Georgia	2004-
Convention People's Party (CPP)	Ghana	1960-1966
National Democratic Congress (NDC)	Ghana	1992-2000
Greek Rally	Greece	1952-1955
National Radical Union	Greece	1956-1963
Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG)	Guinea	1958-1984
Party of Unity and Progress (PUP)	Guinea	1995-
African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC)	Guinea Bissau	1974-1980
African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC)	Guinea Bissau	1984-1999
People's National Congress (PNC)	Guyana	1966-1992
National Party	Honduras	1933-1954
National Party	Honduras	1963-1971
Golkar	Indonesia	1966-1998
Iran Novin	Iran	1963-1971
Rastakhiz	Iran	1975-1978
Democratic Party of Cote'D Ivoire (PDCI)	Ivory Coast	1960-1999
Fatherland (OTAN)	Kazakhstan	1999-
KANU	Kenya	1963-2002
Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland	Korea, North	1946-
Democratic Republican Party	Korea, South	1963-1973

Democratic Justice Party	Korea, South	1981-1988
Laos People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP)	Laos	1975-
True Whig Party	Liberia	1919-1980
Social Democratic Party (PSD)	Madagascar	1960-1972
Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (AREMA)	Madagascar	1975-1993
Malawi Congress Party (MCP)	Malawi	1964-1994
United Malays National Organization (UMNO)	Malaysia	1969-
Sudanese Union-African Democratic Rally (US-RDA)	Mali	1960-1968
Democratic Union of the Malian People (UDPM)	Mali	1979-1991
Mauritania People's Party (PPM)	Mauritania	1960-1978
Democratic and Social Republican Party (PRDS)	Mauritania	1992-2005
Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)	Mexico	1929-1997
Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO)	Mozambique	1975-
Burmese Socialist Program Party (BSPP)	Myanmar	1962-1988
South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)	Namibia	1991-
Liberal Nationalist Party (PLN)	Nicaragua	1936-1979
Sandanista National Liberation Front (SNLF)	Nicaragua	1979-1990
Nigerien Progressive Paryt (PPN)	Niger	1960-1974
National Movement for a Developing Society (MNSD)	Niger	1989-1993
National Union of Independents for Democratic Renewal (UNIRD)	Niger	1996-1999
People's Democratic Party (PDP)	Nigeria	1999-
Colorado	Paraguay	1954-1993
Cambio 90	Peru	1992-2000
National Party	Philippines	1969-1971
New Society Movement (KBL)	Philippines	1978-1986
United Russia	Russia	2003-
PARAMETHU	Rwanda	1961-1972
National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND)	Rwanda	1975-1994
Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR)	Rwanda	2003-
Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS)	Senegal	1960-2000
Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF)	Seychelles	1979-
All People's Congress (APC)	Sierra Leone	1968-1992
Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP)	Sierra Leone	2002-
People's Action Party (PAP)	Singapore	1965-
Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP)	Somalia	1979-1991
National Party	South Africa	1953-1994
United National Party (UNP)	Sri Lanka	1977-1994
National Congress Party	Sudan	2000-
Imbokodvo National Movement (INM)	Swaziland	1968-1974
Ba'ath Party	Syria	1963-
Kuomintang (KMT)	Taiwan	1949-2000
People's Democratic Party (PDP)	Tajikistan	2000-
Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	Tanzania	1961-

Party of Togolese Unity (PUT)	Togo	1960-1963
Rally of the Togolese People (RPT)	Togo	1980-1991
Rally of the Togolese People (RPT)	Togo	1998-
Socialist Destourian Party/Constitutional Democratic Rally	Tunisia	1957-
Republican People's Party	Turkey	1923-1950
Democratic Party (DP)	Turkey	1950-1960
Democratic Party of Turkmenistan	Turkmenistan	1994-
Uganda People's Congress (UPC)	Uganda	1980-1985
National Resistance Movement (NRM)	Uganda	2005-
Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)	USSR	1917-1990
Democratic Action (AD)	Venezuela	1946-1948
Fifth Republic Movement (MVR)	Venezuela	2000-2006
Communist Party of Vietnam	Vietnam	1975-
General People's Congress	Yemen	1993-
Yemeni Socialist Party	Yemen, South	1967-1990
Socialist Party of Serbia	Yugoslavia	1992-2000
United National Independence Party (UNIP)	Zambia	1964-1991
Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)	Zambia	1991-2006
Zimbabwe Africa National Union (ZANU)	Zimbabwe	1979-

*List excludes 8 communist parties in Eastern Europe (Romania, Albania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria) and Mongolia.

