

Codebook:**COMPARATIVE POLITICAL DATA SET III 1990-2011**

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The Comparative Political Data Set III 1990-2011 is a collection of political and institutional data. This data set consists of (mostly) annual data for a group of 35 OECD and/or EU-member countries for the period 1990-2011¹. The data are primarily from two data sets created at the University of Berne, Institute of Political Science and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation: The Comparative Political Data Set I (CPDS I) and The Comparative Political Data Set II (CPDS II). The present data set differs in several respects from both CPDS I and CPDS II.

Compared to CPDS I, Cyprus (without the northern territory) and Malta have been added. Compared to CPDS II, CPDS III contains only data for those post-communist countries that have joined the EU.

CPDS III furthermore introduces a different operationalisation for some of the institutional variables. In addition, the cabinet composition (right-centre-left) was calculated both as a percentage of parliamentary seats and as a percentage of cabinet positions.

Several variables under the heading 'Fiscal and Social Policy' are new and were not previously included in CPDS I or CPDS II.

The present data set is suited for cross-national, longitudinal and pooled time series analyses.

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

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¹ Data for former communist countries begin with 1990, 1991 or 1992. For detailed information, please refer to the notes at the beginning of each chapter. The data set does not include Korea, Mexico or Turkey.

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VARIABLE LIST

1. General variables

year	year
country	country name
countrynr	country number: 1 Australia; 2 Austria; 3 Belgium; 4 Bulgaria; 5 Canada; 6 Cyprus (Greek part); 7 Czech Republic; 8 Denmark; 9 Estonia; 10 Finland; 11 France; 12 Germany; 13 Greece; 14 Hungary; 15 Iceland; 16 Ireland; 17 Italy; 18 Japan; 19 Latvia; 20 Lithuania; 21 Luxembourg; 22 Malta; 23 Netherlands; 24 New Zealand; 25 Norway; 26 Poland; 27 Portugal; 28 Romania; 29 Slovakia; 30 Slovenia; 31 Spain; 32 Sweden; 33 Switzerland; 34 United Kingdom; 35 USA.

Note:

1. *Germany*: Data in 1990 are for the Federal Republic of Germany before reunification only (West Germany); unless otherwise indicated, data cover all of Germany from 1991 onwards.

2. Governments

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

gov_right1	Cabinet composition: right-wing parties as a percentage of total cabinet posts, weighted by the number of days the government was in office in a given year. <u>Period covered</u> : 1990-2011. <u>Missings</u> : Information was not available for Romania 1990 and Slovenia 1992. <u>Source</u> : For details and sources see Appendix 1 and 2 .
gov_cent1	Cabinet composition: centre parties as a percentage of total cabinet posts, weighted by the number of days the government was in office in a given year. <u>Period covered</u> : 1990-2011. <u>Missings</u> : see variable govright1. <u>Source</u> : For details and sources see Appendix 1 and 2 .

gov_left1 Cabinet composition: social democratic and other left-wing parties as a percentage of total cabinet posts, weighted by the number of days the government was in office in a given year.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Missings: see variable govright1.
Source: For details and sources see **Appendix 1 and 2.**

Notes on cabinet composition 1:

1. For the first governments after independence/the fall of communist rule, the total weight does not amount to 100, since the governments did not commence their time in office at the beginning of the calendar year.
2. Due to independents, the calculations of 'gov_right1', 'gov_cent1' and 'gov_left1' do not always add up to 100 percent.
3. *Belgium 2010/11, Bulgaria 1997, Italy 1995/96, Czech Republic 2009/10, Greece 2011 and Italy 2011* do not add up to 100 percent mainly because of the caretaker governments which were in office from 13.06.2010 until 06.12.2011 in Belgium; from 13.02.1997 until 21.05.1997 in Bulgaria; from 17.01.1995 until 17.05.1996 in Italy; and from 08.05.2009 until 13.07.2010 in Czech Republic.
4. *Bulgaria 1993 to Bulgaria 1995* do not add up to 100 due to non-party governments from 30.12.1992 until 25.01.1995.
5. *Canada 2005* does not add up to 100 percent as the House of Commons was dissolved following the defeat of the government on 28 November 2005 and thus did not have any members at the end of the year.
6. *Latvia 1997/98:* Information incomplete.

govparty Cabinet composition (Schmidt-Index): (1) hegemony of right-wing (and centre) parties (gov_left=0), (2) dominance of right-wing (and centre) parties (gov_left<33.3), (3) balance of power between left and right/centre (33.3<gov_left<66.6), (4) dominance of social-democratic and other left parties (gov_left>66.6), (5) hegemony of social-democratic and other left parties (gov_left=100).
 Calculations of authors based on gov_right1, gov_cent1 and gov_left1.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Missings: Bulgaria 1993/94 (non-party government), Italy 1995 (caretaker government). Information was not available for Romania 1990 and Slovenia 1992.
Source: Own calculations according to Schmidt (1992).

Notes:

1. Where the sum of 'gov_left1', 'gov_cent1' and 'gov_right1' is not equal to 100 percent due to independents, the boundaries for the three groups were recalculated for the codes (2), (3) and (4) by taking the sum of the given entries as 100 percent.
 For example Czech Republic 1998:
 gov_right + gov_center: 13.02 + 19.53 = 32.55; gov_left: 42.3.
 The total of 74.85 percent is the basis for the calculation of the new boundaries. $74.85/3 = 24.95$ is in this case the new boundary for the lower third, replacing 33.3 percent. $24.95*2 = 49.9$ would be the new boundary for the upper third, replacing 66.6 percent. As gov_left = 42.3, we have a stand-off between left and right, because $24.95 < \text{gov_left} < 49.9$. Therefore, a (3) was entered.
2. *Poland 1991:* The marginal input in the case of Poland 1991 results from the first free elections at the end of the year (cabinet of Jan Olszewski, 6.12.1991-5.06.1992). Since the party-governments which were in power in 1992 (Olszewski, Suchocka) can be classified as "hegemony of right-wing and centre parties", the cabinet composition in 1991 also falls under this category.
3. *Estonia 1992:* The same as for Poland accounts for Estonia 1992.

gov_new New ideological composition of cabinet: (0) no change, (1) change: if cabinet ideological composition (govparty) changed from last to present year. Own calculations based on gov_right1, gov_cent1, and gov_left1.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Missing: Romania 1990/91 and Slovenia 1993 (information not available).
Source: Own calculations.

gov_gap Ideological gap between new and old cabinet. The gap is calculated as the difference of the index value (govparty) of the outgoing and the incoming government. For an example, see Note 1 below.
 Period covered: 1990-2011.
 Missings: Bulgaria 1993-95 (non-party government), Italy 1995/96 (caretaker government), Romania 1991 and Slovenia 1993 (information not available).
 Source: Own calculations based on govparty.

Note:

1. For example, the cabinet in Australia in 1996 is coded (2) for the variable 'govparty' (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 'govparty'; the value for 'gov_gap' in 1996 would be (-3), calculated as the difference of the ideology of the outgoing (2) and the incoming government (5).

gov_type Type of Government. Classification: (1) single party majority government; (2) minimal winning coalition; (3) surplus coalition; (4) single party minority government; (5) multi party minority government; (6) caretaker government or non-party government; (7) other.
Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: None.

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

- (1) single party majority government
= one party takes all governments seats and has a parliamentary majority [>50%]
- (2) minimal winning coalition
= all participating parties are necessary to form a majority government [>50%]
- (3) surplus coalition
= this comprises those coalition governments which exceed the minimal-winning criterion
- (4) single party minority government
= the party in government does not possess a majority in Parliament [>50%]
- (5) multi party minority government
= the parties in government do not possess a majority in Parliament [>50%]
- (6) caretaker government (temporarily)
= the government formed is not intended to undertake any kind of serious policy-making, but is only minding the shop temporarily

Notes:

1. The indicator refers to the type of government that was in office for the longest period during the year.

2. Changes of the type of government are not included in *gov_type* if they occurred during a term of government (see variable '*gov_chan*'). An example is Ireland 2009, where some members of parliament left the governing party, thereby changing the type of government of Cowen I from a surplus to a minimal winning coalition.
3. We classified a government as caretaker government if it was either a technocratic one (see for example Czech Republic 2009) or after elections when it was in office due to a very long formation process (longer than 1 year; as in Belgium 2010). We did not classify a government as a caretaker government if the governing coalition broke up but the government (in a modified composition) remained in power until new elections took place (see for example Netherlands 2010).
4. *Cyprus 2000/01*: '*gov_type*' is coded as 2 (minimal winning coalition) because the two larger coalition parties together had exactly 50.0% of parliamentary seats without the third (and minor) coalition party.
5. *Spain 1990*: '*gov_type*' is coded as 1 (single party majority government) although the single government party had exactly 50.0% of parliamentary seats.
6. *Lithuania 2005/06*: Although the government of Brazauskas II, which was elected in December 2004, can be classified as a minimal winning coalition, it is, following EJPR, coded as a surplus coalition, as the LSDP gained seats in Parliament.
7. *Lithuania 2008*: Although the government of Kirkilas I, which was elected in July 2006, can still be classified as a multi party minority government after the appointment of two ministers of the *New Union (Social Liberals)* in January 2008, it is, according to EJPR, coded as a minimal winning coalition.
8. *Slovenia 2009*: '*gov_type*' is coded as 2 (minimal winning coalition) because the three larger coalition parties together have exactly 50.0% of parliamentary seats without the fourth (and minor) coalition party.

gov_chan Number of changes in government per year [termination of government due to (a) elections, (b) resignation of the Prime Minister, (c) dissension within government, (d) lack of parliamentary support, or (e) intervention by the head of state (Woldendorp/Keman/Budge 1998)].

Own calculations.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: None.

Source: see variable *gov_type*.

Notes:

1. *Romania 2010*: Following a reshuffling of the cabinet, the National Union for Romania's Progress was also part of the coalition and was therefore coded with the value of 1 for *gov_chan*.

gov_right2 Cabinet composition: right-wing parties as a percentage of parliamentary seats of all governmental parties, weighted by the number of days the government was in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: Bulgaria 1993/94 (non-party government), Italy 1995 (caretaker government).

Source: For details and sources see **Appendix 1 and 2**.

gov_cent2 Cabinet composition: centre parties as a percentage of parliamentary seats of all governmental parties, weighted by the number of days the government was in office in a given year.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: see variable *govright2*.

Source: For details and sources see **Appendix 1 and 2**.

gov_left2 Cabinet composition: social democratic and other left-wing parties as a percentage of parliamentary seats of all governmental parties, weighted by the number of days the government was in office in a given year.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Missing: see variable govright2.
Source: For details and sources see **Appendix 1 and 2.**

Notes on cabinet composition 2:

1. Changes in the composition of the parliament are not entered until there has been a change in government resulting from elections.
2. For the first governments after independence / the fall of communist rule, the total weight does not amount to 100, since the governments did not commence their time in office at the beginning of the calendar year.
3. *Greece 1990:* Data entered do not add up to 100, as the all-party government (grand coalition) of Xenofón Zolótas (until 4.11.1990) could not be classified ideologically. Therefore, only the single-party government of Konstantínos Mitsotákis (NP) was considered.
4. For *Italy 1996*, *Bulgaria 1993-1995;1997*, *Canada 2005/06*, *Czech Republic 2009/10*, *Belgium 2010/11*, *Greece 2011* and *Italy 2011* the total weight does not amount to 100 due to the caretaker and non-party governments for which calculations could not be made.
5. *Poland (1991-93)* and *Slovakia (1994):* Information incomplete.
6. For details about the classification of parties to right/centre/left see the **Appendix 1 and 2.**

3. Elections

For former communist countries the entries generally start with the year when the first free elections were held.

