Codebook: COMPARATIVE POLITICAL DATA SET 1960-2018

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The Comparative Political Data Set 1960-2018 (CPDS) is a collection of political and institutional data which have been assembled in the context of the research projects "Die Handlungsspielräume des Nationalstaates" and “Critical junctures. An international comparison" directed by Klaus Armingeon and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. This data set consists of (mostly) annual data for 36 democratic OECD and/or EU-member countries for the period of 1960 to 2018. In all countries, political data were collected only for the democratic periods. The data set is suited for cross-national, longitudinal and pooled time-series analyses.

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

For additional detailed information on the composition of government in the 36 countries, please consult the “Supplement to the Comparative Political Data Set – Government Composition 1960-2018", available on the CPDS website.

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

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


Last updated: 2020-08-20

1 Political data are not collected for non-democratic periods and thus missing for Greece during the period 1968-1973; for Portugal until 1975; Spain until 1976; Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia until 1989; Poland until 1990; Estonia and Lithuania until 1991; Latvia and Slovenia until 1992; and missing for Croatia until 1999. Political data collection in Malta starts in 1966 after its independence in 1964. In the case of Cyprus it starts in 1976 after its division in 1974.
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VARIABLE LIST

1. General variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>variable</th>
<th>description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>Year of observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country</td>
<td>Country names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>countrys</td>
<td>Country code numbers: 1 Australia, 2 Austria, 3 Belgium, 4 Bulgaria, 5 Canada, 6 Croatia, 7 Cyprus (Greek part), 8 Czech Republic, 9 Denmark, 10 Estonia, 11 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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iso</td>
<td>International Standard for country codes: ISO 3166-1 code (ALPHA-3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iso3n</td>
<td>ISO numeric country codes: 36 Australia, 40 Austria, 56 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, 392 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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2018

cpds1 Dummy variable with value 1 for former “Comparative Political Data Set I” countries, covering 23 OECD countries starting in 1960.
poco Dummy variable with value 1 for post-communist countries (Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia).
eu Dummy variable with value 1 for member states of the European Union (since year of accession).
emu Dummy variable with value 1 for member states of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) of the European Union (since year of accession).

Note:
1. For former communist countries, as well as for Portugal and Spain, political data were gathered starting with the first free elections. For Greece, political data are available before 1967 and interrupted during the military dictatorship 1967-1973. For Cyprus, data begin with the first election after its division. For Malta, political data were gathered starting with the first election after its independence.
2. Germany: Data up to the end of 1990 are for the Federal Republic of Germany before reunification only (West Germany); unless otherwise indicated, data cover all of Germany from 1991 onwards.

2. Governments

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

gov_right1 Government composition: cabinet posts of right-wing parties in percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Missing: None.
Source: Own calculations primarily based on Schmidt and Beyer (1992); from 1991 on from the political data published in the European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues). For details see Appendix 1, for the classification of parties into “left”, “centre” or “right” parties see Appendix 2.

gov_cent1 Government composition: cabinet posts of centre parties in percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Missing: None.
Source: See variable ‘gov_right1’.

gov_left1 Government composition: cabinet posts of social democratic and other left parties in percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Missing: None.
Source: See variable ‘gov_right1’.

Notes:
1. Due to independents in government or non-partisan/technocratic governments, the calculations of ‘gov_right1’, ‘gov_cent1’ and ‘gov_left1’ do not always add up to 100 percent.
2. In countries where the democratic transition started later than in 1960, the calculations of government composition in the first year do not start on the 1st January. Instead, calculations start with the investiture date of the first democratic government. Thus the variables can still add up to 100 percent.

gov_party  Cabinet composition (Schmidt-Index); (1) hegemony of right-wing (and centre) parties (gov_left=0), (2) dominance of right-wing (and centre) parties (0<gov_left1<=33.33), (3) balance of power between left and right (33.33<gov_left1<=66.67), (4) dominance of social-democratic and other left parties (66.67<=gov_left1<100), (5) hegemony of social-democratic and other left parties (gov_left=100).
Source: Own calculations according to Schmidt (1992).

Notes:
1. Where the sum of ‘gov_left’, ‘gov_cent’ and ‘gov_right’ is not equal to 100 percent due to independents, the boundaries for the three groups were recalculated for the codes (2), (3) and (4) by taking the sum of the given entries as 100 percent. For example, Portugal 2005:
gov_right + gov_cent + gov_left = 61.12.
The total of 61.12 percent is the basis for the calculation of the new boundaries. 61.12/3 = 20.37 is in this case the new boundary for the lower third, replacing 33.3 percent. 20.37*2 = 40.75 would be the new boundary for the upper third, replacing 66.6 percent. As gov_left = 42.64, which is a higher value than the boundary for the upper third (=40.75), a (4) was entered.

gov_new  New ideological composition of cabinet: (0) no change, (1) change: if cabinet ideological composition (gov_party) changed from last to present year.
Source: Own calculations based on the variable ‘gov_party’.

gov_gap  ‘Ideological gap’ between new and old cabinets. The gap is calculated as the difference of the index value (gov_party) between the incoming and the outgoing governments. For an example, see the note below.
Source: Own calculations based on the variable ‘gov_party’.

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 thus be (-3), calculated as the difference in the ideologies of the outgoing (2) and the incoming governments (5).

gov_chan  Number of changes in government per year (termination of government due to (a) elections, (b) voluntary resignation of the Prime Minister,
(c) resignation of Prime Minister due to health reasons, 
(d) dissension within government (break up of the coalition),
(e) lack of parliamentary support, 
(f) intervention by the head of state, or 
(g) broadening of the coalition (inclusion of new parties) 
(Woldendorp/Keman/Budge 2000: 16-17)).
Missing: None.

gov_right2 Government composition: relative power position of right-wing parties in government based on their seat share in parliament, measured in percentage of the total parliamentary seat share of all governing parties. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Missing: None.
Source: See variable ‘gov_right1’.

gov_cent2 Government composition: relative power position of centre parties in government based on their seat share in parliament, measured in percentage of the total parliamentary seat share of all governing parties. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Missing: None.
Source: See variable ‘gov_right1’.

gov_left2 Government composition: relative power position of social democratic and other left parties in government based on their seat share in parliament, measured in percentage of the total parliamentary seat share of all governing parties. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Missing: None.
Source: See variable ‘gov_right1’.

Notes:
1. Changes in the composition of the parliament are not entered until there has been a change in government.
2. For some calculations the total weight does not amount to 100 percent due to non-partisan/technocratic governments in office.

gov_right3 Government support: parliamentary seat share of right-wing parties in government. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Missing: None.
Source: See variable ‘gov_right1’.

gov_cent3 Government support: parliamentary seat share of centre parties in government. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.
Missing: None.
Source: See variable ‘gov_right1’.

Note: 1. Changes in the composition of the parliament are not entered until there has been a change in government.


gov_type Type of government based on the following classification:

1. Single-party majority government:
   One party takes all governments seats and has a parliamentary majority [>50.0%].

2. Minimal winning coalition:
   All participating parties are necessary to form a majority government [>50.0%].

3. Surplus coalition:
   Coalition governments which exceed the minimal-winning criterion [>50.0%].

4. Single-party minority government:
   The party in government does not possess a majority in Parliament [≤50.0%].

5. Multi-party minority government:
   The parties in government do not possess a majority in Parliament [≤50.0%].

6. Caretaker government:
   Governments which should simply maintain the status quo.

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


Notes:
1. The indicator refers to the type of government that was in office for the longest period each year.
2. Caretaker governments are governments which should simply maintain the status quo (Golder 2010: 4). Mostly the ministers of such governments, including the prime minister, belong to a specific party. However, in a few cases the governments consist of nonpartisan technocratic ministers. We still code these governments as caretaker governments as long as their mandate does not exceed the remit “to mind the shop”.
3. Based on McDonnell and Valbruzzi (2014: 11), we define a technocratic government as a government which is led by technocratic prime minister, consists of a majority of technocratic ministers and is in possession of a mandate to change the status quo. In a few cases, only the minority of ministers are technocrats. However, as long as the first and
third criterion (technocratic prime minister and mandate to change the status quo) are fulfilled, we still code these governments as technocratic.

Following McDonnel and Valbruuzzi (2014: 4) we classify a prime minister as a being a technocrat if „at he time of his/her appointment to government, he/she: (1) has never held public office under the banner of a political party; (2) is not a formal member of any party; (3) is said to possess recognized non-party political expertise which is directly relevant to the role occupied in government“ (McDonnel and Valbruuzzi 2014: 4-5).

4. If a single party’s seat share is exactly 50%, we code the government as a single party minority government. If two governmental parties possess combined 50% of the seat share we code the government as a multi party minority government. If the government consists of three parties where the two biggest ones hold 50% of the seat share we code the government as a minimal winning coalition one.

5. Sister parties count as one party for the classification of the type of government (for example the CDU and CSU in Germany).

6. We classify the governments of Cyprus and the United States continuously as single party majority governments due to the countries' presidential system.

3. Elections

elect Date of election of national parliament (lower house). (If there were two elections in a year, the date of the second is given).
Missing: None.
Source: European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues); Mackie & Rose (1991); Bugajski (2002); Keesing’s Archive; Parliaments and governments database (http://www.parlgov.org/explore); Parlline database (http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp).

Note:
1. For former communist countries the entries generally start with the year when the first free elections were held. An exception is the inclusion of the 1990 Slovenian elections. Although at the time of these elections, Slovenia was still part of the Yugoslav federation, the significance of the decisions taken by the Parliament formed after these elections has led some authors to consider them "founding elections" (e.g. Klingemann et al. 2000). The elections of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia 1990 and 1992 are included as well since the Czech and the Slovakian parts of the Federation voted separately for their own candidates. The 1992 elections produced the Parliaments which ruled after the two countries peacefully separated on 1st January 1993.
2. Greece 2012: From the two elections in 2012 (06. May and 17. June), only the results of the second one on 17. June are entered.

vturn Voter turnout in election.
Missing: None.
Source: See variable ‘elect’.

social1 Share of votes of the party classified as ‘social1’.

social2 Share of votes of the party classified as ‘social2’.

Missing: None.
Source: See variable ‘elect’. Parties are classified based on Lane, McKay and Newton (1997). For details about the classification and the period covered for each country, see the Appendix 3.
As a general rule, we include data on votes and seats for a party if it reached at least 2% of the vote share in an election. If it did not reach that threshold, data for this party was not entered for this election (neither on votes nor on seats); rather it received a zero (see Appendix 3).

List of party family labels:
- social1-social8
- leftsoc1-leftsoc5
- comm1-comm4
- postcom1-postcom2
- agrarian1-agrarian3
- conserv1-conserv8
- relig1-relig7
- liberal1-liberal9
- protest1-protest5
- green1-green3
- ethnic1-ethnic4
- right1-right5
- regio1
- femin1
- monarch1
- person1
- pension1-pension2
- nonlbl1-nonlbl2
- allia1-allia3
- others

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. ‘others’ and ‘sothers’ are residual categories. They cover the difference of entries on votes or seats of the sum of all other categories compared to 100 percent.
4. In bicameral systems, data is taken for the lower house.

ssocial1 Share of seats in parliament for the party classified as ‘social1’.
ssocial2 Share of seats in parliament for the party classified as ‘social2’.

Missing: None.
Source: See variable ‘elect’. Parties are classified based on Lane, McKay and Newton (1997). For details about the classification and the period covered for each country, see the Appendix 3.

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

List of party family labels:
- social1-social8
- leftsoc1-leftsoc5
- comm1-comm4
- postcom1-postcom2
- agrarian1-agrarian3
- conserv1-conserv8
- relig1-relig7
- liberal1-liberal9
- protest1-protest5
- green1-green3
- ethnic1-ethnic4
- right1-right5
- regio1
- femin1
- monarch1
- person1
- pension1-pension2
- nonlbl1-nonlbl2
- allia1-allia3
- others

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

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

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (1995, 1997); Inter-Parliamentary Union Homepage (http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17).

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

Note:
For the calculation of party system indicators, the vote and seat shares of independents and very small parties grouped under the category 'others' were neglected. The construction of the indices is such that independents and very small parties tend to be ignored, because parties are weighted by their vote/seat shares (see also Lijphart 2012: 73, footnote 7).

rae_ele Index of electoral fractionalization of the party system according to the formula proposed by Rae (1968):  
\[
rae\_ele = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^{m} v_i^2, \text{ where } v_i \text{ is the share of votes for party } i \text{ and } m \text{ the number of parties (without the category ‘others’). The index can take values between 1 (maximal fractionalization) and 0 (minimal fractionalization).}
\]
Source: Own calculations.

rae_leg Index of legislative fractionalization of the party system according to the formula proposed by Rae (1968):  
\[
rae\_leg = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^{m} s_i^2, \text{ where } s_i \text{ is the share of seats for party } i \text{ and } m \text{ the number of parties (without the category ‘sothers’). The index can take values between 1 (maximal fractionalization) and 0 (minimal fractionalization).}
\]
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:  
\[
effpar\_ele = 1 / (1 - rae\_ele)
\]
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:  
\[
effpar\_leg = 1 / (1 - rae\_leg)
\]
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:  
\[
dis\_abso = effpar\_ele - effpar\_leg
\]
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:
\[
dis_{rel} = \frac{effpar_{ele} - effpar_{leg}}{effpar_{ele}}
\]
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
Source: Own calculations.