Descriptive Statistics

This section contains some additional descriptive information on the variables used in the main text. Table A3 shows descriptive statistics from the main explanatory model in the text.

Table A3: Descriptive Statistics for Model 4 in Table 8.2 (Main Text)

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
<i>Dominant Party</i>	0.039239	0.1942016	0	1
<i>Elite Strength</i>	7.424891	2.225271	3	12
<i>Leader Strength</i>	4.810147	1.586529	2	8
<i>Log GDP Per Capita</i>	7.3443	1.230751	4.432799	11.16165
<i>Sub Saharan Africa</i>	0.264764	0.441295	0	1
<i>Middle East</i>	0.24891	0.432467	0	1
<i>Central Asia</i>	0.036465	0.18748	0	1
<i>Central America/Caribbean</i>	0.100674	0.300956	0	1
<i>E. Europe/FSU</i>	0.060246	0.237989	0	1
<i>East Asia</i>	0.1518034	0.3589014	0	1
<i>South America</i>	0.1137986	0.3176294	0	1
<i>Inherited Parties</i>	1.260404	0.883794	0	2
<i>Polity</i>	-2.79667	5.986593	-10	7
<i>Civil War</i>	0.159334	0.36606	0	1
<i>Former British Colony</i>	0.318668	0.466053	0	1
<i>Former Spanish Colony</i>	0.190646	0.392888	0	1
<i>Former French Colony</i>	0.170036	0.375739	0	1
<i>Former Other Colony</i>	0.076893	0.266474	0	1
<i>Former Portuguese Colony</i>	0.022989	0.149896	0	1
<i>Parliamentary</i>	0.20214	0.401676	0	1
<i>Previous Dominant Party</i>	0.34245	0.474623	0	1
<i>Multiparty Election</i>	0.102656	0.303569	0	1
<i>Time</i>	10.63853	10.88518	1	61
<i>Time²</i>	231.6183	485.0308	1	3721
<i>Time³</i>	7383.882	23429.91	1	226981

Table A4: Descriptive Statistics for Components of *Elite Strength*

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Source
<i>Political Decentralization</i>	2.43	1.15	1	4	Comparative Constitutions Project http://www.comparativeconstitutionsproject.org/ Elkins, Ginsburg, and Melton (2009)
<i>Concentrated Ethnic Divisions</i>	0.454	0.283	0	0.952	Fearon (2003), Minorities at Risk Data http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/
<i>Population Dispersion</i>	69.75	87.79	0	465.3	Earth Institute of Columbia, Gridded Population of the World, http://sedac.ciesin.columbia.edu/gpw/

In the text, I discuss the issue of intercorrelations between the components of *Elite Strength*. If the components are too closely related, then the measure may induce bias. Table A5 shows the intercorrelations between variables. The correlations between the variables are close to zero. The largest positive correlation is between *Political Decentralization* and *Population Dispersion*. The second column of Table 2 shows these correlations for more 'democratic' regimes i.e. regimes with a Polity score of higher than 3. We note that the correlation between these variables is higher here, indicating that in more democratic regimes there may be more of a correspondence between the dispersion of human populations and decentralization of de jure political authority. This is consistent with my justification for constructing this scale.