An exception is the inclusion of the 1990 Slovenian elections. Although at the time of these elections, Slovenia was still part of the Yugoslav federation, the significance of the decisions taken by the Parliament formed after these elections has led some authors to consider them “founding elections” (e.g. Klingemann et al. 2000).

The elections of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia 1990 and 1992 are included as well since the Czech and the Slovakian parts of the Federation voted separately for their own candidates. The 1992 elections produced the Parliaments which ruled after the two countries peacefully separated on 1st January 1993.

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

elect Date of election of national parliament (lower house). (If there were two elections in a year, the date of the second is given).
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Missings: None.
Source: Bugajski (2002); Election World (www.electionworld.org); Essex Database (www.essex.ac.uk/elections); European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues); Keesing's Archive; Parline database (<http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp>).

Note:

1. *Romania 2004:* Data were retrieved from the Central Election Bureau, www.bec2004.ro (Page visited January 2005).

vturn Voter turnout in the parliamentary election (lower house).
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Missings: None.
Source: see variable elect.

Note:

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

As a general rule we include data on votes and seats for a party if it reached at least 2% of the vote share in an election. If it does not reach this threshold, it receives a zero (see *Appendix 3*). For the assignment of parties to party families, see *Appendix 4*.

social1 Share of votes for the party classified as social1.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Source: see variable elect.

social2 Share of votes for the party classified as social2.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Source: see variable elect.

etc.

.
 .
 .

ssocial1 Share of seats of the party classified as social1.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Source: see variable elect.

ssocial2 Share of seats of the party classified as social2.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Source: see variable elect.

etc.

.
 .

Notes:

1. For *Italy (1993-2005)*, *Germany*, *Lithuania* and *New Zealand* (since 1994), the share of votes represents the share of votes received on party lists (proportional part of the electoral system). For the parallel system of Japan, the percentage of votes represents the mean of votes in single-seats districts and in proportional representation constituencies.
2. *Slovenia 1996 – 2006:* The National Assembly also includes two seats (one seat each) reserved for the Italian and Hungarian minorities (ethnic1 and ethnic2) that are only elected by members of those minorities.
3. 'others1' and 'sothers1' are residual categories. They cover the difference of entries on votes or seats of the sum of all other categories compared to 100 percent.

4. Women in parliaments

womenpar Percentage of women in parliaments. Entries refer to the composition of the parliament at the end of the corresponding year. In bicameral systems data is taken for the lower house.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Missings: Czech and Slovak Federal Assembly 1990/91, Estonia, Lithuania and Slovenia (as part of SFR Yugoslavia) 1990/91, Latvia 1990-92 and Poland 1990.
Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (1995 and 1997); Inter-Parliamentary Union Homepage "Women in National Parliaments", <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm> (Downloaded: 2013-01-30).

5. Party system

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

$$rae_ele = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^m v_i^2$$

, where v_i is the share of votes for party i and m the number of parties.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: none.

Source: own calculations.

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

$$rae_leg = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^m s_i^2$$

, where s_i is the share of seats for party i and m the number of parties.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: none.

Source: own calculations.

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: none.

Source: own calculations.

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: none.

Source: own calculations.

dis_abso Index of absolute disproportionality. For example, a score of 1 means that on the *seats* level there is, on average, one (effective) party less than on the *votes* level. 'Absolute' refers to the calculation of the differences between the effective number of parties in elections and parliaments without taking the fractionalization of

the party system into account. The more fractionalized a party system, the greater the likelihood – *ceteris paribus* – of high values of *dis_abso*.

The index is calculated as follows:

$$dis_abso = effpar_ele - effpar_leg$$

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: none.

Source: own calculations.

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

$$dis_rel = (effpar_ele - effpar_leg) / effpar_ele$$

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: none.

Source: own calculations.

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

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

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: none.

Source: own calculations.

6. Fiscal and social policy

outlays Total outlays (OECD: total disbursement; Eurostat: total expenditure) of general government as a percentage of GDP.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

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

Source: OECD (2012), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 92", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00606-en> (Downloaded: 2013-05-14). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - Government revenue, expenditure and main aggregates), available at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/search_database (Downloaded: 2013-05-28).

Notes:

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

4. *Hungary 1991-94*: Data is taken from OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 87", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00492-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05).
5. Please note that there may be differences in operationalization between OECD Statistics and Eurostat.

receipts

Total receipts of government as a percentage of GDP.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

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

Source: OECD (2012), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 92", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00606-en> (Downloaded: 2013-05-14). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - Government revenue, expenditure and main aggregates), available at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/search_database (Downloaded: 2013-05-28).

Notes:

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

debt

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

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

Sources: OECD (2012), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 92", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00646-en> (Downloaded: 2013-05-28). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, as well as partly for Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia, data were retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2013-05-14).

For details, please see the note below.

Note:

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

OECD (2005), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 78", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00088-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05); Greece 1990-94, Ireland 1990-97, Luxembourg 1990-94.

OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00082-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05); Iceland 1990-97.

OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 89", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00539-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05): Luxembourg 1995-97.

OECD (2011), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 90", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00588-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05): Germany 1990.

OECD (2012), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 91" OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00606-en> (Downloaded: 2013-08-05): Australia 1990-2010, Austria 1990-2010, Belgium 1990-2010, Canada 1990-2010, Czech Republic 2002-2010, Denmark 1990-2010, Estonia 1995-2010, Finland 1990-2010, France 1990-2010, Germany 1991-2010, Greece 1995-2010, Hungary 2001-2010, Iceland 1998-2010, Ireland 1998-2010, Italy 1990-2010, Japan 1990-2010, Luxembourg 1995-2010, Netherlands 1990-2010, New Zealand 1993-2010, Norway 1990-2010, Poland 1995-2010, Portugal 1995-2010, Slovakia 1995-2010, Slovenia 2001-2010, Spain 1990-2010, Sweden 1990-2010, Switzerland 1990-2010, UK 1990-2010, USA 1990-2010.

Eurostat (2013): Bulgaria 1997-2011, Cyprus 1995-2011, Czech Republic 1995-2001, Hungary 1995-2000, Latvia 1995-2010, Lithuania 1995-2010, Malta 1995-2010, Romania 1995-2010, Slovenia 1995-2000.

deficit

Annual deficit (government primary balance) as a percentage of GDP.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

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

Source: OECD (2012), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 92", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00646-en> (Downloaded: 2013-05-14). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data were retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2012-06-12).

Notes:

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

fisccent

Fiscal centralization, measured as tax revenue of central government as a percentage of total taxation (including revenue of central, state and local government, social security funds and supranational organizations).

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: Australia and Netherlands in 2011; Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovakia 1990-94; Czech Republic 1990-92; Hungary 1990; Poland in 1990 and 2011; Slovenia 1990/91, Portugal 2011

Source: Own calculations based on OECD (2010), "Revenue Statistics: Comparative tables", OECD Tax Statistics (database).

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00262-en> (Downloaded: 2013-06-07). Calculations for countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, as well as Slovenia 1992-94, are based on Eurostat (government statistics - main national accounts tax aggregates), available at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/government_finance_statistics/data/database (Downloaded: 2013-06-07).

Notes:

1. *Austria, Czech Republic, Portugal and Slovakia*: From 1995 on, the OECD Revenue Statistics data are on accrual basis (as opposed to cash basis accounting).
2. The OECD Revenue Statistics data for the year 2010 are "estimates/provisional".

fiscdec

Fiscal decentralization, measured as the tax revenue of state and local government as percentage of total taxation (including the revenue of central, state and local governments, social security funds and supranational organizations).
Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: see variable fisccent. In addition: *Malta 1995-2003*: data taken from Eurostat 2010; 2004-2011 missing.

Source: see variable fisccent.

Notes:

1. *Austria, Czech Republic, Portugal and Slovakia*: From 1995 on, the OECD Revenue Statistics data are on accrual basis (as opposed to cash basis accounting).
2. *Malta*: Eurostat entered n.a. (not applicable) for the local government tax revenue. Since the entries of the central government tax revenue as a percentage of total taxation add up to 100 for the period 1995-2003, a zero (0) was entered for Malta, meaning there was no local government tax revenue.
3. The OECD Revenue Statistics data for the year 2010 are "estimates/provisional".

ssfunds1

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: see variable fisccent. In addition: *Malta 1995-2003*: data taken from Eurostat 2010; 2004-2011 missing.

Source: see variable fisccent.

Notes:

1. *Austria, Czech Republic, Portugal and Slovakia*: From 1995 on, the OECD Revenue Statistics data are on accrual basis (as opposed to cash basis accounting).
2. *Malta*: The same as with the local government tax revenues applies to the tax revenues of social security funds (see Note to variable fiscdec).
3. *Japan 2010*: While the OECD Revenue Statistics entered a zero (0) for Japan, the value is however not yet available.
4. The OECD Revenue Statistics data for the year 2010 are "estimates/provisional".

ssfunds2

Tax revenue of social security funds as a percentage of GDP.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: Australia 2011, Czech Republic 1990-92, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovakia 1990-94, Japan 2010 and Malta 2004-10, Hungary 1990, Netherlands 2011, Poland 1990/2011, Portugal 2011, Slovenia 1990/91, Malta 1995-2003 data taken from Eurostat 2010 and 2004-2011 missing.

Source: OECD (2010), "Revenue Statistics: Comparative tables", OECD Tax Statistics (database). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00262-en> (Downloaded: 2013-05-29). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria,

Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, as well as Slovenia 1992-94, data was retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - main national accounts tax aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2012-06-21).

Notes:

1. *Austria, Czech Republic, Portugal and Slovakia:* From 1995 on, the OECD Revenue Statistics data are on accrual basis (as opposed to cash basis accounting).
2. *Malta:* The same as with the local government tax revenues applies to the tax revenues of social security funds (see Note to variable fiscdec).
3. The OECD Revenue Statistics data for the year 2010 are "estimates/provisional".

ssstran

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: New Zealand: 2011; Bulgaria and Poland: 1990; Cyprus, Hungary, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovenia: 1990-94; Czech Republic: 1990/91; Slovakia and Estonia: 1990-92, Canada 2011

Source: OECD (2010), "National Accounts at a glance", OECD National Accounts statistics (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00369-en> (Downloaded: 2013-06-12). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data was retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics - Government revenue, expenditure and main aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2013-06-12).

Note:

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

tot_taxrev

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: Australia, Japan, Ireland, Poland, Portugal and Netherlands: 2011; Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania: 1990-94; Czech Republic: 1990-92; Hungary: 1990; Poland: 1990 and 2011; Slovenia: 1990/91, Slovakia 1990-92.

Source: OECD (2010), "Revenue Statistics: Comparative tables", OECD Tax Statistics (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00262-en> (Downloaded: 2013-06-13). For countries which are not OECD members, namely Bulgaria, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania, data was retrieved from Eurostat (government statistics – main national accounts tax aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2013-06-13).

Note:

1. The OECD Revenue Statistics data for the year 2010 are "Estimates/provisional".
2. *Slovenia 1992-94:* Data is taken from Eurostat (government statistics - main national accounts tax aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2013-06-13).

3. *Slovakia 1993/94*: Data is taken from Eurostat (government statistics - main national accounts tax aggregates), available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (Downloaded: 2013-06-13).

