

Supplementary Appendix for Rafaela M. Dancygier. 2014. “Electoral Rules or Electoral Leverage: Explaining Muslim Representation in England.” *World Politics* 66 (2).

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Table A1: Sources used in Statistical Analyses

Sources	
Election Variables	Rallings, Colin, Michale Thrasher, and L. Ware. 2006. "SN: 5319: British Local Election Database, 1889-2003 [computer file]." Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor]. Local Government Chronicles Elections Centre (personal communication) Local Elections Archives Project, available at http://www.andrewteale.me.uk/leap/ London DataStore, available at http://data.london.gov.uk/datastore/package/borough-council-election-results-2010
All other variables	UK Office of National Statistics available at www.nomisweb.co.uk
Explanatory Notes	
Segregation	The formula to calculate the isolation index is as follows: $I = \sum_i (M_i/M)(M_i/T_i)$, where (M_i/M) measures the number of Muslims in a ward as a share of the city's Muslims and (M_i/T_i) measures the number of Muslims as a share of the total population in a ward.
Fractionalization	The formula to calculate the fractionalization index is as follows: $Fractionalization = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^n s_i^2$ where s_i is the share originating from each region i ($i = 1, \dots, n$). The regions of birth include: Ireland, the Channel Islands, other Western Europe, Eastern Europe, North Africa, Nigeria, other Central and Western Africa, Kenya, South Africa, Zimbabwe, other South and Eastern Africa, Middle East, China, other Far East, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, other South Asia, Canada, Jamaica, other Caribbean and West Indies, USA, other North America, South America, Oceania, and other.

Table A2: Local Authorities Used in Sample

London	North East
Barking and Dagenham	Gateshead
Barnet	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Bexley	North Tyneside
Brent	South Tyneside
Bromley	Sunderland
Camden	
Croydon	North West
Ealing	Bolton
Enfield	Bury
Greenwich	Knowsley
Hackney	Liverpool
Hammersmith and Fulham	Manchester
Haringey	Oldham
Harrow	Rochdale
Harvering	Salford
Hillingdon	Sefton
Hounslow	St. Helens
Islington	Stockport
Kensington and Chelsea	Tameside
Kingston-upon-Thames	Trafford
Lambeth	Wigan
Lewisham	Wirral
Merton	
Newham	West Midlands
Redbridge	Birmingham
Richmond-upon-Thames	Coventry
Southwark	Dudley
Sutton	Sandwell
Tower Hamlets	Solihull
Waltham Forest	Walsall
Wandsworth	Wolverhampton
Westminster, City of	
Yorkshire and The Humber	
	Barnsley
	Bradford
	Calderdale
	Doncaster
	Kirklees
	Leeds
	Rotherham
	Sheffield
	Wakefield