5. Institutions

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lfirst</td>
<td>First (executives-parties) dimension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lsec</td>
<td>Second (federal-unitary) dimension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leff</td>
<td>Effective number of parliamentary parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lmin</td>
<td>Minimal winning one-party cabinets (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexe</td>
<td>Index of executive dominance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idis</td>
<td>Index of disproportionality (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lint</td>
<td>Index of interest group pluralism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lfed</td>
<td>Index of federalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libic</td>
<td>Index of bicameralism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lrid</td>
<td>Index of constitutional rigidity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ljud</td>
<td>Index of judicial review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lbank</td>
<td>Index of central bank independence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Missing: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia.

lfirstp
Lijphart’s first dimension. Time-variant proxy variable (for details see Appendix 5).
Source: Own calculations.
Period covered:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structur</th>
<th>Description: Augmented index of constitutional structures based on Huber/Ragin/Stephens (1993: 728); we turned the time-invariant variable into a time-variant variable by adjusting for institutional changes, e.g. the Belgian shift to federalism in 1993. Countries not covered by Huber et al. (1993) were classified according to Huber et al. using information from national sources or comparative analyses such as Schmidt (1996). Description: Additive index composed of five indicators: (1) federalism (0 = absence, 1 = weak, 2 = strong), (2) parliamentary government = 0, versus presidentialism or other = 1, (3) proportional representation = 0, modified proportional representation = 1, majoritarian = 2, (4) bicameralism (0 = no second chamber or second chamber with very weak powers, 1 = medium strength bicameralism, 2 = strong bicameralism), (5) frequent referenda = 1. Period covered: 1960-2018. Missing: None. Source: Own calculations based on Huber/Ragin/Stephens (1993).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source: Own calculations. Period covered: See variable 'lfirstp'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ifirstpi</th>
<th>Lijphart’s first dimension. Proxy variable institutions (for details see Appendix 5). Source: Own calculations. Period covered: See variable ‘lfirstp’.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ifirstpb</th>
<th>Lijphart’s first dimension. Proxy variable behavior (see Appendix 5). Source: Own calculations. Period covered: See variable ‘lfirstp’.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instcons</th>
<th>Index of institutional constraints of central state government according to Schmidt (1996); Minimum value = 0; Maximum value = 6; Range of data: 0 to 5, with high values indicating powerful constraints and low values indicating that the central government has a great deal of room for maneuverability. Description: additive index composed of 6 dummy variables (‘1’ = constraints, ‘0’ = else): (1) EU membership = 1, (2) degree of centralisation of state structure (federalism = 1), (3) difficulty of amending constitutions (very difficult = 1) (4) strong bicameralism = 1 (5) central bank autonomy = 1 (6) frequent referenda = 1. Source: Schmidt (1996: 172) transformed into time variant annual data. Data for central bank autonomy taken from Beyeler (2007: 123). Period covered:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AUT 1960-2018</td>
<td>FIN 1960-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEL 1960-2018</td>
<td>FRA 1960-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGR --</td>
<td>DEU 1960-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRV --</td>
<td>HUN --</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Federalism. Coded: 0 = no; 1 = weak; 2 = strong.


Missing: None.
Source: Huber et al. (2004); national sources and constitutions.

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

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


Missing: None.
Source: Lijphart (2012); Huber et al. (2004); Ismayr (2003, 2006, 2010); national sources and constitutions; EJPR Political Data Yearbook (various issues).

Note:
1. In addition to a parliamentary prime minister, a semi-presidential system (= 1 or 3) also has a popularly elected president (Lijphart 2012: 109).
2. Changes are entered in the year of the first (parliamentary or presidential) elections under the new rules.
3. France: During cohabitation France is defined as a semi-presidential system dominated by parliament (= 1), otherwise as a semi-presidential system dominated by president (= 3).
4. Switzerland: Switzerland is the only system classified as hybrid, since the collegial executive elected by the legislative does not depend on legislative confidence.

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


Missing: None.
Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union; Ismayr (2003); Lijphart (2012); national sources and constitutions; EJPR Political Data Yearbook (various issues).

Note:
1. Changes are entered in the year of the first election under the new electoral rules.
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 small Swiss cantons with only one representative) 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.

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


Missing: None.
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 2012: 194).
3. Belgium: With the new federal Constitution of 1994, the lower house received more powers relative to the Senate (Art. 74 Cst.). Since the shared competences (Art. 77) are of fundamental importance for the federal state, Belgium is still considered as having medium-strength bicameralism.
4. Iceland (until 1991) and Norway (until 2009): Both are coded as 1.5 (one-and-a-half chambers), because although the legislators are elected as one body, after elections they divide themselves into two chambers (Lijphart 2012: 189).
5. United Kingdom: The British case is coded as 2.5 (between medium-strength and weak bicameralism) because the upper house is a “relict of a predemocratic era” (Lijphart 2012: 201).

Referendum. Coded 0 = None or infrequent, 1 = frequent.
Missing: None.
Source: Huber et al. (2004); and information from national sources and comparative analyses.

Index of direct democratic power dispersion (initiatives and referendums). The index contains points for the degree of majoritarianism or consensualism in the direct democratic provisions in the constitution and embodied in the decision rules as well as for the actual use of direct democracy. "Uncontrolled" referendums, i.e. optional referendums and initiatives score 1 point each if prescribed by the constitution. Plebiscites (ad hoc referendums), which are subject to the discretion of the head of governments score a negative point each if prescribed by the constitution. As an intermediate form, 0 points are given for mandatory referendums. 0.5 points awarded for each variant of direct democracy when a quorum of participation is required and 1 point when a qualified majority is required. 1 point is awarded for the actual use of mandatory referendums, optional referendums and popular initiatives, and a negative point for the use of plebiscites.

Period covered:
Openness of the economy

Index for the degree of openness in capital account transactions. The index incorporates a variable indicating the presence of multiple exchange rates, a second variable indicating restrictions on current account transactions, a third variable indicating restrictions on capital account transactions and a fourth variable indicating the requirement of the surrender of export proceeds. The higher the value, the more open a country is to cross-border capital transactions. The index is normalized to a range between 0 (minimal openness) and 1 (maximal openness).


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Note:

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


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7. Macroeconomic data

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

outlays  Total outlays (disbursements) of general government as a percentage of GDP.
Source: OECD (2020), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 106", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (GDP and main components) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17).

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Notes:
1. Disbursements are transactions of providing financial resources. The two counterparties must record the transaction simultaneously.
2. Sweden: From 2000 on, the Church of Sweden has been separated from the state. In terms of national accounts, this causes a reclassification of the Church's activities from the public to the private sector. As a consequence, growth in private consumption in 2000 is higher than it would otherwise have been, while conversely, growth in public consumption is lower. (Source: OECD (2010),"OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", Sources and Methods).
5. Germany 1960-90: Data is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90" (Downloaded: 2014-03-21).
receipts  | Total receipts (revenue) of general government as a percentage of GDP. 
Source: OECD (2020), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 106", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (Government revenue, expenditure and main aggregates) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). 
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Notes: 
2. Germany 1960-90: Data is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90" (Downloaded: 2012-10-26).
4. France 1960-77: Data is taken from OECD (2014), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 96" (Downloaded 2015-03-12).
5. Iceland 1970-79: Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84" (Downloaded: 2012-10-26).
6. Sweden: See variable 'outlays'.

realgdpr Growth of real GDP, percent change from previous year. 
Source: OECD (2020), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 107", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from AMECO (variable OVGD) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). 
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Notes: 
1. Real GDP refers to the volume of Gross Domestic Product, at constant market prices (variable "GDP" in the OECD Economic Outlook databases).


**nomgdpg**  Growth of nominal GDP, percent change from previous year.

*Source:* OECD (2020), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 107", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from AMECO (variable UVGD) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17).

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**Notes:**

1. Nominal GDP refers to the value of Gross Domestic Product, at current market prices (variable “GDP” in the OECD Economic Outlook databases).


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

*Source:* OECD (2020), "Key short-term indicators", Main Economic Indicators (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from AMECO (variable ZCPIH) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17).

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</table>

**Notes:**


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

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

Source: OECD (2020), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 107", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania and for Slovenia, data were retrieved from Eurostat (Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17).

Period covered:


Notes:
1. Please consider observation differences between OECD and Eurostat (OECD uses the ESA95 standard, Eurostat ESA2010). Further, there may be breaks in series where older sources are used for some countries (see notes below).
4. Finland 1960-74: Data is taken from OECD (1999), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 65" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
5. Germany 1960-90: Data is taken from OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
7. Iceland 1980-97: Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
8. Ireland 1997: Data is taken from OECD (2014), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 96" (Downloaded 2015-03-12).
10. Slovenia 1995-2000: Data is taken from Eurostat (see source above).

Gross general government debt (financial liabilities) as a percentage of GDP. The data from the variable "debt" is complemented with historical data from the IMF and, in a few cases, from Reinhart and Rogoff (2009). Missings in the variable debt are extrapolated using these additional sources.


**Period covered:** see variable "debt". In addition, missings in the variable "debt" that were filled up with historical sources:


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

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

**Source:** OECD (2020), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 107", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were calculated from Eurostat (Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17).

**Period covered:**


**Notes:**
3. *Iceland 1970-79:* Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84" (Downloaded: 2015-07-02).

**pbal** Annual deficit excluding net interest payments (primary balance of general government) as a percentage of GDP.
Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2018

Source: OECD (2020), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 107", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were calculated from Eurostat (Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17).


Notes:
1. Australia 1960-88 and France 1963-77: Data is taken from OECD (2009), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 85" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).
5. Iceland 1970-79: Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84" (Downloaded: 2012-08-24).

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


Period covered:

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</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

**interest** Long-term interest rate on government bonds.

Source: OECD (2020), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 107", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from AMECO (variable ILN) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17).

Period covered:
Curac Labour force data

Notes:
1. Long-term (in most cases 10 year) government bonds are the instrument whose yield is used as the representative ‘interest rate’ for this area. Generally, the yield is calculated at the pre-tax level and before deductions for brokerage costs and commissions and is derived from the relationship between the present market value of the bond and that at maturity, also taking into account interest payments paid through to maturity (see OECD, Main Economic Indicators: Sources and Definitions).
5. Poland (entire period): Data is taken from OECD (see source above).

Current account balance as a percentage of GDP. The current account is a record of a country’s international transactions with the rest of the world.
Source: OECD (2020), “Key short-term indicators”, Main Economic Indicators database (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Lithuania, Romania from Eurostat (Main Balance of Payments and International Investment Position items as share of GDP) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17).

Period covered:

|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|

Notes:

8. Labour force data

Notes:
1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
2. Data from previous releases of data sources used in case of missing values may be of limited comparability.
### Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2018

**ttl_labf**

Total labour force, in thousands.

**Source:** OECD (2020), "Labour Force Statistics: Summary tables", OECD Employment and Labour Market Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-30). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia were retrieved from AMECO (variable NLTN) (Downloaded: 2020-07-30).

**Period covered:**

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
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</table>

**Notes:**

2. *Cyprus 1995/96:* Data is taken from a previous release of AMECO (Downloaded: 2015-06-22).

**civ_labf**

Civilian labour force, in thousands.

**Source:** OECD (see variable 'ttl_labf').

**Period covered:**

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<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
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</table>

**Notes:**


**emp_civ**

Civilian employment, in thousands.

**Source:** OECD (see variable 'ttl_labf').

**Period covered:** See variable ‘civ_labf’.

**labfopar**

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

**Source:** OECD (2020), "Labour Force Statistics: LFS by sex and age - Labour force participation rate", OECD Employment and Labour Market Statistics (data-
### Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2018

Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia were retrieved from AMECO (variables NLTN and NPAN) (Downloaded: 2020-07-30).

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#### Notes:

3. **Cyprus 1995/96**: Data is taken from a previous release of AMECO (Downloaded: 2015-06-23).

#### empratio

Civilian employment as percentage of population 15-64.

**Source**: OECD (see variable ‘labfopar’).

#### Period covered:

<table>
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#### Note:


**emp_ag** Civilian employment in agriculture, in thousands.

*Source:* OECD (see variable 'ttl_labf'). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania are taken from AMECO (variable NET1).

*Period covered:*

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</table>

**Note:**


**emp_ind** Civilian employment in industry, in thousands.

*Source:* See variable ‘emp_ag’ (AMECO variables NET2, NET4 and NETM).

*Period covered:*

See variable ‘emp_ag’.

**Note:**


**emp_serv** Civilian employment in services, in thousands.

*Source:* See variable ‘emp_ag’ (AMECO variable NET5).

*Period covered:*

See variable ‘emp_ag’.

**Note:**

emp_un  Unemployed, in thousands.
Source: AMECO (Variable NUTN) (Downloaded: 2020-07-30).
Period covered:

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Note:
1. Cyprus 1995/96: Data is taken from a previous release of AMECO (Downloaded: 2015-06-23).
2. Germany 1960-90: Data is taken from a previous release of AMECO (Downloaded: 2017-07-24).

unemp  Unemployment rate, percentage of civilian labour force.
Source: AMECO (Variable ZUTN) (Downloaded: 2020-07-30).
Period covered: See variable ‘emp_un’.

Note:
1. Cyprus 1995/96: Data is taken from a previous release of AMECO (Downloaded: 2015-06-23).
2. Germany 1960-90: Data is taken from a previous release of AMECO (Downloaded: 2017-07-24)

9. Industrial disputes and trade unions

Note concerning nld, wi, wdllost and strike:
For notes on variation in comparability and breaks in series, see ILOSTAT Database.

nld  Number of industrial disputes (strikes and lockouts).

**Period covered:**

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<td>2005-2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>LTU</td>
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<td>1960-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1960-2015</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Note:**
1. **Luxembourg:** Data is taken from a previous version of the ILO database (ILO Laborsta Internet, [http://laborsta.ilo.org/](http://laborsta.ilo.org/), Downloaded: 2009-10-19).

**wi** Workers involved in labour disputes, in thousands.

**Source:** See variable ‘nld’.


**Note:**
2. **France 1969/70:** Data is taken from a previous version of the ILO database (ILOSTAT Database, [http://www.ilo.org/ilostat](http://www.ilo.org/ilostat), Downloaded: 2017-07-18).

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

**Source:** See variable ‘nld’.


**Note:**
2. **Luxembourg:** Data is taken from a previous version of the ILO database (ILO Laborsta Internet, [http://laborsta.ilo.org/](http://laborsta.ilo.org/), Downloaded: 2009-10-19).
### strike

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

**Source:** Own calculations (see variables `wdlost` and `ttl_labf`).

**Period covered:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Note:**

1. Ideally, the lost working days are set in relation to the dependent labour force (persons employed), so the labour force should be adjusted to unemployed and self-employed persons. Due to limited availability of data on civilian employment, we use the total labour force in the denominator, though. With a few exceptions for most recent years, data on total labour force is available for all countries and years. Using the available data on civilian employment, the correlation between the measure based on civilian employment and the measure based on total labour force is 0.99.


### grossu

Total reported union members, in thousands.


**Period covered:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Notes:**

1. Countries marked with an asterisk (*) contain additional missing values.

2. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2016).


5. **Croatia 2000, 2009; Estonia 2008-12, Finland 196, Lithuania 2001-08, Spain 2010-12, USA 1980-83:** data taken from Visser (2015).

### netu

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

[27] Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2018
**Source:** Visser (2016), Version 5.1 (variable ‘NUM’).

**Period covered:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Start Year</th>
<th>End Year</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>DNK</td>
<td>1960-2016</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

1. Countries marked with an asterisk (*) contain additional missing values.
2. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2015).

**ud**

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

**Source:** Visser (2016), Version 5.1 (variable ‘UD’).

**Period covered:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>End Year</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>DNK</td>
<td>1960-2016</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

1. Countries marked with an asterisk (*) contain additional missing values.
2. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2015).

**adjcov**

Bargaining (or union) coverage, adjusted. Visser (2015: 23) defines it in the following way: "[E]mployees covered by collective (wage) bargaining agreements as a proportion of all wage and salary earners in employment with the right to bargaining, expressed as percentage, adjusted for the possibility that some sectors or occupations are excluded from the right to bargain = WCB*100/(WSEE-WStat)."

