## Codebook:

## COMPARATIVE POLITICAL DATA SET 1960-2013

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The Comparative Political Data Set 1960-2013 (CPDS) is a collection of political and institutional data which have been assembled in the context of the research projects "Die Handlungsspielräume des Nationalstaates" and "Critical junctures. An international comparison" directed by Klaus Armingeon and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. This data set consists of (mostly) annual data for 36 democratic OECD and/or EU-member countries for the period of 1960 to 2013. In all countries, political data were collected only for the democratic periods. The data set is suited for cross-national, longitudinal and pooled timeseries analyses.

The present data set combines and replaces the earlier versions "Comparative Political Data Set I" (data for 23 OECD countries from 1960 onwards) and the "Comparative Political Data Set III" (data for 36 OECD and/or EU member states from 1990 onwards). A variable has been added to identify former CPDS I countries.

For additional detailed information on the composition of government in the 36 countries, please consult the "Supplement to the Comparative Political Data Set – Government Composition 1960-2013", available on the CPDS website.

The Comparative Political Data Set contains some additional demographic, socio- and economic variables. However, these variables are not the major concern of the project and are thus limited in scope. For more in-depth sources of these data, see the online databases of the OECD, Eurostat or AMECO.

When using data from this data set, please quote both the data set and, where appropriate, the original source. Please quote this data set as:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Political data are not collected for non-democratic periods and thus missing for Greece during the period 1968-1973; for Portugal until 1975; Spain until 1976; Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia until 1989; Poland until 1990; Estonia and Lithuania until 1991; Latvia and Slovenia until 1992; and missing for Croatia until 1999. Political data collection in Malta starts in 1966 after its independence in 1964.

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### **VARIABLE LIST**

### 1. General variables

year Year of observation country Country names

countryn Country code numbers: 1 Australia, 2 Austria, 3 Belgium, 4 Bulgaria, 5 Canada, 6 Croatia, 7 Cyprus (Greek part), 8 Czech Republic, 9 Denmark, 10 Estonia, 11

Croatia, 7 Cyprus (Greek part), 8 Czech Republic, 9 Denmark, 10 Estonia, 11 Finland, 12 France, 13 Germany, 14 Greece, 15 Hungary, 16 Iceland, 17 Ireland, 18 Italy, 19 Japan, 20 Latvia, 21 Lithuania, 22 Luxembourg, 23 Malta, 24 Netherlands, 25 New Zealand, 26 Norway, 27 Poland, 28 Portugal, 29 Romania, 30 Slovakia, 31 Slovenia, 32 Spain, 33 Sweden, 34 Switzerland, 35 United Kingdom,

36 USA.

iso International Standard for country codes: ISO 3166-1 code (ALPHA-3).

iso3n International Standard for country codes: ISO 3166-1 numeric code (numeric-3).

cpds1 Dummy variable with value 1 for former "Comparative Political Data Set I" coun-

tries, covering 23 OECD countries starting in 1960.

poco Dummy variable with value 1 for post-communist countries (Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia,

Slovenia).

eu Dummy variable with value 1 for member states of the European Union (since

year of accession).

emu Dummy variable with value 1 for member states of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) of the European Union (since year of accession).

#### Note:

- 1. For former communist countries, as well as for Greece, Portugal and Spain, political data were gathered starting with the first free elections. For Cyprus, data begin in 1990. For Malta, political data were gathered starting with the first election after its independence.
- 2. *Germany*: Data up to the end of 1990 are for the Federal Republic of Germany before reunification only (West Germany); unless otherwise indicated, data cover all of Germany from 1991 onwards.

## 2. Governments

#### Note:

For detailed information on government data (party composition, reshuffles, duration, reason for termination and the type of government) please consult the "Supplement to the Comparative Political Data Set – Government Composition" available on the Comparative Political Data Set website.

gov\_right1 Government composition: cabinet posts of right-wing parties in percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: Own calculations primarily based on Schmidt and Beyer (1992); from 1991 on from the political data published in the European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues). For details see Appendix 1, for the classification of parties into "left", "centre" or "right" parties see Appendix 2.

gov\_cent1 Government composition: cabinet posts of centre parties in percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: See variable 'gov\_right1'.

gov\_left1 Government composition: cabinet posts of social democratic and other left parties in percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: See variable 'gov\_right1'.

### Notes:

- 1. Due to independents in government or non-partisan/technocratic governments, the calculations of 'gov\_right1', 'gov\_cent1' and 'gov\_left1' do not always add up to 100 percent.
- 2. In countries where the democratic transition started later than in 1960, the calculations of government composition in the first year do not start on the 1<sup>st</sup> January. Instead, calculations start with the investiture date of the first democratic government. Thus the variables can still add up to 100 percent.
- gov\_party Cabinet composition (Schmidt-Index): (1) hegemony of right-wing (and centre) parties (gov\_left1=0), (2) dominance of right-wing (and centre) parties (0<gov\_left1<=33.33), (3) balance of power between left and right (33.33<gov\_left1<66.67), (4) dominance of social-democratic and other left parties (66.67<=gov\_left1<100), (5) hegemony of social-democratic and other left parties (gov\_left=100).

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: Bulgaria 1993/94 and Italy 2012 (full technocratic governments).

Source: Own calculations according to Schmidt (1992).

#### Notes:

1. Where the sum of 'gov\_left', 'gov\_cent' and 'gov\_right' is not equal to 100 percent due to independents, the boundaries for the three groups were recalculated for the codes (2), (3) and (4) by taking the sum of the given entries as 100 percent. For example, *Portugal 2005*:

gov\_right + gov\_cent + gov\_left = 61.12.

The total of 61.12 percent is the basis for the calculation of the new boundaries. 61.12/3 = 20.37 is in this case the new boundary for the lower third, replacing 33.3 percent. 20.37\*2 = 40.75 would be the new boundary for the upper third, replacing

66.6 percent. As  $gov_left = 42.64$ , which is a higher value than the boundary for the upper third (=40.75), a (4) was entered.

gov\_new New ideological composition of cabinet: (0) no change, (1) change: if cabinet ideological composition (gov\_party) changed from last to present year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: Bulgaria 1993/94 and Italy 2012 (full technocratic governments).

Source: Own calculations based on the variable 'gov\_party'.

gov\_gap 'Ideological gap' between new and old cabinets. The gap is calculated as the difference of the index value (gov\_party) between the incoming and the outgoing governments. For an example, see the note below.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

<u>Missing</u>: Bulgaria 1993/94, Italy 2012 (full technocratic governments) and first years of countries with democratic transition later than 1960.

Source: Own calculations based on the variable 'gov party'.

### Note:

- How to calculate 'gov\_gap' (an example): The cabinet in Australia in 1996 is coded (2) for the variable 'gov\_party' (dominance of right- and centre parties). As in 1995, the government of Australia had a hegemony of social-democratic and other left parties, coded (5) for the variable 'gov\_party', the value for 'gov\_gap' in 1996 would thus be (-3), calculated as the difference in the ideologies of the outgoing (2) and the incoming governments (5).
- gov\_chan Number of changes in government per year [termination of government due to (a) elections, (b) voluntary resignation of the Prime Minister, (c) resignation of Prime Minister due to health reasons, (d) dissension within government (break up of the coalition), (e) lack of parliamentary support, (f) intervention by the head of state, or (g) broadening of the coalition (inclusion of new parties) (Woldendorp/Keman/Budge 2000: 16-17)].

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: 1960-1994: Woldendorp/Keman/Budge (1998, 2011); 1995 onwards (USA from 1991 onwards): own calculations based on European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues).

gov\_right2 Government composition: relative power position of right-wing parties in government based on their seat share in parliament, measured in percentage of the total parliamentary seat share of all governing parties. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: See variable 'gov\_right1'.

gov\_cent2 Government composition: relative power position of centre parties in government based on their seat share in parliament, measured in percentage of the total parliamentary seat share of all governing parties. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: See variable 'gov right1'.

gov\_left2 Government composition: relative power position of social democratic and other left parties in government based on their seat share in parliament, measured in

percentage of the total parliamentary seat share of all governing parties. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: See variable 'gov\_right1'.

#### Notes:

- 1. Changes in the composition of the parliament are not entered until there has been a change in government.
- 2. For some calculations the total weight does not amount to 100 percent due to non-partisan/technocratic governments in office.
- gov\_right3 Government support: parliamentary seat share of right-wing parties in government. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: See variable 'gov\_right1'.

gov\_cent3 Government support: parliamentary seat share of centre parties in government. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: See variable 'gov\_right1'.

gov\_left3 Government support: parliamentary seat share of social democratic and other left parties in government. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year. Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: See variable 'gov\_right1'.

#### Note:

- 1. Changes in the composition of the parliament are not entered until there has been a change in government.
- gov\_sup Total government support: seat share of all parties in government. Weighted by the numbers of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: none.

Source: See variable 'gov right1'.

- gov\_type Type of government based on the following classification:
  - Single-party majority government:
     One party takes all governments seats and has a parliamentary majority [>50.0%].
  - (2) Minimal winning coalition:

    All participating parties are necessary to form a majority government [>50.0%].
  - (3) Surplus coalition:

    Coalition governments which exceed the minimal-winning criterion [>50.0%].
  - (4) Single-party minority government:

    The party in government does not possess a majority in Parliament [≤50.0%].
  - (5) Multi-party minority government: The parties in government do not possess a majority in Parliament [≤50.0%].
  - (6) Caretaker government: Governments which should simply maintain the status quo.

(7) Technocratic government:

Led by technocratic prime minister, consists of a majority of technocratic ministers and is in possession of a mandate to change the status quo.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: 1960-1994: Woldendorp/Keman/Budge (1998, 2011); post-communist countries: Berglund et al. (2013); 1995 onwards (USA from 1991 onwards): own calculations based on European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues) according to the definitions of Woldendorp/Keman/Budge (2000: 17f.), and McDonnel/Valbruzzi (2014: 11) for the last two categories.

#### Notes:

- 1. The indicator refers to the type of government that was in office for the longest period each year.
- 2. Caretaker governments are governments which should simply maintain the status quo (Golder 2010: 4). Mostly the ministers of such governments, including the prime minister, belong to a specific party. However, in a few cases the governments consist of nonpartisan technocratic ministers. We still code these governments as caretaker governments as long as their mandate does not exceed the remit "to mind the shop".
- 3. Based on McDonnell and Valbruzzi (2014: 11), we define a technocratic government as a government which is led by technocratic prime minister, consists of a majority of technocratic ministers and is in possession of a mandate to change the status quo. In a few cases, only the minority of ministers are technocrats. However, as long as the first and third criterion (technocratic prime minister and mandate to change the status quo) are fulfilled, we still code these governments as technocratic. Following McDonnel and Valbruzzi (2014: 4) we classify a prime minister as a being a technocrat if "at he time of his/her appointment to government, he/she: (1) has never held public office under the banner of a political party; (2) is not a formal member of any party; (3) is said to possess recognized non-party political expertise which is directly relevant to the role occupied in government" (McDonnel and Valbruzzi 2014: 4-5).
- 4. If a single party's seat share is exactly 50%, we code the government as a single party minority government. If two governmental parties possess combined 50% of the seat share we code the government as a multi party minority government. If the government consists of three parties where the two biggest ones hold 50% of the seat share we code the government as a minimal winning coalition one.
- 5. Sister parties count as one party for the classification of the type of government (for example the CDU and CSU in Germany).
- 6. We classify the governments of Cyprus and the United States continuously as single party majority governments due to the countries' presidential system.

## 3. Elections

elect

Date of election of national parliament (lower house). (If there were two elections in a year, the date of the second is given).

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues); Mackie & Rose (1991); Bugajski (2002); Keesing's Archive; Parliaments and governments database (http://www.parlgov.org/explore); Parline database (http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp).

### Note:

1. For former communist countries the entries generally start with the year when the first free elections were held. An exception is the inclusion of the 1990 Slovenian elections.

Although at the time of these elections, Slovenia was still part of the Yugoslav federation, the significance of the decisions taken by the Parliament formed after these elections has led some authors to consider them "founding elections" (e.g. Klingemann et al. 2000). The elections of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia 1990 and 1992 are included as well since the Czech and the Slovakian parts of the Federation voted separately for their own candidates. The 1992 elections produced the Parliaments which ruled after the two countries peacefully separated on 1st January 1993.

2. *Greece 2012:* From the two elections in 2012 (06. May and 17. June), only the results of the second one on 17. June are entered.

vturn Voter turnout in election.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: See variable 'elect'.

social1 Share of votes of the party classified as 'social1'.

social2 Share of votes of the party classified as 'social2'.

(etc.)

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: See variable 'elect'. Parties are classified based on Lane, McKay and Newton (1997). For details about the classification and the period covered for each country, see the Appendix 3.

As a general rule, we include data on votes and seats for a party if it reached at least 2% of the vote share in an election. If it did not reach that threshold, data for this party was not entered for this election (neither on votes nor on seats); rather it received a zero (see Appendix 3).

## List of party family labels:

social1-social8, leftsoc1-leftsoc5, comm1-comm4, postcom1, agrarian1-agrarian3, conserv1-conserv6, relig1-relig7, liberal1-liberal8, protest1-protest5, green1-green3, ethnic1-ethnic4, right1-right5, regio1, femin1, monarch1, person1, pension1-pension2, nonlbl1-nonlbl2, allia1-allia3, others.

## Notes:

- For Italy (1993-2005), Germany, Lithuania and New Zealand (since 1994), the share
  of votes represents the share of votes received on party lists (proportional part of the
  electoral system). For the parallel system of Japan, the percentage of votes represents the mean of votes in single-seats districts and in proportional representation
  constituencies.
- 2. Slovenia 1996-2006: The National Assembly also includes two seats (one seat each) reserved for the Italian and Hungarian minorities (ethnic1 and ethnic2) that are only elected by members of those minorities.
- 3. 'others' and 'sothers' are residual categories. They cover the difference of entries on votes or seats of the sum of all other categories compared to 100 percent.
- 4. In bicameral systems, data is taken for the lower house.

ssocial1 ssocial2 (etc.) Share of seats in parliament for the party classified as 'social1'.

Share of seats in parliament for the party classified as 'social2'.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: See variable 'elect'. Parties are classified based on Lane, McKay and Newton (1997). For details about the classification and the period covered for each country, see the Appendix 3.

As a general rule, we include data on votes and seats for a party if it reached at least 2% of the vote share in an election. If it did not reach that

threshold, data for this party was not entered for this election (neither on votes nor on seats); rather it received a zero (see Appendix 3).

## List of party family labels:

ssocial1-ssocial8, sleftsoc1-sleftsoc5, scomm1-scomm4, spostcom1, sagrarian1-sagrarian3, sconserv1-sconserv6, srelig1-srelig7, sliberal1-sliberal8, sprotest1-sprotest5, sgreen1-sgreen3, sethnic1-sethnic4, sright1-sright5, sregio1, sfemin1, smonarch1, sperson1, spension1-spension2, snonlbl1-snonlbl2, sallia1-sallia3, sothers.

#### Note:

1. In bicameral systems, data is taken for the lower house.

womenpar Percentage of women in parliaments. Entries refer to the composition of the parliament at the end of the corresponding year.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia: 1990/91.

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (1995, 1997); Inter-Parliamentary Union

Homepage (http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm)

(Downloaded: 2015-06-01).

### Note:

- 1. In bicameral systems, data is taken for the lower house.
- 2. Croatia 2003: Data corresponds to the month of November.

## 4. Party system

#### Note

- For the calculation of party system indicators, the vote and seat shares of independents and very small parties grouped under the category 'others' were neglected. The construction of the indices is such that independents and very small parties tend to be ignored, because parties are weighted by their vote/seat shares (see also Lijphart 2012: 73, footnote 7).
- rae\_ele Index of *electoral* fractionalization of the party system according to the formula proposed by Rae (1968):

$$rae\_ele = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^{m} v_i^2$$
, where  $v_i$  is the share of *votes* for party  $i$  and  $m$  the number

of parties (without the category 'others'). The index can take values between 1 (maximal fractionalization) and 0 (minimal fractionalization).

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: Own calculations.

rae\_leg Index of *legislative* fractionalization of the party system according to the formula proposed by Rae (1968):

$$rae\_leg = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^{m} s_i^2$$
, where  $s_i$  is the share of seats for party  $i$  and  $m$  the number

of parties (without the category 'sothers'). The index can take values between 1 (maximal fractionalization) and 0 (minimal fractionalization).

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: Own calculations.

effpar\_ele Effective number of parties on the *votes* level according to the formula  $[N_2]$  proposed by Laakso and Taagepera (1979). The effective number of parties uses the same information as the Rae-Index and is calculated from this index as follows: effpar ele = 1 / (1 - rae ele)

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: Own calculations.

effpar\_leg Effective number of parties on the *seats* level according to the formula  $[N_2]$  proposed by Laakso and Taagepera (1979). The effective number of parties uses the same information as the Rae-Index and is calculated from this index as follows: effpar\_leg = 1 / (1 - rae\_leg)

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: Own calculations.

dis\_abso Index of absolute disproportionality. For example, a score of 1 means that on the seats level there is, on average, one (effective) party less than on the votes level. 'Absolute' refers to the calculation of the differences between the effective number of parties in elections and parliaments without taking the fractionalization of the party system into account. The more fractionalized a party sytem, the greater the likelihood – ceteris paribus – of high values of dis\_abso.

The index is calculated as follows: dis abso = effpar ele - effpar leg

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: Own calculations.

dis\_rel Index of relative disproportionality. This index is weighted by the total number of parties on the *votes* level. It is calculated as follows:

dis\_rel = (effpar\_ele - effpar\_leg) / effpar\_ele

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: Own calculations.

dis\_gall Index of disproportionality according to the formula [least squares] proposed by Gallagher (1991). Calculated as follows:

$$dis_{-}gall = \sqrt{\frac{1}{2}\sum_{i=1}^{m}(v_i - s_i)^2}$$
, where  $v_i$  is the share of *votes* for party  $i$ ,  $s_i$  is the

share of seats for party i and m the number of parties

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: Own calculations.

## 5. Institutions

The variables 'lfirst' to 'lbank' come from Lijphart (2012: 305-309). They concern two dimensions of consensus democracies. The value for the period 1945-2010 is entered in 1960; the value for the period 1981-2010 is entered in 1981. For definition of the variables, see Lijphart (2012). The index of central bank independence ('lbank') covers only the periods 1945-1994 and 1981-1994. The first years analyzed vary by country (for further information see Lijphart 2012: 49).

Ifirst First (executives-parties) dimension
Isec Second (federal-unitary) dimension
Ieff Effective number of parliamentary parties
Imin Minimal winning one-party cabinets (%)
Index of executive dominance
Idis Index of disproportionality (%)

lint Index of interest group pluralism
lfed Index of federalism
lbic Index of bicameralism

Irid Index of constitutional rigidity

ljud Index of judicial review

Ibank Index of central bank independence

Period covered: 1945-2010 (central bank independence: 1945-1994).

Missing: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia,

Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia.

Source: Lijphart (2012: 305-309).

Ifirstp Lijphart's first dimension. Time-variant proxy variable (for details see Appendix 5). Source: Own calculations.

Period covered:

AUS 1969-2013 EST 2001-2013 JPN 1969-2013 PRT 1985-2013 FIN 1969-2013 LVA 2002-2013 ROU 1999-2013 AUT 1969-2013 BEL 1969-2013 FRA 1969-2013 LTU 2001-2013 SVK 1999-2013 DEU 1969-2013 BGR 1999-2013 LUX 1969-2013 SVN 2002-2013 CAN 1969-2013 GRC 1983-2013 MLT 1975-2013 ESP 1986-2013 HRV 2009-2013 HUN 1999-2013 NLD 1969-2013 SWE 1969-2013 CYP 1999-2013 ISL 1969-2013 NZL 1969-2013 CHE 1969-2013 CZE 1999-2013 IRL 1969-2013 NOR 1969-2013 GBR 1969-2013 DNK 1969-2013 ITA 1969-2013 POL 2000-2013 USA 1969-2013

Ifirstpi Lijphart's first dimension. Proxy variable institutions (for details see Appendix 5).

Source: Own calculations.

Period covered: See variable 'Ifirstp'.

Ifirstpb Lijphart's first dimension. Proxy variable behavior (see Appendix 5).

Source: Own calculations.

Period covered: See variable 'lfirstp'.

instcons Index of institutional constraints of central state government according to Schmidt

(1996); Minimum value=0; Maximum value=6; Range of data: 0 to 5, with high values indicating powerful constraints and low values indicating that the central

government has a great deal of room for maneuverability.

Description: additive index composed of 6 dummy variables ('1' = constraints, '0'=else): (1) EU membership =1, (2) degree of centralisation of state structure

(federalism =1), (3) difficulty of amending constitutions (very difficult =1) (4) strong bicameralism =1 (5) central bank autonomy =1 (6) frequent referenda =1. Source: Schmidt (1996: 172) transformed into time variant annual data. Data for central bank autonomy taken from Beyeler (2007: 123). Period covered:

	1960-2013					PRT	1976-2013
AUT	1960-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA		ROU	
	1960-2013					SVK	
						SVN	
CAN	1960-2013					_	1977-2013
HRV							
CYP			1960-2013				
CZE		IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013	GBR	1960-2013

DNK 1960-2013 | ITA 1960-2013 | POL --

structur

Augmented index of constitutional structures based on Huber/Ragin/Stephens (1993: 728); we turned the time-invariant variable into a time-variant variable by adjusting for institutional changes, e.g. the Belgian shift to federalism in 1993. Countries not covered by Huber et al. (1993) were classified according to Huber et al. using information from national sources or comparative analyses such as Schmidt (1996).