Table A3: Summary Statistics**Local Authority Level Regressions**

	All				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
% Councilors who are Muslim	309	4.61	6.00	0	28.13
SMD	309	0.58	0.49	0	1
% Muslim Population	309	4.92	4.68	0.17	24.31
Segregation	309	0.11	0.11	0.00	0.46
Fractionalization	309	0.72	0.14	0.30	0.90
% Labour Vote	309	35.38	10.29	5.62	64.35
SMD × Segregation	309	0.07	0.11	0	0.46
	London Boroughs				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
% Councilors who are Muslim	93	5.47	5.55	0.00	25.00
SMD	93	0	0	0	0
% Muslim Population	93	7.63	4.87	0.80	24.31
Segregation	93	0.09	0.06	0.01	0.30
Fractionalization	93	0.84	0.04	0.74	0.90
% Labour Vote	93	31.64	10.77	5.62	60.84
SMD × Segregation	93	0	0	0	0
	Metropolitan Boroughs				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
% Councilors who are Muslim	216	4.23	6.16	0	28.13
SMD	216	0.83	0.37	0	1
% Muslim Population	216	3.75	4.08	0.17	16.08
Segregation	216	0.12	0.13	0.00	0.46
Fractionalization	216	0.68	0.15	0.30	0.86
% Labour Vote	216	36.99	9.66	7.97	64.35
SMD × Segregation	216	0.10	0.12	0	0.46
	Ward Party Level Regressions				
	Single-Member Elections				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Muslim Selected	8,841	0.06	0.24	0	1
% Muslim Population	8,841	4.19	9.47	0.00	66.94
Previous Vote Margin	8,841	-0.11	0.29	-0.86	0.84
Prev. Vote Margin × % Muslim Pop.	8,841	-0.50	2.88	-35.32	26.66
Liberal Democrats	8,841	0.30	0.46	0	1
Conservatives	8,841	0.34	0.47	0	1
	Multi-Member Elections				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Muslim Selected	3,380	0.18	0.38	0	1
% Muslim Population	3,380	7.57	6.16	0.36	47.26
Previous Vote Margin	3,380	-0.11	0.29	-0.75	0.75
Prev. Vote Margin × % Muslim Pop.	3,380	-0.83	2.75	-16.50	13.28
Fractionalization	3,380	0.82	0.05	0.49	0.90
Liberal Democrats	3,380	0.30	0.46	0	1
Conservatives	3,380	0.35	0.48	0	1

Note: These statistics are based on the samples used in the regressions and thus exclude the outlier Tower Hamlets.

Table A4: The Election of Muslim Councilors in English Municipalities - Additional Variables

SMD	-0.693 (0.543)	-0.672 (0.544)	-0.736 (0.538)	-0.694 (0.544)	-0.827 (0.587)	-0.697 (0.545)
% Muslim Population	0.637** (0.231)	0.612* (0.243)	0.642** (0.229)	0.627** (0.238)	0.685** (0.243)	0.651** (0.235)
Segregation	32.06** (10.52)	32.37** (10.70)	32.36** (10.52)	32.53** (10.88)	31.81** (10.36)	32.22** (10.47)
Fractionalization	-8.480+ (4.368)	-8.902* (4.462)	-7.867+ (4.443)	-8.326+ (4.406)	-7.807+ (4.311)	-7.737+ (4.336)
% Labour Vote	-0.0223 (0.0445)	-0.0267 (0.0445)	-0.0121 (0.0438)	-0.0216 (0.0448)	0.00188 (0.0533)	-0.0227 (0.0443)
% Hindu Population		0.126 (0.0993)				
% Sikh Population			-0.218 (0.223)			
% Jewish Population				0.0528 (0.128)		
Unemployment Rate					-0.261 (0.298)	
Population Size (Log)						-0.493 (1.940)
Year	0.254* (0.113)	0.251* (0.113)	0.261* (0.113)	0.254* (0.113)	0.330* (0.147)	0.253* (0.113)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	-504.5* (227.1)	-497.6* (227.5)	-519.8* (227.7)	-505.5* (227.4)	-657.7* (295.2)	-498.3* (226.8)
Sigma	4.589*** (0.245)	4.579*** (0.251)	4.569*** (0.242)	4.592*** (0.245)	4.579*** (0.247)	4.582*** (0.241)
N	309	309	309	309	309	309
Pseudo-R ²	0.232	0.232	0.232	0.232	0.232	0.232
# of uncensored observations	173	173	173	173	173	173

The dependent variable is the percent of elected candidates in a local authority election who are Muslim. Tobit coefficients with robust standard errors, clustered on local authority, in parentheses.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table A4, cont'd: The Election of Muslim Councilors in English Municipalities - Additional Variables

