

Codebook:**COMPARATIVE POLITICAL DATA SET I 1960-2009**

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The Comparative Political Data Set 1960-2009 is a collection of political and institutional data which have been assembled in the context of the research projects „Die Handlungsspielräume des Nationalstaates“ and “Critical junctures. An international comparison” directed by Klaus Armingeon and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. It consists of (mostly) annual data for 23 democratic countries for the period of 1960 to 2009. In the cases of Greece, Spain and Portugal, political data were collected only for the democratic periods¹. The data set is suited for cross national, longitudinal and pooled time series analyses.

The data set contains some additional demographic, socio- and economic variables. However, these variables are not the major concern of the project, and are thus limited in scope. For a more in-depth source of these data, see the online databases of the OECD. For trade union membership, excellent data for European trade unions can be added from the CD-ROM of the Data Handbook by Bernhard Ebbinghaus and Jelle Visser (Trade Unions in Western Europe since 1945 (The Societies of Europe). New York, Basingstoke, Oxford: Grove's Dictionaries, Macmillan, 2000).

A few variables have been copied from a data set collected by E. Huber, Ch. Ragin, J. Stephens, D. Brady and J. Beckfield (2004). We are grateful for the permission to include these data.

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, David Weisstanner, Sarah Engler, Panajotis Potolidis, Marlène Gerber, Philipp Leimgruber. Comparative Political Data Set I 1960-2009, Institute of Political Science, University of Berne 2011.

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¹ Data for Greece are missing during the period 1967-1973. Data for Portugal are missing until 1975, and for Spain until 1976.

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VARIABLE LIST

1. General variables

year Year of observation
country Country names
countryn Country code: 1 Australia; 2 Austria; 3 Belgium; 4 Canada; 5 Denmark; 6 Finland; 7 France; 8 Germany; 9 Greece; 10 Iceland; 11 Ireland; 12 Italy; 13 Japan; 14 Luxembourg; 15 Netherlands; 16 New Zealand; 17 Norway; 18 Portugal; 19 Spain; 20 Sweden; 21 Switzerland; 22 United Kingdom; 23 USA.

Notes: Data up to the end of 1990 are for the Federal Republic of Germany before reunification only (West Germany); unless otherwise indicated, they are for the whole of Germany from 1991 onwards.

2. Governments

gov_right Cabinet composition: right-wing parties in percentage of total cabinet posts, weighted by days.
Period covered: 1960-2009.
Source: Own calculations primarily based on Schmidt and Beyer (1992) and, since 1991, on the political data published in the European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues). For details see the appendix.

gov_cent Cabinet composition: centre parties in percentage of total cabinet posts, weighted by days.
Period covered: 1960-2009.
Source: see variable gov_right.

gov_left Cabinet composition: social-democratic and other left parties in percentage of total cabinet posts, weighted by days.

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Period covered: 1960-2009.

Source: see variable gov_right.

Notes on cabinet composition:

1. Due to independents, the calculations of 'gov_right', 'gov_cent' and 'gov_left' do not always sum up to 100 percent. *Italy 1995/96* does not sum up to 100 percent mainly because of the caretaker government which was in force from 17.01.1995 until 17.05.1996. *Canada 2005* does not sum up to 100 percent as the House of Commons was dissolved on the defeat of the government on 28 November, 2005 so had no members at the end of the year.

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 (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).

Period covered: 1960-2009.

Missing: Italy 1995 (caretaker government).

Source: Own calculations according to Schmidt (1992).

Notes:

1. *Italy 1996*: Because of many non-partisans in government it is coded as a stand-off between left and right (3), even though the percentage of left parties in government is less than 33%.

2. Where the sum of 'gov_left1', 'gov_cent1' and 'gov_right1' is not equal to 100 per-cent due to independents, the boundaries for the three groups were recalculated for the codes (2), (3) and (4) by taking the sum of the given entries as 100 percent.

For example *Portugal 2005*:

$gov_right + gov_center + gov_left = 61.12$.

The total of 61.12 percent is the basis for the calculation of the new boundaries. $61.12/3 = 20.37$ is in this case the new boundary for the lower third, replacing 33.3 percent. $20.37*2 = 40.75$ would be the new boundary for the upper third, replacing 66.6 percent. As $gov_left = 42.64$, which is a higher value than the boundary for the upper third (=40.75). Therefore, a (4) was entered.

gov_new New ideological composition of cabinet: (0) no change (1) change, if cabinet ideological composition (govparty) changed from last to present year.

Period covered: 1960-2009.

Missing: see variable govparty

Source: own calculations.

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

Period covered: 1960-2009.

Missing: see variable govparty.

Source: own calculations.

Notes:

How to calculate gov_gap (an 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).

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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 (temporarily). Period covered: 1960-2009.

Missing: Greece, Portugal, and Spain until 1990.

Source: 1960-1994: Woldendorp/Keman/Budge (1998); 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) 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

(2) minimal winning coalition

= all participating parties are necessary to form a majority government

(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

(5) multi party minority government

= the parties in government do not possess a majority in Parliament

(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 that type of government that was in office for the longest period each year.

2. *Spain 1990*: 'gov_type' is coded as 1 (single party majority government), although the single government party had exactly 50.0% of parliamentary seats.

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)].

Period covered: 1960-2009.

Missing: see variable gov_type.

Source: see variable gov_type.

3. Elections

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

Period covered: 1960-2008.

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

vturn Voter turnout in election.

Period covered: 1960-2008.

Missing: none.

Source: European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues); Mackie & Rose (1991); Keesing's Archive; Neue Zürcher Zeitung; Par-

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line database (<http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp>). For the 1998, 2000 and 2002 US-elections, the voter turnout was gathered from the United States Elections Project, available at http://elections.gmu.edu/voter_turnout.htm (Download: 2007-03-28).

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

social1 Share of votes of the party classified as social1. Parties are classified according to Lane, McKay and Newton (1997).
Period covered: 1960-2008.
For details about the classification and the period covered for each country: see the appendix.

social2 Share of votes of the party classified as social2.

etc.

ssocial1 Share of seats in parliament for the party classified as social1. Parties are classified according to Lane, McKay and Newton (1997).
Period covered: 1960-2008.
For details about the classification and the period covered for each country: see the appendix.

ssocial2 Share of seats in parliament for the party classified as social2.

etc.

4. Women in parliaments

womenpar Percentage of women in parliaments. Entries refer to the composition of the parliament by the end of the corresponding year.
Period covered: 1960-2009.
Missing: none.
Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (1995); Inter-Parliamentary Union (1997); Inter-Parliamentary Union Homepage, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm> (Download: 2010-08-06).

Notes:

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

5. Party-system

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

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

of parties.

Period covered: 1960-2009.

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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: 1960-2009.
 Missing: none.
 Source: own calculations.

effpar_ele Effective number of parties on the *votes* level according to the formula [N₂] proposed by Laakso and Taagepera (1979). The effective number of parties carries the same information as the Rae-Index and is calculated from this index as follows: $effpar_ele = 1 / (1 - rae_ele)$
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: none.
 Source: own calculations.

effpar_leg Effective number of parties on the *seats* level according to the formula [N₂] proposed by Laakso and Taagepera (1979). The effective number of parties carries the same information as the Rae-Index and is calculated from this index as follows: $effpar_leg = 1 / (1 - rae_leg)$
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: none.
 Source: own calculations.

dis_abso Index of absolute disproportionality. A score of 1 means, for example, 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 into account the fractionalization of the party system. The stronger the fractionalization of the party system the more likely are, *ceteris paribus*, high values of *dis_abso*.
 The index is calculated as follows:
 $dis_abso = effpar_ele - effpar_leg$
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: none.
 Source: own calculations.

dis_rel Index of relative disproportionality. This index is weighted on the total number of parties on the *votes* level. It is calculated as follows:
 $dis_rel = (effpar_ele - effpar_leg) / effpar_ele$
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: none.
 Source: own calculations.

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

$$dis_gall = \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^m (v_i - s_i)^2}$$
, where v_i is the share of *votes* for party i , s_i is the share of *seats* for party i and m the number of parties
 Period covered: 1960-2009.

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Missing: none.

Source: own calculations.

6. Institutions

The variables lfirst1 to lbank2 come from Lijphart (1999). They concern two dimensions of consensus-democracies. We (re-)calculated the indices so that variables ending with a '1' (lfirst1, lsec1, leff1 etc.) have two entries: one representing the period 1945-1970, entered at year 1960; the other representing the period 1971-96, entered at year 1984. Variables ending with a '2' (lfirst2, lsec2, leff2 etc.) are calculated for the whole period 1960-1996, data were entered at year 1960. For definition of the variables see Lijphart (1999).

lfirst1	First (executives-parties) dimension
lfirst2	First (executives-parties) dimension: Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
lsec1	Second (federal-unitary) dimension
lsec2	Second (federal-unitary) dimension: Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
leff1	Effective number of parliamentary parties
leff2	Effective number of parliamentary parties: Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
lmin1	Minimal winning one-party cabinets (%)
lmin2	Minimal winning one-party cabinets (%): Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
lexe1	Index of executive dominance
lexe2	Index of executive dominance: Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
ldis1	Index of disproportionality (%)
ldis2	Index of disproportionality (%): Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
lint1	Index of interest group pluralism
lint2	Index of interest group pluralism: Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
lfed1	Index of federalism
lfed2	Index of federalism: Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
lbic1	Index of bicameralism
lbic2	Index of bicameralism: Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
lrid1	Index of constitutional rigidity
lrid2	Index of constitutional rigidity: Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
ljud1	Index of judicial review
ljud2	Index of judicial review: Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶
lbank1	Index of central bank independence
lbank2	Index of central bank independence: Index ⁶⁰⁻⁹⁶

Period covered for all the Lijphart's variables: 1960-1996

lfirstp Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable (see **appendix 4**).
 Period covered: 1969-2009.
 Missing: Greece, Portugal and Spain until 1999.
 Source: own calculations.

