

Codebook:

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL DATA SET III 1990-2012

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The Comparative Political Data Set III 1990-2012 is a collection of political and institutional data. This data set consists of (mostly) annual data for a group of 36 OECD and/or EU- member countries for the period 1990-2012¹. The data are primarily from the data set created at the University of Berne, Institute of Political Science and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation: The Comparative Political Data Set I (CPDS I).

However, the present data set differs in several aspects from the CPDS I dataset. Compared to CPDS I Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus (Greek part), Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia have been added.

The present data set is suited for cross-national, longitudinal and pooled time series analyses. The 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. For trade union membership, excellent data for European trade unions is provided by Jelle Visser (2013).

When using the data from this data set, please quote both the data set and, where appropriate, the original source. This data set is to be cited as:

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¹ Data for former communist countries begin in 1990 for Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Hungary, Malta, Romania and Slovakia, in 1991 for Poland, in 1992 for Estonia and Lithuania, in 1993 for Latvia and Slovenia and in 2000 for Croatia. For detailed information, please refer to the notes at the beginning of each chapter.

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VARIABLE LIST

1. General variables

year	year
country	country name
countrynr	country number: 1 Australia, 2 Austria, 3 Belgium, 4 Bulgaria, 5 Canada, 6 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.
isocode	ISO 3166-1 numeric code (numeric-3). ISO code by country: 036 Australia, 040 Austria, 056 Belgium, 100 Bulgaria, 124 Canada, 191 Croatia, 196 Cyprus (Greek part), 203 Czech Republic, 208 Denmark, 233 Estonia, 246 Finland, 250 France, 276 Germany, 300 Greece, 348 Hungary, 352 Iceland, 372 Ireland, 380 Italy, 393 Japan, 428 Latvia, 440 Lithuania, 442 Luxembourg, 470 Malta, 528 Netherlands, 554 New Zealand, 578 Norway, 616 Poland, 620 Portugal, 642 Romania, 703 Slovakia, 705 Slovenia, 724 Spain, 752 Sweden, 756 Switzerland, 826 United Kingdom, 840 USA. <u>Source:</u> International Organization for Standardization (ISO), Switzerland: Geneva.

Note:

1. *Germany*: Data in 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. Please note that country numbers changed compared to previous versions of CPDS III due to the inclusion of Croatia in the update published 2014.

2. Governments

For former communist countries data were gathered starting with the first free elections. Please consider that in the category “missings”, only missing data from after the first free elections are included.

gov_right1	Government composition: cabinet posts of right-wing parties as a percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year. <u>Period covered:</u> 1990-2012.
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Missings: Bulgaria 1993/94 and Italy 2012 (full technocratic governments).

Source: Own calculations primarily based on the political data published in the European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues). For details and sources see **Appendix 1 and 2**.

gov_cent1 Government composition: cabinet posts of center parties as a percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: see variable govright1.
Source: see variable govright1.

gov_left1 Government composition: cabinet posts of social democratic and other left parties as a percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: see variable govright1.
Source: see variable govright1.

Notes:

1. Due to independents, the calculations of 'gov_right1', 'gov_cent1' and 'gov_left1' do not always add up to 100 percent.
2. *Belgium 2010/11*, *Bulgaria 1997*, *Italy 1995/96*, *Czech Republic 2009/10*, *Greece 2011* and *Italy 2011* do not add up to 100 percent mainly because of the caretaker governments which were in office from 13.06.2010 until 06.12.2011 in Belgium; from 13.02.1997 until 21.05.1997 in Bulgaria; from 17.01.1995 until 17.05.1996 in Italy; and from 08.05.2009 until 13.07.2010 in Czech Republic.
3. *Bulgaria 1993-1995* do not add up to 100 due to non-party governments from 30.12.1992 until 25.01.1995.
4. Some calculations do not start on the 1st January in a given year due to previous undemocratic governments. Starting date of calculations: *Bulgaria* 20.09.1990, *Croatia* 27.01.2000, *Czech Republic* 26.06.1990, *Estonia* 21.10.1992, *Hungary* 23.05.1990, *Latvia* 03.08.1993, *Lithuania* 10.12.1992, *Poland* 23.12.1991, *Romania* 28.06.1990, *Slovakia* 27.06.1990 and *Slovenia* 12.01.1993.

govparty Cabinet composition (Schmidt-Index): (1) hegemony of right-wing (and centre) parties (gov_left=0), (2) dominance of right-wing (and centre) parties (gov_left<33.3), (3) balance of power between left and right/centre (33.3<gov_left<66.6), (4) dominance of social-democratic and other left parties (gov_left>66.6), (5) hegemony of social-democratic and other left parties (gov_left=100).
Calculations of authors based on gov_right1, gov_cent1 and gov_left1.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: Bulgaria 1993/94 and Italy 2012 (full technocratic governments).
Source: Own calculations according to Schmidt (1992).

Note:

1. Where the sum of 'gov_left1', 'gov_cent1' and 'gov_right1' 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 *Czech Republic 1998*:
gov_right + gov_center: 13.02 + 19.53 = 32.55; gov_left: 42.3.
The total of 74.85 percent is the basis for the calculation of the new boundaries.
 $74.85/3 = 24.95$ is in this case the new boundary for the lower third, replacing 33.3 percent. $24.95*2 = 49.9$ would be the new boundary for the upper third, replacing 66.6 percent. As gov_left = 42.3, we have a stand-off between left and right, because $24.95 < gov_left < 49.9$. Therefore, a (3) was entered.

gov_new New ideological composition of cabinet: (0) no change, (1) change: if cabinet ideological composition (govparty) changed from last to present year. Own calculations based on gov_right1, gov_cent1, and gov_left1.
Period covered: 1990-2012.

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

Source: Own calculations.

Note:

1. Former communist countries: The inauguration of the first freely elected government is coded as change in the ideological composition of cabinet (gov_new = 1).

gov_gap Ideological gap between new and old cabinet. The gap is calculated as the difference of the index value (govparty) of the outgoing and the incoming government. For an example, see Note 1 below.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

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

Source: Own calculations based on govparty.

Note:

1. 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 be (-3), calculated as the difference of the ideology of the outgoing (2) and the incoming government (5).

gov_type Type of Government. Classification: (1) single party majority government; (2) minimal winning coalition; (3) surplus coalition; (4) single party minority government; (5) multi party minority government; (6) caretaker government; (7) technocratic government.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missings: None.

Source: 1990-1994: Woldendorp/Keman/Budge (1998, 2000); 1995 onwards and for Greece, Portugal, Spain and USA from 1991 onwards: own calculations based on European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues). For post-communist countries (1990-2006): Berglund/Ekman/Aarebrot (2004); Zarate's Political Collections (ZPC) available at www.terra.es/personal2/monolith (Download: 2006-12-14). Own calculations according to the following definition of Woldendorp/Keman/Budge (2000: 17f.):

(1) single party majority government

= one party takes all governments seats and has a parliamentary majority [>50%]

(2) minimal winning coalition

= all participating parties are necessary to form a majority government [>50%]

(3) surplus coalition

= this comprises those 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%]

(5) multi party minority government

= the parties in government do not possess a majority in Parliament [≤50%]

(6) caretaker government (temporarily)

= 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

Notes:

1. The indicator refers to the type of government that was in office for the longest period during the 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 McDonnell and Valbruzzi (2014: 4) we classify a prime minister as a being a technocrat if „*at the 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*” (McDonnell 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 the 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 and the two biggest ones hold 50% of the seat shares, then 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 Germany 1991: The Kohl V government consisted of CDU, CSU and FDP ministers. The CDU had a seat share of 40,5%, the CSU of 7,7% and the FDP of 11,9%. If we counted the CDU and CSU as two separate ones then the government would be a surplus coalition one. However, due to the sister party rule we classified the government as a minimal winning coalition one.
6. We always classify the US government as a single party majority government due to the country's presidential system.
7. Cyprus 2011: Due to the country's presidential system the seat shares of the governmental parties get adjusted as soon as a presidential election takes place. In 2011 this rule led to following situation: The government of Christofias II is the cabinet the longest in office in the given year. However, due to the adjustment of the governmental support the type of government changed from a minimal coalition to a multi party minority one on 22.05.2011. Deviating from our rule of

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classification (see note no. 1) we entered the value 2 (minimal winning coalition) for the year of 2011.

- gov_chan Number of changes in government per year [termination of government due to (a) elections, (b) resignation of the Prime Minister, (c) dissension within government (break up of coalition), (d) lack of parliamentary support, or (e) intervention by the head of state or (f) broadening of the coalition (inclusion of new parties) (Woldendorp/Keman/Budge 1998: 127 and Woldendorp/Keman/Budge 2011: 3-4)].
Own calculations.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: None.
Source: Own calculations based on 1990-1994: Woldendorp/Keman/Budge (1998, 2000); 1995 onwards and for Greece, Portugal, Spain and USA from 1991 onwards: own calculations based on European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues). For post-communist countries (1990-2006): Berglund/Ekman/Aarebrot (2004); Zarate's Political Collections (ZPC) available at www.terra.es/personal2/monolith (Download: 2006-12-14).
- Note:**
- Former communist countries: The inauguration of the first freely elected cabinet is not coded as a change in government since this event marks the beginning of the calculations of the government variables.
- gov_right2 Government composition: relative power position of right-wing parties as a 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: 1990-2012.
Missing: Bulgaria 1993/94 and Italy 2012 (full technocratic governments).
Source: Own calculations primarily based on the political data published in the European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues). For details and sources see **Appendix 1 and 2**.
- gov_cent2 Government composition: relative power position of center parties as a 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: 1990-2012.
Missing: see variable govright2.
Source: see variable govright2.
- gov_left2 Government composition: relative power position of social democratic and other left parties in government based on their seat share in parliament, measured as a 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: 1990-2012.
Missing: see variable govright2.
Source: see variable govright2
- Notes:**
- Some calculations do not start on the 1st January in a given year due to previous undemocratic governments. Starting date of calculations: *Bulgaria* 20.09.1990, *Croatia* 27.01.2000, *Czech Republic* 26.06.1990, *Estonia* 21.10.1992, *Hungary*

23.05.1990, *Latvia* 03.08.1993, *Lithuania* 10.12.1992, *Poland* 23.12.1991, *Romania* 28.06.1990, *Slovakia* 27.06.1990 and *Slovenia* 12.01.1993. For the first governments after independence / the fall of communist rule, the total weight does not amount to 100, since the governments did not commence their time in office at the beginning of the calendar year.

2. Changes in the composition of the parliament are not entered until there has been a change in government.
3. For some calculations the total weight does not add up to 100 percent due to non-partisan governments being 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: 1990-2012.
Missing: Bulgaria 1993/94 and Italy 2012 (full technocratic governments).
Source: Own calculations primarily based on the political data published in the European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues). For details and sources see **Appendix 1 and 2**.
- gov_cent3 Government support: parliamentary seat share of center parties in government. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missing: See variable gov_right3.
Source: See variable gov_right3.
- 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: 1990-2012.
Missing: See variable gov_right3.
Source: See variable gov_right3.
- 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: 1990-2012.
Missing: See variable gov_right3.
Source: See variable gov_right3.

