

DEMOCRACY BAROMETER

zde
Zentrum für
Demokratie
Aarau

WZB

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FNSNF

CODEBOOK

Blueprint Sample

Data for 30 countries from 1995 to 2005

Version 1

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Notes

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(3) Please have a look at the extensive Methodology for a description of selection of indicators, scaling, and aggregation at www.democracybarometer.org.

(4) Visit us on:

<http://www.democracybarometer.org>

<http://www.zdaarau.ch>

<http://www.wzb.eu>

<http://www.nccr-democracy.uzh.ch>

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Introduction

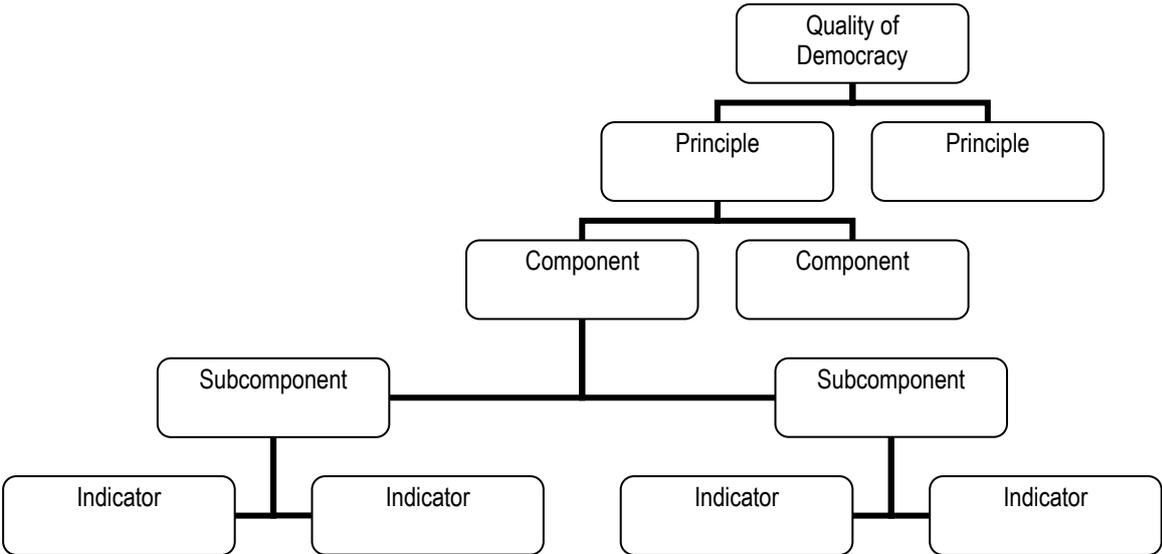
Based on our theoretical concept of democracy, it is feasible to measure a country’s quality of democracy for a given point in time. Nevertheless, the quality of the whole endeavor is not only the result of an adequate theoretical concept but equally depends on the quality of the measurement itself (Bollen 1990). As Blalock (1982: 31) puts it: “If either process [conceptualization or measurement] lags too far behind the other, we shall find ourselves stymied.”

Using Munck and Verkuilen (2002) as a starting point, one of the most critical tasks to accomplish is to find appropriate indicators. The Democracy Barometer project aims at providing not only a sound and transparent theoretical concept but also a convincing measurement strategy. In the following we therefore give a short overview of the guiding principles of the selection of our indicators (for a more detailed description see our methodology note at www.democracybarometer.org).

Selection of Indicators

Overall, about 300 indicators were collected from existing datasets as well as produced or calculated by the project team on the basis of various types of documents and information. From this collection 100 indicators were selected to build the Democracy Barometer. The indicators constitute the lowest level of a concept tree that mirrors the theoretical framework of the Democracy Barometer, i.e. the stepwise deduction of principles, components, subcomponents, and indicators (see figure 1 and the paper on the theoretical framework on democracybarometer.org).

Figure 1: Concept tree of the Democracy Barometer (schematically)



The selection of the indicators was basically theory-driven to ensure content validity. The necessary reduction from 300 to 100 was structured by the following guidelines:

- The Democracy Barometer tries not to rely too heavily on data produced by expert judgments. As Bollen and Paxton (1998, 2000) or Steenbergen and Marks (2007) have pointed out, the reliability of expert ratings is sometimes questionable. In lieu of or in addition to expert judgments, the Democracy Barometer uses – whenever possible – ‘hard’ data and aggregated survey data. That is a decisive difference to other democracy indices such as Freedom House (FH), the Polity Project or the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI), which are all purely based on expert judgments.
- Measurement errors pose a serious problem, though to a certain degree they are inevitable (Zeller and Carmines 1980). However, some approaches may help to scale down their number. On the one hand, data was collected from a wide variety of sources. This should reduce the amount of systematic error. On the other hand, to minimize random error, subcomponents are composed – if data availability allows for it – of two different indicators which capture similar concepts, but do so in a different fashion or originate from different sources. Studies on democracy measurement have shown that these are very effective strategies to increase the measurement quality (Bollen 1993; Munck and Verkuilen 2002; Kaufmann and Kraay 2008).
- Last but not least, the chosen indicators have to fulfill a pragmatic condition: they should be available at least for all countries and all years in our blueprint-sample (see below) and – if possible – also for further countries and years.

We finally selected 100 indicators that fulfill these criteria. In the following we describe them in-depth. The structure of the codebook corresponds to the original structure of the Democracy Barometer (9 functions with 2 components and several sub-components each). For the indicators, we give a definition, describe the categories and mention when and how we had to replace missing values. The range of values gives an insight of the variance of the indicator. The sources are abbreviated. The explanation of these abbreviations can be found at the end of this codebook.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES [INDLIB]

RIGHT TO PHYSICAL INTEGRITY [IL_PHIN]

1. Constitutional provisions guaranteeing physical integrity [IL_PHIN1]

Consttort

- Definition: Existence of constitutional provisions banning torture or inhumane treatment.
- Categories: 0 = Not mentioned in the constitution; 1 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution but with exceptions or qualifications, such as a public interest clause; 2 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution.
- Measurement notes: The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): CON, DAP.

Convtort

- Definition: Ratification of the *United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*.
- Categories: 0 = Not ratified; 1 = Ratified.
- Measurement notes: The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): HDR.

2. No transgressions by the state [IL_PHIN2]

Politerr

- Definition: Political Terror Scale (reversed). The dataset actually provides two scales, one derived from the Amnesty International Yearbooks, the other from U.S. State Department Reports. The two scales were combined here by mutually complementing missing scores. If the two scales reported different figures the higher score was chosen.
- Categories: 1 = Countries under a secure rule of law, people are not imprisoned for their views, and torture is rare or exceptional. Political murders are extremely rare; 2 = There is a limited amount of imprisonment for nonviolent political activity. However, few persons are affected and torture and beatings are exceptional. Political murder is rare; 3 = Here is extensive political imprisonment, or a recent history of such imprisonment. Execution or other political murders and brutality may be common. Unlimited detention, with or without a trial, for political views is accepted; 4 = Civil and political rights violations have expanded to large numbers of the population. Murders, disappearances, and torture are a common part of life. In spite of its generality, on this level terror affects those who interest themselves in politics or ideas. 5 = terror has expanded to the whole population. The leaders of these societies place no limits on the means or thoroughness with which they pursue personal or ideological goals.
- Measurement notes: (I) The scale was reversed by subtracting value from 5. (II) Missings for Slovenia 1995 to 1996 were replaced with the value from 1997.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1; maximum = 4.
- Source(s): PTS.

Torture

- Definition: Torture and other cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment or punishment. Torture refers to the purposeful inflicting of extreme pain, whether mental or physical, by government officials or by private individuals at the instigation of government officials. Torture includes the use of physical and other force by police and prison guards that is cruel, inhuman, or degrading. Torture can be anything from simple beatings, to other practices such as rape or administering shock or electrocution as a means of getting information, or a forced confession. Coding is based on US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices and Amnesty International's Annual Reports.
- Categories: 0 = practiced frequently (50 or more incidents); 1 = practiced occasionally (1 to 49 incidents); 2 = not practiced (no incidents).
- Measurement notes: (I) The original variable was recoded so that code 1 is weighted according to its frequency over time. This was done because category 1 is very broad. Hence, we assume that in country which always carries a 2 (i.e. torture never takes place) except for one year, a value 1 has a different meaning than in a country which is coded as 1 or even 0 (i.e. more than 50 incidents of torture took place) across most years. The weighting is supposed to account for this problem. It was carried out according to the following formula: a) if a country contains the value 0 at least once in the previous 5 years, the value '1' was left unweighted; b) if a country never contains the value 0 in the previous 5 years, every value 1 was multiplied by the number of previous 5 years with the value 1 and divided by 5. This weighting factor was then subtracted from the maximum value 2 (the values 1990 to 1994 were calculated backwards). (II) For Malta: missings 1995-2000 replaced by value of 2001; missings 2002 replaced by mean values of 2001 and 2003.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): AHR, CIRI.

3. Mutual acceptance of right to physical integrity by citizens [IL_PHIN3]

Homicide

- Definition: Number of homicides per 100'000 capita (reversed).
- Measurement notes: (I) Inversion: WVS: All values were multiplied by -1 so that the higher the homicide rate, the lower the value. (II) Missing values for Belgium (1998, 1999) are replaced by means of adjacent years. (III) Values for United Kingdom = average of England&Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -67.8; maximum = 0.
- Source(s): EUROSTAT, IEFA, PaHO, UNO, WHO, Wikipedia.

Riot

- Definition: Any violent demonstration or clash of more than 100 citizens involving the use of physical force (reversed).
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by multiplying values by -1.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -5; maximum = 0.
- Source(s): BCNTS.

RIGHT TO FREE CONDUCT OF LIFE [IL_SELFU]

1. Constitutional provisions guaranteeing right to freedom of conduct of life [IL_SELFU1]

Constrel

- Definition: Existence of constitutional provisions protecting religious freedom.

- Categories: 0 = not mentioned in the constitution; 1 = explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution but with exceptions or qualifications, such as a public interest clause; 2 = explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution.
- Measurement notes: The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament..
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP.

Constfreemov

- Definition: This variable measures, whether constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of movement exist.
- Categories: 0 = no constitutional guarantees; 1 = constitutional guarantees provided.
- Measurement notes: The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): CON.