A5 Kendall's Tau-b Correlations between Components of *Elite Strength* Scale

	Full Sample			Polity>3		
	<i>Population Dispersion</i>	<i>Concentrated Ethnic Divisions</i>	<i>Political Decentralization</i>	<i>Population Dispersion</i>	<i>Concentrated Ethnic Divisions</i>	<i>Political Decentralization</i>
<i>Population Dispersion</i>	1.0000	-	-	1.0000	-	-
<i>Concentrated Ethnic Divisions</i>	.147(.008)	1.0000	-	.035(.024)	1.0000	-
<i>Political Decentralization</i>	.1936(.012)	-.097(.011)	1.0000	.2581(.023)	.0952(.012)	1.0000

Note: Asymptotic Standard Errors in Parentheses

Determinants of Dominant Party Existence

The primary goal in the book is to explain the emergence of dominant parties. While the theory there has implications for both the emergence *and* duration of dominant parties, the factors that explain the demise of dominant parties may be different from those that bring them in to being. Nonetheless, Table A6 presents results of the models that examine the determinants of dominant party existence; that is, the formation and duration of dominant parties. Non-democratic country-years without a dominant party are coded 0 and those with a dominant party coded 1, but here I do not drop country-years from the analysis after a dominant party emerges. Thus, this analysis examines the determinants of a dominant party existing in any given year. I use a probit model with a lagged dependent variable.

The results are similar to those in the book, though slightly weaker. Figure A1 shows that a one unit change in *Leader Strength* increases the probability that a dominant party when Elites are strong, but decreases it when elites are weak (although upper 95% confidence interval for the

latter effect crosses the zero bound. . Figure A2 shows the symmetric conditional effects.

Table A6: Determinants of Dominant Party Existence

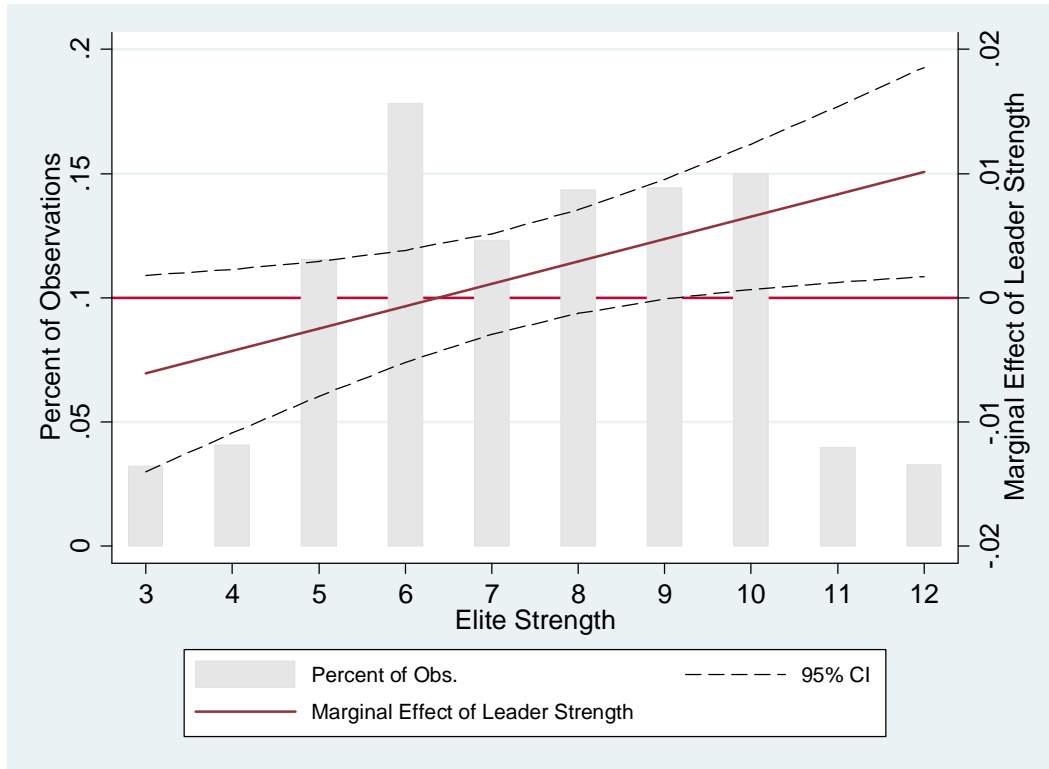
<i>Elite Strength</i>	-0.007*
	(0.004)
<i>Leader Strength</i>	-0.012*
	(0.006)
<i>Elite Strength X Leader Strength</i>	0.002**
	(0.001)
<i>GDP per capita</i>	-0.000
	(0.004)
<i>Inherited Parties</i>	0.011**
	(0.004)
<i>Polity</i>	-0.003***
	(0.001)
<i>Civil War</i>	-0.003
	(0.008)
<i>Lagged Dominant Party</i>	0.250***
	(0.011)
<i>Former British Colony</i>	0.012
	(0.010)
<i>Former French Colony</i>	0.016
	(0.017)
<i>Elite Strength</i>	0.017
	(0.010)
<i>Former Portuguese Colony</i>	0.032*
	(0.017)
<i>Former Other Colony</i>	-0.010
	(0.013)
<i>Parliamentary</i>	0.001
	(0.008)
<i>Multiparty Election</i>	0.049***
	(0.008)
Time Dummies	Yes
Region Dummies	Yes
Observations	4,588