Note:

The first entry Greece, Portugal and Spain is in 2000 due to missings in gov_type until the year 1990.

lfirstpi Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable institutions (see **appendix 4**).
 Period covered: 1969-2009.
 Missing: Greece, Portugal and Spain until 1999.
 Source: own calculations.

Note: see variable lfirstp

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- lfirstpb** Lijphart first dimension. Proxy variable behavior (see **appendix 4**).
 Period covered: 1969-2009.
 Missing: Greece, Portugal and Spain until 1999.
 Source: own calculations.
Note: see variable lfirstp
- instcons** Index of institutional constraints of central state government according to Schmidt (1996); Minimum value=0; Maximum value=6; Range of data from 0 to 5, high values indicate powerful constraints, low values are indicative of a large manoeuvring room available to central state government.
 Description: additive index composed of 6 dummy-variables ('1' = constraints, '0'=else) (1) EU membership=1, (2) degree of centralisation of state structure (federalism=1), (3) difficulty of amending constitutions (very difficult=1) (4) strong bicameralism =1 (5) central bank autonomy =1 (6) frequent referenda = 1.
 Source: Schmidt (1996: 172) transformed into time variant annual data. Data for central bank autonomy taken from Beyeler (2007: 123).
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: Greece until 1973, Portugal until 1975 and Spain until 1976.
- plural** Augmented index of institutional pluralism according to Colomer (1995); data for non-European states, Iceland and Luxembourg were added by Schmidt (1996). Minimum=0, maximum=7. 4 indicators (coded 0, 1 or 2): number of effective parties, bicameralism, elected president and decentralisation.
 Source: Schmidt (1996: 172).
- structur** Augmented index of constitutional structures based on Huber/Ragin/Stephens (1993: 728); we turned the time-invariant variable into a time-variant variable by adjusting for institutional changes such as the shift of Belgium to federalism in 1993. Countries not covered by Huber et al. (1993; Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Portugal and Spain) were classified according to Huber et al. using information from national sources and comparative analyses such as Schmidt (1996).
 Description: additive index composed of five indicators: (1) federalism (0=absence, 1=weak, 2=strong) (2) parliamentary government =0, versus presidentialism or other =1 (3) proportional representation =0, modified proportional representation=1, majoritarian=2 (4) bicameralism (0 = no second chamber or second chamber with very weak powers, 1=weak bicameralism, 2=strong bicameralism), (5) frequent referenda=1.
 Period covered: 1960-2009
 Source: Huber/Ragin/Stephens (1993), Schmidt (1996).
- integr** Integrated economy. Siaroff Index (1999). '5' indicating greatest integration, '1' least integrated economies. The Siaroff Index can be considered as a proxy for corporatism.
 Period covered: 1970, 1980, 1990 and 1995.
- fed** Federalism. Coded 0 = no, 1 = weak, 2 = strong.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: Greece 1967-73, Portugal until 1975 and Spain until 1976.
 Source: Until 2000: Huber et al. (2004).
 2001 onwards (Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain: whole period): classification according to Huber et al. (2004) using information from national sources and comparative analyses.

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Note:

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

pres Presidential system. Coded 0 = parliamentary, 1 = president or collegial executive.

Period covered: 1960-2009.

Missing: see variable fed.

Source: Until 2000: Huber et al. (2004).

2001 onwards (Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain: whole period): classification according to Huber et al. (2004) using information from national sources and comparative analyses.

Note:

Finland is classified as a parliamentary system since 2000. In this regard we depart from the classification by Huber et al.

singmemd Electoral system-single member districts or proportional representation. Coded 0 = proportional representation, 1 = modified proportional representation, 2 = single-member, simple plurality systems.

Period covered: 1960-2009.

Missing: see variable fed.

Source: Until 2000: Huber et al. (2004).

2001 onwards (Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain: whole period): classification according to Huber et al. (2004) using information from national sources and comparative analyses.

strbic Strength of bicameralism. Coded 0 = no second chamber or second chamber with very weak powers, 1 = weak bicameralism, 2 = strong bicameralism.

Period covered: 1960-2009.

Missing: see variable fed.

Source: Until 2000: Huber et al. (2004).

2001 onwards (Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain: whole period): classification according to Huber et al. (2004) using information from national sources and comparative analyses.

referen Referendum. Coded 0 = none or infrequent, 1 = frequent.

Period covered: 1960-2009.

Missing: see variable fed.

Source: Until 2000: Huber et al. (2004).

2001 onwards (Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain: whole period): classification according to Huber et al. (2004) using information from national sources and comparative analyses.

judrev Judicial review. Coded 0 = no, 1 = yes.

Period covered: 1960-2009.

Missing: see variable fed.

Source: Until 2000: Huber et al. (2004).

2001 onwards (Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain: whole period): classification according to Huber et al. (2004) using information from national sources and comparative analyses.

Note:

Belgium: The Court of Arbitration was inaugurated in October 1984, therefore we classified it as "1" from 1985 onwards. In this regard we depart from the classification by Huber et al.

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7. Openness of the economy

- kaopen** Index for the extent of openness in capital account transactions. The index incorporates a variable indicating the presence of multiple exchange rates, a second variable indicating restrictions on current account transactions and a third variable indicating the requirement of the surrender of export proceeds. The higher the value the more open is the country to cross-border capital transactions. Period covered: 1970-2008.
Missing: Luxembourg: whole period; Netherlands: 1975-1980 and Switzerland: 1970-1995.
Source: Chinn and Ito (2008); www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mchinn/research.html (Download: 2011-09-14)
- openc** Openness of the economy in current prices, measured as total trade (sum of import and export) as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1960-2009.
Missing: Germany: 1960-69.
Source: Penn World Table 7.0, http://pwt.econ.upenn.edu/php_site/pwt_index.php (Download: 2011-04-13).

8. Macroeconomic data

- outlays** Total outlays (disbursements) of general government as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1960-2009.
Missing: Australia and Norway 1960-61; Belgium, Canada and UK 1960-69; Denmark: 1960-70; France: 1960-77; Iceland: 1960-79; Luxembourg and Switzerland: 1960-1989; Netherlands: 1960-68; New Zealand: 1960-85; Portugal: 1960-76; Spain: 1960-63.
Source: OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00533-en> (accessed on 2011-04-19).
- Notes:**
1. Disbursements are transactions of providing financial resources.
The two counterparties must record the transaction simultaneously.
 2. *Sweden*: As from 2000, the Church of Sweden has been separated from the State. In terms of national accounts, this causes a reclassification of the Church's activities from the public to the private sector. As a consequence, growth in private consumption in 2000 is higher than it would otherwise have been, while conversely, growth in public consumption is lower. (Source: OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", Sources and Methods).
- receipts** Total receipts of government as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1960-2009.
Missing: Belgium, Canada, Iceland and UK: 1960-69; Denmark: 1960-70; France: 1960-62; Luxembourg and Switzerland: 1960-89; Netherlands: 1960-68; New Zealand: 1970-85; Norway: 1960-61; Portugal: 1960-76; Spain: 1960-63.
Source: OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00533-en> (accessed on 2011-04-19).
- Notes:**
1. *Iceland (break in series in 1980) 1970-1979 and France 1963-1977*:
Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84",

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OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database),
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00082-en> (accessed on 2011-04-19).

2. *Sweden*: See variable outlays.

- gdpgr Growth of real GDP, percentage change from previous year.
 Period covered: 1960-2008.
 Missing: Australia: 1991; Germany: 2002; Greece: 1990; Italy: 2003; New Zealand: 1990; Spain: 1979; Luxembourg and Portugal: 2008.
 Source: Until 1970: OECD Economic Outlook, various years; 1971 onwards: OECD Factbook 2010: Economic, Environmental and Social Statistics - Online Version, <http://new.sourceoecd.org/> (Download: 2010-06-11).
- Note:**
1. *UK 1971-1980*: Data is taken from OECD Factbook 2009.
- debt Gross government debt (financial liabilities) as a percentage of GDP.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: Australia: 1960-87; Austria, Japan, Norway and Sweden: 1960-69; Belgium and France: 1960-68; Canada: 1960; Denmark, Iceland and Spain: 1960-79; Finland: 1960-74; Ireland: 1960-73; Luxembourg and Switzerland: 1960-89; New Zealand: 1960-92; Portugal: 1960-94; UK: 1960-65.
 Source: OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00533-en> (accessed on 2011-04-19).
- Notes:**
1. *Greece 1960-94, Ireland 1974-97 and Luxembourg 1990-94*: Data is taken from OECD (2005), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 77", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00089-en> (accessed on 2011-04-19).
 2. *Iceland 1980-97*: Data is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00082-en> (accessed on 2011-04-19).
 3. Please consider that there may be breaks in series
- deficit Annual deficit (government primary balance) as a percentage of GDP.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: Belgium, Iceland and UK: 1960-69; Canada: 1960; Denmark: 1960-70; France: 1960-62; Luxembourg and Switzerland: 1960-89; Netherlands: 1960-68; New Zealand 1960-85; Portugal: 1960-76; Spain: 1960-63.
 Source: OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00533-en> (accessed on 2011-04-19).
- Notes:**
1. *Australia 1960/61 and France 1963-77*: Data is taken from OECD (2009), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 85", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00367-en> (accessed on 2010-11-04).
 2. *Iceland*: Break in series in 1980. Data from 1970-79 is taken from OECD (2008), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 84", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00082-en> (accessed on 2010-11-04).
- adjustdef Cyclically adjusted annual deficit (government primary balance) as a percentage of potential GDP.
 Period covered: 1970-2009.