SMD	-0.659 (0.534)	-0.690 (0.492)	-0.500 (0.564)	-0.752 (0.484)	-0.594 (0.550)	-0.689 (0.543)	-0.616 (0.567)
% Muslim Population	0.639** (0.229)	0.628** (0.221)	0.626** (0.231)	0.575* (0.235)	0.664** (0.224)	0.652** (0.250)	0.629** (0.234)
Segregation	31.26** (10.45)	31.59** (10.30)	31.41** (10.45)	33.79** (10.67)	30.70** (10.21)	31.75** (10.77)	32.33** (10.64)
Fractionalization	-9.315* (4.437)	-9.391* (4.378)	-9.659* (4.616)	-9.143* (4.552)	-7.786+ (4.573)	-8.460+ (4.369)	-8.466+ (4.415)
% Labour Vote	-0.00873 (0.0453)		-0.0490 (0.0496)		-0.0238 (0.0433)	-0.0226 (0.0446)	-0.0237 (0.0443)
% Lib Dem Vote	0.0303 (0.0351)	0.0333 (0.0344)					
% Conservative Vote			-0.0440 (0.0352)	-0.0253 (0.0291)			
% BNP Vote					0.135 (0.0934)		
% Respect Vote						-0.0652 (0.130)	
% Other Party Vote (parties other than LAB, CON, LD)							0.0231 (0.0406)
Year	0.265* (0.112)	0.271* (0.105)	0.236* (0.114)	0.273** (0.104)	0.193 (0.120)	0.256* (0.114)	0.236* (0.117)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	-526.4* (225.8)	-540.3* (210.8)	-464.9* (229.0)	-542.1** (208.7)	-382.9 (240.9)	-508.5* (229.1)	-469.2* (235.7)
Sigma	4.589*** (0.245)	4.590*** (0.245)	4.573*** (0.243)	4.588*** (0.244)	4.559*** (0.252)	4.590*** (0.245)	4.581*** (0.243)
N	309	309	309	309	309	309	309
Pseudo-R ²	0.232	0.232	0.233	0.232	0.233	0.232	0.232
# of uncensored observations	173	173	173	173	173	173	173

The dependent variable is the percent of elected candidates in a local authority election who are Muslim. Tobit coefficients with robust standard errors, clustered on local authority, in parentheses.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table A5: The Election of Muslim Councilors - Difference-in-Difference Regressions - Additional Variables

	Comparison with 2006					
Treatment Group	1.011 (0.868)	1.081 (0.866)	1.002 (0.874)	0.934 (0.867)	1.055 (0.857)	1.016 (0.875)
Post Treatment	0.982 (0.731)	0.974 (0.732)	0.992 (0.738)	0.977 (0.734)	1.098 (0.833)	0.981 (0.735)
Treatment Group × Post Treatment	0.462 (0.914)	0.471 (0.917)	0.449 (0.926)	0.467 (0.918)	0.343 (1.054)	0.462 (0.918)
% Muslim Population	0.731*** (0.152)	0.721*** (0.162)	0.736*** (0.151)	0.748*** (0.151)	0.748*** (0.143)	0.731*** (0.149)
Segregation	13.57 (8.440)	13.72 (8.560)	13.56 (8.500)	12.92 (8.402)	13.34 (8.256)	13.58 (8.608)
Fractionalization	-8.387* (3.257)	-8.495* (3.289)	-8.377* (3.331)	-8.508** (3.202)	-8.218* (3.475)	-8.382* (3.276)
% Labour Vote	-0.0512 (0.0323)	-0.0525 (0.0325)	-0.0495 (0.0325)	-0.0520 (0.0323)	-0.0448 (0.0404)	-0.0513 (0.0328)
% Hindu Population		0.0411 (0.0984)				
% Sikh Population			-0.0640 (0.191)			
% Jewish Population				-0.0880 (0.0989)		
Unemployment Rate					-0.0736 (0.233)	
Population Size (Log)						-0.0186 (0.962)
Constant	6.273* (3.095)	6.311* (3.114)	6.257+ (3.152)	6.506* (3.069)	6.290* (3.084)	6.497 (12.24)
N	134	134	134	134	134	134
R ²	0.769	0.770	0.770	0.770	0.769	0.769