2. Freedom of conduct of life [IL_SELFU2]

Freerelig

- Definition: This variable indicates the extent to which the freedom of citizens to exercise and practice their religious beliefs is subject to actual government restrictions. Does the government respect rights including the freedom to publish religious documents in foreign languages? Does religious belief affect membership in a ruling party or a career in government? Does the government prohibit promotion of one religion over another and discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief? Does the government restrict the teaching or practice of any faith? Does the government discriminate against minority religious groups? Coding is based on US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices.
- Categories: 0 = Yes, there are restrictions on some religious practices by the government; 1 = No, there are no restrictions.
- Measurement notes: Malta: missings 1995-2000 replaced by value 2001; missing 2002 replaced by mean value of 2001 and 2003.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): CIRI.

Freemove

- Definition: This variable indicates the extent to which governments restrict the freedom of citizens to travel within or leave their own country of birth or the movement of certain groups based on political or religious grounds. It also captures the extent to which there are restrictions on the duration of stay abroad, whether citizens lose their property and other assets if they leave for a very long time, whether some citizens have to get permission to leave or when they leave, are not allowed to return. Coding is based on US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices.
- Categories: 0 = restricted; 1 = generally unrestricted.
- Measurement notes: Malta: missings 1995-2000 replaced by value 2001; missing 2002 replaced by mean value of 2001 and 2003.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): CIRI.

3. Effective property rights [IL_SELFU3]

Propright

- Definition: This variable measures the degree to which a country's laws protect private property rights and the degree to which its government enforces those laws. The more certain the legal protection of property, the higher a country's score; similarly, the greater the chances of government expropriation of property, the lower a country's score. Coding is based on the following sources of information: Economist Intelligence Unit, U.S. Department of Commerce and Country Reports on Human Rights Practices by the U.S. Department of State.
- Categories: 100 = Private property is guaranteed by the government. The court system enforces contracts efficiently and quickly. The justice system punishes those who unlawfully confiscate private property. There is no corruption or expropriation; 90 = Private property is guaranteed by the government. The court system enforces contracts efficiently. The justice system punishes those who unlawfully confiscate private property. Corruption is nearly nonexistent, and expropriation is highly unlikely; 80 = Private property is guaranteed by the government. The court system enforces contracts efficiently but with some delays. Corruption is minimal, and expropriation is highly unlikely; 70 = Private property is guaranteed by the government. The court system is subject to delays and is lax in enforcing contracts. Corruption is possible but rare, and expropriation is unlikely; 60 = Enforcement of property rights is lax and subject to delays. Corruption is possible but rare, and the judiciary may be influenced by other branches of government. Expropriation is unlikely; 50 = The court system is inefficient and subject to delays. Corruption may be present, and the judiciary may be influenced by other branches of government. Expropriation is possible but rare; 40 = The court system is highly inefficient, and delays are so long that they deter the use of the court system. Corruption is present, and the judiciary is influenced by other branches of government. Expropriation is possible; 30 = Property ownership is weakly protected. The court system is highly inefficient. Corruption is extensive, and the judiciary is strongly influenced by other branches of government. Expropriation is possible; 20 = Private property is weakly protected. The court system is so inefficient and corrupt that outside settlement and arbitration is the norm. Property rights are difficult to enforce. Judicial corruption is extensive. Expropriation is common; 10 = Private property is rarely protected, and almost all property belongs to the state. The country is in such chaos (for example, because of ongoing war) that protection of property is almost impossible to enforce. The judiciary is so corrupt that property is not protected effectively. Expropriation is common; 0 = Private property is outlawed, and all property belongs to the state. People do not have the right to sue others and do not have access to the courts. Corruption is endemic.
- Measurement notes: (I) Iceland missings for 1995 and 1996 replaced by values of 1997.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 30; maximum = 90.
- Source(s): IEF.

Secprop

- Definition: Assessment of whether personal security and private property are adequately protected. Measured on a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing countries: Costa Rica, Cyprus, Iceland, Malta. (II) Imputation for missing countries: values are imputed on the basis of a linear regression with the Indicator Propright (Pearson's r is 0.78). The regression coefficients used are $\alpha = -1.806$ and $\beta = 0.106$.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.1; maximum = 9.65.
- Source(s): IMD.

RULE OF LAW [RULEOFLAW]

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW [RL_EQL]

1. Constitutional provisions for impartial courts [RL_EQL1]

Constfair

- Definition: Constitutional provisions for fair organization of court system (no exceptional courts and hierarchical judicial system). Sum of two constitutional guarantees:
 - o No exceptional courts: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions stating that the courts have jurisdiction over all issues of a judicial nature and that civilians are to be tried by ordinary courts or tribunals instead of military or exceptional courts (-1 = Constitution specifically allows civilians to be tried in military courts or explicitly allow the formation of exceptional courts; 0 = Constitution does not specify a ban on exceptional courts; 1 = Constitution provides for a ban on exceptional courts somewhat or provides for it vaguely but not fully; 2 = Constitution provides for a ban on exceptional courts fully and explicitly).
 - o Hierarchical judicial system: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions stating that the courts are structured in multiple layers with the highest-level court exercising final control/review of lower court decisions (0 = Constitution does not provide for a hierarchical judicial system; 1 = Constitution provides for a hierarchical judicial system somewhat or provides for it vaguely but not fully; 2 = Constitution provides for a hierarchical judicial system fully and explicitly).
- Measurement notes: The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 4.
- Source(s): DAP.

Pubtrial

- Definition: Existence of constitutional provisions guaranteeing a public trial.
- Categories: 0 = Not mentioned in the constitution; 1 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution but with exceptions or qualifications, such as a public interest clause; 2 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution.
- Measurement notes: The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP.

2. Effective independence of the judiciary [RL_EQL2]

Judindepcor

- Definition: Judicial independence: This variable documents the level of independence in the Judiciary, as reported by the *Annual Human Rights Reports* of the Department of State (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor).
- Categories: 0 = Non-independent judiciary: The judiciary is described as non independent; as having significant levels of executive influence or interference, or as having high levels of corruption; 1 = Somewhat Independent Judiciary: The judiciary is described as somewhat independent, with pressure from the executive branch "at times," or with occasional reports of corruption; 2 = Independent Judiciary: The judiciary is described as "generally independent" or as independent in practice with no mention of corruption or outside influences.
- Measurement notes: Missings 2005 replaced by values of 2004.

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP.

Judindepinf

- Definition: Assessment of the independence of the judiciary: "The judiciary in your country is independent and not subject to interference by the government and/or parties to the dispute." Measured on a scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7). This is recoded into a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings 1995-1997 replaced by values of 1998. (II) Luxembourg: missings 2001-2002 replaced by value of 2003. (III) Costa Rica: missings 1995-1998 replaced by value of 1999. (IV) Slovenia: missings 1995 to 2000 replaced by values of 2001. (V) Cyprus: missings 1995-2002 replaced by values of 2003. (VI) Malta: missings 1990-2001 replaced by values of 2002.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 4; maximum = 9.82.
- Source(s): GCR.

3. Effective impartiality of the legal system [RL_EQL3]

Impcourts

- Definition: Impartial Courts: This component is from the Global Competitiveness Report's question: "The legal framework in your country for private businesses to settle disputes and challenge the legality of government actions and/or regulations is inefficient and subject to manipulation (= 1) or is efficient and follows a clear, neutral process (= 7)." This is recoded into a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings 1996-1999 replaced by running means of 1995 and 2000.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 3; maximum = 9.69.
- Source(s): GCR, WGI.

Intgrlegal

- Definition: "This component is based on the International Country Risk Guide's Political Risk Component I for Law and Order: "The 'law' sub-component assesses the strength and impartiality of the legal system". Measured on a scale ranging from 1 to 10.
- Measurement notes: All countries: missings 1996-1999 replaced by running means of 1995 and 2000.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 3.3; maximum = 10.
- Source(s): EFWP.

QUALITY OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM [RL_QUAL]

1. Constitutional provisions for judicial professionalism [RL_QUAL1]

Profjudg

- Definition: Professionalism (law degree, professional experience) is a precondition for appointment of judges to highest courts. Categories: 0 = No constitutional provision exists; 1 = Constitutional provision exists.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): Kritzer (2002).

Proftenure

- Definition: Professionalism of judges concerning length of tenure. Professionalism is high, if tenure is not restricted, i.e. if it is lifelong. Categories: 0 = Tenure is restricted; 0.5 = Tenure is explicitly restricted to a certain retirement age; 1 = no restriction; lifelong tenure.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): Kritzer (2002).

2. Confidence in the justice system [RL_QUAL2]

Confjust

- Definition: Confidence in the legal system: Share of survey respondents indicating high confidence/trust.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1991-1997, 1992-1998 etc.).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 23.32; maximum = 79.61.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, ESS, LB, WVS.

Fairjust

- Definition: Assessment of the confidence in the fair administration of justice in the society. Measured on a scale ranging from "There is no confidence in the fair administration of justice in the society" (1) to "There is full confidence in the fair administration of justice in the society" (6). This is recoded into a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) Czech Republic and Poland: missings 1995-2005 replaced by value of 2006. (II) Iceland: missings 1995 replaced by value of 1996; missings 1998-2005 replaced by value of 1997. (III) Slovenia: missings 1995-1998 replaced by value of 1999. (IV) completely missing countries: Costa Rica, Cyprus, Malta.
- Imputation for missing countries: values are imputed on the basis of a linear regression with the the World Bank Governance Indicator "Rule of Law" (Pearsons r between given values for justice and "Rule of Law" is 0.87). The regression coefficients used are $\alpha = 3.057$ and $\beta = 3.166$; the calculated values for 1996 are copied to 1995, 1997, 1999, and 2001 are means of the years before and after the given year.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 2.43; maximum = 9.32.
- Source(s): IMD, WGI.

3. Confidence in the police [RL_QUAL3]

Confpolice

- Definition: Confidence in the police: Share of survey respondents indicating high confidence/trust.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values from different surveys and different years averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1995, 1991-1996, 1992-1997 etc.).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 29.8; maximum = 90.9.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, ESS, LB, WVS.