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Missing: Australia, Belgium, Japan, Netherlands: 1970; Denmark, Sweden: 1970-1972; Finland: 1970-1976; France: 1970-1977; Greece: 1970-1975; Iceland, Ireland, Norway, Spain: 1970-1979; Luxembourg, Switzerland: 1970-1989; New Zealand: 1970-1985; Portugal: 1970-1980; UK: 1970/71.

Source: OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00533-en> (accessed on 2011-04-19).

interest Long-term interest rate on government bonds.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: Australia: 1960-69; Austria: 1960-64; Finland: 1960; Greece: 1960-96; Iceland: 1960-91; Ireland: 1960-70; Japan: 1960-66; Luxembourg: 1960-93; New Zealand: 1960-69; Norway 1960/61; Portugal and Spain: 1960-65.
 Source: OECD (2010), "OECD Economic Outlook No. 88", OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00533-en> (accessed on 2011-04-14).

Note:

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

9. Labour force data

tll_labf Total labour force, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Source: OECD (2010), "Labour Force Statistics: Summary tables", OECD Employment and Labour Market Statistics (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00286-en> (accessed on 2011-01-31)

Notes:

1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
2. *Belgium (1999-2009), Netherlands (2008/09)*: Estimated values.

civ_labf Civilian labour force, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Source: see variable tll_labf.

emp_civ Civilian employment, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Source: see variable tll_labf.

labfopar Total labour force as a percentage of population 15-64 (participation rate).
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: see variable empratio (except of Norway 1971). In addition: Netherlands: 2008/09.
 Source: see variable empratio.

Notes:

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

1. *Belgium (2000-2007)*: Data is taken from OECD (2009), "Belgium", in: OECD, *Labour Force Statistics 2009*, OECD Publishing, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/lfs-2009-22-en-fr> (accessed on 2011-02-01).
2. *Portugal and Switzerland (2009)*: Estimated values.

- empratio** Civilian employment as percentage of population 15-64.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: Australia and Iceland: 1960-63; Austria: 1960-67; Belgium: 2008/09; Denmark: 1961-64, 1966/68; France: 2009; Greece: 1960, 1962-70, 1972-76, 2009; Italy: 1972-76; Netherlands: 1960-74; Norway: 1971; Sweden: 1960-62.
 Source: OECD (2010), "Labour Force Statistics: Population and labour force", OECD Employment and Labour Market Statistics (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00288-en> (accessed on 2011-02-01).
- Notes:**
1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
 2. *Portugal and Switzerland (2009)*: Estimated values.
- emp_ag** Civilian employment in agriculture, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Source: see variable `tll_labf`.
- Note:**
1. *Luxembourg (2009)*: Estimated value.
- emp_ind** Civilian employment in industry, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Source: see variable `tll_labf`.
- Note:**
1. *France (1989-2009), Iceland (2009) and Luxembourg (2009)*: Estimated values.
- emp_serv** Civilian employment in services, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Source: see variable `tll_labf`.
- Note:**
1. *France (1989-2009), Iceland (2009) and Luxembourg (2009)*: Estimated values.
- emp_un** Unemployed, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: Iceland: 1960; Luxembourg: 1960-73.
 Source: see variable `tll_labf`.
- unemp** Unemployment rate as a percentage of civilian labour force.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: see variable `emp_un`.
 Source: see variable `tll_labf`.
- st_unemp** Standardised unemployment rates (series adjusted for seasonal variations).
 Period covered: For most countries from the early 1980s onwards or earlier, except for Austria (1993) and Iceland (1991); until 2009.
 Source: OECD (2010), "Key short-term indicators", Main Economic Indicators (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00039-en> (accessed on 2011-04-19).
- Notes:**

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
2. *Germany (1978-90)*: Data is taken from Main Economic Indicators, Vol. 2008, release 01 (accessed on 2008-01-15).
3. *Belgium, Netherlands and Sweden (1970-81), Finland (1964-86), France (1978, 1980/81), Italy (1980/81), Norway (1972-87), Spain (1978-85) and UK (1971-81)*: Estimated values.

10. Industrial disputes and trade unions

- nld** Number of industrial disputes (strikes and lockouts).
 Period covered: 1960-2008.
 Missing: see variable *wi*, except Portugal 1978, Denmark 2008. In addition: Austria 1960-78 and 2003/04; Germany: entirely.
 Source: until 2000: Huber et al. (2004); 2001 onwards and for Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain entirely: ILO Laborsta Internet, <http://laborsta.ilo.org/> (Download: 2009-10-19).
- wi** Workers involved in labour disputes, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2008.
 Missing: Belgium: 1981-84, 1986/87, 2001-08; Denmark: 2008; France: 1968, 2002-08; Greece: 1960-75, 1999-2008; Iceland: 1960-68, 2005-08; Japan, New Zealand: 2008; Luxembourg: 1960-81, 1994-2005, 2007/08; Portugal: 1960-76, 1978, 2008; Spain: 1960-70.
 Source: see variable *nld*.
- wdlost** Working-days lost (due to strikes and lockouts), in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2008.
 Missing: see variable *wi*, except Belgium 2001-07. In addition: Portugal: 1981.
 Source: see variable *nld*.
- strike** Index of strike activity, working days lost per 1000 workers; calculation: $(wdlost/emp_civ)*1000$.
 Period covered: 1960-2008.
 Missing: see variable *wdlost*.
 Source: own calculations.
- Note concerning *nld*, *wi*, *wdlost* and *strike*: USA 1977 onwards:** Excluding work stoppages involving fewer than 1,000 workers. For additional notes on minor variation in comparability and breaks in series, see data viewer on the ILO Laborsta Homepage.
- grossu** Total reported union members, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: Australia: 1997-2009; France and Sweden: 2009; Greece: 1960-76, 1978/9, 1981/2, 1984, 1986-89, 1991, 1993/4, 1996/7, 1999/2000, 2002/3, 2009; Iceland: 1960-78, 1980-2007, 2009; Japan: 1991-94, 1996-99, 2001-03; Luxembourg: 1960-69; 1971, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982-86, 1988-92, 1994-96, 1999-2002, 2004/5, 2007, 2009; Netherlands: 2004; New Zealand: 1960-69; Portugal: 1974-77, 1980-83, 1985, 1987-89, 1991-94, 1996, 1998-2001, 2005, 2007, 2009; Spain: 1960-69, 1971-76. Source: Visser (2011).

Notes:

For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2011).

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

- netu Net union membership (gross minus independent workers, students, unemployed or retired members).
Period covered: 1960-2009.
Missing: France and Sweden: 2009; Greece: 1960-76, 2009; Iceland: 1960-78, 2003-07, 2009; Luxembourg: 1960-69, 2009; New Zealand: 1960-69; Portugal: 1974-77; Spain: 1960-76.
Source: see variable grossu.
- Notes:**
1. *Canada 1979*: estimated data.
 2. *Ireland 1996 onwards*: independent unions estimated (2,5% of total)
 3. *Greece 2000 onwards*: retired members estimated (9% of total; inclusive public sector)
 4. *UK 1960*: without members in Irish Republic and retired members estimated (10% of gross membership)
 5. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2011).
- ud Net union membership as a proportion wage and salary earners in employment (union density).
Period covered: 1960-2009.
Missing: see variable netu, except Spain 1970. In addition: Iceland: 1981/2, 1984, 1986-88, 1990-92.
Source: see variable grossu.
- Notes:**
1. *Sweden 2008*: estimated data.
 2. *Switzerland 1998*: Value is taken from Visser (2009), because in the recent version of the ICTWSS dataset the value is obviously incorrect.
 3. For detailed information about data sources and breaks in series, see Visser (2011).
- ## 11. Public social expenditure and revenue data
- Note:** The entry '0.00' represents nil or less than half of the last digit used.
- Note for socexp_t_pmp and onwards:**
1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
 2. *Germany: 1980 – 1990*: expenditures refer to Western Germany; 1991 onwards: expenditures refer to the unified Germany.
- sstran Social security transfers as a percentage of GDP. Social assistance grants and welfare benefits paid by general government (benefits for sickness, old-age, family allowances, etc.).
Period covered: 1960-2009.
Missing: Greece, Portugal and Spain: 1961-67; Iceland: 1961-67 and 1969; Luxembourg: 1987-89; New Zealand: 1983-85; Australia and Japan: 2009.
Source: Until 1969: OECD Historical Statistics, various years; 1970 -1995: SourceOECD, National Accounts Statistics, Historical Statistics - Structure or composition of certain economic aggregates, Vol. 2002, release 01, <http://new.sourceoecd.org/> (Download: 2006-08-21). 1996 onwards (New Zealand 1986 onwards): OECD (2010) "National Accounts at a glance", National Accounts Statistics (database), <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/statistics> (Download: 2011-04-14).

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

- socexp_t_pmp Total public and mandatory private social expenditure as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: Austria: 1981-84, 1986-89; Iceland: 1980-89; Norway: 1981-84, 1986/7.
Source: OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (SOCX); <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/statistics> (Download: 2011-04-21).
- socexp_c_pmp Public and mandatory private social expenditure in cash as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: see variable socexp_t_pmp, except Norway.
Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
- socexp_k_pmp Public and mandatory private social expenditure in kind as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: see variable socexp_t_pmp, except Norway.
Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
- oldage_pmp Total public and mandatory private expenditure on old age as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
- survivor_pmp Total public and mandatory private survivor benefits as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
- incapben_pmp Total incapacity-related benefits (public and mandatory private) as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
- health_pmp Total public and mandatory private expenditure on health as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: see variable socexp_t_pmp, except Austria and Norway.
Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
- family_pmp Total public and mandatory private expenditure which supports families as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.
- almp_pmp Total public and mandatory private expenditure on active labour market programmes as a percentage of GDP.