**Source:** Visser (2016), Version 5.1 (variable ‘AdjCov’).

**Period covered:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Start Year</th>
<th>End Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>AUT</td>
<td>1960-2017*</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEL</td>
<td>1960-2017*</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

1. Countries marked with an asterisk (*) contain additional missing values.

Notes:
1. Countries marked with an asterisk (*) contain additional missing values.
2. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2015).

grossu_ipol Linear interpolation of variable ‘grossu’
Source: See variable ‘grossu’
Period covered: See variable ‘grossu’

netu_ipol Linear interpolation of variable ‘netu’
Source: See variable ‘netu’
Period covered: See variable ‘netu’

ud_ipol Linear interpolation of variable ‘ud’
Source: See variable ‘ud’
Period covered: See variable ‘ud’

adjcov_ipol Linear interpolation of variable ‘adjcov’
Source: See variable ‘adjcov’
Period covered: See variable ‘adjcov’

10. Public social expenditure and revenue data

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

ssstran Social security transfers as a percentage of GDP. Social assistance grants and welfare benefits paid by general government (benefits for sickness, old-age, family allowances, etc.).
Source: OECD (2020), "National Accounts at a Glance: National Accounts at a Glance", OECD National Accounts Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania (not covered by the OECD) is taken from AMECO (Variable UYTGH) (Downloaded: 2020-08-06).
Period covered:

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2018

|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|

Notes:
1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series and that the data of the different sources may be of limited comparability.
2. Until 1969 (all countries) and New Zealand 1970-82: Data is taken from OECD Historical Statistics, various years.
4. Japan 1985-93: Data is taken from a previous release of the OECD National Accounts database (Downloaded: 2011-04-14).
5. Canada 1970-80: Data is taken from a previous release of the OECD National Accounts database (Downloaded: 2013-08-08).
7. Japan 1994-2004: Data is taken from previous release of the OECD National Accounts database (Downloaded 2016-07-26).

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

Source: OECD (2020), "Social Expenditure: Aggregated data", OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2020-07-17). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania (not covered by the OECD) is taken from Eurostat (Social protection expenditure – Tables by functions) (Downloaded: 2020-08-06) and does not include mandatory private expenditure.

Period covered:

|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|

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

**Source:** See variable ‘socexp_t_pmp’.

**Period covered:**

<table>
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</tr>
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</table>

### Notes:
1. Additional missing values (*): Austria 1981-84, 86-89; Norway 1981-84, 86/87.

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

**Source:** See variable ‘socexp_t_pmp’.

**Period covered:** See variable ‘socexp_c_pmp’.

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

**Source:** See variable ‘socexp_t_pmp’.

**Period covered:** See variable ‘socexp_c_pmp’.

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

**Source:** See variable ‘socexp_t_pmp’.

**Period covered:** See variable ‘socexp_c_pmp’.

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

**Source:** See variable ‘socexp_t_pmp’.

**Period covered:** See variable ‘socexp_c_pmp’.

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

**Source:** See variable ‘socexp_t_pmp’.


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

**Source:** See variable ‘socexp_t_pmp’.

**Period covered:** See variable ‘socexp_c_pmp’.

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

**Source:** See variable ‘socexp_t_pmp’.

**Period covered:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Start Year</th>
<th>End Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRT</td>
<td>1986-2015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes:
1. For non-members of the OECD (Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania), Eurostat includes data on some components of active labour market programmes under the function "unemployment expenditure" (variable 'unemp_pmp'). In order to avoid double inclusion of data on active labour market policies, these countries are coded get missing values. We provide more detailed data on active labour market policies from a different Eurostat source in the section "Labour market policy", however.
2. USA 1985: Data is taken from previous release of the OECD Social Expenditure Statistics database (Downloaded: 2016-07-28).

unemp_pmp  Cash expenditure for unemployment benefits as a percentage of GDP (public and mandatory private).
Source: See variable 'socexp_t_pmp'.

Notes:
1. For non-members of the OECD (Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania), we used Eurostat data. However, these Eurostat data on unemployment benefits also include some components of active labour market programmes. For all other countries (covered by the OECD), data on active labour market programmes are included separately in the variable 'almp_pmp'.
2. Denmark: Data is taken from OECD (2016), "Social Expenditure: Aggregated data"

housing_pmp  Total public and mandatory private expenditure on housing as a percentage of GDP.
Source: See variable 'socexp_t_pmp'.
Period covered: See variable 'socexp_c_pmp'. Additional missing values: Belgium 1980-99; Czech Republic 1990-93.

othsocx_pmp  Public and mandatory private expenditure on other social policy areas as a percentage of GDP.
Source: See variable 'socexp_t_pmp'.
Period covered: See variable 'socexp_c_pmp'. Additional missing values: Denmark 1980-82; France 1980-88.

11. Educational expenditure and attainment data

Notes:
1. There may be differences in the classification between sources.
2. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
educexp_gov  General government expenditure on education (current, capital and transfers) as a percentage of GDP. It includes expenditure funded by transfers from international sources to government. General government usually refers to local, regional and central governments.

Source: The World Bank (2020), "World Development Indicators", People - Education inputs (Table 2.7) (Downloaded: 2020-08-06).

Period covered:

AUS 1978-2016*
AUT 1970-2016*
BEL 1975-2016*
BGR 1990-2013*
CAN 1971-2011*
HRV 2002-2013*
CYP 1976-2016*
CZE 1992-2016*
DNK 1970-2014*


educexp_gov_ipol  Linear interpolation of variable ‘educexp_gov’

Source: See variable ‘educexp_gov’

Period covered: See variable ‘educexp_gov’

educexp_public  General government expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP. Includes direct expenditure on educational institutions as well as educational-related public subsidies given to households and administered by educational institutions

Source: OECD (2020), "Education spending", OECD Education resources (database) (Downloaded: 2020-08-06). Older data is taken from Busemeyer (2013) - OECD Historical Statistics, various years. Data for Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain is taken from Eurostat (Public expenditure on education as % of GDP) (Downloaded: 2020-08-06).

Period covered:

AUS 1991-2016*
AUT 1995-2017*
BEL 1973-2016*
BGR 1992-2017*
CAN 1970-2016*
HRV 2002-2011*
CYP 1993-2017*
CZE 1996-2015*
DNK 1991-2014*

Notes: Public expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP. Includes direct expenditure on educational institutions as well as educational-related public subsidies given to households and administered by educational institutions.
### educexp_private_ipol
Linear interpolation of variable ‘educexp_private’

**Source:** See variable ‘educexp_private’

**Period covered:** See variable ‘educexp_private’

### educexp_public
Expenditure on education from non-educational private sector as a percentage of GDP. Includes all direct expenditure on educational institutions and net of public subsidies.

**Source:** OECD (2020), "Education spending", OECD Education resources (database) (Downloaded: 2020-08-06). Older data is taken from Busemeyer (2013) - OECD Historical Statistics, various years. Data for Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia is taken from Eurostat (Expenditure on education from private sources as % of GDP) (Downloaded: 2020-08-06).

**Period covered:**

|-----|------------|-----|-----------|-----|------------|-----|------------|

### educexp_private_ipol
Linear interpolation of variable ‘educexp_private’

**Source:** See variable ‘educexp_private’

**Period covered:** See variable ‘educexp_private’

### educatt_minimal
Share of population attending no more than secondary education

**Source:** Eurostat (Population by educational attainment level, sex and age) (Downloaded: 2020-08-06). Data for Australia, Canada, Germany, New Zealand and USA
is taken from OECD (2020), "Educational_attainment_and_labour-force_status", OECD Educational attainment and outcomes (database) (Downloaded: 2020-06-08).

Period covered:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<th>Source</th>
</tr>
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</tbody>
</table>


educatt_minimal_ipol Linear interpolation of variable ‘educatt_minimal’
Source: See variable ‘educatt_minimal’

educatt_tertiary Share of population attending tertiary education
Source: Eurostat (Population by educational attainment level, sex and age) (Downloaded: 2020-06-08). Data for Canada, Germany, Japan, New Zealand and USA is taken from OECD (2020), "Educational_attainment_and_labour-force_status", OECD Educational attainment and outcomes (database) (Downloaded: 2020-06-08) and does include upper secondary education.

Period covered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Period Covered</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1989-2018*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUT</td>
<td>2004-2018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEL</td>
<td>2004-2018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGR</td>
<td>2004-2018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAN</td>
<td>1981-2018*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRV</td>
<td>2004-2018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYP</td>
<td>2004-2018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CZE</td>
<td>2004-2018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNK</td>
<td>2004-2018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


educatt_tertiary_ipol Linear interpolation of variable ‘educatt_tertiary’
Source: See variable ‘educatt_tertiary’

Period covered: See variable ‘educatt_tertiary’

12. Family policy

Notes on fallow_pmp and onwards:
1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.

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

### Period covered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Start Year-End Year **</th>
<th>Start Year-End Year pmp</th>
<th>Start Year-End Year pmp</th>
<th>Start Year-End Year pmp</th>
<th>Start Year-End Year pmp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Notes:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Period covered</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mpleave_pmp</td>
<td>Total public and mandatory private cash benefits for maternal and parental leave as a percentage of GDP.</td>
<td>See variable ‘fallow_pmp’.</td>
<td>See variable ‘fallow_pmp’. Additional missing values: Australia 1980-94; USA entirely.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>othfam_c_pmp</td>
<td>Other public and mandatory private cash benefits as a percentage of GDP.</td>
<td>See variable ‘fallow_pmp’.</td>
<td>See variable ‘fallow_pmp’, except Austria 1981-84, 86-89. Additional missing values: Belgium, Luxembourg and Switzerland 1980-89; Canada, and USA entirely; Denmark 1980-2006.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homehelp_pmp</td>
<td>Total public and mandatory private social expenditure for home-help and accommodation services to families with children as a percentage of GDP (benefits in kind).</td>
<td>See variable ‘fallow_pmp’.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13. Labour market policy

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

servadmi_pmp Public and mandatory private employment services and administration as a percentage of GDP.
Source: OECD (2020), "Social Expenditure: Aggregated data", OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (database) (Downloaded: 2020-08-06). Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania is taken from Eurostat (Public expenditure on labour market policy (LMP) interventions) (Downloaded: 2020-08-06) and does not include mandatory private expenditure.
Period covered:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AUS</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUT</td>
<td>1985-2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEL</td>
<td>1985-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGR</td>
<td>2004-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAN</td>
<td>1985-2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRV</td>
<td>2012-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYP</td>
<td>2006-2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>CZE</td>
<td>1991-2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>DNK</td>
<td>1980-2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>EST</td>
<td>2003-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIN</td>
<td>1980-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRA</td>
<td>1985-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEU</td>
<td>1985-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRC</td>
<td>1985-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUN</td>
<td>1992-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISL</td>
<td>1990-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>1985-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITA</td>
<td>1990-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPN</td>
<td>1990-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVA</td>
<td>2003-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUX</td>
<td>1980-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLT</td>
<td>2006-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLD</td>
<td>1980-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZL</td>
<td>1980-2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOR</td>
<td>1985-2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>POL</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROU</td>
<td>2003-2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>SVN</td>
<td>2003-2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESP</td>
<td>1980-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWE</td>
<td>1985-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHE</td>
<td>1985-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBR</td>
<td>1980-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1985-2017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
1. USA 1985: Data is taken from a previous release of the OECD Social Expenditure Statistics database (Downloaded: 2016-07-29).

training_pmp Public and mandatory private expenditure on labour market training as a percentage of GDP.
Source: See variable ‘servadmi_pmp’.
Period covered:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AUS</td>
<td>1985-2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUT</td>
<td>1985-2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIN</td>
<td>1980-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVA</td>
<td>2003-2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROU</td>
<td>2003-2018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

othfam_k_pmp Other public and mandatory private benefits in kind as a percentage of GDP.
Source: See variable ‘fallow_pmp’.

Note:
### jobrot_pmp

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

**Source:** See variable 'servadmi_pmp'.

**Period covered:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### incent_pmp

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

**Source:** See variable 'servadmi_pmp'.


### disabled_pmp

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

**Source:** See variable 'servadmi_pmp'.

**Period covered:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Additional missing values:** Greece 1995-97.
### Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Period covered</th>
<th>Additional missing values (*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>jobcrea_pmp</strong></td>
<td>Public and private mandatory expenditure on direct job creation (usually in the public or non-profit sector) as a percentage of GDP.</td>
<td>See variable 'servadmi_pmp'.</td>
<td>AUS 1985-2016 EST 2003-2015 JPN 1990-2015 PRT 1986-2015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>earretir_pmp</strong></td>
<td>Public and private mandatory expenditure (in cash) on early retirement for labour market reasons as a percentage of GDP.</td>
<td>See variable 'servadmi_pmp'.</td>
<td>AUS 2003-2010 EST -- JPN -- PRT 1990-1998</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2018

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.

Source: OECD Indicators of Employment Protection. Annual time series data 1985-2013 (Downloaded: 2020-08-06).

Period covered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AUS</td>
<td>1985-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUT</td>
<td>1985-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEL</td>
<td>1985-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CZE</td>
<td>1995-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAN</td>
<td>1985-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRV</td>
<td>2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYP</td>
<td>1993-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNK</td>
<td>1980-2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

Source: See variable ‘emprot_reg’.

Period covered: See variable ‘emprot_reg’.

Note:


14. Income inequality

prefisc_gini

Gini index of pre-fisc income (before taxes and transfers) among household members aged 18-65, in percent.


Notes on prefisc_gini, pretran_gini and postfisc_gini:
1. Incomes are measured at the household level, but the Gini indicators refer to individuals (each household is weighted by the number of household members aged 18-65).
2. Incomes are adjusted for household size by using the square root of the number of household members as equivalence scale.
3. Incomes are bottom-coded at zero. No top-coding is applied.
4. “Pre-fisc income” defined as labor income + capital income + private transfers (between households) + private pensions (voluntary, individual).
5. “Disposable income” defined as “pre-fisc income” + public social transfers – income taxes and social contributions.
6. “Pre-transfer income” defined as “disposable income” – public social transfers.

pretran_gini  Gini index of pre-transfer income (after taxes, before transfers) among household members aged 18-65, in percent.
Period covered: See variable ‘prefisc_gini’.
Source: See variable ‘prefisc_gini’.

postfisc_gini  Gini index of disposable income (after taxes and transfers) among household members aged 18-65, in percent.
Period covered: See variable ‘prefisc_gini’.
Source: See variable ‘prefisc_gini’.

15. Demographic data

Note on demographic data:
1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.

pop  Total population, in thousands.
Source: AMECO (variable NPTD) (Downloaded: 2020-08-08). Data for Czech Republic was retrieved from OECD (2020), “Demography and Population, Historical population data” (database) (Downloaded: 2020-08-08).

pop15_64  Population 15-64, in thousands.
Period covered: See variable ‘pop’.
Source: AMECO (variable NPAN) (see variable ‘pop’).

pop65  Population over 65, in thousands.
Period covered: See variable ‘pop’.
**Additional Missing:** See variable ‘pop15_64’.