USA 1960-2013

Description: Additive index composed of five indicators: (1) federalism (0=absence, 1=weak, 2=strong), (2) parliamentary government =0, versus presidentialism or other =1, (3) proportional representation =0, modified proportional representation=1, majoritarian=2, (4) bicameralism (0=no second chamber or second chamber with very weak powers, 1=medium strength bicameralism, 2=strong bicameralism), (5) frequent referenda =1.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: Own calculations based on Huber/Ragin/Stephens (1993).

fed Federalism. Coded: 0 = no; 1 = weak; 2 = strong.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: Huber et al. (2004); national sources and constitutions.

#### Note:

1. Spain is classified as a strong federal state, although formally it is a unitarian one.

pres

Executive-legislative relations according to Lijphart (2012: 108ff.). Coded: 0 = parliamentary system; 1 = semi-presidential dominated by parliament; 2 = hybrid system; 3 = semi-presidential dominated by president; 4 = presidential system. Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: Lijphart (2012); Huber et al. (2004); Ismayr (2003, 2006, 2010); national sources and constitutions; EJPR Political Data Yearbook (various issues).

## Note:

- 1. In addition to a parliamentary prime minister, a semi-presidential system (=1 or 3) also has a popularly elected president (Lijphart 2012: 109).
- 2. Changes are entered in the year of the first (parliamentary or presidential) elections under the new rules.
- 3. France: During cohabitation France is defined as a semi-presidential system dominated by parliament (=1), otherwise as a semi-presidential system dominated by president (=3).

4. Switzerland: Switzerland is the only system classified as hybrid, since the collegial executive elected by the legislative does not depend on legislative confidence

prop

Electoral system: single member districts or proportional representation. Coded 0 = single-member, simple plurality systems; 1 = modified proportional representation (parallel plurality PR-systems, majority-plurality/alternative vote); 2 = proportional representation (PR).

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: Inter-Parliamentary Union; Ismayr (2003); Lijphart (2012); national sources and constitutions; EJPR Political Data Yearbook (various issues).

#### Note:

- 1. Changes are entered in the year of the first election under the new electoral rules.
- Countries with generally proportional representation but majority vote in a few districts (e.g. in the Spanish Enclaves Ceuta and Melilla or in the Swiss "half-cantons") are simply counted according to Lijphart (1999) as countries with proportional representation systems.
- The difference between the mixed member proportional formula and the parallel plurality-PR system (semiproportional formula) is that in the parallel system no compensation exists for any disproportionality produced by the single-member district results.

bic

Index of bicameralism according to Lijphart (2012). Coded 1 = unicameralism; 2 = weak bicameralism (asymmetrical and congruent chambers); 3 = medium strength bicameralism (asymmetrical and incongruent or symmetrical and congruent); 4 = strong bicameralism (symmetrical and incongruent).

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: Lijphart (2012), Ismayr (2003), constitutions and European Journal of Political Research, various issues.

## Notes:

- The term "incongruent" is used when the second chamber is elected by different methods and has the purpose of overrepresenting certain minorities. The term "symmetrical" refers to equal or moderately unequal constitutional powers and democratic legitimacy.
- Austria and Belgium: In the Austrian Bundesrat and the Belgian Senate, the degree
  of overrepresentation is so slight that they can almost be regarded as proportionally
  apportioned chambers. Therefore, they should be classified as congruent with their
  first chamber (Lijphart 2012: 194).
- 3. Belgium: With the new federal Constitution of 1994, the lower house received more powers relative to the Senate (Art. 74 Cst.). Since the shared competences (Art. 77) are of fundamental importance for the federal state, Belgium is still considered as having medium-strength bicameralism.
- 4. *Iceland* (until 1991) and *Norway* (until 2009): Both are coded as 1.5 (one-and-a-half chambers), because although the legislators are elected as one body, after elections they divide themselves into two chambers (Lijphart 2012: 189).
- 5. *UK*: The British case is coded as 2.5 (between medium-strength and weak bicameralism) because the upper house is a "relict of a predemocratic era" (Lijphart 2012: 201).

referen

Referendum. Coded 0 = None or infrequent, 1 = frequent.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: Huber et al. (2004); and information from national sources and comparative analyses.

judrev

Judicial review (existence of an independent body which decides whether laws are conform to the constitution). Coded 0 = no, 1 = yes.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: None.

<u>Source</u>: Huber et al. (2004), Lijphart (2012), Ismayr (2003), constitutions and European Journal of Political Research, various issues.

### Note:

- 1. While the a body of judicial review has existed in *Poland* since 1982, until the end of the Small Constitution in 1996, it was subordinate to the parliament (Ziemer/Matthes 2006:236). Therefore, Poland was not considered to have an independent body under the Small Constitution and gets a zero (0) until 1996.
- 2. Romania: The decision of the Constitutional Court can be overruled by the Parliament: Article 145 [Procedure in Cases of Unconstitutionality], Constitution of Romania, 1991: "(1) In cases of unconstitutionality, in accordance with Article 144 (a) and (b), the law or orders shall be returned for reconsideration. If the law is passed again in the same formulation by a majority of at least two-thirds of the members of each chamber, the objection of unconstitutionality shall be overturn, and promulgation thereof shall be binding."

## 6. Openness of the economy

kaopen

Index for the degree of openness in capital account transactions. The index incorporates a variable indicating the presence of multiple exchange rates, a second variable indicating restrictions on current account transactions, a third variable indicating restrictions on capital account transactions and a fourth variable indicating the requirement of the surrender of export proceeds. The higher the value, the more open a country is to cross-border capital transactions. The index is normalized to a range between 0 (minimal openness) and 1 (maximal openness). Source: Chinn and Ito (2006, 2008); http://web.pdx.edu/~ito/Chinn-Ito\_website.htm (Downloaded: 2015-06-30).

### Period covered:

AUS	1970-2012	EST	1996-2012	JPN	1970-2012	PRT	1970-2012
AUT	1970-2012	FIN	1970-2012	LVA	1996-2012	ROU	1990-2012
BEL	1970-2012	FRA	1970-2012	LTU	1996-2012	SVK	1996-2012
					1972-2012		
HRV	2000-2012	HUN	1990-2012	NLD	1970-2012*	SWE	1970-2012
CYP	1990-2012	ISL	1970-2012	NZL	1970-2012	CHE	1996-2012
CZE	1996-2012	IRL	1970-2012	NOR	1970-2012	GBR	1970-2012
DNK	1970-2012	ITA	1970-2012	POL	1991-2012	USA	1970-2012

### Note:

1. Additional missing values (\*): Netherlands 1975-1980.

openc

Openness of the economy, measured as total trade (sum of import and export) as a percentage of GDP, in current prices.

<u>Source</u>: Feenstra, Robert C., Robert Inklaar and Marcel P. Timmer (2013), *Penn World Table Version 8.0*, National Accounts data, <a href="http://www.rug.nl/research/ggdc/data/pwt/pwt-8.0">http://www.rug.nl/research/ggdc/data/pwt/pwt-8.0</a> (Downloaded: 2015-03-12).

## Period covered:

AUS	1960-2011	EST	1992-2011	JPN	1960-2011	PRT	1960-2011
					1993-2011		
BEL	1960-2011	FRA	1960-2011	LTU	1992-2011	SVK	1990-2011
BGR	1990-2011	DEU	1960-2011	LUX	1960-2011	SVN	1990-2011

	1960-2011						
	2000-2011						
CYP	1990-2011	ISL	1960-2011	NZL	1960-2011	CHE	1960-2011
CZE	1990-2011	IRL	1960-2011	NOR	1960-2011	GBR	1960-2011
DNK	1960-2011	ITA	1960-2011	POL	1991-2011	USA	1960-2011

### 7. Macroeconomic data

### Notes on macroeconomic variables:

- 1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
- 2. Data from previous releases of data sources (e.g. OECD Economic Outlook) used in case of missing values may be of limited comparability.

outlays

Total outlays (disbursements) of general government as a percentage of GDP. Source: OECD (2014), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 96", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (GDP and main components) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12).

## Period covered:

AUS	1962-2013	EST	1995-2013	JPN	1960-2013	PRT	1977-2013
AUT	1960-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	1995-2013	ROU	1995-2013
BEL	1970-2013	FRA	1963-2013	LTU	1995-2013	SVK	1995-2013
BGR	1995-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1990-2013	SVN	1995-2013
CAN	1970-2013	GRC	1960-2013	MLT	1995-2013	ESP	1994-2013
	2001-2013						
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1970-2013	NZL	1986-2013	CHE	1990-2013
CZE	1995-2013	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013	GBR	1970-2013
DNK	1971-2013	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1995-2013	USA	1960-2013

#### Notes:

- 1. Disbursements are transactions of providing financial resources. The two counterparties must record the transaction simultaneously.
- 2. Sweden: From 2000 on, the Church of Sweden has been separated from the state. In terms of national accounts, this causes a reclassification of the Church's activities from the public to the private sector. As a consequence, growth in private consumption in 2000 is higher than it would otherwise have been, while conversely, growth in public consumption is lower. (Source: OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", Sources and Methods).
- 3. Australia 1962-88, Greece 1960-94 and Ireland 1960-89: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", (Downloaded: 2014-03-21).
- 4. France 1963-77 and Iceland 1970-79: Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84" (Downloaded: 2013-08-08).
- 5. Germany 1960-90: Data is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90" (Downloaded: 2014-03-21).
- 6. Hungary 1991-94: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 87" (Downloaded: 2013-08-05).
- 7. *Lithuania 1995-2003*: Data is taken from a previous release of Eurostat (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).
- 8. Poland 1995-2009: Data is taken from OECD (2013), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 94" (Downloaded: 2014-03-21).

receipts

Total receipts (revenue) of general government as a percentage of GDP. <u>Source</u>: OECD (2014), "<u>OECD Economic Outlook No. 96</u>", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia,

Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (<u>Government revenue</u>, <u>expenditure and main aggregates</u>) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). Period covered:

AUS	1960-2013	EST	1995-2013	JPN	1960-2013	PRT	1977-2013
AUT	1960-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	1995-2013	ROU	1995-2013
BEL	1970-2013	FRA	1960-2013	LTU	1995-2013	SVK	1995-2013
BGR	1995-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1990-2013	SVN	1995-2013
CAN	1970-2013	GRC	1960-2013	MLT	1995-2013	ESP	1994-2013
HRV	2001-2013	HUN	1991-2013	NLD	1969-2013	SWE	1960-2013
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1970-2013	NZL	1986-2013	CHE	1990-2013
CZE	1995-2013	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1962-2013	GBR	1970-2013
DNK	1971-2013	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1995-2013	USA	1960-2013

#### Notes:

- 1. Australia 1960-88, Greece 1960-94 and Ireland 1960-89: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", (Downloaded: 2012-10-26).
- 2. Germany 1960-90: Data is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90" (Downloaded: 2012-10-26).
- 3. Hungary 1991-94: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 87" (Downloaded: 2015-03-16).
- 4. *Iceland 1970-79*: Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84" (Downloaded: 2012-10-26).
- 5. *Lithuania 1995-2003*: Data is taken from a previous release of Eurostat (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).
- 6. Poland 1995-2009: Data is taken from OECD (2013), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 94" (Downloaded: 2014-03-21).
- 7. Sweden: See variable 'outlays'.

# realgdpgr Growth of real GDP, percent change from previous year.

<u>Source</u>: OECD (2014), "<u>OECD Economic Outlook No. 96</u>", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from AMECO (<u>variable OVGD</u>) (Downloaded: 2015-03-16).

## Period covered:

AUS	1961-2013	EST	1994-2013	JPN	1961-2013	PRT	1961-2013
AUT	1961-2013	FIN	1961-2013	LVA	1993-2013	ROU	1991-2013
BEL	1961-2013	FRA	1961-2013	LTU	1992-2013	SVK	1993-2013
BGR	1992-2013	DEU	1961-2013	LUX	1961-2013	SVN	1991-2013
CAN	1961-2013	GRC	1961-2013	MLT	1992-2013	ESP	1961-2013
HRV	2000-2013	HUN	1992-2013	NLD	1961-2013	SWE	1961-2013
CYP	1991-2013	ISL	1961-2013	NZL	1961-2013	CHE	1961-2013
CZE	1991-2013	IRL	1961-2013	NOR	1961-2013	GBR	1961-2013
DNK	1961-2013	ITA	1961-2013	POL	1991-2013	USA	1961-2013

### Notes:

- 1. Real GDP refers to the volume of Gross Domestic Product, at constant market prices (variable "GDPV" in the OECD Economic Outlook databases).
- 2. Austria 1961-70, Denmark 1961-66, Estonia 1994/95, Slovakia 1993 and Switzerland 1961-65: Data is taken from AMECO (see source above).

## nomgdpgr Growth of nominal GDP, percent change from previous year.

Source: OECD (2014), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 96", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from AMECO (variable UVGD) (Downloaded: 2015-03-16).

## Period covered:

AUS	1961-2013	EST	1994-2013	JPN	1961-2013	PRT	1961-2013
AUT	1961-2013	FIN	1961-2013	LVA	1993-2013	ROU	1990-2013
BEL	1961-2013	FRA	1961-2013	LTU	1992-2013	SVK	1991-2013
BGR	1991-2013	DEU	1961-2013	LUX	1961-2013	SVN	1991-2013
CAN	1961-2013	GRC	1961-2013	MLT	1966-2013	ESP	1961-2013
HRV	2000-2013	HUN	1990-2013	NLD	1961-2013	SWE	1961-2013
CYP	1990-2013	ISL	1961-2013	NZL	1961-2013	CHE	1961-2013
CZE	1991-2013	IRL	1961-2013	NOR	1961-2013	GBR	1961-2013
DNK	1961-2013	ITA	1961-2013	POL	1991-2013	USA	1961-2013

#### Notes:

- 1. Nominal GDP refers to the value of Gross Domestic Product, at current market prices (variable "GDP" in the OECD Economic Outlook databases).
- 2. Austria 1961-70, Denmark 1961-66, Estonia 1994/95, Hungary 1971-91, Poland 1981-90, Slovakia 1993 and Switzerland 1961-65: Data is taken from AMECO (see source above).

### inflation

Growth of harmonised consumer price index (CPI), all items, percent change from previous year; used as a measure for inflation.

<u>Source</u>: OECD (2015), "<u>Key short-term indicators</u>", Main Economic Indicators (database) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from AMECO (<u>variable ZCPIH</u>) (Downloaded: 2015-03-16). <u>Period covered</u>:

AUS	1960-2013	EST	1996-2013	JPN	1960-2013	PRT	1960-2013
AUT	1960-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	1997-2013	ROU	1996-2013
BEL	1960-2013	FRA	1960-2013	LTU	1996-2013	SVK	1992-2013
BGR	1998-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1960-2013	SVN	1990-2013
CAN	1960-2013	GRC	1960-2013	MLT	1997-2013	ESP	1960-2013
HRV	2000-2013	HUN	1990-2013	NLD	1961-2013	SWE	1960-2013
CYP	1997-2013	ISL	1960-2013	NZL	1960-2013	CHE	1960-2013
CZE	1992-2013	IRL	1961-2013	NOR	1960-2013	GBR	1960-2013
DNK	1961-2013	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1991-2013	USA	1960-2013

## Notes:

- 1. Denmark 1961-66: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 86" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 2. Estonia 1996/97: Data is taken from AMECO (see source above).
- 3. *Iceland 1968-75*: Data is taken from OECD (2012), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 91" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 4. Ireland 1961-75: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 5. *UK 1960-87*: Estimated values.

debt

Gross general government debt (financial liabilities) as a percentage of GDP. <u>Source</u>: OECD (2014), "<u>OECD Economic Outlook No. 96</u>", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (<u>Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data</u>) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). Period covered:

AUS	1989-2013	EST	1995-2013	JPN	1971-2013	PRT	1970-2013
AUT	1970-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	1995-2013	ROU	1995-2013
BEL	1969-2013	FRA	1969-2013	LTU	1997-2013	SVK	1995-2013
BGR	1997-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1990-2013	SVN	1995-2013
CAN	1961-2013	GRC	1960-2013	MLT	1995-2013	ESP	1976-2013

HRV	2002-2013	HUN	1991-2013	NLD	1960-2013	SWE	1970-2013
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1980-2013	NZL	1993-2013	CHE	1990-2013
CZE	1995-2013	IRL	1974-2013	NOR	1970-2013	GBR	1961-2013
DNK	1980-2013	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1995-2013	USA	1960-2013

#### Notes:

- Please consider differences in operationalization between OECD and Eurostat (OECD uses the ESA95 standard, Eurostat ESA2010). Further, there may be breaks in series where older sources are used for some countries (see notes below).
- Austria 1970-94: Data is taken from OECD (2012), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 92" (Downloaded: 2013-05-14).
- 3. Canada 1961-69 and UK 1961-69: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 4. Finland 1960-74: Data is taken from OECD (1999), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 65" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 5. Germany 1960-90: Data is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 6. Greece 1960-94, Ireland 1974-96 and Luxembourg 1990-94: Data is taken from OECD (2005), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 78" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 7. Iceland 1980-97: Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 8. Portugal 1970-94 and Spain 1976-79: Data is taken from OECD (2001), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 70" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 9. Slovenia 1995-2013: Data is taken from Eurostat (see source above).

debt\_hist Gross general government debt (financial liabilities) as a percentage of GDP. The same data as in the variable "debt" is extrapolated using change rates from IMF historical data and, in a few cases, from Reinhart and Rogoff (2009).

Source: see variable "debt". In addition: Abbas, S.M. Ali, Nazim Belhocine, Asmaa El-Ganainy and Mark Horton (2010) "A Historical Public Debt Database", IMF Working Paper WP/10/245, Washington, DC (Downloaded: 2015-03-16). Reinhart, Carmen M. and Kenneth S. Rogoff (2009) This Time Is Different. Eight Centuries of Financial Folly. "Debt-to-GDP Ratios" (Downloaded: 2015-03-16).

AUS	1960-2013	EST	1995-2013	JPN	1960-2013	PRT	1960-2013
AUT	1960-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	1994-2013	ROU	1990-2013
BEL	1960-2013	FRA	1960-2013	LTU	1994-2013	SVK	1992-2013
BGR	1990-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1990-2013	SVN	1993-2013
CAN	1960-2013	GRC	1960-2013	MLT	1980-2013	ESP	1960-2013
HRV	2000-2013	HUN	1990-2013	NLD	1960-2013	SWE	1960-2013
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1980-2013	NZL	1960-2013	CHE	1960-2013
CZE	1993-2013	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013	GBR	1960-2013
DNK	1960-2013	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1991-2013	USA	1960-2013

### Notes:

Period covered:

- 1. Where available, the data is identical to the variable "debt" (see exact sources above).
- 2. Where the variable "debt" was missing, change rates from the IMF historical data were used to extrapolate from the values of the variable "debt". In a few cases, the IMF data contained small gaps. Then, the change rates from the data from Reinhart and Rogoff (2009) were used to interpolate the gaps in the IMF data. The goal of this variable is to preserve the levels of the variable "debt" but maximize the number of observations available.
- 3. Please note that there are partially grave differences in operationalization between the sources used. E.g., the IMF often reported *central* government debt when *general* government debt data was not available. Therefore the researcher should be very careful to consider breaks in the time series.

deficit Annual deficit (overall balance / net lending of general government) as a percentage of GDP.

> Source: OECD (2015), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 97", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2015-07-01). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were calculated from Eurostat (Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data) (Downloaded: 2015-07-01). Period covered:

AUS	1960-2013	EST	1995-2013	JPN	1960-2013	PRT	1977-2013
AUT	1960-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	1995-2013	ROU	1995-2013
BEL	1970-2013	FRA	1963-2013	LTU	2004-2013	SVK	1995-2013
BGR	1997-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1990-2013	SVN	1995-2013
CAN	1961-2013	GRC	1960-2013	MLT	1995-2013	ESP	1964-2013
HRV	2002-2013	HUN	1991-2013	NLD	1969-2013	SWE	1960-2013
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1970-2013	NZL	1986-2013	CHE	1990-2013
CZE	1995-2013	IRL					
DNK	1971-2013	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1995-2013	USA	1960-2013

#### Notes:

- 1. Australia 1960-88, Canada 1961-69, France 1963-77, Greece 1960-94, Hungary 1991-94, Ireland 1960-89, Norway 1960/61 and UK 1960-69: Data is taken from OECD (2009), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 85" (Downloaded: 2015-07-02).
- 2. Germany 1960-90: Data is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90" (Downloaded: 2015-07-02).
- 3. Iceland 1970-79: Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84" (Downloaded: 2015-07-02).
- 4. Poland 1995-2009: Data is taken from OECD (2013), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 94" (Downloaded: 2015-07-02).

pbal Annual deficit excluding net interest payments (primary balance of general government) as a percentage of GDP.

Source: OECD (2014), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 96", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were calculated from Eurostat (Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12).

Period covered: See variable 'deficit'. Additionally covered: Lithuania 1995-2003. Additionally missing: UK 1960-69.

#### Notes:

- 1. Australia 1960-88 and France 1963-77: Data is taken from OECD (2009), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 85" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 2. Canada 1961-69, Greece 1960-94 and Ireland 1960-89: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 3. Germany 1960-90: Data is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 4. Hungary 1991-94: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 87" (Downloaded: 2012-06-12).
- 5. Iceland 1970-79: Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
- 6. Lithuania 1995-2003: Data is taken from a previous release of Eurostat (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).
- 7. Poland 1995-2009: Data is taken from OECD (2013), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 94" (Downloaded: 2014-03-21).