Cell entries are average marginal effects from probit models.

Standard errors in parentheses.

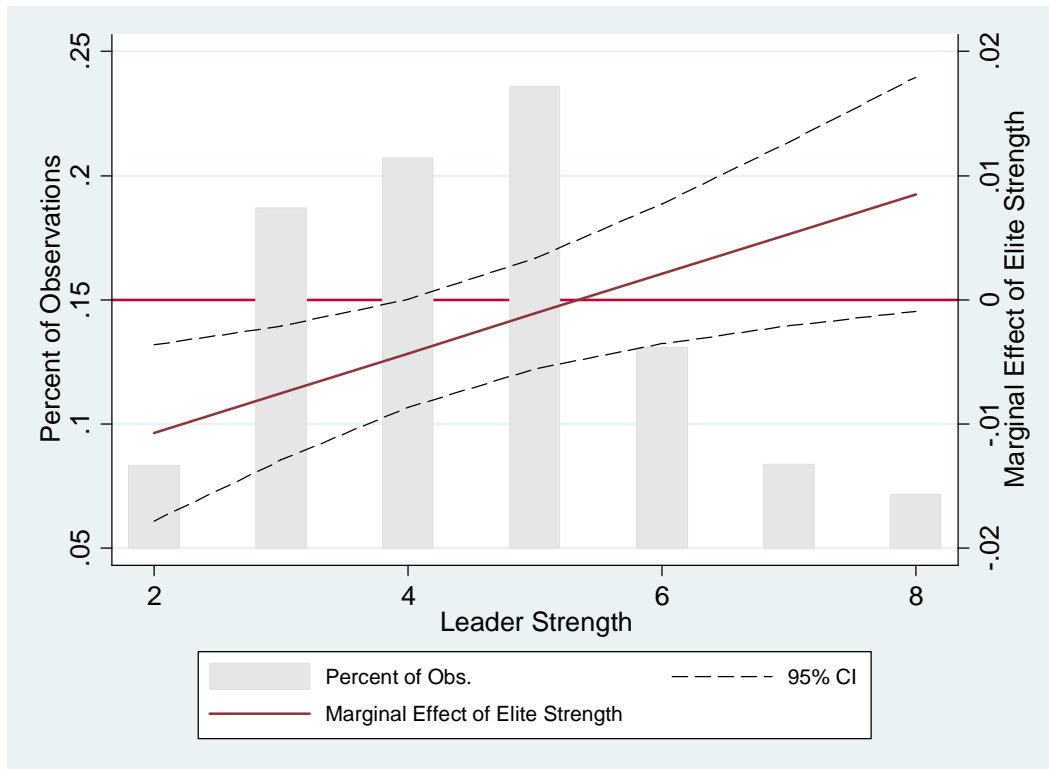
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure A1 Marginal Effect of Leader Strength



***Note:** Right y axis is the average marginal effect for a given variable; thus, these figures indicate the change in the $Pr(y=1)$ associated with a one unit increase in the variable listed on the right y-axis, across values of the modifying variables (x-axis)

