

**APPENDIX A: ETHNIC AND REGIONAL PARTIES THAT WON SEATS OR AVERAGED MORE THAN 1% OF THE VOTE IN THE COUNTRY OR THEIR REGIONAL BASE IN ELECTIONS IN WHICH THEY PARTICIPATED, 1990-2012**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Minority or Region</b>	<b>Party</b>	
Andorra	Sant Julià	Lauredian Union	
		Independent Group for Sant Julià	
	Ordino	Union of the People of Ordino	
		Independents of Ordino	
Canillo and La Massana	Canillo-Massana Grouping		
Antigua and Barbuda	Barbuda	Barbuda People's Movement Barbuda People's Movement for Change	
Argentina	Buenos Aires	Buenos Airean Unity	
		Federal Movement to Recreate Growth Alliance	
		Federalist Action for Buenos Aires Alliance	
		Neighbors Confederation Alliance	
		Popular Bueonsairean Front Alliance	
		Force of Buenos Aires City Alliance	
	Federal District	Party of the City	
		Union to Recreate Buenos Aires Alliance	
		Catamarca	Catamarcan Unity
		New Hope of Catamarca Front Alliance	
	Chaco	Provincial Liberal Option Alliance	
		United for Catamarca Front Alliance	
	Chubut	Chacan Action	
		Chubutan Action	
	Córdoba	Cubutan Current Alliance	
		Cubutan Popular Movement	
		Provincial Alliance	
		Change Córdoba	
		Córdoba in Action	
		Córdoban Popular Movement	

Country	Minority or Region	Party
	Corrientes	<p>The People First – Neighborly Union of Córdoba Alliance</p> <p>Together for Córdoba Alliance</p> <p>Union for Córdoba Alliance</p> <p>Autonomous Liberal Pact-Popular Democratic</p> <p>Autonomous Liberal Pact-Progressive Democrat- Christian Democrat</p> <p>Civic and Social Front of Corrientes</p> <p>Corrientan Action</p> <p>Corrientan Front</p> <p>Corrientes Project Front Alliance</p> <p>Liberal-Autonomist Pact-Progressive Democratic-Union of the Democratic Center Alliance</p> <p>Liberal-Autonomist Pact-Progressive Democratic Alliance</p> <p>Popular Corrientan Unity Alliance</p> <p>United for Corrientes Front Alliance</p>
	Entre Ríos	<p>Provincial Union</p> <p>Social Movement of Entre Rios</p>
	Formosa	<p>Authentic Formosan</p> <p>Federal Pact</p> <p>Formosan Action – Formosan Force for Integration</p> <p>Integrating Force of Formosa</p> <p>Native Action</p>
	Jujuy	<p>Provincial Civic Action</p> <p>Civic Renewal Movement</p> <p>For a New Jujuy</p> <p>Jujuyan Popular Movement</p> <p>Movement for Jujuyan Political Autonomy</p> <p>Union for Jujuy Alliance</p>

<b>Country</b>	<b>Minority or Region</b>	<b>Party</b>
	Mendoza	Democratic of Mendoza Together for Mendoza
	Neuquén	Federal Option Front of Neuquenian Participation Movement for the Unity of the Neuquenians Neuquenian Popular Movement
	La Pampa	Pampean Federalist Movement Pampean Front
	La Rioja	Defense of the Province of Rioja
	Río Negro	Front for Rio Negro Patagonian Popular Movement Provincial of Rio Negro
	Salta	Regional Movement of the People Renewal of Salta Saltan Alternative Alliance Saltan Popular Movement
	San Luis	Alliance of Sanluisan Victory Sanluisan Force Alliance
	Santa Cruz	Front of Integration and Defense of Santa Cruz Move for Santa Cruz Riogallegan Neighbor's Movement for Santa Cruz Riogallegan Neighborly Movement Santacruzian Federal Front Alliance Santacruzian Federal Movement Santacruzian Popular Movement
	Santiago del Estero	Santiago Crusade Alliance Viable Santiago
	Tierra del Fuego	Front of Fuegan Action Fuegan Federal Fuegan Popular Movement