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

	<p>Period covered: 1980-2007. Missing: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and USA: 1980-84; Denmark and Portugal: 1980-85; Iceland, Italy and Japan: 1980-89. Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.</p>
unemp_pmp	<p>Cash expenditure compensating for unemployment as a percentage of GDP (public and mandatory private). Period covered: 1980-2007. Missing: Austria: 1981-84, 1986-89; Iceland: 1980-89; Ireland: 1980-84; Norway: 1981-84. Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.</p>
housing_pmp	<p>Total public and mandatory private expenditure on housing as a percentage of GDP. Period covered: 1980-2007. Missing: Austria: 1980-84, 1986-89; Belgium: 1980-1999; Iceland 1980-89; Japan and USA: entirely; Norway: 1980-84, 1986/7. Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.</p>
othsocx_pmp	<p>Public and mandatory private expenditure on other social policy areas as a percentage of GDP. Period covered: 1980-2007. Missing: see variable socexp_t_pmp. In addition: Denmark: 1980-82. Source: see variable socexp_t_pmp.</p>

12. Family policy**Note:**

1. The entry '0.00' represents nil or less than half of the last digit used.
2. *Please consider that there may be breaks in series.*
3. *Germany: 1980 – 1990: expenditures refer to Western Germany; 1991 onwards: expenditures refer to the unified Germany.*

fallow_pmp	<p>Total public and mandatory private cash benefits for family allowances as a percentage of GDP. Period covered: 1980-2007. Missing: Austria: 1981-84, 1986-89; Iceland: 1980-89; Norway: 1981-84, 1986/7. Source: OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (SOCX); http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/statistics (Download: 2011-04-28).</p>
mpleave_pmp	<p>Total public and mandatory private cash benefits in the case of maternal and parental leave as a percentage of GDP. Period covered: 1980-2007. Missing: see variable fallow_pmp. In addition: Australia: 1980-94; New Zealand: 1980-2001; USA: entirely. Source: see variable fallow_pmp.</p>
othfam_c_pmp	<p>Other public and mandatory private cash benefits as a percentage of GDP. Period covered: 1980-2007. Missing: see variable fallow_pmp. In addition: Belgium, Luxembourg: 1980-89; Canada, Denmark, Switzerland, USA: entirely.</p>

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

- Source: see variable `fallow_pmp`.
- `daycare_pmp` Total public and mandatory private social expenditure for day care and home-help services as a percentage of GDP (benefits in kind).
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: see variable `fallow_pmp`. In addition: Canada: 1980-97; Greece and Switzerland: 1980-89; UK: 1980-95; USA: 1980-90 and 1997.
Source: see variable `fallow_pmp`.
- `othfam_k_pmp` Other public and mandatory private benefits in kind as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: see variable `fallow_pmp`. In addition: Canada: 1991-2005; Japan: 1980-93; Luxembourg: 1980-2000; Netherlands, Switzerland: entirely;
Source: OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (SOCX); <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/statistics> (Download: 2011-05-19).
- Notes:**
Canada (1991-2005): Data are included in another category.

13. Labour market policy**Notes:**

1. The entry '0.00' represents nil or less than half of the last digit used.
2. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
3. Germany: 1980 – 1990: expenditures refer to Western Germany; 1991 onwards: expenditures refer to the unified Germany.
4. For more detailed definitions see the Appendix.

- `servadmi_pmp` Public and mandatory private employment services and administration as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and USA: 1980-84; Iceland and Japan: 1980-89; Italy: 1980-99; Portugal: 1980-85.
Source: OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (SOCX); <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/statistics> (Download: 2011-04-29).
- `training_pmp` Public and mandatory private expenditure on labour market training as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: Australia, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and USA: 1980-84; Denmark and Portugal: 1980-85; Luxembourg: 1998/99; Iceland, Italy and Japan: 1980-89.
Source: see variable `servadmi_pmp`.
- `jobrot_pmp` Public and mandatory private expenditure on job rotation and job sharing as a percentage of GDP.
Period covered: 1980-2007.
Missing: Australia: 1980-2000; Austria, Belgium, Canada, Ireland, Norway and USA: 1980-84; Denmark: 1980-93; France, Germany, Greece and Portugal: 1980-97; Iceland, Japan and New Zealand: entirely; Italy: 1980-89; Sweden: 1980-95; Switzerland: 1980-2001.
Source: see variable `servadmi_pmp`.

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

- incent_pmp** Public and mandatory private expenditure on employment incentives (recruitment and employment maintenance incentives) as a percentage of GDP.
 Period covered: 1980-2007.
 Missing: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and USA: 1980-84; Denmark: 1980-1993; Iceland: entirely; Italy and Japan: 1980-89; Portugal: 1980-85.
 Source: see variable servadmi_pmp.
- disabled_pmp** Public and mandatory private expenditure on supported employment and (vocational) rehabilitation of persons with a reduced working capacity as a percentage of GDP.
 Missing: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Ireland, Norway, Sweden and USA: 1980-84; Greece: 1980-84, 1995-97; Iceland: entirely; Italy and Japan: 1980-89; Portugal: 1980-85.
 Period covered: 1980-2007.
 Source: see variable servadmi_pmp.
- jobcrea_pmp** Public and private mandatory expenditure on direct job creation (usually in the public or non-profit sector) as a percentage of GDP.
 Period covered: 1980-2007.
 Missing: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and USA: 1980-84; Iceland: entirely; Italy and Japan: 1980-89; Luxembourg: 1998-2001; Portugal: 1980-85.
 Source: see variable servadmi_pmp.
- startup_pmp** Public and mandatory private support of unemployed persons (or closely-related groups) starting enterprises or becoming self-employed as a percentage of GDP.
 Period covered: 1980-2007.
 Missing: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Sweden and USA: 1980-84; Denmark and Portugal: 1980-85; Iceland: entirely; Italy: 1980-89; Japan: 1980-2001; Norway: 1980-1994; Switzerland: 1980-1993.
 Source: see variable servadmi_pmp.
- compen_pmp** Public and mandatory private unemployment compensation and severance pay (in cash) as a percentage of GDP.
 Period covered: 1980-2007.
 Missing: Austria: 1981-84, 1986-89; Iceland: 1980-89; Ireland: 1980-84; Norway 1981-84.
 Source: see variable servadmi_pmp.
- earretir_pmp** Public and private mandatory expenditure (in cash) on early retirement for labour market reasons as a percentage of GDP.
 Period covered: 1980-2007.
 Missing: Australia: 1980-2002; Austria: 1981-84, 1986-89; Canada: 1980-92; Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand and USA: entirely; Germany: 1980-84; Norway: 1980-1999; Portugal: 1980-89, 1999-2007; Sweden: 1980, 1993-96.
 Source: see variable servadmi_pmp.

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

14. International Labour Organization

ilo_tot Total number of ILO-conventions ratified (minus conventions denounced) up to the corresponding year, including conditional ratifications.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: none.
 Source: ILO (2010), ILOLEX Database of International Labour Standards, <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/newratframeE.htm> (Download: 2010-08-06).

15. Demographic data

pop Total population, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: none.
 Source: OECD (2010), "Labour Force Statistics: Summary tables", OECD Employment and Labour Market Statistics (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00286-en> (accessed on 2011-02-02)

Notes:

1. Please consider that there may be breaks in series.
2. *Belgium (2008/09), Portugal (2009) and Switzerland (2009)*: Estimated values.

pop15_64 Population 15-64, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: none.
 Source: see variable pop.

Notes:

1. *Belgium (2008/09), France (2009), Greece (2009), Portugal (2009) and Switzerland (2009)*: Estimated values.

pop65 Population over 65, in thousands.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: Italy: 1972-76.
 Source: see variable pop.

Notes:

1. *Belgium (2008/09), France (2009), Greece (2009), Portugal (2009) and Switzerland (2009)*: Estimated values.

elderly Population 65 and over as a percentage of population.
 Period covered: 1960-2009.
 Missing: Italy: 1972-76.
 Source: see variable pop.

Notes:

1. *Belgium (2008/09), France (2009), Greece (2009), Portugal (2009) and Switzerland (2009)*: Estimated values.

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

Appendix**1 Notes concerning the variables gov_right, gov_cent, gov_left:**

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

'Left' denotes social democratic parties and political parties left of social democracy

'Right' denotes liberal and conservative parties

'Center' denotes center parties, in particular Christian Democratic or Catholic parties.