The dependent variable is the percent of elected candidates in a local authority election who are Muslim. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors, clustered on local authority, in parentheses.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table A5, cont'd: The Election of Muslim Councilors - Difference-in-Difference Regressions - Additional Variables

Comparison with 2006							
Treatment Group	1.015 (0.939)	0.512 (0.998)	0.937 (0.931)	0.796 (0.977)	0.985 (0.856)	0.828 (0.950)	0.999 (0.873)
Post Treatment	0.980 (0.726)	1.286+ (0.666)	0.963 (0.747)	1.271+ (0.672)	0.886 (0.756)	0.857 (0.763)	0.930 (0.751)
Treatment Group × Post Treatment	0.462 (0.917)	0.122 (0.827)	0.492 (0.930)	0.0996 (0.827)	0.493 (0.931)	0.574 (0.935)	0.518 (0.936)
% Muslim Population	0.731*** (0.151)	0.665*** (0.150)	0.730*** (0.152)	0.667*** (0.155)	0.747*** (0.153)	0.693*** (0.173)	0.728*** (0.150)
Segregation	13.58 (8.365)	15.70+ (8.294)	13.47 (8.488)	16.18+ (8.454)	12.91 (8.458)	14.45 (8.784)	13.72 (8.343)
Fractionalization	-8.366* (3.203)	-9.205** (3.326)	-8.517* (3.291)	-8.371* (3.284)	-7.198* (3.152)	-8.423* (3.296)	-8.159* (3.193)
% Labour Vote	-0.0515 (0.0329)		-0.0561 (0.0395)		-0.0546 (0.0328)	-0.0521 (0.0324)	-0.0527 (0.0330)
% Lib Dem Vote	-0.00050 (0.0277)	0.0146 (0.0294)					
% Conservative Vote			-0.0070 (0.025)	0.0124 (0.0193)			
% BNP Vote					0.0827 (0.0769)		
% Respect Vote						0.102 (0.0729)	
% Other Party Vote (parties other than LAB, CON, LD)							0.0104 (0.0267)
Constant	6.273* (3.110)	5.202+ (3.010)	6.797+ (3.709)	4.342 (3.099)	5.311+ (2.993)	6.538* (3.190)	6.024+ (3.063)
N	134	134	134	134	134	134	134
R ²	0.769	0.764	0.769	0.764	0.771	0.770	0.769

The dependent variable is the percent of elected candidates in a local authority election who are Muslim. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors, clustered on local authority, in parentheses.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table A5 cont'd: The Election of Muslim Councilors - Difference-in-Difference Regressions - Additional Variables (Comparison with 2006, 2007, and 2008)

	Comparison with 2006, 2007, and 2008					
Treatment Group	1.879*	1.912*	1.862*	1.811*	1.877*	1.891*
	(0.856)	(0.849)	(0.865)	(0.854)	(0.857)	(0.862)
Post Treatment	0.940	0.936	0.960	0.936	0.933	0.939
	(0.727)	(0.729)	(0.734)	(0.730)	(0.804)	(0.731)
Treatment Group × Post Treatment	-0.460	-0.457	-0.482	-0.456	-0.455	-0.459
% Muslim Population	0.751***	0.746***	0.761***	0.767***	0.751***	0.752***
	(0.142)	(0.153)	(0.143)	(0.141)	(0.138)	(0.140)
Segregation	14.27+	14.35+	14.25+	13.69+	14.29+	14.29+
	(7.377)	(7.505)	(7.451)	(7.329)	(7.305)	(7.507)
Fractionalization	-3.349	-3.399	-3.336	-3.457	-3.357	-3.339
	(2.739)	(2.750)	(2.865)	(2.688)	(2.865)	(2.753)
% Labour Vote	-0.0582+	-0.0588+	-0.0548+	-0.0589+	-0.0585	-0.0583+
	(0.0301)	(0.0302)	(0.0302)	(0.0301)	(0.0354)	(0.0305)
% Hindu Population		0.0194				
		(0.102)				
% Sikh Population			-0.124			
			(0.145)			
% Jewish Population				-0.0789		
				(0.0954)		
Unemployment Rate					0.00407	
					(0.214)	
Population size (log)						-0.0389
						(0.867)
Constant	2.074	2.091	2.047	2.282	2.072	2.542
	(2.660)	(2.672)	(2.751)	(2.642)	(2.662)	(11.03)
N	134	134	134	134	134	134
R ²	0.804	0.804	0.806	0.805	0.804	0.804