<b>Country</b>	<b>Minority or Region</b>	<b>Party</b>
	Tucumán	Laborers of Tucuman Tucumanan Alliance for Change
Australia	minor Indigenous and Tasmanian	
Austria	none	
Bahamas	none	
Barbados	none	
Belgium	Francophone	Socialist Party Reformist Movement Francophone Democratic Front Humanist Democratic Center Ecologists National Front New Belgian Front
Belize	none	
Botswana	Northern Minorities Kalanga	Botswana Alliance Movement Botswana People's Party
Brazil	none	
Bulgaria	Turks (and Roma)	Movement for Rights and Freedoms Coalition
Canada	Quebec	Quebec Bloc
Cape Verde	none	
Chile	extreme South and North	Party of the South
Costa Rica	Limón Cartago Alajuela  Guanacaste Heredia	Limón Authentic Party Cartagines Agricultural Union Alajuelan Democratic Action Alajuelan Solidarity Independent Guanacaste Heredian Authentic Party
Cyprus	none	
Czech Republic	Moravians	Moravian Democratic Party
Denmark	minor Århus and minority	

<b>Country</b>	<b>Minority or Region</b>	<b>Party</b>
Dominica	none	
Dominican Republic	Santiago Rodríguez	Independent Movement of Santiago Rodríguez
El Salvador	none	
Estonia	Russians	Constitution Party Russian Party in Estonia
Finland	Swedish Åland	Swedish People's Party Coalition of Åland (For Åland in the Diet) Åland Bourgeois Alliance Åland Social Democrats
France	Alsace Basque  Breton Catalan Corsica  Savoy nationalist or regionalist label	Alsace First Basque National Party/Basque Solidarity (RPS) Nationalist's Union Basque Country Yes independent Basque regionalist Breton Democratic Union/Breton Liberty (RPS) Party for Catalonia Insemi part L'Avvena Manca Naziunale Corsican People's Union Union for a Political Solution Savoy Region Movement/Savoy League Nationalist Regionalist
Germany	Bavaria	Christian Social Union
Ghana	Northern (Upper East, Upper West, Northern)	People's National Convention
Greece	none	
Grenada	none	
Hungary	minor Roma and Somogy	
Iceland	none	
India	Andhra Pradesh	Majlis-E-Ittehadul Musalmeen

<b>Country</b>	<b>Minority or Region</b>	<b>Party</b>
		Telugu Desam Party
		Telangana Rashtra Samithi
	Arunachal Pradesh	Arunachal Congress
	Assam	Asom Gan Parishad
		Autonomous State Demand Committee
		United Minorities Front, Assam
	Bihar	Lok Jan Shakti Party
		Rashtriya Janata Dal
		Samata Party
	Goa	Maharastrawadi Gomantak Party
		United Goans Democratic Party
	Gujarat	Janata Dal (Gujarat)
	Haryana	Haryana Vikas Party
		Haryana/Indian Lok Dal
	Himachal Pradesh	Himachal Vikas Congress
	Jammu and' Kashmir	Jammu & Kashmir National Conference
		Jammu & Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party
	Jharkhand	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha
	Karnataka	Karnataka Congress Party
		Lok Shakti
	Kerala	Congress (Socialist)
		Kerala Congress
		Muslim League Kerala State Committee
	Madhya Pradesh	Madhya Pradesh Vikas Congress
	Maharashtra	Nationalist Congress Party
		Peasants' and Workers' Party of India
		Republican Party of India
		Shiv Sena
	Manipur	Federal Party of Manipur
		Manipur People's Party

<b>Country</b>	<b>Minority or Region</b>	<b>Party</b>
	Mizoram	Manipur State Congress Party
	Nagaland	Mizo National Front
		Nagaland People's Council
		Nagaland People's Front
	Orissa	Biju Janata Dal
	Punjab	Shiromani Akali Dal
	Rajasthan	All India Indira Congress (Tiwari)
	Sikkim	Sikkim Democratic Front
		Sikkim Sangram Parishad
	Tamil Nadu	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
		Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
		MGR Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
		Marumalarchi DMK
		Pattali Makkal Kachi
		Tamil Maanila Congress
	Uttar Pradesh	Akhil Bharatiya Lok Tantrik Congress
		Bahujan Samaj Party
		Rashtriya Lok Dal
		Samajwadi Party
	West Bengal	All India Trinamool Congress
		Forward Bloc
		Revolutionary Socialist Party
Ireland	none	
Israel	Arab	United Arab List
		Democratic Front for Peace and Equality
		National Democratic Alliance
Italy	Aosta Valley	Valdotanian Union
		Autonomy Liberty Democracy
	Bolzano/Südtirol	South Tyrol People's Party
		Union for South Tyrol

