

# Comparative Data Set for 28 Post Communist Countries

The Comparative Data Set for 28 Post Communist Countries, 1989 – 2004 is a collection of political and institutional data which has been assembled in the context of the research project “Forms of Government. A Comparative Data Set for 28 Eastern Countries”, directed by Klaus Armingeon and funded by Swiss National Science Foundation. It consists of annual data for 28 former communist countries, covering the period from 1989 to 2004. For member states of the former Soviet Union, the entries cover the period following their official independence from USSR (mostly after 1991 and 1992).

The data set contains additional demographic, socio and economic variables.

The data set is offered in two formats: 1. Excel files – with detailed information, including information on sources and 2. SPSS file - suitable for cross-national, longitudinal and pooled time series analyses. **The present codebook refers to the SPSS files.**

In any work using data from this data set, please quote both the data set and, where appropriate, the original source. Please quote this data set as: Klaus Armingeon, Romana Careja. *Comparative Data Set for 28 Post Communist Countries 1989-2004*, Institute of Political Science, University of Berne, 2004.

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## List of variables

### 1. General Variables

year	year
country	country name
ctry_cd	country code: Albania 1; Armenia 2; Azerbaijan 3; Belarus 4; Bosnia Herzegovina 5; Bulgaria 6; Croatia 7; Czech Republic 8; Estonia 9; Georgia 10; Hungary 11; Kazakhstan 12; Kyrgyzstan 13; Latvia 14; Lithuania 15; Macedonia 16; Moldova 17; Mongolia 18; Poland 19; Romania 20; Russian Federation 21; Slovakia 22; Slovenia 23; Tajikistan 24; Turkmenistan 25; Ukraine 26; Uzbekistan 27; Yugoslavia 28

## 2. Elections

electpa	Date of election of national parliament (lower house). (if there were two elections in a year, date of the second is given).
vturnpa	voter turnout in the parliamentary election (lower house).
seats	number of seats contested in each election
thrhold	electoral threshold in cases where the parallel electoral system was used, the electoral threshold for the proportional part of it was included. -1 is used for pure majoritarian systems to indicate that there is no legal threshold “.” (system missing) – information not available Source: electoral laws; OSCE Election reports
vsocial1, vsocial2	Percentage of votes (see note 8) “.” (system missing) – percentage of votes is not available
ssocial1, ssocial2	Percentage of seats (see note 8)
presmode	mode of electing the president <i>Codes:</i> 1 - president is elected directly by the people; 2 - president is elected by Parliament; “.” (system missing) – information not available; <i>Note:</i> Data was introduced starting with the year of the post-communist constitution <i>Source:</i> post-communist constitutions
term	president's term in office. <i>Note:</i> Data was introduced starting with the year of the post-communist constitution <i>Source:</i> post-communist constitutions
electpr	date of election of president (if there were various electoral rounds, the decisive last round was used) <i>Note:</i> Data was introduced starting with the year of the first post-communist presidential election “.” (system missing) indicates that the president is indirectly elected
turnpr	turnout for presidential election “.” (system missing) indicates that the president is indirectly elected or a (reliable) turnout number was not found
svsocial1, svsocial2	percentage of votes obtained by the winning candidate (by party affiliation) in presidential election (if several rounds were needed, the last decisive one was taken into consideration).

### NOTES:

1. The Elections data was entered starting with the first election (parliamentary and presidential) after the fall of communist rule.
2. As a general rule, parties with more than 2 percent of votes were included separately in the database, all others being grouped under “others1” category. However, in some cases, where a party managed to win seats in Parliament despite the fact that it obtained less than 2 percent of votes, that party was entered separately.

3. In the cases of Belarus, Kyrgyzstan (1995), Mongolia, Ukraine (1994), Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, where the lower chamber is elected through a majoritarian system, the percentage of votes was not available. Therefore these cases appear in the database as system missing “.”. Similarly, where independent candidates were elected through majoritarian system and the percentage of votes could not be retrieved, system missing “.” was used.
4. In cases where the parallel electoral system is used, namely Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Lithuania, Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan (1999), Macedonia, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine (since 1998), the share of votes entered represents the share of votes received on party lists (proportional part of the electoral system).
5. In the cases of Azerbaijan (1995), Kazakhstan (1994, 1995), and Macedonia (1994, 1998) information on percentage of votes was not available or it was not complete. These cases appear in the database as system missing “.”.
6. In case of Yugoslavia information from various sources was scattered and could not be used for purposes of comparison. The data will be added later on, pending on further research into better sources.
7. The Excel table contains information on sources used for each election. See the ‘comments’ inserted in Excel cells.
8. For party list, see **Annex Party list**. At the end of each country party list an account of the sources used to determine the labels is given. For Central and Eastern European countries, Janusz Bugajski (2002) was the main source for labelling, combined with additional national sources. For former Soviet countries national sources and international organizations’ reports were used. As often acknowledged in the literature, parties in these areas often do not have a clear ideological standpoint, therefore their placement in distinct categories is not a straightforward process. For the sake of clarity, the authors made a tentative assignment of parties.