Fairpolice

- Definition: Assessment of reliability/effectiveness of the police services: 1998-1999: "The police in your country effectively safeguard personal security so that it is an important consideration in business activity", "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (6). / 2000: "Private business can rely on police for protection", "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (6). / 2002-2008: "Police services cannot be relied upon to protect business from criminals" (1) to "can be relied on to protect business from criminals" (6). / All values are recoded into a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings 1995-1997 replaced by values of 1998; missings 2001 replaced by values of 2002. (II) Costa Rica: missings 1995-1998 replaced by values of 1999. (III) Slovenia: missings 1995-2001 replaced by values of 2002. (IV) Malta: missings 1995-2002 replaced by values of 2003. (V) Cyprus: missings 1995-2004 replaced by values of 2005.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.42; maximum = 9.73.
- Source(s): WGI.

PUBLIC SPHERE [PUBLIC]

FREEDOM TO ASSOCIATE [PS_FRAS]

1. Constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom to associate [PS_FRAS1]

Constfras

- Definition: Freedom of Association: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions regarding freedom of association.
- Categories: 0 = Not mentioned in the constitution or no constitution (UK); 1 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution but with exceptions or qualifications, such as a public interest clause; 2 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution.
- Measurement notes: The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP.

Constass

- Definition: Freedom of Assembly: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions protecting the freedom of assembly.
- Categories: 0 = Not mentioned in the constitution; 1 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution but with exceptions or qualifications, such as a public interest clause; 2 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution.
- Measurement notes: The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP.

2. Degree of association (economic interests) [PS_FRAS2]

Union

- Definition: Trade union density. Union membership as a percentage of wage and salary earners.
- Measurement notes: (I) all missings replaced by linear interpolation.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 7.98; maximum = 93.75
- Source(s): AHR, Eurofund, GURN, ILO.

Memproorg

- Definition: Membership in professional organizations. Share of survey respondents indicating that they are member in a professional organization.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1991-1997, 1992-1998 etc.).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.09; maximum = 73.61.
- Source(s): own calculation based on data from Afrobarometer, Asiabarometer, European Social Surveys, Latinobarometro and World Values Survey. (Detailed calculation: WVS 1-4: variables a104 (active/inactive membership professional org.) and a072 (belong to professional org.) were used. All respondents counted that are either active or inactive members or belonging to a labour union. Weighted by s017; WVS 5: variables v30 (membership). All respondents counted that are either ac-

tive or inactive members in a labour union. Weighted by v259; CSES2: variable b2009 (membership prof. org.) used. Weighted by b1014_1; Afrobarometer 1: variable membus, weighted by withinwt; Afrobarometer 1.5 and 2: variable q24c, weighted by withinwt; Afrobarometer 2.5 and 3: variable q28c, weighted by withinwt.)

- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, ESS, LB, WVS, GALLUP, LAPOP.

3. Degree of association (public interests) [PS_FRAS3]

Memhuman

- Definition: Membership in humanitarian organizations. Share of survey respondents indicating that they are member in and/or active for a humanitarian organization.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1991-1997, 1992-1998etc.).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.49; maximum = 27.64.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, ESS, LB, WVS.

Memenviron

- Definition: Membership in environmental/animal rights organizations. Share of survey respondents indicating that they are member in and/or active for a environmental/animal rights organization.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1991-1997, 1992-1998 etc.).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.88; maximum = 45.84.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, ESS, LB, WVS.

FREEDOM OF OPINION [PS_FROP]

1. Constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of speech [PS_FROP1]

Constspeech

- Definition: Freedom of Speech: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions concerning freedom of speech.
- Categories: 0 = Not mentioned in the constitution; 1 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution but with exceptions or qualifications, such as a public interest clause; 2 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution.
- Measurement notes: The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP.

Constpress

- Definition: Freedom of the press: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions concerning the freedom of the press.
- Categories: 0 = Not mentioned in the constitution; 1 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution but with exceptions or qualifications, such as a public interest clause; 2 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution.

- Measurement notes: The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): CON, DAP.

2. Media offer [PS_FROP2]

Newsimp

- Definition: Import of newspapers, journals and periodicals in % of GDP (in current US dollars).
- Measurement notes: (I) Belgium and Luxembourg: missings 1995-1998 replaced by values of 1999. (II) South Africa: missings 1995-1999 replaced by values of 2000.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.003; maximum = 0.275.
- Source(s): own calculation based on CD, WB.

Newspaper

- Definition: Number of (paid and free) daily newspaper titles per 1 million inhabitants.
- Measurement notes: (I) Malta: missings 1995-2001 replaced by values of 2002. (II) Portugal: missings 2000 and 2001 replaced by means of nearest years. (III) Cyprus has an implausible leap between 2001 and 2002 (perhaps due to change of sources); value for 2002 is replaced by mean of 2001 and 2003.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.36; maximum = 19.04.
- Source(s): own calculation based on BCNTS, WB, WPT.

3. Political neutrality of press system [PS_FROP3]

Balpress

- Definition: Ideological balance of the press system (regional and national newspapers). Calculated as follows: (1) Each newspaper listed by the BPHW is assigned a value between 1 to 6 indicating its commitment or affiliation to a certain political ideology or party (on the basis of information from BPHW). These are Manifesto codes: 1 to 3 represent the left side of the political spectrum, 4 to 6 the right side. Newspapers listed as "independent" are considered neutral, i.e. internally diverse, and therefore receive the value for the exact centre of the political spectrum: 3.5. Also, newspapers listed in the BPHW without indication of a political orientation are considered as independent. (2) Each code is then multiplied by the respective newspaper's circulation so that smaller newspapers receive less weight (non-dailies' circulation was adjusted accordingly). If information on a paper's circulation is missing, it is replaced by either the paper's circulation of previous or preceding years or by the average circulation of the corresponding country and year. (3) Finally, the weighted codes are aggregated (average) per country and year. The values of Balpress reflect the absolute deviance of these aggregate scores from the neutral value 3.5, multiplied by -1.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings replaced by means from nearest years (II) Cyprus: missings 2003-2005 replaced by value of 2002. (III) Norway: missings 1999-2005 replaced by value of 1998. (IV) United States: missings 2005 replaced by value of 2004.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -2.500; maximum = -0.003.
- Source(s): own coding and calculation based on Blum (2005), BPHW, HBI, Kelly et al. (2004), MT, Østergaard (1992), Voltmer (2000), WP, Wikipedia.

Neutrnp

- Definition: Share of neutral / independent newspapers' circulation (weighted by frequency of publication) of a country's total newspaper circulation in %. Neutral newspapers = papers with value 3.5 in Balpress.

- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings replaced by means from nearest years (II) Cyprus: missings 2003-2005 replaced by value of 2002. (III) Norway: missings 1999-2005 replaced by value of 1998. (IV) United States: missings 2005 replaced by value of 2004.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.0; maximum = 89.05.
- Source(s): own coding and calculation based on Blum (2005), BPHW, HBI, Kelly et al. (2004), MT, Østergaard (1992), Voltmer (2000), WP, Wikipedia.

COMPETITION [COMPET]

VULNERABILITY (COMPETITIVENESS OF ELECTIONS) [CO_COMP]

1. Formal rules for competitiveness [CO_COMP1]

Meandistrict

- Definition: Mean district magnitude: Average number of parliamentary seats per electoral district.
- Measurement notes: For the Netherlands DPI gives the value of 8.2; replaced by 150.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.9; maximum = 150.0.
- Source(s): DPI.

Gerryman

- Definition: Possibilities to delimit electoral districts; categories: 3 = no possibility; 2 = body responsible for drawing the boundaries is NOT executive or legislative; 1 = legislative is responsible for drawing the boundaries; 0 = executive is responsible for drawing the boundaries. When several bodies (e.g. legislative and bounding commission) take the lowest value (e.g. legislative = 1).
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): ACE.

2. Closeness of electoral outcomes [CO_COMP2]

Largpavo

- Definition: Margin of electoral concentration of votes. Calculated as $100\% - p_{\text{strongest}}$, where $p_{\text{strongest}}$ = percentage of votes obtained by strongest party.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 30.32; maximum = 88.37.
- Source(s): ACEA, AED, EED, Nohlen (2001, 2005), PDoA, WZB.

Votediff

- Definition: Difference between largest and second largest lower house party in % of all votes (reversed).
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by subtracting values from 100.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 42.69; maximum = 99.97.
- Source(s): ACEA, AED, EED, Nohlen (2001, 2005), PDoA, WZB.

3. Low concentration of seats [CO_COMP3]

Herfindex

- Definition: Herfindahl index: the sum of the squared seat shares of all parties in the lower house of parliament. Measures the degree of concentration (reversed).
- Measurement notes: The indicator was reversed by multiplying values by -1.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -0.51; maximum = -0.11.
- Source(s): DPI.

Seatdiff

- Definition: Difference between largest and second largest lower house party in % of all seats (reversed).
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by subtracting values from 100.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 42.75; maximum = 99.57.
- Source(s): ACEA, AED, EED, Nohlen (2001, 2005), PDoA, WZB.