<b>Country</b>	<b>Minority or Region</b>	<b>Party</b>
	Northern Italy Piedmont Veneto	The Free Thinkers Northern League Piedmont Alpine League Northeast Project North-East Union Venetian Autonomy League League of the Venetian Front
	Molise Southern Italy Apulia Sardinia	Revival of the South Movement for Autonomy, Alliance for the South Southern Action League Sardinian Nation Sardinian Action Party
Jamaica	none	
Japan	none	
Latvia	Russians	For Human Rights in United Latvia National (Popular) Harmony Party Latvian Socialist Party Equality (Equal Rights Movement) Russian Party Latgale Light (or Life of Latgale) Harmony Centre
Lesotho	none	
Liechtenstein	none	
Lithuania	Minority Poles	Alliance of Lithuania's Ethnic Minorities Electoral Alliance of Lithuanian Poles
Luxembourg	none	
Malta	none	
Mauritius	Rodrigues	Rodriguan People's Organization Rodriguan People's Grouping Rodriguan Movement



<b>Country</b>	<b>Minority or Region</b>	<b>Party</b>
	Creole	Gaëtan Duval Party
	Muslim	Mauritian Solidarity Front, formerly Party of God (Hizbullah)
	Hindu	Mauritian Militant Socialist Movement
Monaco	none	
Mongolia	none	
Namibia	Damara Afrikaaner	United Democratic Front Monitor Action Group Republican Party
	Herero Kavango Namibia	National Unity Democratic Organization All People's Party TOTAL
Netherlands	minor immigrant	
New Zealand	Maori	Maori Party
Norway	minor regional and Sami	
Panama	none	
Peru	Indigenous	Andean Renaissance
Poland	minor, mainly German and Silesian	
Portugal	minor regional	
Romania	Hungarian	Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania
Samoa	none	
San Marino	none	
São Tomé and Príncipe	none	
Slovakia	Hungarians	Party of the Hungarian Coalition Hungarian Civic Party Most-Híd (Bridge)
	Roma	SPI - Party of Labour and Security
Slovenia	none	
South Africa	Zulu	Inkatha Freedom Party

<b>Country</b>	<b>Minority or Region</b>	<b>Party</b>
	Afrikaners	Freedom Front Plus
	Whites/Non-Blacks	Democratic Alliance
		New National Party
	Transkei/Eastern Cape	United Democratic Movement
Spain	Aragon	Aragonese Party
		Aragonese Junta
	Asturias	Asturian Renewal Union
		Asturian Party
	Basque	Aralar (Basque Mountain Range)
		Basque Nationalist Party
		Basque Solidarity
		Unity
		Alavan Unity
	Navarre	Convergence of Navarran Democrats
		Nafarroa Bai
	Catalan	Catalan Republican Left
		Convergence and Union
	Galicia	Galician Nationalist Bloc
	Canary Islands	Canarian Coalition
		Party of Independents from Lazarote
		Grand Canary Party
		New Canary-Canarian Center
	Andalusia	Andalusian Party
	Cantabria	Cantabrian Regionalist Party
		Union for the Progress of Cantabria
	Castille and León	León People's Union
	Rioja	Rioja Party
	Valencia	Valencian Union
		Valencia Nationalist Bloc, Green Left
	Balearic Islands	Majorcan Union

<b>Country</b>	<b>Minority or Region</b>	<b>Party</b>
	Ceuta Melilla	Nationalist Union of Majorca Unity for the Islands Socialist Party of the People of Ceuta Local Bloc of Melilla
St. Kitts and Nevis	Nevis	Concerned Citizens Movement Nevis Reformation Party
St. Lucia	none	
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	none	
Suriname	Maroon  Indonesian  Hindu  Creole	General Liberation and Development Party A-Combination Pendawa Lima Party for the Development of Suriname Democrats of the 21st Century Basic Party for Renewal and Democracy Renewed Progressive Party New Choice Democratic Alternative '91
Sweden	Sjöbo	Sjöbo Party
Switzerland	Jura  Geneva Ticino	Jura Alliance Romande List Geneva Citizens Movement Ticino League
Taiwan	minor Aborginal	
United Kingdom	Scotland  Wales Cornwall Northern Ireland	Scottish National Party Scottish Socialist Party Party of Wales Sons of Cornwall Social Democratic and Labour Party

## **Appendix B: Percent Minority**

This appendix lists the percent minority for each country in the dataset and the sources of the data. Additional notes sometimes give further information for each country.