Figure A2 Marginal Effect of Elite Strength



*Note: Right y axis is the average marginal effect for a given variable; thus, these figures indicate the change in the $\Pr(y=1)$ associated with a one unit increase in the variable listed on the right y-axis, across values of the modifying variables (x-axis)

VI: Marginal Effects Plots for Models with Geddes Subtype Dependent Variable

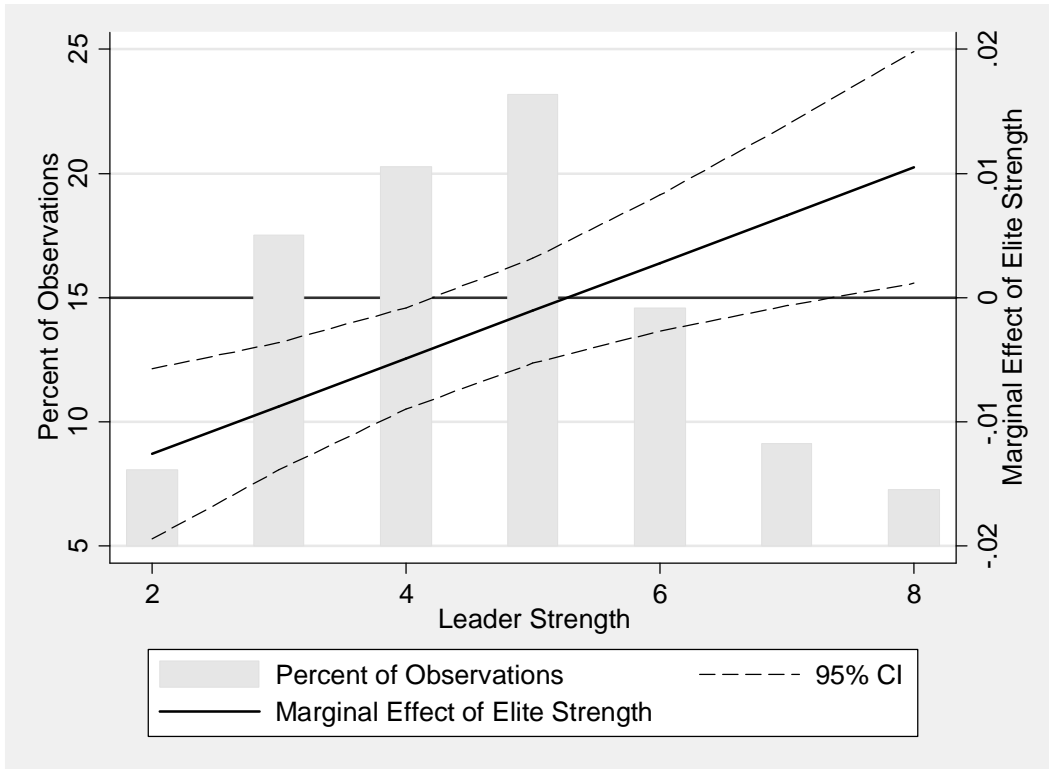
Due to space constraints, I was unable to display the marginal effects plots for Model 5 in Table 8.2 in the main text. As I discuss in the text, this model shows results from models that use Geddes' (2003) coding of single party regimes as the dependent variable.

The results are substantively similar to results from the models using the minimalist coding of dominant parties. As Figure A3 shows, increasing *Elite Strength* decreases the probability of

dominant party emergence when leaders are weak, but increases it when leaders are strong. Specifically, a one unit increase in *Elite Strength* increases the probability of a dominant party emerging in any given year by 1 percentage point when leaders are strong (*Leader Strength* is 8). This 1 percentage point increase translates into almost a 50% increase over the baseline probability of a dominant party emerging in any given year, which is 2.2%.