3. Elections

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.

Please consider that in the category “missings” only missing data from after the first free elections are included.

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: 1990-2012.
Missings: None.
Source: Bugajski (2002); Election World (www.electionworld.org); Essex Database (www.essex.ac.uk/elections); European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues); Keesing's Archive; Parline database (<http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp>).

Notes:

1. *Romania 2004:* Data were retrieved from the Central Election Bureau, www.bec2004.ro (Page visited January 2005).
2. *Greece 2012:* From the two elections in 2012 (06. May and 17. June), only results of the second one on 17. June are entered.

vturn Voter turnout in the parliamentary election (lower house).
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: None.
Source: See variable elect.

Note:

1. *USA:* Since the voter turnout for the elections in 1998, 2000 and 2002 are missing in the EJPR, data were retrieved from the United States Elections Project, available at http://elections.gmu.edu/voter_turnout.htm (Downloaded: 2007-03-28).

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 does not reach this threshold, it receives a zero (see Appendix 3). For the assignment of parties to party families, see Appendix 4.

social1 Share of votes for the party classified as social1.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Source: See variable elect.

social2 Share of votes for the party classified as social2.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Source: See variable elect.

etc.

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ssocial1 Share of seats of the party classified as social1.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Source: See variable elect.

ssocial2 Share of seats of the party classified as social2.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Source: See variable elect.

etc.

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Notes:

1. 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. 'others1' and 'sothers1' 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. Women in parliaments

womenpar Percentage of women in parliaments. Entries refer to the composition of the parliament at the end of the corresponding year. In bicameral systems data is taken for the lower house.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missings: Czech and Slovak Federal Assembly 1990/91, Estonia, Lithuania and Slovenia (as part of SFR Yugoslavia) 1990/91, Latvia 1990-92 and Poland 1990.

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (1995 and 1997); Inter-Parliamentary Union Homepage "Women in National Parliaments", <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm> (Downloaded: 2013-01-30).

Notes:

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

5. Party system

rae_ele Index of *electoral* fractionalization of the party system according to the formula [F] proposed by Rae (1968).

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

of parties.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missing: None.

Source: Own calculations.

rae_leg Index of *legislative* fractionalization of the party system according to the formula [F] proposed by Rae (1968).

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

of parties.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

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: 1990-2012.
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: 1990-2012.
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 system, 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: 1990-2012.
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: 1990-2012.
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: 1990-2012.
Missing: None.
Source: Own calculations.

6. Fiscal and social policy

- outlays** Total outlays (OECD: total disbursement; Eurostat: total expenditure) of general government as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missing: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia: 1990-94; Hungary: 1990.

Source: OECD (2013), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 94", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00676-en> (Downloaded: 2014-03-21). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - Government revenue, expenditure and main aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).

Notes:

1. Disbursements are transactions of providing financial resources. The two counter-parties must record the transaction simultaneously. In contrast expenditures are transactions which have not yet necessarily been recorded by both parties. In practice the differences between expenditure and disbursement are negligible.
2. *Germany 1990:* Value is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00588-en> (Downloaded: 2012-06-05).
3. *Greece 1990-94:* Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00533-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05).
4. *Hungary 1991-94:* Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 87", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00492-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05).
5. Please note that there may be differences in operationalization between OECD Statistics and Eurostat.

receipts

Total receipts of government as a percentage of GDP.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missing: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia: 1990-94; Hungary: 1990.

Source: OECD (2013), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 94", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00676-en> (Downloaded: 2014-03-21). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - Government revenue, expenditure and main aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).

Notes:

1. *Germany 1990:* Value is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00588-en> (Downloaded: 2012-06-05).
2. *Greece 1990-94:* Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00533-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-12).
3. *Hungary 1991-94:* Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 87", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00492-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-12).
4. Please note that there may be differences in operationalization between OECD Statistics and Eurostat.

debt

Gross government debt (financial liabilities) as a percentage of GDP.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missing: Bulgaria: 1990-96; Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia: 1990-94; New Zealand: 1990-92.

Sources: OECD (2013), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 94", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data->

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00676-en (Downloaded: 2014-03-21). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, as well as partly for Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia, data were retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-03-25). For details, please see the note below.

Notes:

Separate sources used for each country. Please note that there may be breaks in series and differences in measurement between OECD Statistics and Eurostat.

1. *Austria 1990-94*: Data is taken from OECD (2013), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 93", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00655-en> (Downloaded: 2014-03-21).
2. *Czech Republic 1995-2011*: Data is taken from Eurostat (government statistics - Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).
3. *Germany 1990*: Data is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00588-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-08).
4. *Greece 1990-94, Ireland 1990-96 and Luxembourg 1990-97*: Data is taken from OECD (2005), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 78", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00088-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-08).
5. *Iceland 1990-97*: Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00082-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-08).
6. *Slovenia 1995-2000*: Data is taken from Eurostat (government statistics - Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).

deficit

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

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missing: Bulgaria: 1990-97; Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia: 1990-94; Hungary: 1990.

Source: OECD (2013), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 94", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00676-en> (Downloaded: 2014-03-21). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).

Notes:

1. Please note that there may be differences in measurement between OECD Statistics and Eurostat.
2. *Germany 1990*: Value is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00588-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05).
3. *Greece 1990-94*: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00533-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05).
4. *Hungary 1991-94*: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 87", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00492-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05).

- fisccent** Fiscal centralization, measured as tax revenue of central government as a percentage of total taxation (including revenue of central, state and local government, social security funds and supranational organizations).
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: Australia and Netherlands in 2011; Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovakia 1990-94; Czech Republic 1990-92; Hungary 1990; Poland in 1990 and 2011; Slovenia 1990/91, Portugal 2011.
Source: Own calculations based on OECD (2014), "Revenue Statistics: Comparative tables", OECD Tax Statistics (database). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00262-en> (Downloaded: 2014-03-25). Calculations for countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, as well as Slovenia 1992-94, are based on Eurostat (government statistics - main national accounts tax aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).
- Note:**
1. *Austria, Czech Republic, Portugal and Slovakia:* From 1995 on, the OECD Revenue Statistics data are on accrual basis (as opposed to cash basis accounting).
- fiscdec** Fiscal decentralization, measured as the tax revenue of state and local government as percentage of total taxation (including the revenue of central, state and local governments, social security funds and supranational organizations).
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: See variable fisccent. In addition: Malta 2004-2012.
Source: See variable fisccent.
- Notes:**
1. *Austria, Czech Republic, Portugal and Slovakia:* From 1995 on, the OECD Revenue Statistics data are on accrual basis (as opposed to cash basis accounting).
 2. *Malta:* Eurostat entered n.a. (not applicable) for the local government tax revenue. Since the entries of the central government tax revenue as a percentage of total taxation add up to 100 for the period 1995-2003, a zero (0) was entered for Malta, meaning there was no local government tax revenue.
- ssfunds1** Tax revenue of social security funds as a percentage of total taxation (including revenue of central, state and local government, social security funds and supranational organizations).
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: See variable fisccent. In addition: Malta 2004-2012.
Source: See variable fisccent.
- Notes:**
1. *Austria, Czech Republic, Portugal and Slovakia:* From 1995 on, the OECD Revenue Statistics data are on accrual basis (as opposed to cash basis accounting).
 2. *Malta:* The same as with the local government tax revenues applies to the tax revenues of social security funds (see note to variable fiscdec).
- ssfunds2** Tax revenue of social security funds as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: See variable fisccent. In addition: Malta 2004-2012.

Source: OECD (2014), "Revenue Statistics: Comparative tables", OECD Tax Statistics (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00262-en> (Downloaded: 2014-04-09). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, as well as Slovenia 1992-94, data was retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - main national accounts tax aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-04-04).

Notes:

1. *Austria, Czech Republic, Portugal and Slovakia:* From 1995 on, the OECD Revenue Statistics data are on accrual basis (as opposed to cash basis accounting).
2. *Malta:* The same as with the local government tax revenues applies to the tax revenues of social security funds (see Note to variable fiscdec).

ssstran

Social benefits other than social transfers in kind as a percentage of GDP.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missing: Bulgaria and Poland: 1990; Croatia: 1990-2008; Cyprus, Hungary, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovenia: 1990-94; Czech Republic: 1990/91; Estonia and Slovakia: 1990-92.

Source: OECD (2010), "National Accounts at a glance", OECD National Accounts statistics (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00369-en> (Downloaded: 2014-04-14). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data was retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - Government revenue, expenditure and main aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-04-04).

Notes:

1. Czech Republic 1992-94, Germany 1990, Greece 1990-94, Poland 1991-94, Portugal 1990-94, Slovakia 1993/94, Spain 1990-94 and Sweden 1990-92: Data is taken from OECD, National Accounts Statistics, Historical Statistics - Structure or composition of certain economic aggregates, Vol. 2002, release 01, <http://new.sourceoecd.org/> (Downloaded: 2006-08-21).
2. *Greece 1995-2004, Iceland 1990-94, Japan 1990-93:* Data is taken from a previous release of OECD (2010), "National Accounts at a glance", OECD National Accounts statistics (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00369-en> (Downloaded: 2013-06-12).
3. *Estonia 1993/94 Iceland 1990-94 and Norway 1990-94:* Data is taken from Eurostat (Downloaded: 2013-06-12).
4. *Japan 1990-2004:* Data is taken from a previous release of OECD (2010), "National Accounts at a glance", OECD National Accounts statistics (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00369-en> (Downloaded: 2011-04-14).

tot_taxrev

Total tax revenue (including total revenue of central, state and local government, social security funds and supranational organizations) as a percentage of GDP.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missings: Australia, Japan and Netherlands: 2012; Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania: 1990-94; Croatia 1990-2001; Czech Republic and Slovakia: 1990-92; Hungary: 1990; Poland: 1990 and 2012; Slovenia: 1990/91.

Source: OECD (2014), "Revenue Statistics: Comparative tables", OECD Tax Statistics (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00262-en> (Downloaded: 2014-04-15). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data was retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics – main national accounts tax

aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-04-04).

Notes:

1. The OECD Revenue Statistics data for the year 2012 are "Estimates/provisional".
2. *Slovakia 1993/94* and *Slovenia 1992-94*: Data is taken from Eurostat (government statistics - main national accounts tax aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2014-04-15).