Only minority groups that can overcome the threshold of exclusion—that is, win a seat in the legislature if they are sufficiently united in their voting behavior—are counted here as minority groups. For countries with sub-regional constituencies, I used regional data as a proxy. Group members who live outside regions where the group can pass the threshold as part of the majority group, as they cannot contribute effectively to the group’s electoral success. Furthermore, groups are included only if a majority of group members live in regions where they can overcome the threshold of exclusion.

Whenever possible, I collected ethnic data needed to estimate minority group size from official sources. I preferred data based on the citizen population rather than on the total population where it was available and made special effort to locate it for countries in which it would likely produce important differences. I used regional data below the statewide level to determine whether a group had the potential to surpass the electoral threshold and then to calculate its size if it did. If ethnic data is unavailable or group size is heavily contested, I consulted unofficial sources to arrive at a reasonable estimate. Disputes over group size almost never would have made the difference in the assessment of a group’s ability to pass the threshold.

### **Andorra**

None.

### **Antigua and Barbuda**

Barbudans, 2.1%. Source: 1991 Census.

### **Argentina**

None. Note: Indigenous Argentines do not exceed the threshold of exclusion in any of Argentina’s provinces according to the 2001 Census.

### **Australia**

None. Note: Aboriginals do not form a majority in any region.

### **Austria**

None. Note: Neither Croatian nor Slovene speakers exceed the threshold of exclusion according to the 2001 Census.

**Bahamas**

None. Note: Whites do not form a majority in any region.

**Barbados**

None.

**Belgium**

Total: 40.7%. Francophones in Wallonia and Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde, 40.0%. Germanophones in Liege, 0.7%. Source: CIA World Factbook.

Germanophones exceed narrowly the threshold of exclusion in Liege under each of the three different Belgian electoral systems.

**Belize**

Total: 36.0%. Mestizos in Corozal and Orange Walk Districts, 20.0%. Creoles in Belize District, 16.0%. Source: 2000 Census.

**Botswana**

Kalanga in North-East District, 6.4%. Sources: 2001 Census and Ethnologue.

**Brazil**

None. Note: Indigenous Brazilians do not exceed the threshold of exclusion in any of Brazil's states according to the 2000 Census.

**Bulgaria**

Turkish, 9.6%. Source: Mother tongue question from 2001 Census.

**Canada**

Total: 19.5%. Total, 19.4%, Francophones in Quebec. 0.1% Inuktitut speakers in Nunavut. Source: Mother Tongue question in 2001 Census.

**Cape Verde**

None.

## **Chile**

Indigenous in Region IX, 1.3%. Source: 2002 Census.

## **Costa Rica**

None. Note: Black or Afro-Costa Ricans are slightly below the threshold of exclusion in Limón Province. Indigenous Costa Ricans are below the threshold of exclusion in all provinces. Source: 2000 Census.

## **Cyprus**

None. Note: Includes only territory under the control of the government of the Republic of Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots cannot vote due to the division of the island. Source: CIA World Factbook.

## **Czech Republic**

*Czech Republic 1 (First Electoral System, 1990-98)*

Moravians, 13.2%. Source: 1991 Census. The share of Moravians exceeded the 5% legal national threshold.

*Czech Republic 2 (Second Electoral System, 2002-10)*

None. Note: Moravians composed only 3.7% of the population according to the 2001 Census, below the 5% legal national threshold.

## **Denmark**

None. Note: All calculations for Denmark exclude the Faroe Islands and Greenland. The German minority in Denmark is smaller than the threshold of exclusion.

## **Dominica**

Caribs, 2.9%. Source: 2001 Census.

Caribs are concentrated in the Carib Reserve, which is coterminous with Salybia constituency.

## **Dominican Republic**

None.

## **El Salvador**

None.

## **Estonia**

Russian speakers (including Ukrainians and Byelorussians), 14.1%. Source: Based on the ethnic nationality and citizenship questions, 2000 Census.

Only citizens are included in calculation of the minority share of the population. The share of Russian speakers includes Ukrainians and Byelorussians as all are Russophones and use Russian as their primary lingua franca.

## **Finland**

Finland Swedes in Helsinki, Uusimaa, Varsinais-Suomi, Vaasa, and Åland constituencies, 5.5%. Source: Statistics Finland, 1999.

Sami fall below the threshold of exclusion in Lapland and all other constituencies.