Cyclically adjusted annual deficit excluding net interest payments (cyclically adcapb justed primary balance of general government) as a percentage of potential GDP.

<u>Source</u>: OECD (2014), "<u>OECD Economic Outlook No. 96</u>", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). Period covered:

			2001-2013			PRT	1981-2013
AUT	1970-2013	FIN	1977-2013	LVA		ROU	
BEL	1971-2013	FRA	1978-2013	LTU		SVK	
BGR		DEU	1970-2013	LUX	1990-2013	SVN	2000-2013
CAN	1970-2013	GRC	1976-2013	MLT		ESP	1979-2013
HRV		HUN	1996-2013	NLD	1971-2013	SWE	1973-2013
CYP		ISL	1980-2013	NZL	1986-2013	CHE	1990-2013
CZE	1997-2013	IRL	1980-2013	NOR	1980-2013	GBR	1972-2013
DNK	1973-2013	ITA	1970-2013	POL	1996-2013	USA	1967-2013

#### Notes:

- Australia 1971-87, Austria 1970-85, Greece 1976-94, Ireland 1980-89 and New Zealand 1986: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88" (Downloaded: 2015-03-18).
- 2. Belgium and Netherlands 1971-85, Denmark and Sweden 1973-85, Estonia 2001, Finland 1977-85, France 1978-85, Germany 1970-91, Iceland and Norway 1980, Italy and US 1970-85, Japan 1971-85, Luxembourg 1990-95, Poland 1996-2009, Portugal 1981-85, New Zealand 1987-89, Slovenia 2000, Spain 1979-85, UK 1972-85, USA 1967-85. Data is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).

#### interest

Long-term interest rate on government bonds.

<u>Source</u>: OECD (2014), "<u>OECD Economic Outlook No. 96</u>", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from AMECO (<u>variable ILN</u>) (Downloaded: 2015-03-12).

## Period covered:

AUS	1970-2013	EST	1998-2010	JPN	1967-2013	PRT	1966-2013
AUT	1965-2013	FIN	1961-2013	LVA	2001-2013	ROU	2006-2013
BEL	1960-2013	FRA	1960-2013	LTU	2001-2013	SVK	1996-2013
BGR	2002-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1973-2013	SVN	2002-2013
CAN	1960-2013	GRC	1973-2013	MLT	2000-2013	ESP	1966-2013
HRV	2006-2013	HUN	1999-2013	NLD	1960-2013	SWE	1960-2013
CYP	1997-2013	ISL	1992-2013	NZL	1970-2013	CHE	1960-2013
CZE	2001-2013	IRL	1971-2013	NOR	1962-2013	GBR	1960-2013
DNK	1960-2013	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1999-2013	USA	1960-2013

### Notes:

- Long-term (in most cases 10 year) government bonds are the instrument whose yield is used as the representative 'interest rate' for this area. Generally, the yield is calculated at the pre-tax level and before deductions for brokerage costs and commissions and is derived from the relationship between the present market value of the bond and that at maturity, also taking into account interest payments paid through to maturity (see OECD, Main Economic Indicators: Sources and Definitions).
- 2. Estonia, Germany 1960-90, Greece 1973-88/92-94, Hungary 1999, Ireland 1971-89, Luxembourg 1973-99, Poland 1999: Data is taken from AMECO (see source above).
- 3. *Greece 1989-91*: Data is taken from Robert J. Franzese Jr. (2002) Macroeconomic Policies of Developed Democracies, <a href="http://www-personal.umich.edu/~franzese/book.rjf.cup.data.xls">http://www-personal.umich.edu/~franzese/book.rjf.cup.data.xls</a> (Downloaded: 2015-04-14).
- 4. Latvia (entire period): Data is taken from OECD (see source above).

#### curac

Current account balance as a percentage of GDP. The current account is a record of a country's international transactions with the rest of the world.

<u>Source</u>: Eurostat (<u>Main Balance of Payments and International Investment Position items as share of GDP</u>) (Downloaded: 2015-07-01). Data for Australia, Canada, Ireland, Japan (2012/13), New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, UK and USA were retrieved from OECD (2015), "<u>Key short-term indicators</u>", Main Economic Indicators (database) (Downloaded: 2015-07-01).

## Period covered:

```
AUS 1960-2013 EST 1993-2010 JPN 1980-2013
                                           PRT 1995-2013
                             LVA 1993-2013
AUT 1980-2013
              FIN
                   1975-2013
                                            ROU 1991-2013
BEL 1995-2013
              FRA 1994-2013
                             LTU 1993-2013
                                            SVK 1994-2013
BGR 1991-2013
              DEU 1971-2013
                             LUX 1995-2013
                                            SVN 1994-2013
CAN 1990-2013
              GRC 1995-2013
                             MLT 1995-2013
                                            ESP 1990-2013
                                            SWE 1993-2013
HRV 2000-2013
              HUN 1993-2013
                             NLD 1971-2013
CYP 1995-2013
              ISL
                   1981-2013
                             NZL 1988-2013
                                            CHE 1972-2013
CZE 1993-2013
              IRL
                   1990-2013
                             NOR 1981-2013
                                           GBR 1960-2013
DNK 1971-2013 |ITA
                   1980-2013 POL 1994-2013 USA 1960-2013
```

### 8. Labour force data

#### Notes:

- Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
- 2. Data from previous releases of data sources used in case of missing values may be of limited comparability.

## ttl\_labf Total labour force, in thousands.

<u>Source</u>: OECD (2014), "<u>Labour Force Statistics: Summary tables</u>", OECD Employment and Labour Market Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2015-06-23). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia were retrieved from AMECO (<u>variable NLTN</u>) (Downloaded: 2015-06-22).

## Period covered:

AUS	1960-2013	EST	1992-2013	JPN	1960-2013	PRT	1975-2013
AUT	1960-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	1993-2013	ROU	1995-2013
BEL	1960-2009	FRA	1960-2012	LTU	1995-2013	SVK	1995-2013
BGR	1995-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1960-2012	SVN	1995-2013
CAN	1960-2013	GRC	1973-2010	MLT	1990-2013	ESP	1977-2013
HRV	2000-2013	HUN	1992-2013	NLD	1960-2010	SWE	1960-2010
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1960-2013	NZL	1960-2013	CHE	1960-2009
CZE	1990-2013	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013	GBR	1960-2013
DNK	1960-2011	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1992-2013	USA	1960-2013

#### Notes:

- 1. Austria 1968-93 and Portugal 1961-73: Data is taken from a previous release of OECD (2010), "Labour Force Statistics: Summary tables" (Downloaded: 2013-05-14).
- 2. Greece 1977-2010, Japan 1960-2010, Sweden 1963-2010, Switzerland 1960-2009: Data is taken from a previous release of OECD (2010), "Labour Force Statistics: Summary tables" (Downloaded: 2012-10-26).
- 3. Iceland 1963-2013: Data is taken from AMECO (see source above).
- 4. Belgium 1999-2009: Estimated values.

## civ\_labf Civilian labour force, in thousands.

Source: OECD (see variable 'ttl labf').

## Period covered:

```
AUS 1960-2013 | EST 1992-2013 | JPN 1960-2013 | PRT 1975-2013 | AUT 1960-2013 | FIN 1960-2013 | LVA -- | ROU -- | SVK 1994-2013
```

BGR					1960-2012	SVN	1996-2013
CAN	1960-2013						1977-2013
HRV		HUN	1992-2013	NLD	1960-2013	SWE	1960-2013
CYP		ISL	1960-2013	NZL	1960-2013	CHE	1960-2003
CZE	1990-2013	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013	GBR	1960-2013
DNK	1960-2013	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1991-2013	USA	1960-2013

## emp\_civ Civilian employment, in thousands.

<u>Source</u>: OECD (see variable 'ttl\_labf'). <u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'civ\_labf').

## labfopar

Total labour force as a percentage of population 15-64 (participation rate).

<u>Source</u>: OECD (2014), "<u>Labour Force Statistics</u>: <u>Population and labour force</u>", OECD Employment and Labour Market Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2015-06-23). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia were retrieved from AMECO (<u>variables NLTN and NPAN</u>).

## Period covered:

AUS	1964-2013	EST	1992-2013	JPN	1960-2013	PRT	1975-2013
AUT	1968-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	1993-2013	ROU	1995-2013
BEL	1960-2007	FRA	1960-2012	LTU	1995-2013	SVK	1995-2013
BGR	1995-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1960-2012	SVN	1995-2013
CAN	1960-2013	GRC	1961-2008*	MLT	1990-2013	ESP	1977-2013
HRV	2001-2013	HUN	1992-2013	NLD	1975-2010	SWE	1963-2010
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1964-2010	NZL	1960-2013	CHE	1960-2009
CZE	1990-2013	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013	GBR	1960-2013
DNK	1960-2011*	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1992-2013	USA	1960-2013

#### Notes:

- 1. Austria 1968-93 and Portugal 1961-1973: Data is taken from a previous release of OECD (2010), "Labour Force Statistics: Population and labour force" (Downloaded: 2013-05-14).
- 2. Belgium 2000-2007: Data is taken from OECD (2009), "Belgium", in: OECD, Labour Force Statistics 2009, OECD Publishing (Downloaded: 2013-08-08).
- 3. Greece 1961, 1971, 1977-2008; Iceland 1964-2010; Japan 1960-2010; Sweden 1963-2010; Switzerland 1960-2009: Data is taken from a previous release of OECD (2010), "Labour Force Statistics: Population and labour force" (Downloaded: 2012-10-26).
- Additional missing values (\*): Denmark 1961-64, 1966, 1968; Greece 1962-70, 1972-76

## empratio

Civilian employment as percentage of population 15-64.

<u>Source</u>: OECD (see variable 'labfopar'). Period covered: See variable 'civ labf'.

### Note:

 Additional missing values: Australia and Iceland 1960-63; Austria 1960-67; Denmark 1961-64, 1966, 1968, 2013; Greece 1960, 1962-70, 1972-76; Netherlands 1960-74, 2013; Norway 1971; Slovenia and Switzerland 2013; Sweden 1960-62, 2013.

# emp\_ag Civilian employment in agriculture, in thousands.

<u>Source</u>: OECD (see variable 'ttl\_labf'). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania are taken from AMECO (<u>variable NET1</u>). <u>Period covered</u>:

					1960-2013		
					1993-2013		
					1992-2013		
BGR	1995-2013	DFU	1960-2013	LUX	1960-2012	SVN	1996-2013

	1960-2013						
	2000-2013						
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1960-2013	NZL	1960-2013	CHE	1960-2012
CZE	1990-2013	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013	GBR	1960-2013
	1960-2013						

emp\_ind Civilian employment in industry, in thousands.

<u>Source</u>: See variable 'emp\_ag' (AMECO variables NET2, NET4 and NETM). <u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'emp\_ag'.

### Note:

1. Additional missing values: France 2012 and Poland 1992.

emp\_serv Civilian employment in services, in thousands.

<u>Source</u>: See variable 'emp\_ag' (AMECO variable NET5).

Period covered: See variable 'emp\_ag'.

### Note:

1. Additional missing values: France 2012 and Poland 1992.

emp\_un Unemployed, in thousands.

Source: AMECO (Variable NUTN) (Downloaded: 2015-06-23).

Period covered:

AUS	1960-2013	EST	1993-2013	JPN	1960-2013	PRT	1975-2013
AUT	1960-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	1993-2013	ROU	1992-2013
BEL	1960-2013	FRA	1960-2013	LTU	1992-2013	SVK	1995-2013
BGR	1995-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1960-2013	SVN	1995-2013
CAN	1960-2013	GRC	1960-2013	MLT	1990-2013	ESP	1977-2013
HRV	2000-2013	HUN	1995-2013	NLD	1960-2013	SWE	1960-2013
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1960-2013	NZL	1960-2013	CHE	1960-2013
CZE	1993-2013	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013	GBR	1960-2013
DNK	1960-2013	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1992-2013	USA	1960-2013

unemp Unemployment rate, percentage of civilian labour force.

Source: AMECO (Variable ZUTN) (Downloaded: 2015-03-20).

Period covered: See variable 'emp\_un'.

## 9. Industrial disputes and trade unions

## Note concerning nld, wi, wdlost and strike:

For notes on variation in comparability and breaks in series, see ILOSTAT Database.

nld Number of industrial disputes (strikes and lockouts).

<u>Source</u>: International Labour Office (ILO). 2013. ILOSTAT Database. www.ilo.org/ilostat (Downloaded 2015-06-24). Until 1970 (USA until 1973): Huber et al. (2004).

## Period covered:

	1960-2013*						
AUT	1979-2010*	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	2005-2013	ROU	1992-2008
	1960-2000*						
BGR		DEU	2009-2013	LUX	1982-2006*	SVN	
	1960-2012*						
HRV		HUN	1991-2013	NLD	1960-2013	SWE	1960-2013
	1990-2013						
CZE	1991-2013*	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013*	GBR	1960-2013

DNK 1960-2013 ITA 1960-2009 POL 1989-2013 USA 1960-2013

#### Note:

- 1. *Luxembourg*: Data taken from a previous version of the ILO database (ILO Laborsta Internet, http://laborsta.ilo.org/, Downloaded: 2009-10-19).
- Additional missing values (\*): Australia 2009-12; Austria 2003/04; Belgium 1981-84, 1986/87; Canada 2009/10; Czech Republic 1997-2008; Estonia 2002, 2009/10; France 1968; Lithuania 2009-11; Luxembourg 1994-2005; Malta 1981-86, 1999, 2010; Norway 2009-12; Slovakia 1996.

wi Workers involved in labour disputes, in thousands.

Source: See variable 'nld'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'nld', except Austria 1968-1978, 2003/04, 2011-13; Germany 1960-2008. Additional missing values: Estonia 2004; Finland 2009/10; Hungary 2011, 2013; New Zealand 2008; Portugal 1978.

wdlost Working days lost (due to strikes and lockouts), in thousands.

Source: See variable 'nld'.

Period covered: See variable 'nld', except Austria 1960-1978, 2003/04, 2011-13; Belgium 2001-08; France 2005-10; Germany 1960-2008, Latvia 1997-2004; Poland 1987/88; Romania 1990/91. Additional missing values: Estonia 2004, 2012; Finland 2009/10; Hungary 2008-11, 2013; New Zealand 2008; Italy 2009; Portugal 1978, 1981.

strike

Index of strike activity: working days lost per 1000 workers. Calculation: (wdlost\*1000)/ttl labf.

<u>Source</u>: Own calculations (see variables 'wdlost' and 'ttl\_labf').

### Period covered:

AUS	1960-2013*	EST	1993-2013*	JPN	1960-2012	PRT	1977-2007*
AUT	1960-2013	FIN	1960-2013*	LVA	1997-2013	ROU	1995-2008
BEL	1960-2008*	FRA	1960-2010*	LTU	2000-2012*	SVK	1995-2012*
BGR		DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1982-2006*	SVN	
CAN	1960-2012*	GRC	1976-1998	MLT	1990-2012*	ESP	1977-2013
HRV		HUN	1995-2012*	NLD	1960-2010	SWE	1960-2010
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1969-2004	NZL	1960-2012*	CHE	1960-2009
CZE	1993-2013*	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013*	GBR	1960-2013
DNK	1960-2011	ITA	1960-2008	POL	1992-2013	USA	1960-2013

### Note:

- 1. Ideally, the lost working days are set in relation to the dependent labour force (persons employed), so the labour force should be adjusted to unemployed and self-employed persons. Due to limited availability of data on civilian employment, we use the total labour force in the denominator, though. With a few exceptions for most recent years, data on total labour force is available for all countries and years. Using the available data on civilian employment, the correlation between the measure based on civilian employment and the measure based on total labour force is 0.99.
- Additional missing values (\*): Australia 2009-12; Belgium 1981-84, 1986/87; Canada 2009/10; Czech Republic 1997-2008; Estonia 2002, 2004, 2009/10, 2012; Finland 2009/10 France 1968; Hungary 2008-11; Lithuania 2009-11; Luxembourg 1994-2005; Malta 1999, 2010; New Zealand 2008; Norway 2009-12; Portugal 1978, 1981; Slovakia 1996.

grossu Total reported union members, in thousands.

<u>Source</u>: Visser (2013), ICTWSS: Database on Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention and Social Pacts in 34 countries between 1960 and 2012. Version 4.0 (variable 'TUM'). Period covered:

AUS	1960-1996	EST	1992-2010*	JPN	1960-2011*	PRT	1978-2010*
AUT	1960-2011	FIN	1960-2011	LVA	1995-2011*	ROU	1991-2008*
BEL	1960-2011	FRA	1960-2011	LTU	1995-2008*	SVK	1993-2008*
BGR	1990-2009*	DEU	1960-2011	LUX	1970-2008*	SVN	1991-2009*
CAN	1960-2011	GRC	1977-2011*	MLT	1971-2011	ESP	1977-2010
HRV		HUN	1990-2008*	NLD	1960-2011*	SWE	1960-2010
CYP	1990-2008*	ISL	1979-2008*	NZL	1970-2011	CHE	1960-2010
CZE	1990-2009	IRL	1960-2011	NOR	1960-2011	GBR	1960-2010
DNK	1960-2010	ITA	1960-2011	POL	1991-2010*	USA	1960-2010

#### Notes:

- 1. Countries marked with an asterisk (\*) contain additional missing values.
- 2. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).
- 3. USA 1979, 1981-2010: data taken from Visser (2011).

netu Net union membership (gross minus independent workers, students, unemployed or retired members), in thousands.

Source: Visser (2013), Version 4.0 (variable 'NUM').

## Period covered:

AUS	1960-2009	EST	1992-2010*	JPN	1960-2011	PRT	1978-2010
AUT	1960-2011	FIN	1960-2011	LVA	1995-2011*	ROU	1991-2008*
BEL	1960-2011	FRA	1960-2010	LTU	1995-2009*	SVK	1993-2011
BGR	1990-2009*	DEU	1960-2011	LUX	1970-2008	SVN	1991-2011*
CAN	1960-2011	GRC	1977-2011*	MLT	1971-2011	ESP	1977-2010
HRV		HUN	1990-2008*	NLD	1960-2011	SWE	1960-2010
CYP	1990-2008*	ISL	1979-2008	NZL	1970-2011	CHE	1960-2010
CZE	1993-2009	IRL	1960-2011	NOR	1960-2011	GBR	1960-2010
DNK	1960-2010	ITA	1960-2011	POL	1991-2010	USA	1960-2010

### Notes:

ud

- 1. Countries marked with an asterisk (\*) contain additional missing values.
- For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2013)
- 3. Australia 1997-2009; Luxembourg 1982-86, 1988-92, 1994-96, 1999-2002; USA 1979, 1981-2010: data taken from Visser (2011).

Net union membership as a proportion wage and salary earners in employment (union density).

Source: Visser (2013), Version 4.0 (variable 'UD').

## Period covered:

AUS	1960-2009	EST	1992-2010*	JPN	1960-2011	PRT	1978-2010
AUT	1960-2011	FIN	1960-2011	LVA	1995-2008*	ROU	1991-2008*
			1960-2010				
BGR	1990-2009*	DEU	1960-2011	LUX	1970-2008	SVN	1990-2011*
CAN	1960-2011	GRC	1977-2011*	MLT	1983-2011	ESP	1977-2010
HRV		HUN	1990-2008*	NLD	1960-2011	SWE	1960-2010
CYP	1990-2011*	ISL	1979-2008	NZL	1970-2011	CHE	1960-2010
CZE	1993-2009	IRL	1960-2011	NOR	1960-2011	GBR	1960-2010
DNK	1960-2010	ITA	1960-2011	POL	1991-2010	USA	1960-2010

#### Notes:

- 1. Countries marked with an asterisk (\*) contain additional missing values.
- 2. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).
- 3. Australia 1997-2009; Luxembourg 1982-86, 1988-92, 1994-96, 1999-2002; USA 1979, 1981-2010: data taken from Visser (2011).

adjcov Bargaining (or union) coverage, adjusted. Visser (2013: 23f.) defines it in the following way: "[E]mployees covered by collective (wage) bargaining agreements as a proportion of all wage and salary earners in employment with the right to bar-

gaining, expressed as percentage, adjusted for the possibility that some sectors or occupations are excluded from the right to bargain (removing such groups from the employment count before dividing the number of covered employees over the total number of dependent workers in employment)."

Source: Visser (2013), Version 4.0 (variable 'AdjCov').

## Period covered:

```
AUS 1960-2007* EST 2001-2009* JPN 1960-2008 PRT 1980-2008*
                    1960-2009* LVA
                                              ROU 2008-2011*
AUT 1960-2010* FIN
                                   2002-2011*
BEL 1960-2010* FRA 1960-2008* LTU 1998-2011*
                                              SVK 2000-2011*
BGR 2003-2011* |DEU 1960-2010* |LUX 1970-2008* |SVN 1990-2009
CAN 1960-2011* GRC 1990-2008* MLT 1990-2008* ESP 1977-2010*
HRV --
               HUN 1999-2009* NLD 1960-2010*
                                              |SWE 1960-2011*
CYP 2002-2008*
              ISL
                    1980-2008* NZL 1971-2007*
                                              CHE 1960-2010*
CZE 1994-2011
              IRL
                    2000-2010* NOR 1960-2008* GBR 1960-2011*
DNK 1960-2007* ITA
                    1960-2010* POL 2001-2010* USA 1960-2011
```

### Notes:

- 1. Countries marked with an asterisk (\*) contain additional missing values.
- 2. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).