7. Trade unions

- grossu** Total reported union members, in thousands.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Missings:
Australia: 1997-2011;
Czech Republic: 2010/11;
Bulgaria: 1991/92, 1994-96, 1999, 2001/02, 2004, 2006, 2010/11;
Cyprus: 1991/92, 1994, 1996/97, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009-11;
Estonia: 1990/91, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2011;
Greece: 1991, 1993/94, 1996/97, 1999/00, 2002/03, 2009/10;
Hungary: 1991-94, 1996/97, 2009-11;
Iceland: 1990, 2009-11;
Japan: 1991-94, 1996-99, 2001-03;
Latvia: 1990-94, 1996-2002, 2004/05, 2009;
Lithuania: 1990-94, 1996-2000, 2002, 2004/05, 2007, 2009/10;
Luxembourg: 1990-92, 1994-96, 1999-2002, 2004/05, 2007, 2009/10;
Netherlands: 2004;
Poland: 1991/92, 1994-97, 2000, 2005/06, 2009, 2011;
Portugal: 1991-94, 1996, 1998-2001, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011;
Romania: 1990, 1992, 1994-97, 1999-2001, 2004/05, 2007, 2009-11;
Slovakia: 1991/92, 1994, 1996/97, 2009-11;
Slovenia: 1990, 1993, 1995, 2004, 2007, 2010/11;
Denmark, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK and USA: 2011.
Source: Visser (2013).
- Notes**:
1. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).
 2. USA: Data taken from Visser (2011).
- netu** Net union membership (gross minus independent workers, students, unemployed or retired members).
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Missings:
Denmark, France, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, USA: 2011;
Australia: 2010/11;
Bulgaria: 1991/92, 1994-96, 1999, 2001/02, 2004, 2010-11;
Cyprus: 1991/92, 1994, 1996/97, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009-11;
Czech Republic: 1990-92, 2010/11;
Estonia: 1990/91, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2011;
Greece: 2009/10;
Hungary: 1991-94, 2009-11;
Iceland:, 2009-11;
Latvia: 1990-94, 1996-2002, 2009;
Lithuania: 1990-94, 1996-2000, 2002, 2004/05, 2010/11;
Luxembourg: 2009-11
Romania: 1990, 1992, 1994-97, 1999-2001, 2004/05, 2007, 2009-11;

Slovakia: 1990-92;
Slovenia: 1990, 2004, 2007;
Source: Visser (2013).

Notes:

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

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing:

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

Notes:

1. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).
2. *Australia 1997-2009*: data taken from Visser (2011)
3. *Poland 2009*: data taken from Visser (2011)
4. *Luxembourg 1990-92, 1994-96, 1999-2002*: data taken from Visser (2011)
5. *Slovakia 2009-11*: estimated data
6. *USA 1990-2010*: data taken from Visser (2011)

adjcov Bargaining (or union) coverage, adjusted, following Visser's (2013: 23f.) definition: "[E]mployees covered by collective (wage) bargaining agreements as a proportion of all wage and salary earners in employment with the right to bargaining, expressed as percentage, adjusted for the possibility that some sectors or occupations are excluded from the right to bargain (removing such groups from the employment count before dividing the number of covered employees over the total number of dependent workers in employment)."

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: see Visser (2013).

Source: see Visser (2013).

Notes:

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

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

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

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

Note:

1. Specific requirements for collective dismissals are not included.

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missing: see variable emprot_reg.

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

8. Institutions

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

fed Federalism.
Coded: 0 = no; 1 = yes.
Period covered: 1990-2011.
Missings: None.
Source: constitutions.

Notes:

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

1. Our definition of federalism is based on the respective national constitutional definitions. Italy and Spain, which did not use the term 'federalism' in their constitution, are coded as '0' and can be considered the strongest cases of deviation:
2. *Italy*: Article 114, which was introduced with the constitutional revision in 2001, sets out autonomy for the municipalities, provinces, metropolitan cities and regions. However, the disputed term 'federal' was not used (Trautmann/Ullrich 2003:596).
3. *Spain*: As in Italy, the Constitution of Spain avoids the use of the term 'federal' (Art. 148 and 149 state the competences of the autonomous communities and the central state). Furthermore, not every region has the same level of autonomy (Barrios 2003:643).

lpol_sys

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

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: None.

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

Notes:

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

lesys

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

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

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: None.

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

Notes:

1. If there were any changes in the electoral system, the year of change was coded according to the electoral law in force for the majority of a given year.
2. Countries with generally proportional representation but majority vote in a few districts (e.g. in the Spanish Enclaves Ceuta and Melilla or in the Swiss half-cantons) are simply counted according to Lijphart (1999) as countries with proportional representation systems.

3. The difference between the mixed member proportional formula and the parallel plurality-PR system (semiproportional formula) is that in the parallel system no compensation exists for any disproportionality produced by the single-member district results.

lbic

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

Coded: 1 = unicameralism; 2 = weak bicameralism (asymmetrical and congruent chambers); 3 = medium strength bicameralism (asymmetrical and incongruent or symmetrical and congruent); 4 = strong bicameralism (symmetrical and incongruent).

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: None.

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

Notes:

1. The term "incongruent" is used when the second chamber is elected by different methods and has the purpose of overrepresenting certain minorities. The term "symmetrical" refers to equal or moderately unequal constitutional powers and democratic legitimacy.
2. *Austria and Belgium:* In the Austrian Bundesrat and the Belgian Senate, the degree of overrepresentation is so slight that they can almost be regarded as proportionally apportioned chambers. Therefore, they should be classified as congruent with their first chamber (Lijphart 1999:209).
3. *Belgium:* With the new federal Constitution of 1994, the lower house received more powers relative to the Senate (Art. 74 Cst.). Since the shared competences (Art. 77) are of fundamental importance for the federal state, Belgium is still considered as having medium-strength bicameralism.
4. *Iceland (until 1991) and Norway:* Both are coded as 1.5 (one-and-a-half chambers), because although the legislators are elected as one body, after elections they divide themselves into two chambers (Lijphart 1999:201). Today, most of the Norwegian debates are held in front of the assembled parliament, which would indicate a move toward a unicameral parliament (Gross/Rotholz 2003:135).
5. *UK:* The British case is coded as 2.5 (between medium-strength and weak bicameralism) because the upper house is a "relict of a predemocratic era" (Lijphart 1999:213). In 1999, the Government introduced the House of Lords Bill to remove the hereditary peers. This was the beginning of a still ongoing reform debate. The Labour Party makes clear in its 2005 General Election Manifesto "that a reformed Upper Chamber must be effective, legitimate and more representative without challenging the primacy of the House of Commons" (HM Government 2007).

req_ref

Required referendum (also called obligatory or mandatory referendum) according to Hug and Tsebelis (2002) = existence of a mechanism, where specific amendments of the constitution or a law automatically need to be submitted to the people's vote. The amendments will only come into force if the people accept the presented proposals.

Coded: 1 = yes; 0 = no.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: None.

Source: Butler and Ranney (1994), Hug and Tsebelis (2002), LeDuc (2003), Research Center on Direct Democracy, University of Zurich (www.c2d.ch, Download: 2007-02-16), Schmidt (2006), constitutions.

vp_ref

Veto-player referendum represents the first category of non-required referenda according to Hug and Tsebelis (2002). An existing veto-player (e.g. presi-

dent, majority in parliament) can submit a given issue that was previously enacted (e.g. in the form of a law) by an existing veto-player to a popular vote.

Coded: 1 = yes; 0 = no.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: None.

Source: See variable req_ref.

pop_veto Popular veto as the second category of non-required referenda according to Hug and Tsebelis (2002). The referendum issue (set by an existing veto player) is initiated by a non-existing veto-player. Non-existing veto-players are, for example, a group of citizens or a parliamentary minority.

Coded: 1 = yes; 0 = no.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: None.

Source: See variable req_ref.

pop_init Popular initiative as the third and last category of non-required referenda according to Hug and Tsebelis (2002). A given number of electors (non-existing veto-players) have the right to launch an initiative, which later must be submitted to the people.

Coded: 1 = yes; 0 = no.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: None.

Source: See variable req_ref.

Notes on referenda:

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

judrev Judicial review = existence of an independent body which decides whether laws conform to the constitution.

Coded: 1 = yes; 0 = no.

Period covered: 1990-2011.

Missings: None.

Source: Lijphart (1999), Ismayr (2003), Schmidt (2006), constitutions and European Journal of Political Research, various issues.

Note:

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

- lfirstp Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable (see **Appendix 5**).
Period covered: 1999-2011.
Missing: Czech Republic, Latvia, Slovakia and Slovenia 1999-2001; Estonia and Lithuania 1999/00; Poland and Romania 1999.
Source: own calculations.
- lfirstpi Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable institutions (see **Appendix 5**).
Period covered: 1999-2011.
Missing: see lfirstp.
Source: own calculations.
- lfirstpb: Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable behavior (see **Appendix 5**).
Period covered: 1999-2011.
Missing: see lfirstp.
Source: own calculations.

Appendix

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

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

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

Note:

1. This version contains revised calculations of the government composition of post-communist countries. The changes mainly concern the assignment of parties to left/center/right, which entails changes in calculations of government composition. We recommend users of the data-set to carefully consider whether our classifications fit their conceptual perspective and to re-classify according to their needs.
2. There are differences in the two calculations of government composition (with regard to cabinet posts and parliamentary seats). First of all, they can be caused due to over- or underrepresentation of the party in the cabinet compared to its strength in parliament. For example, in 2002 the Hungarian party SZDS only accounted for about 5 percent of all parliamentary seats but occupied over 20 percent of all cabinet posts.
Differences may also occur when two or more parties ran together in the parliamentary elections. In this case, for the calculation on the basis of parliamentary seats, they were assigned to left, center or right as one party due to the challenges of obtaining more detailed data on the share of parliamentary seats of each party obtained. However, for the calculation of government composition based on cabinet seats, we were able to retrieve detailed information which allowed us to determine how many cabinet positions were occupied by each of these parties. Furthermore, some differences may be the result of different sources that had to be used due to incomplete information, such as in the cases of Estonia (1992-94) and Latvia (2001).
Please note that the government calculations according to cabinet posts do not always add up to 100 percent due to the fact that cabinet posts were at times given to non-party ministers.