## **France**

None. Note: None of France's linguistic minorities form a majority in any region. Muslims also do not form a majority in any region.

## **Germany**

None. Note: Danish, Sorb, and Romani minorities all fall below the threshold of exclusion according to the Germany Minority Report.

## **Ghana**

Mole-Dagbon in Northern, Upper East, and Upper West Regions, 11.2%. Source: 2000 Census.

Ewe not counted as a minority group because a majority live outside Volta Region.

## **Greece**

Muslims in Rhodope and Xanthi Prefectures, 0.9%. Source: 2001 Census.

Muslims did not exceed the threshold of exclusion in Evros Prefecture.

## **Grenada**

None.

## **Hungary**

None.

## **Iceland**

None.

## **India**

Total: 41.5%. Bengali speakers in West Bengal and Tripura, 6.9%. Marathi speakers in Maharashtra, 6.5%. Telugu speakers in Andhra Pradesh, 6.2%. Tamil speakers in Tamil Nadu and Puducherry, 5.5%. Gujarati speakers in Gujarat and Daman and Diu, 4.2%. Kannada speakers in Karnataka, 3.4%. Malayalam speakers in Kerala and Lakshadweep, 3.0%. Oriya speakers in Orissa, 3.0%. Punjabi speakers in Punjab, 2.2%. Kashmiri speakers in Kashmir, 0.5%. Manipuri speakers in Manipur, 0.1%. Lushai/Mizo speakers in Mizoram, 0.1%. Source: 2001 Census.

Several groups are excluded either because speakers of the language do not comprise a majority in the relevant state (e.g. Assamese speakers in Assam) or because a majority of speakers of a language do not live in states where they are in the majority (e.g. Nepali speakers in Sikkim).

## **Ireland**

None. Note: Protestants insufficiently concentrated to exceed the threshold of exclusion in any constituency.

## **Israel**

Arabs, 18.5%. Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2003.

## **Italy**

*Italy 1 (1992) and Italy 2 (1994-2001)*

Total: 3.9%. Sardinian speakers in Cagliari-Sassari-Nuoro-Oristano, 2.3%. Friulian speakers in Udine-Belluno-Gorizia-Pordenone, 0.9%. German and Ladin speakers in Trentino-Alto Adige, 0.6%. Valdotain (French or Franco-Provençal), 0.1%. Sources: 2001 Census, Ethnologue, Euromosaic, and Fondation Emile Chanoux.



Speakers of Italian dialects (i.e. languages viewed as part of the Italian family of dialects or languages) are not treated here as linguistic minorities with the exception of speakers of Sardinian. Most speakers of Italian dialects also speak standard Italian; Sardinian is the only legally recognized minority language among Italian dialects. Italy also recognizes Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovene, Croatian, French, Franco-Provençal, Friulian, Ladin, and Occitan as minority language but only the members of language minority groups listed above exceeded the threshold of exclusion defined by the Imperiali quota for the 1992 elections in any constituencies.

### *Italy 3 (2006-8)*

The lower threshold allows the same set of minorities to win seats as were able to overcome the threshold in Italy 1 and 2.

### **Jamaica**

None.

### **Japan**

#### *Japan 1 (1990-93)*

Ryukyuan Language Speakers, 0.9%. Source: Ethnologue

#### *Japan 2 (1996-2009)*

Ryukyuan Language Speakers weighted by share of single-member districts of total seats, 0.5% for 1996 and 0.6% for 2000-2009. Ryukyuan speakers are concentrated in Okinawa Prefecture where they form a majority. Under Japan 2's mixed system, parties based in Ryukyuan speakers could win seats in Okinawa but would be too small surpass the threshold to gain seat awarded by proportional representation. The share of Ryukyuan speakers is accordingly weighted by the share of single-member districts among all seats (200 of 300 in 1996 and 180 of 3000 from 2000 onward).

### **Latvia**

Russian speakers (including Ukrainians and Byelorussians), 20.2%. Source: Population Register, 2004.

Only citizens are included in calculation of the minority share of the population. The share of Russian speakers includes Ukrainians and Byelorussians as all are Russophones and use Russian as their primary lingua franca.

**Lesotho**

None.

**Liechtenstein**

None.