In order to allow for detailed analyses of political make-up of parliaments, parties were classified according to the scheme developed by Lane/McKay/Newton (1997). 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.

According to Lane/McKay/Newton (1997) we differentiate between 11 party families and added several more categories *alliance*, *independents*, *no-label*, *personalist*, *pensioners* and *others*. “Alliance” designates a coalition between several parties or groupings; most commonly such an alliance is formed to strengthen the members’ chances of passing the threshold for a seat, and obtaining a larger number of seats in Parliament. “Independents” designates the unaffiliated candidates. “No-label” is a residual category for those parties which could not be placed in any of the above categories. 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 comprising parties of pensioners and persons with special needs. “Others1” is residual category where have been grouped all parties which have received less than 2 percent of votes in elections. As a general rule, parties have received the label “nationalist” if they focused their discourse/program on the notion of recovering the past greatness of the nation (in CEE) or of fighting for/maintaining independence from USSR (in NIS). The “conservative” label is used for party programs which emphasize both nationalist and religious values. The maximum number of variables is due to the maximum number of parties within the family which reached at least 2 percent of votes in an election in at least one country.

Party family	Variable name				
socialist	soc1	soc2	soc3	soc4	soc5
left-socialist	lftso1	lftso2	lftso3	lftso4	lftso...
communist	comm1	comm2	comm3	comm4	comm...
post-communist	pstco1	pstco2	pstco3	pstco4	
agrarian	agrar1	agrar2	agrar3	agrar4	agrar...
conservative	cons1	cons2	cons3	cons4	cons...
religious	relig1	relig2	relig3	relig4	relig5
liberal	liber1	liber2	liber3	liber4	liber5
ultra-right	ultra1	ultra2	ultra3...	ultra...	
nationalist	nat1	nat2	nat3	nat...	

protest	prote1	prote2	prote3	prote4...	prote...
green	green1	green2	green3	green4...	green...
ethnic	ethn1	ethn2	ethn3	ethn4	ethn...
regionalist	regio1	regio2	regio3	regio...	
feminist	femin1	femin...			
monarchist	monarch				
personalist	person1	person...			
alliance	alliance1	alliance2	alliance3	alliance...	
independents	independen				
pensioneers	pension				
non label	nonlbl1	nonlbl2	nonlbl2		
initiative groups	initia				
others	others1	others2			

If there is no party for a given variable, there is no entry in the database.

Votes are entered under the party variable name, preceded by a 'v' (for 'votes'). Share of seats are entered under the party variable name, preceded by a 's' (for 'seats'). For example, in the case of Albania under 'vsocial1' votes for the Social Democratic Party are entered; the variable 'ssocial1' denotes share of seats of the Social Democratic Party.

### 3. Institutions

General Note: The data regarding post-communist institutions is introduced starting with the year of the first non-communist constitution. For the previous years system missing "." is used to indicate the functioning of communist rules.

bicam	<p>bicameral or unicameral parliament as defined in the country's constitution.  <i>codes:</i> 1 - unicameral Parliament; 2 - bicameral Parliament; -2 – communist constitution (in case of Slovakia and Czech Republic, it means federal constitution); "." missing - information not available  <i>source:</i> post-communist constitutions</p>
subordup	<p>subordinated Upper Chamber (Lijphart 1999: 200-215): relationship between the lower and upper chamber, as framed by the post-communist constitutions  <i>codes:</i> 1 – upper chamber is subordinated; 0 - upper chamber is not subordinated; -1 – parliament unicameral; -2 – communist constitution (in case of Slovakia and Czech Republic, it means federal Constitution); missing "." – information not available  basis for coding is given in <b>Annex Subordination of Upper Chamber</b>  <i>source:</i> post-communist constitutions</p>
electup	<p>mode of election of Upper Chamber.  <i>codes:</i> 1 – appointment/delegation; 2 – indirect by regional/state legislature; 3 – directly by the people; 4 – other; -1 – parliament unicameral; -2 – communist constitution; missing "." – information not available  basis of the coding is given in <b>Annex Election of Upper chamber</b>  <i>source:</i> Post-Communist constitutions</p>
federal	<p>form of state organization as defined by constitution  <i>codes:</i> 1 – federal state; 0 – other; -2 – communist constitution; missing "." – information not available  <i>source:</i> post-communist constitutions</p>