2 Assignment of governing political parties to left, center, right**Australia**

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

Austria

- left Socialist Party (SPÖ)
Communist Party (KPÖ)
- center People's Party (ÖVP)
- right Freedom Party (FPÖ)

Belgium

- left Social Progressive Alternative/SPIRIT (SP.a/SPIRIT) (until 2001: Flemish Socialist Party)
Communist Party (KPB/PCB)
Francophone Socialist Party (PS)
AGALEV
ECOLO
- center Christian Democrat & Flemish (CD & V) (until 2001: Christian People's Party (CVP))
Democrat Humanist Centre (CDH) (until 2002: Christian Social Party (PSC))
Francophone Democratic Front (FDF)
New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) (former: Flemish/People's Union (VU))
Democratic Union (DU)
Wallon Rally (RW)
- right Liberal Party (LP)
Flemish Liberals & Democrats (VLD) (former: Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV))
Reform Movement (MR) (former: Francophone Liberal Reform Party (PRL))

Canada

- left -----
- center Liberal Party (LIB)

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

- right Progressive Conservative Party (PC)

Denmark

- left Social Democrats (SD)
Left Socialist Party (LSP)
Socialist People's Party (SPP)
Communist Party (COM)

- center Centre Democrats (CDM)
Christian People's Party (CPP)

- right Liberals (Venstre) (LIB)
Conservative People's Party (KF)
Justice Party (JP)
Radical Party (Social Liberal Party) (RV)

Finland

- left Social Democrats (SDP)
Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL)
Social Democratic League (TPSL)
Left-Wing Alliance (VAS)
Green League (VIHR)

- center Centre Party (KESK)
Liberal People's Party (LKP)
Christian League (SKL)
Finnish Rural Party (SMP)

- right National Coalition (KOK)
Swedish People's Party (SFP/RKP)

France

- left Socialist Party (PS)
Communist Party (PCF)
Greens
Movement for Citizens (MDC)
Generation Ecology
Left Radicals (PRG) (formerly Mouvement des radicaux de gauche (MRG) and Radical Socialist Party (RSP))

- center Centre of Social Democrats (CDS), Democratic Force (FD)
Popular Republican Movement (MRP)
Centre of Progress and Modern Democracy (PDM)
Union for French Democracy (UDF)
Reformers' Movement (REF, Reformer's Movement)
Republican Party (PR)
Nouveau Centre

- right Gaullistes (GAUL)
Centre National des Indépendants (IND)
Centre Democracy and Progress (CDP)
Gaullists, Rally for the Republic (RPR) (formerly Union pour la Nouvelle République (UNR) and Union des Démocrates pour la République (UDR), in 2002: Union for a Presidential Majority (UMP))
Radical Party (RAD)

Germany

- left Social Democrats (SDP)
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

- center Christian Democratic Union (CDU)
Christian Social Union (CSU)
- right German Party (DP)
Free Democrats (FDP)

- Greece**
- left Pan-Hellenic Social Movement (PASOK)
Communist Party (KKE)
- center -----
- right Political Spring (POLAN)
New Democracy (ND)
National Radical Union (ERE)
Centre Union, Union of the Democratic Centre (EDIK)

- Iceland**
- left Social Democratic Party (SDP)
People's Alliance (PA, USP)
Social Democratic Alliance (SDA)
Left-Greens (LG)
- center Progressive Party (PP)
Union of Liberals and Leftists (ULL)
Regional Equality Platform (REP)
- right Independence Party II (IP)
Citizens' Party (CP)

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

- Italy**
- left Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIU)
Communist Party (PCI)
Socialist Party (PSI)
United Socialist Party (PSU)
Social Democratic Party (PSDI)
Greens
Party of the Democratic Left (PDS)
The Democrats (DEM)
Di Pietro List
- center Socialists and Radicals (RnP, formerly Rose in the Fist)
Christian Democratic Party (DC)
Republican Party (PRI)
Italian Popular Party (PPI)
Union of the Centre (UDC)
Dini List – Italian Renewal (RI)
Democratic Union (UD)
Union of Republican Democrats (UDR), since 1999 known as UDEUR (Union of Democrats for Europe)

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

- right Christian Democratic Centre, United Christian Democrats (CCD, CDU)
- Christian Democracy for the Autonomies (DCpA)
- The People of Freedom (PLD)
- Liberal Party (PLI)
- Forza Italia (FI)
- Lombard League, Northern League (LN)
- National Alliance (AN)

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

Japan

- left Social Democratic Party (SDP)
- Japan Communist Party (JCP)
- Democratic Socialist Party (DSP)
- United Democratic Socialists (UDS)
- center Komei Party, Komeito (CGP)
- (New) Sakigake Party
- Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)
- right Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
- Japan Renewal Party (JRP)
- Japan New Party (JNP)
- New Conservative Party (NCP)
- Liberal Party (LP)
- People's New Party (PNP)

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

Luxembourg

- left Social Democratic Party (SDP)
- Communist Party (CP)
- Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP)
- center Christian Social Party (CSP).
- right Democratic Party (DP).

The Netherlands

- left Labour Party (PvdA)
- Political Party of the Radicals (PPR)
- center Catholic People's Party (KVP)
- Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)
- Democratic Socialists' 70 (DS'70)
- Democrats' 66 (D66)
- right People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)
- Christian Historical Union (CHU)
- Anti Revolutionary Party (ARP)
- List Pim Fortuyn (LPF)

New Zealand

- left Labour Party (LAB)
- Alliance
- Progressive Coalition

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

- center -----

- right National Party (NP)
New Zealand First. (NZF)
United Party

Norway

- left Labour Party (DNA, AP)
Socialist Left (SV), Socialist People's Party

- center Centre Party (SP), Farmers' Party
Christian People's Party (KRF, CPP)

- right Conservatives (Hoyre) (CON, H)
Liberals (Venstre) (LIB, V)

Portugal

- left Socialist Party (PS)
Communist Party (PCP)

- center -----

- right Social Democrats, Popular Democrats (PPD/PSD)
Centre Social Democrats, Popular Party (CDS-PP)
Popular Monarchist Party (PPM)

Spain

- left Socialist Party (PSOE)
Communist Party, United Left (PCE/PSUC/IU)

- center Popular Alliance, Popular Party (AP/PP)
Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD)

- right Convergence and Unity (CiU)

Sweden

- left Social Democrats (S)
Communist Party, Left Party (V)

- center Agrarian Party, Center Party (C)
Christian Democratic Union (KDS)

- right Conservatives, Moderate Unity Party (M)
People's Party (The Liberals) (FP)

Switzerland

- left Social Democrats (PSS/SPS)

- center Christian Democrats (PDC/CVP)

- right Radical Democrats (PRD/FDP)
Swiss People's Party (UDC/SVP)
Conservative Democratic Party (BDP/PBD)

United Kingdom

- left Labour Party (LAB)

- center -----

- right Conservative Party (CON)

USA

- left -----

- center Democratic Party

- right Republican Party

Codebook: Comparative Political Data Set I, 1960-2009

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

As a general rule we entered data on votes and seats for a party if it reaches at least 2% of votes in an election. If it does not reach that threshold, data for this party will not be entered for this election (neither on votes nor on seats); rather it gets a zero.

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

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

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. Since sometimes data on votes or on seats are not available for parties separately due to electoral alliances, we added three party labels for electoral party coalitions (alliance of the left, alliance of the center, and alliance of the right). The maximum number of variables is due to the maximum number of parties within the family which reached at least 2% of votes in an election in at least one country.

The variable 'others' contains the percentage of total votes for all minor parties which got less than 2% of total votes each. The variable 'sothers' contains the percentage of total seats in parliament for all minor parties which got less than 2% of total votes each. Hence, the variables on votes, and on seats respectively, sum up to 100%.

There are two major problems with these classifications.

(1) The classification is time-invariant. However, some parties changed their programs, goals and clienteles considerably over time. A good example is the Swiss Peoples Party. It started as a party of protestant farmers and small business. Hence it is coded as 'agrarian'. Due to the decreasing importance of farming in Switzerland, it became more and more an ordinary conservative party over the years. In the 1990s it added some right wing populist elements to its program and in 2008 many conservatives left the party, which is now dominated by right wing populist politicians. In spite of these changes, its code remains 'agrarian'. Similarly, the British Labour Party is continuously coded 'socialist' although it has suffered significant programmatic changes.

(2) The second problem is right-wing populism, which has become an important element of Western party systems but is not accounted for in the classification by Lane, McKay and Newton. Major right wing populist parties are classified differently: as protest parties (e.g. the Danish People's Party), as ultra-right parties (the French Front National), as ethnic parties (the Italian Lega Nord), as liberal parties (the Austrian Freedom's Party) or as agrarian party (the Swiss People's Party). This is due to the initial ideological orientation of these parties.

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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			
left-socialist	leftsoc1	leftsoc2	leftsoc3				
communist	comm1	comm2	comm3	comm4			
agrarian	agrarian						
conservative	conserv1	conserv2	conserv3	conserv4	conserv5		
religious	relig1	relig2	relig3	relig4	relig5	relig6	relig7
liberal	liberal1	liberal2	liberal3	liberal4	liberal5	liberal6	
ultra-right	ultrar1	ultrar2					
protest	protest1	protest2	protest3	protest4			
green	green1	green2	green3				
ethnic	ethnic1	ethnic2	ethnic3	ethnic4			
left alliance	leftall						
center alliance	centall						
right alliance	rightall						

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 are entered under the party variable name. The share of seats are entered under the party variable name, preceded by an 's' (for 'seats'). For example, in the case of Australia under 'social1' votes for the Australian Labour Party are entered; the variable 'ssocial1' denotes share of seats of the Australian Labour party.

In the following list, the number assigned to a party name indicates the identification number which is given in Mackie and Rose (1991).