**Source:** AMECO ([variable NPON](#)) (see variable ‘pop’).

**elderly**

Population over 65, as a percentage of population.

**Period covered:** See variable ‘pop’.

**Missing:** See variable ‘pop15_64’.

**Source:** AMECO ([variables NPTD and NPON](#)) (see variable ‘pop’).
Appendix

Appendix 1  Notes concerning the variables gov_right, gov_cent, gov_left

All entries were calculated on the basis of Schmidt and Beyer (1992), Woldendorp, Keman and Budge (1998), Ismayr (2003), Keesing’s Archive, European Journal of Political Research, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, People in Power (http://www.circa-uk.demon.co.uk/pip.html), parliaments and governments database (http://www.parlgov.org/explore), Colberg et al. (1998), Casal Bétoa (2016) and the Parline database (http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp). The classification of parties was done according to Schmidt (1996). If there was no classification by Schmidt, we classified parties using the following assignments (see Appendix 2):
- ‘Left’ denotes social democratic parties and political parties to the left of social democrats
- ‘Right’ denotes liberal and conservative parties
- ‘Centre’ denotes centre parties, in particular Christian Democratic or Catholic parties. According to Schmidt (1996: 160), centre parties favor a “moderate social amelioration in a location to the left of conservative or conservative-neoliberal parties.”

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

**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**
  Francophone Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste, PS)
  AGALEV (Greens, francophone)
  ECOLO (Greens, flemish)
  Democrat Humanist Centre (Centre Démocrate Humaniste, CDH) (until 2002: Christian Social Party (PSC))
  Francophone Democratic Front (FDV)
  New Flemish Alliance (Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie, N-VA) (former: Flemish/People’s Union (VU))
  Democratic Union (DU)
  Wallon Rally (RW)
- right Liberal Party (LP)
Open Flemish Liberals & Democrats (*Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten, Open VLD*) (former: Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV))

Reformist 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*)
  
  Alternative for Bulgarian Revival/Renaissance (*Alternativa za balgarsko vrazhdane, ABV*)
  
- center
  
  Democratic Party (*Demokraticheska partia, DP*)
  
- right
  
  Coalition Movement for Rights and Freedoms (*Dviženie za Pravata i Svobodite*)
  
  [formed of Movement for Rights and Freedoms (*Dviženie za Pravata i Svobodite*); Liberal Union (*Liberalen Sajuz*) and Euroloma (*Evroroma*)]
  
  National Movement Simeon II (*Nacionalno Dvisenie Simeon Tvoiri, NDSV*)
  
  Union of Democratic Forces (*Sil Demokratic Sajuz, SDS*)
  
  Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (*Grazhdani za Evropeisko Razvitie na Bulgaria, GERB*)
  
  Reformist Bloc (*Reformatorski blok, RB*)
  
  United Patriots (OP) [coalition of International Bulgarian National Movement (VMRO); National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria (NFSB) – Party Ataka (ATAKA)]

**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, HLS*)
  
  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).
  
  
- center
  
  ------
  
- right
  
  The Democratic Rally (*Demokratikos Synagermos, DISY*)
The Democratic Party (Demokratiko Komma, DIKO)
Free/United Democrats (Enomenoi Democrats, EDI)
Liberal Party
European Party (Evropaiko Komma, EVROKO)
Bridge of Independent List (Most nezavisnih lista, MOST)

Czech Republic
- left Czechoslovak Party of Social Democracy (Ceská strana sociálně 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 (Obcanská Demokratická Strana, ODS)
  Union of Freedom/Democratic Union (Unie Svobody/Demokraticka Unie, US/DEU)
  Democratic Union (Kresťanská a Demokratická 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)
  Action of Dissatisfied Citizens (Akce nespokojených občanů 2011, ANO)

Denmark
- left Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet, SD)
  Left Socialist Party (LSP)
  Socialist People's Party (Socialistisk Folkeparti, SF)
- center Centre Democrats (Centrum Demokraterne, CD)
  Christian People's Party (Kristendemokraterne, KRF)
- right Liberals (Venstre, LIB)
  Conservative People's Party (Det Konservative Folkeparti, KF)
  Justice Party
  Radical Party (Social Liberal Party) (Det RadiKale Venstre, RV)
  Liberal Alliance (Ny-Liberal Alliance LA)

Estonia
- left 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 (Rahaerakond Mõõdukad)]
  KMU - Estonian Coalition Party (Eesti Kooperakond,EK) and Rural Union (Eesti Maalit, 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, KE)
- right Homeland (Isamaa) until 1999; in 1999 merged with Pro Patria and formed Homeland - Pro Patria Union (Isamaaliit)
  Estonian People's Union (Rahvaliit, RL)
Estonian Reform Party (Eesti Reformierakond, RE)
Estonian National Independence Party (Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatu Partei, ERSP)
Pro Patria and Res Publica Union (Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit, IRL) [merger of Res Publica and Pro Patria Union]

Finland
- left
Social Democrats (Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue, SDP)
Finnish People’s Democratic Union (SKDL)
Social Democratic League (TPSL)
Left-Wing Alliance (Vasemmistoliitto, VAS)
Green League (Vihreät Liitto, VIHR)
- center
Centre Party (Keskusta, KESK)
Liberal People’s Party (LKP)
Christian Democrats (Kristillisdemokraatti, KD) (former Christian League, SKL)
Finnish Rural Party (Suomen Maaseudun Puolue, SMP) (SMP) (now True Finns, PS)
- right
National Coalition (Kansallinen Kokoomus, KOK)
Swedish People’s Party (Svenska Folkpartiet i Finland, SFP/RKP)
True Finns (Perussuomalaiset, PS) (former Finnish Rural Party, SMP)
Blue Reform (Sininen tulevaisuus, SIN) (splinter of the True Finns, PS)

France
- left
Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste, PS)
Communist Party (Parti Communiste Français, PCF)
Greens (Les Verts)
Movement for Citizens (Mouvement des Citoyens, MDC)
Generation Ecology (Génération Écologie, GE)
Left Radicals (Parti Radical de Gauche, PRG (since 1998)) (former: Mouvement des radicaux de gauche, MRG (until 1996) and Parti Radical Socialiste, PRS (until 1998))
- center
Centre of Social Democrats (CDS), Democratic Force (Force Démocrate, FD)
Popular Republican Movement (MRP)
Centre of Progress and Modern Democracy (PDM)
Democratic Movement (Mouvement démocrate, MoDem) (until 2007: Union for French Democracy (Union pour la Démocratie Française, UDF))
Reformers’ Movement (REF, Reformers’ Movement)
Republican Party (Parti Républicain, PR)
New Centre (Nouveau centre, NC)
- right
The Republicans (Les Républicains, LR) (former: Union for a Presidential Majority UMP)
Gaullists, Rally for the Republic (Rassemblement pour la République, RPR) (former Union pour la Nouvelle République (UNR) and Union des Démocrates pour la République (UDR), in 2002: Union for a Presidential Majority (UMP)) ; in 2007: Union for a Popular Movement (UMP))
Centre National des Indépendants (IND)
Centre Democracy and Progress (CDP)
Radical Party (Parti Radical, RAD)
Forward (La République En Marche!, LRM)
Germany
- left  Social Democrats *(Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SDP)*
      Greens *(Bündnis 90/Die Grünen)*
- center Christian Democratic Union *(Christlich-demokratische Union, CDU)*
      Christian Social Union *(Christlich-soziale Union, CSU)*
- right  German Party *(Deutsche Partei, DP)*
      Free Democrats *(Freie demokratische Partei, FDP)*

Greece
- left  Pan-Hellenic Social Movement *(Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima, PASOK)*
      Communist Party *(Kommunistiko Komma Elladas, KKE)*
      Democratic Left *(Dimokратiki Aristera, DIMAR)*
      Coalition of the Radical Left *(SYRIZA; former Coalition of Left and Progress)*
- center -------
- right  New Democracy *(Nea Dhimokratia, ND)*
      Political Spring *(POLAN)*
      National Radical Union *(ERE)*
      Progressives *(KP)*
      Centre Union, Union of the Democratic Centre *(EDIK)*
      Independent Hellenes *(ANEL)*

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)*
      Hungarian Civic Union *(Magyar Polgári Szövetség, Fidesz)*
      Alliance of Free Democrats *(Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége, SzDSz)*

Iceland
- left  Social Democratic Party *(SDP)* *(Alþýðuflokur)*
      People’s Alliance *(PA, USP)* *(Alþýðubandalag)*
      Social Democratic Alliance *(SDA)* *(Samfylkingin)*
      Left-Greens *(LG)* *(Vinstri græn)*
- center Progressive Party *(PP)* *(Framsóknarflokkur)*
      Union of Liberals and Leftists *(ULL)*
      Regional Equality Platform *(REP)*
- right  Independence Party II *(IP)* *(Sjálfsstaedisflókkur)*
      Citizens’ Party *(CP)* *(Borgaraflokkur)*
      Reform *(Viðreisn, V)*
      Bright Future *(Björt framtíð, BF)*

Ireland
- left  Labour Party *(LAB)*
      Democratic Left *(DL)*
      Green Party *(GP)*
- center Republican Party *(Clann na Poblachta, CNP)*
      Fine Gael *(FG)*
- right  Party of the Land *(Clann na Talmhan, CNT)*
Progressive Democrats (PD)
Fianna Fail (Republican Party, FF)

**Italy**
- **left**
  Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIU)
  Communist Party (Partito dei Comunisti Italiani, PDCI)
  Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano, PSI)
  United Socialist Party (PSU)
  Social Democratic Party (Socialisti Democratici Italiani, PSDI)
  Greens (Verdi)
  Party of the Democratic Left (Democratici di Sinistra, PDS), (in 2006, the DS ran together with Daisy (Margerita) in the Olive Tree Coalition (Ulivo))
  The Democrats (I Democratici, DEM)
  Di Pietro List (Lista di Pietro/Italia dei Valori, IdV)
  Socialists and Radicals (former Rose in the Fist, Rosa nel Pugno, RnP)
  Democratic Party (Partito Democratico, PD)

- **center**
  Christian Democratic Party (Democrazia Cristiano, DC)
  Republican Party (Partito Repubblicano Italiano, PRI)
  Italian Popular Party (Partito Popolare Italiano, PPI)
  Union of the Centre (Unione Democratici di Centro, UDC)
  Dini List – Italian Renewal (Rinnovamento Italiano, RI)
  Democratic Union (Unione Democratica, UD)
  Union of Republican Democrats (Unione dei Democratici per la Repubblica, UDR), known as Union of Democrats for Europe (Unione dei Democratici per l’Europa, UDEUR) since 1999.
  Christian Democratic Centre, United Christian Democrats (Centro Cristiano Democratico, CCD, Cristiani Democratici Uniti, CDU)
  Christian Democracy for the Autonomies (Democrazia Cristiano per le Autonomie, DCpA)
  New Centre-Right (Nuovo Centrodestra, NCD)
  Popular Area (Area Popolare, AP-NCD) [until 2016 comprised of New Centre-Right and Union of the Centre (NCD-UDC), in 2016 most of the UDC members left the group]
  Five Star Movement (Movimento 5 Stelle, M5S)

- **right**
  The People of Freedom (Il Popolo della Libertà, PdL)
  Liberal Party (Partito Liberale Italiano, PLI)
  Forza Italia (FI)
  Lombard League, Northern League (Lega Lombarda, Lega Norte, LN)
  National Alliance (Alleanza Nazionale, AN)
  Civic Choice-Monti for Italy (Scelta civica-Monti per l’Italia, SC)
  Italian Radicals (Radicali Italiani, IR)

**Japan**
- **left**
  Social Democratic Party (SDP) (Shakai Minshuto)
  Japan Communist Party (JCP) (Nihon Kyosanto)
  Democratic Socialist Party (Minshu Shakaito)
  United Democratic Socialists (UDS)

- **center**
  Clean Government Party (CGP) (Komeito)
  Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) (Minshutō)

- **right**
  Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) (Jiyu Minshuto)
  New Liberal Club (NLC)
Japan Renewal Party (JRP)
Japan New Party (JNP) (Nihon Shinto)
New Conservative Party (NCP) (Hoshu Shinto)
Liberal Party (LP)
People’s New Party (PNP)
(New) Sakigake Party (NPS)

Note:
According to its party manifesto, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) is a 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 as well as blends of social-democratic and liberal parties.

Latvia
- left
Democratic Centre Party (since 1995, Democratic Party "Master" (DPS Saimnieks)
Latvian Social-Democratic Alliance (Latvijas Sociāldemokrātu Apvienība, LSDA)
New Party (Jauna partija, JP)
Latvia's Unity Party (Latvijas Vienības Partija, LVP)
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 Pirmā Partija, LPP)
First Party of Latvia and Union “Latvia’s Way” (Latvijas Pirmā Partija un Savienība Latvijas Ceša)
Union of Greens and Farmers ( Zaïo un Zemnieku savienība, ZZS) [formed of Latvian Green Party (Latvijas Zaļā Partija) and Latvian Farmers' Union ( Latvijas Zemnieku savienība)]

- right
Latvia's Way (Latvijas Ceša, 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 Alliance (Nacionālā apvienība, NA)

Lithuania
- left
Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (Lietuvos Demokratine Darbo Partija, LDDP)
Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union (Lietuvos valstiečių sąjunga LVŽS) [former Lithuanian Peasants People Union (Lietuvos valstiečių liaudininkų sąjunga, LPPU), Union of Farmers and New Democratic Party ( Valstiečių ir naujosios Demokratijos partijų sąjunga, VNDPS)]
Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party (Lietuvos Socialdemokratų 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 (DP)
Civic Democratic Party (CDP)
- center Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party (Lietuvos Krikščionių Demokratų Partija, LKDP)
  New Union - Social Liberals (Naujoji Sajunga – Socialoliberalai, NS-SL)
  Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania (Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcija, LLRA)
- right Homeland Union - Lithuanian Conservatives (Tevenys Sajunga – Lietuvos Kon- 
vservatorai, TS-LK) [in 2008: electoral alliance with the Lithuanian Chris-
tian Democrats]
  Lithuanian Centre Union (Lietuvos Centro Sajunga, LCS)
  Lithuanian Liberal Union (Lietuvos Liberalų Sajunga, LLS)
  Liberal and Centre Union (merger of LCS and LLS)
  Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic (Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjudis, LMLR)
  Nation’s Ressurection Party (Tautos prisikelimo partija, NRP)
  Order and Justice Party (Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas, TT)

**Luxembourg**
- left Socialist Workers’ Party (Parti Ouvrier socialiste luxembourgeois/Letzemberger So-
zialistich Arbechterpartei, POSL/LSAP)
  The Greens (Déi Gréng, GLEI-GAP)
- 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 ----- 