## 10. Public social expenditure and revenue data

### Notes on socexp\_t\_pmp and onwards:

- 1. Please note that the Eurostat data for the countries not covered by the OECD does not include mandatory private expenditure. Furthermore, there may be differences in the classification of government functions between the two sources.
- 2. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.

sstran

Social security transfers as a percentage of GDP. Social assistance grants and welfare benefits paid by general government (benefits for sickness, old-age, family allowances, etc.).

<u>Source</u>: OECD (2010), "<u>National Accounts at a Glance</u>: National Accounts at a <u>Glance</u>", OECD National Accounts Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2015-06-25). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania (not covered by the OECD) is taken from AMECO (<u>Variable UYTGH</u>) (Downloaded: 2015-06-29).

# Period covered:

AUS	1960-2013	EST	1995-2013	JPN	1960-2013	PRT	1960-2013*
AUT	1960-2013	FIN	1960-2013	LVA	1995-2013	ROU	1995-2013
BEL	1960-2013	FRA	1960-2013	LTU	2004-2013	SVK	1995-2013
BGR	1995-2013	DEU	1960-2013	LUX	1960-2013*	SVN	1995-2013
CAN	1960-2013	GRC	1960-2013*	MLT	1995-2013	ESP	1960-2013*
HRV	2011-2013	HUN	1995-2013	NLD	1960-2013	SWE	1960-2013
CYP	1995-2013	ISL	1960-2012*	NZL	1960-2013*	CHE	1960-2013
CZE	1995-2013	IRL	1960-2013	NOR	1960-2013	GBR	1960-2013
DNK	1960-2013	ITA	1960-2013	POL	1995-2013	USA	1960-2013

#### Notes:

- 1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series and that the data of the different sources may be of limited comparability.
- 2. *Until 1969* (all countries) and *New Zealand 1970-82*: Data is taken from OECD Historical Statistics, various years.
- Austria 1970-75; Belgium and Japan 1970-84; Denmark, Ireland, Switzerland and UK 1970-89; Finland 1970-74; France 1970-77; Germany 1970-90; Greece, Iceland, Norway, Portugal and Spain 1970-94; Italy 1970-79; Luxembourg 1970-86; Sweden 1970-92: Data is taken from SourceOECD, National Accounts Statistics, Historical Statistics

- Structure or composition of certain economic aggregates, Vol. 2002, release 01 (Downloaded: 2006-08-21).
- 4. *Japan 1985-93*: Data is taken from a previous release of the OECD National Accounts Statistics database (Downloaded: 2011-04-14).
- 5. Canada 1970-80, Estonia 1995-99 and Greece 1995-2005: Data is taken from a previous release of the OECD National Accounts Statistics database (Downloaded: 2013-08-08).
- Austria 1976-94; Belgium 1985-94; Denmark, Ireland, Luxembourg and Switzerland 1990-94; Germany 1991-94; Iceland 1995-2012; Italy 1980-94; Netherlands 1970-94; Sweden 1993/94: Data is taken from a previous release of the OECD National Accounts Statistics database (Downloaded: 2014-07-29).
- 7. Additional missing values (\*): Greece, Portugal and Spain 1961-67; Iceland 1961-67, 1969; Luxembourg 1987-89; New Zealand 1983-85.

# socexp\_t\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private social expenditure as a percentage of GDP.

<u>Source</u>: OECD (2013), "<u>Social Expenditure: Aggregated data</u>", OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2015-06-25). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania (not covered by the OECD) is taken from Eurostat (<u>Social protection expenditure – Tables by functions</u>) (Downloaded: 2015-06-25) and does *not* include mandatory private expenditure.

## Period covered:

AUS	1980-2012	EST	1999-2011	JPN	1980-2011	PRT	1980-2011
AUT	1980-2011*	FIN	1980-2011	LVA	1997-2012	ROU	2000-2012
BEL	1980-2011	FRA	1980-2011	LTU	1996-2012	SVK	1995-2011
BGR	2005-2012	DEU	1980-2011	LUX	1980-2011	SVN	1996-2011
CAN	1980-2012	GRC	1980-2011	MLT	1995-2013	ESP	1980-2011
HRV	2008-2012	HUN	1999-2011	NLD	1980-2011	SWE	1980-2011
	2000-2012						
CZE	1990-2011	IRL	1980-2011	NOR	1980-2011*	GBR	1980-2011
DNK	1980-2011	ITA	1980-2011	POL	1991-2011	USA	1980-2012

#### Notes:

- Please note that the Eurostat data for the countries not covered by the OECD does not include mandatory private expenditure. Furthermore, there may be differences in the classification of government functions between the two sources.
- 2. Norway 1981-84, 1986/87 and Slovenia before 1996: Classified as missing values due to incomplete data.
- 3. Additional missing values (\*): Austria 1981-84, 86-89; Norway 1981-84, 86/87.

# socexp\_c\_pmp

Public and mandatory private social expenditure in cash as a percentage of GDP

Source: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'.

Period covered: See variable 'socexp t pmp'.

socexp\_k\_pmp

Public and mandatory private social expenditure in kind as a percentage of GDP.

<u>Source</u>: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'.

Period covered: See variable 'socexp t pmp'.

oldage\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private expenditure on old age as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'.

survivor\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private survivor benefits as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'.

Period covered: See variable 'socexp t pmp'.

incapben\_pmp

Total incapacity-related benefits (public and mandatory private) as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'socexp t pmp'.

Period covered: See variable 'socexp t pmp'.

health\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private expenditure on health as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'. Additional data: Austria 1981-84, 86-89; Hungary 1991-98; Iceland 1980-89; Slovenia 1995.

family\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private expenditure for families as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'.

Period covered: See variable 'socexp t pmp'.

almp\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private expenditure on active labour market programmes as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'.

Period covered:

AUS	1985-2012	EST	1993-2011	JPN	1990-2011	PRT	1986-2011
AUT	1985-2011	FIN	1980-2011	LVA		ROU	
BEL	1985-2011	FRA	1985-2011	LTU		SVK	1991-2011
BGR		DEU	1985-2011	LUX	1980-2011	SVN	2003-2011
CAN	1985-2012	GRC	1985-2011	MLT		ESP	1980-2011
		HUN	1992-2011	NLD	1980-2011	SWE	1985-2011
CYP		ISL	1990-2011	NZL	1980-2012	CHE	1985-2011
CZE	1991-2011	IRL	1985-2011	NOR	1985-2011	GBR	1980-2011
DNK	1986-2011	ITA	1990-2011	POL	1991-2011	USA	1985-2012

### Note:

1. For non-members of the OECD (Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania), Eurostat includes data on some components of active labour market programmes under the function "unemployment expenditure" (variable 'unemp\_pmp'). In order to avoid double inclusion of data on active labour market policies, these countries are coded get missing values. We provide more detailed data on active labour market policies from a different Eurostat source in the section "Labour market policy", however.

unemp\_pmp

Cash expenditure for unemployment benefits as a percentage of GDP (public and mandatory private).

<u>Source</u>: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'. Additional data: Hungary 1992-98; Norway 1986/87. Additional missing values: Czech Republic 1990; Estonia 1999; France and Ireland 1980-84.

### Note:

 For non-members of the OECD (Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania), we used Eurostat data. However, these Eurostat data on unemployment benefits also include some components of active labour market

programmes. For all other countries (covered by the OECD), data on active labour market programmes are included separately in the variable 'almp\_pmp'.

housing\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private expenditure on housing as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'socexp t pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'. Additional missing values: Belgium 1980-99; Czech Republic 1990-93.

othsocx\_pmp

Public and mandatory private expenditure on other social policy areas as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'socexp\_t\_pmp'. Additional missing values: Denmark 1980-82; France 1980-88.

## 11. Family policy

## Notes on fallow\_pmp and onwards:

1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.

fallow\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private cash benefits for family allowances as a percentage of GDP.

<u>Source</u>: OECD (2013), "<u>Social Expenditure: Aggregated data</u>", OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2015-06-25). Period covered:

	1980-2012					PRT	1980-2011
AUT	1980-2011*	FIN	1980-2011	LVA		ROU	
BEL	1980-2011	FRA	1980-2011	LTU		SVK	1995-2011
BGR		DEU	1980-2011	LUX	1980-2011	SVN	1996-2011
CAN	1980-2012	GRC	1980-2011	MLT		ESP	1980-2011
HRV		HUN	1999-2011	NLD	1980-2011	SWE	1980-2011
CYP		ISL	1990-2011	NZL	1980-2012	CHE	1980-2011
CZE	1990-2011	IRL	1980-2011	NOR	1980-2011*	GBR	1980-2011
DNK	1980-2011	ITA	1980-2011	POL	1991-2011	USA	1980-2012

### Notes:

- 1. Norway 1981-84, 1986/87: Classified as missing values due to incomplete data.
- 2. Additional missing values (\*): Austria 1981-84, 86-89; Norway 1981-84, 86/87.

mpleave\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private cash benefits for maternal and parental leave as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'fallow\_pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'fallow\_pmp'. Additional missing values: Australia 1980-94; USA entirely.

othfam\_c\_pmp

Other public and mandatory private cash benefits as a percentage of GDP. Source: See variable 'fallow pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'fallow\_pmp'. Additional missing values: Belgium and Luxembourg 1980-89; Canada, Denmark and USA entirely; Switzerland 1980-2007.

childcare\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private social expenditure for childcare and early educational services as a percentage of GDP (benefits in kind). Source: See variable 'fallow pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'fallow\_pmp'. Additional missing values: Canada and USA 1980-90; Greece and Switzerland 1980-89; UK 1980-95.

## homehelp\_pmp

Total public and mandatory private social expenditure for home-help and accommodation services to families with children as a percentage of GDP (benefits in kind).

Source: See variable 'fallow\_pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'fallow\_pmp'. Additional missing values: Australia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland and USA entirely; Denmark and Luxembourg 1980-89, 2007-11; Italy 1990-2011; Poland 1990-2010; Portugal 1980-89, 2002-11.

othfam\_k\_pmp

Other public and mandatory private benefits in kind as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'fallow\_pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'fallow\_pmp'. Additional missing values: Canada and Netherlands entirely; Czech Republic 1990-94; Japan 1980-93; Luxembourg 1980-2000; Poland 1990-2010; Switzerland 1980-2007.

## 12. Labour market policy

### Notes on servadmi\_pmp and onwards:

- 1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
- 2. For more detailed definitions on the coverage and classification of labour market programmes, see the OECD classification.

servadmi pmp

Public and mandatory private employment services and administration as a percentage of GDP.

Source: OECD (2013), "Social Expenditure: Aggregated data", OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2015-06-25). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania is taken from Eurostat (Public expenditure on labour market policy (LMP) interventions) (Downloaded: 2015-07-03) and does not include mandatory private expenditure.

### Period covered:

AUS	1985-2012	EST	2003-2011	JPN	1990-2011	PRT	1986-2011
AUT	1985-2011	FIN	1980-2011	LVA	2003-2013	ROU	2003-2012
BEL	1985-2011	FRA	1985-2011	LTU	2003-2013	SVK	1991-2011
BGR	2004-2013	DEU	1985-2011	LUX	1980-2011	SVN	2003-2011
CAN	1985-2012	GRC	1985-2011	MLT	2006-2012	ESP	1980-2011
HRV	2012	HUN	1992-2011	NLD	1980-2011	SWE	1985-2011
	2006-2011						
CZE	1991-2011	IRL	1985-2011	NOR	1985-2011	GBR	1980-2011
DNK	1980-2011	ITA	1998-2011	POL	1992-2011	USA	1985-2012

## training\_pmp

Public and mandatory private expenditure on labour market training as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'servadmi pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'. Additional data: Canada 1980-84; Italy 1990-97; Poland 1990/91. Additional missing values: Denmark 1980-85; Iceland 2009-11.

## jobrot\_pmp

Public and mandatory private expenditure on job rotation and job sharing as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'. Additional missing values: Australia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, France, Germany, Iceland, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia and Switzerland entirely; Czech Republic 2002-2013; Denmark 1980-93, 1998-2011; Finland, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands and Norway 1998-2011; Greece 1985-97; Hungary 2003-11; Poland 2005-11; Slovakia 2004-11; Sweden 1985-95, 1998-2011.

## incent\_pmp

Public and mandatory private expenditure on employment incentives (recruitment and employment maintenance incentives) as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'servadmi pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'. Additional data: Italy 1990-97; Poland 1990/91. Additional missing values: Denmark 1980-93; Iceland entirely.

## disabled\_pmp

Public and mandatory private expenditure on supported employment and (vocational) rehabilitation of persons with a reduced working capacity as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'. Additional data: Italy 1990-97; Switzerland 1980-84. Additional missing values: Bulgaria, Estonia, Iceland, Malta and Romania entirely; Greece 1995-97; Hungary 2003-11; Japan 2008-11; Latvia 2003-05, 2008-10; Lithuania 2003/04.

## jobcrea\_pmp

Public and private mandatory expenditure on direct job creation (usually in the public or non-profit sector) as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'servadmi pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'. Additional data: Italy 1990-97. Additional missing values: Cyprus and Iceland entirely.

### startup\_pmp

Public and mandatory private support of unemployed persons (or closely-related groups) starting enterprises or becoming self-employed as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'servadmi pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'. Additional data: Italy 1990-97. Additional missing values: Denmark 1980-85; Iceland entirely; Japan 1990-2001, 2008-11; Latvia 2003/04; Lithuania 2007-13; Malta 2010; Netherlands 1998-2011; Norway 1985-94; Switzerland 1985-93.

## compen\_pmp

Public and mandatory private unemployment compensation and severance pay (in cash) as a percentage of GDP.

<u>Source</u>: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'. Additional data: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Greece, Sweden, Switzerland and USA 1980-84; Austria and Norway 1980; Estonia 1999-2002; Italy 1980-97; Japan 1980-89; Poland 1990/91; Portugal 1980-85; Slovenia 1996-2002. Additional missing values: Austria 1986-89; Slovakia 1991-94.

## earretir\_pmp

Public and private mandatory expenditure (in cash) on early retirement for labour market reasons as a percentage of GDP.

Source: See variable 'servadmi pmp'.

<u>Period covered</u>: See variable 'servadmi\_pmp'. Additional data: Belgium and Switzerland 1980-84; Austria 1980; Italy 1980-97; Slovenia 1996-2002;

Sweden 1981-84. Additional missing values: Australia 1985-2002, 2011/12; Austria 1986-89; Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Latvia, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Romania and USA entirely; Canada 1985-92; Czech Republic 1991-94, 2007-11; Lithuania 2007-13; Norway 1985-93; Poland 1997-99; Portugal 1986-89, 1999-2011; Slovakia 1991-94; Sweden 1993-96.

## emprot\_reg

Employment protection strictness provided through legislation and as a result of enforcement processes (scale of 0-6; higher values indicate stricter employment protection). This indicator measures the strictness of regulation of individual dismissal of employees on regular/indefinite contracts.

<u>Source</u>: OECD Indicators of Employment Protection. <u>Annual time series data 1985-2013</u> (Downloaded: 2015-04-28).

### Period covered:

	1985-2013						
AUT	1985-2013	FIN	1985-2013	LVA	2012-2013	ROU	
BEL	1985-2013	FRA	1985-2013	LTU		SVK	1993-2013
	1985-2013						
CYP		ISL	2008-2013	NZL	1990-2013	CHE	1985-2013
	1993-2013						
DNK	1985-2013	ITA	1985-2013	POL	1991-2013	USA	1985-2013

### Notes:

1. Specific requirements for collective dismissals are not included.

### emprot\_temp

Employment protection strictness provided through legislation and as a result of enforcement processes (scale of 0-6; higher values indicate stricter employment protection). This indicator measures the strictness of regulation on the use of fixed-term and temporary work agency contracts.

Source: See variable 'emprot\_reg'.

Period covered: See variable 'emprot reg'.

## 13. Income inequality

pre\_gini

Pre-tax Gini index on market income (before taxes and transfers) among households with heads aged 25-59, in percent. Estimated from the LIS database, http://www.lisproject.org.

Period covered: 1967-2010. Detailed record on data points covered:

Australia 1981, 1985, 1989, 1995, 2001 and 2003; Austria (1987), 1994, (1995), 1997, (2000) and 2004; Belgium 1985, 1988, 1992, (1995), 1997 and 2000; Canada 1971, 1975, 1981, 1987, 1991, 1994, 1997/98, 2000, 2004 and 2007; Denmark 1987, 1992, 1995, 2000 and 2004; Finland 1987, 1991, 1995, 2000 and 2004; France (1979), 1981, 1984, 1989, 1994, 2000 and 2005; Germany 1973, 1978, 1981, 1983, 1989, 1994, 2000, 2004 and 2007; Greece 1995, 2000 and 2004; Ireland 1987, 1994-1996, 2000 and 2004; Italy 1986/87, 1989, 1991, (1993), 1995, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2010; Netherlands 1983, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1999 and 2004; Norway 1979, 1986, 1991, 1995, 2000 and 2004; Spain 1980, 1990, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2010; Sweden 1967, 1975, 1981, 1987, 1992, 1995, 2000 and 2005; Switzerland 1982, 1992, 2000, 2002 and 2004; UK 1969, 1974, 1979, 1986, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2004; USA 1974, 1979, 1986, 1991, 1994, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2010.

In brackets: data only available for variable post\_gini.

Source: David Brady, Evelyne Huber, and John D. Stephens (2014): *Comparative Welfare States Data Set.* University of North Carolina and WZB Berlin Social Science Center. http://www.unc.edu/~jdsteph/common/datacommon.html (Downloaded: 2014-07-29).

post\_gini

After-tax Gini index on disposable income (after taxes and transfers) among households with heads aged 25-59, in percent. Estimated from the LIS database, http://www.lisproject.org.

Period covered: See variable 'pre\_gini'.

Source: See variable 'pre gini'.

## 14. Demographic data

## Note on demographic data:

1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.

pop Total population, in thousands.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: Denmark, France, Greece, Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden and Switzer-

land: 2013.

Source: OECD (2014), "Labour Force Statistics: Summary tables", OECD Employment and Labour Market Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2015-06-22). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania were retrieved from AMECO (variable NPTD) (Downloaded: 2015-06-23).

pop15 64 Population 15-64, in thousands.

Period covered: 1960-2013.

Missing: See variable 'pop'. In addition: Croatia 2000/01, Cyprus 1990-93, Malta

1966-76, 1982/83.

Source: OECD and AMECO (variable NPAN) (see variable 'pop').

pop65 Population over 65, in thousands.

<u>Period covered</u>: 1960-2013. <u>Missing</u>: See variable 'pop15\_64'.

Source: OECD and AMECO (variable NPON) (see variable 'pop').

elderly Population over 65, as a percentage of population.

<u>Period covered</u>: 1960-2013. Missing: See variable 'pop15' 64'.

Source: OECD and AMECO (variables NPDT and NPAN) (see variable 'pop').

#### **Note**

1. Slovakia: Data for 'pop65' and 'elderly' are taken from AMECO (see source above).

## **Appendix**

#### Appendix 1 Notes concerning the variables gov\_right, gov\_cent, gov\_left

All entries were calculated on the basis of Schmidt and Beyer (1992), Woldendorp, Keman and Budge (1998), Ismayr (2003), Keesing's Archive, European Journal of Political Research, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, People in Power (http://www.circa-uk.demon.co.uk/pip.html) and the Parline database (http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp). The classification of parties was done according to Schmidt (1996). If there was no classification by Schmidt, we classified parties using the following assignments (see Appendix 2):

- 'Left' denotes social democratic parties and political parties to the left of social democrats
- 'Right' denotes liberal and conservative parties
- 'Centre' denotes centre parties, in particular Christian Democratic or Catholic parties. According to Schmidt (1996: 160), centre parties favor a "moderate social amelioration in a location to the left of conservative or conservative-neoliberal parties."

## Appendix 2 Assignment of governing political parties to left, centre, right

Australia

- left Australian Labour Party (ALP)

- centre

- right Liberal Party (*LIB*)

Country National Party (CNT)

**Austria** 

- left Socialist Party (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs, SPÖ)

People's Party (Österreichische Volkspartei, ÖVP) - centre

Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ) - right

Belgium

- left Social Progressive Alternative (Sociaal Progressief Alternatief, SP.a/SPIRIT) (until

2001: Flemish

Socialist Party, in 2003 and 2007: electoral coalition with SPIRIT)

Francophone Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste, PS)

AGALEV (Greens, francophone)

ECOLO (Greens, flemish)

Christian Democrat & Flemish (Christen-demokratisch & Vlaams, CD & V) (until - centre

2001: Christian People's Party (CVP))

Democrat Humanist Centre (Centre Démocrate Humaniste, CDH) (until 2002:

Christian Social Party (PSC)) Francophone Democratic Front (FDF)

New Flemish Alliance (Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie, N-VA) (former: Flemish/People's

Union (VU))

Democratic Union (DU) Wallon Rally (RW)

- right Liberal Party (LP)

Open Flemish Liberals & Democrats (Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten, Open VLD) (former: Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV))

Reform Movement (Mouvement Réformateur, MR) (former: Francophone Liberal Reform Party (PRL))

Movement of Citizens for Change (Mouvement des citoyens pour le changement, MCC)

Bulgaria

- left Bulgarian Socialist Party (Bulgarska Socialističeska Partija, BSP)

Coalition for Bulgaria (Koalitsiya za Bulgaria, KB)

- centre Democratic Party (Demokraticheska partia, DP)

- right Coalition Movement for Rights and Freedoms (Dviženie za Pravata i Svobodie)

[formed of Movement for Rights and Freedoms (*Dviženie za Pravata i Svobodie*); Liberal Union (*Liberalen Sajuz*) and Euroroma (*Evroroma*)]

National Movement Simeon II (Nacionalno Dvisenie Simeon Tvori, NDSV)

Union of Democratic Forces (Sil Demokratic Sajuz, SDS)

Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (Grazhdani za Evropeisko Razvi-

tie na Bulgaria, GERB)

Canada

- left -----

centre Liberal Party (LIB)

right Progressive Conservative Party (PC)

Croatia

- left Social Democratic Party of Croatia (Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatska, SDP)

centre Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica, HDZ)

Croatian Peasant Party (Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka, HSS)

- right Croatian Social Liberal Party (Hrvatska Socijalno Liberalna Stranka, HSLS)

Croatian People's Party (Hrvatska Narodna, HNS)

Party of Liberal Democrats (LIBRA)

Democratic Center (Demokratski Centar, DC)

Istrian Democratic Assembly (Istarski Demokratski Sabor, IDS)

Liberal Party (Liberalna Stranka, LS)

Independent Democratic Serb Party (Samostalna demokratska srpska stranka,

SDSS)

**Cyprus** 

- left Social Democrats Movement (Kinima Socialdemokraten, KISOS), former EDEK

(United Democratic Union of Cyprus, The Socialist Party).