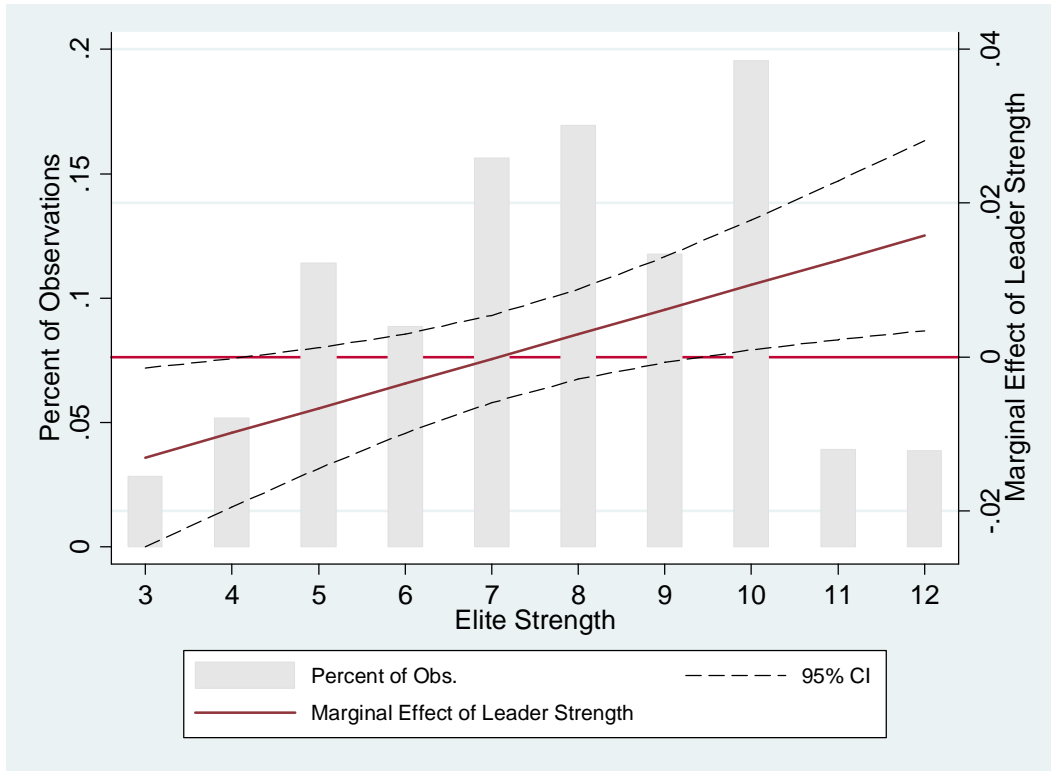
By contrast, when leaders are weak (*Leader Strength* is 2), a one unit increase in *Elite Strength* decreases the probability of dominant party emergence by just over 1 percentage point (more than a 50% drop in the probability of a dominant party emerging). Figure A4 shows the symmetric marginal effects extracted from the interaction term. In this figure we see that a one unit increase in *Leader Strength* when elites are strong (*Elite Strength* is 11) translates into nearly a 2 percentage point increase in the probability of a dominant party emerging; that is the probability of dominant party emergence is almost twice the baseline probability of a dominant party forming in any given year. By contrast, a one unit increase in *Leader Strength* when elites are weak (*Elite Strength* is 4) decreases the probability of dominant party emergence by over 1 percentage point. In sum, using this alternative dependent variable we find that any change in the balance of resources that creates a more equitable balance between leaders and elites increases the probability of dominant party emergence, while changes in *Elite* and *Leader Strength* that make one side disproportionately stronger than the other decrease the probability of dominant party formation.

Figure A3: Marginal Effect of Elite Strength



***Note:** Right y axis is the average marginal effect for a given variable; thus, these figures indicate the change in the $\Pr(y=1)$ associated with a one unit increase in the variable listed on the right y-axis, across values of the modifying variables (x-axis)

Figure A4: Marginal Effect of Leader Strength



***Note:** Right y axis is the average marginal effect for a given variable; thus, these figures indicate the change in the $\Pr(y=1)$ associated with a one unit increase in the variable listed on the right y-axis, across values of the modifying variables (x-axis)