**Netherlands**
- left Labour Party (Partij van der Arbeid, PvdA)
  Political Party of the Radicals (PPR)
- center Catholic People’s Party (KVP)
  Christian Democratic Appeal (Christen Demokatisch Appel, CDA)
  Democratic Socialists’ 70 (DS’70)
  Democrats’ 66 (Democraten ’66, D’66)
  Christian Union (Christen Unie, CU)
- right Liberal Party/People’s Party for Freedom and Democracy (Volkspartij voor 
  Vrijheid en Democratie, VVD)
  Christian Historical Union (CHU)
  Anti Revolutionary Party (ARP)
  List Pim Fortuyn (LPF)

**New Zealand**
- left Labour Party (LAB)
  Alliance (A)
  Progressive Coalition (PC)
- center ----- 
- right National Party (NP)
  New Zealand First (NZF)
United Party (U)

Norway
- left  Labour Party (Det Norske Arbeiderparti DNA, AP)
       Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk Venstreparti, SV)
- center Centre Party (Senterpartiet, SP), former Farmers’ Party
       Christian People’s Party (Kristelig Folkeparti, KRF)
- right  Conservatives (Høyre, H)
        Liberals (Venstre, V)
        Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet, FRP)

Poland
- left  Alliance of the Democratic Left (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, SLD) [formed of
       Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland; All-Polish Accord of Trade
       Unions; Polish Socialist Party]
       Labour Union (Unia Pracy, UP)
       Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL)
       Self Defence of Polish Republic (Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, SRP)
       Polish Social Democracy (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 Chrześcijańskich Demokratów--PChD) Catho-
         lic Election Action (Wyborcza Akcja Katolicka, WAK) [comprised of Chris-
         tian National Union (ZChN); Conservative Party and other small group-
         ings]
- right  Democratic Union (Unia Demokratyczna, UD)
         Solidarity Election Action (Akcja 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 Sprawiedliwość, PiS)
         Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska, PO)

Portugal
- left  Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Português, PSP)
       Communist Party (PCP)
- center  ------
- right  Social Democrats, Popular Democrats (Partido Social Democrático, PSD, Partido
       Popular Democrático, PPD)
       Centre Social Democrats, Popular Party (Partido do Centro Democrático Social,
       Partido Popular, CDS/PP)
       Popular Monarchist Party (PPM)

Romania
- left  National Salvation Front = Democratic National Salvation Front = Party of So-
       cial Democracy from Romania (Partidul Democratiei Sociale din România
       PDSR) = Social Democratic Party (Partidul Social Democrat PSD)
       Ecological Movement from Romania (Mişcarea 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)
Liberal Reformist Party (Partidul Liberal Reformator PLR)
Alliance of Liberals and Democrats Party (Alianța Liberalilor și Democraților, ALDE)

Slovakia
- left
Party of the Democratic Left (Strana Demokratickej Ľavice, SDL') since96
Association of Slovak Workers (Združenie Robotníkov Slovenska, ZRS)
Direction – Social Democracy (Smer-SD, 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)
Network (Sieť)

- right
The Slovak Democratic Coalition (Slovenská Demokratická Koalícia, SDK)
Public Against Violence Union (Verejnost’ proti násiliu, VPN)
Democratic Party (Demokratická Strana, DS)
Democratic Union of Slovakia (Demokratická Únia Slovenska, DUS)
Party of Civic Understanding (Strana Občianskeho Porozumenia, SOP) Alliance of New Citizens (Aliancia nového obcana, ANO)
Slovak National Party (Slovenská národná strana, SNS)
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko, HZDS)
Freedom and Solidarity (Sloboda a solidarita, SaS)
The Bridge (Most-Híd)

Slovenia
- left
Social Democrats (Socialni demokrati, SD) (until 2008: 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/SDK)
Democratic Party of Pensioners (DeSUS)
Social Democrats (Socialni demokrati, SD)
Positive Slovenia (Pozitivna Slovenija, PS)
- center  Slovenian Christian Democratic Party (Slovenski Krščanski Demokrati, SKD)
New Slovenia and People's Christian Party (NSi)
List of Marjan Šarec (Lista Marjana Šarca, LMŠ)

- right  Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije, LDS)
Party for Real/New Politics (Zares/nova politika, ZARES)
Civic List (Državljanska lista, DL) (until 2012: Citizens’ Alliance of Gregor Virant (Državljanska lista Gregorja Viranta, DLGV))
Alliance of Alenka Bratusek (Zavezništvo Alenke Bratušek, ZaAB)
Party of modern Centre (Stranka modernega centra, SMC) (former Party of Miro Cerar (Stranka Mira Cerarja, MC))

Spain
- left  Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE)
- center  Popular Alliance, Popular Party (Alianza Popular/Partido Popular, AP/PP)
Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD)
- right  ----- 

Sweden
- left  Social Democrats (Socialdemokraterna, S)
Green Party (Miljöpartiet de gröna, MP)
- center  Agrarian Party, Center Party (Centerpartiet, C)
Christian Democratic Union (Kristen Demokratisk Samling, KDS)
- right  Conservatives, Moderate Unity Party (Moderate Samlingspartiet, M)
People’s Party (The Liberals) (Folkpartiet, FP)

Switzerland
- left  Social Democrats (Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz Parti Socialiste Suisse, SPS/PS)
- center  Christian Democrats (Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei/Parti Démocrate-Chrétien Suisse, CVP/PDC)
- right  Radical Democrats (Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei/Parti Radical-Démocratique, FDP/PRD)
Swiss People’s Party (Schweizerische Volkspartei/Union Démocratique du Centre, SVP/UDC)
Conservative Democratic Party (Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei/Parti bourgeois démocratique Suisse, BDP/PBD)

United Kingdom
- left  Labour Party (LAB)
- center  ----- 
- right  Conservative Party (CON)
Liberal Democrats (LIB)

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

- If one party of the electoral alliance received more than 75% of the seats won by the electoral alliance, the total vote and seat share won by this alliance is entered under the variable name of this major party.

- If no party of the electoral alliance received more than 75% of the seats won by the electoral alliance, the total vote and seat share won by the alliance is entered under a new variable. If the alliance is not ideologically consistent we entered the corresponding values under the party family “allia”.
The variable ‘protest’ refers to protest parties. We were restrictive in using this variable, since parties emerging as protest parties often change to a programmatic category, e.g. the German Green party. Thus we may apply retrospective changes if parties fit better into other categories. More recently, the ‘protest’ category may also comprise parties with EU-sceptic orientation, but without the nativism associated with the category ‘right’.

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

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

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

There is one major problem with these classifications: The classification is time-invariant. Some parties, however, changed their programs, goals and clienteles considerably over time. We do not adapt the classification to such changes systematically. However, in those cases where we are aware of major changes, we re-classified the party for the period after the change. Examples are the Swiss Peoples Party (SVP) or the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ). Both parties had been re-classified due to their change from 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party family</th>
<th>Variable name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social democratic</td>
<td>social1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left-socialist Communist</td>
<td>leftsoc1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leftsoc2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leftsoc3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leftsoc4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leftsoc5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Post-communist*</td>
<td>comm1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>comm2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>comm3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>comm4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>postcom1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>postcom2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrarian Conservative</td>
<td>agrarian1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agrarian2</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>agrarian3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>conserv1</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>conserv2</td>
</tr>
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<td>conserv6</td>
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<td>conserv8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conserv9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4  Assignments of political parties in parliaments to party families

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

**Australia**
- social1 1) Labour Party (ALP)
- social2 21) Democratic Labour Party
- agrarian1 7) Country Party, National Party
- conserv1 18) Australian Liberal Party
- conserv2 --- Family First
- liberal1 27) Australian Democrats
- liberal2 23) Australia Party
- liberal3 --- Palmer United Party (PUP)
- green1 --- Australian Greens
- right1 --- One Nation

**Austria**
- social1 1) Socialist Party (SPÖ)
- leftsoc1 Communist Party (KPÖ), (until 2005: comm1)
- comm1 5) Communist Party (KPÖ), (since 2005 leftsoc1)
- relig1 2) People’s Party (ÖVP)
- liberal1 11) Freedom Party (FPÖ) (since 1986: right1)
- liberal2 17) Liberal Forum (LIF)
- liberal3 --- The New Austria and Liberal Forum (NEOS)
- liberal4 --- Team Frank Stronach (TS)
- protest1 12) Democratic Progressive Party
- protest2 --- List Dr Martin – For Democracy, Control and Justice (Martin)
- green1 15) Green Alternative
- green2  --- Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ)
- right1 11) Freedom Party (FPÖ) (until 1985: liberal1)
- right2  --- Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ)

Belgium
- social1 3) Socialist Party (since 1977 split into 30 and 31)
- social3 31) Francophone Socialist Party (PS)
- leftsoc1 Workers’ Party of Belgium-Left Opening! (PTB-GO!) (until 2008: comm2)
- comm1 10) Communist Party (KPB/PCB)
- comm2  --- Workers’ Party of Belgium-Left Opening! (PTB-GO!) (since 2008: leftsoc1)
- relig1 1) Catholic Party (since 1965 split into 19 and 20)
- liberal1 2) Liberal Party (since 1971 split into 21 and 22)
- liberal2 21) Open Flemish Liberals & Democrats (Open VLD) (until 2007: Flemish Liberals & Democrats (VLD); former: Flemish Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV))
- liberal3 22) Reform Movement (MR) (former Francophone Liberal Reform Party (PRL); in 1995: Alliance with FDF; in 1999: Fédération PRL-FDF-MCC (Francophone)
- liberal4  --- Vivant (joined the VLD in 2007)
- liberal5 5) Liberal/Socialist cartels
- liberal6  --- De Decker’s List (LDD)
- protest1 32) ROSSEM/ROSSUM
- green1 26) ECOLO (Francophone)
- green2 27) Green (Flemish) (former: AGALEV)
- ethnic1 8) New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) (former Flemish/People’s Union (VU))
- ethnic2 14) Francophone Democratic Front (FDF)
- ethnic3 18) Walloon Rally
- right1 28) Democratic Union for the Respect of Labour (UDRT/RAD)
- right2 33) National Front (FN-NF) (Francophone)
- right3 29) Flemish Interest (since 2004: Flemish Block)

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 Naroden Sajuz - Aleksander Stanboliski) and PC "Ecoglasnost"]
- social3 Coalition Euroleft (Bulgarska Evrolevitsa)
- social4 Alternative for Bulgarian Revival (Alternativa za balgarsko vazrazhdane, ABV)
- leftsoc1 Coalition for Bulgaria (Koalicija za Bulgarija) [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]
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<td>Bulgarian Socialistic Partija BSP</td>
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<td>Bulgarian National People's Union - United</td>
<td>Balgarski Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz – O, BZNS-O</td>
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<td>agrarian3</td>
<td>Bulgarian National People's Union - Nikola Petkov</td>
<td>Balgarski Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz - Nikola Petko, BZNS-NP</td>
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<td>Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria</td>
<td>Grazhdani za Evropeisko Razvitie na Bulgaria, GERB</td>
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<td>Order, Law and Justice</td>
<td>Red, Zakonnost i Spravedlivost, RZS</td>
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<td>Democrats for Strong Bulgaria and Bulgarian Democratic Forum</td>
<td>Demokrati za Silna Bulgaria i Bulgarski Demokratichen Forum, DSB-BDF</td>
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<td>Balgariya bez tsenzura, BBT</td>
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<td>Reformist Bloc</td>
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<td>relig2</td>
<td>People's Union</td>
<td>Naroden Sajuz, NS</td>
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<td>liberal1</td>
<td>Union of Democratic Forces - Centre</td>
<td>Sil Demokratic Sajuz – tsentrum, SDS-ts</td>
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<td>Bulgarski Biznes Blok, BBB</td>
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<td>Movement 'Bulgaria of the Citizens'</td>
<td>Dvizhenie 'Bulgaria na grazhdanite', DBG</td>
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<td>Movement 'Yes, Bulgaria!'</td>
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<td>Movement for Rights and Freedoms</td>
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<td>Democrats for Responsibility, Solidarity and Tolerance</td>
<td>Asosiasiation DOST</td>
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<td>right1</td>
<td>George Day-International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization</td>
<td>VMRO-Gerdovden</td>
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<td>Party Ataka</td>
<td>Nacionalno Obedinenie Ataka</td>
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<td>National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria</td>
<td>Natzionalen Front za Spasenieto na Bulgaria, NDSB</td>
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<td>right5</td>
<td>United Patriots</td>
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<td>right6</td>
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<td>Volja</td>
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<td>Koalicija Simeon II</td>
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<td>National Movement for Stability and Progress</td>
<td>Nacionalno dviženie za stabilnost i vâzhod, NDSV</td>
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<td>Bulgarian People's Union</td>
<td>Balgarski Naroden Sajuz</td>
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</table>

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2018
Organizaciya- Balgarsko Nacionalno Dvizhenie), and Union of Free Democrats (Sajuz na svobodnite demokrati)]
- allia2 Blue Coalition (Sinyata Koalitzia, SK) [coalition of several centre-right parties, most notably the Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria (liberal4) and Union of Democratic Forces (relig1)]

Canada
- social1 8) CCF, New Democratic Party
- conserv1 1) (Progressive) Conservative Party
- liberal1 2) Liberal Party
- liberal2 10) Social Credit
- liberal3 12) Ralliement des Créditistes (belongs to 10 before 1965 and after 1968)
- protest1 17) Reform Party/Canadian Alliance (joined Conservative Party in 2004)
- green1 --- Greens
- ethnic1 18) Bloc Québécois

Croatia
- social1 Social Democratic Party of Croatia (Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatska, SDP)
  (2003 in alliance with Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS), Party of Liberal Democrats (LIBRA) and Liberal Party (LS); in 2015: run under the electoral coalition “Croatia is Growing (Koalicija Hrvatska raste)"
- social2 Milan Bandic 365 – The Party of Labour and Solidarity
- leftsoc1 Croatian Labourists – Labour Party (Hrvatski Laboristi - Stranka Rada, HL-SR)
- leftsoc2 Human Shield (Zvi zid, ZZ)
- agrarian1 Croatian Peasant Party (Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka, HSS) (2007 in alliance with Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSL), Alliance of Primorje- Gorski Kotar (PGS), Democratic Party of Zagorje (ZDS) and Zagorje Party (ZS); in 2015: run under the electoral coalition “Patriotic Coalition” (Domoljubna koalicija))
- relig1 Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica, HDZ) (2007 in alliance with Croatian Civic Party (HGS) and Democratic Centar (DC); in 2015: run under the electoral coalition “Patriotic Coalition” (Domoljubna koalicija))
- 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); in 2015: run under the electoral coalition “Croatia is Growing (Koalicija Hrvatska raste)"
- liberal2 Alliance between Croatian Social Liberal Party (Hrvatska Socijalno Liberalna Stranka, HSL) and Democratic Center (Demokratski Centar, DC)
- liberal3 Bridge of Independents Lists (Most nezavisnih lista, MOST)
- liberal4 Istarski Democratic Assembly (Istarski demokratski sabor IDS)5
- right1 Croatian Party of Rights (Hrvatska Stranka Prava, HSP) (2000 in alliance with Croatian Christian Democratic Union (HKDU), 2003 in alliance with Zagorje Democratic Party (ZDS) and Medimurje Party (MS))
- right2 Croatian Party of Rights dr. Ante Starčević (Hrvatska Stranka Prava dr. Ante Starčević, HSP AS)
- regio1 Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja (Hrvatski Demokratski savez Slavonije i Baranje, HDSSB)
- pension1 Croatian Party of Pensioners (Hrvatska Stranka Umirovljenika, HSU)
- pension2 Bloc Pensioners Together (Bloc Umirovljenici Zajedno, BUZ)
- allia1 Social Democratic Party of Croatia (Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatska, SDP), Croatian Social Liberal Party (Hrvatska Socijalno Liberalna Stranka,
HSLS), Alliance of Primorje-Gorski Kotar (Primorsko Goranski Savez, PGS) and Slavonia-Baranja Croatian Party (Slavonsko-Baranjska 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)