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

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

Australia

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

Austria

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

Belgium

- left Social Progressive Alternative/SPIRIT (*Sociaal Progressief Alternatief, SP.a/SPIRIT*) (until 2001: Flemish Socialist Party)
Francophone Socialist Party (*Parti Socialiste, PS*)
AGALEV
ECOLO
- center Christian Democrat & Flemish (*Christen-democratisch & Vlaams, CD & V*) (until 2001: Christian People's Party (CVP))
Democrat Humanist Centre (*Centre Démocrate Humaniste, CDH*) (until 2002: Christian Social Party (PSC))
Francophone Democratic Front (FDF)
New Flemish Alliance (*Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie, N-VA*) (former: Flemish/People's Union (VU))
- right Open Flemish Liberals & Democrats (*Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten, Open VLD*)
Reform Movement (*Mouvement Réformateur, MR*) (former Francophone Liberal Reform Party (PRL))
Movement of Citizens for Change (*Mouvement des citoyens pour le changement, MCC*)

Bulgaria

- left Bulgarian Socialist Party (*Bulgarska Socialističeska Partija, BSP*)
Coalition for Bulgaria (*Koalitsiya za Bulgaria, KB*)
- center Democratic Party (*Demokraticheska partia, DP*)
- right Coalition Movement for Rights and Freedoms (*Dviženie za Pravata i Svobodie*) [formed of Movement for Rights and Freedoms (*Dviženie za Pravata i Svobodie*); Liberal Union (*Liberalen Sajuz*) and Euroroma (*Evroroma*)]
National Movement Simeon II (*Nacionalno Dvisenie Simeon Tвори, NDSV*)
Union of Democratic Forces (*Sil Demokritic Sajuz, SDS*)
Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (*Grazhdani za Evropeisko Razvitie na Bulgaria, GERB*)

Canada

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

Cyprus

- left Social Democrats Movement (*Kinima Socialdemokraten, KISOS*), former EDEK (United Democratic Union of Cyprus, The Socialist Party).
Progressive Party of the Working People, The Communist Party, (*Anorthotiko Komma tou Ergazomenou Laou, AKEL*)
- center -----
- right The Democratic Rally (*Demokratikos Synagermos, DISY*)
The Democratic Party (*Demokratiko Komma, DIKO*)
Free/United Democrats (*Enomenoi Democrates, EDI*)
Liberal Party

Czech Republic

- left Czechoslovak Party of Social Democracy (*Ceská strana sociálne demokratická CSSD*)
Green Party (SZ)
- center Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party (*Kresťanská a Demokratická Unie – Československá Strana Lidová, KDU-CSL*)
- right Civic Democratic Party (*Obcanska Demokraticka Strana, ODS*)
Union of Freedom/Democratic Union (*Unie Svobody/Demokraticka Unie, US/DEU*)
Democratic Union (*Krestanka a Demokraticka Unie/Ceskoslovenska Strana Lidova. KDU/CSL – Unie Svobody/Demokraticka Unie, US/DEU*) [christian democrats and liberals]
Civic Democratic Alliance (*Obcanská demokratická aliance, ODA*)
TOP 09 (*TOP 09*)
Public Affairs (*Věci veřejné, VV*)

08.05.2009 – 13.07.2010: Caretaker government (Prime Minister: Fischer)

Denmark

- left Social Democrats (*Socialdemokratiet, SD*)
Socialist People's Party (*Socialistisk Folkeparti, SF*)
- center Centre Democrats (*Centrum Demokraterne, CD*)
Christian People's Party (*Kristendemokraterne, KRF*)
- right Liberals (*Venstre*)
Conservative People's Party (*Det Konservative Folkeparti, KF*)
Radical Party (Social Liberal Party) (*Det Radikale Venstre, RV*)

Estonia

- left Moderates (*Mõõdukad*) [merger of People's Party (Estonian Social Democratic Party + Rural Centre Party) with Moderates; from 1999 on known as People's Party Moderates (*Rahvaerakond Mõõdukad*)]

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

- center Estonian Centre Party (*Eesti Keskerakond, EK*)
- right Homeland (*Isamaa*) until 1999; in 1999 merged with Pro Patria and formed Homeland - Pro Patria Union (*Isamaaliit*)
Union for the Republic Res Publica (*Ühendus Vabariigi Eest - Res Publica, ResP*)
Estonian People's Union (*Rahsaliit*)
Estonian Reform Party (*Eesti Reformierakond, RE*)
Estonian National Independence Party (*Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatuse Partei, ERSP*)
Pro Patria and Res Publica Union (*Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit, IRL*) [merger of Res Publica and Pro Patria Union]

Finland

- left Social Democrats (*Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue, SDP*)
Left-Wing Alliance (*Vasemmistoliitto, VAS*)
Green League (*Vihreä Liitto, VIHR*)
- center Centre Party (*Keskusta, KESK*)
Christian Democrats (*Kristillisdemokraatit, KD*) (former Christian League, SKL)
Finnish Rural Party (*Suomen Maaseudun Puolue, SMP*)
- right National Coalition (*Kansallinen Kokoomus, KOK*)
Swedish People's Party (*Svenska Folkepartiet i Finland, SFP/RKP*)

France

- left Socialist Party (*Parti Socialiste, PS*)
Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Français, PCF*)
Greens (*Les Verts*)
Movement for Citizens (*Mouvement des Citoyens, MDC*)
Generation Ecology (*Génération Écologie, GE*)
Left Radicals (*Parti Radical de Gauche, former: Mouvement des radicaux de gauche, MRG and Parti Radical Socialiste, PRS*)
- center Centre of Social Democrats (CDS), Democratic Force (*Force Démocrate, FD*)
Union for French Democracy (*Union pour la Démocratie Française, UDF*)
Republican Party (*Parti Républicain, PR*)
New Centre – Nouveau centre
- right Gaullists, Rally for the Republic (*Rassemblement pour la République, RPR*) (in 2002: Union for a Presidential Majority (UMP))
Radical Party (*Parti Radical*)

Germany

- left Social Democrats (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD*)
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen
- center Christian Democratic Union (*Christlich-demokratische Union, CDU*)
Christian Social Union (*Christlich-soziale Union, CSU*)

- right Free Democrats (*Freie demokratische Partei, FDP*)

Greece

- left Pan-Hellenic Social Movement (*Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima, PASOK*)
Communist Party (*Kommunistiko Komma Elladas, KKE*)

- center -----

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

Hungary

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

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

- right Hungarian Democratic Forum (*Magyar Demokrata Fórum, MDF*)
Alliance of Young Democrats - Hungarian Civic Party (*Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége - Magyar Polgári Párt, FIDESZ - MPP*)
Alliance of Free Democrats (*Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége, SzDSz*)

Iceland

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

- center Progressive Party, PP (*Framsóknarflokkur*)

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

Ireland

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

- center Fine Gael, FG

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

Italy

- left Communist Party (*Partito dei Comunisti Italiani, PDCI*)
Socialist Party (*Partito Socialista Italiano, PSI*)
Social Democratic Party (*Socialisti Democratici Italiani, PSDI*)
Greens (*Verdi*)

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

The Democrats (*I Democratici, DEM*)

Di Pietro List / Italy of Values (*Lista di Pietro/Italia dei Valori, IdV*)

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

- center
 - Christian Democratic Party (*Democrazia Cristiana, DC*)
 - Republican Party (*Partito Repubblicano Italiano, PRI*)
 - Italian Popular Party (*Partito Popolare Italiano, PPI*)
 - Union of the Centre (*Unione Democratici di Centro, UDC*)
 - Dini List (*Rinnovamento Italiano, RI*)
 - Democratic Union (*Unione Democratica, UD*)
 - Union of Republican Democrats (*Unione dei Democratici per la Repubblica, UDR*), known as Union of Democrats for Europe (*Unione dei Democratici per l'Europa, UDEUR*) since 1999.
 - Christian Democratic Centre, United Christian Democrats (*Centro Cristiano Democratico, CCD, Cristiani Democratici Uniti, CDU*)
 - Christian Democracy for the Autonomies (*Democrazia Cristiana per le Autonomie, DCpA*)
- right
 - Liberal Party (*Partito Liberale Italiano, PLI*)
 - Forza Italia, FI
 - Lombard League, Northern League (*Lega Lombarda, Lega Norte, LN*)
 - National Alliance (*Alleanza Nazionale, AN*)
 - People of Freedom (*Il Popolo della Libertà, PdL*)

17.01.95 – 17.05.96: Caretaker government (Prime Minister: Dini)

Japan

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

Note:

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

Latvia

- left
 - Democratic Centre Party (since 1995, Democratic Party "Master" (*DPS Saimnieks*))
 - Latvian Social-Democratic Alliance (*Latvijas Sociāldemokrātu Apvienība, LSDA*)
 - New Party (*Jauna partija, JP*)
 - Latvia's Unity Party (*Latvijas Vienības Partija, LVP*)

- Green and Farmers Union (*Zaīo un Zemnieku savienība, ZZS*) [formed of Latvian Green Party (*Latvijas Zaīā Partija*) and Latvian Farmers' Union (*Latvijas Zemnieku savienība*)]
 Latvian Farmers' Union (*Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība, LZS*)
- center United List of Latvia's Farmers' Union and Latvian Christian Democratic Union and Latgale Democratic Party
 Latvia's First Party (*Latvijas Pirma Partija, LPP*)
 First Party of Latvia and Union "Latvia's Way" (*Latvijas Pirma Partija un Savienība Latvijas Ceļš*)
- right Latvia's Way (*Latvijas Ceļš, LC*)
 New Era (*Jaunais laiks, JL*)
 For Homeland (Fatherland) and Freedom *TB*
 Peoples' Party (*Tautas Partija, TP*)
 Alliance for Homeland and Freedom / Latvian National Independence Movement (*TB/LNNK*)
 Civic Union (*Pilsoniskā savienība, PS*)
 Unity (*Vienotība, V*)
 Zatlers Reform Party (*Zatlera reform partija, ZRP*)
 National Union (*Nacionālā apvienība, NA*)

Lithuania

- left Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (*Lietuvos Demokratine Darbo Partija, LDDP*)
 Union of Farmers and New Democratic Party (*Valstiečių ir naujosios Demokratijos partijų sąjunga, VNDPS*) / Peasant's People Union
 Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party (*Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partija, LSDP*)
 Social-Democratic Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas [comprised of Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party; Lithuanian Social Democratic Party; Union of Lithuanian Russians; Party of New Democracy]
 For a Working Lithuania (*LSDP and NU*)
 Labour Party and future Civic Democracy Party
- center Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party (*Lietuvos Krikščionių Demokratų Partija LKDP*)
 New Union - Social Liberals (*Naujoji Sąjunga – Socialliberalai, NS-SL*)
- right Homeland Union - Lithuanian Conservatives (*Tevynės Sąjunga – Lietuvos Konservatoriai, TS-LK*) [in 2008: electoral alliance with the Lithuanian Christian Democrats]
 Lithuanian Centre Union (*Lietuvos Centro Sąjunga, LCS*)
 Lithuanian Liberal Union (*Lietuvos Liberalų Sąjunga, LLS*)
 Liberal and Centre Union (merger of LCS and LLS)
 Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic (*Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis, LMLR*)

Note:

- From 2008 until 22 September 2011 the Nation's Resurrection Party (*Tautos prisikėlimo partija, NRP*) received two cabinet posts, but is classified as independents.

Luxembourg

- left Socialist Workers' Party (*Parti Ouvrier socialiste luxembourgeois/Letzemburger Sozialistisch Arbeiterpartei, POSL/LSAP*)
- center Christian Social Party (*Parti Crétien Social/Chrestlech Sozial Vollekspartei, PCS/CSV*).