CONTESTABILITY (OPENNESS OF ELECTIONS) [CO_OPEN]

1. Low legal hurdles for entry [CO_OPEN1]

Adminhurd

- Definition: Degree of administrative hurdles to become an electoral competitor (reversed). Mean of reg_parr_part and reg_parr_cand:
 - o Reg_parr_part = Barriers for the registration of parties: sum of Reg_comp, Reg_req_pet, Reg_req_dep, Reg_req_oth (max. 12 points possible).
 - *Reg_comp*: Is registration compulsory for parties to run in elections? Categories: 0 = No (for none of the parties); 1 = No, but registration gives party advantages (e.g. name of party on ballot paper); 2 = Yes, but only for new parties or for parties without candidates in preceding elections or without electoral success in preceding elections; 3 = Yes, for all parties in every election.
 - *Reg_req_pet*: Requirements for registration of parties: petition / announcement. Categories: 0 = No petition requirements; 1 = Petition requirements low (< 1000 signatures) 2 = Petition requirements medium (1000-4000 signatures); 3 = Petition requirements high (\geq 4000 signatures). Note: According to Bischoff's (2006) calculation and comparable with the GDP-measure (see below Cand_dep): 10 persons are able to collect 200 signatures in one week-day: 1000 signatures = 1 week; 4000 signatures = 1 month; 2400 signatures = 1/2 year; more than 5000 signatures = 1 year.
 - *Reg_req_dep*: Requirements for registration of parties: fees. Categories: 0 = No fee required (or only deposit); 1 = Low fees required (< 2% of GDP per capita); 2 = Medium fees required (2%-8% of GDP per capita); 3 = High fees required (\geq 8% of GDP per capita). Subtract -1 if requirements for reimbursement are low (< 1% of all votes).
 - *Reg_req_oth*: Requirements for registration of parties: other requirements. Categories: 0 = No other requirements; 1 = Low other requirements (fixed number of members / supporters but less than 0.1% of voting age population (Source(s): IDEA Turnout 1995 (or nearest year)) OR written statutes OR regional distribution required); 2 = Medium other requirements (fixed number of members/supporters of at least 0.1% of voting age population OR two of the three additional requirements listed for category 1 at the same time); 3 = High other requirements (fixed number of members/supporters of at least 0.5% of voting age population OR/AND registration only possible at precise dates [e.g. every 3 years]).
 - o Reg_parr_cand = Barriers for registration of candidates: sum of Cand_pet, Cand_dep, Cand_dep_reim (max. 9 points possible). If independent candidates are not allowed to run for election, the maximum value of 9 (very high barriers) is given (this is the case for Costa Rica and South Africa).
 - *Cand_pet*: Requirements for registration of candidates: petition / announcement. Categories: 0 = No petition requirement; 1 = Petition requirements low (< 100 signatures OR recommendations of members of national parliament OR only party announcement); 2 = Petition requirements medium (100-400 signatures); 3 = Petition requirements high (> 400 signatures). If different number of signatures per district mean number of signatures is taken. Note: According to Bischoff's (2006) calculation and comparable with the GDP-measure (see Cand_dep): 1

person is able to collect 20 signatures in one week-day: 100 signatures = 1 week; 400 signatures = 1 month.

- *Cand_dep*: Requirements for registration of candidates: deposit. Categories: 0 = No deposit required; 1 = Low deposit required (< 2% of GDP per capita); 2 = Medium deposit required (2%-8% of GDP per capita); 3 = High deposit required (\geq 8% of GDP per capita). If deposit must be paid per list (not per candidate), the fee is divided by 10.
 - *Cand_dep_reim*: Is the deposit refundable? Categories: 0 = No deposit required; 1 = Low requirements for reimbursement (< 5% of votes); 2 = High requirements for reimbursement (\geq 5% of valid votes); 3 = Non-refundable deposit.
- Measurement notes: (I) The scale was reversed by multiplying values by -1. (II) Where regulations differ across states in the US, the mean was taken.
 - Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -7.5; maximum = -0.5.
 - Source(s): ACE, Bischoff (2006), Bowler et al. (2003), CoE, Elklit/Reynolds (2002), Hug (2001), IPU, Katz (1996), Mozaffar/Schedler (2002), Tavits (2006).

Legthresh

- Definition: No or low legal electoral threshold; recoded 100 – legal threshold. When no legal threshold = 100.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 95; maximum = 100.
- Source(s): ACE, DPI.

2. Effective Contestation [CO_OPEN2]

Smallpavo

- Definition: Chance for small parties to win a seat: vote share of smallest party in the lower house of national parliament (reversed = multiplied with -1). The higher the value, the smaller the smallest party, hence the greater the possibility for small parties to win a seat.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -0.06; maximum = -48.0.
- Source(s): ACEA, AED, EEA, IPU, WZB.

Nuparties

- Definition: Number of important parties (> 1% of votes) running for elections.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 2; maximum = 15.
- Source(s): ACEA, AED, EEA, IPU, WZB.

3. Effective Entry [CO_OPEN3]

Enep

- Definition: Effective number of parties at the electoral level.
- Measurement notes: missing for Cyprus 1995-1999 replaced by values of 2000
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.97; maximum = 15.63.
- Source(s): GALLAGHER, NOHLEN.

Effparrat

- Definition: Ratio of effective number of parties at the parliamentary level and the effective number of parties at the electoral level (ENPP/ENEP).

- Measurement notes: (I) values are multiplied with 100. (II) Missing for Cyprus 1995-1999 replaced by values of 2000.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 20.60; maximum = 100.00.
- Source(s): GALLAGHER, NOHLEN.

MUTUAL CONSTRAINTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS [MUTUCONS]

EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATURE RELATIONSHIP [MC_EXLER]

1. Checks between executive and legislative powers [MC_EXLER1]

Controlle

- Definition: Does the executive have the constitutional power to veto laws passed by the legislature and to dissolve the legislature? Categories: 0 = No; 1 = Yes, one of the two (veto laws / dissolve legislature); 2 = Yes, both.
- Measurement notes: all countries values of 2005.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): IAEP.

Controlex

- Definition: Does the legislative branch have the constitutional power to remove the executive from office (by means of instruments such as vote of no confidence or impeachment) and how difficult is this?
- Categories: 0 = No possibility to remove the executive; 0.5 = Intermediate category (when not clearly allocable to 0 or 1); 1 = The circumstances/procedure to remove the executive are difficult (circumstances are defined as breach of law or something similar); 1.5 = Intermediate category (when not clearly allocable to 1 or 2); 2 = The circumstances/procedure to remove the executive are challenging (absolute parliamentary majority or more); 2.5 = Intermediate category (when not clearly allocable to 2 or 3); 3 = The circumstances/procedure to remove the Executive are easy (simple majority).
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): IPU, Ismayr (1997, 2004).

2. Balance between executive and legislative powers [MC_EXLER2]

Balpowexle

- Definition: Balance of powers (opposition vs. government) as calculated by: $C = 1 - \text{abs}((G-O)/100)$, where $G = \sum g_i^2 / \sum g_i$; and $O = \sum o_i^2 / \sum o_i$. g_i and o_i stand for the seat shares of government and opposition parties respectively. C equals 0 whenever the government (or the opposition) controls the whole legislature and 1 if there is a full balance between government and opposition.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.39; maximum = 1.00.
- Source(s): formula according to Altman/Perez-Liñan (2002), data from WZB.

Seatsgov

- Definition: Proportion of parliamentary seats belonging to governing parties (reversed).
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by subtracting value from 100.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 5.75; maximum = 84.35.
- Source(s): WZB

ADDITIONAL CHECKS OF POWER [MC_ACHE]

1. Degree of Federalism [MC_ACHE1]

Ferdergeta

- Definition: Federalism index as developed by Gerring and Thacker (2004): additive variable with two components: federalism (1 = non-federal; 2 = semi-federal [where there are elective legislatures at the regional level but in which constitutional sovereignty is still reserved to the national government]; and 3 = federal [elective regional legislatures plus constitutional recognition of subnational authority]) and non-bicameralism (0 = unicameral [no or weak upper house]; 1 = weak bicameral [upper house has some effective veto power, though not necessarily a formal veto]; and 2 = strong bicameral [same as above but the two houses are also incongruent]); 1 = unitarian state; 5 = strong federal state
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1; maximum = 5.
- Source(s): Gerring/Thacker 2004.

Nonunitar

- Definition: Average of federalism (coded as 2 = federal (elective regional legislatures plus conditional recognition of subnational authority), 1 = semifederal (elective legislatures at the regional level but constitutional sovereignty is reserved for the national government), or 0 = non-federal) and bicameralism (coded as 2 = strongly bicameral (upper house has some effective veto power; the two houses are incongruent), 1 = weakly bicameral (upper house has some effective veto power, but not necessarily a formal veto; the two houses are congruent), or 0 = unicameral (no upper house or weak upper house)).
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): QoG.

2. Judicial review [MC_ACHE2]

Judrev

- Definition: The extent to which judges (either Supreme Court or constitutional court) have the power to review the constitutionality of laws in a given country (from 2: full review of constitutionality of laws; 1: limited review of constitutionality; 0 no review).
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): La Porta et al. (2003).

Powjudi

- Definition: Power of judiciary. Effective possibility to control political decisions. Own coding on the basis of Kritzer (2002).
- Categories: 0 = Low power (parliament is the legitimate source of all laws); 1 = Moderate power (constitutional review but not with respect to all laws or not widely used); 2 = High power (court has the final say over all laws)
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): Kneipp 2007, Kritzer (2002), La Porta et al. (2003), Rhyne (1978), Ten Brinke/Deml (2002).

3. Subnational fiscal autonomy [MC_ACHE3]

Subexp

- Definition: Subnational expenditures as a percentage of the total national expenditures.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values were replaced, where possible, by World Bank excel-sheet data (Costa Rica 1995-9; New Zealand 1995-9; Portugal 1995/6). (II) Missing values between two given data points were linearly adjusted (Costa Rica 2001/2; Luxembourg 1998; New Zealand 2000/1; South Africa 1996, 2000-2; United Kingdom 2001, 2003/4). (III) Missing values after last assured data point were replaced by a three-year-moving-average (Sweden 2000-5; USA 2002-5). (IV) Missing values before first assured data point are replaced by a three-year-moving-average of subsequent years (Cyprus 1995-7; Malta 1995-2001). (V) If no data for the period under review exist averaged date back data were used for the entire period (Japan: 1972-4 used for averaging).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.39; maximum = 61.03.
- Source(s): own calculations based on data of GFS, WB.

Subrev

- Definition: Subnational revenues as a percentage of the total national revenues.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values were replaced, where possible, by World Bank excel-sheet data (Costa Rica 1995-9; Malta 1995-9; Portugal 1995/6). (II) Missing values between two given data points were linearly adjusted (Costa Rica 2000/1; Luxembourg 1998; Malta 2000; South Africa 2000-2; Spain 1998-2003). (III) Missing values after last assured data point were replaced by a three-year-moving-average (Costa Rica 2004/5; Cyprus 2005; Ireland 2005; Portugal 2004/5; Sweden 2000-5). (IV) Missing values before first assured data point are replaced by a three-year-moving-average of subsequent years (Cyprus 1995-7; Malta 1995-2001). (V) If no data for the period under review exist averaged date back data were used for the entire period (Japan: 1972-4 used for averaging).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.26; maximum = 53.91.
- Source(s): own calculations based on data of GFS, WB.