7. Trade unions

grossu	<p>Total reported union members, in thousands. <u>Period covered:</u> 1990-2011. <u>Missings:</u> Various; <i>Australia:</i> 1997-2011; <i>Czech Republic:</i> 2010/11; <i>Bulgaria:</i> 1991/92, 1994-96, 1999, 2001/02, 2004, 2006, 2010/11; <i>Cyprus:</i> 1991/92, 1994, 1996/97, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009-11; <i>Estonia:</i> 1990/91, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2011; <i>Greece:</i> 1991, 1993/94, 1996/97, 1999/00, 2002/03, 2009/10; <i>Hungary:</i> 1991-94, 1996/97, 2009-11; <i>Iceland:</i> 1990, 2009-11; <i>Japan:</i> 1991-94, 1996-99, 2001-03; <i>Latvia:</i> 1990-94, 1996-2002, 2004/05, 2009; <i>Lithuania:</i> 1990-94, 1996-2000, 2002, 2004/05, 2007, 2009/10; <i>Luxembourg:</i> 1990-92, 1994-96, 1999-2002, 2004/05, 2007, 2009/10; <i>Netherlands:</i> 2004; <i>Poland:</i> 1991/92, 1994-97, 2000, 2005/06, 2009, 2011; <i>Portugal:</i> 1991-94, 1996, 1998-2001, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011; <i>Romania:</i> 1990, 1992, 1994-97, 1999-2001, 2004/05, 2007, 2009-11; <i>Slovakia:</i> 1991/92, 1994, 1996/97, 2009-11; <i>Slovenia:</i> 1990, 1993, 1995, 2004, 2007, 2010/11; <i>Denmark, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK and USA:</i> 2011. <u>Source:</u> Visser (2013).</p> <p>Notes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2013). 2. USA: Data taken from Visser (2011).
netu	<p>Net union membership (gross minus independent workers, students, unemployed or retired members). <u>Period covered:</u> 1990-2011. <u>Missings:</u> Various; <i>Denmark, France, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, USA:</i> 2011; <i>Australia:</i> 2010/11; <i>Bulgaria:</i> 1991/92, 1994-96, 1999, 2001/02, 2004, 2010-11; <i>Cyprus:</i> 1991/92, 1994, 1996/97, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009-11; <i>Czech Republic:</i> 1990-92, 2010/11; <i>Estonia:</i> 1990/91, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2011; <i>Greece:</i> 2009/10; <i>Hungary:</i> 1991-94, 2009-11;</p>

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set III, 1990-2012

Iceland: 2009-11;
Latvia: 1990-94, 1996-2002, 2009;
Lithuania: 1990-94, 1996-2000, 2002, 2004/05, 2010/11;
Luxembourg: 2009-11
Romania: 1990, 1992, 1994-97, 1999-2001, 2004/05, 2007, 2009-11;
Slovakia: 1990-92;
Slovenia: 1990, 2004, 2007;
Source: Visser (2013).

Notes:

1. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).
2. *Cyprus 2000 onwards*: minus retired and self-employed members estimated (retired: 8% of total; self-employed: 7% of total; in 2005/06 increasing to a sum of 20%).
3. *Greece 2000 onwards*: retired members estimated (including public sector minus 9% retired members).
4. *Hungary 1995*: inactive members estimated (20% of total).
5. *Hungary 1998*: inactive members estimated (25% of total).
6. *Slovakia 1990 onwards*: exclusive retired and unemployed members, estimated at 10% 1990-1995, declining to 7% in 2008.
7. *Australia 1997-2009; Luxembourg 1990-92, 1994-96, 1999-02; USA 1990-2010*: Data taken from Visser (2011).

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing:

Denmark, France, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK: 2011;
Australia: 2010/11;
Bulgaria: 1991/92, 1994-96, 1999, 2001/02, 2004, 2010-11;
Cyprus: 1991/92, 1994, 1996/97, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009/10;
Czech Republic: 1990-92, 2010/11;
Estonia: 1990/91, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2011;
Greece: 2009/10;
Hungary: 1991-94, 2009-11;
Iceland: 2009-11;
Latvia: 1990-94, 1996-2002, 2009-11;
Lithuania: 1990-94, 1996-2000, 2002, 2004/05, 2011;
Luxembourg: 2009-11;
Romania: 1990, 1992, 1994-97, 1999-2001, 2004/05, 2007, 2009-11;
Slovakia: 1990-92;
Slovenia: 2004, 2007;
Source: see Visser (2013).

Notes:

1. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).
2. *Australia 1997-2009; Poland 2009; Luxembourg 1990-92, 1994-96, 1999-02; USA 1990-2010*: Data taken from Visser (2011)
Slovakia 2009-11: estimated data

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: see Visser (2013).

Source: see Visser (2013).

Note:

1. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).

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.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missing: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania: entirely; Czech Republic and Slovakia: 1990-92; Estonia, Iceland, Luxembourg and Slovenia: 1990-2007; Latvia: 1990-2011.

Source: OECD Indicators of Employment Protection. Annual time series data 1985-2013. <http://www.oecd.org/els/emp/EPL-timeseries.xlsx> (Downloaded: 2014-01-06).

Note:

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.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missing: See variable emprot_reg.

Source: OECD Indicators of Employment Protection. Annual time series data 1985-2013. <http://www.oecd.org/els/emp/EPL-timeseries.xlsx> (Downloaded: 2014-01-06).

8. Institutions

For postcommunist countries the entries generally start with the year the new constitution came into force². Please consider that information for the old constitutions of these countries has not been gathered and therefore is not included in the category “missings”.

fed Federalism.
Coded: 0 = no; 1 = yes.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: None.
Source: Constitutions.

² Upon gaining independence, Latvia did not immediately adopt a new constitution, but instead reinstated its old 1922 Constitution. Data were gathered from this constitution from 1993 on.

Note:

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

lpol_sys

Executive legislative relations according to Lijphart (2012:108ff.).

Coded: 0 = parliamentary system; 1 = presidential; 2 = semi-presidential dominated by president; 3 = semi-presidential dominated by parliament; 4 = hybrid system.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missings: Croatia 2000 due to the diffuse constitutional basis.

Source: : Ismayr (2003, 2006 and 2010), Lijphart (2012), Countries constitutions retrieved from International Constitutional Law, <http://www.servat.unibe.ch/law/icl/index.html> and European Journal of Political Research, various issues.

Notes:

1. In addition to a parliamentary prime minister, a semi-presidential system (=2 or 3) also has a popularly elected president (Lijphart 2012: 109).
2. Changes are entered in the year of the subsequent (parliamentary or presidential) elections.
3. *France:* During cohabitation France is defined as a semi-presidential system dominated by parliament (=3), otherwise as a semipresidential system dominated by president (=2).
4. *Poland 1992-96:* The system under the Small Constitution gave no clear orientation with regard to the separation of powers between the president and parliament, but was said to have weakened the presidential-parliamentary system (Ziemer/Matthes 2006:195). As the system can be classified under the new constitution as semi-presidential dominated by parliament, the time period under the Small Constitution also received a (3).
5. *Switzerland:* Switzerland is the only system classified as hybrid, since the collegial executive elected by the legislative does not depend on legislative confidence.

lesys

Electoral system according to Lijphart (1999:143ff.).

Coded: 0 = simple plurality formula; 1 = majority-plurality/alternative vote; 2 = semiproportional formulas; 3 = list proportional representation; 4 = mixed member proportional formula; 5 = single transferable vote.

Period covered: 1990-2012.

Missings: None.

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union: Parline Database (Download: 25.01.2007), Ismayr (2003), Lijphart (1999), constitutions, electoral laws and European Journal of Political Research, various issues.

Notes:

1. If there were any changes in the electoral system, the year of change was coded according to the electoral law in force for the majority of a given year.
2. 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.
3. 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.

lbic

Index of bicameralism according to Lijphart (1999:200ff.).

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: 1990-2012.

Missings: None.

Source: Ismayr (2003), Lijphart (1999), constitutions and European Journal of Political Research, various issues.

Notes:

1. 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.
2. *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 1999:209).
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:* 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 1999:201). Today, most of the Norwegian debates are held in front of the assembled parliament, which would indicate a move toward a unicameral parliament (Gross/Rotholz 2003:135).
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 1999:213). In 1999, the Government introduced the House of Lords Bill to remove the hereditary peers. This was the beginning of a still ongoing reform debate. The Labour Party makes clear in its 2005 General Election Manifesto “that a reformed Upper Chamber must be effective, legitimate and more representative without challenging the primacy of the House of Commons” (HM Government 2007).

req_ref	<p>Required referendum (also called obligatory or mandatory referendum) according to Hug and Tsebelis (2002) = existence of a mechanism, where specific amendments of the constitution or a law automatically need to be submitted to the people’s vote. The amendments will only come into force if the people accept the presented proposals.</p> <p>Coded: 1 = yes; 0 = no.</p> <p><u>Period covered:</u> 1990-2012.</p> <p><u>Missings:</u> None.</p> <p><u>Source:</u> Butler and Ranney (1994), Hug and Tsebelis (2002), LeDuc (2003), Research Center on Direct Democracy, University of Zurich (www.c2d.ch, Download: 2007-02-16), Schmidt (2006), constitutions.</p>
vp_ref	<p>Veto-player referendum represents the first category of non-required referenda according to Hug and Tsebelis (2002). An existing veto-player (e.g. president, majority in parliament) can submit a given issue that was previously enacted (e.g. in the form of a law) by an existing veto-player to a popular vote.</p> <p>Coded: 1 = yes; 0 = no.</p> <p><u>Period covered:</u> 1990-2012.</p> <p><u>Missings:</u> None.</p> <p><u>Source:</u> See variable req_ref.</p>

pop_veto Popular veto as the second category of non-required referenda according to Hug and Tsebelis (2002). The referendum issue (set by an existing veto player) is initiated by a non-existing veto-player. Non-existing veto-players are, for example, a group of citizens or a parliamentary minority.
 Coded: 1 = yes; 0 = no.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: None.
Source: See variable req_ref.

pop_init Popular initiative as the third and last category of non-required referenda according to Hug and Tsebelis (2002). A given number of electors (non-existing veto-players) have the right to launch an initiative, which later must be submitted to the people.
 Coded: 1 = yes; 0 = no.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: None.
Source: See variable req_ref.

Notes on referenda:

1. Only referenda with binding characteristics are taken into consideration. Consultative or advisory referenda, also called plebiscites, are characterized by generally non-binding results and are therefore excluded. Whether or not a referendum's result is legally binding is generally determined by a country's constitution or basic law.
2. Only referenda at national level are included.
3. Our coding does not contain information about the frequency of referenda. For more details on referenda, please refer to the Research Center on Direct Democracy: www.c2d.ch

judrev Judicial review = existence of an independent body which decides whether laws conform to the constitution.
 Coded: 1 = yes; 0 = no.
Period covered: 1990-2012.
Missings: None.
Source: Lijphart (1999), Ismayr (2003), Schmidt (2006), 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.

lfirstp Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable (see **Appendix 5**).
Period covered: 1999-2012.
Missing: : Poland and Romania 1999; Estonia and Lithuania 1999 and 2000; Czech Republic, Latvia, Slovakia and Slovenia 1999-2001 and Croatia 1999-2008.

Source: Own calculations.

lfirstpi Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable institutions (see **Appendix 5**).

Period covered: 1999-2012.

Missing: See lfirstp.

Source: Own calculations.

lfirstpb: Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable behavior (see **Appendix 5**).

Period covered: 1999-2012.

Missing: See lfirstp.

Source: Own calculations.

