**Appendix 1: Green Party Membership Survey 2002-2003**

Country Party Total Questionnaires Valid Responses Response

 Membership Mailed Rate (Gross)

 %

Australia NSW Greens 2400 2400 806 33.6

Austria Die Grünen 1714 1714 572 33.4

Belgium AGALEV 6000 500 279 55.8

 ECOLO 4000 500 265 53.0

Finland Vihreä Liitto 1650 825 397 48.1

France Les Verts 9000 3000 1209 40.3

Germany Bündnis ‘90/Die Grünen 45000 2201 1085 49.3

Greece Οικολόγοι Πράσινοι 129 129 31 24.0

Italy Federazione dei Verdi 20000 999 291 29.1

Ireland Green Party/Comhaontas Glas 650 650 294 45.2

Netherlands GroenLinks 15000 500 251 50.2

New Zealand Green Party of Aotearoa 4067 1000 520 52.0

Norway De Grønne 500 500 186 37.2

Spain Los Verdes de Andalucia 400 400 73 18.3

 Els Verds del Pais Valencia 100 100 38 38.0

Sweden Miljöpartiet De Gröna 8000 500 255 51.0

UK Green Party of England & Wales 4000 2334 1297 55.6

 Scottish Green Party 517 517 260 50.3

TOTAL 123,160 18,769 8,109 43.2

**Appendix 2: Question Wordings**

Dependent Variable

Q. Here are a number of organisational principles that some have associated with the concept of ‘grassroots democracy’. To what extent do you agree or disagree that these principles should be adopted (or retained) by the Green Party?

(Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neither agree or disagree, Agree or Strongly Agree, 1- 5)

No individual members should be able to retain a national party office for more than three years consecutively.

Green members of parliament should not be able to hold any party office.

Green members of parliament should only be allowed to earn up to the average national wage, the rest of their income should be donated to the party.

**Q.** ‘Established’ political parties normally have ONE leader. Do you think the Green Party should have

one leader? Yes / No

Dependent Variable: Factor scores of these four statements, ‚leadership variable recoced 1 Yes 5 No

Independent Variables

*Social Movements*

**Q***.* Below is a list of various social movements. Have you ever been active in any of them (e.g. taken part in demonstrations, organised meetings etc)? If yes, please indicate in which decades you have been active.

(Never active, or active in: 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000s)

|  |
| --- |
| Student Movement |
| Environmental Movement |
| Animal Rights Movement |
| Anti-nuclear (energy) Movement |
| Peace Movement |
| Feminist Movement |
| Gay and Lesbian Rights Movement |
| Labour/Trade Union Movement |
| Third World Solidarity Movement |
| Anti-Globalisation Movement |

*Ideology*

**Q.** In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place the following political parties on the scale below where 0 is the most left-wing position and 10 is the most right-wing? And where would you place **YOURSELF** on the scale below?

Scale 0 Left 0 10 Right (recoded 0 Right to 10 Left)

**Q.** How much do you agree or disagree with each of these statements?

(Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neither agree or disagree, Agree or Strongly Agree, 1- 5)

War is always wrong

*Party Socialisation*

**Q.** Do you currently hold any office within the party (e.g. local party spokesperson) or any public office representing the party (e.g. local councillor)?

- Party office Yes/No

- Public office Yes/No

*Demographics*

**Q.** In which year were you born?

(Recoded as Age: Year of survey – year of birth)

Q. Are you male or female? Male/Female

*Party Lifespan*

1 Not represented in National Parliament - De Grønne (Norway), Οικολόγοι Πράσινοι (Greece); Green Party of England & Wales, Scottish Green Party

2 Represented in National Parliament - Green Party -Comhaontas Glas (Republic of Ireland), Els Verds del Pais Valencia (Spain), Los Verdes de Andalucia (Spain)

3 “Relevant” Party Represented in Parliament but not in Government – GroenLinks (The Netherland), Miljöpartiet - De Gröna (Sweden), Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand