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

Malta

- left Malta Labour Party MLP (*Partit Laburista*)
 - center Nationalist Party (*Partit Nazzjonalista, PN*)
 - right -----

The Netherlands

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

New Zealand

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

Norway

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

Poland

- left Alliance of the Democratic Left (*Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, SLD*) [formed of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland; All-Polish Accord of Trade Unions; Polish Socialist Party]
 Labour Union (*Unia Pracy, UP*)
 Alliance of the Democratic Left + Labour Union
 Polish Peasant Party (*Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL*)
 Peasant Alliance PL [comprised of Solidarity Polish Peasant Party and Rural Solidarity Peasant Union]
 Self Defence of Polish Republic
 - center Party of Christian Democrats (*Partia Chrzescijanskich Demokratów--PChD*)

- Catholic Election Action (*Wyborcza Akcja Katolicka, WAK*) [comprised of Christian National Union; Conservative Party and other small groupings]
- right Democratic Union (*Unia Demokratyczna, UD*)
Solidarity Election Action (*Akcia Wyborcza Solidarność, AWS*)
Liberal Democratic Congress (*Kongres LiberalnoDemokratyczny, KLD*)
Freedom Union (*Unia Wolności, UW*) [merger of Democratic Union and Liberal Democratic Congress]
League of Polish Families
Law and Justice (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS*)
Civic Platform (*Platforma Obywatelska, PO*)

Portugal

- left Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Português, PSP*)
- center -----
- right Social Democrats, Popular Democrats (*Partido Social Democrata, PSD, Partido Popular Democrático, PPD*)
Centre Social Democrats, Popular Party (*Partido do Centro Democrático Social, Partido Popular, CDS/PP*)

Romania

- left National Salvation Front = Democratic National Salvation Front = Party of Social Democracy from Romania (*Partidul Democratiei Sociale din Romania PDSR*) = Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat PSD*)
Ecological Movement from Romania (*Mișcarea Ecologistă din România*)
National Salvation Front - Democratic Party = Democratic Party (*Partidul Democrat PD*)
Democratic Agrarian Party from Romania (*Partidul Democrat Agrar din România*)
National Union for Romania's Progress (*Uniunea Nationala pentru Progresul Romaniei, UNPR*)
- center Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania (*Uniunea Democratică a Maghiarilor din România UDMR*)
Alliance Social Democratic Party – Humanist Party of Romania
- right National Liberal Party (*Partidul Național Liberal PNL*)
Party of National Unity of Romanians (*Partidul Unității Naționale Române PUNR*)
Democratic Convention from Romania (*Convenția Democrată din România*)
Alliance Truth and Justice (National Liberal Party PNL and Democrat Party DP)
Democrat-Liberal Party (*Partidul Democrat-Liberal* (through the incorporation of a PNL dissident group into the Democrat Party))

Slovakia

- left Party of the Democratic Left (*Strana Demokratickej Ľavice, SDL'*) since96
Association of Slovak Workers (*Združenie Robotníkov Slovenska, ZRS*)
Direction (*Smer, S*)
- center Christian Democratic Movement (*Krestanskodemokraticke Hnutie, KDH*)
Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (*SDKU*) [in 2006 merged with Democratic Party to *SDKU-DS*]

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

- right The Slovak Democratic Coalition (*Slovenská Demokratická Koalicia, SDK*)
- Party of Civic Understanding (*Strana Občianskeho Porozumenia, SOP*)
- Alliance of New Citizens (*Aliancia nového občana, ANO*)
- Slovak National Party (*Slovenská národná strana, SNS*)
- Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (*Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko, HZDS*)
- Freedom and Solidarity (*Sloboda a solidarita, SaS*)
- The Bridge (*Most-Híd*)

Slovenia

- left United List of Social Democrats (*Združena Lista Socialnih Demokratov, ZLSD*)
- Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (*Socialdemokratska Stranka Slovenije, SDS*)
- Greens of Slovenia (*Zeleni Slovenije, ZS*)
- Slovenian People's Party (*Slovenska Ljudska Stranka, SLS*)
- Coalition of the Slovenian People's Party and the Slovenian Christian Democrats (*SLS/SKD*)
- Democratic Party of Pensioners (*DeSUS*)
- center Slovenian Christian Democratic Party (*Slovenski Krščanski Demokrati, SKD*)
- New Slovenia and People's Christian Party (*NSi*)
- right Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (*Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije, LDS*)
- Party for Real/New Politics (*Zares/nova politika, ZARES*)

Spain

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

Sweden

- left Social Democrats (*Socialdemokraterna, S*)
- center Center Party (*Centerpartiet, C*)
- Christian Democratic Union (*Kristen Demokratisk Samling, KDS*)
- right Conservatives, Moderate Unity Party (*Moderate Samlingspartiet, M*)
- People's Party (The Liberals) (*Folkpartiet, FP*)

Switzerland

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

United Kingdom

- left Labour Party, LAB
- center -----
- right Conservative Party, CON
 Liberal Democrats

USA

- left -----
- center Democratic Party
- right Republican Party

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

As a general rule we included data on votes and seats for a party only if it reached at least 2% of the votes in an election. If a party did not reach that threshold, data for this party is not included for that election (neither on votes nor on seats) and it receives a zero (0).

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

votes:	seats:
liberal1	sliberal1
1991: 0	1991: 0
1994: 2.0	1994: 1.7
1998: 5.0	1998: 4.5
2000: 0	2000: 0

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

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

Since data on votes or on seats are not always available for all individual parties due to electoral alliances, we added a label called "alliance" for electoral party coalitions. "Others1" is a residual category for parties which received less than 2 percent of the vote. "Others2" represents a separate category for groups or parties which did not fit into any other category. Details for votes and seats categorized under "others2", as for every other category, are listed for every country in the **Appendix 4**.

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

"No-label" is a residual category for those parties which could not be placed in any of the categories above. The "personalist" label is used to designate parties created to support one candidate and which cannot be assigned an ideological label. "Pensioners" is a category comprised of parties of pensioners and persons with special needs. The "conservative" label is used for party programs which emphasize both nationalist and religious values. The maxi-

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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.

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

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

Party family	Variable name						
socialist	social1	social2	social3	social4	social5	social6	social7
left-socialist	leftsoc1	leftsoc2	leftsoc3				
communist	comm1	comm2	comm3				
post-communist*	postco1						
agrarian	agrarian						
conservative	conserv1	conserv2	conserv3	conserv4	conserv5		
religious	relig1	relig2	relig3	relig4	relig5	relig6	
liberal	liberal1	liberal2	liberal3	liberal4	liberal5	liberal6	liberal7
protest	protest1	protest2	protest3				
green	green1	green2	green3				
ethnic	ethnic1	ethnic2	ethnic3				
right	right1	right2	right3	right4	right5		
regionalist*	regio1						
feminist*	femin1						
monarchist*	monarch1						
personalist*	person1						
alliance	allia1	allia2	allia3	allia4	allia5	allia6	
independents	independ						
pensioners*	pension						
non label*	nonlbl1	nonlbl2					
others		others2*					

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

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

The share of votes is entered under the party variable name. The share of seats are entered under the party variable name, preceded by an 's' (for 'seats'). For example, in the case of Australia, votes for the Australian Labour Party are entered under 'social1'; the variable 'social1s' denotes the share of seats of the Australian Labour party.

Appendix 4 Assignments of political parties in parliaments to party families

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

Australia

- social1 1) Labour Party (ALP)
- agrarian 7) Country Party, National Party
- conserv1 18) Australian Liberal Party
- conserv2 --- One Nation
- conserv3 --- Family First
- liberal1 27) Australian Democrats
- green1 --- Australian Greens

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Austria

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Belgium

- social1 31) Francophone Socialist Party (*Parti Socialiste, PS*)
- social2 30) Social Progressive Alternative/SPIRIT (*Sociaal Progressief Alternatief, SP.a/SPIRIT*) (until 2001: Flemish Socialist Party (SP))
- comm1 10) Communist Party (*Kommunistische Partij van België/ Parti Communiste de Belgique, KPB/PCB*)
- relig1 20) Democrat Humanist Centre (*Centre Démocrate Humaniste, CDH*) (until 2002: Francophone Christian Social Party (PSC))
- relig2 19) Christian Democrat & Flemish (*Christen-democratisch & Vlaams, CD & V*) (until 2001: Flemish Christian People's Party (CVP)) (in 2007: alliance with N-VA)
- liberal1 22) Reform Movement (*Mouvement Réformateur, MR*) (former: Francophone Liberal Reform Party (PRL); in 1995: Alliance with FDF; in 1999: Fédération PRL-FDF-MCC) (Francophone)
- liberal2 21) Open Flemish Liberals & Democrats (*Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten, Open VLD*) (former: Flemish Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV))
- liberal3 -- Vivant
- liberal4 -- De Decker's list
- protest1 32) ROSSEM/ROSSUM (*Rassemblement omnipresent social et solidaire pour l'ubiquité des masses*)

- green1 26) ECOLO (Francophone)
- green2 27) Green! (*Groen!*) (former: *AGALEV*) (Flemish)
- ethnic1 8) New Flemish Alliance (*Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie, N-VA*) (former: Flemish/People's Union (*VU*))
- right1 29) Flemish Interest (*Vlaams Belang*) (former: Flemish Block (*Flaams Blok*))
- right2 33) National Front (*Front National, FN-NF*) (Francophone)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Bulgaria

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

- monarch1 Coalition Simeon II (*Koalicija Simeon II*)
- person1 National Movement for Stability and Progress (*Nacionalno dviženie za stabilnost i vāzhod, NDSV*) [Until 2007: National Movement Simeon II (*Nacionalno Dvisenie Simeon Tvorī, NDSV*)]
- allia1 Union for National Salvation (*Obedinenie za Nacionalno Spasenie, ONS*) [comprised of Movement for Rights and Freedoms (*Dvijenie za Pravata i Svobodie, DPS*); Green Party (*Zelena Partiya, ZP*) and Union New Choice (*Sajuz Nov Izbor, SN*)]
- allia2 United Democratic Forces (*Obedineni Demokratichni Sili, ODS*) [comprised of Union of Democratic Forces (*Sajuz na Demokratichni Sili, SDS*); Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (*Balgarski Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz, BZNS*); Democratic Party (*Demokraticheska Partiya, DP*) and Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (*Balgarska Sotsialna Demokraticheska Partiya, BSDP*)]
- allia3 Bulgarian People's Union (*Balgarskij Naroden Sajuz*) [comprised of Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union-People's Union (*Balgarski Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz-Naroden Sajuz*), Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Bulgarian National Movement (*Vatreshna Makedonska Revolyucionna Organizaciya-Balgarsko Nacionalno Dvizhenie*), and Union of Free Democrats (*Sajuz na svobodnite demokrati*)]
- allia4 Blue Coalition (*Sinyata Koalitzia, SK*) [coalition of several center-right parties, most notably the Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria (liberal4) and Union of Democratic Forces (relig1)]
- others1 small parties

Source:

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

Canada

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Cyprus

- social1 Social Democrats Movement (*Kinima Socialdemokraton, KISOS*), former United Democratic Union of Cyprus, The Socialist Party (EDEK)
- social2 Renewal Democratic Socialist Movement (*Ananeotiko Demokratiko Sosialistiko Kinima, ADISOK*)
- comm1 Progressive Party of the Working People, The Communist Party (*Anorthotiko Komma tou Ergazomenou Laou, AKEL*)
- green1 Cyprus Green Party (*Ecological and Environmental Movement, Kinima Oikologoi Perivallontistoi*)

conserv1	The Democratic Rally (<i>Demokratikos Synagermos, DISY</i>)
liberal1	The Democratic Party (<i>Demokratiko Komma, DIKO</i>)
liberal2	Free/United Democrats (<i>Enomenoi Democrates, EDI</i>)
liberal3	New Horizons (<i>Neoi Orizontes, NEO</i>)
liberal4	European Party (<i>Evropaiko Komma, EVROKO</i>)
protest1	Fighting Democratic Movement (<i>Agonistiko Demokratiko Kinima, ADIK</i>)

Sources:

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

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

Movement of Social Democrats (EDEK):