Progressive Party of the Working People, The Communist Party, (Anorthotiko

Komma tou Ergazomenou Laou, AKEL)

- centre -----

- right The Democratic Rally (Demokratikos Synagermos, DISY)

The Democratic Party (Demokratiko Komma, DIKO) Free/United Democrats (Enomenoi Democrates, EDI)

Liberal Party

European Party (Evropaiko Komma, EVROKO)

## Czech Republic

- left Czechoslovak Party of Social Democracy (Ceská strana sociálne demokratická

CSSD)
Green Party (SZ)

- centre Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party (Kresĭanskaá a

Demokratická Unie – Československá Strana Lidová, KDU-CSL)

- right Civic Democratic Party (Obcanska Demokraticka Strana, ODS)

Union of Freedom/Democratic Union (Unie Svobody/Demokraticka Unie, US/DEU)
Democratic Union (Krestanka a Demokraticka Unie/Ceskoslovenska Strana Lidova.

KDU/CSL – Unie Svobody/Demokraticka Unie, US/DEU) [christian democrats

and liberals]

Civic Democratic Alliance (Obcanská demokratická aliance, ODA)

TOP 09 (TOP 09)

Public Affairs (Věci veřejné, VV)

LIDEM-Liberal Democrats (LIDEM – liberální demokraté)

### **Denmark**

- left Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet, SD)

Left Socialist Party (LSP)

Socialist People's Party (Socialistisk Folkeparti, SF)

- centre Centre Democrats (Centrum Demokraterne, CD)

Christian People's Party (Kristendemokraterne, KRF)

- right Liberals (Venstre, LIB)

Conservative People's Party (Det Konservative Folkeparti, KF)

**Justice Party** 

Radical Party (Social Liberal Party) (Det RadiKale Venstre, RV)

## **Estonia**

- left Moderates (Mõõdukad) [merger of People's Party (Estonian Social Democratic

Party + Rural Centre Party) with Moderates; from 1999 on known as

People's Party Moderates (Rahvaerakond Mõõdukad)]

KMU - Estonian Coalition Party (Eesti Koonderakond, EK) and Rural Union (Eesti Maaliit, EM)- [formed from Estonian Coalition Party (KE or KMU-K), Estonian Rural Union (EM or KMU-M), Estonian Country People's Party (EME), Estonian Pensioners' and Families' League (EPPL) and Farmers'

Assembly (PK)]

- centre Estonian Centre Party (Eesti Keskerakond, EK)

- right Homeland (Isamaa) until 1999; in 1999 merged with Pro Patria and formed

Homeland - Pro Patria Union (Isamaaliit)

Union for the Republic Res Publica (Ühendus Vabariigi Eest - Res Publica, ResP)

Estonian People's Union (Rahsaliit)

Estonian Reform Party (Eesti Reformierakond, RE)

Estonian National Independence Party (Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatuse Partei,

ERSP)

Pro Patria and Res Publica Union (Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit, IRL) [merger of

Res Publica and Pro Patria Union]

#### **Finland**

- left Social Democrats (Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue, SDP)

Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL)

Social Democratic League (TPSL) Left-Wing Alliance (Vasemmistoliitto, VAS)

Green League (Vihreä Liitto, VIHR)

- centre Centre Party (Keskusta, KESK)

Liberal People's Party (LKP)

Christian Democrats (Kristillisdemokraatit, KD) (former Christian League, SKL)

Finnish Rural Party (Suomen Maaseudun Puolue, SMP) (SMP)

- right National Coalition (Kansallinen Kokoomus, KOK)

Swedish People's Party (Svenska Folkepartiet I Finland, SFP/RKP)

**France** 

- left Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste, PS)

Communist Party (Parti Communiste Français, PCF)

Greens (Les Verts)

Movement for Citizens (Mouvement des Citoyens, MDC)

Generation Ecology (Génération Écologie, GE)

Left Radicals (Parti Radical de Gauche, PRG, former: Mouvement des radicaux de

gauche, MRG and Parti Radical Socialiste, PRS)

- centre Centre of Social Democrats (CDS), Democratic Force (Force Démocrate, FD)

Popular Republican Movement (MRP)

Centre of Progress and Modern Democracy (PDM)

Union for French Democracy (Union pour la Démocratie Française, UDF)

Reformers' Movement (REF, Reformers' Movement)

Republican Party (Parti Républicain, PR) New Centre (Nouveau centre, NC)

- right Gaullists, Rally for the Rebublic (Rassemblement pour la République, RPR) (for-

mer Union pour la Nouvelle République (UNR) and Union des Démocrates pour la République (UDR), in 2002: Union for a Presidential Majo-

rity (UMP)) ); in 2007: Union for a Popular Movement (UMP))

Centre National des Indépendants (IND) Centre Democracy and Progress (CDP)

Radical Party (Parti Radical, RAD)

Germany

- left Social Democrats (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SDP)

Greens (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen)

- centre Christian Democratic Union (Christlich-demokratische Union, CDU)

Christian Social Union (Christlich-soziale Union, CSU)

- right German Party (Deutsche Partei, DP)

Free Democrats (Freie demokratische Partei, FDP)

**Greece** 

- left Pan-Hellenic Social Movement (Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima, PASOK)

Communist Party (Kommunistiko Komma Elladas, KKE)

Democratic Left (Dimokratiki Aristera, DIMAR)

- centre -----

- right New Democracy (Nea Dhimokratia, ND)

Political Spring (POLAN) National Radical Union (ERE)

Centre Union, Union of the Democratic Centre (EDIK)

Hungary

- left Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt, MSzP)

Independent Smallholders Party (Független Kisgazdapárt, FKGP)

- centre Christian Democratic People's Party (Keresztény Demokrata Néppárt, KDNP)

- right Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Fórum, MDF)

Alliance of Young Democrats - Hungarian Civic Party (Fiatal Demokraták

Szövetsége - Magyar Polgári Párt, FIDESZ - MPP)

Alliance of Free Democrats (Szabad Demokratak Szövetsege, SzDSz)

**Iceland** 

- left Social Democratic Party (SDP) (Althýduflokkur)

People's Alliance (PA, USP) (Althýdubandalag) Social Democratic Alliance (SDA) (Samfylkingin)

Left-Greens (LG) (Vinstri græn)

- centre Progressive Party (PP) (Framsóknarflokkur)

Union of Liberals and Leftists (ULL) Regional Equality Platform (REP)

- right Independence Party II (IP) (Sjálfstaedisflokkur)

Citizens' Party (CP) (Borgaraflokkur)

Ireland

left Labour Party (LAB)

Democratic Left (DL) Green Party (GP)

- centre Republican Party (Clann na Poblachta, CNP)

Fine Gael (FG)

- right Party of the Land (Clann na Talmhan, CNT)

Progressive Democrats (PD) Fianna Fail (Republican Party, FF)

Italy

- left Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIU)

Communist Party (Partito dei Comunisti Italiani, PDCI)

Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano, PSI)

United Socialist Party (PSU)

Social Democratic Party (Socialisti Democratici Italiani, PSDI)

Greens (Verdi)

Party of the Democratic Left (Democratici di Sinistra, PDS), (in 2006, the DS ran together with Daisy (Margherita) in the Olive Tree Coalition (Ulivo))

The Democrats (I Democratici, DEM)

Di Pietro List (Lista di Pietro/Italia dei Valori, IdV)

Socialists and Radicals (former Rose in the Fist, Rosa nel Pugno, RnP)

- centre Christian Democratic Party (Democrazia Cristiana, DC)

Republican Party (Partito Repubblicano Italiano, PRI) Italian Popular Party (Partito Popolare Italiano, PPI) Union of the Centre (Unione Democratici di Centro, UDC) Dini List – Italian Renewal (Rinnovamento Italiano, RI)

Democratic Union (Unione Democratica, UD)

Union of Republican Democrats (Unione dei Democratici per la Repubblica, UDR), known as Union of Democrats for Europe (Unione dei Democratici per l'Europa, UDEUR) since 1999.

Christian Democratic Centre, United Christian Democrats (Centro Cristiano Democratico, CCD, Cristiani Democratici Uniti, CDU)

Christian Democracy for the Autonomies (Democrazia Cristiana per le Autonomie, DCpA)

- right The People of Freedom (II Popolo della Libertà, PdL)

Liberal Party (Partito Liberale Italiano, PLI)

Forza Italia (FI)

Lombard League, Northern League (Lega Lombarda, Lega Norte, LN)

National Alliance (Alleanza Nazionale, AN)

Civic Choice-Monti for Italy (Scelta civica-Monti per l'Italia, SC)

Italian Radicals (Radicali Italiani, IR)

Japan

- left Social Democratic Party (SDP) (Shakai Minshuto)

Japan Communist Party (JCP) (Nihon Kyosanto)
Democratic Socialist Party (Minshu Shakaito)

United Democratic Socialists (UDS)

- centre Clean Government Party (CGP) (Komeito)

Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) (Minshutō)

- right Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) (Jiyu Minshuto)

New Liberal Club (NLC) Japan Renewal Party (JRP)

Japan New Party (JNP) (Nihon Shinto)

New Conservative Party (NCP) (Hoshu Shinto)

Liberal Party (LP)

People's New Party (PNP) (New) Sakigake Party (NPS)

#### Note:

According to its party manifesto, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) is a centre-left party. Since it is more to the centre than to the left, we classified it as 'centre' with regard to the party composition of government. However, for the 'elections' variables, we assigned this left-liberal party to the socialist party family ('social') which includes both traditional social democratic parties as well as blends of social-democratic and liberal parties.

#### Latvia

left Democratic Centre Party (since 1995, Democratic Party "Master" (DPS Saimnieks)

Latvian Social-Democratic Alliance (Latvijas Sociāldemokrātu Apvienība, LSDA)

New Party (Jauna partija, JP)

Latvia's Unity Party (Latvijas Vienības Partija, LVP)

Green and Farmers Union (Zaïo un Zemnieku savienîba, ZZS) [formed of Latvian Green Party (Latvijas Zaïâ Partija) and Latvian Farmers' Union (Latvijas Zemnieku savienîba)]

Latvian Farmers' Union (Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība, LZS)

 centre United List of Latvia's Farmers' Union and Latvian Christian Democratic Union and Latgale Democratic Party

Latvia's First Party (Latvijas Pirma Partija, LPP)

First Party of Latvia and Union "Latvia's Way" (Latvijas Pirma Partija un Savieniba Latvijas Ceļš)

- right Latvia's Way (Latvijas Ceļš, LC)

New Era (Jaunais laiks, JL)

For Homeland (Fatherland) and Freedom TB

Peoples' Party (Tautas Partija, TP)

Alliance for Homeland and Freedom / Latvian National Independence Movement (TB/LNNK)

Civic Union (Pilsoniskā savienība, PS)

Unity (Vienotība, V)

Zatlers Reform Party (Zatlera reform partija, ZRP)

National Union (Nacionālā apvienība, NA)

#### Lithuania

- left Lithunian Democratic Labour Party (Lietuvos Demokratine Darbo Partija, LDDP)

Lithuanian Peasants People Union (Lietuvos valstiečių liaudininkų sajunga, LPPU) [former Union of Farmers and New Democratic Party (Valstiečių ir naujosios Demokratijos partijų sajunga, VNDPS)]

Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party (Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partija, LSDP)
Social-Democratic Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas [comprised of Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party; Lithuanian Social Democratic Party; Union of Lithuanian Russians; Party of New Democracy]

For a Working Lithuania (LSDP and NU)

Labour Party and future Civic Democracy Party

- centre Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party (Lietuvos Krikščionių Demokratų Partija

LKDP)

New Union - Social Liberals (Naujoji Sajunga - Socialliberalai, NS-SL)

Electoral Action of the Lithuanian Poles (Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcija, LLRA)

- right Homeland Union - Lithuanian Conservatives (Tevynes Sajunga – Lietuvos Kon-

servatoriai, TS-LK) [in 2008: electoral alliance with the Lithuanian Chris-

tian Democrats]

Lithuanian Centre Union (Lietuvos Centro Sajunga, LCS) Lithuanian Liberal Union (Lietuvos Liberaly Sajunga, LLS)

Liberal and Centre Union (merger of LCS and LLS)

Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic (Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sajudis,

LMLR)

Nation's Ressurection Party (Tautos prisikelimo partija, NRP)

Party Order and Justice (Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas, PTT)

#### Luxembourg

- left Social Democratic Party (Parti Ouvrier socialiste luxembourgeois/Letzemburger

Sozialistisch Arbechterpartei, POSL/LSAP)

The Greens (Déi Gréng, GLEI-GAP)

- centre Christian Social Party (Parti Crétien Social/Chrestlech Sozial Vollekspartei,

PCS/CSV)

- right Democratic Party (Parti Démocratique/Demokratesch Partei, PD/DP)

#### Malta

- left Malta Labour Party MLP (Partit Laburista)

- centre Nationalist Party (Partit Nazzjonalista, PN)

- right -----

#### **Netherlands**

- left Labour Party (Partij van der Arbeid, PvdA)

Political Party of the Radicals (PPR)

- centre Catholic People's Party (KVP)

Christian Democratic Appeal (Christen Demokratisch Appel, CDA)

Democratic Socialists' 70 (DS'70)

Democrats' 66 (Democraten '66, D'66) Christian Union (Christen Unie, CU)

- right People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en

Democratie, VVD)

Christian Historical Union (CHU) Anti Revolutionary Party (ARP)

List Pim Fortuyn (LPF)

**New Zealand** 

- left Labour Party (LAB)

Alliance (A)

Progressive Coalition (PC)

- centre -----

- right National Party (NP)

New Zealand First (NZF)

United Party (U)

**Norway** 

- left Labour Party (Det Norske Arbeiderparti DNA, AP)

Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk Venstreparti, SV)

- centre Centre Party (Senterpartiet, SP), former Farmers' Party

Christian People's Party (Kristelig Folkeparti, KRF)

- right Conservatives (Hoyre, H)

Liberals (Venstre, V)

Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet, FRP)

**Poland** 

- left Alliance of the Democratic Left (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, SLD) [formed of

Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland; All-Polish Accord of Trade Unions; Polish Socialist Party]

Labour Union (Unia Pracy, UP)

Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL)

Self Defence of Polish Republic (Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, SRP)

Polish Social Democracy (Socjaldemokracia Polska, SdPL)

- centre Peasant Christian Alliance (SLCh)

Peasant Alliance PL [comprised of Solidarity Polish Peasant Party and Rural

Solidarity Peasant Union]

Party of Christian Democrats (Partia Chrzescijanskich Demokratów--PChD) Catholic Election Action (Wyborcza Akcja Katolicka, WAK) [comprised of Chris-

tian National Union (ZChN); Conservative Party and other small group-

ings]

- right Democratic Union (Unia Demokratyczna, UD)

Solidarity Election Action (Akjia Wyborcza Solidarność, AWS)

Liberal Democratic Congress (Kongres LiberalnoDemokratyczny, KLD)

Freedom Union (Unia Wolności, UW) [merger of Democratic Union and Liberal

Democratic Congress]

League of Polish Families

Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc, PiS) Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska, PO)

#### **Portugal**

- left Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Portuguêsa, PSP)

Communist Party (PCP)

- centre -----

- right Social Democrats, Popular Democrats (Partido Social Democráta, PSD, Partido

Popular Democrático, PPD)

Centre Social Democrats, Popular Party (Partido do Centro Democrático Social,

Partido Popular, CDS/PP)
Popular Monarchist Party (PPM)

#### Romania

- left National Salvation Front = Democratic National Salvation Front = Party of So-

cial Democracy from Romania (Partidul Democratiei Sociale din Romania PDSR) = Social Democratic Party (Partidul Social Democrat PSD)

Ecological Movement from Romania (Miscarea Ecologistă din România)

National Salvation Front - Democratic Party = Democratic Party (Partidul Dem-

ocrat PD)

Democratic Agrarian Party from Romania (Partidul Democrat Agrar din România)

National Union for Romania's Progress (Uniunea Nationala pentru Progresul

Romaniei, UNPR)

- centre Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania (Uniunea Democratică a Maghiarilor

din România UDMR)

Conservative Party of Romania (Partidul Conservator, PC) [former: Alliance So-

cial Democratic Party – Humanist Party of Romania]

- right National Liberal Party (Partidul Naţional Liberal PNL)

Party of National Unity of Romanians (Partidul Unității Naționale Române PUNR) Democratic Convention from Romania (Convenția Democrată din România)

Alliance Truth and Justice (National Liberal Party PNL and Democrat Party

DP)

Democrat-Liberal Party (Partidul Democrat-Liberal) (through the incorporation of

a PNL dissident group into the Democrat Party)

#### Slovakia

- left Party of the Democratic Left (Strana Demokratickej Lavice, SDL') since 96

Association of Slovak Workers (Združenie Robotníkov Slovenska, ZRS)

Direction (Smer, S)

- centre Christian Democratic Movement (Krestanskodemokraticke Hnutie, KDH)

Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (SDKU) [in 2006 merged with Demo-

cratic Party to SDKU-DS)]

Party of the Hungarian Coalition (Magyar Koalitio Partja SMK) (1994: Hungarian

Coalition)

- right The Slovak Democratic Coalition (Slovenská Demokratická Koalicia, SDK)

Public Against Violence Union (Verejnost' proti násiliu, VPN)

Democratic Party (Demokratická Strana, DS)

Democratic Union of Slovakia (Demokratická Únia Slovenska, DUS)

Party of Civic Understanding (Strana Občianskeho Porozumenia,

SOP) Alliance of New Citizens (Aliancia nového obcana, ANO) Slovak National Party (Slovenská národná strana, SNS)

Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko, HZDS)

Freedom and Solidarity (Sloboda a solidarita, SaS)

The Bridge (Most-Híd)

Slovenia

- left United List of Social Democrats (Združena Lista Socialnih Demokratov, ZLSD)

Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (Socialdemokratska Stranka Slovenije, SDS)

Greens of Slovenia (Zeleni Slovenije, ZS)

Slovenian People's Party (Slovenska Ljudska Stranka, SLS)

Coalition of the Slovenian People's Party and the Slovenian Christian Demo-

crats (SLS/SKD)

Democratic Party of Pensioners (DeSUS) Social Democrats (Socialni demokrati, SD) Positive Slovenia (Pozitivna Slovenija, PS)

- centre Slovenian Christian Democratic Party (Slovenski Krščanski Demokrati, SKD)

New Slovenia and People's Christian Party (NSi)

- right Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije, LDS)

Party for Real/New Politics (Zares/nova politika, ZARES)

Citizens' Alliance of Gregor Virant (Državljanska lista Gregorja Viranta, DLGV)

Spain

- left Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE)

- centre Popular Alliance, Popular Party (Alianza Popular/Partido Popular, AP/PP)

Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD)

- right -----

**Sweden** 

- left Social Democrats (Socialdemokraterna, S)

- centre Agrarian Party, Center Party (Centerpartiet, C)

Christian Democratic Union (Kristen Demokratisk Samling, KDS)

- right Conservatives, Moderate Unity Party (Moderate Samlingspartiet, M)

People's Party (The Liberals) (Folkpartiet, FP)

**Switzerland** 

- left Social Democrats (Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz Parti Socialiste Suiss/,

SPS/PSS)

- centre Christian Democrats (Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei/Parti Démocrate-Chrétien

Suisse/, CVP/PDC)

- right Radical Democrats (Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei/Parti Radical-Démocratique,

FDP/PRD)

Swiss People's Party (Schweizerische Volkspartei/ Union Démocratique du Centre,

SVP/UDC)

Conservative Democratic Party (Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei/Parti bourgeois

démocratique Suisse, BDP/PBD)

**United Kingdom** 

left Labour Party (LAB)

- centre -----

- right Conservative Party (CON)

Liberal Democrats (LIB)

**USA** 

- left -----

- centre Democratic Party

right Republican Party

# Appendix 3 Notes concerning votes and seats of political parties in national parliaments (lower houses in bicameral systems)

As a general rule we inlouded data on votes and seats for a party if it reaches at least 2% of votes in an election. If a party did not reach that threshold, data for this party is not included for that election (neither on votes nor on seats) and it receives a zero.