**Lithuania**

Total: 7.9%. Lithuania utilizes a split system with 70 MPs elected from SMDs and 70 MPs elected by PR off of party lists in a single national constituency. Poles form 6.7% and Russians form 6.3% of the population. Among Poles, 2.5% live in municipalities with a Polish majority; 0.4% of Russians live in municipalities with a Russian majority. The minority percentage reported here is the weighted average of the share of minorities above the threshold for list seats and the share of minorities that form a majority in municipalities with the proportion of PR and SMD seats, respectively, serving as the weights. Source: 2001 Census.

**Luxembourg**

None.

**Malta**

None.

**Mauritius**

Rodriguans, 3.0%. Source: 2000 Census.

Creole, Muslim, Sino and Franco Mauritian are all not sufficiently concentrated in any region on the island of Mauritius such that they form a majority or that a majority of members of that group live in the region. Source: A.J. Christopher, "Ethnicity, Community and the Census in Mauritius, 1830-1990," *The Geographical Journal* 158: 1(March 1992), 57-64.

**Monaco**

None.

## **Mongolia**

Kazakhs in Bayan Olgii, 3.4%. Sources: 2000 Census and Alexander C. Diener, *One Homeland or Two? The Nationalization and Transnationalization of Mongolia's Kazakhs* (Washington, DC and Stanford, CA: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Stanford University Press 2009), 124, 175.

## **Namibia**

Total: 45.5%. Nama/Damara speakers, 11.5%. Afrikaans speakers, 11.4%. RuKavango speakers, 9.7%. OtjiHerereo speakers, 7.9%. SiLozi/Caprivi speakers, 5.1%. Source: "Namibian languages." <http://www.biodiversity.org.na/dbase/NamLanguages.php>. (Namibia Biodiversity Database, NaBiD). Viewed 6 July 2009.

At 1.9%, English speakers exceed the threshold of exclusion but English is not included as a minority language because it is a second language for most of its speakers. English serves as Namibia's official language precisely because it is not the language of any ethnic group. The great majority of Namibian whites speak Afrikaans or German. Afrikaans is also the language of most Namibia's Coloureds. The 2001 Census, based on households rather than individuals, confirms the size of all groups except for SiLozi/Caprivi speakers.

## **Netherlands**

Frisian, 3.9%. Source: "Frisian." <http://taal.phileon.nl/eng/frisian.php>. (Language in the Netherlands, Streektaal.net). Viewed 21 January 2013.

Based on the estimated percentage that understands Frisian according to a 1994 survey and the population of Friesland according to the 2001 Census.

## **New Zealand**

*New Zealand 1 (Single-Member Plurality, 1990-93):*

None. Note: Māori are not regionally concentrated.

*New Zealand 2 (Mixed-Member Proportional, 1996-):*

Māori, 13.8%. Source: Ethnicity question in the 2001 Census.

## **Norway**

Sami in Finnmark, 0.4%. Source: Sami Statistics 2008, Statistics Norway

Sami are too few to pass the national legal threshold of 4% but are sufficiently numerous to exceed the threshold of exclusion for a constituency mandate in Finnmark fylke. Kven speak a mutually intelligible dialect of Finnish; they form 0.3% of the population and live in Finnmark and Troms fylker but are too few to surpass the threshold of exclusion for a constituency seat in either.

## **Panama**

Indigenous in Ngöbe-Buglé, Kuna Yala, Bocas del Toro Comarcas or Provinces, 6.6%. Source: 2000 Census.

## **Peru**

### *Peru 1 (First Electoral System, 1990)*

Quechua in Ancash, Apurímac, Arequipa, Ayacucho, Cusco, Huancavelica, Huánuco, Junín, Puno, and Lima Regions, 15.3%. Source: 1993 Census.

Mandates awarded entirely within regions in 1990.

### *Peru 2 (Second Electoral System, 1995)*

Quechua in Peru, 16.5%. Source: 1993 Census.

Mandates awarded in a single national district.

### *Peru 2 (Second Electoral System, 2000)*

Quechua in Peru, 13.0%. Source: 2007 Census.

Mandates awarded in a single national district.

### *Peru 3 & 4 (Third and Fourth Electoral Systems, 2001-11)*

Quechua in Ancash, Apurímac, Arequipa, Ayacucho, Cusco, Huancavelica, Huánuco, Junín, Puno, and Lima Regions, 11.3%. Source: 2007 Census.

Mandates awarded entirely within regions in 2001-11.

## **Poland**

No minorities exceed threshold without exemption from lower threshold. Below is the share of minorities that could potentially support viable ethnic parties due to the elimination of the threshold for ethnic minority parties.