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

Czech Republic

- social1	Social Democracy
- social2	Left Bloc
- social3	Czechoslovak Party of Social Democracy (<i>Ceská strana sociálně demokratická CSSD</i>)
- social4	Party of Citizen Rights/Zemans' (<i>Strana práv Občanů/Zemanovci SPOZ</i>)
- leftsoc1	Czechoslovak Socialist Party
- comm1	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (<i>Komunistická strana Československa, SCK</i>)
- comm2	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (<i>Komunistická strana Cech a Moravy, KSCM</i>)
- agrarian1	Alliance of the Farmers and the Countryside (<i>Spojenectví Zemědelcu a Venkova, ZSV</i>)
- conserv1	Civic Democratic Party (<i>Obcanska Demokraticka Strana ODS</i>)
- conserv2	SNK European Democrats (<i>SNK Evropští demokraté</i>)
- conserv3	TOP 09 (<i>TOP 09</i>)
- conserv4	Public Affairs (<i>Věci veřejné, VV</i>)
- conserv5	Club of Committed Non-Party Members (<i>Klub Angažovaných Nestraníků, KAN</i>)
- relig1	Christian Democratic Union (<i>Kresťanská a Demokratická Unie, KDU</i>)
- relig2	Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party (<i>Kresťanská a Demokratická Unie – Československá Strana Lidová KDU-CSL</i>)
- liberal1	Civic Forum (<i>Obcanské fórum, OF</i>)
- liberal2	Civic Democratic Alliance (<i>Obcanská demokratická aliance, ODA</i>)
- liberal3	Civil Movement (<i>Obcanské hnutí, OH</i>)
- liberal4	Party of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs, Tradesmen and Farmers (<i>Strana Podnikatelů a Obchodníků, SPO</i>)
- liberal5	Democratic Union (<i>Demokratická Unie, DU</i>)
- liberal6	Free Democrats - National Social Liberal Party (<i>Svobodni Demokraté - Liberální Strana Národne Sociální, SD - LSNS</i>)
- liberal7	Freedom Union (<i>Unie Svobody, US</i>)
- green1	Green Party (<i>Strana Zelených, SZ</i>)
- right1	Rally for the Republic - Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (<i>Sdružení Pro Republiku – Republikánská Strana Československa, SPR-RSC</i>)
- right2	Sovereignty/Jana Bobošíková Bloc (<i>Suverenita/blok Jany Bobošíková, SUV</i>)
- regio1	Movement for Self-Governing Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia (<i>Hnutí za samosprávnou demokracii-Společnost pro Moravu a Slezsko, HSD-SMS</i>)
- allia1	Liberal Social Union (<i>Liberálně Sociální Unie, LSU</i>)
- allia2	Christian Democratic Union/Czech People's Party and Freedom Union-Democratic Union (<i>Křestanka a Demokraticka Unie/Ceskoslovenska Strana Lidova</i>)

- KDU/CSL – Unie Svobody/Demokraticka Unie, US/DEU* [christian democrats and liberals]
 - pension Pensioners for Secure Living (*Duchodci za Životní Jistoty, DZJ*)
 - nonlab1 Association of Independents (*Sdruzeni nezavislych, SN*)

Sources:

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

Denmark

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Estonia

- social1 Secure Home (*Kindel Kodu*) [comprised of Estonian Coalition Party; Land Union; Democratic Union for Justice and other leftist groupings]
 - social2 Social Democratic Party (*SDE*) [Formerly: Moderates (*Mõõdukad*) [merger of People's Party (Estonian Social Democratic Party + Rural Centre Party) with Moderates; from 1999 known as the People's Party Moderates (*Rahvaerakond Mõõdukad*)]
 - comm1 Justice [comprised of Party for Legal Justice and Estonian Democratic Labour Party]
 - agrarian1 Farmers' Union (*Põllumeeste Kogu, PK*)
 - agrarian2 Estonian Coalition Party (*Eesti Koonderakond, EK*) and Rural Union (*Eesti Maaliit, EM*) - KMU [comprised of Estonian Coalition Party (KE or KMU-K), Estonian Rural Union (EM or KMU-M), Estonian Country People's Party (EME), Estonian Pensioners' and Families' League (EPPL) and Farmers' Assembly (PK)]
 - agrarian3 Estonian Rural People's Party (*Eesti Maarahva Erakond, EME*)
 - conserv1 Homeland (*Isamaa*) until 1999; in 1999 merged with Pro Patria and (*Isamaaliit*)
 - conserv2 Republican and Conservative People's Party - Right-Wingers (*Vavariiklaste ja Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond – Parempoolsed, VKR*)
 - conserv3 Union for the Republic Res Publica (*Ühendus Vabariigi Eest - Res Publica, ResP*)
 - conserv4 Estonian People's Union (*Rahsaliit, RL*)
 - conserv5 Pro Patria and Res Publica Union (*Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit, IRL*) [merger of Res Publica and Pro Patria Union]

- conserv6 Homeland - Pro Patria Union + Estonian National Independence Party until 2007; merged in 2007 with the Union for the Republic Res Publica and formed Pro Patria and Res Publica Union
- relig1 Estonian Christian People's Party (*Eesti Kristlik Rahvapartei, EKRP*)
- liberal1 Estonian Entrepreneurs' Party (*Eesti Ettevõtjate Erakond, EEE*)
- liberal2 Estonian Reform Party (*Eesti Reformierakond, ER*)
- liberal3 Estonian Centre Party (*Eesti Keskerakond, EK*)
- liberal4 Estonian Coalition Party (*Eesti Koonderakond, EK*)
- protest1 Independent Royalists (*Sõltumatud Kuningriiklased, SK*)
- green1 Estonian Greens (*Eesti Rohelised, ER*)
- ethnic1 Our Home is Estonia (*Meie Kodu on Estimaa, MKE*) [comprised of United People's Party; Russian Party; Estonian Russian People's Party]
- ethnic2 Estonian United People's Party (*Eesti Uhendatud Rahvapartei / Obedinennaya Narodnaya Partya Estonii*)
- ethnic3 Russian Party in Estonia (*Vene Erakond Eestis, VEE*)
- right1 Estonian Citizens (*Eesti Kodanik*)
- right2 Estonian National Independence Party (*Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatuse Partei, ERSP*)
- right3 Estonian Future Party (*Tulevikupartei, TP*)
- right4 Better Estonia + Estonian Citizens (*Parem Eesti ja Eesti Kodanik, PE & EK*)
- allia1 Popular Front of Estonia (*Rahvarinne*)
- indepen independent candidates
- pension Estonian Pensioners' Union

Sources:

Bugajski (2002).

www.broadleft.org/natliber.htm

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

www.europeanforum.net

www.broadleft.org/socdem.htm

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

Finland

- social1 1) Social Democrats (*Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue, SDP*)
- comm1 13) Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL)
- comm2 22) Democratic Alternative (DEVA)
- comm3 23) Left-Wing Alliance (*Vasemmistoliitto, VAS*)
- agrarian 4) Centre Party (*Keskusta, KESK*)
- conserv1 8) National Coalition (*Kansallinen Kokoomus, KOK*)
- relig1 16) Christian Democrats (*Suomen Kriistillisdemokraatit KD*) (until 1999: Christian League (*Suomen Kriistillinen Liitto, SKL*))
- liberal1 --- Progressive Finnish Party (*NUORS*)
- protest1 17) Finnish Rural Party (*Suomen Maaseudun Puolue, SMP*) (since 1995: True Finns (right1))
- green1 20) Green League (*Vihreä Liitto, VIHHR*)
- ethnic1 2) Swedish People's Party (*Svenska Folkepartiet I Finland, SFP/RKP*)
- right1 17) True Finns (*Perussuomalaiset, PS*) (until 1994: Finnish Rural Party (SMP; protest1))

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

France

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Germany

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Greece

- social1 37) Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (*Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima, PASOK*)
- social2 --- Democratic Social Movement
- comm1 4) Communist Party (*Kommunistiko Komma Elladas, KKE*)
- comm2 47) Coalition of Left and Progress (*since 2007: Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)*)
- conserv1 36) New Democracy (*Nea Dhimokratia, ND*)
- conserv2 50) Political Spring (*POLAN*)
- green1 --- Ecologists Greens (*Oikologoi Prasinoi, OP*)
- right1 --- Popular Orthodox Rally (*LAOS*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Hungary

- social1 Hungarian Socialist Party (*Magyar Szocialista Párt, MSzP*)
- social2 Hungarian Social Democratic Party (*Magyar Szocialdemokrata Párt, MSDP*)
- comm1 Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party/Workers' Party (*Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt / Munkáspár, MSZMP/MP*)
- agrarian1 Independent Smallholders Party (*Független Kisgazdapárt, FKGP*)
- agrarian2 Agrarian Alliance (*Agrarszövetség, ASZ*)
- conserv1 Hungarian Democratic Forum (*Magyar Demokrata Fórum, MDF*)
- conserv2 Republican Party (*Koztársaság Part, KP*)
- conserv3 Alliance for Hungary Centre Party (*Osszefogas Magyarorszagert Centrum, OMC*)
- conserv4 Alliance of Young Democrats – Hungarian Civic Party (*Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége - Magyar Polgári Párt, FIDESZ - MPP*); note: In 2002 FIDESZ was in an electoral coalition with the Hungarian Democratic Forum (*MDF*) and in 2006 as in 2010 with the Christian Democratic People's Party (*KDNP*).
- relig1 Christian Democratic People's Party (*Keresztény Demokrata Néppárt, KDNP*)
- liberal1 Alliance of Free Democrats (*Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége, SzDSz*)
- green1 Politics Can be Different (*Lehet Más a Politika, LMP*)
- right1 Hungarian Justice and Life Party (*Magyar Igazság es Élet Partya, MIÉP*)
- right2 For the Right Hungary (*Jobbik*)
- indepen independent candidates
- others2 joint candidates – candidates supported by at least two parties in some circumscriptions

Sources:

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

Iceland

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

1999: The People's Alliance (14), the Social Democrats (7) and the Women's Alliance (23) comprised 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).

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Ireland

- social1 8) Irish Labour Party
- leftsoc1 19) Workers' Party
- leftsoc2 --- Democratic Left (joined Labour Party in 2002)
- leftsoc3 --- United Left Alliance [comprised of the Socialist Party, People Before Profit Alliance and Workers and Unemployed Action Group]
- relig1 14) Fine Gael
- liberal1 10) Fianna Fail
- green1 24) Green Party
- ethnic1 6) Sinn Féin II, Sinn Féin III from 1982 onwards
- ethnic2 25) Progressive Democrats
- indepen --- Independent candidates

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Italy

- social1 3) Socialist Party (in 2001: New PSI (*Nuovo PSI*)) (*Partito Socialista Italiana, PSI*)
- social2 23) Social Democratic Party (*Partito Socialista Democratica Italiano, PSDI*)
- social3 --- Democratic Party (*Partito Democratico, PD*) (formerly The Olive Tree and Rose in the Fist)
- leftsoc1 --- Party of the Democratic Left (*Democratici di Sinistra, DS*) (reformist wing of the dispaned PCI (1991))
- leftsoc2 --- The Left/The Rainbow (*La Sinistra/L'Arcobaleno, SA*)
- comm1 11) Communist Party (*Partito Comunista Italiano, PCI*)
- comm2 50) Communist Refoundation (RC) (left wing of the dispaned PCI (1991))
- conserv1 61) Forza Italia
- conserv2 --- The People of Freedom (*Il Popolo della Libertà, PDL*) (comprised of Forza Italia and National Alliance)
- relig1 17) Christian Democratic Party (*Democrazia Cristiana, DC*), (since 1994: Italian Popular Party (*Partito Popolare Italiano, PPI*))
- relig2 --- Segni Pact (*Patto Segni*)
- relig3 --- Christian Democratic Centre (*Centro Cristiano Democratico, CCD*)/United Christian Democrats (*Unione dei Democratici Cristiani, UDC*) (conservative wing of the former DC (since 1994)) (since 2006 known as Democratic Centre Union/*Unione Democratica di Centro*)
- relig4 --- European Democracy (DE)
- liberal1 19) Liberal Party (*Partito Liberale Italiano, PLI*)
- liberal2 4) Republican Party (*Partito Repubblicano Italiano, PRI*)
- liberal3 34) Radical Party (PR)
- liberal4 --- Dini List – Italian Renewal
- liberal5 --- Di Pietro List
- protest1 --- Pannella List Reformers
- green1 45) Greens (formerly Green Federation (*Federazione delle Liste Verdi*))
- right1 24) National Alliance (*Alleanza Nazionale, AN*) (formerly Social Movement (MSI-DN))
- right2 42) Northern League (*Lega Nord*) (formerly Lombard League (*Lega Lombarda*))
- allia1 2001: Sunflower (Greens and Social Democrats (PSDI))
- allia2 2001: La Margherita (PPI, the Democrats, Italian Renewal, UDEUR)
- allia3 2006: The Olive Tree (*L'Ulivo*) (Democrats of the Left (DS), Margherita)