judrev	<p>judicial review (Lijphart 1999: 223): existence of an independent body which decides whether laws are in conformity with Constitution.</p> <p><i>codes</i> 1 – yes ; 0 – no; -2 – communist constitution; missing “.” – information not available</p> <p><i>source</i>: post-communist constitutions</p>
electsys	<p>electoral system for the (lower chamber of the) Parliament</p> <p><i>codes</i>: 0 – proportional representation; 1 – proportional representation modified; 2 – majoritarian; 3 – parallel (the chamber is elected using both majoritarian and proportional representation systems, and each is allocated a fixed number of seats); -2 – communist election rule; missing “.” – information not available</p> <p>basis of the coding are given in <b>Annex Electoral Systems</b></p> <p><i>sources</i>: post-communist constitutions and electoral laws</p>
cab_type	<p>type of cabinet (Lijphart 1999, 90-115)</p> <p><i>codes</i>: 1 - single party majority; 2 - minimal winning; 3 - surplus coalition; 4 - single party minority; 5 - minority coalition; 6 - caretaker; 7 - grand coalition 8 - non party ministers, or experts; 9 – presidential cabinets (not depending on the Parliament composition); missing “.” – information not available</p> <p><i>sources</i>: Zarate’s Political Collections (ZPC) available at <a href="http://www.terra.es/personal2/monolith">www.terra.es/personal2/monolith</a>; © Copyright ZPC, Roberto Ortiz de Zárate, 1996-2004</p> <p>Woldendorp, Jaap, Hans Keman and Ian Budge (2000)</p> <p>Berglund, Sten, Joakim Ekman and Franck H. Aarebrot (2004).</p>
<p>NOTE: Entries in the data base represent the type of government which was in power most of the time in a given year. For more details regarding governmental changes, see <b>Annex Types of Government</b></p>	
Irid	<p>index of rigidity of constitution (Lijphart.1999: 216-223)</p> <p><i>codes</i>: 1- ordinary majorities; 2 – more than ordinary but less than two thirds majorities plus referendum; 3 - two-thirds majorities and equivalent; 4 - supermajorities (greater than two-thirds). If particularly difficult conditions for amending the constitution existed, an intermediary category was created by adding .5 to the code describing the basic conditions; missing “.” – information not available</p> <p><i>source</i>: post-communist constitutions</p> <p>basis of the coding is explained in <b>Annex Flexibility of Constitutions</b>.</p>
req_ref	<p>required referendum (following an idea of Hug and Tsebelis (2002))</p> <p><i>codes</i>: 1- yes; 0 – no; -2 – communist constitution; missing “.” – information not available</p> <p><i>source</i>: Post-communist constitutions</p> <p>basis of the coding is explained in <b>Annex Required Referenda</b></p>
vp_ref	<p>veto point referendum (following an idea of Hug and Tsebelis (2002))</p> <p><i>codes</i>: 1- yes; 0 – no; -2 – communist constitution; missing “.” – information not available</p> <p><i>source</i>: Post-communist constitutions</p> <p>basis of the coding is explained in <b>Annex Non-Required Referenda</b></p>
pop_veto	<p>popular veto (following an idea of Hug and Tsebelis (2002))</p> <p><i>codes</i>: 1- yes; 0 – no; -2 – communist constitution; missing “.” – information not available</p>

source: Post-communist constitutions  
basis of the coding is explained in **Annex Non-Required Referenda**

pop\_init popular initiative (following an idea of Hug and Tsebelis (2002))  
codes: 1- yes; 0 – no; -2 – communist constitution; missing “.” – information not available  
source: Post-communist constitutions  
basis of the coding is explained in **Annex Non-Required Referenda**

Topics of referenda: refers to the issues on which referenda are required or can be organized.  
based on post-communist constitutions

topic 1 border issues and association/secession issues; delegation of state powers to international organizations  
codes: 1- yes; 0 – no; -2 – communist constitution (in case of Czech Republic and Slovakia – federal constitution); missing “.” – information not available

topic2 adoption of and amendments to constitution; adoption of and change in other laws  
codes: 1- yes; 0 – no; -2 – communist constitution (in case of Czech Republic and Slovakia – federal constitution); missing “.” – information not available

topic3 dissolution of Parliament; impeachment  
codes: 1- yes; 0 – no; -2 – communist constitution (in case of Czech Republic and Slovakia – federal constitution); missing “.” – information not available