4 In Government at national level - Bündnis '90 / Die Grünen (Germany), AGALEV and ECOLO (Belgium), Les Verts (France), Federazione dei Verdi (Italy), Vihreä Liitto (Finland)

*Latin/Greek*

0 De Grønne (Norway), Green Party of England & Wales, Scottish Green Party, Comhaontas Glas (Republic of Ireland), GroenLinks (The Netherlands), Miljöpartiet - De Gröna (Sweden), Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, Bündnis '90 / Die Grünen (Germany), AGALEV (Belgium), Vihreä Liitto (Finland)

1 Οικολόγοι Πράσινοι (Greece), Els Verds del Pais Valencia (Spain), Los Verdes de Andalucia (Spain), ECOLO (Belgium), Les Verts (France), Federazione dei Verdi (Italy)

Appendix 3: Indicators of 'Grassroots Democracy' (% Agree or Strongly Agree and % “No” to a Single Party Leader)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Country | Party | Term limits of 3 years | Incompatibility of party and public office | Parliamentarians’ income should be limited | Opposition to Single Party Leader | Grassroots Democracy index (factor scores) | N (valid) |
| Mean | Std. Dev. |  |
| Belgium | AGALEV | 13 | 29 | 20 | 20 | -0.43 | 0.73 | 261 |
| Belgium | ECOLO | 55 | 54 | 36 | 85 | 0.61 | 0.9 | 252 |
| Finland | Vihreä Liitto  | 28 | 20 | 33 | 15 | -0.38 | 0.84 | 382 |
| France | Les Verts | 64 | 51 | 44 | 78 | 0.77 | 0.88 | 1123 |
| Germany | Bündnis '90 / Die Grünen | 15 | 34 | 22 | 63 | -0.51 | 1.06 | 1052 |
| Greece | Οικολόγοι Πράσινοι | 65 | 57 | 69 | 100 | 0.99 | 0.86 | 28 |
| Italy | Federazione dei Verdi | 51 | 44 | 48 | 47 | 0.39 | 0.91 | 280 |
| New Zealand | Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand  | 13 | 33 | 15 | 90 | -0.13 | 0.7 | 488 |
| Norway | De Grønne | 26 | 41 | 44 | 45 | 0.04 | 0.89 | 175 |
| Republic of Ireland | Green Party -Comhaontas Glas | 42 | 25 | 26 | 18 | -0.22 | 0.88 | 275 |
| Spain | Els Verds del Pais Valencia | 53 | 60 | 49 | 67 | 0.57 | 1.01 | 34 |
| Spain | Los Verdes de Andalucia | 39 | 57 | 42 | 38 | 0.29 | 0.96 | 72 |
| Sweden | Miljöpartiet - De Gröna | 22 | 23 | 26 | 55 | -0.28 | 0.93 | 224 |
| The Netherlands | GroenLinks | 18 | 75 | 22 | 18 | -0.14 | 0.67 | 237 |
| UK | Green Party of England & Wales\*\*  | 30 | 20 | 28 | 48 | -0.11 | 0.85 | 988\*\* |
| UK | Scottish Green Party | 31 | 23 | 30 | 45 | -0.18 | 0.87 | 230 |
| ALL\*\*\* |  | 37 | 39 | 27 | 50 | 0.005 | 1.00 | 6101 |

\*\* Weighted to account for different sub-samples

\*\*\* Weighted according to party size (total membership)

**Appendix 4: Robustness Checks**

The first robustness check consisted in bivariate models using each of the individual level variables. The results from Table A1 show that all variables are correlated with the dependent variable.