GOVERNMENTAL CAPABILITY [GOVCAP]

GOVERNMENT RESOURCES [GC_GORE]

1. Time horizon for action [GC_GORE1]

Leglen

- Definition: Length of legislative period (if no given rule in constitution the maximum length is taken).
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 2; maximum = 5.
- Source(s): CON.

Govterm

- Definition: Length of government term. Term limit of government.
- Categories: 0 = 0 to 4 years; 1 = 5 to 8 years; 2 = 9-12 years; 3 = more than 12 years.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): CIA.

2. Public support [GC_GORE2]

Confgov

- Definition: Confidence in the government: Share of survey respondents indicating high confidence/trust.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1991-1997, 1992-1998 etc.).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 9.20; maximum = 76.35.
- Source(s): own calculation based CSES, ESS, LB, WVS.

Devbehav

- Definition: Deviant behaviour. Share of survey who answer – on a scale from 1 (never justifiable) to 10 (always justifiable) – 8, 9 or 10 regarding each of the following activities: a) avoiding a fare on public transport, b) cheating on taxes, c) someone accepting a bribe and d) claiming government benefits.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) the indicator was reversed by subtracting values from 100. (III) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (IV) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1997-2001, 2002-2006 etc.). (V) Missing for all years: Costa Rica.
- Imputation: values for Costa Rica are imputed on the basis of a multiple linear regression with Banks Indicators 'General Strikes' (Domestic2; Pearsons r: 0.30) and 'Demonstrations' (Domestic 8; Pearsons r: 0.23): a = 83.1; Bdom2 = 4.94; Bdom8 = 1.25).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 70.81; maximum = 96.45.
- Source(s): own calculation based on BCNTS, WVS.

3. Governmental stability [GC_GORE3]

Govstab

- Definition: Stability of government. A cabinet is seen as stable if its party composition does not change during a whole legislative period. Relatively short governments, i.e. interim governments (< 1/6 of the legislation), are excluded. A government gets 100% (for all years within a legislative period) if it does not change in the respective legislative period. If there is a change, Govstab reflects the number of days that the government was stable as a share of the duration of the normally foreseen legislative period. Calculation: $(E-Date - I-Date) / (\text{leglength} * 365.25) * 100$; whereas E-Date = date of election and I-Date = date of inauguration.
- Measurement notes: (I) The Swiss government is a cooperative government, and the 'prime minister' (Bundespräsident), who has a mainly representative function, changes every year (but cabinet does not change). Switzerland is therefore always coded 100. (II) all values greater than 100 are set as 100.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 12.59; maximum = 100.
- Source(s): own calculation according to procedure by Lijphart (1984), data from IPU, WZB.

Cabchange

- Definition: Number of major cabinet changes.
- Measurement notes: number of changes per year multiplied with -1.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -2; maximum = 0.
- Source(s): BCNTS.

CONDITIONS FOR EFFICIENT IMPLEMENTATION [GP_CEIM]

1. No Anti-government action [GC_CEIM1]

Antigovact

- Definition: Legitimate anti-government action (reversed). Sum of two indicators:
 - o Agdemons: Number of peaceful public gatherings of at least 100 people for the primary purpose of displaying or voicing their opposition to government policies or authority, excluding demonstrations of a distinctly anti-foreign nature.
 - o Genstrike: Number of strikes of 1,000 or more industrial or service workers that involves more than one employer and that is aimed at national government policies or authority.
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by multiplying values by -1.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -10; maximum = 0.
- Source(s): BCNTS.

Violantigov

- Definition: Illegitimate anti-government action (reversed). Sum of two indicators:
 - o Guerill: Number of incidents of armed activity, sabotage, or bombings carried on by independent bands of citizens or irregular forces and aimed at the overthrow of the present regime.
 - o Revolut: Number of incidents illegal or forced change in the top government elite, any attempt at such a change, or any successful or unsuccessful armed rebellion whose aim is independence from the central government.
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by multiplying values by -1.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -2; maximum = 0.
- Source(s): BCNTS.

2. No Anti-government action [GC_CEIM2]

MipRip

- Definition: No political interference by military and religion. Mean of two indicators:
 - o MIP: Military in politics. The military is not elected by anyone. Therefore, its involvement in politics, even at a peripheral level, is a diminution of democratic accountability. However, it also has other significant implications. The military might, for example, become involved in government because of an actual or created internal or external threat. Such a situation would imply the distortion of government policy in order to meet this threat, for example by increasing the defense budget at the expense of other budget allocations. In some countries, the threat of military takeover can force an elected government to change policy or cause its replacement by another government more amenable to the military's wishes. A military takeover or threat of a takeover may also represent a high risk if it is an indication that the government is unable to function effectively and that the country therefore has an uneasy environment for foreign businesses; values from 0 (high risk) to 6 (no risk of political interference by military).
 - o RIP: Religion in politics. Religious tensions may stem from the domination of society and/or governance by a single religious group that seeks to replace civil law by religious law and to exclude other religions from the political and/or social process; the desire of a single religious group to dominate governance; the suppression of religious freedom; the desire of a religious group to express its own identity, separate from the country as a whole. The risk involved in these situations range from inexperienced people imposing inappropriate policies through civil dissent to civil war; values from 0 (high risk) to 6 (no risk of political interference by religion).
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values for 2004 and 2005 were copied from 2003. (II) Missing values for Slovenia (from 1995 to 1998) are replaced with the value from 1999.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 4; maximum = 6.
- Source(s): ICRG.

Publser

- Definition: The public service is independent from political interference. Measured on a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: all years before 1998 are missing and the values from 1998 were copied to all previous years; (II) Slovakia: all years before 2001 are missing and the values from 2001 were copied to all previous years; (III) Iceland: all years except 1998 are missing and the values from 1998 were copied to all other years.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.33; maximum = 7.12.
- Source(s): IMD.

3. Administrative assertiveness [GC_CEIM3]

Govdec

- Definition: Assessment of the effective implementation of government decisions. Measured on a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings 1990-1997 replaced by values of 1998. (II) Iceland: missings 1990-1997, 1999-2007 replaced by value of 1998. (III) Slovenia: missings 1990-1998 replaced by value of 1999. (IV) completely missing countries: Costa Rica, Cyprus, Malta. (V) Imputation: values for completely missing countries are imputed on the basis of a multiple linear regression with the World Bank Governance Indicators "Rule of Law" (Pearsons r between given values for "Gov_dec" and "Rule of Law" is .74) and "Government Effectiveness" (Pearsons r: .78). The regres-

sion coefficients used are $\alpha = 1.959$, $\beta_{rol} = .225$ and $\beta_{goef} = 1.801$. The calculated values for 1996 are copied to 1995; 1997, 1999, and 2001 are means of the years before and after the given year.

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.05; maximum = 8.05.
- Source(s): IMD, WGI.

Bureau

- Definition: Bureaucracy quality. High points are given to countries where the bureaucracy has the strength and expertise to govern without drastic changes in policy or interruptions in government services. In these low risk countries, the bureaucracy tends to be somewhat autonomous from political pressure and to have an established mechanism for recruitment and training. Countries that lack the cushioning effect of a strong bureaucracy receive low points because a change in government tends to be traumatic in terms of policy formulation and day-to-day administrative functions.
- Measurement notes: (I) Slovenia: all years before 1998 are missing \square values from 1999 were copied to all previous years.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 2; maximum = 4.
- Source(s): ICRG.

TRANSPARENCY [TRANSPAR]

NO SECRECY [TR_NOSEC]

1. Disclosure of party financing [TR_NOSEC1]

Discinco

- Definition: Is there provision for public disclosure of income by political parties? Sum index of six different categories: 0 = there are no provisions at all; 1 = there are provisions for disclosure of contributions to political parties; +1 = donors have to disclose contributions made; +1 = political parties have to disclose contributions received; +1 = there is a ceiling on contributions to political parties; +1 = there is a ceiling on how much a donor can contribute; +1 = there is a ceiling on how much a party can raise.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 6.
- Source(s): Casas-Zamora (2005), IDEA-F, ODG, Toplak (2004).

Discexp

- Definition: Is there provision for public disclosure of expenditure by political parties? Sum index of two different categories: 0 = there are no provisions at all; 1 = there is provision for public disclosure of expenditure by political parties; +1 = there is a ceiling on party election expenditure.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): Casas-Zamora (2005), IDEA-F, ODG, Toplak (2004).

2. Absence of corruption [TR_NOSEC2]

Bribcorr

- Definition: Assessment of the absence of bribery and corruption, measured on a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing years for different countries: earliest available year copied back to missing years: Slovenia missings 1995 to 1998 replaced by value of 1999. (III) Completely missing countries: Costa Rica, Cyprus, Iceland, Malta.
- Imputation: Data for Costa Rica, Cyprus, Iceland and Malta are imputed on the basis of a linear regression with the Indicator Propriety (Pearson's r is .78). The regression coefficients used are $\alpha = -1.806$ and $\beta = 0.106$.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.0; maximum = 9.65.
- Source(s): IMD.

CPI

- Definition: The Corruption Perception Index (CPI) measures the overall extent of corruption (frequency and/or size of bribes) in the public and political sectors. Assessments are based on surveys of business people and assessments by country analysts. Sources can vary from year to year. Values range from 0 to 10 (the higher the values, the less corruption).
- Measurement notes: (I) Czech Republic: missings 1995 replaced by values of 1996. (II) Costa Rica: missings 1995-1996 replaced by values of 1997. (III) Iceland: missings 1995-1997 replaced by values of 1998. (IV) Malta: missings 1995-2004 replaced by value of 2005. (VI) Missings for single years replaced by (running) means of adjacent years: Luxembourg 1996.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 2.99; maximum = 10.0.
- Source(s): TI.

PROVISIONS FOR TRANSPARENT POLITICAL PROCESS [TR_PTPP]

1. Freedom of information [TR_PTPP1]

RestricFOI

- Definition: Restriction of freedom of information / barriers for access to official information.
- Categories: 0 = No Freedom of Information (FOI) legislation; 1 = High restrictions (high fees for information AND long delays [more than 2 weeks]); 2 = Considerable restrictions (1 restriction only (fee, delay)); 3 = No restrictions (no fee, immediate information [less than 2 weeks]).
- Measurement notes: Value since year law came into force.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): own composition based on Banisar (2006), CON, CDA, Tromp (2008).