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)
- social3 Citizen's Alliance (Symmaxia, SYPOL/SYM)
- green1 Cyprus Green Party (Ecological and Environmental Movement, Kinima Oikologoi Perivallontiostoi)
- conserv1 The Democratic Rally (Demokratikos Synagermos, DISY)
- conserv2 Pancypriot Militant/Renewal Front (Pankypriot Agonistiko Metopo, PAME)
- liberal1 The Democratic Party (Demokratiko Komma, DIKO)
- liberal2 Free/United Democrats (Enomenoi Democrats, EDI)
- liberal3 New Horizons (Neoi Orizontes, NEO)
- liberal4 European Party (Evropaiko Komma, EVROKO)
- liberal5 Centre Union (Enosi Kentrou, EnKe)
- right1 National Popular Front (Ethniko Laiko Metopo, ELAM)
- right2 Solidarity Movement (Kinima Allileggiis, KINHMA)
- protest1 Fighting Democratic Movement (Agonistiko Demokratiko Kinima, ADIK)
- allia1 Electoral alliance of The Democratic Party (DIKO), Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) and The Socialist Party (EDEK)

Czech Republic
- social1 Czechoslovak Party of Social Democracy (Ceská strana sociálně demokratická CSSD)
- social2 Party of Citizen Rights/Zemans’ (Strana práv Občanů/Zemanovci SPOZ)
- leftsoc1 Czechoslovak Socialist Party
- comm1 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunistická strana Ceskoslovenska, SCK)
- comm2 Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy, KSCM)
- agrarian1 Alliance of the Farmers and the Countryside (Spojencetví Zemědělců a Venkovců, ZSV)
- conserv1 Civic Democratic Party (Obcanska Demokraticka Strana ODS)
- conserv2 SNK European Democrats (SNK Evropští demokrati)
- conserv3 TOP 09 Tradition, Responsibility, Prosperity (tradice, odpovědnost, prosperit TOP 09)
- conserv4 Public Affairs (Věci veřejné, VV)
- conserv5 Club of Committed Non-Party Members (Klub Angažovaných Nestranníků, KAN)
- conserv6 Mayors and Independents (Starostové a nezávislí STAN)
- relig1 Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People’s Party (Kresťanska a Demokratická Uniï – Československá Strana Lidová KDU-CSL)
- liberal1 Civic Forum (Obcanské fórum, OF)
- liberal2 Civic Democratic Alliance (Obcanská demokratická aliance, ODA)
- liberal3 Civil Movement (Obcanské hnuti, OH)
- liberal4 Party of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs, Tradesmen and Farmers (Strana Podnikatelů a Obchodníků, SPO)
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- liberal5 Democratic Union (Demokratická Unie, DU)
- liberal6 Free Democrats - National Social Liberal Party (Svobodní Demokraté - Liberální Stran Národne Sociální, SD - LSNS)
- liberal7 Freedom Union (Unie Svobody, US)
- liberal8 Czech Pirate Party (Česká pirátská strana, Piráti)
- liberal9 Action of Dissatisfied Citizens (Akre nespokojených občanů 2011, ANO)
- green1 Green Party (Strana Zelených, SZ)
- right1 Rally for the Republic - Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (Sdruzení Pro Republiku – Republikánská Strana Československa, SPR-RSC)
- right2 Sovereignty/Jana Bobošíková Bloc (Suverenita/blok Jany Bobošíková, SUV)
- right3 Dawn of Direct Democracy of Tomio Okamura (Úsvit Přímé Demokracie Tomia Okamury, Usvit)
- right4 Party of Free Citizens (Strana svobodných občanů, SSO)
- right5 Freedom and Direct Democracy – Tomio Okamura (Svoboda a přímá demokracie Tomio Okamura SPD)
- regio1 Movement for Self-Governing Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia (Hnutí za samosprávnou demokracii-Spoolecnost pro Moravu a Slezsko, HSD-SMS)
- pension1 Pensioners for Secure Living (Duchodci za Životní Jistoty, DZJ)
- nonlbl1 Association of Independents (Sdruzení nezavislych, SN)
- allia1 Liberal Social Union (Liberálne Sociální Unie, LSU)
- allia2 Christian Democratic Union/Czech People's Party and Freedom Union-Democratic Union (Krestanka a Demokratická Unie/Ceskoslovenska Strana Lidova. KDU/CSL – Unie Svobody/Demokraticka Unie, US/DEU) [christian democrats and liberals]

Denmark
- social1 4) Social Democrats (SD)
- leftsoc1 16) Socialist People’s Party
- leftsoc2 18) Left Socialist Party
- leftsoc3 24) Enhedslisten (EL) The Unity List (until 1989: comm2)
- comm1 9) Communist Party (DKP)
- comm2 24) Enhedslisten (EL) The Unity List (since 1989: leftsoc3)
- conserv1 1) Conservative People’s Party (KF)
- conserv2 15) Independents’ Party
- relig1 19) Christian People’s Party (KRF)
- liberal1 5) Radical Party (Social Liberal Party) (RV)
- liberal2 6) Liberals (Venstre)
- liberal3 10) Justice Party (DRF)
- liberal4 20) Centre Democrats
- liberal5 17) Liberal Centre
- liberal6 --- New Alliance (Y)
- protest1 21) Progress Party (FP)
- protest2 22) Common Course
- right1 --- Danish People’s Party (DF, splinter from the Progress Party, see EJPR vol. 36: 377)
- green1 The Alternative (Alternativet, Alt)

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 (Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond, SDE)
Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2018

[Formerly: Moderates (Mõõdudud, M) [merger of People’s Party (Estonian Social Democratic Party + Rural Centre Party) with Moderates; from 1999 known as the People’s Party Moderates (Rahvaerakond Mõõdudud)]

- comm1 Justice [comprised of Party for Legal Justice and Estonian Democratic Labour Party]
- agrarian1 Farmers’ Union (Põlumeeste Kogu, PK)
- agrarian2 KMU - Estonian Coalition Party (Eesti Kooperand, EK) and Rural Union (Eesti Maailit, EM) [comprised of Estonian Coalition Party (EK or KMU-K), Estonian Rural Union (EM or KMU-M), Estonian Country People’s Party (EME), Estonian Pensioners’ and Families’ League (EPPL) and Farmers’ Assembly (PK)]
- agrarian3 Estonian Country People’s Party (Eesti Maarahva Erakond, EME)
- conserv1 Homeland - Pro Patria Union (Isamaaliit, IL) [until 1999 Homeland (Isama); in 1999 merged with Pro Patria Union]
- conserv2 Republican and Conservative People’s Party - Right-Wingers (Vavariiklase ja Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond – Parempoolse, VKR)
- conserv4 Conservative People’s Party (Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond, EKRE) [until 2012: Estonian People’s Union (Rahvalit, RL), until 2002: Estonian Country People’s Party (Eesti Maarahva Erakond, EME) (agrarian3)]
- conserv5 Pro Patria and Res Publica Union (Isama ja Res Publica Liit, IRL) [merger of Res Publica and Pro Patria Union (Isamaaliit)]
- conserv7 Estonian Free Party (Eesti Vabaraonud, EVA)
- relig1 Estonian Christian People’s Party (Eesti Kristlik Rahvapartei, EKRP)
- liberal1 Estonian Entrepreneurs’ Party (Eesti Ettevõtjate Erakond, EEE)
- liberal2 Estonian Reform Party (Eesti Reformierakond, RE)
- liberal3 Estonian Centre Party (Eesti Keskerakond, KE)
- liberal4 Estonian Coalition Party (Eesti Kooperand, EK)
- protest1 Independent Royalists (Sõltumatud Kuniniiklased, SK)
- green1 Estonian Greens (Eesti Rohelised, EER)
- 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 / Obединенная Narodnaya Partya Estonii)
- ethnic3 Russian Party in Estonia (Vene Erakond Eestis, VEE)
- right1 Estonian Citizens (Eesti Kodanik)
- right2 Estonian National Independence Party (Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatu Partei, ERS)
- right3 Estonian Future Party (Tulevikupartei, TP)
- right4 Better Estonia + Estonian Citizens (Parem Eesti ja Eesti Kodanik, PE & EK)
- pension1 Estonian Pensioners’ Union
- allia1 Popular Front of Estonia (Rahvarinne)

Finland
- social1 1) Social Democratic Party (SDP)
- leftsoc1 15) Social Democratic League (belongs to 1 before 1958 and after 1972)
- comm1 13) Finnish People’s Democratic Union (SKDL)
- comm2 22) Democratic Alternative (DEVA)
- comm3 23) Left-Wing Alliance (VAS)
- agrarian1 4) Centre Party (KESK), [1983: Electoral Alliance with the Liberal Party (9)]
- conserv1 8) National Coalition (KOK)
- relig1 16) Christian Democrats (KD) (until 1999: Christian League (SKL))
<table>
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<tr>
<td><strong>- liberal1</strong> 9) Liberal People’s Party (LKP)</td>
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<td><strong>- liberal2</strong> --- Progressive Finnish Party (NUORS)</td>
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<td><strong>- protest1</strong> 17) Finnish Rural Party (SMP) (since 1995: True Finns (right1))</td>
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<td><strong>- green1</strong> 20) Green League (VIHR)</td>
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<td><strong>- ethnic1</strong> 2) Swedish People’s Party (SFP/RKP)</td>
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<td><strong>- right1</strong> 17) True Finns (PS) (until 1994: Finnish Rural Party (SMP; protest1))</td>
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<td><strong>- right2</strong> Blue Reform (<em>Sininen tulevaisuus</em>, SIN) (splinter of the True Finns, PS)</td>
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</table>

**France**

- **- social1** 1) Socialist Party (PS)
- **- social2** --- Other Left
- **- social3** 1967/1968: Electoral Alliance of Socialist Party (1) and Radical Socialist Party (2)
- **- leftsoc1** 19) Unified Socialist Party
- **- leftsoc2** --- Extreme/Far Left (Extrême gauche)
- **- leftsoc3** Unsubmissive France (*La France insoumise*, FI)
- **- comm1** 9) Communist Party (since 2009: most important part of the coalition Left Front)
- **- conserv1** 12) Conservatives/Moderates
- **- conserv2** 14) Left Radicals (Les Républicains, LR) (until 2015: Gaullists, Rally for the Republic (RPR) (in 2002: Union for a Presidential Majority (UMP); in 2007: Union for a Popular Movement (UMP))
- **- conserv3** 20) Republican Party (PR)
- **- conserv4** 30) Democratic Movement (Mouvement démocrate, MoDem) (until 2007: Union for French Democracy (UDF))
- **- conserv5** 23) Centre Democracy and Progress (CDP, only in 1973; from 1973 on belongs to 21)
- **- relig1** 13) Popular Republican Movement (MRP)
- **- relig2** 21) Democratic Centre (belongs to 30 since 1978)
- **- relig3** 26) Reformers’ Movement (only in 1973 as a coalition of 2, 21 and some smaller parties)
- **- relig4** Union of Democrats and Independents (*Union des Démocrates et Indépendants* (UDI)) (former: New Centre (NC))
- **- liberal1** 2) Radical Socialist Party (RSP)
- **- liberal2** 25) Radical Left (PRG) formerly called Left Radicals (MRG) (see Hix 1997: 37)
- **- liberal3** Forward (*La République en marche!*, LRM)
- **- green1** 28) Greens (V, since 2010: Europe Ecologie – Les Verts)
- **- green2** 31) Generation Ecology
- **- green3** --- Other Ecologists (Autres Ecologistes)
- **- right1** 29) National Front

**Germany**

- **- social1** 2) Social Democrats (SPD)
- **- comm1** --- The Left (PDS) (until 2005: Party of Democratic Socialism)
- **- conserv1** 47) All-German Party (Gesamtdeutsche Partei)
- **- conserv2** 41) German Party (DP)
- **- relig1** 36) Christian Democratic Union (CDU)
- **- relig2** 37) Christian Social Union (CSU)
- **- liberal1** 38) Free Democrats (FDP)
- **- liberal2** --- Pirate Party
- **- green1** 51) Greens/Alliance 90
- **- ethnic1** 45) Refugee Party (GB/BHE)
- **- right1** 49) National Democratic Party (NDP)
<table>
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<td>- right2 57) Republicans</td>
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<tr>
<td>- right3 --- Alternative for Germany (AFD)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Greece**

- social1 37) Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) [in 2015: run under the name “Democratic Coalition (Dimokratiki Symparataxi)”]
- social2 --- Democratic Social Movement
- social3 Democratic Coalition (Dimokratiki Symparataxi) formed by PASOK und DIMAR
- social4 The River (To Potami, P)
- leftsoc1 --- Democratic Left (DIMAR) [in 2015: run under the name “Democratic Coalition (Dimokratiki Symparataxi)”]
- leftsoc2 Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA; until 2004: SYN comm3)
- leftsoc3 Popular Unity (Laiki Enotita, LAE)
- comm1 4) Communist Party of Greece (KKE)
- comm2 United Left [formed of the 25] United Democratic Left (EDA), the Communist party (KKE) and the Communist Party of the Interior (KKEes)]
- comm3 47) Left and Progress (SYN, since 2004: SYRIZA leftsoc2)
- comm4 35) Communist Party of the Interior (KKEes)
- conserv1 29) National Radical Union (ERE)
- conserv2 31) Progressives (KP)
- conserv3 36) New Democracy (ND)
- conserv4 50) Political Spring (POLAN)
- conserv5 30) Popular Social Party (LKK)
- liberal1 32) Centre Union, Union of the Democratic Centre (EDIK)
- liberal2 1) Liberal Party (KF)
- liberal3 24) Farmers’ and Workers’ Rally (SAE)
- liberal4 The Union of Centrists (Enosi Kentroon, EK)
- green1 --- Ecologists Greens (OP)
- right1 38) National Alignment, National Front (EM)
- right2 --- Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)
- right3 --- Independent Hellenes (ANEL)
- right4 --- Golden Dawn (XA)