**Table A1: Bivariate models of Grassroots Democracy (OLS – individual level)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** | **Model 4** | **Model 5** | **Model 6** | **Model 7** | **Model 8** |
| (Intercept) | -0.16\*\*\* | -0.17\*\*\* | -1.11\*\*\* | -0.93\*\*\* | -0.00 | 0.02 | -0.27\*\*\* | -0.03 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.05) | (0.02) |
| Involvement in social movements | 0.04\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1960s-1990s | (0.00) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Involvment in social movements2000s |  | 0.12\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.01) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-wing |  |  | 0.15\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.01) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pacifist |  |  |  | 0.23\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.01) |  |  |  |  |
| Party Office holder |  |  |  |  | 0.07\* |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.03) |  |  |  |
| Public office holder |  |  |  |  |  | -0.06 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |
| Age |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.01\*\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.00) |  |
| Gender (Female) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.08\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.03) |
| **R2** | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| **Adj. R2** | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| **Num. obs.** | 6151 | 6151 | 5698 | 5974 | 5921 | 5921 | 6103 | 6101 |
| **RMSE** | 0.98 | 0.97 | 0.97 | 0.96 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 0.99 | 1.00 |
| **\*\*\*p < 0.001, \*\*p < 0.01,\*p < 0.05** |

We also tested the relationship by country (not only by party), allowing the intercept to vary by country. As we can see in Table A2, the results do not vary significantly. Furthermore, Figure A1 shows the varying intercepts show some significant differences, all in the expected direction

**Table A2: Model using varying intercepts by party**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1** |
| (Intercept) | -1.49\*\*\* |
|  | (0.14) |
| Involvement in social movements | 0.00 |
| 1960s-1990s | (0.00) |
| Involvment in social movements2000s | 0.04\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) |
| Left-wing | 0.09\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) |
| Pacifist | 0.13\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) |
| Party Office holder | 0.05 |
|  | (0.03) |
| Public office holder | -0.08\* |
|  | (0.03) |
| Age | 0.00\*\* |
|  | (0.00) |
| Gender (Female) | 0.12\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) |
| Latin/Greek political culture | 0.95\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) |
| Party with Parliamentary Representation  | -0.35\* |
|  | (0.17) |
| Relevant Parliamentary Party | -0.13 |
|  | (0.15) |
| Party in National Government | -0.37\*\* |
|  | (0.14) |
| BIC | 13559.54 |
| Log Likelihood | -6715.46 |
| Num. obs. | 5292 |
| Num. groups: country | 13 |
| Var: country (Intercept) | 0.03 |
| Var: Residual | 0.73 |
| \*\*\*p < 0.001, \*\*p < 0.01, \*p < 0.05 |
|  |

**Figure A1: Varying intercepts by country**



Finally, our last robustness check consisted in using the same model but with an additive scale as dependent variable. Our choice of factor analysis is mostly based on theory, but we show that our results hold even when we do not allow each item to load in a different way (Table A3).

**Table A3: Model using the additive scale as dependent variable**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1** |
| (Intercept) | 2.66\*\*\* |
|  | (0.61) |
| Involvement in social movements | 0.04\*\* |
| 1960s-1990s | (0.01) |
| Involvment in social movements2000s | 0.15\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) |
| Left-wing | 0.35\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) |
| Pacifist | 0.45\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) |
| Party Office holder | 0.19 |
|  | (0.11) |
| Public office holder | -0.17 |
|  | (0.12) |
| Age | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) |
| Gender (Female) | 0.48\*\*\* |
|  | (0.09) |
| Latin/Greek political culture | 3.17\*\*\* |
|  | (0.53) |
| Party with Parliamentary Representation  | -2.03\*\* |
|  | (0.77) |
| Relevant Parliamentary Party | -0.46 |
|  | (0.73) |
| Party in National Government | -1.47\* |
|  | (0.64) |
| **AIC** | 26899.42 |
| **BIC** | 26998.03 |
| **Log Likelihood** | -13434.71 |
| **Num. obs.** | 5292 |
| **Num. groups: party** | 15 |
| **Var: party (Intercept)** | 0.70 |
| **Var: Residual** | 9.27 |
| \*\*\*p < 0.001, \*\*p < 0.01, \*p < 0.05 |