topic4 other issues "of national importance"  
codes: 1- yes; 0 – no; -2 – communist constitution (in case of Czech Republic and Slovakia – federal constitution); missing “.” – information not available

polsys political system (Lijphart 1999, 116-127)  
codes: 0 – parliamentary; 1 – presidential; 2 – semipresidential dominated by president; 3 – semipresidential dominated by parliament; 4 – other; -2 – communist constitution (in case of Czech Republic and Slovakia – federal constitution); missing “.” – information not available  
Source: post-communist constitutions

ldis Gallagher index of disproportionality (Lijphart 1999: 158)  
$$G = \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^m (v_i - s_i)^2}$$
, where  $s_i$  is the share of seats for party i,  $v_i$  is the share of votes for party i and m the number of parties.

NOTE: In calculating the index, the shares of seats occupied by independents and by small parties grouped under “other” category were neglected. The index could not be calculated when Parliament is elected only through majoritarian system. In cases where a parallel electoral system is in place, the share of votes used to calculate the index is the share of votes obtained by party i under proportional representation rules.

ppi presidential power index

The rules for the calculation of the index are explained in **Annex Presidential Power Index**.

-2 – communist constitution (in case of Czech Republic and Slovakia – federal constitution); missing “.” – information not available

source: post-communist constitutions.

#### 4. Women in Parliament

women\_per    percentage of women in Parliament (lower house)  
women\_no    number of women in Parliament (lower house)

codes: “.” system missing designates the period under communist rule or prior to first multiparty elections or that information was not available

source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, page “Women in National Parliaments” available at <<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>>

#### 5. Party system

effpar        Effective number of parties in parliament according to Laakso/Taagepera (1979) for the election mentioned in the category “elect”. The effective number of parties (N) carries the same information as the Rae-Index and is calculated from this index as follows:  $N = 1 / (1 - \text{Rae})$ . It is calculated on the basis of proportion of seats in Parliament.

rae            Index of fractionalization of the party-system according to Douglas Rae. The formula of the index is  $\text{Rae} = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^m s_i^2$ , where  $s_i$  is the share of seats for party i and m the number of parties

NOTE: In the calculation of both indexes the shares of seats occupied by independents and by small parties grouped under “other” category were neglected.

#### 6. Complexion of government

Complexion of government represents the party composition of the cabinet. For each cabinet, it is calculated as a function of the shares of parliamentary support enjoyed by the parties which held ministerial portfolios.

For each party in government, the *formula* used for calculation is:

(Share of parliamentary seats of party X \* 100 \* number of days in office) / (total share of parliamentary seats of all parties in government \* number of days in given year)

Explanations for the variables are as follows:

wsocia1 = party label (as given in the **Annex List of Parties**) preceded by “W” (for ‘weight’) Only parties which have been part of the Government were taken into consideration. Parties which offer parliamentary support without being rewarded governmental positions were excluded.

Data was gathered starting with the first year we were able to obtain accurate information about the government composition. For the first governments after independence/ 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 calendaristic year.

#### Codes:

0 has been entered for parties which have not been in office.

System missing “.” has been entered for government under communist regime (before 1998 – 1990 in case of CEE and before independence year for NIS) and for years for which results of election were not available. As a general rule, values were entered starting with the first governments formed following first multiparty elections.

Data has been entered only from the year of independence or breakdown of communist rule.

source: own calculations based on the election results.

#### NOTES:

1. For the following countries Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Macedonia, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan complete and comparison-worthy information on party composition of government was not available. The main reason for this is that cabinet formation is not based on the rationale of “acquisition of a parliamentary majority” and the party affiliation of ministers is not declared. For these cases, system missing “.” was introduced in the data base.

In the additional file *Prime Ministers*, where information on duration of cabinets and party affiliation of prime ministers is given for all countries. Source of data: Zarate’s Political Collections (ZPC), available at [www.terra.es/personal2/monolith](http://www.terra.es/personal2/monolith); © Copyright ZPC, Roberto Ortiz de Zárate, 1996-2004.

codes: n/p – non party; abbreviations for party names can be found in the **Annex List of Parties**.

2. Given the fact that reliable electoral results were not available for Yugoslavia, complexion of government could not be calculated. Data will be entered at a later date.