Assignments of political parties:

Australia

- social1 1) Labour Party (ALP)
- social2 21) Democratic Labour Party
- agrarian 7) Country Party, National Party
- conserv1 18) Australian Liberal Party
- conserv2 --- One Nation
- conserv3 --- Family First
- liberal1 27) Australian Democrats
- liberal2 23) Australia Party
- green1 --- Australian Greens

Austria

- social1 1) Socialist Party (SPÖ)
- comm1 5) Communist Party (KPÖ)
- relig1 2) People's Party (ÖVP)
- liberal1 11) Freedom Party (FPÖ)
- liberal2 17) Liberal Forum
- protest1 12) Democratic Progressive Party
- protest2 --- Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ)

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- protest3 --- List Dr Martin – For Democracy, Control and Justice (Martin)
- green1 15) Green Alternative

Belgium

- social1 3) Socialist Party (since 1977 split into 30 and 31)
- social2 30) Social Progressive Alternative/SPIRIT (SP.a/SPIRIT) (until 2001: Flemish Socialist Party (SP))
- social3 31) Francophone Socialist Party (PS)
- social4 28) Democratic Union for the Respect of Labour (UDRT/RAD)
- comm1 10) Communist Party (KPB/PCB)
- relig1 1) Catholic Party (since 1965 split into 19 and 20)
- relig2 19) Christian Democrat & Flemish (CD & V) (until 2001: Flemish Christian People's Party (CVP))
- relig3 20) Democrat Humanist Centre (CDH) (until 2002: Francophone Christian Social Party (PSC))
- liberal1 2) Liberal Party (since 1971 split into 21 and 22)
- liberal2 21) Open Flemish Liberals & Democrats (Open VLD) (until 2007: Flemish Liberals & Democrats (VLD); former: Flemish Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV))
- liberal3 22) Reform Movement (MR) (former: Francophone Liberal Reform Party (PRL); in 1995: Alliance with FDF; in 1999: Fédération PRL-FDF-MCC) (Francophone)
- liberal4 -- Vivant (joined the VLD in 2007)
- liberal5 5) Liberal/Socialist cartels
- liberal6 -- De Decker's List (LDD)
- ultrar1 33) National Front (FN-NF) (Francophone)
- protest1 32) ROSSEM/ROSSUM
- green1 26) ECOLO (Francophone)
- green2 27) AGALEV (Flemish)
- ethnic1 8) New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) (former: Flemish/People's Union (VU))
- ethnic2 14) Francophone Democratic Front (FDF)
- ethnic3 18) Walloon Rally
- ethnic4 29) Flemish Block (in 2007: Flemish Interest)

Canada

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

Denmark

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

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- liberal2 6) Liberals (Venstre)
- liberal3 10) Justice Party (DRF)
- liberal4 20) Centre Democrats
- liberal5 17) Liberal Centre
- liberal6 --- New Alliance (Y)
- protest1 21) Progress Party (FP)
- protest2 --- Danish People's Party (DF, splinter from the Progress Party, see EJPR vol. 36:377)
- protest3 22) Common Course

Finland

- social1 1) Social Democrats (SDP)
- leftsoc1 15) Social Democratic League (before 1958 and after 1972 belonging to 1)
- comm1 13) Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL)
- comm2 22) Democratic Alternative (DEVA)
- comm3 23) Left-Wing Alliance (VAS)
- agrarian 4) Centre Party (KESK)
- conserv1 8) National Coalition (KOK)
- relig1 16) Christian Democrats (KD) (until 1999: Christian League (SKL))
- liberal1 9) Liberal People's Party (LKP)
- liberal2 --- Progressive Finnish Party (NUORS)
- protest1 17) True Finns (PS) (until 1995: Finnish Rural Party (SMP))
- green1 20) Green League (VIHR)
- ethnic1 2) Swedish People's Party (SFP/RKP)
- centall 1983: Electoral Alliance of Centre Party (4) and Liberal Party (9).

France

- social1 1) Socialist Party (PS)
- social2 --- Other Left
- leftsoc1 19) Unified Socialist Party
- leftsoc2 --- Extreme/Far Left (Extrême gauche)
- comm1 9) Communist Party
- conserv1 12) Conservatives/Moderates
- conserv2 14) Gaullists, Rally for the Republic (RPR) (in 2002: Union for a Presidential Majority (UMP))
- conserv3 20) Republican Party (PR)
- conserv4 30) Union for French Democracy (UDF)
- conserv5 23) Centre Democracy and Progress (CDP, only in 1973, afterwards belonging to 21)
- relig1 13) Popular Republican Movement
- relig2 21) Democratic Centre (since 1978 belonging to 30)
- relig3 26) Reformers' Movement (only in 1973, as coalition of 2, 21 and some smaller Parties)
- liberal1 2) Radical Socialist Party (RSP)
- liberal2 25) Left Radicals (MRG) (see Hix, 1997: 37)
- ultrar1 29) National Front
- green1 28) Greens
- green2 31) Generation Ecology
- green3 --- Other Ecologists (Autres Ecologistes)
- leftall 1967&1968: Electoral Alliance of Socialist Party (1) and Radical Socialist Party (2).

Germany

- social1 2) Social Democrats (SPD)

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- comm1 --- Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) (since 2005: Left Party)
- conserv1 47) All-German Party (Gesamtdeutsche Partei)
- conserv2 41) German Party (DP)
- relig1 36) Christian Democratic Union (CDU)
- relig2 37) Christian Social Union (CSU)
- liberal1 38) Free Democrats (FDP)
- liberal2 --- Pirate Party
- ultrar1 49) National Democratic Party (NDP)
- ultrar2 57) Republicans
- green1 51) Greens/Alliance 90
- ethnic1 45) Refugee Party (GB/BHE)

1990 onwards: Data for unified Germany

Greece

- social1 37) Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)
- social2 --- Democratic Social Movement
- comm1 4) Communist Party (KKE)
- comm2 25) United Democratic Left (EDA)
- comm3 47) Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA, former: Coalition of Left and Progress)
- comm4 35) Communist Party of the Interior (KKEes)
- conserv1 29) National Radical Union (ERE)
- conserv2 31) Progressives (KP)
- conserv3 36) New Democracy (ND)
- conserv4 50) Political Spring (POLAN)
- conserv5 30) Popular Social Party (LKK)
- liberal1 32) Centre Union, Union of the Democratic Centre (EDIK)
- liberal2 1) Liberal Party (KF)
- liberal3 24) Farmers' and Workers' Rally (SAE)
- ultrar1 38) National Alignment, National Front (EM)
- ultrar2 --- Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)
- green1 --- Ecologists Greens (OP)

No data are entered for the period 1967-1973 (dictatorship).

Iceland

- social1 7) Social Democrats (SDP)
- social2 22) Social Democratic Federation
- social3 --- People's Movement (PM)
- leftsoc1 36) Social Democratic Alliance (SDA), (1999: United Left)
- leftsoc2 17) National Preservation Party
- comm1 37) Left-Greens (LG), until 1999: People's Alliance (PA))
- agrarian 8) Progressive Party (PP)
- conserv1 13) Independence Party II (IP)
- liberal1 20) Union of Liberals and Leftists (ULL)
- protest1 24) Citizens' Party II
- protest2 38) Liberal Party (LP)
- protest3 --- The Civic Movement (founded in 2009; the party only existed for a few months. Due to internal conflict a new party was formed: The Movement)
- green1 23) Women's Alliance (WA)
- green2 --- Iceland Movement

1999: The People's Alliance (14), the Social Democrats (7) and the Women's Alliance (23) formed up the United Left and were assigned to the category leftsoc1. A breakaway group

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from the People's Alliance (14) remains in the category comm1 as the Left-Green Party (EJPR 2000, vol. 38).

Ireland

- social1 8) Irish Labour Party
- leftsoc1 19) Workers' Party
- leftsoc2 --- Democratic Left (joined Labour Party in 2002)
- relig1 14) Fine Gael
- liberal1 10) Fianna Fail
- liberal2 15) Party of the Land (Clann na Talmhan)
- green1 24) Green Party
- ethnic1 6) Sinn Féin II, Sinn Féin III from 1982 onwards
- ethnic2 25) Progressive Democrats (dissolved in 2009)
- ethnic3 20) National H-Block Committee

Italy

- social1 3) Socialist Party (PSI) (in 2001: New PSI)
- social2 31) United Socialist Party (PSU/only in 1968, as coalition of 3 and 23)
- social3 23) Social Democratic Party (PSDI)
- social4 ---Democratic Party (PD), (formerly The Olive Tree and Rose in the Fist)
- leftsoc1 30) Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP/ after 1972 belonging to 11)
- leftsoc2 --- Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) (reformist wing of the disbanded PCI (1991))
- leftsoc3 ---The Left/The Rainbow (SA)
- comm1 11) Communist Party (PCI)
- comm2 50) Communist Refoundation (RC) (left wing of the disbanded PCI (1991))
- conserv1 61) Forza Italia
- conserv2 20) Monarchist Party
- conserv3 27) Popular Monarchist Party
- conserv4 ---The People of Freedom (PDL), (formed of Forza Italia and National Alliance)
- relig1 17) Christian Democratic Party (DC), (since 1994: Italian Popular Party (PPI))
- relig2 --- Segni Pact (Patto Segni)
- relig3 --- Christian Democratic Centre (CCD)/United Christian Democrats (CDU) (conservative wing of the former DC (since 1994)) (since 2006 under the name Democratic Centre Union)
- relig4 --- European Democracy (DE)
- liberal1 19) Liberal Party (PLI)
- liberal2 4) Republican Party (PRI)
- liberal3 34) Radical Party (PR)
- liberal4 --- Dini List – Italian Renewal
- liberal5 --- Di Pietro List
- ultrar1 24) National Alliance (AN) (formerly Social Movement (MSI-DN))
- protest1 --- Pannella List Reformers
- green1 45) Greens (formerly Green Federation)
- ethnic1 42) Northern League (formerly Lombard League)
- leftall 2001: Sunflower (Greens and Social Democrats (PSDI))
2006: The Olive Tree (Democrats of the Left (DS), Margherita – Daisy (DI))
and Rose in the Fist (Radical Party (RP) and Italian Social Democrats (SDI))
- centall 2001: La Margherita (PPI, the Democrats, Italian Renewal, UDEUR)

1994: Introduction of a new electoral system. 474 MPs of 630 are elected on the basis of a “single-ballot first-past-the post system”, the remaining 156 seats are distributed on the basis of a “proportional formula” (EJPR 1995: 398). Data on votes refer to the (proportional) list

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votes, data on seats refer to the total of seats gained by the party (proportional plus plurality system). However, by the end of the year 2005, a party-list proportional representation system was re-introduced.