Appendix

Appendix 1 Notes concerning the variables `gov_right`, `gov_center` and `gov_left`

All entries were calculated on the basis of Colberg (1998), Woldendorp, Keman and Budge (1998), Ismayr (2003), Ker-Lindsay and Webb (2004 and 2005), Waschkuhn and Bestler (1997), Keesing's Archive, European Journal of Political Research, People in Power (<http://www.circa-uk.demon.co.uk/pip.html>) and the Parline database (<http://www.ipu.org/parline/parlinesearch.asp>). Where possible, the entries were gathered from the European Journal of Political Research. For the post-communist countries, all entries up to the year 2004 are primarily based on Keesing's. For the following years, entries for these countries have been retrieved from the European Journal of Political Research, too. The classification of parties was done according to Schmidt (1996). If there was no classification by Schmidt, the assignments listed below were used.

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

Appendix 2 Assignments of governing political parties to left, center, right

(For the assignment of the parliamentary political parties to party families, see **Appendix 4**)

Australia

- left Australian Labour Party, ALP
- center ----
- right Liberal Party, LIB
Country National Party, CNT

Austria

- left Socialist Party (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs, SPÖ*)
- center People's Party (*Österreichische Volkspartei, ÖVP*)
- right Freedom Party (*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ*)

Belgium

- left Social Progressive Alternative/SPIRIT (*Sociaal Progressief Alternatief, SP.a/SPIRIT*) (until 2001: Flemish Socialist Party)
Francophone Socialist Party (*Parti Socialiste, PS*)
AGALEV
ECOLO
- center Christian Democrat & Flemish (*Christen-democratisch & Vlaams, CD & V*) (until 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))
- right Open Flemish Liberals & Democrats (*Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten, Open VLD*)
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*)
- center 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 Tvorii, NDSV*)
Union of Democratic Forces (*Sil Demokratsic Sajuz, SDS*)
Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (*Grazhdani za Evropeisko Razvitie na Bulgaria, GERB*)

Canada

- left -----
- center Liberal Party, LIB
- right Progressive Conservative Party, PC

Croatia

- left Social Democratic Party of Croatia (*Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatska, SDP*)
- center 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*)
- center -----
- right The Democratic Rally (*Demokratikos Synagermos, DISY*)
The Democratic Party (*Demokratiko Komma, DIKO*)
Free/United Democrats (*Enomenoi Democrates, EDI*)
Liberal Party

Czech Republic

- left Czechoslovak Party of Social Democracy (*Ceská strana sociálne demokratická CSSD*)
Green Party (*SZ*)
- center Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party (*Kresťanská 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*)
Socialist People's Party (*Socialistisk Folkeparti, SF*)
- center Centre Democrats (*Centrum Demokraterne, CD*)
Christian People's Party (*Kristendemokraterne, KRF*)

- right Liberals (*Venstre*)
Conservative People's Party (*Det Konservative Folkeparti, KF*)
Radical Party (Social Liberal Party) (*Det Radikale Venstre, RV*)

Estonia

- left Moderates (*Möödukad*) [merger of People's Party (Estonian Social Democratic Party + Rural Centre Party) with Moderates; from 1999 on known as People's Party Moderates (*Rahvaerakond Möödukad*)]
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)]
- center 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*)
Left-Wing Alliance (*Vasemmistoliitto, VAS*)
Green League (*Vihreä Liitto, VIHR*)
- center Centre Party (*Keskusta, KESK*)
Christian Democrats (*Kristillisdemokraatit, KD*) (former Christian League, SKL)
Finnish Rural Party (*Suomen Maaseudun Puolue, 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, former: Mouvement des radicaux de gauche, MRG and Parti Radical Socialiste, PRS*)
- center Centre of Social Democrats (CDS), Democratic Force (*Force Démocrate, FD*)
Union for French Democracy (*Union pour la Démocratie Française, UDF*)
Republican Party (*Parti Républicain, PR*)
New Centre – Nouveau centre
- right Gaullists, Rally for the Republic (*Rassemblement pour la République, RPR*) (in 2002: Union for a Presidential Majority (UMP))
Radical Party (*Parti Radical*)

Germany

- left Social Democrats (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD*)

Bündnis 90/Die Grünen

- center Christian Democratic Union (*Christlich-demokratische Union, CDU*)
Christian Social Union (*Christlich-soziale Union, CSU*)

- right 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*)

- center -----

- right New Democracy (*Nea Dhimokratia, ND*)

Hungary

- left Hungarian Socialist Party (*Magyar Szocialista Párt, MSzP*)
Independent Smallholders Party (*Független Kisgazdapárt, FKGP*)

- center 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 Demokraták Szövetsége, SzDSz*)

Iceland

- left Social Democratic Party, SDP (*Althýduflokkur*)
People's Alliance, PA (*Althýdubandalag*)
Social Democratic Alliance, SDA (*Samfylkingin*)
Left-Greens, LG (*Vinstri græn*)

- center Progressive Party, PP (*Framsóknarflokkur*)

- right Independence Party, IP (*Sjálfstaedisflokkur*)
Citizens' Party, CP (*Borgaraflokkur*)

Ireland

- left Labour Party, LAB
Democratic Left, DL
Green Party, GP

- center Fine Gael, FG

- right Progressive Democrats, PD
Republican Party (*Fianna Fail, FF*)

Italy

- left Communist Party (*Partito dei Comunisti Italiani, PDCI*)
Socialist Party (*Partito Socialista Italiano, PSI*)
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 / Italy of Values (*Lista di Pietro/Italia dei Valori, IdV*)

Rose in the First (*Rosa nel Pugno, RnP*), known as "Socialists and Radicals" since December 2007.

- center
 - 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 (*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
 - Liberal Party (*Partito Liberale Italiano, PLI*)
 - Forza Italia, FI
 - Lombard League, Northern League (*Lega Lombarda, Lega Norte, LN*)
 - National Alliance (*Alleanza Nazionale, AN*)
 - People of Freedom (*Il Popolo della Libertà, PdL*)

Japan

- left
 - Social Democratic Party SDP (*Shakai Minshuto*)
 - Japan Communist Party JCP (*Nihon Kyosanto*)
 - Democratic Socialist Party DSP (*Minshu Shakaito*)
 - United Democratic Socialists (UDS)
- center
 - Clean Government Party CGP (*Komeito*)
 - (New) Sakigake Party
 - Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)
- right
 - Liberal Democratic Party LDP (*Jiyu Minshuto*)
 - Japan Renewal Party JRP
 - Japan New Party JNP (*Nihon Shinto*)
 - New Conservative Party NCP (*Hoshu Shinto*)
 - Liberal Party LP
 - People's New Party (PNP)

Note:

1. According to its party manifesto, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) is a center-left party. Since it is more to the center than to the left, we classified it as 'center' 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 but also 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 (*Zaļo un Zemnieku savienība, ZZS*) [formed of Latvian Green Party (*Latvijas Zaļā Partija*) and Latvian Farmers' Union (*Latvijas Zemnieku savienība*)]
 - Latvian Farmers' Union (*Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība, LZS*)

- center 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 Savienība 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 Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (*Lietuvos Demokratine Darbo Partija, LDDP*)
Lithuanian Peasants People Union (*Lietuvos valstiečių liaudininkų sąjunga, LPPU*)
[former Union of Farmers and New Democratic Party (*Valstiečių ir naujosios Demokratijos partijų sąjunga, 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
- center Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party (*Lietuvos Krikščionių Demokratų Partija LKDP*)
New Union - Social Liberals (*Naujoji Sąjunga – Socialliberalai, NS-SL*)
Electoral Action of the Lithuanian Poles (*Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcija, LLRA*)
- right Homeland Union - Lithuanian Conservatives (*Tevynės Sąjunga – Lietuvos Konservatoriai, TS-LK*) [in 2008: electoral alliance with the Lithuanian Christian Democrats]
Lithuanian Centre Union (*Lietuvos Centro Sąjunga, LCS*)
Lithuanian Liberal Union (*Lietuvos Liberalų Sąjunga, LLS*)
Liberal and Centre Union (merger of LCS and LLS)
Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic (*Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis, LMLR*)
Nation's Resurrection Party (*Tautos prisikėlimo partija, NRP*)
Party Order and Justice (*Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas, PTT*)

Luxembourg

- left Socialist Workers' Party (*Parti Ouvrier socialiste luxembourgeois/Letzemburger Sozialistisch Arbeiterpartei, POSL/LSAP*)
- center 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*)
- center Nationalist Party (*Partit Nazzjonalista, PN*)

- right -----

The Netherlands

- left Labour Party (*Partij van der Arbeid, PvdA*)
- center Christian Democratic Appeal (*Christen Democratisch Appel, CDA*)
Democrats '66 (*Democraten '66, D'66*)
Christian Union (*Christen Unie*)
- right People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (*Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie, VVD*)
List Pim Fortuyn, LPF

New Zealand

- left Labour Party, LAB
Alliance
Progressive Coalition
- center -----
- right National Party, NP
New Zealand First, NZF
United Party UP

Norway

- left Labour Party (*Det Norske Arbeiderparti DNA, AP*)
Socialist Left Party (*Sosialistisk Venstreparti, SV*)
- center Centre Party (*Senterpartiet, SP*), former Farmers' Party
Christian People's Party (*Kristelig Folkeparti, KRF*)
- right Conservatives (*Hoyre*)
Liberals (*Venstre*)

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 (*Socjaldemokracja Polska, SdPL*)
- center 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 Christian National Union (ZChN); Conservative Party and other small groupings]
- right Democratic Union (*Unia Demokratyczna, UD*)
Solidarity Election Action (*Akcia 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 Portuguesa, PSP*)
- center -----
- right Social Democrats, Popular Democrats (*Partido Social Democrata, PSD, Partido Popular Democrático, PPD*)
 Centre Social Democrats, Popular Party (*Partido do Centro Democrático Social, Partido Popular, CDS/PP*)

Romania

- left National Salvation Front = Democratic National Salvation Front = Party of Social Democracy from Romania (*Partidul Democratiei Sociale din Romania PDSR*) = Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat PSD*)
 Ecological Movement from Romania (*Mișcarea Ecologistă din România*)
 National Salvation Front - Democratic Party = Democratic Party (*Partidul Democrat PD*)
 Democratic Agrarian Party from Romania (*Partidul Democrat Agrar din România*)
 National Union for Romania's Progress (*Uniunea Nationala pentru Progresul Romaniei, UNPR*)
- center Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania (*Uniunea Democratică a Maghiarilor din România UDMR*)
 Conservative Party of Romania (*Partidul Conservator, PC*) [former: Alliance Social Democratic Party – Humanist Party of Romania]
- right National Liberal Party (*Partidul Național 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 Ľavice, SDL'*) since 96
 Association of Slovak Workers (*Združenie Robotníkov Slovenska, ZRS*)
 Direction (*Smer, S*)
- center Christian Democratic Movement (*Krestanskodemokraticke Hnutie, KDH*)
 Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (*SDKU*) [in 2006 merged with Democratic 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 občana, 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 Democrats (*SLS/SKD*)
Democratic Party of Pensioners (*DeSUS*)
- center 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 (*Državljska lista Gregorja Viranta, DLGV*)

Spain

- left Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE*)
- center Popular Alliance, Popular Party (*Alianza Popular/Partido Popular, AP/PP*)
- right -----

Sweden

- left Social Democrats (*Socialdemokraterna, S*)
- center 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 Suisse, SPS/ PSS*)
- center Christian Democrats (*Christlich Demokratische 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
- center -----
- right Conservative Party, CON
Liberal Democrats

USA

- left -----
- center 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 included data on votes and seats for a party only if it reached at least 2% of the 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 (0).