EffFOI

- Definition: Effectiveness of Freedom of Information (FOI) laws. FOI is seen as effective if the following conditions are fulfilled: A) FOI does not only cover the executive and administration (0.5) but also further public authorities (1); B) Official documents are accessible (except for common exemptions such as matters of national security or documents that contain personal information, etc.) (1) but not considerable number of exemptions and/or delay for Cabinet documents (0.5); C) Compliance with FOI is supervised by an independent commission (1) or at least a court review (i.e. directly contact the court (1) but not first administrative review (0.5)). $Foi_eff = \text{sum of A+B+C}$; recoded such as 1.5 = 1; 2 = 2; 2.5 = 3; 3 = 4. A country without any FOI legislation receives the value 0.
- Categories: 0 = No FOI law; 1 = Low effectiveness; 2 = Quite considerable effectiveness; 3 = Considerable effectiveness; 4 = High effectiveness.
- Measurement notes: Value since year law came into force
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 4.
- Source(s): own composition based on Banisar (2006), CON, CDA, Tromp (2008).

2. Informational openness [TR_PTPP2]

Legmedia

- Definition: Press Freedom: Legal Environment (reversed). "The legal environment category encompasses an examination of both the laws and regulations that could influence media content and the government's inclination to use these laws and legal institutions to restrict the media's ability to operate: We assess the positive impact of legal and constitutional guarantees for freedom of expression; the potentially negative aspects of security legislation, the penal code, and other criminal statutes; penalties for libel and defamation; the existence of and ability to use freedom of information legislation; the independence of the judiciary and of official media regulatory bodies; registration requirements for both media outlets and journalists; and the ability of journalists' groups to operate freely." Countries are given a total score from 0 (best) to 30 (worst).
- Measurement notes: (I) 1995-2001: Values = sum of A-Broadcast and A-Print categories (on advice from Karin Deutsch Karlekar from Freedom House). (II) Index was rescaled by calculating values from 30. (III) Cyprus: values for Greek-Cyprus were taken.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 15; maximum = 30.
- Source(s): FH.

Polmedia

- Definition: Press Freedom: Political Environment (reversed). "Under the political environment category, we evaluate the degree of political control over the content of news media. Issues examined include the editorial independence of both state-owned and privately owned media; access to infor-

mation and sources; official censorship and self-censorship; the vibrancy of the media; the ability of both foreign and local reporters to cover the news freely and without harassment; and the intimidation of journalists by the state or other actors, including arbitrary detention and imprisonment, violent assaults, and other threats." Countries are given a total score from 0 (best) to 40 (worst).

- Measurement notes: (I) 1995-2001: Values = sum of B-Broadcast, B-Print, D-Broadcast and D-Print categories (on advice from Karin Deutsch Karlekar from Freedom House). (II) Index was rescaled by calculating values from 40. (III) Values 1990-1993 (no detailed data available) replaced by values of 1994. (IV) Cyprus: values for Greek-Cyprus were taken.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 18; maximum = 40.
- Source(s): FH.

3. Willingness for transparent communication [TR_PTPP3]

Transp

- Definition: Assessment of the transparency of government policy. Measured on a scale ranging from "The government does not often communicate its intentions successfully" (1) to "The government is transparent towards citizens" (6). This is recoded into a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) Iceland: missings 1995 replaced by value of 1996 and missings 1997-2007 replaced by value of 1998. (II) completely missing countries: Costa Rica, Cyprus, and Malta
- Imputation: values for completely missing countries are imputed on the basis of a multiple linear regression with the World Bank Governance Indicators "Voice and Accountability" (Pearsons r between given values for Transp and "Voice and Accountability" is 0.62) and "Control of Corruption" (Pearsons r: 0.67). The regression coefficients used are $\alpha = 2.194$ $\beta_{voac} = 0.965$ and $\beta_{coco} = 1.144$. The calculated values for 1996 are copied to 1995; 1997, 1999, and 2001 are means of the years before and after the given year.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.96; maximum = 8.11.
- Source(s): IMD, WGI.

PARTICIPATION [PARTICIP]

EQUALITY OF PARTICIPATION [PAR_EQPA1]

1. Suffrage

Suffrage

- Definition: Extent of universal suffrage. Calculated as follows: Starting from 100% (if suffrage is laid down in the constitution), 0.25 to 1 percentage points are subtracted from this maximum for each restriction for universal suffrage that applies. For example: if suffrage is universal but persons convicted of crimes are not allowed to vote, the variable equals 99.50. If there are restrictions based on literacy, sex, age, race or membership in armed/police forces, the number of percentage points to be subtracted equals the share of the restricted group's population in the total country population. In total, 23 types of restrictions are taken into account (see Paxton et al. 2003 for details).
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings 2001-2007 replaced by values of 2000.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 96.17; maximum = 100.00.
- Source(s): Paxton et al. (2003).

Regprovap

- Definition: Registered voters as a percentage of voting age population.
- Measurement notes: Missing countries and years: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 61.63; maximum = 119.33.
- Source(s): IDEA-T.

2. Non-selectivity of electoral participation [PAR_EQPA2]

Repturnined

- Definition: Representative voter turnout in legislative elections in terms of resources (education and income). Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of education and in terms of income (3 groups each): education gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low education in survey – share of voting respondents with high/middle/low education (differences in absolute values); income gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low income – share of voting respondents with high/middle/low income (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of unrepresentative turnout: sum of education gap + income gap. (3) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 3 years (1990 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992); 1993 = mean (1991, 1992, 1993), etc.). (IV) Costa Rica: no income data. Retu_resrs is therefore calculated by taking two times representative turnout in terms of education.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -8.35; maximum = -0.21.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, CSES, ESS, LB, WSS.

Repturngeag

- Definition: Representative voter turnout in legislative elections in terms of gender and age. Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of gender and in terms of age (3 groups: 15-30; 31-65; 65+): gender gap = mean of share of women in survey – share of female voting respondents and share of men in survey – share of male voting respondents (differences in absolute values); age gap

= mean of share of respondents 18-30/31-65/65+ years old – respective share of 18-30/31-65/65+ year old voting respondents (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of unrepresentative turnout: sum of gender gap + age gap. (3) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1.

- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 3 years (1990 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992); 1993 = mean (1991, 1992, 1993), etc.).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -8.83; maximum = -0.20.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, CSES, ESS, LB, WSS.

3. Non-selectivity of alternative participation [PAR_EQPA3]

Repaltined

- Definition: Representative participation in alternative forms of participation (signing petitions, attending lawful demonstrations) in terms of resources (education and income). Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of education and in terms of income (3 groups each): education gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low education in survey – share of participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) with high/middle/low education (differences in absolute values); income gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low income – share of participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) with high/middle/low income (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of unrepresentative participation: sum of education gap + income gap for both participation forms (signing petitions / attending demonstrations). (3) Overall mean of both indicators (signing petition / attending demonstrations) for unrepresentative participation. (4) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.) for each form of participation (signing petition / attending demonstrations); b) Calculation of running means for overall mean of both indicators between 3 years (1995 = 1996; 1996 = mean (1995, 1996); 1997 = mean (1995, 1996, 1997); 1998 = mean (1996, 1997, 1998), etc.). (IV) Costa Rica: no income data. Repaalpa_resrs is therefore calculated by taking two times representative turnout in terms of education (for demonstration as well as for petition).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -32.58; maximum = -6.57.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, CSES, ESS, LB, WSS.

Repaltgeag

- Definition: Representative participation in alternative forms of participation (signing petitions, attending lawful demonstrations) in terms of gender and age. Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of gender and in terms of age (3 groups: 15-30; 31-65; 65+): gender gap = mean of share of women in survey – share of female participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) and share of men in survey – share of male participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) (differences in absolute values); age gap = mean of share of respondents 18-30/31-65/65+ years old – respective share of 18-30/31-65/65+ year old participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of unrepresentative turnout: sum of gender gap + age gap. (3) Overall mean of both indicators (signing petition / attending demonstrations) for unrepresentative participation. (4) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged

across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.) for each form of participation (signing petition / attending demonstrations); b) Calculation of running means for overall mean of both indicators between 3 years (1990 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992); 1993 = mean (1991, 1992, 1993), etc.).

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -23.32; maximum = -3.92.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, CSES, ESS, LB, WSS.

EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION [PAR_EFPA]

1. Rules facilitating participation [PAR_EFPA1]

Facilitat

- Definition: Facilitation of electoral participation.
- Categories: 0 = voters can vote at specific polling station only; 1 = voters can vote everywhere in the same district; 2 = voters can vote everywhere in the country; Additional point (+1) if absentee ballot is possible; Additional point (+1) if there are mobile polling stations; Additional point (+1) if there is a possibility to vote in advance.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 5.
- Source(s): ACE, IDEA.

Regist

- Definition: Voter registration is *not* compulsory (1 = not compulsory, 0 = is compulsory)
- Measurement notes: missing countries: USA coded = 0 because early voting is not permitted in every state → sometimes excuses are necessary.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): ACE, CON.

2. Effective institutionalized participation [PAR_EFPA2]

Turnout

- Definition: Participation rate in % of registered electorate in elections of respective or previous years (only first ballot considered if more were held): average of legislative elections (copied to years of following legislation), presidential elections (copied to years of following legislation) and national referenda (only considered for the respective year); turnout in the latter two is only considered if these institutions exist.
- Measurement notes: (I) United States: turnout is based on the voting age population as reported by the US Census Bureau.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 38.39; maximum = 97.16.
- Source(s): AED, ANU, IDEA-T, IPU, UCI, USEP.

3. Effective non-institutionalized participation [PAR_EFPA3]

Petition

- Definition: Practice of non-institutionalized participation: share of survey respondents who indicate having signed petitions.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means for overall mean of both indicators between 5 years (1990 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean

(1990, 1991, 1992); 1993 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993); 1994 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994); 1995 = mean (1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995); 1996 = mean (1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996) etc.).

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 38.39; maximum = 97.16.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, LB, WSS.

Demons

- Definition: Practice of non-institutionalized participation: share of survey respondents who indicate having attended lawful demonstrations.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means for overall mean of both indicators between 5 years (1990 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992); 1993 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993); 1994 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994); 1995 = mean (1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995); 1996 = mean (1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996) etc.). (IV) If data from more than one survey was available, average values were calculated.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 4.4; maximum = 39.7.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, LB, WSS.