For example, the only Liberal Party in country X has 1991: 1.7% (votes), 2.0% (seats); 1994: 2.0% (votes), 1.7% (seats); 1998: 5.0% (votes), 4.5% (seats); 2000: 0.9% (votes), 0.8% (seats). The data entered for the Liberal Party are therefore:

votes:		seats:	
	liberal1		slibera1
	1991: 0		1991: 0
	1994: 2.0		1994: 1.7
	1998: 5.0		1998: 4.5
	2000: 0		2000: 0

Our classification of party families started from the work by Lane, McKay and Newton (Lane et al. 1997), which distinguishes between 11 party families. We added a party family 'right-populist parties and ultra right parties ("right")' which includes all the ultra-right parties according to Lane, McKay, Newton and right-populist parties according to the definition of populist radical right parties by Cas Mudde (2007: 22-3). Three features distinguish these parties from other parties: Nativism, authoritarianism and populism. Examples are given in Mudde (2007: 44) and Mudde (2013: 3). For Central and Eastern European countries, Janusz Bugajski (2002) was the main source for labelling, combined with additional national sources. As often acknowledged in the literature, parties in these areas frequently do not have a clear ideological stance, therefore their placement in distinct categories is not a straightforward process. For the sake of clarity, we made a tentative assignment of parties.

The national parties in a given family of parties were given consecutive numbers. If, for example, there are three political parties in the socialist spectrum of the party system, they were given the names social1, social2, and social3. The share of votes and seats were entered under these variable names for each party. This structure of the data set allows for various re-classification and aggregations.

If there is no party for a given variable, '0' is entered. For example, since the UK has no agrarian party, the variable 'agarian' has the value '0' in the case of the UK. The share of votes are entered under the party variable name. The share of seats are entered under the party variable name, preceded by an 's' (for 'seats'). For example, in the case of Australia under 'social1' votes for the Australian Labour Party are entered; the variable 'ssocial1' denotes share of seats of the Australian Labour party.

In cases where data on votes are not available for parties separately due to electoral alliances we apply the following coding rules.

- If one party of the electoral alliance received more than 75% of the seats won by the electoral alliance, the total vote and seat share won by this alliance is entered under the variable name of this major party.
- If no party of the electoral alliance received more than 75% of the seats won by the electoral alliance, the total vote and seat share won by the alliance is entered under a new variable. If the alliance is not ideologically consistent we entered the corresponding values under the party family "allia".

The variable 'protest' refers to protest parties. We were restrictive in using this variable, since parties emerging as protest parties often change to a programmatic category, e.g. the German Green party. Thus we may apply retrospective changes if parties fit better into other categories. More recently, the 'protest' category may also comprise parties with EU-sceptic orientation, but without the nativism associated with the category 'right'.

The variable 'others' refers to the percentage of total votes for all minor parties which received less than 2% of total votes each or for independent candidates. The variable 'sothers' refers to the percentage of total seats in parliament for all minor parties which received less than 2% of total votes or for independent candidates. Therefore, the variables on both votes and seats add up to 100%.

Due to a more complex party structure in post-communist countries, some other categories were added to the classification of Lane/McKay/Newton (1997), which only accounts for post-communist countries (see note on table below).

"Non-label" (nonlbl) is a residual category for those parties which could not be placed in any of the categories above. The "personalist" (person) label is used to designate parties created to support one candidate and which cannot be assigned an ideological label. "Pensioners" (pension) is a category comprised of parties of pensioners and persons with special needs. The "conservative" (conserv) label is used for party programs which emphasize both nationalist and religious values. The maximum number of variables is a result of the maximum number of parties within the family which reached at least 2% of the votes in an election in at least one country.

There is one major problem with these classifications: The classification is time-invariant. Some parties, however, changed their programs, goals and clienteles considerably over time. We do not adapt the classification to such changes systematically. However, in those cases where we are aware of major changes, we re-classified the party for the period after the change. Examples are the Swiss Peoples Party (SVP) or the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ). Both parties had been re-classified due to their change from an agrarian (SVP) or liberal (FPÖ) to a right populist party. Based on the literature we identified the years 1995 for the SVP and the year 1986 for the FPÖ as the time point when they switched from agrarian and liberal, respectively, to right-populist.

We recommend that users of the data set carefully consider whether our classifications fit their conceptual perspective and re-classify according to their needs.

Party family	Variable r	name						
Social democration		social2	social3	social4	social5	social6	social7	social8
Left-socialist	leftsoc1	leftsoc2	leftsoc3	leftsoc4	leftsoc5			
Communist	comm1	comm2	comm3	comm4				
Post-communist*	postcom1							
Agrarian	agrarian1	agrarian2	agrarian3					
Conservative	conserv1	conserv2	conserv3	conserv4	conserv5	conserv6		
Religious	relig1	relig2	relig3	relig4	relig5	relig6	relig7	
Liberal	liberal1	liberal2	liberal3	liberal4	liberal5	liberal6	liberal7	liberal8
Protest	protest1	protest2	protest3	protest4	protest5			
Green	green1	green2	green3					
Ethnic	ethnic1	ethnic2	ethnic3	ethnic4				
Right populist	right1	right2	right3	right4	right5			
Regionalist*	regio1							
Feminist*	femin1							
Monarchist*	monarch1							
Personalist*	person1							
Pensioners*	pension1	pension2						

Non-label\* nonlbl1 nonlbl2

Electoral alliance allia1 allia2 allia3

Others other

#### Appendix 4 Assignments of political parties in parliaments to party families

If there are numbers assigned to parties in the following list, they represent the identification numbers found in Mackie and Rose (1991).

#### Australia

- social1 1) Labour Party (ALP)

- social2
- agrarian1
- conserv1
21) Democratic Labour Party
7) Country Party, National Party
18) Australian Liberal Party

conserv2conserv3Family First

- liberal 1 27) Australian Democrats

- liberal2 23) Australia Party

- liberal3 --- Palmer United Party (PUP)

- green1 --- Australian Greens

#### Austria

- social1 1) Socialist Party (SPÖ)
- comm1 5) Communist Party (KPÖ)

- relig1 2) People's Party (ÖVP)

- liberal1 11) Freedom Party (FPÖ) (since 1986: right1)

- liberal 2 17) Liberal Forum (LIF)

- liberal3 --- The New Austria and Liberal Forum (NEOS)

- liberal4--- Team Frank Stronach (TS)- protest112) Democratic Progressive Party

- protest2 --- List Dr Martin – For Democracy, Control and Justice (Martin)

- green1 15) Green Alternative

right1
right2
11) Fredom Party (FPÖ) (until 1985: liberal1)
right2
--- Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ)

#### Belgium

- social 3) Socialist Party (since 1977 split into 30 and 31)

- social2 30) Social Progressive Alternative (SP.a) (until 2001: Flemish Socialist Party (SP), in 2003 and 2007: electoral coalition with SPIRIT )

- social3 31) Francophone Socialist Party (PS)

- comm1 10) Communist Party (KPB/PCB)

- relig1 1) Catholic Party (since 1965 split into 19 and 20)

- relig2 19) Christian Democrat & Flemish (CD & V) (until 2001: Flemish Christian People's Party (CVP); in 2007: alliance with N-VA)

- relig3 20) Democrat Humanist Centre (CDH) (until 2002: Francophone Christian Social Party (PSC))

- liberal 2) Liberal Party (since 1971 split into 21 and 22)

- liberal2
 21) Open Flemish Liberals & Democrats (Open VLD) (until 2007: Flemish Liberals & Democrats (VLD); former: Flemish Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV))

<sup>\*</sup> These labels are used exclusively to classify post-communist countries.

- liberal3	22) Reform Movement (MR) (former Francophone Liberal Reform Party (PRL);
	in 1995: Alliance with FDF; in 1999: Fédération PRL-FDF-MCC) (Fran-
l'In a wa I <b>4</b>	cophone)
<ul><li>liberal4</li><li>liberal5</li></ul>	Vivant (joined the VLD in 2007)
- liberal6	5) Liberal/Socialist cartels De Decker's List (LDD)
- protest1	32) ROSSEM/ROSSUM
- green1	26) ECOLO (Francophone)
- green2	27) Green! (Flemish) (former: AGALEV)
- ethnic1	8) New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) (former Flemish/People's Union (VU))
- ethnic2	14) Francophone Democratic Front (FDF)
- ethnic3	18) Walloon Rally
- right1	28) Democratic Union for the Respect of Labour (UDRT/RAD)
- right2	33) National Front (FN-NF) (Francophone)
- right3	29) Flemish Block (since 2007: Flemish Interest)
Bulgaria	
- social1	Democratic Alternative for the Republic (Demokratichna Alternativa za Republika,
	DAR)
- social2	Coalition for the Democratic Left [comprised of Bulgarian Socialist Party (Bal-
	garska Socialisticheska Partiya); Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union - Alex-
	ander Stanboliski (Balgarski Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz - Aleksander Stan-
000:010	bolijnski) and PC "Ecoglasnost"]
- social3 - leftsoc1	Coalition Euroleft (Bulgarska Evrolevitsa) Coalition for Bulgaria (Koalicija za Bulgarija) [comprised of Bulgarian Socialist
- 16113001	Party, "Social Democrats" Political Movement, United Labour Block,
	Bulgarian Agrarian Union "Al. Stamboliyski - 1899", Union for the Father-
	land, Social-Liberal Progress Alliance, "Forward Bulgaria" Movement,
	Communist Party of Bulgaria, "Trakiya" Political Club, "Roma" Civil Alli-
	ance]
- postcom1	Bulgarian Socialist Party (Bulgarska Socialističeska Partija BSP)
- agrarian1	Bulgarian National People's Union - official (Balgarski Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz BZNS)
- agrarian2	Bulgarian National People's Union - United (Balgarski Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz
agrarianz	- 0, BZNS-0)
- agrarian3	Bulgarian National People's Union - Nikola Petkov (Balgarski Zemedelski
_	Naroden Sajuz - Nikola Petko, BZNS-NP)
- conserv1	Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (Grazhdani za Evropeisko Razvi-
concoru?	tie na Bulgaria, GERB) Order Law and Justine (Red Zekennest I Sprayedlivest RZS)
<ul><li>conserv2</li><li>conserv3</li></ul>	Order, Law and Justice (Red, Zakonnost I Spravedlivost, RZS) Democrats for Strong Bulgaria and Bulgarian Democratic Forum (Demokrati za
001130173	Silna Bulgaria i Bulgarski Demokratichen Forum, DSB-BDF)
- relig1	Union of Democratic Forces (Sil Demokratic Sajuz SDS)
- relig2	People's Union (Naroden Sajuz NS) [comprised of Bulgarian Agrarian National
	Union and Democratic Party]
- liberal1	Union of Democratic Forces - Centre (Sil Demokratic Sajuz – tsentrum, SDS-ts)
- liberal2	Union of Democratic Forces - Liberal (Sil Demokratic Sajuz Liberali, SDS-I)
<ul><li>liberal3</li><li>liberal4</li></ul>	Bulgarian Business Bloc (Bulgarski Biznes Blok, BBB)
- liberal4 - liberal5	Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria (Demokrati za Silna Bulgarija, DSB) Lider
- liberal6	Movement 'Bulgaria of the Citizens' (Dvizhenie 'Bulgaria na grazhdanite', DBG)
- ethnic1	Movement for Rights and Freedoms (Dvizhenie za Prava I Svobodi, DPS)
- ethnic2	Coalition Movement for Rights and Freedoms (Dviženie za Pravata i Svobodie)
	[comprised of Movement for Rights and Freedoms, (Dviženie za Pravata i
	Svobodie); Liberal Union (Liberalen Sajuz) and Euroroma (Evroroma)]

- right1	George Day-International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO-Gergiovden)
- right2	Party Ataka (Nacionalno Obedinenie Ataka) [comprised of National Movement for the Salvation of the Fatherland (Nacionalno Dviženie za Spasenie na Otecestvoto), Bulgarian National Patriotic Party (Balgarska Nacionalna- Patrioticna Partija), Union of Patriotic Forces and Militaries of the Reserve Defense (Sajuz na Patrioticnite Sili i Voinite ot Zapaca Zacšita)]
- right3	National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria (Natzionalen Front za Spasenieto na Bulgaria, NDSB)
- monarch1 - person1	Coalition Simeon II (Koalicija Simeon II) National Movement for Stability and Progress (Nacionalno dviženie za stabilnost i văzhod, NDSV) [Until 2007: National Movement Simeon II (Nacionalno Dvisenie Simeon Tvori, NDSV))]
- allia1	Bulgarian People's Union (Balgarskij Naroden Sajuz) [comprised of Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union-People's Union (Balgarski Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz- Naroden Sajuz), Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Bulgarian National Movement (Vatreshna Makedonska Revolyucionna Organizaciya- Balgarsko Nacionalno Dvizhenie), and Union of Free Democrats (Sajuz na svobodnite demokrati)]
- allia2	Blue Coalition (Sinyata Koalitzia, SK) [coalition of several centre-right parties, most notably the Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria (liberal4) and Union of Democratic Forces (relig1)]
Canada - social1 - conserv1 - liberal1 - liberal2 - liberal3 - protest1 - green1 - ethnic1	8) CCF, New Democratic Party 1) (Progressive) Conservative Party 2) Liberal Party 10) Social Credit 12) Ralliement des Créditistes (belongs to 10 before 1965 and after 1968) 17) Reform Party/Canadian Alliance (joined Conservative Party in 2004) Greens 18) Bloc Québécois
Croatia - social1	Social Democratic Party of Croatia (Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatska, SDP) (2003 in alliance with Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS), Party of Liberal Democrats (LIBRA) and Liberal Party (LS))
- leftsoc1 - agrarian1	Croatian Labourists – Labour Party (Hrvatski Laburisti - Stranka Rada, HL_SR) Croatian Peasant Party (Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka, HSS) (2007 in alliance with Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLS), Alliance of Primorje- Gorski Kotar (PGS), Democratic Party of Zagorje (ZDS) and Zagorje Party (ZS))
- relig1	Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica, HDZ) (2007 in alliance with Croatian Civic Party (HGS) and Democratic Centar (DC))
- liberal1	Croatian People's Party – Liberal Democrats (Hrvatska Narodna Stranka - Liberalni Demokrati , HNS) until 2005 Croatian People's Party (2005 merger with the Party of Liberal Democrats (LIBRA)) (2003 in alliance with Alliance of Primorje-Gorski Kotar (PGS) and Slavonia-Baranja Croatia Party (SBHS))
- liberal2	Alliance between Croatian Social Liberal Party ( <i>Hrvatska Socijalno Liberal-na Stranka, HSLS</i> ) and Democratic Center ( <i>Demokratski Centar, DC</i> )
- right1	Croatian Party of Rights (Hrvatska Stranka Prava, HSP) (2000 in alliance with Croatian Christian Democratic Union (HKDU), 2003 in alliance with Zagorje Democratic Party (ZDS) and Medimurje Party (MS))
- right2	Croatian Party of Rights dr. Ante Starčević (Hrvatska Stranka Prava dr.  Ante Starčević, HSP_Starcevic)
- regio1	Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja (Hrvatski Demo-

	kratski savez Slavonije i Baranje, HDSSB)
<ul><li>pension1</li></ul>	Croatian Party of Pensioners (Hrvatska Stranka Umirovljenika, HSU)
<ul><li>pension2</li></ul>	Bloc Pensioners Together (Blok Umirovljenici Zajedno, BUZ)
- allia1	Social Democratic Party of Croatia (Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatska, SDP),
	Croatian Social Liberal Party (Hrvatska Socijalno Liberalna Stranka,
	HSLS), Alliance of Primorje-Gorski Kotar (Primorsko Goranski Savez,
	PGS) and Slavonia-Baranja Croatian Party (Slavonsko-Baranjska Hrvat-
	ska Stranka, SBHS)
- allia2	Croatian Peasant Party (Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka, HSS), Liberal Party (Liberal-
	na Stranka, LS) Croatian People's Party (Hrvatska Narodna Stranka, HNS)
	and Istrian Democratic Assembly (Istarski Demokratski Sabor, IDS)
Cyprus	
- social1	Social Democrats Movement (Kinima Socialdemokraton, KISOS), former United
	Democratic Union of Cyprus, The Socialist Party (EDEK)
- social2	Renewal Democratic Socialist Movement (Ananeotiko Demokratiko Sosialistiko
	Kinima, ADISOK)
- comm1	Progressive Party of the Working People, The Communist Party (Anorthotiko
	Komma tou Ergazomenou Laou, AKEL)
- green1	Cyprus Green Party (Ecological and Environmental Movement, Kinima Oikologoi
4	Perivallontistoi)
- conserv1	The Democratic Rally (Demokratikos Synagermos, DISY)
- liberal1	The Democratic Party (Demokratiko Komma, DIKO)
- liberal2	Free/United Democrats (Enomenoi Democrates, EDI)
- liberal3	New Horizons (Neoi Orizontes, NEO)
- liberal4	European Party (Evropaiko Komma, EVROKO)
- protest1	Fighting Democratic Movement (Agonistiko Demokratiko Kinima, ADIK)
Czech Repu	hlic
- social1	Czechoslovak Party of Social Democracy (Ceská strana sociálne demokratická
	CSSD)
- social2	Party of Citizen Rights/Zemans' (Strana práv Občanů/Zemanovci SPOZ)
- leftsoc1	Czechoslovak Socialist Party
- comm1	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunistická strana Ceskoslovenska, SCK)
- comm2	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (Komunistická strana Cech a Moravy,
•••••	KSCM)
- agrarian1	Alliance of the Farmers and the Countryside (Spojenectví Zemědelcu a Venkova,
	ZSV)
- conserv1	Civic Democratic Party (Obcanska Demokraticka Strana ODS)
- conserv2	SNK European Democrats (SNK Evropští demokraté)
- conserv3	TOP 09 (TOP 09)
- conserv4	Public Affairs (Věci veřejné, VV)
- conserv5	Club of Committed Non-Party Members (Klub Angažovaných Nestraníků, KAN)
- relig1	Christian Democratic Union (Kresĭanskaá a Demokratická Unie, KDU)
- liberal1	Civic Forum (Obcanské fórum, OF)
- liberal2	Civic Democratic Alliance (Obcanská demokratická aliance, ODA)
- liberal3	Civil Movement (Obcanské hnuti, OH)
- liberal4	Party of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs, Tradesmen and Farmers (Strana Podni-
IIDOIGIT	katelů a Obchodníkú, SPO)
- liberal5	Democratic Union (Demokratická Unie, DU)
- liberal6	Free Democrats - National Social Liberal Party (Svobodni Demokraté - Liberálni
11501410	Strana Národne Sociální, SD - LSNS)
- liberal7	Freedom Union (Unie Svobody, US)
- liberal8	Czech Pirate Party (Česká pirátská strana, Piráti)
- protest1	Action of Dissatisfied Citizens (Akce nespokojených občanů 2011, ANO)
p. 0.000	

Green Party (Strana Zelených, SZ)

- green1

- right1	Rally for the Republic - Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (Sdruzení Pro Republiku – Republikánská Strana Československa, SPR-RSC)
	, ,
- right2	Sovereignty/Jana Bobošíková Bloc (Suverenita/blok Jany Bobošíková, SUV)
- right3	Dawn of Direct Democracy of Tomio Okamura (Úsvit Přímé Demokracie Tomia Okamury, Usvit)
- right4	Party of Free Citizens (Strana svobodných občanů, SSO)
- regio1	Movement for Self-Governing Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silezia (Hnutí za samosprávnou demokracii-Spolecnost pro Moravu a Slezsko, HSD-SMS)
- pension1	Pensioners for Secure Living (Duchodci za Životní Jistoty, DZJ)
- nonlbl1	Association of Independents (Sdruzeni nezavislych, SN)
- allia1	Liberal Social Union (Liberálne Sociální Unie, LSU)
- allia2	Christian Democratic Union/Czech People's Party and Freedom Union- Democratic Union (Krestanka a Demokraticka Unie/Ceskoslovenska Strana Lidova. KDU/CSL – Unie Svobody/Demokraticka Unie, US/DEU) [christian
	democrats and liberals]

#### **Denmark**

- social1	4) Social Democrats (SD)
- leftsoc1	16) Socialist People's Party
- leftsoc2	18) Left Socialist Party
- comm1	9) Communist Party (DKP)
- comm2	24) Enhedslisten (EL) The Unity List
- conserv1	1) Conservative People's Party (KF)
- conserv2	15) Independents' Party
- relig1	19) Christian People's Party (KRF)
- liberal1	5) Radical Party (Social Liberal Party) (RV)
- liberal2	6) Liberals (Venstre)
- liberal3	10) Justice Party (DRF)

liberal3
liberal4
liberal5
liberal6
protest1
protest2

10) Justice Party (DRF)
20) Centre Democrats
17) Liberal Centre
New Alliance (Y)
21) Progress Party (FP)
22) Common Course

- right1 --- Danish People's Party (DF, splinter from the Progress Party, see EJPR vol. 36: 377)

#### **Estonia**

LStoma	
- social1	Secure Home (Kindel Kodu) [comprised of Estonian Coalition Party; Land Un-
	ion; Democratic Union for Justice and other leftist groupings]
- social2	Social Democratic Party (SDE) [Formerly: Moderates (Mõõdukad) [merger of
	People's Party (Estonian Social Democratic Party + Rural Centre Party) with
	Moderates; from 1999 known as the People's Party Moderates (Rahvaerakond
	Mõõdukad)
- comm1	Justice Comprised of Party for Logal Justice and Estenian Democratic Labour

- comm1 Justice [comprised of Party for Legal Justice and Estonian Democratic Labour Party]

- agrarian1 Farmers' Union (Põllumeeste Kogu, PK)