The dependent variable is the percent of elected candidates in a local authority who are Muslim. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors, clustered on local authority, in parentheses.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table A5 cont'd: The Election of Muslim Councilors - Difference-in-Difference Regressions - Additional Variables (Comparison with 2006, 2007, and 2008)

	Comparison with 2006, 2007, and 2008						
Treatment Group	1.848+	1.293	1.664+	1.497	1.839*	1.732+	1.851*
	(0.935)	(0.984)	(0.933)	(0.979)	(0.842)	(0.943)	(0.862)
Post Treatment	0.948	1.284+	0.888	1.283+	0.847	0.836	0.819
	(0.719)	(0.665)	(0.736)	(0.670)	(0.754)	(0.757)	(0.742)
Treatment Group × Post Treatment	-0.458	-0.759	-0.357	-0.834	-0.465	-0.371	-0.351
% Muslim Population	0.752***	0.684***	0.749***	0.671***	0.765***	0.721***	0.741***
	(0.142)	(0.141)	(0.142)	(0.145)	(0.142)	(0.165)	(0.139)
Segregation	14.16+	16.08*	14.03+	17.18*	13.95+	14.96+	14.87*
	(7.408)	(7.382)	(7.427)	(7.387)	(7.321)	(7.748)	(7.262)
Fractionalization	-3.492	-4.579	-3.734	-3.614	-2.286	-3.369	-2.742
	(2.949)	(3.134)	(2.862)	(2.887)	(2.830)	(2.777)	(2.715)
% Labour Vote	-0.0567+			-0.0721+		-0.0621*	-0.0589+
	(0.0296)			(0.0362)		(0.0310)	(0.0301)
% Lib Dem Vote	0.00321	0.0203					-0.0618*
	(0.0240)	(0.0268)					
% Conservative Vote			-0.0199	0.00508			
			(0.0238)	(0.0176)			
% BNP Vote					0.0759		
					(0.0641)		
% Respect Vote						0.0847	
						(0.0705)	
% Other Party Vote (parties other than LAB, CON, LD)							0.0240
							(0.0226)
Constant	2.081	1.032	3.578	0.481	1.223	2.285	1.436
	(2.681)	(2.694)	(3.455)	(2.825)	(2.671)	(2.745)	(2.708)
N	134	134	134	134	134	134	134
R ²	0.804	0.797	0.805	0.796	0.805	0.804	0.805

The dependent variable is the percent of elected candidates in a local authority election who are Muslim. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors, clustered on local authority, in parentheses.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table A6: The Selection of Muslim Candidates by Local Parties, by Electoral Rule – Including Results Outside of London