2006: The left alliance Olive Tree accounts for 31.3% and the minor alliance Rose in the Fist for 2.6% of the total votes. 34.9% of seats can be allocated to Olive Tree and additional 2.9% to Rose in the Fist.

Japan

- social1 35) Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party) (SDP)
- social2 44) Democratic Socialist Party (DSP)
- social3 --- Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)
- comm1 31) Japanese Communist Party (JCP)
- conserv1 43) Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
- conserv2 48) Japan Renewal Party (Shinsei To) (JRP)
- conserv3 49) Japan New Party (JNP)
- 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) (Is the successor of NFP after its break-up in 1997; joined DP in 2003)
- conserv5 --- (New) Sakigake Party (Splinter from LDP, 1993)
- relig1 45) Komei Party, Komeito (Clean Government Party) (CGP)
- liberal1 46) New Liberal Club (before 1979 and after 1986 belonging to 43)
- liberal2 --- Your Party (YP)

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 got 38.6% of votes in single-seats constituencies, and had had a share of 32.8% in the proportional system. The arithmetic mean is: $(38.6 \cdot 300/500) + (32.8 \cdot 200/500) = 36.28 = 36.3$.

Luxembourg

- social1 2) Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP)
- social2 19) Social Democratic Party (SDP)
- social3 21) Independent Socialists
- leftsoc1 --- The Left
- comm1 7) Communist Party (KPL)
- relig1 1) Christian Social Party (PCS/CSV)
- liberal1 16) Democratic Party (Liberal Party) (DP)
- protest1 18) Independent Movement (after 1968 split into two factions, one belonging to 1 and the other to 16)
- protest2 20) Enrôlés de force
- protest3 24) Alternative Democratic Reform Party (Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei, ADR) (Until 2006: Action Committee for Democracy and Pensions' Right (Pensions Action)
- ultrar1 27) Luxembourg for the Luxembourgers
- green1 23) Green Alternative (GAP)
- green2 26) Green Left (GLEI)
- green3 28) Green Party (GLEI-GAP) (a merger of 23 and 26 in 1994)

The Netherlands

- social1 23) Labour Party (PvdA)
- social2 30) Democratic Socialists' 70 (before 1971 belonging to 23)
- leftsoc1 27) Pacifist Socialist Party

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- leftsoc2 38) Socialist Party (SP)
- comm1 10) Communist Party (CPN)
- relig1 1) Anti Revolutionary Party (ARP) (in 1998: Reformed Political Federation (RPF), a splinter from the ARP)
- relig2 2) Catholic People's Party (KVP)
- relig3 6) Christian Historical Union (CHU)
- relig4 32) Radical Political Party
- relig5 34) Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) (merger of ARP, KVP, and CHU in 1977)
- relig6 --- Christian Union (merger of RPF and Reformed Political Union in 2002)
- relig7 14) Political Reformed Party
- liberal1 24) People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Liberal Party) (VVD)
- liberal2 29) Democrats' 66 (D66)
- ultrar1 --- Centre Democrats (CD)
- protest1 28) People's Party of the Right (formerly Farmers' Party)
- protest2 42) United Old Persons' League, General Association of Elderly People (AOV)
- protest3 --- List Pim Fortuyn (LPF)
- protest4 --- Freedom Party/Group Wilders (PVV)
- green1 38) Green Left (merger of 10, 27, 32 and Evangelical People's Party in 1989)

New Zealand

- social1 3) Labour Party
- social2 18) New Labour Party
- social3 20) Alliance (Merger of 11, 17, 18, and two minor parties in 1993)
- comm1 12) Socialist Unity Party (between 1972 and 1984, as a formation of the Communist Party)
- conserv1 9) National Party
- conserv2 --- United Future New Zealand
- relig1 15) New Zealand Party
- relig2 16) Christian Heritage
- liberal1 11) Social Credit Party, Democratic Party
- liberal2 --- Association of Consumers and Taxpayers (ACT)
- protest1 21) New Zealand First
- green1 13) Values Party
- green2 17) Green Party (Aotearoa) (was part of Alliance, 20, from 1991 until 1998)
- ethnic1 --- Maori Party
- centall 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'.

Norway

- social1 4) Labour Party (DNA)
- leftsoc1 14) Socialist Left (SV), Socialist People's Party
- comm1 9) Communist Party
- agrarian 7) Centre Party (SP), Farmers' Party
- conserv1 2) Conservatives (Hoyre) (H)
- relig1 10) Christian People's Party (KRF)
- liberal1 1) Liberals (Venstre) (V)
- liberal2 16) Liberal People's Party, New People's Party
- protest1 15) Progress Party (FRP) (formerly Anders Lange's Party)

Portugal

- social1 4) Socialist Party (PS)

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- leftsoc1 7) Popular Democratic Union (UDP)
- leftsoc2 --- Block of the Left (B.E.) (Merger of Popular Democratic Union (7), Socialist Revolutionary Party and Politica XXI in 1999)
- comm1 5) Democratic Movement
- comm2 2/19) Communist Party/Greens (PCP-PEV), (1987-1995 named United Democratic Coalition (CDU), until 1987 Communist Party)
- conserv1 8) Popular Monarchist Party (PPM)
- relig1 1) Centre Social Democrats, Popular Party (CDS-PP)
- liberal1 3) Social Democrats, Popular Democrats (PPD/PSD)
- liberal2 17) Democratic Renewal Party (PRD)
- green1 16) Greens
- leftall 1976, 1979, 1980: Electoral Alliance of Democratic Movement (5) and Communist Party (2).
1983, 1985: Electoral Alliance of Democratic Movement (5), Communist Party (2) and Greens (16).
- rightall 1979, 1980: Electoral Alliance of Centre Social Democrats (1), Social Democrats (3), and Popular Monarchist Party.

Data are entered only for the democratic period.

Spain

- social1 1) Socialist Party (PSOE)
- social2 32) Popular Socialist Party (only in 1977, afterwards being part of 1)
- comm1 2) Communist Party, United Left (PCE/PSUC/IU)
- conserv1 28) Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD)
- conserv2 29) Popular Alliance, Popular Party (AP/PP)
- conserv3 50) Democratic and Social Centre (CDS)
- ultrar1 45) National Union (formed in January 1979 by the leader of Fuerza Nueva. The National Union also included Falange Espanola, the Alianza Nacional and other neo-fascist groups)
- ethnic1 44) Convergence and Unity (CiU)
- ethnic2 -- Catalanian Left Republicans (ERC)
- ethnic3 39/40) Coalition of Democratic Convergence of Catalonia and Democratic Left of Catalonia in 1977
- centall 1982: Electoral Alliance of Popular Alliance (29) and Popular Democratic Party.
1986: Electoral Alliance of Popular Alliance (29), Popular Democratic Party and Liberal Party.

Data are entered only for democratic period.

Sweden

- social1 5) Social Democrats (S)
- comm1 10) Communist Party, Left Party (V)
- agrarian 7) Agrarian Party, Centre Party (C)
- conserv1 6) Conservatives, Moderate Unity Party (M)
- relig1 20) Christian Democratic Union (KDS)
- liberal1 18) People's Party (The Liberals) (FP)
- protest1 24) New Democracy (NYD)
- protest2 --- Sweden Democrats (SD)
- green1 23) Ecology/Green Party (MP)

Switzerland

- social1 5) Social Democrats (PSS/SPS)
- leftsoc1 18) Progressive Organisations (POCH)

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- comm1 9) Communist Party (PdA)
- agrarian 6) Swiss People's Party (UDC/SVP)
- relig1 1) Christian Democrats (PDC/CVP)
- relig2 8) Protestant People's Party (EVP)
- liberal1 4) Radical Democrats (PRD/FDP)
- liberal2 12) Independents' Party (LDU)
- liberal3 3) Liberal Party (PLS/LPS)
- protest1 14) National Action, Swiss Democrats (SD)
- protest2 16) Republican Movement
- protest3 22) Swiss Motorists (AP), Freedom Party
- green1 19) Greens (GPS)
- green2 20) Green Alliance (GBS), Alternative Greens (DACH)

United Kingdom

- social1 6) Labour Party
- conserv1 1) Conservative Party
- liberal1 2) Liberal Party
- liberal2 21/22) Alliance Parties, Social Liberal Democrats, Liberal Democrats
- protest1 --- UK Independence Party (UKIP)
- ethnic1 11) Scottish National Party (SNP)

USA (House of Representatives)

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

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4 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'. 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', else '1').
- The proportionality of electoral systems (variable *dis_gall* multiplied by [-1]).
- A measure for cabinet dominance. It is calculated in the form of the average cabinet duration (see Lijphart 1999: 129-134), which we measured by the number of changes in government per year (*gov_chan*).

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

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

The z-standardization was done across nations for each time point. For instance the z-scores for number of effective parliamentary parties in 2000 were calculated on the basis of the data for the 23 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 tags dimensions of corporatism and varieties of capitalism. In order to measure the fit of this proxy variable with Lijphart's original variable we correlated the mean of *lfirstp* for the years 1971 to 1996 with *lfirst1* in 1984 (i.e. Lijphart's first dimensions measured for the years 1971 to 1996). The correlation is 0.899 (significant on $p < .001$).