- agrarian2 Estonian Coalition Party (Eesti Koonderakond, EK) and Rural Union (Eesti Maaliit, EM) [comprised of Estonian Coalition Party (KE or KMU-K), Estonian Rural Union (EM or KMU-M), Estonian Country People's Party (EME), Estonian Pensioners' and Families' League (EPPL) and Farmers' Assembly (PK)]

- agrarian3 Estonian Rural People's Party (Eesti Maarahva Erakond, EME)

conserv1 Homeland (Isamaa) until 1999; in 1999 merged with Pro Patria and (Isamaaliit)
 conserv2 Republican and Conservative People's Party - Right-Wingers (Vavariiklaste ja Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond – Parempoolsed, VKR)

- conserv3 Union for the Republic Res Publica (Ühendus Vabariigi Eest - Res Publica, ResP)

	,
- conserv4	Estonian People's Union (Rahsaliit, RL)
- conserv5	Pro Patria and Res Publica Union (Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit, IRL) [merger of Res Publica and Pro Patria Union]
- conserv6	Homeland - Pro Patria Union + Estonian National Indepence Party until 2007; merged in 2007 with the Union for the Republic Res Publica and formed Pro Patria and Res Publica Union
- relig1	Estonian Christian People's Party (Eesti Kristlik Rahvapartei, EKRP)
- liberal1	Estonian Entrepreneurs' Party (Eesti Ettevõtjate Erakond, EEE)
- liberal2	Estonian Reform Party (Eesti Reformierakond, ER)
- liberal3	Estonian Centre Party (Eesti Keskerakond, EK)
- liberal4	Estonian Coalition Party (Eesti Koonderakond, EK)
- protest1	Independent Royalists (Sõltumatud Kuningriiklased, SK)
- green1 - ethnic1	Estonian Greens (Eesti Rohelised, ER) Our Home is Estonia (Meie Kodu on Estimaa, MKE) [comprised of United Peo-
- ethnic2	ple's Party; Russian Party; Estonian Russian People's Party] Estonian United People's Party (Eesti Uhendatud Rahvapartei / Obedinennaya
a 4 la va ! = 0	Narodnaya Partya Estonii)
<ul><li>ethnic3</li><li>right1</li></ul>	Russian Party in Estonia (Vene Erakond Eestis, VEE) Estonian Citizens (Eesti Kodanik)
- right2	Estonian National Independence Party (Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatuse Partei, ERSP)
- right3	Estonian Future Party <i>(Tulevikupartei, TP)</i>
- right4	Better Estonia + Estonian Citizens (Parem Eesti ja Eesti Kodanik, PE & EK)
- pension1	Estonian Pensioners' Union
- allia1	Popular Front of Estonia (Rahvarinne)
Finland - social1 - leftsoc1	Social Democrats (SDP)     Social Democratic League (belongs to 1 before 1958 and after 1972)
- comm1 - comm2	13) Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL) 22) Democratic Alternative (DEVA)
- comm3 - agrarian	23) Left-Wing Alliance (VAS) 4) Centre Party (KESK),[1983: Electoral Alliance with the Liberal Party (9)]
<ul><li>conserv1</li><li>relig1</li><li>liberal1</li></ul>	8) National Coalition (KOK) 16) Christian Democrats (KD) (until 1999: Christian League (SKL)) 9) Liberal People's Party (LKP)
- liberal1 - liberal2	Progressive Finnish Party (NUORS)
- protest1	17) Finnish Rural Party (SMP)) (since 1995: True Finns (right1))
- green1	20) Green League (VIHR)
- ethnic1	2) Swedish People's Party (SFP/RKP)
- right1	17) True Finns (PS) (until 1994: Finnish Rural Party (SMP; protest1))
France	
- social1	1) Socialist Party (PS)
- social2	Other Left
- social3	1967/1968: Electoral Alliance of Socialist Party (1) and Radical Socialist Party (2)
- leftsoc1	19) Unified Socialist Party
- leftsoc2	Extreme/Far Left (Extrême gauche)
- comm1	9) Communist Party (since 2009: most important part of the coalition Left Front)
- conserv1	12) Conservatives/Moderates
- conserv2	14) Gaullists, Rally for the Rebublic (RPR) (in 2002: Union for a Presidential Majority (UMP); in 2007: Union for a Popular Movement (UMP))

20) Republican Party (PR)

- conserv3

30) Union for French Democracy (UDF) - conserv4 23) Centre Democracy and Progress (CDP, only in 1973; from 1973 on be-- conserv5 longs to 21) 13) Popular Republican Movement (MRP) - relig1 - relig2 21) Democratic Centre (belongs to 30 since 1978) - relig3 26) Reformers' Movement (only in 1973 as a coalition of 2, 21 and some smaller parties) - relia4 New Centre (NC) - liberal1 2) Radical Socialist Party (RSP) 25) Radical Left (PRG) formelly called Left Radicals (MRG) (see Hix 1997: 37) - liberal2 28) Greens (V, since 2010: Europe Ecologie – Les Verts) - green1 - green2 31) Generation Ecology - green3 --- Other Ecologists (Autres Ecologistes) - right1 29) National Front Germany - social1 2) Social Democrats (SPD) --- Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) (since 2005: Left Party) - comm1 47) All-German Party (Gesamtdeutsche Partei) - conserv1 - conserv2 41) German Party (DP) 36) Christian Democratic Union (CDU) - relig1 - relig2 37) Christian Social Union (CSU) - liberal1 38) Free Democrats (FDP) - liberal2 --- Pirate Party - green1 51) Greens/Alliance 90 - ethnic1 45) Refugee Party (GB/BHE) 49) National Democratic Party (NDP) - right1 - right2 57) Republicans --- Alternative for Germany (AFD) - right3 Greece 37) Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) - social1 - social2 --- Democratic Social Movement --- Democratic Left (DIMAR) - leftsoc1 4) Communist Party (KKE) - comm1 United Left [formed of the 25] United Democratic Left (EDA), the Communist - comm2 party (KKE) and the Communist Party of the Interior (KKEes)] - comm3 47) Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA; former Coalition of Left and Pro-35) Communist Party of the Interior (KKEes) - comm4 29) National Radical Union (ERE) - conserv1 31) Progressives (KP) - conserv2 36) New Democracy (ND) - conserv3 50) Political Spring (POLAN) - conserv4 30) Popular Social Party (LKK) - conserv5 32) Centre Union, Union of the Democratic Centre (EDIK) - liberal1 1) Liberal Party (KF) - liberal2 24) Farmers' and Workers' Rally (SAE) - liberal3 - green1 --- Ecologists Greens (OP) 38) National Alignment, National Front (EM) - right1 - right2 --- Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS) - right3 --- Independent Hellenes (ANEL)

--- Golden Dawn (XA)

- right4

### Hungary

- social1 Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt, MSzP)

- social2 Hungarian Social Democratic Party (Magyar Szocialdemokrata Párt, MSDP)

- comm1 Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party/Workers' Party (Magyar Szocialista

Munkáspárt / Munkáspár, MSZMP/MP)

- agrarian1 Independent Smallholders Party (Független Kisgazdapárt, FKGP)

- agrarian Alliance (Agrarszovetseg, ASZ)

- conserv1 Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Fórum, MDF)

- conserv2 Republican Party (Koztarsasag Part, KP)

- conserv3 Alliance for Hungary Centre Party (Osszefogas Magyarorszagert Centrum, OMC)

- conserv4 Alliance of Young Democrats - Hungarian Civic Party (Fiatal Demokraták

Szövetsége - Magyar Polgári Párt, FIDESZ - MPP). In 2002, FIDESZ was in an electoral coalition with the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and in 2006 and 2010 with the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP).

- relig1 Christian Democratic People's Party (Keresztény Demokrata Néppárt, KDNP)

- liberal1 Alliance of Free Democrats (Szabad Demokratak Szövetsege, SzDSz)

- green1 Politics Can be Different (Lehet Más a Politika, LMP)

- right1 Hungarian Justice and Life Party (Magyar Igazsag es Élet Partya, MIÉP)

- right2 For the Right Hungary (Jobbik)

#### **Iceland**

- social 7) Social Democrats (SDP)

- social2 22) Social Democratic Federation

- social3 --- People's Movement (PM)

- leftsoc1 36) Social Democratic Alliance (SDA), (1999: United Left)

- leftsoc2 17) National Preservation Party

- comm1 37) Left-Greens (LG), until 1999: People's Alliance (PA))

- agrarian1 8) Progressive Party (PP)- conserv1 13) Independence Party II (IP)

- liberal 20) Union of Liberals and Leftists (ULL)

- liberal2 --- Bright Future (BF)

- liberal3 --- Pirates (P)

protest1 24) Cititzens' Party IIprotest2 38) Liberal Party (LP)

- protest3 --- The Civic Movement (founded in 2009; the party only existed for a few months. Due to internal conflict a new party was formed: The Movement)

- protest4 --- Dawn

- protest5 --- Democracy Watch

- green1 23) Women's Alliance (WA)

- green2- right1--- Iceland Movement--- Households' Party

#### Note:

**1999**: The People's Alliance (14), the Social Democrats (7) and the Women's Alliance (23) formed the United Left and were assigned to the category leftsoc1. A breakaway group from the People's Alliance (14) remains in the category comm1 as the Left-Green Party (EJPR 2000, vol. 38).

#### Ireland

social1leftsoc1Workers' Party

- leftsoc2 --- Democratic Left (joined Labour Party in 2002)

- leftsoc3 --- United Left Alliance (formed of the Socialist Party, People Before Profit Alliance and Workers and Unemployed Action Group)

- relig1 14) Fine Gael

10) Fianna Fail

- liberal1

- liberal2	15) Party of the Land (Clann na Talmhan)
- green1	24) Green Party
- ethnic1	6) Sinn Féin II, Sinn Féin III from 1982 onwards
- ethnic2	25) Progressive Democrats (dissolved in 2009)
- ethnic3	20) National H-Block Committee
Italy	0) 0 1 11 1 5 1 (700) (1 000) 11 700)
- social1	3) Socialist Party (PSI) (in 2001: New PSI)
- social2	31) United Socialist Party (PSU/only in 1968, as a coalition of 3 and 23)
- social3	23) Social Democratic Party (PSDI), [2001: Alliance with the Greens under the
	name "the Sunflower", 2006: Alliance with the Radical Party (PR) under
:-14	the name Rose in the Fist]
- social4	Democratic Party (PD) (formed of the Olive Tree and the Radical Party
	(PR), in 2006: The Olive Tree (the list comprises the Democrats of the
lofta a a 1	Left (DS) and the Margherita-Daisy (DI)) )
- leftsoc1	30) Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP; belongs to 11 after 1972)
- leftsoc2	Democrats of the Left (DS) (reformist wing of the disbanded PCI (1991))
<ul><li>leftsoc3</li><li>leftsoc4</li></ul>	The Left/The Rainbow (SA) Left, Ecology, Freedom <i>(Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, SEL)</i>
- leftsoc5	Civic Revolution (Rivoluzione civile, CR)
- comm1	11) Communist Party (PCI)
- comm2	50) Communist Refoundation (RC) (left wing of the dispanded PCI (1991))
- conserv1	61) Forza Italia
- conserv2	20) Monarchist Party
- conserv3	27) Popular Monarchist Party
- conserv4	The People of Freedom (PDL), (comprised of Forza Italia and National Alli-
P. 4	ance)
- relig1	17) Christian Democratic Party (DC), (since 1994: Italian Popular Party (PPI))
- relig2	Segni Pact (Patto Segni)
- relig3	Christian Democratic Centre (CCD)/United Christian Democrats (CDU)
	(conservative wing of the former DC (since 1994)) (since 2006 under the name Democratic Centre Union)
- relig4	European Democracy (DE)
- liberal1	19) Liberal Party (PLI)
- liberal2	4) Republican Party (PRI)
- liberal3	34) Radical Party (PR)
- liberal4	Dini List – Italian Renewal (RI)
- liberal5	Di Pietro List
- liberal6	Civic Choice-Monti for Italy (Scelta civica-Monti per l'Italia, SC)
- protest1	Pannella List Reformers
- protest2	Five Stars Movement (Movimento 5 Stelle, M5S)
- green1	45) Greens (formerly Green Federation)
- right1	24) National Alliance (AN) (formerly Social Movement (MSI-DN))
- right2	42) Northern League (formerly Lombard League)
- allia1	2001: La Margherita (PPI, the Democrats, Italian Renewal, UDEUR)

#### Notes:

**1994**: Introduction of a new electoral system. 474 MPs of 630 are elected on the basis of a "single-ballot first-past-the post system"; the remaining 156 seats are distributed on the basis of a "proportional formula" (EJPR 1995: 398). Data on votes refer to the (proportional) list votes, data on seats refer to the total of seats gained by the party (proportional plus plurality system). However, by the end of 2005, a party-list proportional representation system was re-introduced.

#### Japan

- social 35) Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party) (SDP)
- social2 44) Democratic Socialist Party (DSP)
   social3 --- Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)
- comm1conserv131) Japanese Communist Party (JCP)43) Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
- conserv2 48) Japan Renewal Party (Shinsei To) (JRP)
- conserv3 49) Japan New Party (JNP)
- --- New Frontier Party (NFP) (Merger of JRP, JNP, DSP, and Komei in 1994. In 1997, NFP broke up into Democratic Political Pary, Komeito and Liberal Party.) Liberal Party (LP) (successor of NFP after its break-up in 1997; joined DP in 2003)
- conserv5 --- (New) Sakigake Party (Splinter from LDP, 1993)
- relig1 45) Komei Party, Komeito (Clean Government Party) (CGP)
   liberal1 46) New Liberal Club (belongs to 43 before 1979 and after 1986)
- liberal2 --- Your Party (YP)
- green1 Tomorrow Party of Japan (TPJ)- right1 Japan Restoration Party (JRP)

#### Note:

**1996**: Introduction of a new electoral system. 300 of 500 MPs (since 2000, 300 of 480) are elected in "single-seat constituencies with non-transferable single ballot and simple plurality", the remaining 200 (180, since 2000) seats are distributed according to "proportional representation" (EJPR 1995: 412). Data on votes are arithmetic means of votes in both systems. For example: LDP received 38.6% of votes in single-seats constituencies and had had a share of 32.8% in the proportional system. The arithmetic mean is: (38.6\*300/500)+(32.8\*200/500)=36.28=36.3.

#### Latvia

- social1 Democratic Centre Party (since 1995, Democratic Party "Master" (DPS Saimnieks)
- social2 Harmony for Latvia Revival for the Economy (Saskana Latvijai Atdzimsana Tautsaimniecîbai)
- social3 National Harmony Party (Tautas Saskanas Partija, TSP)
- social4 Coalition "Labour and Justice" [comprised of Latvian Democratic Labour Party; Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party; Party for the Defence of Latvia's Defrauded People "Justice"]
- social5 Latvian Social-Democratic Alliance (Latvijas Sociāldemokrātu Apvienība, LSDA)
- social6 New Party (Jauna partija, JP)
- social7 Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party (Latvijas Socialdemokratiska Strandnieku Partija, LSDSP)
- social8 Harmony Center (Saskanas Centrs) [formed in 2005 from National Harmony Party, Socialist Party of Latvia and "New Centre"]
- leftsoc1 Latvia's Unity Party (Latvijas Vienības Partija, LVP)
- comm1 Latvian Socialist Party (Latvijas Socialistiska Partija / Socialisticheskaya Partiya Latvii)
- agrarian1 Latvian Farmers' Union (Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība, LZS)
- agrarian2 Green and Farmers Union (Zaïo un Zemnieku savienîba, ZZS) [comprised of Latvian Green Party (Latvijas Zaïâ Partija, LZP) and Latvian Farmers' Union (Latvijas Zemnieku savienîba)]
- conserv1 United list of Latvia's Farmers' Union and Latvian Christian Democratic Union and Latgale Democratic Party
- conserv2 Unity (Vienotība V)
- conserv3 For good Latvia (Par labu Latviju, PLL)
- conserv4 Zatler's Reform Party (Zatlera Reformu partija, ZRP)
   conserv5 Latvian Popular Front (Latvijas Tautas Fronte, LTF)

- conserv6	Peoples' Party (Tautas Partija, TP)
- relig1	Latvian Christian Democratic Union (Latvijas Kristīgo Demokrātu Savienība, LKDS)
- relig2	Latvia's First Party (Latvijas Pirma Partija, LPP)
- liberal1	Latvia's Way (Latvijas Ceļš, LC)
- liberal2	New Era (Jaunais laiks, JL)
- ethnic1	For Equal Rights in a United Latvia [since 1998: For Human Rights in a United Latvia (Par cilvçka tiesîbâm vienotâ Latvijâ, PCTVL)]
- right1	For Homeland (Fatherland) and Freedom TB
- right2	Latvian National Independence Movement (Latvijas Nacionālas Neatkarības Kustība, LNNK)
- right3	People's (National) Movement for Latvia - Siegerist Party (Tautas Kustība Latvi- jai – Zīgerista Partija, TKL-ZP)
- right4	Alliance for Homeland and Freedom / Latvian National Independence Movement (TB/LNNK)
- right5	Everything for Latvia/For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK (Visu Latvi- jai/TB/LNNK) (competed in 2011 under the name National Union
- allia1	[Nacionālā apvienība "Visu Latvijai!" – "Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK], NA) Latvian National Independence Movement + Latvian Green Party
- allia2	Labour Party + Latvian Christian Democratic Union + Latvian Green Party
- allia3	Latvia's First Party and Latvia's Way (Latvijas Pirmā partija/Latvijas Ceļš, LPP/LC)
allao	Lativia 3 1 mot 1 arty and Lativia 3 way (Lativijas 1 mma partija/Lativijas 00js, Li 1720)
Lithuania	
- social1	Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party (Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partija, LSDP)
	[2000 election: Largest part of the Social-Democratic Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas which involved addidionally the Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party, the Union of Lithuanian Russions and the Party of New Democracy, 2004 elections: Largest part of the Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas (Marking for Lithuania) (Alicial Brazauskas (Marking for Lithuania) (Alicial Brazauskas (Marking for Lithuania) (Alicial Brazauskas (Marking for Lithuania)
	zauskas and Artras Paulauskas 'Working for Lithuania' (Algirdo Brazausko
- social2	ir Art ro Paulausko koalicija'U darb Lietuvai')] Labour Party (Koalicija Darbo partija + jaunimas) [2008: Coalition of Labour Party
- Socialz	+ Youth]
- social3	Frontas Party (Fronto partija)
- leftsoc1	Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party (Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partija, LSDP)
- postcom1	Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (Lietuvos Demokratine Darbo Partija, LDDP)
- agrarian1	Lithuanian Peasant's Party (Lietuvos Valstiečių Partija, LVP)
- agrarian2	Lithuanian Peasant's People Union (Lietuvos valstiecių liaudininkų sajunga, LPPU), [former Union for Farmers and New Democratic Party]
- relig1	Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party (Lietuvos Krikščionių Demokratų Partija LKDP), [in 1992: Alliance with the Union of Political Prisoners and Deportees and Lithuanian Democratic Party]
- relig2	Christian Democratic Union
- relig3	Christian Conservative Social Union (Krikščionių konservatorių socialinė sąjunga,
	KKSS) [in 2000: Union of Moderate Conservatives]
- liberal1	Lithuanian Centre Movement
- liberal2	Homeland Union - Lithuanian Conservatives (Tevnes Sajunga – Lietuvos Kon-
	servatoriai, TS-LK)
- liberal3	Lithuanian Centre Union (Lietuvos Centro Sajunga, LCS)
- liberal4	Lithuanian Liberal Union (Lietuvos Liberalų Sajunga, LLS)
- liberal5	New Union - Social Liberals (Naujoji Sajunga – Socialliberalai, NS-SL)
- liberal6	Party Order and Justice ( <i>Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas, O&amp;J</i> ) [competed in 2004 under the name Coalition of Rolandas Paksas "For Order and Justice"]
- liberal7	Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic (Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sajudis, LMLR)
- ethnic1	Electoral Action of the Lithuanian Poles (1992: Union of Lithunian Poles) (Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcija LLRA)

- ethnic2	Alliance of the the Lithuanian National Minorities	
- protest1	Nation's Resurrection Party (Tautos prisikelimo partija, NRP)	
- protest2	Political Party "Way of Courage" (Politine partija "Drasos kelias", DK)	
- right1	Lithuanian National Party 'Young Lithuania' (Lietuviu Nacionaline Partija 'Jaunoji Lietuva', LNP-JL)	
- right2	Lithuanian National Union List [comprised of Lithuanian National Union and Independent Party]	
- right3	Lithuanian National Union and Lithuanian Democratic Party	
- femin1	Lithuanian Women's Party	
- allia1	Sajudis Coalition [comprised of Lithuanian Movement Sajudis and Charter of Lithuanian Citizens and Union of Lithuanian Political Prisoners and Lithuanian Green Party]	
- allia2	Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union and Lithuanian National Youth Union "Young Lithuania"	
Luxembourg		

- social1	2) Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP)
- social2	19) Social Democratic Party (SDP)

21) Independent Socialists - social3

--- The Left - leftsoc1

- comm1 7) Communist Party (KPL)

1) Christian Social Party (PCS/CSV) - relig1 - liberal1 16) Democratic Party (Liberal Party) (DP)

- liberal2 --- Pirate Party (Piratepartei, PP)

18) Independent Movement (split into two factions after 1968, one belonging - protest1 to 1 and the other to 16)

20) Enrôlés de force - protest2

- protest3 24) Alternative Democratic Reform Party (Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei, ADR) (Until 2006: Action Committee for Democracy and Pensions' Right (Pensions Action)

- green1 23) Green Alternative (GAP)

26) Green Left (GLEI) - green2

28) Green Party (GLEI-GAP) (a merger of 23 and 26 in 1994) - green3

- right1 27) Luxembourg for the Luxembourgers

#### Malta

- social1	Malta Labour Party, MLP (Partit Laburista)
- relig1	Nationalist Party, PN (Partit Nazzjonalista)
- relig2	Christian Workers' Party (Partit Haddiema Nsara)
- relig3	Progressive Constitutionalist Party (Partit Kostituzzjonali Progressiv)
- relig4	Democratic Nationalist Party (Partit Democratiku Nazzjonalista)

#### **Netherlands**

Hetirerianas	
- social1	23) Labour Party (PvdA)
- social2	30) Democratic Socialists' 70 (before 1971 belonging to 23)
- leftsoc1	27) Pacifist Socialist Party
- leftsoc2	38) Socialist Party (SP)
- comm1	10) Communist Party (CPN)
- relig1	1) Anti Revolutionary Party (ARP) (in 1998: Reformed Political
3	

I Federation (RPF), a splinter from the ARP)

2) Catholic People's Party (KVP) - relig2 - relig3 6) Christian Historical Union (CHU)

- relig4 32) Radical Political Party

- relig5 34) Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) (merger of ARP, KVP, and CHU in 1977)

- relig6 --- Christian Union (merger of RPF and Reformed Political Union in 2002)

- relig7 14) Political Reformed Party (SGP)

- liberal 24) People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Liberal Party) (VVD)

- liberal2 29) Democrats 66 (D66)

- protest1 28) People's Party of the Right (formerly Farmers' Party)

protest2
 green1
 42) United Old Persons' League, General Association of Elderly People (AOV)
 38) Green Left (merger of 10, 27, 32 and Evangelical People's Party in 1989)

- right1 --- Centre Democrats (CD) - right2 --- List Pim Fortuyn (LPF)

- right3 --- Freedom Party/Group Wilders (PVV)

#### **New Zealand**

- social1 3) Labour Party

- social2 18) New Labour Party

- social3 20) Alliance (Merger of 11, 17, 18, and two minor parties in 1993)

- comm1 12) Socialist Unity Party (between 1972 and 1984 party was a formation of the Communist Party)

- conserv1 9) National Party

- conserv2 --- United Future New Zealand

conserv3
relig1
relig2
New Zealand First
15) New Zealand Party
relig2
16) Christian Heritage

- relig3 Christian Coalition [electoral alliance of Christian Heritage Party (16) and the Christian Democrats]

- liberal1 11) Social Credit Party, Democratic Party

- liberal2 --- Association of Consumers and Taxpayers (ACT)

- green1 13) Values Party

- green2 17) Green Party (Aotearoa) (was part of Alliance (20) from 1991 until 1998)

- ethnic1 --- Maori Party

#### Note:

**1996**: Introduction of the Mixed Proportional System (MMP). Voters have two votes: one for the preferred party and one for the preferred candidate (EJPR 1997: 452). Data on votes refer to the percentages of 'party votes'.