	All	SMD	MMD	Outside of London		
				MMD	MMD	
% Muslim Population	0.0642*** (0.00262)	0.0606*** (0.00267)	0.0672*** (0.00279)	0.0810*** (0.00586)	0.0829*** (0.00681)	0.290*** (0.0594)
Previous Vote Margin	-0.0291 (0.0980)	-0.436*** (0.104)	-0.816*** (0.115)	-0.0548 (0.104)	-0.196 (0.204)	0.431 (0.502)
SMD		-0.578*** (0.0670)				
Previous Vote Margin × SMD		-0.404** (0.140)				
Fractionalization				-0.282 (0.599)	-0.270 (0.600)	0.305 (1.415)
Previous Vote Margin × % Muslim Population			0.0408*** (0.00919)		0.0166 (0.0215)	0.288 (0.186)
Liberal Democrats	-0.170** (0.0522)	-0.170* (0.0705)	-0.143+ (0.0734)	-0.163* (0.0780)	-0.146+ (0.0806)	0.320 (0.354)
Conservatives	-0.416*** (0.0542)	-0.437*** (0.0851)	-0.370*** (0.0844)	-0.394*** (0.0707)	-0.368*** (0.0775)	-0.318 (0.324)
Year	0.0516*** (0.00954)	0.0535*** (0.0155)	0.0540*** (0.0155)	0.0494*** (0.0119)	0.0491*** (0.0119)	
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Constant	-104.8*** (19.17)	-109.3*** (31.07)	-110.4*** (31.10)	-100.5*** (23.98)	-99.82*** (23.98)	-6.06*** (0.633)
N	12,221	8,841	8,841	3,380	3,380	204
Pseudo-R ²	0.295	0.354	0.362	0.144	0.144	0.551
						0.564

The dichotomous dependent variable is whether or not a party runs a Muslim candidate, with parties that run a Muslim candidate coded one and zero otherwise. Probit coefficients with robust standard errors, clustered on the ward, in parentheses. MMD elections held in local authorities outside of London took place in 2007 and in 2003, but since the earlier election cannot be used given the specification, regressions do not include a year trend.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table A7: The Selection of Muslim Candidates by Local Parties, by Electoral Rule - Previous Vote Margin above Median

	All	SMD	MMD	MMD	Outside of London		
% Muslim Population	0.0643*** (0.00261)	0.0606*** (0.00266)	0.0480*** (0.00322)	0.0808*** (0.00587)	0.0742*** (0.00705)	0.286*** (0.0585)	0.216*** (0.0600)
Previous Vote Margin Above Median	0.0424 (0.0585)	-0.164* (0.0673)	-0.451*** (0.0727)	0.0399 (0.0624)	-0.0745 (0.117)	0.397 (0.303)	-0.300 (0.372)
SMD		-0.423*** (0.0783)					
Previous Vote Margin Above Median × SMD		-0.210* (0.0874)					
Fractionalization				-0.290 (0.598)	-0.298 (0.598)	0.164 (1.387)	0.196 (1.326)
Previous Vote Margin Above Median × % Muslim Population			0.0297*** (0.00501)		0.0132 (0.0118)		0.146+ (0.0776)
Liberal Democrats	-0.149** (0.0522)	-0.143* (0.0700)	-0.125+ (0.0733)	-0.143+ (0.0783)	-0.120 (0.0794)	0.328 (0.355)	0.307 (0.346)
Conservatives	-0.398*** (0.0541)	-0.404*** (0.0837)	-0.324*** (0.0813)	-0.389*** (0.0712)	-0.354*** (0.0757)	-0.360 (0.325)	-0.427 (0.333)
Year	0.0515*** (0.00954)	0.0538*** (0.0154)	0.0539*** (0.0155)	0.0493*** (0.0120)	0.0485*** (0.0120)		
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Constant	-104.8*** (19.15)	-109.8*** (30.95)	-109.9*** (31.06)	-100.3*** (24.08)	-98.50*** (24.04)	-6.25*** (0.619)	-5.73*** (0.587)
N	12,221	8,841	8,841	3,380	3,380	204	204
Pseudo-R ²	0.294	0.352	0.366	0.144	0.145	0.556	0.569

The dichotomous dependent variable is whether or not a party runs a Muslim candidate, with parties that run a Muslim candidate coded one and zero otherwise. Probit coefficients with robust standard errors, clustered on the ward, in parentheses. MMD elections held in local authorities outside of London took place in 2007 and in 2003, but since the earlier election cannot be used given the specification, regressions do not include a year trend.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