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 was done analogous to *lfirstp*.

The arithmetic means for the period 1969 to 2009 of *lfirstp* are correlated with the means of *lfirstpi* 0.834 and with the means of *lfirstpb* 0.816, both correlations are significant on $p < .001$ ($n=23$). The correlation between the means of *lfirstpi* and *lfirstpb* (for 1969 to 2009) is 0.361 and not significant on $p < .05$ ($n=23$).

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5 Coverage and classification of OECD data for public expenditure and participants in labour market programmes

OECD classification (Source: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/38/41/42116566.pdf>)

1. Public employment services and administration (*here: servadmi_pmp*)
 - 1.1 Placement and related services
 - 1.2 Benefit administration
 - 1.3 Other
2. Training (*here: training_pmp*)
 - 2.1 Institutional training
 - 2.2 Workplace training
 - 2.3 Alternate training
 - 2.4 Special support for apprenticeship
3. Job rotation and job sharing (*here: jobrot_pmp*)
 - 3.1 Job rotation
 - 3.2 Job sharing
4. Employment incentives (*here: incent_pmp*)
 - 4.1 Recruitment incentives
 - 4.2 Employment maintenance incentives
5. Supported employment and rehabilitation (*here: disabled_pmp*)
 - 5.1 Supported employment
 - 5.2 Rehabilitation
6. Direct job creation (*here: jobcrea_pmp*)
7. Start-up incentives (*here: startup_pmp*)
8. Out-of-work income maintenance and support (*here: compen_pmp*)
 - 8.1 Full unemployment benefits
 - 8.1.1. Unemployment insurance
 - 8.1.2. Unemployment assistance
 - 8.2 Partial unemployment benefits
 - 8.3 Part-time unemployment benefits
 - 8.4 Redundancy compensation
 - 8.5 Bankruptcy compensation
9. Early retirement (*here: earretir_pmp*)
 - 9.1 Conditional
 - 9.2 Unconditional

Notes on the classification

The classification is restricted to measures which are "targeted".¹ This excludes measures such as: training that is generally available to employed adults; apprenticeship programmes that are generally available to young adults; in-work benefits that are available to all employees whose earnings fall below a threshold; and early retirement benefits that are conditional only on age or contribution record. Examples of "targeted" programmes that are included are: programmes targeted on the registered unemployed; training for those known to be at risk of involuntary job loss; apprenticeship support for those who have been unable to find an apprenticeship through the usual channels; and special early retirement benefits created to promote the restructuring of a particular industrial sector or enterprise.

1. For OECD's publication of data with some notes by country, see the OECD Employment Outlook, Statistical Annex, (www.oecd.org/employment/outlook). A general note on scope and comparability of the data is also provided. For EU countries, individual programme data are provided in annual publications Labour Market Policy Expenditure and Participants

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(<http://epp.eurostat.ec.eu.int>) and Eurostat (2006), Labour market policy database methodology: revision of June 2006, Luxembourg: Office for the Official Publications of the European Communities.

1. Public employment services and administration (*here: servadmi_pmp*)

1.1 Placement and related services

1.2 Benefit administration

1.3 Other

1.1 Placement and related services include open information services, referral to opportunities for work, training and other forms of assistance, counselling and case management of jobseekers, financial assistance with the costs of job search or mobility to take up work, and job brokerage and related services for employers, if spending on these functions can be separately identified. Services provided by the main public employment service and by other publicly-financed bodies are included.

1.2 Benefit administration expenditure includes the budget of institutions that manage the unemployment and early retirement benefits reported in Categories 8 and 9, if this spending can be separately identified.

1.3. Other expenditure includes the budget of institutions that provide placement and related services (if the relevant spending could not be separately reported in Category 1.1 above); institutions that manage labour market programmes in Categories 2 to 7 below (except for costs already included in these categories); and institutions that administer the benefits in Categories 8 and 9 below (if these costs could not be separately identified in Category 1.2 above). However if these institutions' budgets cover functions that are outside the scope of this database (neither placement and related services, nor the management of active or passive labour market programmes within the scope of Categories 2 to 9), estimated spending on those functions should be excluded.

2. Training (*here: training_pmp*)

2.1 Institutional training

2.2 Workplace training

2.3 Integrated training

2.4 Special support for apprenticeship

2.1 Institutional training refers to programmes where most of the training time (75% or more) is spent in a training institution (school/college, training centre or similar).

2.2 Workplace training refers to programmes where most of the training time (75% or more) is spent in the workplace.

2.3 Alternate training (formerly called Integrated training) refers to programmes where training time is evenly split between a training institution and the workplace.

2.4 Special support for apprenticeship refers to programmes providing incentives to employers to recruit apprentices from labour market policy target groups, or training allowances for particular disadvantaged groups.

Apprenticeship schemes that are generally available are considered to be part of the general education and vocational training system and should be excluded.

3. Job rotation and job sharing (*here: jobrot_pmp*)

3.1 Job rotation

3.2 Job sharing

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- 3.1 Job rotation refers to schemes promoting the full substitution of an employee by an unemployed person or a person from another target group for a fixed period.
- 3.2 Job sharing refers to schemes promoting the partial substitution of an employee by an unemployed person or a person from another target group.

4. Employment incentives (*here: `incent_pmp`*)

- 4.1 Recruitment incentives
- 4.2 Employment maintenance incentives

- 4.1 Recruitment incentives are programmes making payments for a limited period only to facilitate the recruitment of unemployed persons and other target groups into jobs where the majority of the labour cost is covered by the employer. They include payments to individuals that are conditional upon the takeup of a new job (back-to-work bonus, mobility/relocation allowance or similar) only if they are targeted (e.g. restricted to the long-term unemployed).
- 4.2 Employment maintenance incentives are similar but facilitate continuing employment, in a situation of restructuring or similar. Generally-available in-work benefits for low-income groups should not be included.

5. Supported employment and rehabilitation (*here: `disabled_pmp`*)

- 5.1 Supported employment
- 5.2 Rehabilitation

- 5.1 Supported employment consists of subsidies for the productive employment of persons with a permanently (or long-term) reduced capacity to work. These measures typically provide ongoing support and have no planned duration. However, lifetime sheltered work provisions are normally considered as part of social policy and outside the scope of the database. This subcategory combines and largely replaces the former subcategories 5.1 Regular employment and 5.2 Sheltered employment, but recruitment incentives payable for a fixed period to the employer or the disabled worker upon hiring in a regular job should now appear in Category 4.1.
- 5.2 Rehabilitation refers to vocational rehabilitation for persons with a reduced working capacity which prepares them to move on to work or regular training. Social and medical rehabilitation are not included. This subcategory largely replaces the former subcategory 5.3 Other rehabilitation and training, but participation by disabled workers in regular training as distinct from rehabilitation should now appear in Category 2.

6. Direct job creation (*here: `jobcrea_pmp`*)

These programmes create additional jobs - usually of community benefit or socially useful, and usually in the public or non-profit sector although similar projects in the private sector may also be eligible - for the long-term unemployed or persons otherwise difficult to place. The majority of the labour cost is normally covered by the public finance. Provisions for lifetime sheltered work in a non-productive environment should not be included. The former subcategories 6.1 Permanent and 6.2 Temporary (which were largely redundant since few countries reported permanent direct job creation) are no longer implemented.

7. Start-up incentives (*here: `startup_pmp`*)

Programmes that promote entrepreneurship by encouraging the unemployed and target groups to start their own business or to become self-employed.

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8. Out-of-work income maintenance and support (*here: compen_pmp*)

- 8.1 Full unemployment benefits
 - 8.1.1. Unemployment insurance
 - 8.1.2. Unemployment assistance
- 8.2 Partial unemployment benefits
- 8.3 Part-time unemployment benefits
- 8.4 Redundancy compensation
- 8.5 Bankruptcy compensation

- 8.1.1 Unemployment insurance refers to benefits payable to workers satisfying criteria for membership in an unemployment insurance scheme. These are often paid only for a limited period.
- 8.1.2 Unemployment assistance refers to benefits payable to workers either failing to satisfy criteria for membership in an unemployment insurance scheme or who have exceeded the period for entitlement to unemployment insurance benefit. Unemployment assistance is normally means tested.
- 8.2 Partial unemployment benefits refer to benefits compensating for the loss of wage or salary due to short-time working arrangements, and/or intermittent work schedules, where the employer/employee relationship continues.
- 8.3 Part-time unemployment benefits refer to benefits paid to persons working part-time who have lost a full-time job or an additional part-time one and are seeking to work more hours.
- 8.4 Redundancy compensation refer to capital sums paid from public funds to employees who have been dismissed through no fault of their own by an enterprise that is ceasing or cutting down its activities.
- 8.5 Bankruptcy compensation refers to capital sums paid from public funds to employees to compensate for wages not paid by the employer due to bankruptcy/insolvency.

9. Early retirement (*here: earretir_pmp*)

- 9.1 Conditional
- 9.2 Unconditional

These programmes facilitate the full or partial early retirement of older workers who are assumed to have little chance of finding a job.

- 9.1 Conditional programmes oblige the employer to replace the retiree with an unemployed person or a person from another target group.
- 9.2 Unconditional programmes carry no obligation for the employer to replace the retiree, but must be targeted on cases of unemployment or job reduction caused by economic events such as the restructuring of an industrial sector or of a business enterprise. Programmes that are conditional only on age or contribution record should not be included.

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