## 7. Democracy

independ	year of acquisition of independence (for NIS) or official end of communist rule (for CEE) codes: 0 – communist rule; 1 - independent or non-communist
FH	overall status of a country as calculated by Freedom House and reported in “Freedom in the World” on annual basis. codes: 0 – not free; 1 - partly free; 2 – free; “.” missing value – data does not exist
FH_PR	rating of Political Rights as calculated by Freedom House and reported annually in the publication “Freedom in the World”
FH_CL	rating of Civil Liberties as calculated by Freedom House and reported annually in the publication “Freedom in the World”



## NOTE

### Description of the Freedom House rating

Each country and territory is awarded from 0 to 4 raw points for each of 10 questions grouped into three subcategories in a **political rights** checklist (A. Electoral Process, B. Political Pluralism and Participation and C. Functioning of Government) and for each of 15 questions grouped into four subcategories in a **civil liberties** checklist (A. Freedom of Expression and Belief, B. Associational and Organizational Rights, C. Rule of Law and D. Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights). A country or territory is assigned a numerical rating on a scale of 1 to 7 based on the total number of raw points awarded to the political rights and civil liberties checklist questions. For both checklists, 1 represents the most free and 7 the least free; each 1 to 7 rating corresponds to a range of total raw scores.

Each pair of political rights and civil liberties ratings is averaged to determine an **overall status** of "Free," "Partly Free," or "Not Free." Those whose ratings average 1-2.5 are considered Free, 3-5.5 Partly Free, and 5.5-7 Not Free. The dividing line between Partly Free and Not Free falls at 5.5. For example, countries that receive a rating of 6 for political rights and 5 for civil liberties, or a 5 for political rights and a 6 for civil liberties, could be either Partly Free or Not Free. The total number of raw points is the definitive factor that determines the final status. Countries and territories with combined raw scores of 0-33 points are Not Free, 34-67 points are Partly Free, and 68-100 are Free.

*Source:* Freedom in the World, [www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org)

NiT_DEM	Nations in Transit - Democratization score is calculated as average of scores obtained on 4 dimensions: Electoral Process, Civil Society, Independent Media and Governance (1 highest, 7 lowest).
NiT_ROL	Nations in Transit - Rule of Law score is calculated as average of ratings obtained on two dimensions: Constitutional, Legislative and Judicial Framework and Corruption (1 highest, 7 lowest)
NiT_EC	Nations in Transit - Economic Liberalization score is calculated as average of ratings obtained on three dimensions: Privatization, Macroeconomic Policy and Microeconomic Policy (1 highest, 7 lowest)

## NOTE

The *Nations in Transit* report was commissioned by the US Agency for International Development. The first such Freedom House survey focused on developments from January 1994 until June 1995. The second survey, Nations in Transit 1997, covered events through December 1996. Information is not available for all the countries in the present study.

*codes:* system missing ". "indicates that information is not available.

*source:* Nations in Transit, available at <[www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org)>

freedom1      rating of press freedom

*Codes:* 0 - not free; 1 - partly free; 2 - free;  
"." missing value – information not available

NOTE: For year 1993 the label was interpolated for the following countries: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Poland, Moldova, Russia, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Yugoslavia.

freedom2      rating of press freedom - scores. Data is available only from 1994 on.  
"." missing value – information not available

*sources:*

Freedom House Annual Survey of Press Freedom – Rankings 1980 – 1993  
available at <<http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/ratings80-93.XLS>>

Freedom House Annual Survey of Press Freedom – Rankings 1994 – 2002  
available at <<http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/ratings.XLS>>

CPI Corruption Perception Index. CPI score relates to perceptions of the degree of corruption as seen by business people and country analysts and ranges between 10 (highly clean) and 0 (highly corrupt).

*codes:* table entries are CPI values

“.” missing value – information not available

*source:* Transparency International, available at

<[http://www.transparency.org/cpi/2003/dnld/cpi2003\\_background-data.pdf](http://www.transparency.org/cpi/2003/dnld/cpi2003_background-data.pdf)>

war violent conflict inside the country or at the borders.

*codes:* 0 – no violent conflict; 1 – war, civil war or turmoil; 2 – ceasefire

“.” missing value – information not available

NOTE: data was introduced starting with the year of independence (in the case of Newly Independent States) or with the end of communist rule. For years before, “missing value” was entered.

## 8. Labour relations

workers number of workers involved in labour conflicts

daynowrk number of days not worked

*codes:* “.” missing value is entered for the years where no information is available

*source:* ILO Labour Statistical Yearbook 1998 and 2002.

NOTE: ILO is using a variety of sources for its Statistical Yearbook. In the Excel table the source of data is given. The information on the source of data is given for the first year of a respective period, unless otherwise specified.

unempl unemployment as a percentage of labour force

NOTE: Main source of data is Kolodko, Grzegorz W. (2000), p. 360 ff. For years missing in this source (1999 – 2001), Freedom House *Nations in Transit* 2002 country reports were used.

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