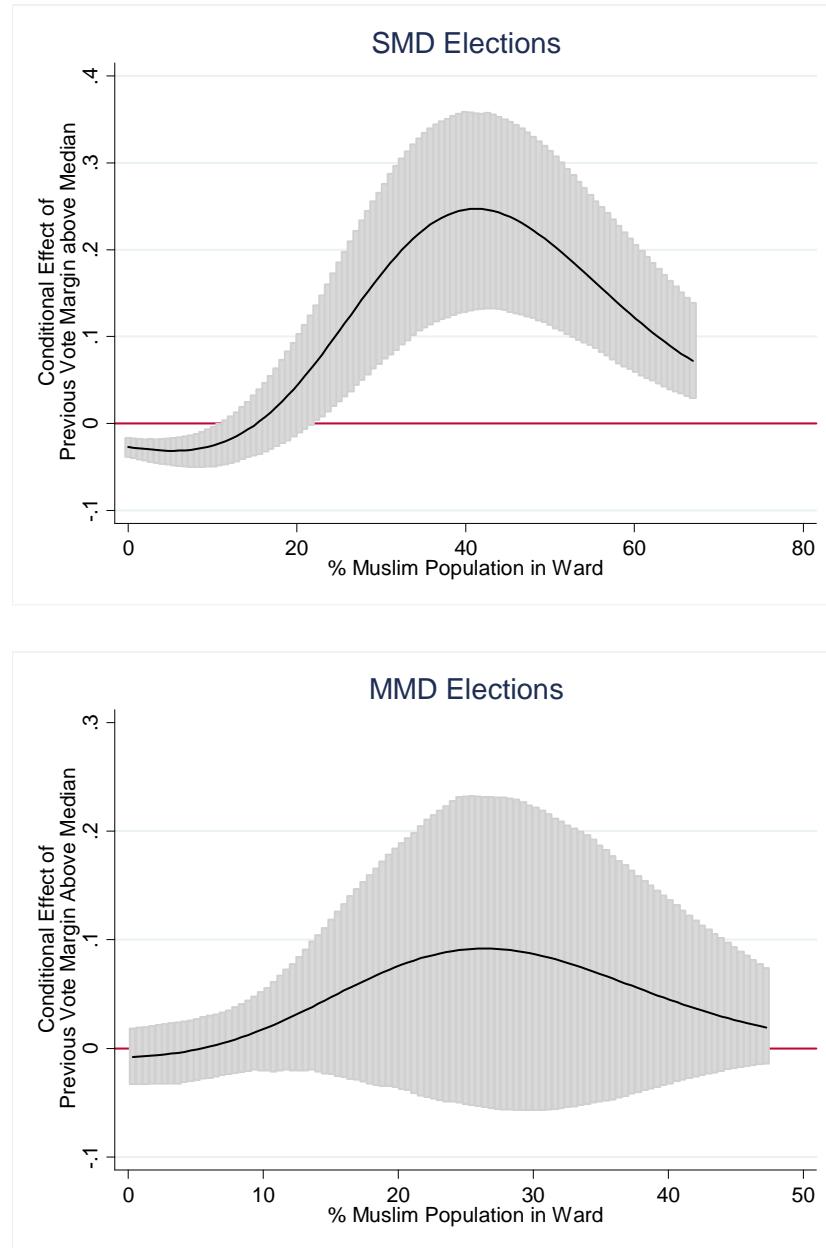


Figure A1: Conditional Effects of Parties' Previous Vote Margin Above Median on the Selection of Muslim Candidates, by Electoral Rule

Note: The solid lines trace the conditional effects of changing *Previous Vote Margin Above Median* from zero to one; the shaded areas cover the 95 percent confidence intervals surrounding the effects. To simulate these effects in SMD elections, the effect is estimated for the Labour Party in 2006 in the Yorkshire and the Humber Region. In MMD Elections, the effect is estimated for the Labour Party in 2006 in London in a ward with a mean fractionalization index.