#### **Norway**

- social1 4) Labour Party (DNA) - leftsoc1 14) Socialist Left Party (SV)

comm1agrarian1Ocentre Party (SP)

conserv1 2) Conservatives (Hoyre) (H)
 relig1 10) Christian People's Party (KRF)

- liberal1 1) Liberals (Venstre) (V)

- liberal 2 16) Liberal People's Party, New People's Party

- protest1 15) Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet, FRP) (formerly Anders Lange's Party) [right1 since 2013]

- green1 --- The Greens (Miljøpartiet de Grønne, MDG)

- right1 15) Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet, FRP) (formerly Anders Lange's Party) [protest1 until 2013]

#### **Poland**

- social1 Solidarity (Solidarnosc)

- social2 Labour Solidarity (Solidarnosc Pracy)

- social3	Alliance of the Democratic Left (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, SLD) [comprised
	of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland; All-Polish Accord of
	Trade Unions; Polish Socialist Party]
- social4	Labour Union (Unia Pracy, UP)
- social5	Polish Social Democracy (Socjaldemokracja Polska, SdPI)
- social6	Left and Democrats (Koalicyjny Komitet Wyborczy Lewica i Demokraci, LiD) [com-
	prised by Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD), Polish Social Democra-
	cy (SdPI), Labor Union (UP) and Democratic Party (PD)])
- agrarian1	Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL)
- agrarian2	Peasant Alliance PL [comprised of Solidarity Polish Peasant Party and Rural
0	Solidarity Peasant Union]
- agrarian3	Self-Defence of Polish Republic (Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, SRP)
- conserv1	Union of the Right of the Republic (Unia Prawicy Rzeczpospolitej, UPR) [formed
	around the Union of Political Realism by several conservative groups]
- conserv2	Coalition for the Republic [comprised of Movement for the Republic, Polish
000000000	Action and Freedom Party]
- conserv3	Law and Justice ( <i>Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS</i> ), successor of the Center Agreement Party ( <i>Porozumienie Centrum, PC</i> ) which was the main party in the
	1991 electoral alliance Civic Center Alliance (Porozumienie Obywatelskie
	Centrum, POC)
- conserv4	Poland Comes First (Polska jest Najważniejsza, PJN)
- relig1	Party of Christian Democrats (Partia Chrzescijanskich Demokratów, PChD)
- relig2	Union of Political Realism (Unia Polityki Realnej, UPR)
- relig3	Catholic Election Action (Wyborcza Akcja Katolicka, WAK) [comprised of Chris-
	tian National Union; Conservative Party and other small groupings]
- relig4	Fatherland Catholic Electoral Committee [comprised of Christian National Un-
	ion; Conservative Party and Christian Peasant Party]
- relig5	Solidarity Election Action (Akjia Wyborcza Solidarność, AWS)
- relig6	League of Polish Families (Liga Polskich Rodzin. LPR)
- liberal1	Democratic Union (Unia Demokratyczna, UD)
- liberal2	Liberal Democratic Congress (Kongres LiberalnoDemokratyczny, KLD)
- liberal3	Non Party Reform Bloc (Bezpartyjny Blok Wspierania Reform, BBWR)
- liberal4	Democratic Party-democrats.pl (Partia Demokratyczna-democraci.pl, PD)
	[formerly Freedom Union (Unia Wolności, UW) [merger of Democratic
- liberal5	Union (liberal1) and Liberal Democratic Congress (liberal2)]
- liberal6	Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska) Palikot's Movement (Ruch Palikota, RP)
- right1	Confederation for Independent Poland (Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej, KPN)
- right2	Party X (Partia X)
- right3	Movement for Rebuilding Poland (Ruch Odbudowy Polski, ROP)
- nonlbl1	Polish Friends of Beer Party (Polska Partia Przyjaciół Piwa, PPPP)
	rener richae er 2001 rang (rener rang rizgjaner rina, rir ri
Portugal	
- social1	4) Socialist Party (PS)
- leftsoc1	7) Popular Democratic Union (UDP)
- leftsoc2	Block of the Left (B.E.) (Merger of Popular Democratic Union (7), Socialist
	Revolutionary Party and Politica XXI in 1999)
- comm1	5) Democratic Movement
- comm2	2/19) Communist Party/Greens (PCP-PEV), [also known as United Democratic
	Coalition (CDU); until 1978: Communist Party; 1979-1985: In alliance
	with the Democratic Movement under the Name United People Alliance;
	1987: Merger with the Greens]
- relig1	1) Centre Social Democrats, Popular Party (CDS-PP)
- liberal1	3) Social Democrats, Popular Democrats (PPD/PSD)
- liberal2	17) Democratic Renewal Party (PRD)

17) Democratic Renewal Party (PRD)

- liberal2

- green1	16) Greens
- allia1	1979 and 1980: Electoral Alliance of Centre Social Democrats (1), Social
	Democrats (3), and Popular Monarchist Party.
Romania	
- social1	Social Democratic Party (Partidul Social Democrat, PSD), [former National Salva-
	tion Front = Democratic National Salvation Front = Party of Social De-
	mocracy from Romania (Partidul Democratiei Sociale din Romania PDSR); in
	2004: Alliance with the Humanist Party of Romania (Partidul Umanist din Romania, PUR), in 2008: Alliance with the Conservator Party]
- social2	Democratic Party (Partidul Democrat PD), [former National Salvation Front -
	Democratic Party; In 1996: major part of the Social Democratic Union <i>Uni-</i>
	unea Social Democrată); comprised of Democratic Party and the Social
	Democratic Party of Romania]
- social3	Alliance for Romania (Alianţa pentru România)
<ul><li>leftsoc1</li><li>postcom1</li></ul>	Socialist Party (Partidul Socialist) Socialist Party of Labour (Partidul Socialist al Muncii)
- agrarian1	Democratic Agrarian Party from Romania (Partidul Democrat Agrar din România,
· ·	PDAR)
- relig1	National Peasants' Party - Christian Democratic (Partidul Naţional Ţărănesc – Creştin Democrat)
- liberal1	National Liberal Party (Partidul Naţional Libera, PNL)
- liberal2	Alliance Truth and Justice, in 2004: electoral alliance of the National liberal
	party (liberal1) and the Democratic Party (social2)
- liberal3	Democrat-Liberal Party (Partidul Democrat-Liberal) [formed through the incorporation of a DNII dissident group into the Democrat Porty 2012; major
	ration of a PNL dissident group into the Democrat Party, 2012: major part in the Right Romania Alliance (Alianţa România Dreaptă, ARD) also
	part of the electortal alliance were the National Christian Democrat
	Peasant Party (Partidul Naţional Ţărănesc - Creştin Democrat, PNTCD) and
	the Civic Force Party (Partidul Forţa Civică, PFC)]
- green1 - ethnic1	Ecological Movement from Romania (Mişcarea Ecologistă din România, MER)
- etrinic i	Democratic Union of Hungarians from Romania (Uniunea Democrată a Maghiară din România)
- right1	Greater Romania Party (Partidul România Mare)
- right2	Party of National Unity of Romanians (Partidul Unității Naționale Române PUNR),
	[1990: in alliance with the Republican Party]
<ul><li>person1</li><li>nonlbl1</li></ul>	Polpular Party Dan Diaconescu (Partidul Popular Dan Diaconescu, PPDD)
- HOHIDH	New Generation Party (PNG)-Christian-Democrat (Partidul Noua Generație/Crestin-Democrat)
- allia1	Democratic Convention from Romania (Convenţia Democrată din România),
	[In 2000: Democratic Convention from Romania 2000 (Convenţia
W 6	Democrată din România 2000)]
- allia2	Social Liberal Union ( <i>Uniunea Social Liberală, USL</i> ), [the alliance consists of the Social Democratic Party ( <i>Partidul Social Democrat, PSD</i> ), National Liberal
	Party (Partidul Naţional Libera, PNL) and Conservative Party]
	rang (randarragonar zizora, r. 12) and concervative rang
Slovakia	
- social1	Social Democratic Party of Slovakia (Socialno Democratická Strana Slovenska,
- social2	SDSS) Common Choice (Spoločná Voĺba, SV) [comprised of Party of the Democratic
JUJULE	Left; Social Democratic Party of Slovakia; Party of Greens in Slovakia;
	Agricultural Movement of the Slovak Republic]
- social3	Direction/Social Democracy (Smer-SD) [in 2002/03: only Smer; in 2004: SDL'
	and SDA both merged with Smer to Smer-SD)

- social4	Party of the Democratic Left (Strana Demokratickej Lavice, SDL') [founded in
	2005 after the original Party of the Democratic Left (leftsoc1) merged with Smer-SD (social3) in 2004]
- leftsoc1	Party of the Democratic Left (Strana Demokratickej Lavice, SDL') [since 1996]
- comm1	Communist Party of Slovakia (Komunisticka Strana Slovenska, KSS)
- comm2	Association of Slovak Workers (Združenie Robotníkov Slovenska, ZRS)
<ul><li>postcom1</li></ul>	Party of the Democratic Left (Strana Demokratickej Lavice, SDL') [until 1996]
<ul><li>agrarian1</li></ul>	Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside
- relig1	Christian Democratic Movement (Krestanskodemokraticke Hnutie, KDH)
- relig2	Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (SDKU) [in 2006 merged with Democratic Party to SDKU-DS)]
- relig3	Christian Social Union (Kresťansko Socialná Unia, KSU)
- relig4	Free Forum (Slobodné fórum) [split in 2004 from SDKU]
- liberal1	Public Against Violence (since 1992 - Civil Democratic Union) (Verejnost' proti násiliu, VPN; 1992: Obcianská demokratické únia, ODÚ)
- liberal2	Democratic Party (Demokratická Strana, DS)
- liberal3	Democratic Party - Civil Democratic Party
- liberal4	Democratic Union of Slovakia (Demokratická Únia Slovenska, DUS)
- liberal5	The Slovak Democratic Coalition (Slovenská Demokratická Koalicia, SDK)
- liberal6	Party of Civic Understanding (Strana Občianskeho Porozumenia, SOP)
- liberal7	Alliance of New Citizens (Aliancia nového obcana, ANO)
- liberal8	Freedom and Solidarity (Sloboda a soldarita, SaS)
- green1	Party of Greens (Strana zelených, SZ)
- green2	Party of Greens in Slovakia (Strana zelených na Slovensku, SZS)
- ethnic1	Coexistence and Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement
- ethnic2	Party of the Hungarian Coalition (Magyar Koalitio Partja, SMK) (1994: Hungarian Coalition)
- ethnic3	Hungarian Civic Party (Magyar Polgári Párt - Maďarská obcanská strana, MPP- MOS)
- ethnic4	The Bridge (Most-Híd)
- right1	Slovak National Party (Slovenská národná strana, SNS)
- right2	Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko, HZDS, since 2006: L'S-HZDS) (in 1994 HZDS was in an electoral alliance with the Peasants Party of Slovakia)
- right3	The Real Slovak National Party (Pravá Slovenská národná strana, PSNS)
- right4	Movement for Democracy (Hnutie za demokraciu, HZD)
Slovenia	
- social1	Alliance of Socialists
- social2	Social Democrats (Socialni demokrati, SD) [former United List of Social Democrats, ZLSD]
- social3	Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (Socialdemokratska Stranka Slovenije, SDS)
- social4	Socialist Party of Slovenia (Socialistièna Stranka Slovenije, SSS)
- social5	Slovenia is Ours (Slovenija je naša, SJN)
- social6	Positive Slovenia/List Zorana Jankovića (Pozitivna Slovenija/Lista Zorana Jankovića, LZJ-PS)
- postcom1	Party of Democratic Renewal
- agrarian1	Slovenian People's Party (Slovenska Ljudska Stranka, SLS)
- conserv1	National Democrats and Slovenian Party
- relig1	Slovenian Christian Democratic Party (Slovenski Krščanski Demokrati, SKD)
- relig2	New Slovenia and People's Christian Party
- liberal1	Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije, LDS)
- liberal2	Democratic Party of Slovenia (Demokratična Stranka Slovenije, DSS)
- liberal3	Liberal Party (Liberalna Stranka/Slovenski Liberalci, LS)
- liberal4	Party for Real/New Politics (Zares/nova politika, ZARES)

Citizens' Alliance of Gregor Virant (Državljanska lista Gregorja Viranta, DLGV) - liberal5 Greens of Slovenia (Zeleni Sloveniie, ZS) - areen1 - ethnic1 representative of Hungarian minority representative of Italian minority - ethnic2 - right1 Slovenian National Party (Slovenska Nacionalna Stranka, SNS) - pension1 Democratic Party of Pensioners (*DeSUS*) - nonlbl1 Party of the Youth of Slovenia (Stranka mladih Slovenije, SMS) Active Slovenia (Aktivna Slovenija, AS) - nonlbl2 - allia1 DEMOS Coalition [comprised of Slovenian People's Party, Slovenian Christian Democrats, Slovenian Democratic Union, Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, Greens of Slovenia, Liberal Partyl Slovenian People's Party and Slovenian Christian Democrats (SLS/SKD) - allia2 Spain 1) Socialist Party (PSOE) - social1 - social2 32) Popular Socialist Party (only in 1977; afterwards part of 1) - comm1 2) United Left (PCE/PSUC/IU), [until 1986: Communist Party – United Left (PCE-IU)] 28) Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD) - conserv1 - conserv2 29) People's Party (PP), [until 1989: Popular Alliance (AP); in 1982: Electoral Alliance of Popular Alliance and Popular Democratic Party; in 1986: Electoral Alliance of Popular Alliance, Popular Democratic Party and Liberal Party - conserv3 50) Democratic and Social Centre (CDS) -- Progress and Democracy Union (UpyD) - liberal1 44) Convergence and Unity (CiU), [1977: Coalition of Democratic Conver-- ethnic1 gence of Catalonia and Democratic Left of Catalonia in 1977] - ethnic2 -- Catalonian Left Republicans (ERC) 45) National Union (formed in January 1979 by the leader of Fuerza Nueva. - right1 The National Union also included Falange Espanola, the Alianza Nacional and other neo-fascist groups) Sweden - social1 5) Social Democrats (S) 10) Communist Party, Left Party (V) - comm1 7) Agrarian Party, Centre Party (C) - agrarian1 - conserv1 6) Conservatives, Moderate Unity Party (M) 20) Christian Democratic Union (KDS) - relig1 - liberal1 18) People's Party (The Liberals) (FP) 23) Ecology/Green Party (MP) - green1 - right1 24) New Democracy (NYD) --- Sweden Democrats (SD) - right2

#### **Switzerland**

Switzeriand	
- social1	5) Social Democrats (PSS/SPS)
- leftsoc1	18) Progressive Organisations (POCH)
- comm1	9) Communist Party (PdA)
- agrarian1	6) Swiss People's Party (UDC/SVP; since 1995: right4)
- conserv1	Conservative Democratic Party (BDP/PBD)
- relig1	1) Christian Democrats (PDC/CVP)
- relig2	8) Protestant People's Party (EVP)
- liberal1	4) Radical Democrats (PRD/FDP)
- liberal2	12) Independents' Party (LDU)
- liberal3	3) Liberal Party (PLS/LPS)

- green1 19) Greens (GPS)

- green2 20) Green Alliance (GBS), Alternative Greens (DACH)

green3 --- Swiss Green Liberal Party (GLS/PVL)
 right1 14) National Action, Swiss Democrats (SD)

- right2 16) Republican Movement

- right3 22) Swiss Motorists (AP), Freedom Party

- right4 6) Swiss People's Party (UDC/SVP; until 1994: agrarian1)

#### **United Kingdom**

social1
conserv1
liberal1
Labour Party
Conservative Party
Liberal Party

- liberal 21/22) Alliance Parties, Social Liberal Democrats, Liberal Democrats

- protest1--- UK Independence Party (UKIP)- ethnic111) Scottish National Party (SNP)

#### **USA**

conserv1 8) Republican Partyliberal1 1) Democratic Party

#### Appendix 5 Notes concerning the variables for consensus democracy

Ifirstp: Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable.

This variable is a time-variant proxy for Lijphart's first dimension 'parties-executives'. The data is composed of the moving averages of 10 years of four indices:

- The number of effective parties in parliament (*effpar\_leg*).
- The absence of minimal winning and single-party majority cabinets (calculated from gov\_type with (1) single-party majority government and (2) minimal winning coalition coded as '0', otherwise '1').
- The proportionality of electoral systems (variable *dis gall* multiplied by [-1]).
- A measure for cabinet dominance, calculated by taking the average cabinet duration (see Lijphart 1999: 129-134), which we measured by the number of changes in government per year (gov\_chan).

For example, the value of effpar\_leg for 1969 in our calculations is the arithmetic average for the annual data of effpar\_leg for 1960-69, the value for 1970 is the average for the period 1961-70, etc.

These moving averages of the four indices were z-standardized and added up. The sum was again z-standardized, which yields the value of the proxy variable. For example, the data entered for 1969 is the z-standardized sum of the z-standardized moving averages for the years 1960-69.

The z-standardization was done across nations for each time point. For example, the z-scores for number of effective parliamentary parties in 2009 were calculated on the basis of the data for the 36 countries in 2009.

We deliberately did not include the index of interest group pluralism, which in our view does not measure the extent of compromise and negotiation between political elites on the level of parliaments and parties. It rather taps dimensions of corporatism and varieties of capitalism. In order to measure the fit of this proxy variable with Lijphart's original variable, we correlated the mean of Ifirstp for the years 1981 to 2010 with Ifirst in 1981 (i.e. Lijphart's first dimension measured for the years 1981 to 2010). The correlation is 0.902 (significant at p<0.001, n=24).

Ifirstpi: Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable institutions. Ifirstpb: Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable behavior.

Lijphart has been criticized for mixing up the effects of societal cleavages (such as the number of parties) and institutions (such as electoral rules) with elite behavior such as coalition building and cabinet dominance (Ganghof 2005). Therefore we calculated separate proxy variables both for institutions (Ifirstpi) based only on the variables 'number of parties' and 'electoral disproportionality' and for behavior (Ifirstpb) based only on the variables 'cabinet dominance' (as measured in Ifirstp) and 'absence of minimal winning coalitions and single-party majority governments'. The calculation as z-scores of moving averages is the same as with regard to Ifirstp.

The arithmetic means for the period 1969 to 2013 of Ifirstp are correlated with the means of Ifirstpi 0.791 and with the means of Ifirstpb 0.808; both correlations are significant at p<0.001 (n=36). The correlation between the means of Ifirstpi and Ifirstpb (1969-2013) is 0.280 and not significant at p<0.05 (n=36).

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