REPRESENTATION [REPRES]

SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION [REP_SR1]

1. Structural possibilities for inclusion of preferences

Seatperin

- Definition: Number of seats (lower house) per 100'000 inhabitants.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.15; maximum = 23.55.
- Source(s): ACEA, DPI, IPU, UNSTAT.

Dirdem

- Definition: Opportunities for direct influence on political decisions. Availability of mandatory and facultative referenda (accounted for coverage, terms of adoption, bondage, initiator, popular vote, hurdles); Specifications: Sum of Manref (divided by 2) and Facref (divided by 3):
 - o Manref: Mandatory referendum (max 2 points); consists of:
 - *Avamand*: Definition: Does the constitution provide for national, mandatory referenda? Level of measurement: nominal (dummy). Categories: 0 = No; 1 = Yes.
 - *Covmand*: Definition: Which or how many policy areas are subject of national, mandatory referenda? Variable is automatically 0 if "Availability" = 0; Categories: 0 = only specific domains; 0.25 = some restrictions; 0.5 = all policy domains
 - *Accmand*: Definition: What are the terms of adoption / rejection of a national, mandatory ballot proposition? If nothing is indicated in constitution we assume that value 0.5 applies. Variable is automatically 0 if "Availability" = 0. Categories: 0 = quorum (of participation); 0.25 = qualified majority; 0.5 = simple majority.
 - o Facref: Facultative referendum (max 3 points); consists of:
 - *Avafac*: Definition: Does the constitution provide for national, facultative referenda or plebiscites? Categories: 0 = No; 1 = Yes.
 - *Covfac*: Definition: Which or how many policy areas are subject of national, facultative referenda or plebiscites? Variable is automatically 0 if "Availability" = 0. Categories: 0 = only specific domains; 0.2 = some restrictions; 0.4 = all policy domains.
 - *Accfac*: Definition: What are the terms of adoption / rejection of a national, facultative ballot proposition or a plebiscite? If nothing is indicated in constitution we assume that value 2 applies. Variable is automatically 0 if "Availability" = 0. Categories: 0 = quorum (of participation); 0.2 = qualified majority; 0.4 = simple majority.
 - *Bindfac*: Definition: Is the result of a national, facultative referendum or plebiscite legally binding? Variable is automatically 0 if "Availability" = 0. If several different mechanisms exist, the one giving the people the highest opportunity is indicated. Categories: 0 = not binding (only consultative); 0.2 = binding depending on decision of parliament or executive; 0.4 = legally binding.
 - *Inifac*: Definition: Who has the right to initiate national, facultative referenda or plebiscites? Variable is automatically 0 if "Availability" = 0. If several different mechanisms exist, the one giving the people the highest opportunity is indicated. Categories: 0 = assembly not elected by people; 0.2 = assembly elected by people; 0.4 = people.
 - *Hurdfac1*: Definition: How many signatures of eligible citizens are required for a facultative referendum to qualify on the national level? Variable is automatically 0 if "Availability" = 0 or if "Inifac" < 0.4. If several different mechanisms exist, the one giving the people the highest op-

portunity is indicated. Categories: 0 = more than 5% of eligible population; 0.1 = 2-5% of eligible population; 0.2 = less than 2% of eligible population.

- *Hurdfac2*: Definition: Amount of time granted for collecting signatures for a facultative referendum to qualify on the national level? Variable is automatically 0 if “Availability” = 0 or if “Initiator” < 0.4. If several different mechanisms exist, the one giving the people the highest opportunity is indicated. If nothing is indicated in constitution we assume that value 0.2 applies.
- Categories: 0 = less than 6 months; 0.1 = between 6 months and 1 year; 0.2 = more than 1 year.
- Measurement notes: (I) Unless there is constitutional change, the data is copied to all years.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.81.
- Source(s): own composition out of ACE, CON, C2D, Wikipedia, IRI.

2. No distortion [REP_SR2]

Gallagindex

- Definition: Index of disproportionality between vote and seat distributions according to the Gallagher “Least Squares Index” for all parties in general election (reversed). Where v_i is the percentage of votes obtained by i th party and s_i is the percentage of seats obtained by i th party.

$$\sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^m (v_i - s_i)^2}$$
- Measurement notes: (I) The scale was reversed by multiplying values by -1. (II) The variable was weighted in the years in which general elections took place in order to take into account that elections divide the year into two periods with different values for the Gallagher Index. On the basis of the number of days between January 1 and December 31 two numeric values were calculated expressing every period’s share in days before and after the day of general. These expressions were used to calculate a weighted average of the Gallagher Index for the respective years. (III) All countries: missings 2005-2007 replaced by values of 2004.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -25.25; maximum = -0.26.
- Source(s): ACEA, AED, EEA, IPU, WZB.

Issuecongr

- Definition: Congruence between distribution of left/right positions among voters and distribution of left/right positions among members of parliament (measured by party positions). Calculated as follows: (1) Each party was assigned to one of three categories (left/middle/right), which were calculated on the basis of the mean and standard deviation of the distribution of left/right positions of all parties for a given election (e.g. left range: left of 1 standard deviation). The distribution of the three categories within parliaments was then calculated by taking into account the seat shares of the different parties. (2) Voters, i.e. survey respondents, were assigned to one of three categories (left/middle/right) according to their self-placement on a left-right scale. The three categories were determined by subdividing the left-right scale (either ranging from 1-10 or 0-10) on the grounds of mean and standard deviation. The distribution of voters across the three categories was then calculated and the values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.) (3) For each of the categories, the differences between the seat shares in parliament and among voters were calculated. These issue differences for each category are then added and divided by 2. This gives a scale (theoretically) ranging from 0-100, where 0 = complete congruence and 100 = complete incongruence between voters and parliament. (4) The scale was reversed by subtracting values from 100.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values for left-right placement of parties and/or voters' self-placement were replaced by values from nearest preceding year.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 23.98; maximum = 96.52.
- Source(s): own calculation based on Altman et al. (2009), CMP, Coppedge (1997), CSES, ESS, IPU, LB, PELA, PDoA, Wiesehomeier/Benoit (2009), Wikipedia, WVS.

DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION [REP_DR]

1. No legal constraints for inclusion of minorities [REP_DR1]

Polrightwom

- Definition: This variable measures the political rights of women, including the right to vote, the right to run for political office, the right to hold elected and appointed government positions, the right to join political parties and the right to petition government officials. Coding is based on US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices.
- Categories: 0 = None of women's political rights are guaranteed by law. There are laws that completely restrict the participation of women in the political process; 1 = Political equality is guaranteed by law. However, there are significant limitations in practice. Women hold less than five percent of seats in the national legislature and in other high-ranking government positions; 2 = Political equality is guaranteed by law. Women hold more than five percent but less than thirty percent of seats in the national legislature and/or in other high-ranking government positions; 3 = Political equality is guaranteed by law and in practice. Women hold more than thirty percent of seats in the national legislature and/or in other high-ranking government positions.
- Measurement notes: Malta: missings 1995-2000 replaced by value 2001; missing 2002 replaced by mean value of 2001 and 2003.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): CIRI.

Constraints

- Definition: Measures the existence of constraints regarding passive suffrage and inverses the score: 5-Sum of 5 different indicators:
 - o *Noconst1*: Different constraints of age regarding passive suffrage in the national parliament (if bicameral parliament: lower chamber); Categories: 0 = to be entitled to passive suffrage at the age of 18 or before; 0.5 = to be entitled to passive suffrage at the age between 19 and 24; 1 = to be entitled to passive suffrage at the age of 25 or after.
 - o *Noconst2*: measures if citizenship is a precondition for passive suffrage in the national parliament (if bicameral parliament: lower chamber); Categories: 0 = citizenship is no precondition for passive suffrage; 1 = citizenship is a precondition for passive suffrage.
 - o *Noconst3*: measures the number of incompatible offices regarding passive suffrage; Categories: 0 = less than 100 incompatible offices people affected; 0.5 = between 100 and 1000 incompatible offices people affected; 1 = more than 1000 incompatible offices people affected.
 - o *Noconst4*: measures the existence of other constraints regarding passive suffrage; Categories: 0 = no, there are no other constraints; 1 = yes, there are other constraints.
 - o *Noconst5*: measures if citizenship by birth is a precondition for passive suffrage in the national parliament (if bicameral parliament: lower chamber); Categories: 0 = citizenship by birth is no precondition for passive suffrage; 1 = citizenship by birth is a precondition for passive suffrage.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1; maximum = 4
- Source(s): IPU.

2. Adequate representation of women [REP_DR2]

Womrep

- Definition: Proportion of female representatives in the lower house of parliament in % of all seats.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values (Australia 2005; Belgium 2005; France 2005; Luxembourg 2005; Spain 2005 and Switzerland 2005) were replaced by values from nearest year.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.9; maximum = 47.3.
- Source(s): Armingeon et al. (2010), Vanhanen (2008).

Womgov

- Definition: Proportion of female representatives in the government (incl. ministerial positions)
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values (Ireland 1997) replaced by value from precedent year.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 55.0.
- Source(s): AHR, HDR, UNECE.

3. Effective access to power for minorities [REP_DR3]

Accpowmin

- Definition: Is the access of minority groups to higher office (average of all groups in a country) selectively and deliberately restricted by public policy or prevailing social practices, and how severely (reversed)? For example: are minority group members banned from or restricted in running for political office? Under-representation of a group, e.g. in high positions or voting, is not considered a restriction unless there is a clear pattern of public policy or governmental practice that is designed to have this result.
- Categories: 0 = Not restricted; 1 = Activity moderately restricted (a minority group must face more obstacles when accessing a particular resource or a certain portion of a minority's population is outright banned, but the overall population of the group is not); 2 = Activity prohibited (for all of minority groups). Specifications: A "Minority at Risk" is an ethnopolitical group (non-state communal group) with a population of at least 100'000 or 1% of the country's population that a) collectively suffers, or benefits from, systematic discriminatory treatment vis-à-vis other groups in a society; and/or b) collectively mobilizes in defense or promotion of its self-defined interests.
- Measurement notes: (I) The scale was reversed by subtracting value from 2. (II) All countries: missings 2004-2007 replaced by values of 2003; missings for 1995 replaced by means of adjacent years. (III) Iceland, Luxembourg and Malta are not part of the MAR sample. Values are therefore rough estimates. Iceland and Malta were always assigned a 0 because there are no substantial minority groups. Luxembourg was assigned a 1 because there is a large foreign population without access to higher offices. (IV) The following countries are part of the MAR sample but are not given any values in the datafile: Austria, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, and Sweden. These countries were assumed to not have any minorities at risk and therefore received the value 0.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0 ; maximum = 2
- Source(s): MAR.