For example, the only Liberal Party in country X has in 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	sliberal1
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 (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.

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 "alliance".

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

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set III, 1990-2012

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).

“No-label” is a residual category for those parties which could not be placed in any of the categories above. The “personalist” label is used to designate parties created to support one candidate and which cannot be assigned an ideological label. “Pensioners” is a category comprised of parties of pensioners and persons with special needs. The “conservative” 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 name						
socialist	social1	social2	social3	social4	social5	social6	social7
left-socialist	leftsoc1	leftsoc2	leftsoc3				
communist	comm1	comm2	comm3				
post-communist*	postco1						
agrarian	agrarian						
conservative	conserv1	conserv2	conserv3	conserv4	conserv5		
religious	relig1	relig2	relig3	relig4	relig5	relig6	
liberal	liberal1	liberal2	liberal3	liberal4	liberal5	liberal6	liberal7
protest	protest1	protest2	protest3				
green	green1	green2	green3				
ethnic	ethnic1	ethnic2	ethnic3				
right	right1	right2	right3	right4	right5		
regionalist*	regio1						
feminist*	femin1						
monarchist*	monarch1						
personalist*	person1						
alliance	allia1	allia2	allia3	allia4	allia5	allia6	
independents	independ						
pensioners*	pension						
non label*	nonlbl1	nonlbl2					

* These labels are used exclusively to classify post-communist countries.

If there is no party for a given variable, ‘0’ is entered. For example, since the UK has no agrarian party, the variable ‘agrarian’ has the value ‘0’ in the case of the UK.

The share of votes is 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, votes for the Australian Labour Party are entered under 'social1'; the variable 'ssocial1' denotes the share of seats of the Australian Labour party.

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)
- agrarian 7) Country Party, National Party
- conserv1 18) Australian Liberal Party
- conserv2 --- One Nation
- conserv3 --- Family First
- liberal1 27) Australian Democrats
- green1 --- Australian Greens

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Austria

- social1 1) Socialist Party (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs, SPÖ*)
- relig1 2) People's Party (*Österreichische Volkspartei, ÖVP*)
- liberal1 17) Liberal Forum (*Liberales Forum, LiF*)
- protest1 --- List Dr Martin – For Democracy, Control and Justice (*Liste Dr Martin*)
- green1 15) Green Alternative (*Alternative Liste Österreichs, Grüne*)
- right1 11) Freedom Party (*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ*)
- right2 --- Alliance for the Future of Austria (*Bündnis Zukunft Österreich, BZÖ*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Belgium

- social1 31) Francophone Socialist Party (*Parti Socialiste, PS*)
- social2 30) Social Progressive Alternative/SPIRIT (*Sociaal Progressief Alternatief, SP.a/SPIRIT*) (until 2001: Flemish Socialist Party (SP))
- comm1 10) Communist Party (*Kommunistische Partij van België/ Parti Communiste de Belgique, KPB/PCB*)
- relig1 20) Democrat Humanist Centre (*Centre Démocrate Humaniste, CDH*) (until 2002: Francophone Christian Social Party (PSC))
- relig2 19) Christian Democrat & Flemish (*Christen-democratisch & Vlaams, CD & V*) (until 2001: Flemish Christian People's Party (CVP)) (in 2007: alliance with N-VA)
- liberal1 22) Reform Movement (*Mouvement Réformateur, MR*) (former: Francophone Liberal Reform Party (PRL); in 1995: Alliance with FDF; in 1999: Fédération PRL-FDF-MCC) (Francophone)
- liberal2 21) Open Flemish Liberals & Democrats (*Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten, Open VLD*) (former: Flemish Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV))
- liberal3 -- Vivant
- liberal4 -- De Decker's list

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set III, 1990-2012

- protest1 32) ROSSEM/ROSSUM (*Rassemblement omnipresent social et solicaire pour l'ubiquité des masses*)
- green1 26) ECOLO (Francophone)
- green2 27) Green! (*Groen!*) (former: AGALEV) (Flemish)
- ethnic1 8) New Flemish Alliance (*Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie, N-VA*) (former: Flemish/People's Union (VU))
- right1 29) Flemish Interest (*Vlaams Belang*) (former: Flemish Block (*Flaams Blok*))
- right2 33) National Front (*Front National, FN-NF*) (Francophone)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Bulgaria

- social1 Democratic Alternative for the Republic (*Demokratichna Alternativa za Republika, DAR*)
- social2 Coalition for the Democratic Left [comprised of Bulgarian Socialist Party (*Balgarska Socialisticheska Partiya*); Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union - Alexander Stanboliski (*Balgarski Zemedelski Narodni Sajuz - Aleksander Stanbolijski*) and PC "Ecoglasnost"]
- social3 Coalition Euroleft (*Bulgarska Evrolevitsa*)
- leftsoc1 Coalition for Bulgaria (*Koalicija za Balgarija*) [comprised of Bulgarian Socialist Party, "Social Democrats" Political Movement, United Labour Block, Bulgarian Agrarian Union "Al. Stamboliyski - 1899", Union for the Fatherland, Social-Liberal Progress Alliance, "Forward Bulgaria" Movement, Communist Party of Bulgaria, "Trakiya" Political Club, "Roma" Civil Alliance]
- postco1 Bulgarian Socialist Party (*Balgarska Socialisticheska Partija BSP*)
- agrarian1 Bulgarian National People's Union - official (*Balgarski Zemedelski Narodni Sajuz BZNS*)
- agrarian2 Bulgarian National People's Union - United (*Balgarski Zemedelski Narodni Sajuz - O, BZNS-O*)
- agrarian3 Bulgarian National People's Union - Nikola Petkov (*Balgarski Zemedelski Narodni Sajuz - Nikola Petko, BZNS-NP*)
- conserv1 Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (*Grazhdani za Evropeisko Razvitiie na Bulgaria, GERB*)
- conserv2 Order, Law and Justice (*Red, Zakonnost i Spravedlivost, RZS*)
- relig1 Union of Democratic Forces (*Sil Demokratski Sajuz SDS*)
- relig2 People's Union (*Narodni Sajuz NS*) [comprised of Bulgarian Agrarian National Union and Democratic Party]
- liberal1 Union of Democratic Forces - Centre (*Sil Demokratski Sajuz - tsentrum, SDS-ts*)
- liberal2 Union of Democratic Forces - Liberal (*Sil Demokratski Sajuz Liberali, SDS-l*)
- liberal3 Bulgarian Business Bloc (*Balgarski Biznes Blok, BBB*)
- liberal4 Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria (*Demokrati za Silna Balgarija, DSB*)
- liberal5 Lider
- ethnic1 Movement for Rights and Freedoms (*Dvizhenie za Prava i Svobodi, DPS*)
- ethnic2 Coalition Movement for Rights and Freedoms (*Dvizhenie za Pravata i Svobodie*) [comprised of Movement for Rights and Freedoms, (*Dvizhenie za Pravata i Svobodie*); Liberal Union (*Liberalni Sajuz*) and Euroroma (*Evroroma*)]
- right1 George Day-International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (*VMRO-Gergiovdni*)
- right2 Party Ataka (*Nacionalno Obedinenie Ataka*) [comprised of National Movement for the Salvation of the Fatherland (*Nacionalno Dvizhenie za Spasenie na Otecestvoto*), Bulgarian National Patriotic Party (*Balgarska Nacionalna-Patrioticheska Partija*), Union of Patriotic Forces and Militaries of the Reserve Defense (*Sajuz na Patriotichnite Sili i Voinite ot Zapaca Zacshita*)]
- monarch1 Coalition Simeon II (*Koalicija Simeon II*)

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set III, 1990-2012

- person1 National Movement for Stability and Progress (*Nacionalno движение за stabilnost i vāzhod, NDSV*) [Until 2007: National Movement Simeon II (*Nacionalno Dvisenie Simeon Tvorі, NDSV*)]
- allia1 Bulgarian People's Union (*Balgarskij Narodен Sajuz*) [comprised of Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union-People's Union (*Balgarski Zemedelski Narodен Sajuz- Narodен 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 center-right parties, most notably the Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria (*liberal4*) and Union of Democratic Forces (*relig1*)]
- others1 small parties

Source:

www.broadleft.org/socdem.htm
 www.socialistinternational.org
 www.broadleft.org/communis.htm
 www.vmro.bg
 http://www.ndsv.bg/

Canada

- social1 8) CCF, New Democratic Party
- conserv1 1) (Progressive) Conservative Party
- liberal1 2) Liberal Party
- protest1 17) Reform Party/Canadian Alliance (joined Conservative Party in 2004)
- green1 --- Green
- ethnic1 18) Bloc Québécois

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997)

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 Croatian Labourists – Labour Party (*Hrvatski Laburisti - Stranka Rada, HL_SR*)
- agrarian1 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 Center (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 (*Hrvatska Socijalno Liberalna Stranka, HSLs*) and Democratic Center (*Demokratski Centar, DC*)
- right1 Croatian Party of Rights (*Hrvatska Stranka Prava, HSP*) (2000 in coalition 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*)

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set III, 1990-2012

- regio1 Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja (*Hrvatski Demokratski savez Slavonije i Baranje, HDSSB*)
- 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 Hrvatska Stranka, SBHS*)
- allia2 Croatian Peasant Party (*Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka, HSS*), Liberal Party (*Liberalna Stranka, LS*) Croatian People's Party (*Hrvatska Narodna Stranka, HNS*) and Istrian Democratic Assembly (*Istarski Demokratski Sabor, IDS*)
- pension1 Croatian Party of Pensioners (*Hrvatska Stranka Umirovljenika, HSU*)
- pension2 Bloc Pensioners Together (*Blok Umirovljenici Zajedno, BUZ*)

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 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*)

Sources:

Axt and Choisi (1998); Bahcheli (1998); Christophorou (2001); Katsourides (2003); Ker-Lindsay and Webb (2004); Laipson (1993); Tsermias (1998); Zervakis (2004).

Homepage of Democratic Rally of Cyprus: <http://www.disy.org.cy/#>, (Download: 2006-20-09).

Movement of Social Democrats (EDEK):

<http://www.edek.org.cy/index2.php?page=movement&id=39&lang=en>, (Download: 2006-20-09).