*Poland 1 (First Electoral System, 1991)*

Total: 0.8%. Silesians in Silesia and Opole, 0.4%. Germans in Opole and Silesia, 0.4%.  
Source: 2002 Census.

Belarussians below the threshold of exclusion.

*Poland 2 & 3 (Second & Third Electoral Systems, 1993-2011)*

Germans and Silesians in Opole, 0.3%. Source: 2002 Census.

Belarussians below the threshold of exclusion.

**Portugal**

None.

**Romania**

*Romania 1 (First Electoral System, 1990)*

Total, 9.6%. Hungarian, 6.6%. Roma, 2.5%. Ukrainian, 0.3%. German, 0.3%. Source:  
2002 Census.

Lower threshold for minority parties to gain a single seat allows the following additional  
minorities also to win seats:

Total: 0.8%. Lippovan Russian, 0.17%. Turk, 0.15%. Tatar, 0.11%. Serb, 0.10%. Slovak,  
0.08%. Bulgarian, 0.04%. Croat, 0.03%. Greek, 0.03%. Jewish, 0.03%. Czech, 0.02%.  
Polish, 0.02%. Italian, 0.02%. Armenian, 0.01%. Source: 2002 Census.

*Romania 2, 3 & 4 (1992-2008)*

Hungarian, 6.6%. Source: 2002 Census.

Lower threshold for minority parties to gain a single seat allows the following additional  
minorities also to win seats:

Total: 3.9%. Roma, 2.5%. Ukrainian, 0.3%. German, 0.3%. Lippovan Russian, 0.17%.  
Turk, 0.15%. Tatar, 0.11%. Serb, 0.10%. Slovak, 0.08%. Bulgarian, 0.04%. Croat, 0.03%.  
Greek, 0.03%. Jewish, 0.03%. Czech, 0.02%. Polish, 0.02%. Italian, 0.02%. Armenian,  
0.01%. Source: 2002 Census.

**St. Kitts and Nevis**

Nevisians, 24.0%. 2001 Census.

**St. Lucia**

None.

**St. Vincent and the Grenadines**

None.

**Samoa**

None. Note: Euronesians are not a majority in any of Samoa's Districts.

**San Marino**

None.

**São Tomé and Príncipe**

Angolares in Caué, 6.3%. Source: Ethnologue.

Angolares are counted as a minority but residents of Príncipe are not because Angolar is not mutually intelligible with Sãotomense but Principense is. The Angolares live in an isolated portion of the island of São Tomé.

**Slovakia**

Hungarian, 9.7%. Source: Statistical Office, 2001.

**Slovenia**

None. Note: Both the officially recognized Hungarian and Italian national minorities are below the threshold of exclusion.

**South Africa**

Total: 44.8%. Black IsiZulu, 23.8%. White, 9.6%. Coloured, 8.9%. Indian/Asian, 2.5%. Source: 2001 Census.

South Africa's racial minorities are also linguistically defined. Most White, Coloured, and Indian/Asian South Africans speak Afrikaans or English; these three groups also compose the overwhelming share of Afrikaans and English language speakers.

### **South Korea**

None.

### **Spain**

Total: 24.3%. Catalan in Catalonia, 14.7%. Galician in Galicia, 6.5%. Basque in Basque Country or Navarre, 3.1%. Source: Estimated share of population that understands the language and lives in the home autonomous community (or communities) of the language group based on 2001 linguistic censuses.

Greater numbers of people can understand rather than speak, or write Basque, Catalan, or Galician, so basing the size of each group on the share who understand provides for a broader definition of each language group. Spain's Constitution recognizes the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia as "historical nationalities." Basque nationalists claim Navarre but that claim is strongly disputed by a majority of its population. Navarre has its own separate history of independence and autonomy within Spain.

### **Suriname**

Total, 31.5%. Hindi/Sarnami in Nickerie, Paramaribo, and Saramacca, 14.5%. Maroons in Sipaliwini, Marowijne, and Paramaribo, 11.4%. Sranan/Creole in Coronie and Paramaribo, 4.1%. Javanese in Commewijne, 1.4%. Source: 2004 Census.

Includes non-Dutch language groups in constituencies in which their population share exceeds the threshold of exclusion.

### **Sweden**

None. Note: Meänkieli and Sami are below the threshold of exclusion.