- allia4 2006: Rose in the Fist (*Rosa nel Pugno, RnP*) (changed its name in December 2007 into "Socialists and Radicals")

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Japan

- social1 35) Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party), SDP (*Nihon Shakaito*)
- social2 44) Democratic Socialist Party, DSP (*Minshu Shakaito*)
- social3 --- Democratic Party of Japan, DPJ
- comm1 31) Japanese Communist Party, JCP (*Nihon Kyosanto*)
- conserv1 43) Liberal Democratic Party, LDP (*Jiyu Minshuto*)
- conserv2 48) Japan Renewal Party, JRP (*Shinsei To*)
- conserv3 49) Japan New Party, JNP (*Nihon Shinto*)
- conserv4 --- New Frontier Party (NFP) (Merger of JRP, JNP, DSP, and Komei in 1994. In 1997, NFP broke up into Democratic Political Party, Komeito and Liberal Party.) Liberal Party (LP) (successor of NFP after its break-up in 1997; joined DP in 2003)
- conserv5 --- (New) Sakigake Party (Splinter from LDP, 1993)
- relig1 45) Komei-Clean Government Party, CGP (*Komeito*)
- liberal1 --- Your Party, YP
- indepen --- independent candidates

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Latvia

- social1 Democratic Centre Party (since 1995, Democratic Party "Master" (*DPS Saimnieks*))
- social2 Harmony for Latvia - Revival for the Economy (*Saskana Latvijai – Atdzimsana Tautsaimniecībai*)
- social3 National Harmony Party (*Tautas Saskanas Partija, TSP*)
- social4 Coalition "Labour and Justice" [comprised of Latvian Democratic Labour Party; Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party; Party for the Defence of Latvia's Defrauded People "Justice"]

- social5 Latvian Social-Democratic Alliance (*Latvijas Sociāldemokrātu Apvienība, LSDA*)
- social6 New Party (*Jauna partija, JP*)
- social7 Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party (*Latvijas Sociāldemokrātiskā Strādnieku Partija, LSDSP*)
- social8 Harmony Center (*Saskaņas Centrs*) [formed in 2005 from National Harmony Party, Socialist Party of Latvia and "New Centre"]
- leftsoc1 Latvia's Unity Party (*Latvijas Vienības Partija, LVP*)
- comm1 Latvian Socialist Party (*Latvijas Socialistiskā Partija / Socialisticheskaya Partiya Latvii*)
- agrarian1 Latvian Farmers' Union (*Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība, LZS*)
- conserv1 United list of Latvia's Farmers' Union and Latvian Christian Democratic Union and Latgale Democratic Party
- conserv2 Unity (*Vienotība V*)
- conserv3 For good Latvia (*Par labu Latviju, PLL*)
- conserv4 Zatler's Reform Party (*Zatlera Reformu partija, ZRP*)
- conserv5 Latvian Popular Front (*Latvijas Tautas Fronte, LTF*)
- conserv6 Peoples' Party (*Tautas Partija, TP*)
- relig1 Latvian Christian Democratic Union (*Latvijas Kristīgo Demokrātu Savienība, LKDS*)
- relig2 Latvia's First Party (*Latvijas Pirma Partija, LPP*)
- liberal1 Latvia's Way (*Latvijas Ceļš, LC*)
- liberal2 New Era (*Jaunais laiks, JL*)
- ethnic1 For Equal Rights in a United Latvia [since 1998: For Human Rights in a United Latvia (*Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā, PCTVL*)]
- right1 For Homeland (Fatherland) and Freedom *TB*
- right2 Latvian National Independence Movement (*Latvijas Nacionālas Neatkarības Kustība, LNNK*)
- right3 People's (National) Movement for Latvia - Siegerist Party (*Tautas Kustība Latvijai – Zīģerista Partija, TKL-ZP*)
- right4 Alliance for Homeland and Freedom / Latvian National Independence Movement (*TB/LNNK*)
- right5 Everything for Latvia/For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK (*Visu Latvijai/TB/LNNK*) (competed in 2011 under the name National Union [*Nacionālā apvienība „Visu Latvijai!” – „Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK*], *NA*)
- allia1 Latvian National Independence Movement + Latvian Green Party
- allia2 Labour Party + Latvian Christian Democratic Union + Latvian Green Party
- allia3 Green and Farmers Union (*Zaīo un Zemnieku savienība, ZZS*) [comprised of Latvian Green Party (*Latvijas Zaīā Partija*) and Latvian Farmers' Union (*Latvijas Zemnieku savienība*)]
- allia4 Latvia's First Party and Latvia's Way

Sources:

Bugajski (2002).
www.socialistinternational.org/maps/english/europe.htm
www.broadleft.org/communis.htm
<http://www.politics.lv/en/psistema/4.1/16.htm>

Lithuania

- social1 Social-Democratic Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas [comprised of Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party; Lithuanian Social Democratic Party; Union of Lithuanian Russians; Party of New Democracy]
- social2 Labour Party
- social3 Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas and Artras Paulauskas 'Working for Lithuania' (*Algirdo Brazausko ir Art ro Paulausko koalicija 'U darb Lietuvai'*)

- social4 Frontas Party (*Fronto partija*)
- leftsoc1 Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party (*Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partija, LSDP*)
- postco1 Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (*Lietuvos Demokratinė Darbo Partija, LDDP*)
- agrarian1 Lithuanian Peasant's Party (*Lietuvos Valstiečių Partija, LVP*)
- conserv1 Union of Moderate Conservatives
- relig1 Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party (*Lietuvos Krikščionių Demokratų Partija LKDP*)
- relig2 Christian Democratic Union
- relig3 Christian Conservative Social Union
- liberal1 Lithuanian Centre Movement
- liberal2 Homeland Union - Lithuanian Conservatives (*Tevnes Sąjunga – Lietuvos Konservatoriai, TS-LK*)
- liberal3 Lithuanian Centre Union (*Lietuvos Centro Sąjunga, LCS*)
- liberal4 Lithuanian Liberal Union (*Lietuvos Liberalų Sąjunga, LLS*)
- liberal5 New Union - Social Liberals (*Naujoji Sąjunga – Socialliberalai, NS-SL*)
- liberal6 Party Order and Justice (*Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas, O&J*) [competed in 2004 under the name Coalition of Rolandas Paksas "For Order and Justice"]
- liberal7 Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic (*Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis, LMLR*)
- ethnic1 Electoral Action of the Lithuanian Poles (1992: Union of Lithuanian Poles) (*Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcija LLRA*)
- ethnic2 Alliance of the the Lithuanian National Minorities
- protest1 Nation's Resurrection Party (*Tautos prisikėlimo partija, NRP*)
- right1 Lithuanian National Party 'Young Lithuania' (*Lietuvių Nacionalinė Partija 'Jaunoji Lietuva', LNP-JL*)
- femin1 Lithuanian Women's Party
- allia1 Sajūdis Coalition [comprised of Lithuanian Movement Sajūdis and Charter of Lithuanian Citizens and Union of Lithuanian Political Prisoners and Lithuanian Green Party]
- allia2 Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party and Union of Political Prisoners and Deportees and Lithuanian Democratic Party
- allia3 Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union and Lithuanian National Youth Union "Young Lithuania"
- allia4 Lithuanian National Union List [comprised of Lithuanian National Union and Independent Party]
- allia5 Lithuanian National Union and Lithuanian Democratic Party
- allia6 Lithuanian Peasant's People Union (*Lietuvos valstiečių liaudininkų sąjunga, LPPU*) [former Union for Farmers and New Democratic Party]
- allia7 Coalition of Labour Party + Youth (*Koalicija Darbo partija + Jaunimas*)
- indepen independent candidates

Sources:

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

Luxembourg

- social1 2) Socialist Workers' Party (*Letzeburger Sozialistisch Arbechterpartei, LSAP/Parti Ouvrier Socialist Luxembourggeois, POSL*)
- leftsoc1 --- The Left (*Déi Lénk*)
- comm1 7) Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Luxembourggeois, PCL/Kommunistesch Partei vu Letzeburg, KPL*)

- relig1 1) Christian Social Party (*Parti Chrétien Socialiste, PCS/Chrestlech Sozial Vollekspartei, CSV*)
- liberal1 16) Democratic Party (Liberal Party) (*Parti Démocratique, PD/Demokratesch Partei, DP*)
- protest1 24) Alternative Democratic Reform Party (*Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei, ADR*) (Until 2006: Action Committee for Democracy and Pensions' Right (Pensions Action) (*Aktiouns-komite 5/6Pensioun fir jiddferen*))
- green1 23) Green Alternative (*Di Greng Alternativ, GAP*)
- green2 26) Green Left (*Greng Lescht Ekologesch Initiativ, GLEI*)
- green3 28) Green Party (GLEI-GAP) (a merger of 23 and 26 in 1994)
- right1 27) Luxembourg for the Luxembourgers (*Letzebuerg fir de Letzebuenger National Bewegong*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Malta

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

Source:

Waschkuhn and Bestler (1997).

The Netherlands

- social1 23) Labour Party (*Partij van der Arbeid, PvdA*)
- leftsoc1 38) Socialist Party (*Socialistische Partij, SP*)
- relig1 1) Anti Revolutionary Party (*Anti-Revolutionaire Partij, ARP*) (in 1998: Reformed Political Federation (RPF), a splinter from the ARP)
- relig2 34) Christian Democratic Appeal (*Christen Democratisch Appeal, CDA*) (merger of ARP, KVP, and CHU in 1977)
- relig3 --- Christian Union (*Christen Unie*) (merger of RPF and Reformed Political Union in 2002)
- liberal1 24) People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Liberal Party) (*Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie, VVD*)
- liberal2 29) Democrats' 66 (*Democraten '66, D66*)
- protest1 42) United Old Persons' League, General Association of Elderly People (*Algemeen Ouderen Verbond, AOV*)
- green1 38) Green Left (*Groen Links, GL*) (merger of 10, 27, 32 and Evangelical People's Party in 1989)
- right1 --- Centre Democrats (CD)
- right2 --- List Pim Fortuyn (LPF)
- right3 --- Freedom Party/Group Wilders (*Partij voor de Vrijheid, PVV*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

New Zealand

- social1 3) Labour Party

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set III, 1990-2011

- social2 18) New Labour Party
- social3 20) Alliance (Merger of 11, 17, 18, and two minor parties in 1993)
- conserv1 9) National Party
- conserv2 --- United Future New Zealand
- conserv3 21) New Zealand First
- relig1 16) Christian Heritage
- liberal1 --- Association of Consumers and Taxpayers (ACT)
- green1 17) Green Party (Aotearoa) (was part of Alliance, 20, from 1991 until 1998)
- ethnic1 --- Maori Party
- allia1 1996: Electoral Alliance of Christian Heritage (16) and Christian Democrats

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Norway

- social1 4) Labour Party (*Det Norske Arbeiderparti, DNA*)
- leftsoc1 14) Socialist Left (*Sosialistisk Venstreparti, SV*) (formerly Socialist People's Party)
- agrarian1 7) Centre Party (*Senterpartiet, SP*) (formerly Farmers' Party)
- conserv1 2) Conservatives (*Hoyre*)
- relig1 10) Christian People's Party (*Kristelig Folkeparti, KRF*)
- liberal1 1) Liberals (*Venstre*)
- protest1 15) Progress Party (*Fremskrittspartiet, FRP*) (formerly Anders Lange's Party)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Poland