Czech Republic

- social1 Social Democracy
- social2 Left Bloc
- social3 Czechoslovak Party of Social Democracy (*Ceská strana sociálně demokratická CSSD*)
- social4 Party of Citizen Rights/Zemans' (*Strana práv Občanů/Zemanovci SPOZ*)
- leftsoc1 Czechoslovak Socialist Party
- comm1 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (*Komunistická strana Československa, SCK*)
- comm2 Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (*Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy, KSCM*)
- agrarian1 Alliance of the Farmers and the Countryside (*Spojenectví Zemědelcu a Venkova, ZSV*)
- conserv1 Civic Democratic Party (*Obcanská Demokratická 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 (*Křesťanská a Demokratická Unie, KDU*)
- liberal1 Civic Forum (*Obcanské fórum, OF*)
- liberal2 Civic Democratic Alliance (*Obcanská demokratická aliance, ODA*)

- liberal3 Civil Movement (*Občanské hnutí, OH*)
- liberal4 Party of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs, Tradesmen and Farmers (*Strana Podnikatelů a Obchodníků, SPO*)
- liberal5 Democratic Union (*Demokratická Unie, DU*)
- liberal6 Free Democrats - National Social Liberal Party (*Svobodni Demokraté - Liberální Strana Národne Sociální, SD - LSNS*)
- liberal7 Freedom Union (*Unie Svobody, US*)
- green1 Green Party (*Strana Zelených, SZ*)
- right1 Rally for the Republic - Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (*Sdružení Pro Republiku – Republikánská Strana Československa, SPR-RSC*)
- right2 Sovereignty/Jana Bobošíková Bloc (*Suverenita/blok Jany Bobošíková, SUV*)
- regio1 Movement for Self-Governing Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia (*Hnutí za samosprávnou demokracii-Společnost pro Moravu a Slezsko, HSD-SMS*)
- allia1 Liberal Social Union (*Liberálně Sociální Unie, LSU*)
- allia2 Christian Democratic Union/Czech People's Party and Freedom Union-Democratic Union (*Křesťanka a Demokratická Unie/Ceskoslovenska Strana Lidova. KDU/CSL – Unie Svobody/Demokratická Unie, US/DEU*) [christian democrats and liberals]
- pension Pensioners for Secure Living (*Duchodci za Životní Jistoty, DZJ*)
- nonlab1 Association of Independents (*Sdružení nezávislych, SN*)

Sources:

Bugajski (2002).
www.broadleft.org/communis.htm
www.idc-cdi.org/parties/miembros_idc/

Denmark

- social1 4) Social Democrats (*Socialdemokratiet, SD*)
- leftsoc1 16) Socialist People's Party (*Socialistisk Folkeparti*)
- comm1 24) The Unity List (*Enhedslisten, EL*)
- conserv1 1) Conservative People's Party (KF)
- relig1 19) Christian People's Party (*Kristendemokraterne, KRF*)
- liberal1 5) Radical Party (Social Liberal Party) (*Det Radikale Venstre, RV*)
- liberal2 6) Liberals (*Venstre*)
- liberal3 20) Centre Democrats (*Centrum Demokraterne, CD*)
- liberal4 --- New Alliance
- protest1 21) Progress Party (*Fremskridtspartiet, FP*)
- right1 --- Danish People's Party (*Dansk Folkeparti, DF*), splinter from the Progress Party, see EJPR vol. 36:377.

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Estonia

- social1 Secure Home (*Kindel Kodu*) [comprised of Estonian Coalition Party; Land Union; 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 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*) - KMU [comprised of Estonian Coalition Party (KE or KMU-K), Estonian

- agrarian3 Rural Union (EM or KMU-M), Estonian Country People's Party (EME), Estonian Pensioners' and Families' League (EPPL) and Farmers' Assembly (PK)]
- conserv1 Estonian Rural People's Party (*Eesti Maarahva Erakond, EME*)
- conserv2 Homeland (*Isamaa*) until 1999; in 1999 merged with Pro Patria and (*Isamaaliit*)
- conserv3 Republican and Conservative People's Party - Right-Wingers (*Vavariiklaste ja Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond – Parempoolsed, VKR*)
- conserv4 Union for the Republic Res Publica (*Ühendus Vabariigi Eest - Res Publica, ResP*)
- conserv5 Estonian People's Union (*Rahsaliit, RL*)
- conserv6 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 Independence 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 Estonian Greens (*Eesti Rohelised, ER*)
- ethnic1 Our Home is Estonia (*Meie Kodu on Estimaa, MKE*) [comprised of United People's Party; Russian Party; Estonian Russian People's Party]
- ethnic2 Estonian United People's Party (*Eesti Uhendatud Rahvapartei / Obedinennaya Narodnaya Partya Estonii*)
- ethnic3 Russian Party in Estonia (*Vene Erakond Eestis, VEE*)
- right1 Estonian Citizens (*Eesti Kodanik*)
- right2 Estonian National Independence Party (*Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatuse Partei, ERSP*)
- right3 Estonian Future Party (*Tulevikupartei, TP*)
- right4 Better Estonia + Estonian Citizens (*Parem Eesti ja Eesti Kodanik, PE & EK*)
- allia1 Popular Front of Estonia (*Rahvarinne*)
- indepen independent candidates
- pension Estonian Pensioners' Union

Sources:

- Bugajski (2002).
www.broadleft.org/natliber.htm
www.idc-cdi.org/parties/miembros_idc/
www.europeanforum.net
www.broadleft.org/socdem.htm
www.socialistinternational.org/maps/english/europe.htm

Finland

- social1 1) Social Democrats (*Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue, SDP*)
- comm1 13) Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL)
- comm2 22) Democratic Alternative (DEVA)
- comm3 23) Left-Wing Alliance (*Vasemmistoliitto, VAS*)
- agrarian 4) Centre Party (*Keskusta, KESK*)
- conserv1 8) National Coalition (*Kansallinen Kokoomus, KOK*)
- relig1 16) Christian Democrats (*Suomen Kriistillisdemokraatit KD*) (until 1999: Christian League (*Suomen Kriistillinen Liitto, SKL*))
- liberal1 --- Progressive Finnish Party (*NUORS*)
- protest1 17) Finnish Rural Party (*Suomen Maaseudun Puolue, SMP*) (since 1995: True Finns (right1))
- green1 20) Green League (*Vihreä Liitto, VIHHR*)
- ethnic1 2) Swedish People's Party (*Svenska Folkepartiet I Finland, SFP/RKP*)

- right1 17) True Finns (*Perussuomalaiset, PS*) (until 1994: Finnish Rural Party (SMP; protest1))

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

France

- social1 1) Socialist Party (*Parti Socialiste, PS*)
- social2 --- Other Left
- leftsoc1 --- Extreme/Far Left (*Extrême gauche*)
- comm1 9) Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Français, PCF*)
- liberal1 Radical Left (*Radical de Gauche, PRG*)
- conserv1 12) Conservatives/Moderates
- conserv2 14) Gaullists, Rally for the Republic (*Rassemblement pour la République, RPR*) (in 2002: Union for a Presidential Majority (*Union pour la Majorité Présidentielle, UMP*; in 2007: *Union pour un mouvement populaire*))
- conserv3 30) Union for French Democracy (*Union pour la Démocratie Française, UDF*)
- relig1 New Center (*Nouveau Centre*)
- green1 28) Greens (*Écologistes*)
- green2 31) Generation Ecology
- green3 --- Other Ecologists (*Autres Écologistes*)
- right1 29) National Front (*Front National, FN*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Germany

- social1 2) Social Democrats (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD*)
- comm1 --- Party of Democratic Socialism (*Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus, PDS*); since 2005: The Left (*Die Linke*)
- relig1 36) Christian Democratic Union (*Christlich Demokratische Union, CDU*)
- relig2 37) Christian Social Union (*Christlich Soziale Union, CSU*)
- liberal1 38) Free Democrats (*Freie Demokratische Partei, FDP*)
- liberal2 --- Pirate Party (*Piratenpartei Deutschland*)
- green1 51) Greens/Alliance 90 (*Bündnis 90/Grüne*)
- right1 57) Republicans (*Die Republikaner*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Greece

- social1 37) Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (*Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima, PASOK*)
- social2 --- Democratic Social Movement
- leftsoc1 --- Democratic Left (*Dimokratiki Aristera, DIMAR*)
- comm1 4) Communist Party (*Kommunistiko Komma Elladas, KKE*)
- comm2 47) Coalition of Left and Progress (*since 2007: Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)*)
- conserv1 36) New Democracy (*Nea Dhimokratia, ND*)
- conserv2 50) Political Spring (POLAN)
- green1 --- Ecologists Greens (*Oikologoi Prasinoi, OP*)
- right1 --- Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)
- right2 --- Independent Hellenes (Anexartitoi Ellines, ANEL)
- right3 --- Golden Dawn (*Chrysi Avgi, XA*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

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*)
- agrarian2 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*); note: In 2002 FIDESZ was in an electoral coalition with the Hungarian Democratic Forum (*MDF*) and in 2006 as in 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 Demokraták Szövetsége, SzDSz*)
- green1 Politics Can be Different (*Lehet Más a Politika, LMP*)
- right1 Hungarian Justice and Life Party (*Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja, MIÉP*)
- right2 For the Right Hungary (*Jobbik*)
- indepen independent candidates
- others2 joint candidates – candidates supported by at least two parties in some circumscriptions

Sources:

Bugajski (2002).
www.broadleft.org/socdem.htm
www.broadleft.org/communis.htm
www.idc-cdi.org/parties/miembros_idc/
www.socialistinternational.org/maps/english/europe.htm

Iceland

- social1 7) Social Democrats (SDP) (*Althýduflokkur*)
- social2 --- People's Movement (PM) (*Thjodovaki – hreyfing fólksins*)
- leftsoc1 36) Social Democratic Alliance (SDA) (1999: United Left) (*Samfylkingin*)
- comm1 37) Left-Greens (*Vinstri graen*) (until 1999: People's Alliance (PA) (*Althýdubandalag*))
- agrarian1 8) Progressive Party (PP) (*Framsóknarflokkur*)
- conserv1 13) Independence Party II (IP) (*Sjálfstaedisflokkur*)
- protest1 24) The Civic Movement II (*Borgaraflokkur*)
- protest2 38) Liberal Party (LP) (*Frjálslyndi flokkurinn*)
- protest3 --- The Civic Movement (*Borgarahreyfingin, CM*)
(founded in 2009, the party only existed for a few months. Due to internal conflict a new party was formed: The Movement; *Hreyfingin*)
- green1 23) Women's Alliance (WA) (*Samtök um kvennalista*)
- green2 -- Iceland Movement

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Ireland

- social1 8) Irish Labour Party
- leftsoc1 19) Workers' Party
- leftsoc2 --- Democratic Left (joined Labour Party in 2002)

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set III, 1990-2012

- leftsoc3 --- United Left Alliance [comprised of the Socialist Party, People Before Profit Alliance and Workers and Unemployed Action Group]
- relig1 14) Fine Gael
- liberal1 10) Fianna Fail
- green1 24) Green Party
- ethnic1 6) Sinn Féin II, Sinn Féin III from 1982 onwards
- ethnic2 25) Progressive Democrats
- indepen --- Independent candidates

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Italy

- social1 3) Socialist Party (in 2001: New PSI (*Nuovo PSI*)) (*Partito Socialista Italiana, PSI*)
- social2 23) Social Democratic Party (*Partito Socialista Democratica Italiano, PSDI*)
- social3 ---Democratic Party (*Partito Democratico, PD*) (formerly The Olive Tree and Rose in the Fist)
- leftsoc1 --- Party of the Democratic Left (*Democratici di Sinistra, DS*) (reformist wing of the dispaned PCI (1991))
- leftsoc2 ---The Left/The Rainbow (*La Sinistra/L'Arcobaleno, SA*)
- comm1 11) Communist Party (*Partito Comunista Italiano, PCI*)
- comm2 50) Communist Refoundation (RC) (left wing of the dispaned PCI (1991))
- conserv1 61) Forza Italia
- conserv2 ---The People of Freedom (*Il Popolo della Libertà, PDL*) (comprised of Forza Italia and National Alliance)
- relig1 17) Christian Democratic Party (*Democrazia Cristiana, DC*), (since 1994: Italian Popular Party (*Partito Popolare Italiano, PPI*))
- relig2 --- Segni Pact (*Patto Segni*)
- relig3 --- Christian Democratic Centre (*Centro Cristiano Democratico, CCD*)/United Christian Democrats (*Unione dei Democratici Cristiani, UDC*) (conservative wing of the former DC (since 1994)) (since 2006 known as Democratic Centre Union/*Unione Democratica di Centro*)
- relig4 --- European Democracy (DE)
- liberal1 19) Liberal Party (*Partito Liberale Italiano, PLI*)
- liberal2 4) Republican Party (*Partito Repubblicano Italiano, PRI*)
- liberal3 34) Radical Party (PR)
- liberal4 --- Dini List – Italian Renewal
- liberal5 --- Di Pietro List
- protest1 --- Pannella List Reformers
- green1 45) Greens (formerly Green Federation (*Federazione delle Liste Verdi*))
- right1 24) National Alliance (*Alleanza Nazionale, AN*) (formerly Social Movement (MSI-DN))
- right2 42) Northern League (*Lega Nord*) (formerly Lombard League (*Lega Lombarda*))
- allia1 2001: La Margherita (PPI, the Democrats, Italian Renewal, UDEUR)

1994: Introduction of a new electoral system. 474 of 630 MPs 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 was re-introduced.