### **Switzerland**

Total: 23.8%. Francophones in Cantons Bern, Fribourg, Geneva, Neuchâtel, Vaud, Jura, and Valais, 20.4%. Italian speakers in Canton Ticino, 3.4%. Source: 2000 Census.

Based on statistics for Swiss citizens. Neither Italian nor Romansh speakers exceeded the threshold of exclusion in Graubünden.

## **Taiwan**

Total: 23%. Mainlanders, 15%. Hakka, 8%. Regional data unavailable so just used minorities above the 5% legal threshold to receive party list seats. Source: Li-Li Huang, James H. Liu, and Maanling Chang, 'The double identity' of Taiwanese Chinese: A dilemma of politics and culture rooted in history," *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 7(2004): 149-68.

At 2%, Indigenous are too few to pass the legal threshold.

## **United Kingdom**

Total: 16.4%. Scotland, 8.6%. Wales, 4.9%. Northern Ireland, 2.9%. Source: 2001 Census.

Racial minorities are not regionally concentrated and do not form a majority in any of the United Kingdom's countries or administrative divisions.

## **United States**

None. Note: African Americans, Latinos, and Asians do not separately form a majority in any state.

## **Uruguay**

None.



**APPENDIX C: COUNTRIES IN DATASET AND CODING OF THREE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Number of Elections</b>	<b>Decentralized</b>	<b>Simultaneously Elected Strong President</b>	<b>Proportional Representaton</b>
Andorra	6			
Antigua and Barbuda	4			
Argentina	8	X	in 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007	X
Australia	8	X		
Austria	7	X		X
Bahamas	4			
Barbados	5			
Belgium	6	X		X
Belize	4			
Botswana	4			
Brazil	6	X	X	X
Bulgaria	7			from 1991 onward
Canada	7	X		
Cape Verde	5			X
Chile	5			X
Costa Rica	6		X	X
Cyprus	5			X
Czech Republic	7			X
Denmark	7			X
Dominica	5			
Dominican Republic	6		in 1990, 1994	X
El Salvador	7			X
Estonia	6			X
Finland	6			X
France	4			
Germany	6	X		X
Ghana	4		X	
Greece	7			in 1990
Grenada	5			
Hungary	6			
Iceland	6			X
India	6	X		
Ireland	5			X
Israel	6			X

<b>Country</b>	<b>Number of Elections</b>	<b>Decentralized</b>	<b>Simultaneously Elected Strong President</b>	<b>Proportional Representaton</b>
Italy	6	X		in 1992
Jamaica	4			
Japan	7			
Latvia	6			X
Lesotho	4			in 2002
Liechtenstein	6			X
Lithuania	5			
Luxembourg	4			X
Malta	5			X
Mauritius	5			
Monaco	4			
Mongolia	5			
Namibia	4		X	X
Netherlands	6			X
New Zealand	8			from 1996 onward
Norway	5			X
Panama	4		X	
Peru	6		X	X
Poland	7			X
Portugal	7	X (Azores and Madeira)		X
Romania	6		X	X
St. Kitts and Nevis	5	X		
St. Lucia	5			
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	5			
Samoa	5			
San Marino	5			before 2008
Sao Tome and Principe	6			X
Slovakia	7			X
Slovenia	5			X
South Africa	4	X		X
Spain	6	X		X
Suriname	5			X
Sweden	6			X
Switzerland	6	X		X
Taiwan	6			
United Kingdom	5	X		

<b>Country</b>	<b>Number of Elections</b>	<b>Decentralized</b>	<b>Simultaneously Elected Strong President</b>	<b>Proportional Representaton</b>
USA	11	X	in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008	
Uruguay	4		X	

Note: Paralleling past definitions of federal or decentralized polities (Brancati 2009; Elazar 1987), countries are defined as decentralized if regional governments have constitutionally entrenched independent decision-making authority. Additionally, countries are coded as decentralized if they include regions that score 15.0 or higher on the Regional Authority Index (Hooghe, Marks and Schakel 2008) as all but one country with constitutionally protected authority have regions rated this high. Spain and the United Kingdom are the only two cases captured by this provision. Strong presidents serve as head of government and not only as symbolic head of state. As defined here, proportional representation excludes mixed systems unless they include an element designed to correct for disproportionality, as in the German system. It also excludes systems that award a bonus to the winning party or coalition, such as the current Greek and Italian systems. Nonetheless, it includes proportional systems that produce disproportionate results due to low district magnitude or a high legal threshold.