- social1 Solidarity (*Solidarnosc*)
- social2 Labour Solidarity (*Solidarnosc Pracy*)
- social3 Alliance of the Democratic Left (*Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, SLD*) [comprised of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland; All-Polish Accord of Trade Unions; Polish Socialist Party]
- social4 Labour Union (*Unia Pracy, UP*)
- social5 Alliance of the Democratic Left + Labour Union
- social6 Polish Social Democracy (*Socjaldemokracja Polska, SdPI*)
- social7 Left and Democrats (*Koalicyjny Komitet Wyborczy Lewica i Demokraci, LiD*) [comprised by Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD), Polish Social Democracy (SdPI), Labor Union (UP) and Democratic Party (PD)]
- agrarian1 Polish Peasant Party (*Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL*)
- agrarian2 Peasant Alliance *PL* [comprised of Solidarity Polish Peasant Party and Rural Solidarity Peasant Union]
- agrarian3 Self-Defence of Polish Republic (*Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*)
- conserv1 Union of the Right of the Republic (*Unia Prawicy Rzeczypospolitej, UPR*) [formed around the Union of Political Realism by several conservative groups]

- conserv2 Coalition for the Republic [comprised of Movement for the Republic, Polish Action and Freedom Party]
- conserv3 Law and Justice (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*)
- conserv4 Poland Comes First (*Polska jest Najważniejsza, PJN*)
- relig1 Christian Democracy
- 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 Freedom Union (*Unia Wolności, UW*) [merger of Democratic Union and Liberal Democratic Congress]
- liberal5 Civic Platform (*Platforma Obywatelska*)
- liberal6 Democratic Party-democrats.pl (*Partia Demokratyczna-democraci.pl, PD*) [formerly Freedom Union, UW]
- liberal7 Palikot's Movement (*Ruch Palikota, RP*)
- right1 Confederation for Independent Poland (*Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej, KPN*)
- right2 Party X
- right3 Movement for Rebuilding Poland (*Ruch Odbudowy Polski, ROP*)
- allia1 Civic Centre Alliance (*Porozumienie Obywatelskie Centrum, POC*)
- nonlbl1 Polish Friends of Beer Party (*Polska Partia Przyjaciół Piwa, PPPP*)

Sources:

Bugajski (2002);
 East European Perspectives, 19. April 2000, Volume 2, 8.
<http://ww2.lpr.pl/>
www.broadleft.org/socdem.htm
www.socialistinternational.org/maps/english/europe.htm

Portugal

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Romania

- social1 National Salvation Front = Democratic National Salvation Front = Party of Social Democracy from Romania (*Partidul Democratiei Sociale din Romania PDSR*) = Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat PSD*)
- social2 National Salvation Front - Democratic Party = Democratic Party (*Partidul Democrat PD*)
- social3 Social Democratic Union (*Uniunea Social Democrată*) [comprised of Democratic Party and Social Democratic Party of Romania]
- social4 Alliance for Romania (*Alianța pentru România*)
- social5 Alliance of Romanian Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat PSD*) and Conservator Party [until 2005: Humanistic Party of Romania] (*Partidul Conservator, PC*)
- leftsoc1 Socialist Party (*Partidul Socialist*)
- postco1 Socialist Party of Labour (*Partidul Socialist al Muncii*)
- agrarian1 Democratic Agrarian Party from Romania (*Partidul Democrat Agrar din România*)
- relig1 National Peasants' Party - Christian Democratic (*Partidul Național Țărănesc – Creștin Democrat*)
- liberal1 National Liberal Party (*Partidul Național Liberal, PNL*)
- liberal2 Alliance Truth and Justice
- liberal3 Democrat-Liberal Party (*Partidul Democrat-Liberal*) [formed through the incorporation of a PNL dissident group into the Democrat Party]
- green1 Ecological Movement from Romania (*Mișcarea Ecologistă din România*)
- 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*)
- allia1 Alliance for the Unity of Romanians (*Alianța pentru Unitatea Românilor*) [comprised of Party of National Unity of Romanians and Republican Party]
- allia2 Democratic Convention from Romania (*Convenția Democrată din România*)
- allia3 Democratic Convention from Romania 2000 (*Convenția Democrată din România 2000*)
- indepen independent candidates
- nonlbl1 New Generation Party (PNG)-Christian-Democrat (*Partidul Noua Generație/Creștin-Democrat*)

Note:

1. We classified the Alliance of Romanian Social Democratic Party (social1) and Conservator Party (conserv1) as one party in social5/ssocial5. The Social Democratic Party won 34 percent of seats from 2004-07 and 32.9 percent from 2008-11. The Conservator Party won 5.7 percent of seats from 2004-07 and 1.2 percent from 2008-11.

Sources:

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

Slovakia

- social1 Social Democratic Party of Slovakia (*Socialno Demokratická Strana Slovenska, SDSS*)
- social2 Common Choice (*Spoločná Voľba, SV*) [comprised of Party of the Democratic Left; Social Democratic Party of Slovakia; Party of Greens in Slovakia; Agricultural Movement of the Slovak Republic]

- social3 Direction/Social Democracy (*Smer-SD*) [in 2002/03: only *Smer*; in 2004: *SDL'* and *SDA* both merged with *Smer* to *Smer-SD*]
- social4 Party of the Democratic Left (*Strana Demokratickej Ľavice, SDL'*) [founded in 2005 after the original Party of the Democratic Left (*leftsoc1*) merged with *Smer-SD* (*social3*) in 2004]
- leftsoc1 Party of the Democratic Left (*Strana Demokratickej Ľavice, SDL'*) since 1996
- comm1 Communist Party of Slovakia (*Komunistická Strana Slovenska, KSS*)
- comm2 Association of Slovak Workers (*Združenie Robotníkov Slovenska, ZRS*)
- postco1 Party of the Democratic Left (*Strana Demokratickej Ľavice, SDL'*) until 1996
- agrarian1 Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside
- relig1 Christian Democratic Movement (*Kresťanskodemokraticke Hnutie, KDH*)
- relig2 Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (*SDKU*) [in 2006 merged with Democratic Party to *SDKU-DS*]
- relig3 Christian Social Union (*Kresťansko Sociálna Unia, KSU*)
- relig4 Free Forum (*Slobodné fórum*) [split in 2004 from *SDKU*]
- liberal1 Public Against Violence (since 1992 - Civil Democratic Union) (*Verejnost' proti násiliu, VPN*; 1992: *Občianská demokratické únia, ODÚ*)
- liberal2 Democratic Party (*Demokratická Strana, DS*)
- liberal3 Democratic Party - Civil Democratic Party
- liberal4 Democratic Union of Slovakia (*Demokratická Únia Slovenska, DUS*)
- liberal5 The Slovak Democratic Coalition (*Slovenská Demokratická Koalícia, SDK*)
- liberal6 Party of Civic Understanding (*Strana Občianskeho Porozumenia, SOP*)
- liberal7 Alliance of New Citizens (*Aliancia nového občana, ANO*)
- liberal8 Freedom and Solidarity (*Sloboda a soldarita, SaS*)
- green1 Party of Greens (*Strana zelených, SZ*)
- green2 Party of Greens in Slovakia (*Strana zelených na Slovensku, SZS*)
- ethnic1 Coexistence and Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement
- ethnic2 Party of the Hungarian Coalition (*Magyar Koalíció Partja, SMK*) (1994: Hungarian Coalition)
- ethnic3 Hungarian Civic Party (*Magyar Polgári Párt - Mad'arská občanská strana, MPP-MOS*)
- ethnic4 The Bridge (*Most-Híd*)
- right1 Slovak National Party (*Slovenská národná strana, SNS*)
- right2 Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (*Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko, HZDS*, since 2006: *L'S-HZDS*) (in 1994 *HZDS* was in an electoral alliance with the Peasants Party of Slovakia)
- right3 The Real Slovak National Party (*Pravá Slovenská národná strana, PSNS*)
- right4 Movement for Democracy (*Hnutie za demokraciu, HZD*)

Sources:

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

Slovenia

- social1 Alliance of Socialists
- social2 Social Democrats (*Socialni demokrati, SD*) [former United List of Social Democrats, *ZLSD*]
- social3 Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (*Socialdemokratska Stranka Slovenije, SDS*)
- social4 Socialist Party of Slovenia (*Socialistična Stranka Slovenije, SSS*)

- social5 Slovenia is Ours (*Slovenija je naša, SJN*)
- social6 Positive Slovenia/List Zorana Jankovića (*Pozitivna Slovenija/Lista Zorana Jankovića, LZJ-PS*)
- postco1 Party of Democratic Renewal
- agrarian1 Slovenian People's Party (*Slovenska Ljudska Stranka, SLS*)
- conserv1 National Democrats and Slovenian Party
- relig1 Slovenian Christian Democratic Party (*Slovenski Krščanski Demokrati, SKD*)
- relig2 New Slovenia and People's Christian Party
- liberal1 Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (*Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije, LDS*)
- liberal2 Democratic Party of Slovenia (*Demokratska Stranka Slovenije, DSS*)
- liberal3 Liberal Party (*Liberalna Stranka/Slovenski Liberalci, LS*)
- liberal4 Party for Real/New Politics (*Zares/nova politika, ZARES*)
- liberal5 Citizens' Alliance of Gregor Virant (*Državljska lista Gregorja Viranta, DLGV*)
- green1 Greens of Slovenia (*Zeleni Slovenije, ZS*)
- ethnic1 representative of Hungarian minority
- ethnic2 representative of Italian minority
- right1 Slovenian National Party (*Slovenska Nacionalna Stranka, SNS*)
- allia1 DEMOS Coalition [comprised of Slovenian People's Party, Slovenian Christian Democrats, Slovenian Democratic Union, Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, Greens of Slovenia, Liberal Party]
- allia2 Slovenian People's Party and Slovenian Christian Democrats (*SLS/SKD*)
- indepen independent candidates
- pension Democratic Party of Pensioners (*DeSUS*)
- nonlbl1 Party of the Youth of Slovenia (*Stranka mladih Slovenije, SMS*)
- nonlbl2 Active Slovenia (*Aktivna Slovenija, AS*)

Source:

Bugajski (2002).

Spain

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Sweden

- social1 5) Social Democrats (*Socialdemokraterna, S*)
- comm1 10) Left Party (*Vänsterpartiet, V*) (former Communist Part (*Svergies Kommunistiska Parti*))
- agrarian 7) Center Party (*Centerpartiet, C*) (former Agrarian Party (*Bondeförbundet*))
- conserv1 6) Moderate Unity Party (*Moderata Samlingspartiet, M*) (formerly Conservatives (*Högerpartiet*))
- relig1 20) Christian Democratic Union (*Kristen Demokratisk Samling, KDS*)
- liberal1 18) People's Party (The Liberals) (*Folkpartiet, FP*)

- green1 23) Ecology/Green Party (*Miljöpartiet de Gröna, MP*)
- right1 24) New Democracy (*Ny Demokrati, NYD*)
- right2 --- Sweden Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna, SD*)

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Switzerland

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

United Kingdom

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

USA

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

Source:

Lane/McKay/Newton (1997).

Appendix 5 Notes concerning the variables for consensus democracy

lfirstp: Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable.

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

The data is composed of the moving averages of 10 years of four indices:

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

For example, the value of *effpar_leg* for 1999 in our calculations is the arithmetic average for the annual data of *effpar_leg* for 1990-99, the value for 2000 is the average for the period 1991-2000, etc.

These moving averages of the four indices were z-standardized and added up. The sum was again z-standardized, which yields the value of the proxy variable. For example, the data entered for 1999 is the z-standardized sum of the z-standardized moving averages for the years 1990-99.

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

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

lfirstpi: Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable institutions.

lfirstpb: Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable behavior.

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

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

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