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Japan

- social1 35) Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party), SDP (*Nihon Shakaito*)
- social2 44) Democratic Socialist Party, DSP (*Minshu Shakaito*)
- social3 --- Democratic Party of Japan, DPJ
- comm1 31) Japanese Communist Party, JCP (*Nihon Kyosanto*)
- conserv1 43) Liberal Democratic Party, LDP (*Jiyu Minshuto*)
- conserv2 48) Japan Renewal Party, JRP (*Shinsei To*)
- conserv3 49) Japan New Party, JNP (*Nihon Shinto*)
- conserv4 --- New Frontier Party (NFP) (Merger of JRP, JNP, DSP, and Komei in 1994. In 1997, NFP broke up into Democratic Political Party, 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-Clean Government Party, CGP (*Komeito*)
- liberal1 --- Your Party, YP
- green1 --- Tomorrow Party of Japan, TPJ (Nippon Mirai no Tō)
- right1 --- Japan Restoration Party, JRP (*Nippon Ishin no Kai*)
- indepen --- independent candidates

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 a share of 32.8% in the proportional system. The arithmetic mean is: $(38.6 \cdot 300/500) + (32.8 \cdot 200/500) + 36.28 = 36.3$.

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Latvia

- social1 Democratic Centre Party (since 1995, Democratic Party "Master" (*DPS Saimnieks*))
- social2 Harmony for Latvia - Revival for the Economy (*Saskana Latvijai – Atdzimsana Tautsaimniecībai*)
- social3 National Harmony Party (*Tautas Saskaņas 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 Sociāldemokrātiskā Strādnieku Partija, LSDSP*)
- social8 Harmony Center (*Saskaņas 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 Socialistiskā Partija / Socialisticheskaya Partiya Latvij*)
- agrarian1 Latvian Farmers' Union (*Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība, LZS*)
- agrarian2 Green and Farmers Union (*Zaīo un Zemnieku savienība, ZZS*) [comprised of Latvian Green Party (*Latvijas Zaīā Partija, LZP*) and Latvian Farmers' Union (*Latvijas Zemnieku savienība*)]
- 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 Pirmā 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 cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā, 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 Latvijai – Zīģerista 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 Latvijai/TB/LNNK*) (competed in 2011 under the name National Union [*Nacionālā apvienība „Visu Latvijai!” – „Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK*], *NA*)
- allia1 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*)

Sources:

Bugajski (2002).

www.socialistinternational.org/maps/english/europe.htm

www.broadleft.org/communis.htm

<http://www.politics.lv/en/psistema/4.1/16.htm>

Lithuania

- social1 Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party (*Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partija, LSDP*) [2000 election: Largest part of the Social-Democratic Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas which involved additionally the Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party, the Union of Lithuanian Russians and the Party of New Democracy, 2004 elections: Largest part of the Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas and Artras Paulauskas 'Working for Lithuania' (*Algirdo Brazausko ir Art ro Paulausko koalicija 'U darb Lietuvai'*)]
- social2 Labour Party, [2008: Coalition of Labour Party + Youth (*Koalicija Darbo partija + jaunimas*)
- social3 Frontas Party (*Fronto partija*)
- leftsoc1 Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party (*Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partija, LSDP*)
- postco1 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 valstiečių liaudininkų sąjunga, 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 Sąjunga – Lietuvos Konservatoriai, TS-LK*)

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set III, 1990-2012

- 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 (*Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas, O&J*) [competed in 2004 under the name Coalition of Rolandas Paksas "For Order and Justice"]
- liberal7 Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic (*Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis, LMLR*)
- ethnic1 Electoral Action of the Lithuanian Poles (1992: Union of Lithuanian Poles) (*Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcija LLRA*)
- ethnic2 Alliance of the the Lithuanian National Minorities
- protest1 Nation's Resurrection Party (*Tautos prisikėlimo partija, NRP*)
- protest2 Political Party "Way of Courage" (*Politinė partija "Drasos kelias", DK*)
- right1 Lithuanian National Party 'Young Lithuania' (*Lietuvių Nacionalinė 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 Sajūdis Coalition [comprised of Lithuanian Movement Sajūdis 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"
- indepen independent candidates

Sources:

Bugajski (2002).

www.broadleft.org/communis.htm

www.broadleft.org/socdem.htm

www.socialistinternational.org/maps/english/europe.htm

www.idc-cdi.org/parties/miembros_idc/

Luxembourg

- social1 2) Socialist Workers' Party (*Letzeburger Sozialistesch Arbechterpartei, LSAP/Parti Ouvrier Socialist Luxembourggeois, POSL*)
- leftsoc1 --- The Left (*Déi Lénk*)
- comm1 7) Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Luxembourggeois, PCL/Kommunistesch Partei vu Letzeburg, KPL*)
- relig1 1) Christian Social Party (*Parti Chrétien Socialiste, PCS/Chrestlech Sozial Vollekspartei, CSV*)
- liberal1 16) Democratic Party (Liberal Party) (*Parti Démocratique, PD/Demokratesch Partei, DP*)
- protest1 24) Alternative Democratic Reform Party (*Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei, ADR*) (Until 2006: Action Committee for Democracy and Pensions' Right (Pensions Action) (*Aktiouns-komite 5/6Pensioun fir jiddfereen*))
- green1 23) Green Alternative (*Di Greng Alternativ, GAP*)
- green2 26) Green Left (*Greng Lescht Ekologesch Initiativ, GLEI*)
- green3 28) Green Party (GLEI-GAP) (a merger of 23 and 26 in 1994)
- right1 27) Luxembourg for the Luxembourgers (*Letzebuerg fir de Letzebuenger National Bewegung*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Malta

- social1 Malta Labour Party, MLP (*Partit Laburista*)
- relig1 Nationalist Party, PN (*Partit Nazzjonalista*)

Source:

Waschkuhn and Bestler (1997).

The Netherlands

- social1 23) Labour Party (*Partij van der Arbeid, PvdA*)
- leftsoc1 38) Socialist Party (*Socialistische Partij, SP*)
- relig1 1) Anti Revolutionary Party (*Anti-Revolutionaire Partij, ARP*) (in 1998: Reformed Political Federation (RPF), a splinter from the ARP)
- relig2 34) Christian Democratic Appeal (*Christen Democratisch Appeal, CDA*) (merger of ARP, KVP, and CHU in 1977)
- relig3 --- Christian Union (*Christen Unie*) (merger of RPF and Reformed Political Union in 2002)
- relig4 Political Reformed Party (*Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij, SGP*)
- liberal1 24) People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Liberal Party) (*Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie, VVD*)
- liberal2 29) Democrats' 66 (*Democraten '66, D66*)
- protest1 42) United Old Persons' League, General Association of Elderly People (*Algemeen Ouderen Verbond, AOV*)
- green1 38) Green Left (*Groen Links, GL*) (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 (*Partij voor de Vrijheid, PVV*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

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)
- conserv1 9) National Party
- conserv2 --- United Future New Zealand
- conserv3 21) New Zealand First
- relig1 16) Christian Heritage
- relig2 Christian Coalition (electoral alliance of Christian Heritage Party (16) and the Christian Democrats)
- liberal1 --- Association of Consumers and Taxpayers (ACT)
- green1 17) Green Party (Aotearoa) (was part of Alliance, 20, from 1991 until 1998)
- ethnic1 --- Maori Party

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'.

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Norway

- social1 4) Labour Party (*Det Norske Arbeiderparti, DNA*)
- leftsoc1 14) Socialist Left (*Sosialistisk Venstreparti, SV*) (formerly Socialist People's Party)
- agrarian1 7) Centre Party (*Senterpartiet, SP*) (formerly Farmers' Party)
- conserv1 2) Conservatives (*Hoyre*)
- relig1 10) Christian People's Party (*Kristelig Folkeparti, KRF*)
- liberal1 1) Liberals (*Venstre*)

- protest1 15) Progress Party (*Fremsskrittspartiet, FRP*) (formerly Anders Lange's Party)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

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*) [comprised by Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD), Polish Social Democracy (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 Solidarity Peasant Union]
- agrarian3 Self-Defence of Polish Republic (*Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, SRP*)
- conserv1 Union of the Right of the Republic (*Unia Prawicy Rzeczypospolitej, UPR*) [formed around the Union of Political Realism by several conservative groups]
- conserv2 Coalition for the Republic [comprised of Movement for the Republic, Polish Action and Freedom Party]
- conserv3 Law and Justice (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS*), successor of the Center Agreement Party (*Porozumienie Centrum, PC*) 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 Chrześcijańskich Demokratów, PChD*)
- relig2 Union of Political Realism (*Unia Polityki Realnej, UPR*)
- relig3 Catholic Election Action (*Wyborcza Akcja Katolicka, WAK*) [comprised of Christian National Union; Conservative Party and other small groupings]
- relig4 Fatherland Catholic Electoral Committee [comprised of Christian National Union; Conservative Party and Christian Peasant Party]
- relig5 Solidarity Election Action (*Akcja 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 Union (liberal1) and Liberal Democratic Congress (liberal2)]]
- liberal5 Civic Platform (*Platforma Obywatelska*)
- liberal6 Palikot's Movement (*Ruch Palikota, RP*)
- right1 Confederation for Independent Poland (*Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej, KPN*)
- right2 Party X
- right3 Movement for Rebuilding Poland (*Ruch Odbudowy Polski, ROP*)
- nonl1 Polish Friends of Beer Party (*Polska Partia Przyjaciół Piwa, PPPP*)

Sources:

Bugajski (2002);

East European Perspectives, 19. April 2000, Volume 2, 8.