**Hungary**

- social1 Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt, MSzP). In 2014, MSzP was in an electoral coalition (Unity) with Together (Együtt), Democratic Coalition (DK), Dialogue for Hungary (PM) and the Hungarian Liberal Party (MLP). In 2018 MSzP was in an electoral coalition with Dialogue for Hungary (PM)
- social2 Hungarian Social Democratic Party (Magyar Szocialdemokrata Párt, MSDP)
- social3 Democratic Coalition (Demokratikus Koalíció, DK)
- 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 (Oszszefogas Magyarorszagert Centrum, OMC)
- conserv4 Hungarian Civic Union (Magyar Polgári Szövetség, Fidesz). In 2002, Fidesz was in an electoral coalition with the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and

- 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 Partya, MIÉP)
- right2 Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)

Iceland
- social1 7) Social Democrats (SDP)
- social2 22) Social Democratic Federation
- social3 --- People’s Movement (PM)
- leftsoc1 36) Social Democratic Alliance (SDA), (1999: United Left)
- leftsoc2 17) National Preservation Party
- leftsoc3 People’s Party (Flokkur fólksins, FIF)
- comm1 37) People’s Alliance (PA) (since 1999: Left-Greens, green3)
- agrarian1 8) Progressive Party (PP)
- conserv1 13) Independence Party II (IP)
- conserv2 Reform (Viðreisn, V)
- liberal1 20) Union of Liberals and Leftists (ULL)
- liberal2 --- Bright Future (BF)
- liberal3 --- Pirates (P)
- liberal4 Centre Party (Márflokkurinn, FRFL)
- protest1 24) Citizens’ Party II
- protest2 38) Liberal Party (LP)
- protest3 --- The Civic Movement (founded in 2009; the party only existed for a few months. Due to internal conflict a new party was formed: The Movement)
- protest4 --- Dawn
- protest5 --- Democracy Watch
- green1 23) Women’s Alliance (WA)
- green2 --- Iceland Movement
- green3 Left-Greens (LG) (until 1999: People’s Alliance (PA), comm1)
- right1 --- Households’ Party

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

Ireland
- social1 8) Irish Labour Party
- social2 Social Democrats (DS)
- leftsoc1 19) Workers’ Party
- leftsoc2 --- Democratic Left (joined Labour Party in 2002)
- leftsoc3 --- United Left Alliance (formed of the Socialist Party, People Before Profit Alliance and Workers and Unemployed Action Group)
- leftsoc4 Anti-Austerity Alliance – People before Profit (in 2011 they ran with the Untied Left Alliance)
- relig1 14) Fine Gael
- liberal1 10) Fianna Fail
- liberal2 15) Party of the Land (Clann na Talmhan)
- green1 24) Green Party
- ethnic1 6) Sinn Féin II, Sinn Féin III from 1982 onwards
- ethnic2 25) Progressive Democrats (dissolved in 2009)
- ethnic3 20) National H-Block Committee

Italy
- social1 3) Socialist Party (PSI) (in 2001: New PSI)
- social2 31) United Socialist Party (PSU/only in 1968, as a coalition of 3 and 23)
- social3 23) Social Democratic Party (PSDI), [2001: Alliance with the Greens under the name “the Sunflower”, 2006: Alliance with the Radical Party (PR) under the name Rose in the Fist]
- social4 --- Democratic Party (PD) (formed of the Olive Tree and the Radical Party (PR), in 2006: The Olive Tree (the list comprises the Democrats of the Left (DS) and the Margherita-Daisy (DI))
- leftsoc1 30) Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIU; belongs to 11 after 1972)
- leftsoc2 --- Democrats of the Left (DS) (reformist wing of the disbanded PCI (1991))
- leftsoc3 --- The Left/The Rainbow (SA)
- leftsoc4 --- Free and Equal (Liberi e Uguali) (former Left, Ecology, Freedom (Sinistra Ecolgia Libertà, SEL))
- leftsoc5 --- Civic Revolution (Rivoluzione civile, CR)
- comm1 11) Communist Party (PCI)
- comm2 50) Communist Refoundation (RC) (left wing of the disbanded PCI (1991))
- conserv1 61) Forza Italia
- conserv2 20) Monarchist Party
- conserv3 27) Popular Monarchist Party
- conserv4 ---The People of Freedom (PDL), (comprised of Forza Italia and National Alliance)
- relig1 17) Christian Democratic Party (DC), (since 1994: Italian Popular Party (PPI))
- relig2 --- Segni Pact (Patto Segni)
- relig3 --- Christian Democratic Centre (CCD)/United Christian Democrats (CDU) (conservative wing of the former DC (since 1994)) (since 2006 under the name Democratic Centre Union)
- relig4 --- European Democracy (DE)
- liberal1 19) Liberal Party (PLI)
- liberal2 4) Republican Party (PRI)
- liberal3 34) Radical Party (PR)
- liberal4 --- Dini List – Italian Renewal (RI)
- liberal5 --- Di Pietro List
- liberal6 --- Civic Choice-Monti for Italy (Scelta civica-Monti per l’Italia, SC)
- protest1 --- Pannella List Reformers
- protest2 --- Five Stars Movement (Movimento 5 Stelle, M5S)
- green1 45) Greens (formerly Green Federation)
- right1 24) National Alliance (AN) (formerly Social Movement (MSI-DN))
- right2 42) Northern League (formerly Lombard League)
- right3 Brothers of Italy (Fratelli d’Italia, FdI)
- allia1 2001: La Margherita (PPI, the Democrats, Italian Renewal, UDEUR)

Notes:
1994: Introduction of a new electoral system. 474 MPs of 630 are elected on the basis of a “single-ballot first-past-the post system”; the remaining 156 seats are distributed on the basis of a “proportional formula” (EJPR 1995: 398). Data on votes refer to the (proportional) list votes, data on seats refer to the total of seats gained by the party (proportional plus plurality system). However, by the end of 2005, a party-list proportional representation system was re-introduced.
Japan
- social1 35) Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party) (SDP)
- social2 44) Democratic Socialist Party (DSP)
- social3 --- Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)
- social4 Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan (Rikken Minshutō, CDP)
- comm1 31) Japanese Communist Party (JCP)
- conserv1 43) Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
- conserv2 48) Japan Renewal Party (Shinsei To) (JRP)
- conserv3 49) Japan New Party (JNP)
- conserv5 --- (New) Sakigake Party (Splinter from LDP, 1993)
- conserv6 Party of Hope (Kibō no Tō, TPH)
- relig1 45) Komei Party, Komeito (Clean Government Party) (CGP)
- liberal1 46) New Liberal Club (belongs to 43 before 1979 and after 1986 )
- liberal2 --- Your Party (YP)
- liberal3 --- Japan Innovation Party (JIP)
- green1 --- Tomorrow Party of Japan (TPJ)
- right1 --- Japan Restoration Party (JRP)
- right2 --- Party for Future Generations (PFG)

Note:
1996: Introduction of a new electoral system. 300 of 500 MPs (since 2014, 295 of 475) 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*300/500)+(32.8*200/500) = 36.28 = 36.3.

Latvia
- social1 Democratic Centre Party (since 1995, Democratic Party "Master" (DPS Saimnieks)
- social2 Harmony for Latvia - Revival for the Economy (Saskana Latvijai – Atdzimsana Tautsaimniecībai)
- social3 National Harmony Party (Tautas Saskanas Partija, TSP)
- social4 Coalition “Labour and Justice” [composed 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 Socialdemokrātiska Strādnieku Partija, LSDSP)
- social8 Social Democratic Party "Harmony" (Sociāldemokrātiskā Partija "Saskaņa", SDPS) (until 2010: Harmony Centre (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 Socializistiska Partija / Socialisticheskaya Partiya Latvi)
- agrarian1 Latvian Farmers' Union (Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība, LZS)
- agrarian2 Union of Greens and Farmers (Zaïo un Zemnieku savienība, ZZS) [composed of Latvian Green Party (Latvijas Zaïa Partija, LZP) and Latvian
Lithuania
- social1 Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party (Lietuvos Socialdemokratų Partija, LSDP)
  [2000 election: Largest part of the Social-Democratic Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas which involved addionally the Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party, the Union of Lithuanian Russions and the Party of New Democracy, 2004 elections: Largest part of the Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas and Artas Paulauskas 'Working for Lithuania' (Algirdo Brazausko ir Art ro Paulausko koalicija 'U darb Lietuvai')]
- social2 Labour Party (Darbo partija, DP) [2008: Coalition of Labour Party + Youth (Darbo partija + jaunimas)]
- social3 Frontas Party (Fronto partija)
- leftsoc1 Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party (Lietuvos Socialdemokratų Partija, LSDP)
- postcom1 Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (Lietuvos Demokratinė Darbo Partija, LDDP)
- agrarian1 Lithuanian Peasant's Party (Lietuvos Valstiečių Partija, LVP)
- agrarian2 Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union (Lietuvos valstiečių sąjunga LVŽS) [former Lithuanian Peasant's People Union (Lietuvos valstiečių liaudininkų sąjunga, LPPU), Union for Farmers and New Democratic Party]
- conserv1 Anti-Corruption Coalition of N.Puteikis and K.Krivickas (alliance of Lithuanian Centre Party and Party of Pensioners)
- relig2 Christian Democratic Union
- relig3 Christian Conservative Social Union (*Krikščionių konservatorių socialinė sąjunga, KKSS*) [in 2000: Union of Moderate Conservatives]
- liberal1 Lithuanian Centre Movement
- liberal2 Homeland Union - Lithuanian Conservatives (*Tevnes Sajunga – Lietuvos Konseratoriai, TS-LK*)
- liberal3 Lithuanian Centre Union (*Lietuvos Centro Sajunga, LCS*)
- liberal4 Lithuanian Liberal Union (*Lietuvos Liberalų Sąjunga, LLS*)
- liberal5 New Union - Social Liberals (*Nauji Sąjungai – Socialliberalai, NS-SL*)
- liberal6 Liberal Democratic Party (*Lietuvos Demokratų Sąjunga, LSDP*) [since 2006: Party order and Justice – conserv2]
- liberal7 Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic (*Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjudis, LMLR*)
- ethnic2 Alliance of the the Lithuanian National Minorities
- green1 Lithuanian Green Party (*Lietuvos žaliųjų partija, LZP*)
- protest1 Nation’s Resurrection Party (*Tautos prisikelimo partija, NRP*)
- protest2 Political Party “Way of Courage” (*Politine partija "Drasos kelias", DK*)
- right1 Lithuanian National Party ‘Young Lithuania’ (*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 Sajudis Coalition [comprised of Lithuanian Movement Sajudis and Charter of Lithuanian Citizens and Union of Lithuanian Political Prisoners and Lithuanian Green Party]
- allia2 Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union and Lithuanian National Youth Union “Young Lithuania”

**Luxembourg**

- social1 2) Socialist Workers’ Party (LSAP)
- social2 19) Social Democratic Party (SDP)
- social3 21) Independent Socialists
- leftsoc1 --- The Left
- comm1 7) Communist Party (KPL)
- relig1 1) Christian Social Party (PCS/CSV)
- liberal1 16) Democratic Party (Liberal Party) (DP)
- liberal2 --- Pirate Party (*Piratpartei, PP*)
- protest1 18) Independent Movement (split into two factions after 1968, one belonging to 1 and the other to 16)
- protest2 20) Enrôlés de force
- green1 23) Green Alternative (GAP)
- green2 26) Green Left (GLEI)
- green3  28) Green Party (GLEI-GAP) (a merger of 23 and 26 in 1994)
- right1  27) Luxembourg for the Luxembourgers

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

**Netherlands**
- social1  23) Labour Party (PvdA)
- social2  30) Democratic Socialists’ 70 (before 1971 belonging to 23)
- social3  Think (Beweging DENK)
- leftsoc1 27) Pacifist Socialist Party
- leftsoc2 38) Socialist Party (SP)
- comm1   10) Communist Party (CPN)
- relig1   1) Anti Revolutionary Party (ARP) (in 1998: Reformed Political Federation (RPF), a splinter from the ARP)
- relig2   2) Catholic People’s Party (KVP)
- relig3   6) Christian Historical Union (CHU)
- relig4   32) Radical Political Party
- relig5   34) Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) (merger of ARP, KVP, and CHU in 1977)
- relig6   --- Christian Union (merger of RPF and Reformed Political Union in 2002)
- relig7   14) Political Reformed Party (SGP)
- liberal1 24) People’s Party for Freedom and Democracy (Liberal Party) (VVD)
- liberal2 29) Democrats 66 (D66)
- protest1 28) People’s Party of the Right (formerly Farmers’ Party)
- protest2 42) United Old Persons’ League, General Association of Elderly People (AOV)
- green1  38) Green Left (merger of 10, 27, 32 and Evangelical People’s Party in 1989)
- green2  Party of Animals (Partij voor de Dieren, PvdD)
- right1   --- Centre Democrats (CD)
- right2   --- List Pim Fortuyn (LPF)
- right3   --- Freedom Party/Group Wilders (PVV)
- pension1 50PLUS (50+)

**New Zealand**
- social1  3) Labour Party (LP)
- social2  18) New Labour Party
- social3  20) Alliance (Merger of 11, 17, 18, and two minor parties in 1993)
- comm1   12) Socialist Unity Party (between 1972 and 1984 party was a formation of the Communist Party)
- conserv1 9) National Party (NP)
- conserv2 --- United Future New Zealand
- conserv3 --- Conservative Party (CP)
- relig1   15) New Zealand Party
- relig2   16) Christian Heritage
- relig3   Christian Coalition [electoral alliance of Christian Heritage Party (16) and the Christian Democrats]
- liberal1 11) Social Credit Party, Democratic Party
- liberal2 --- Association of Consumers and Taxpayers (ACT)
- liberal3 The Opportunities Party (TOP)
- green1 13) Values Party
- green2 17) Green Party (Aotearoa) (was part of Alliance (20) from 1991 until 1998)
- right1 21) New Zealand First
- ethnic1 --- Maori Party

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

Norway
- social1 4) Labour Party (DNA)
- leftsoc1 14) Socialist Left Party (SV)
- comm1 9) Communist Party
- comm2 The Red Party (Rødt, R)
- agrarian1 7) Centre Party (SP)
- conserv1 2) Conservatives (Hoyre) (H)
- relig1 10) Christian People’s Party (KRF)
- liberal1 1) Liberals (Venstre) (V)
- liberal2 16) Liberal People’s Party, New People’s Party
- protest1 15) Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet, FRP) (formerly Anders Lange’s Party)
  [right1 since 2013]
- green1 --- The Greens (Miljøpartiet de Grønne, MDG)
- right1 15) Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet, FRP) (formerly Anders Lange’s Party)
  [protest1 until 2013]