Poldismin

- Definition: Index of political discrimination of minority groups (average of all groups in a country) (reversed): "macro codings of the role of public policy and social practice in maintaining or redressing political inequalities".
- Categories: 0 = No discrimination; 1 = Neglect/Remedial policies (Substantial under representation in political office and/or participation due to historical neglect or restrictions. Explicit public policies are

designed to protect or improve the group's political status.); 2 = Neglect/No remedial policies (Substantial under representation due to historical neglect or restrictions. No social practice of deliberate exclusion. No formal exclusion. No evidence of protective or remedial public policies. Examples: Prejudices are widespread enough to strongly impact the political efforts of the group or individuals from the group. The group's representation does not extend beyond token representation for a few exceptional individuals); 3 = Social exclusion/Neutral policy (Substantial under representation due to prevailing social practice by dominant groups. Formal public policies toward the group are neutral or, if positive, inadequate to offset discriminatory policies. Examples: The group's representation in public office represents less than 20% of the group's total in the population. If the group makes up more than 20% of the population, more than ten years have gone by without any representation of that group in government. It is socially acceptable to harm members of that group or their property. Harassment of members of the group is socially acceptable with little likelihood of prosecution of hate crimes.); 4 = Exclusion/Repressive policy (Public policies substantially restrict the group's political participation by comparison with other groups. Examples: The group does not have suffrage. It is a crime to be a member of that group, to practice a custom that is central to that group's identity or to use that group's language. The government is using violence against the group. The rights to free movement or political expression of that group are specifically banned by government order. The government does regularly target members of that group or their property for harm.). Specifications: A "Minority at Risk" is an ethnopolitical group (non-state communal group) with a population of at least 100'000 or 1% of the country's population that a) collectively suffers, or benefits from, systematic discriminatory treatment vis-à-vis other groups in a society; and/or b) collectively mobilizes in defense or promotion of its self-defined interests.

- Measurement notes: (I) The scale was reversed by subtracting value from 4. (II) Iceland, Luxembourg and Malta are not part of the MAR sample. Values are therefore rough estimates. Iceland and Malta were always assigned a 0 because there are no substantial minority groups. Luxembourg was assigned a 1.5 because there are few remedial policies to prevent the discrimination of the large foreign population. (III) The following countries are part of the MAR sample but are not given any values in the datafile: Austria, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia and Sweden. These countries were assumed to not have any minorities at risk and therefore received the value 0.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 4.
- Source(s): MAR.

SOURCES

- ACE ACE Electoral Knowledge Network.
<http://aceproject.org>
- ACEA Adam Carr's Election Archive.
<http://psephos.adma-carr.net>
- AED African Election Database.
<http://africanelections.tripod.com>
- AfB Afrobarometer.
<http://www.afrobarometer.org>
- AHR Annual Human Rights Reports of the U.S. Department of State.
<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt>
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C2D	Centre for Research on Direct Democracy. http://www.c2d.ch
Casas-Zamora (2005)	Casas-Zamora, Kevin (2005). Paying for Democracy: Political finance and state funding for parties. Essex: ECPR press.
CD	Comtrade Database (UN). http://comtrade.un.org
CDA	CentralAmericiaData. http://www.centralamericadata.com/es/article/home/Costa_Rica_y_El_Salvador_sin_Ley_de_Acceso_a_Informacion
CIA	CIA World Factbook.
CIRI	The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset. http://ciri.binghamton.edu/index.asp
CMP	Comparative Manifestos Project Data Set. http://www.wzb.eu/zkd/dsl/Projekte/projekte-manifesto.en.htm
CoE	Council of Europe (1998). Prohibition of political parties and analogous measures report. http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/1998/CDL-INF(1998)014-e.asp
CON	Specific constitution of every country. http://confinder.richmond.edu
Coppedge (1997)	Coppedge, Michael (1997). "A Classification of Latin American Political Parties", Kellogg Institute for International Studies Working Paper #244. http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/members/congress-papers/lasa2004/files/CoppedgeMichael.pdf
CSD	Center for the Study of Democracy. UC Irvine. http://www.democ.uci.edu/resources/archive.php
CSES	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. http://www.cses.org
CTS	United Nations Surveys on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems. http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/United-Nations-Surveys-on-Crime-Trends-and-the-Operations-of-Criminal-Justice-Systems.html
DAP	Democracy Assistance Project - Phase II. Steven E. Finkel, Anibal Perez-Liñan, Mitchell A. Seligson and C. Neal Tate http://www.pitt.edu/~politics/democracy/democracy.html

DPI	Database of Political Institutions 2009. Thorsten Beck , Philip E. Keefer, George R. Clarke, Thorsten Beck and Philip E. Keefer . Development Research Group. The World Bank. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRES/Resources/DPI2009_corrected_April2010.dta
EEA	Essex Election Archive. Political Transformation and the Electoral Process in Post-Communist Europe. http://www.essex.ac.uk/elections/
EED	European Election Database. http://www.nsd.uib.no/european_election_database
EFWP	Economic Freedom of the World Project. Fraser Institute. http://www.freetheworld.com
Elklit/Reynolds (2002)	Elklit, J. and A. Reynolds (2002). The impact of election administration on the legitimacy of emerging democracies: a new comparative politics research agenda. <i>Commonwealth and Comparative Politics</i> 40: 86-119.
ESS	European Social Survey. http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org
Eurofound	European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. http://www.eurofound.europa.eu
EUROSTAT	European Commission. Eurostat – key to European statistics. http://epp-eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home
EV	Early Voting. United States. http://www.earlyvoting.net/blog/2010/05/balloting-busy
FH	Freedom House. Freedom of the Press. http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=16
GALLAGHER	Election indices (www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/E%5CSystems/Docts/ElectionIndices.pdf); also see: Gallagher, Michael (1991). Proportionality, disproportionality and electoral systems. <i>Comparative Electoral Studies</i> 10(1): 33-51. Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (2008; eds). <i>The Politics of Electoral Systems</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
GALLUP	Gallup Organization. http://www.gallup.com
GCR	Global Competitiveness Report World Economic Forum. http://www.weforum.org/en/initiatives/gcp/Global%20Competitiveness%20Report/index.htm
Geering/Thacker (2004)	Geering John and Strom C. Thacker (2004). Political institutions and Corruption: The role of unitarism and parliamentarism. <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 34: 295-330.
GFS	Government Finance Statistics CD-ROM. International Monetary Fund.
GURN	Global Union Research Network.

	http://www.gurn.info
HBI	Hans-Bredow-Institut. http://www.hans-bredow-institut.de
HDR	Human Development Reports. http://hdrstats.undp.org/indicators/indicators_table.cfm
Hug (2001)	Hug, Simon (2001): Altering party systems: strategic behavior and the emergence of new political parties in Western democracies. Michigan: Ann Arbor (including data file).
IAEP	Institutions and Elections Project Dataset. http://cdp.binghamton.edu/IAEP.htm
ICRG	International Country Risk Guide. http://www.prsgroup.com/ICRG.aspx
IDEA-F	Political Finance Database. International IDEA. http://www.idea.int/parties/finance/db/
IDEA-T	Voter turnout. International IDEA. http://www.idea.int/vt
IEF	Index of Economic Freedom. Heritage Foundation. http://www.heritage.org/index
IEFA	European health for all database. http://data.euro.who.int/IEFadb
ILO	International Labour Organization. http://www.ilo.org
IMD	Institute for Management Development, Lausanne. The World Competitiveness Yearbook / Report. Executive Opinion Survey.
IPU	International Parliamentary Union. Parline database. http://www.ipu.org/parline
IRI	Initiative and Referendum Institute. http://www.iandrinstitute.org/
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	University and Yale University.
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LB	Latinobarometro. http://www.latinobarometro.org
MAR	Minorities at Risk Project. http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/data.asp
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MT	Mondo Times. The Worldwide News Media Guide. http://www.mondotimes.com
Nohlen et al. (2001)	Nohlen, Dieter, Florian Grotz and Christof Hartmann (2001). Elections in Asia and the Pacific. A Data Handbook. Vol. I+II. Oxford and London: Oxford University Press.
ODG	Office of Democracy and Governance (2003): Money in Politics Handbook: A guide to increasing transparency in emerging democracies.
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Østergaard (1992)	Østergaard, Bernt Stubbe (ed.) (1992). The Media in Western Europe: the Euromedia Handbook. London: Sage.
PaHO	Panamerican Health Organization. http://new.paho.org
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PDoA	Political Database of the Americas. Georgetown University. http://pdba.georgetown.edu
PELA	Elites Parlamentarias de América Latina. http://americo.usal.es/oir/Elites/bases_de_datos.htm
PTS	Political Terror Scale. http://www.politicalterrorsscale.org
QoG	The Quality of Government Institute. http://www.qog.pol.gu.se
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Tromp (2008)	Tromp, Stanley (2008). Fallen Behind: Canada's Access to Information Act in the World Context. http://www3.telus.net/index100/report
UCI	University of California: The Election Turnout Database. http://www.democ.uci.edu/resources/archive.php
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. http://www.unece.org
UNSTATS	United Nations Statistics Division. http://unstats.un.org
USEP	United States Elections Project. http://elections.gmu.edu
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WB	World Bank Statistics. http://data.worldbank.org
WGI	Worldwide Governance Indicators. World Bank. http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp
WHO	World Health Organization: SDR, homicide and intentional injury (different issues). http://www.who.int/research/en
Wiesehomeier/Benoit (2009)	Wiesehomeier, Nina and Kenneth Benoit (2009). "Presidents, Parties, and Policy Competition", The Journal of Politics 71(4): 1435-47.
Wikipedia	The Free Encyclopedia. http://www.wikipedia.org
WP	Worldpress. http://www.worldpress.org
WPT	World Press Trends. Different issues. Paris: Zenithmedia.
WVS	World Values Survey.
WZB	Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin.

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