<http://ww2.lpr.pl/>

www.broadleft.org/socdem.htm

www.socialistinternational.org/maps/english/europe.htm

Portugal

- social1 4) Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Português, PSP*)
- leftsoc1 --- Block of the Left (*Bloco de Esquerda, B.E.*) (Merger of Popular Democratic Union (7), Socialist Revolutionary Party and Política XXI in 1999)
- comm1 2/19) Communist Party/Greens, Democratic Unity Coalition (*Partido Comunista Português - Partido Ecologista 'Os Verdes', PCP-PEV*), (1987-1995 named United Democratic Coalition (CDU), until 1987 Communist Party)
- relig1 1) Centre Social Democrats, Popular Party (*Partido do Centro Democrático Social – Partido Popular, CDS-PP*)
- liberal1 3) Social Democratic Party (*Partido Social Democrático, PSD*) (formerly Popular Democrats, PPD)
- liberal2 17) Democratic Renewal Party (*Partido Renovador Democrático, PRD*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Romania

- social1 Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat, PSD*), [former National Salvation Front = Democratic National Salvation Front = Party of Social Democracy from Romania (*Partidul Democratiei Sociale din România PDSR*); in 2004: Alliance with the Humanist Party of Romania (*Partidul Umanist din România, 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 *Uniunea Social Democrată*]; comprised of Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party of Romania]
- social3 Alliance for Romania (*Alianța pentru România*)
- leftsoc1 Socialist Party (*Partidul Socialist*)
- postco1 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 Național Țărănesc – Creștin Democrat*)
- liberal1 National Liberal Party (*Partidul Național Liberal, PNL*)
- liberal2 Alliance Truth and Justice, in 2004: An electoral coalition of the National liberal party (liberal1) and the Democratic Party (social2)
- liberal3 Democrat-Liberal Party (*Partidul Democrat-Liberal*) [formed through the incorporation of a PNL dissident group into the Democrat Party, 2012: major part in the Right Romania Alliance (*Alianța România Dreaptă, ARD*) also part of the electortal alliance were the National Christian Democrat Peasant Party (*Partidul Național Țărănesc – Creștin Democrat, PNTCD*) and the Civic Force Party (*Partidul Forța Civică, PFC*)]
- green1 Ecological Movement from Romania (*Mișcarea Ecologistă din România, MER*)
- ethnic1 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]
- person1 Polpular Party Dan Diaconescu (*Partidul Popular Dan Diaconescu, PPDD*)
- allia1 Democratic Convention from Romania (*Convenția Democrată din România*), [In 2000: Democratic Convention from Romania 2000 (*Convenția Democrată din România 2000*)]

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set III, 1990-2012

- allia2 Social Liberal Union (*Uniunea Social Liberală, USL*), [the alliance consists of the Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat, PSD*), National Liberal Party (*Partidul Național Liberal, PNL*) and Conservative Party]
- indepen independent candidates
- nonlbl1 New Generation Party (PNG)-Christian-Democrat (*Partidul Noua Generație/Crestin-Democrat*)

Sources:

Bugajski (2002).
www.broadleft.org/socdem.htm
www.socialistinternational.org/maps/english/europe.htm
www.idc-cdi.org/parties/miembros_idc/

Slovakia

- social1 Social Democratic Party of Slovakia (*Socialno Demokratická Strana Slovenska, SDSS*)
- social2 Common Choice (*Spoločná Voľba, SV*) [comprised of Party of the Democratic 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 Ľavice, 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 Ľavice, SDL'*) since 1996
- comm1 Communist Party of Slovakia (*Komunistická Strana Slovenska, KSS*)
- comm2 Association of Slovak Workers (*Združenie Robotníkov Slovenska, ZRS*)
- postco1 Party of the Democratic Left (*Strana Demokratickej Ľavice, SDL'*) until 1996
- agrarian1 Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside
- relig1 Christian Democratic Movement (*Kresťanskodemokraticke 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: *Občianská 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 Koalícia, SDK*)
- liberal6 Party of Civic Understanding (*Strana Občianskeho Porozumenia, SOP*)
- liberal7 Alliance of New Citizens (*Aliancia nového občana, 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 Koalíto Partja, SMK*) (1994: Hungarian Coalition)
- ethnic3 Hungarian Civic Party (*Magyar Polgári Párt - Mad'arská občanská 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*)

Sources:

Bugajski (2002).

www.idc-cdi.org/parties/miembros_idc/

www.socialistinternational.org/maps/english/europe.htm

www.broadleft.org/socdem.htm

www.broadleft.org/communis.htm

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 (*Socialistična Stranka Slovenije, SSS*)
- social5 Slovenia is Ours (*Slovenija je naša, SJN*)
- social6 Positive Slovenia/List Zorana Jankoviča (*Pozitivna Slovenija/Lista Zorana Jankoviča, LZJ-PS*)
- postco1 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 (*Demokratska Stranka Slovenije, DSS*)
- liberal3 Liberal Party (*Liberalna Stranka/Slovenski Liberalci, LS*)
- liberal4 Party for Real/New Politics (*Zares/nova politika, ZARES*)
- liberal5 Citizens' Alliance of Gregor Virant (*Državljska lista Gregorja Viranta, DLGV*)
- green1 Greens of Slovenia (*Zeleni Slovenije, ZS*)
- ethnic1 representative of Hungarian minority
- ethnic2 representative of Italian minority
- right1 Slovenian National Party (*Slovenska Nacionalna Stranka, SNS*)
- allia1 DEMOS Coalition [comprised of Slovenian People's Party, Slovenian Christian Democrats, Slovenian Democratic Union, Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, Greens of Slovenia, Liberal Party]
- allia2 Slovenian People's Party and Slovenian Christian Democrats (*SLS/SKD*)
- indepen independent candidates
- pension Democratic Party of Pensioners (*DeSUS*)
- nonlbl1 Party of the Youth of Slovenia (*Stranka mladih Slovenije, SMS*)
- nonlbl2 Active Slovenia (*Aktivna Slovenija, AS*)

Source:

Bugajski (2002).

Spain

- social1 1) Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE*)
- comm1 2) Communist Party, United Left (*Partido Comunista de España, Izquierda Unida, PCE/PSUC/IU*)
- conserv1 50) Democratic and Social Centre (*Centro Democrático y Social, CDS*)
- conserv2 29) Popular Alliance, Popular Party (*Alianza Popular/Partido Popular, AP/PP*)
- liberal1 Progress and Democracy Union (*Unión Progreso y Democracia, UpyD*)
- ethnic1 44) Convergence and Unity (*Convergencia y Unió, CiU*)
- ethnic2 -- Catalanian Left Republicans (*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, ERC*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Sweden

- social1 5) Social Democrats (*Socialdemokraterna, S*)
- comm1 10) Left Party (*Vänsterpartiet, V*) (former Communist Part (*Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti*))
- agrarian 7) Center Party (*Centerpartiet, C*) (former Agrarian Party (*Bondeförbundet*))
- conserv1 6) Moderate Unity Party (*Moderata Samlingspartiet, M*) (formerly Conservatives (*Högerpartiet*))
- relig1 20) Christian Democratic Union (*Kristen Demokratisk Samling, KDS*)
- liberal1 18) People's Party (The Liberals) (*Folkpartiet, FP*)
- green1 23) Ecology/Green Party (*Miljöpartiet de Gröna, MP*)
- right1 24) New Democracy (*Ny Demokrati, NYD*)
- right2 --- Sweden Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna, SD*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Switzerland

- social1 5) Social Democrats (*Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz Parti Socialiste Suisse, SPS/PSS*)
- agrarian 6) Swiss People's Party (*Schweizerische Volkspartei/ Union Démocratique du Centre, SVP/UDC*; since 1995: right3)
- conserv1 Conservative Democratic Party (*Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei Schweiz, BDP/PBD*)
- relig1 1) Christian Democrats (*Christlich Demokratische Volkspartei/Parti Démocrate-Chrétien Suisse, CVP/PDC*)
- relig2 8) Protestant People's Party (*Evangelische Volkspartei/ Parti Populaire Evangelique, EVP/PPE*)
- liberal1 4) Radical Democrats (*Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei/Parti Radical-Démocratique, FDP/PRD*)
- liberal2 12) Independents' Party (*Landesring der Unabhängigen/Alliance des Indépendents, LdU/AdI*)
- liberal3 3) Liberal Party (*Liberale Partei Schweiz/ Parti Libéral Suisse, LPS/PLS*)
- green1 19) Greens (*Grüne Partei Schweiz/Parti Écologiste Suisse, GPS*)
- green2 20) Green Alliance (GBS), Alternative Greens (DACH)
- green3 Swiss Green Liberal Party (*Grünliberale Partei Schweiz, GLS/PVL*)
- right1 14) National Action, Swiss Democrats (*Schweizer Demokraten, SD/DS*)
- right2 22) Swiss Motorists (*Schweizer Auto Partei/Parti Automobiliste Suisse, AP*), Freedom Party (*Freiheitspartei FPS/PSL*)
- right3 6) Swiss People's Party (UDC/SVP; until 1994: agrarian)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

United Kingdom

- social1 6) Labour Party (LAB)
- conserv1 1) Conservative Party (CON)
- liberal1 21/22) Alliance Parties, Social Liberal Democrats, Liberal Democrats
- protest1 --- UK Independence Party (UKIP)
- ethnic1 11) Scottish National Party (SNP)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

USA

- conserv1 8) Republican Party
- liberal1 1) Democratic Party

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Appendix 5 Notes concerning the variables for consensus democracy

lfirstp: Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable.

This variable is a time-variant proxy for Lijphart's first dimension 'Parties-executives'. Lijphart's argument was developed based on the experiences of established democracies of the West plus Japan and Australasia. We also calculated the indicators for the post-communist countries. They need to be interpreted carefully with reference to the underlying theory. For example, the value of the indicator is very high for Latvia, suggesting that Latvia is nearly as consensual as Switzerland. This is clearly at odds with the qualitative literature, which shows that Latvian politics is strongly driven by competition, conflict and absence of mutual agreement.

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 1999 in our calculations is the arithmetic average for the annual data of *effpar_leg* for 1990-99, the value for 2000 is the average for the period 1991-2000, 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 1999 is the z-standardized sum of the z-standardized moving averages for the years 1990-99.

The z-standardization was done across nations for each time point. For example, the z-scores for number of effective parliamentary parties in 2000 were calculated on the basis of the data for the 35 countries in 2000.

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.

lfirstpi: Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable institutions.

lfirstpb: 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 (*lfirstpi*) based only on the variables 'number of parties' and 'electoral disproportionality' and for behavior (*lfirstpb*) based only on the variables

'cabinet dominance' (as measured in *lfirstp*) and 'absence of minimal winning coalitions'. The calculation as z-scores of moving averages is the same as with regard to *firstp*.

The arithmetic means for the period 1999 to 2011 of *lfirstp* are correlated with the means of *lfirstpi* 0.771 and with the means of *lfirstpb* 0.749; both correlations are significant at $p < .001$ ($n=35$). The correlation between the means of *lfirstpi* and *lfirstpb* (for 1999 to 2010) is 0.156 and not significant at $p < .05$ ($n=35$).

Literature

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