Poland
- social1 Solidarity (Solidarnosc)
- social2 Labour Solidarity (Solidarnosc Pracy)
- social3 Alliance of the Democratic Left (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, SLD) [comprised of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland; All-Polish Accord of Trade Unions; Polish Socialist Party (PPS)]
- social4 Labour Union (Unia Pracy, UP)
- social5 Polish Social Democracy (Sojednoczona Lewica, ZL) = electoral alliance of SLD (Alliance of the Democratic Left), TR (Your Movement), PPS (Polish Socialist Party), UP (Labour Union) and the Greens (Zieloni)
- 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 Rzeczpospolitej, UPR) [formed around the Union of Political Realism by several conservative groups]
- conserv2 Coalition for the Republic [comprised of Movement for the Republic, Polish 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 Your Movement *(Twój Ruch, TR)* [until 2013: Palikot’s Movement *(Ruch Palikota, RP)*]
- liberal7 Ryszard Petru’s Modern *(Nowoczesna, N)*
- right1 Confederation for Independent Poland *(Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej, KPN)*
- right2 Party X *(Partia X)*
- right3 Movement for Rebuilding Poland *(Ruch Odbudowy Polski, ROP)*
- right4 Kukiz’15 *(K)*
- nonlbl1 Polish Friends of Beer Party *(Polska Partia Przyjaciół Piwa, PPPP)*

**Portugal**
- social1 4) Socialist Party *(PS)*
- leftsoc1 7) Popular Democratic Union *(UDP)*
- leftsoc2 --- Block of the Left (BE) (Merger of Popular Democratic Union (7), Socialist Revolutionary Party and Poltica XXI in 1999)
- comm1 5) Democratic Movement
- comm2 2/19 Communist Party/Greens *(PCP-PEV)*, [also known as United Democratic Coalition (CDU); until 1978: Communist Party; 1979-1985: In alliance with the Democratic Movement under the Name United People Alliance; 1987: Merger with the Greens]
- relig1 1) Centre Social Democrats, Popular Party *(CDS-PP)* (in 2015: in alliance “Portugal Alliance *(Aliança Portugal)*” with PSD)
- liberal2 17) Democratic Renewal Party *(PRD)*
- green1 16) Greens
- allia1 1979 and 1980: Electoral Alliance of Centre Social Democrats (1), Social Democrats (3), and Popular Monarchist Party.

**Romania**
- social1 Social Democratic Party *(Partidul Social Democrat, PSD)*, [former National Salvation Front = Democratic National Salvation Front = Party of Social Democracy from Romania *(Partidul Democrației 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)
- postcom1 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)
- relig2 Peoples Movement Party (Partidul Mișcarea Populară, PMP)
- liberal1 National Liberal Party (Partidul Național Libera, PNL)
- liberal2 Alliance Truth and Justice, in 2004: electoral alliance of the National liberal party (liberal1) and the Democratic Party (social2)
- liberal3 Democrat-Liberal Party (Partidul Democrat-Liberal) [formed through the incorporation of a PNL dissident group into the Democrat Party, 2012: major part in the Right Romania Alliance (Alianța România Dreaptă, ARD) also part of the electoral alliance were the National Christian Democrat Peasant Party (Partidul Național Țărănesc – Creștin Democrat, PNTCD) and the Civic Force Party (Partidul Forța Civică, PFC) ]
- liberal4 Alliance of Liberals and Democrats Party (Alianța Liberalilor și Democraților, ALDE)
- liberal5 Save Romania Union (Uniunea Salvați România, USR)
- 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)
- nonlbl1 New Generation Party (PNG)-Christian-Democrat (Partidul Noua Generație/Creștin-Democrat)
- allia1 Democratic Convention from Romania (Convenția Democrată din România), [In 2000: Democratic Convention from Romania 2000 (Convenția Democrată din România 2000)]
- 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 Libera, PNL) and Conservative Party (PC)]

Slovakia
- social1 Social Democratic Party of Slovakia (Socialno Democratická Strana Slovenska, SDSS)
- social2 Common Choice (Spoločná Volba, 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]
- leftsoc2 Association of Slovak Workers (Združenie Robotníkov Slovenska, ZRS)
- comm1 Communist Party of Slovakia (Komunisticka Strana Slovenska, KSS)
- postcom1 Party of the Democratic Left (Strana Demokratickej Ľavice,SDL’) [until 1996]
- agrarian1 Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conserv1</td>
<td>Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti, OLaNO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conserv2</td>
<td>Network – Siet’ (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conserv3</td>
<td>We are Family- Boris Kollar (Sme Rodina – Boris Kollár, SR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relig1</td>
<td>Christian Democratic Movement (Krestanskodemokraticke Hnutie, KDH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relig2</td>
<td>Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (SDKU) [in 2006 merged with Democratic Party to SDKU-DS]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relig3</td>
<td>Christian Social Union (Kreštansko Sociálna Unia, KSU)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relig4</td>
<td>Free Forum (Slobodné forum) [split in 2004 from SDKU]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal1</td>
<td>Public Against Violence (since 1992 - Civil Democratic Union) (Verejnost’ proti násiliu, VPN; 1992: Obcianská demokratické únia, ODÚ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal2</td>
<td>Democratic Party (Demokratická Strana, DS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal3</td>
<td>Democratic Party - Civil Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal4</td>
<td>Democratic Union of Slovakia (Demokratická Únia Slovenska, DUS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>liberal5</td>
<td>The Slovak Democratic Coalition (Slovenská Demokratická Koalícia, SDK)</td>
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<tr>
<td>liberal6</td>
<td>Party of Civic Understanding (Strana Občianskeho Porozumenia, SOP)</td>
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<td>liberal7</td>
<td>Alliance of New Citizens (Aliancia nového obcana, ANO)</td>
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<tr>
<td>liberal8</td>
<td>Freedom and Solidarity (Sloboda a solidarita, SaS)</td>
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<td>green1</td>
<td>Party of Greens (Strana zelených, SZ)</td>
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<tr>
<td>green2</td>
<td>Party of Greens in Slovakia (Strana zelených na Slovensku, SZS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ethnic1</td>
<td>Coexistence and Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>ethnic2</td>
<td>Party of the Hungarian Coalition (Magyar Koalitio Partja, SMK) (1994: Hungarian Coalition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethnic3</td>
<td>Hungarian Civic Party (Magyar Polgári Párt - Maďarská občanská strana, MMP-MOS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ethnic4</td>
<td>The Bridge (Most-Híd)</td>
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<tr>
<td>right1</td>
<td>Slovak National Party (Slovenská národná strana, SNS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right2</td>
<td>Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (Hnutie za demokraticke Slovensko, HZDS, since 2006: L’S-HZDS) (in 1994 HZDS was in an electoral alliance with the Peasants Party of Slovakia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right3</td>
<td>The Real Slovak National Party (Pravá Slovenská národná strana, PSNS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right4</td>
<td>Movement for Democracy (Hnutie za demokraciu, HZD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right5</td>
<td>Kotleba - People’s Party Our Slovakia (Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko, LSNS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Slovenia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>social1</td>
<td>Alliance of Socialists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social2</td>
<td>Social Democrats (Socialni demokrati, SD) [former United List of Social Democrats, ZLSD]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social3</td>
<td>Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (Socialdemokratska Stranka Slovenije, SDS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social4</td>
<td>Socialist Party of Slovenia (Socialistična Stranka Slovenije, SSS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social5</td>
<td>Slovenia is Ours (Slovenija je naša, SJN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social6</td>
<td>Positive Slovenia/List Zorana Jankoviča (Pozitivna Slovenija/Lista Zorana Jankoviča, LZJ-PS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leftsoc1</td>
<td>Left (Levica) (former United Left Coalition (Združena levica, ZL))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postcom1</td>
<td>Party of Democratic Renewal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agrarian1</td>
<td>Slovenian People’s Party (Slovenska Ljudska Stranka, SLS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conserv1</td>
<td>National Democrats and Slovenian Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relig1</td>
<td>Slovenian Christian Democratic Party (Slovenski Krščanski Demokrati, SKD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relig2</td>
<td>New Slovenia and People’s Christian Party (NSi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal1</td>
<td>Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije, LDS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal2</td>
<td>Democratic Party of Slovenia (Demokratična Stranka Slovenije, DSS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal3</td>
<td>Liberal Party (Liberalna Stranka/Slovenski Liberalci, LS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal4</td>
<td>Party for Real/New Politics (Zares/nova politika, ZARES)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- liberal5 Civic List (Državljanska lista, DL) (until 2012: Citizens’ Alliance of Gregor Virant (Državljanska lista Gregorja Viranta, DLGV))
- liberal6 Alliance of Alenka Bratusek (Zavezništvo Alenke Bratušek, ZaAB)
- liberal7 Party of Modern Centre (Stranka modernega centra, SMC) (until 2015: Party of Miro Cerar (Stranka Mira Cerarja, MC))
- liberal8 List of Marjan Šarce (Lista Marjana Šarca, LMŠ)
- 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)
- pension1 Democratic Party of Pensioners (DeSUS)
- nonlbl1 Party of the Youth of Slovenia (Stranka mladih Slovenije, SMS)
- nonlbl2 Active Slovenia (Aktivna Slovenija, AS)
- 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)

Spain
- social1 1) Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE)
- social2 32) Popular Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Popular, PSP) (only in 1977; afterwards part of 1)
- comm1 2) United Left (PCE/PSUC/IU), [in 2015: run under the name United Left – Popular Unity (Unidad Popular: Izquierda Unida, IU-UPeC), until 1989: Communist Party – United Left (Partido Communista-Izquierda Unida PCE-IU)
- conserv1 28) Union of the Democratic Centre (Unión de Centro Democrático, UCD)
- conserv3 50) Democratic and Social Centre (CDS)
- liberal1 -- Progress and Democracy Union (UpyD)
- liberal2 Citizens (Cuidadanos, C’s)
- ethnic1 44) Democratic Party of Catalonia (Partido Democrático de Catalunya, PdCat) [1977: Coalition of Democratic Convergence of Catalonia and Democratic Left of Catalonia, until 2011: Convergence and Unity (CiU), in 2015: consist of Democratic Convergence of Catalonia (CDC) and Democrats of Catalonia (DC), until 2016: Democracy and Freedom (Democracia i Libertat, DL)]
- ethnic2 -- Catalanian Left Republicans (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, ERC)
- right1 45) National Union (formed in January 1979 by the leader of Fuerza Nueva. The National Union also included Falange Espanola, the Alianza Nacional and other neo-fascist groups)
- leftsoc1 We Can (Podemos, P) [in 2015 in alliance with: In Common We Can (En Comú Podem, ECP), Compromise-We-Can-It Is Time Coalition (Compromis-Podemos-És el Moment, EeM), We Can-In Tide-Anova-United Left (Podemos-En- Marea-Anova-Esquerda Unida, in 2016 in alliance with United Left)]
- leftsoc2 Together we Can (En Comú Podem, ECP ) [in 2015 in alliance with: We Can]
- leftsoc3 Compromise – We Can-It Is Time- Coalition (Compromís|A la valenciana, C|AV)  [in 2015 in alliance with: We Can]
Sweden
- social1 5) Social Democrats (S)
- social2 --- Feminist Initiative (FI)
- leftsoc1 Left Party (V) (until 1991: Communist Party, comm1)
- comm1 10) Communist Party (since 1991: Left Party (V), leftsoc1)
- agrarian1 7) Agrarian Party, Centre Party (C)
- conserv1 6) Conservatives, Moderate Unity Party (M)
- relig1 20) Christian Democratic Union (KDS)
- liberal1 18) People’s Party (The Liberals) (FP)
- green1 23) Green Party (MP)
- right1 24) New Democracy (NYD)
- right2 --- Sweden Democrats (SD)

Switzerland
- social1 5) Social Democratic Party (PSS/SPS)
- leftsoc1 18) Progressive Organisations (POCH)
- comm1 9) Communist Party (PdA)
- agrarian1 6) Swiss People’s Party (UDC/SVP; since 1995: right4)
- conserv1 --- Conservative Democratic Party (BDP/PBD)
- relig1 1) Christian Democrat People’s Party (PDC/CVP)
- relig2 8) Protestant People’s Party (EVP)
- liberal1 4) The Liberals (*Die Liberalen*, *FDP*/*Les Libéraux Radicaux*, *PLR*)
  (until 2009: Radical Democratic Party (PRD/FDP), merged in 2009 with LPS
  (Liberal Party of Switzerland))
- liberal2 12) Independents’ Party (LDU)
- liberal3 3) Liberal Party of Switzerland (PLS/LPS)
- green1 19) Greens (GPS/PES)
- green2 20) Green Alliance (GBS), Alternative Greens (DACH)
- green3 --- Swiss Green Liberal Party (GLP/PVL)
- right1 14) National Action, Swiss Democrats (SD)
- right2 16) Republican Movement
- right3 22) Swiss Motorists (AP), Freedom Party
- right4 6) Swiss People’s Party (UDC/SVP; until 1994: agrarian1)

United Kingdom
- social1 6) Labour Party
- conserv1 1) Conservative Party
- liberal1 2) Liberal Party
- protest1 UK Independence Party (UKIP, since 2010: right1)
- ethnic1 11) Scottish National Party (SNP)
- green1 Green Party (GP)
- right1 UK Independence Party (UKIP, until 2010: protest1)

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

Appendix 5 Notes concerning the variables for consensus democracy

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

- The number of effective parties in parliament (effpar_leg).
- The absence of minimal winning and single-party majority cabinets (calculated from gov_type with (1) single-party majority government and (2) minimal winning coalition coded as ‘0’, otherwise ‘1.’).
- The proportionality of electoral systems (variable dis_gall multiplied by [-1]).
- A measure for cabinet dominance, calculated by taking the average cabinet duration (see Lijphart 1999: 129-134), which we measured by the number of changes in government per year (gov_chan).

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

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

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

We deliberately did not include the index of interest group pluralism, which in our view does not measure the extent of compromise and negotiation between political elites on the level of parliaments and parties. It rather taps dimensions of corporatism and varieties of capitalism.

In order to measure the fit of this proxy variable with Lijphart’s original variable, we correlated the mean of lfirstp for the years 1981 to 2010 with lfirst in 1981 (i.e. Lijphart’s first dimension measured for the years 1981 to 2010). The correlation is 0.902 (significant at p<0.001, n=24).

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 and single-party majority governments’. The calculation as z-scores of moving averages is the same as with regard to lfirstp. The arithmetic means for the period 1969 to 2018 of lfirstp are correlated with the means of lfirstpi 0.786 and with the means of lfirstpb 0.795; both correlations are significant at p<0.001 (n=36). The correlation between the means of lfirstpi and lfirstpb (1969-2018) is 0.253 and not significant at p<0.05 (n=36).
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