

# Codebook for European Representative Democracy (ERD) Release 4.0 (Final release) December 2020

The European Representative Democracy data archive consists of cabinet-level data for 29 European democracies in post-WWII Europe. For each country, the archive contains data for all cabinets that have formed after the introduction of the current democratic regime of parliamentary democracy (for Cyprus representative democracy). Cabinets formed before or on December 31 2010 are included in the ERD. Altogether, the data archive contains a total of 640 cabinets, i.e., coalitions, single party, and non-partisan cabinets.

Given the above criteria, data for Greece, Portugal and Spain have been collected since their democratizations in the 1970s. Data on France is limited to the Fifth Republic that began in 1959. For new member states of the European Union from Central Eastern Europe, as well as Malta and Cyprus, data exists only after the period of democratization of Central Eastern Europe (from the first democratically elected parliament).

In the “Corrections and additions file (4.0)”, the changes are listed both in terms of what variables they concern and the type of changes made, as well as which cabinets the changes concern. This final release of the data set (4.0) also includes some clarifications in the codebook and new data on cabinet termination.

For all our data, we have put together a source file indicating where we obtained the data. As part of that process, for each data point we have checked multiple sources before deciding on the coding content. The sources for data are listed in a full reference list at the end of the Reference file. The reference file is constructed as a mirror image of the data file; the difference being that instead of a data entry in each cell, the sources used when calculating or coding the data is entered. This enables the user to identify the references used for each data entry. Further details, variable definitions and methods can also be found in this code book and in the corresponding *Notes on coding principles* document.

## **Note on correct acknowledgements.**

Publications using the the dataset should acknowledge in writing that the information comes from:

*Andersson, Staffan; Bergman, Torbjörn, Ersson, Svante, and Johan Hellström (2020). “The European Representative Democracy Data Archive, Release 4 (Final release)”. Main sponsor: Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (In2007-0149:1-E). [www.erdda.org]*

In addition, we would like to acknowledge the help of Jonas Lindahl (Umeå University) and Daniel Walther (Umeå University) for their excellent research assistance.

To use the information coded by political party, please refer to the Codebook for political parties, also published in this Data Archive.

## 0. Cabinet Identification

Variable	CPD variable name(s)	Label	Coding	Notes
v001e	v001x	Country	01= Austria, 02=Belgium, 03=Denmark, 04=Finland, 05=France, 06=Germany, 07=Greece, 08=Iceland, 09=Ireland,10=Italy, 11=Luxembourg, 12= the Netherlands, 13=Norway, 14=Portugal, 15=Spain, 16=Sweden, 17=United Kingdom, 18=Bulgaria, 19=Cyprus, 20= Czech Republic, 21=Estonia, 22=Hungary, 23=Latvia, 24=Lithuania, 25=Malta, 26=Poland, 27=Romania, 28= Slovakia, 29=Slovenia	
v002e	v002x	Cabinet code	First digits=country code, Second digit=cabinet code	
v003e	v003x	Cabinet	Occurs at any change of (a) party composition, (b) general election and (c) change of PM.	
v004e	v004x	Date in		
v005e	v005x	Date out		
v006e		Coding method for date in	1=Data on the date of inauguration by the head of state, 2=Data on date of investiture vote, 3= Data on the date of general election, 4= Other technical criteria, e.g a change in party composition.	Concerning priority between methods used such a rank applies only between 1 and 2, and not 3 and 4, e.g. we might have a cabinet that simply continues after elections and in these cases we use the election date as the start of the cabinet although it might be officially inaugurated later.
v007e		Coding method for date out	1=Acceptance of head of state of resignation, 2= Vote of no confidence, 3=Date on the date of general election, 4= Other technical criteria e.g. change in party composition, death of PM.	Concerning priority between methods used that applies only between 1 and 2, and not 3 and 4, e.g. we might have a cabinet that ends because of changes in party composition where there are no formal resignation of the PM and therefore no acceptance of such resignation by the head of state.
v008e		Date of general election		Starting a new period of office. For Finland, Iceland, Italy, and Norway when elections officially last over two days, the second day is recorded. Both early and regular elections.
v009e		Date of general election		Ending a period of office. For Finland, Italy, and Norway when elections officially last over two days, the second day is recorded. (Both early and regular elections.)
v010e	v011x	Cabinet composition	Party acronyms	Party of PM listed first

## 1: Space-Time

Variable	CPD variable name(s)	Label	Coding	Notes
v100e	v001y	Austria	1 = Austria	
v101e	v002y	Belgium	1 = Belgium	
v102e	v003y	Denmark	1 = Denmark	

v103e	v004y	Finland	1 = Finland	Country Dummies
v104e	v005y	France	1 = France	
v105e	v006y	Germany	1 = Germany	
v106e	v007y	Greece	1 = Greece	
v107e	v008y	Iceland	1 = Iceland	
v108e	v009y	Ireland	1 = Ireland	
v109e	v010y	Italy	1 = Italy	
v110e	v011y	Luxembourg	1 = Luxembourg	
v111e	v012y	Netherlands	1 = Netherlands	
v112e	v013y	Norway	1 = Norway	
v113e	v014y	Portugal	1 = Portugal	
v114e	v015y	Spain	1 = Spain	
v115e	v016y	Sweden	1 = Sweden	
v116e	v017y	UK	1 = UK	
v117e		Bulgaria	1 = Bulgaria	
v118e		Cyprus	1 = Cyprus	
v119e		Czech Republic	1 = Czech Rep.	
v120e		Estonia	1 = Estonia	
v121e		Hungary	1 = Hungary	
v122e		Latvia	1 = Latvia	
v123e		Lithuania	1 = Lithuania	
v124e		Malta	1 = Malta	
v125e		Poland	1 = Poland	
v126e		Romania	1 = Romania	
v127e		Slovakia	1 = Slovakia	
v128e		Slovenia	1 = Slovenia	
v129e	V006x	Decade by date of formation	40=1940-1949, 50=1950-1959, 60=1960-1969 and so on...	
v130e	v030y	Start Decade	One Digit #	
v131e	v030y2	End Decade	One Digit #	
v132e	v031y	1940s	1 = 1940s	Decade Dummies: Decade in which cabinet starts
v133e	v032y	1950s	1 = 1950s	
v134e	v033y	1960s	1 = 1960s	
v135e	v034y	1970s	1 = 1970s	
v136e	v035y	1980s	1 = 1980s	
v137e	v036y	1990s	1 = 1990s	
v138e		2000s	1 = 2000s	
v139e		2010s	1 = 2010s	
v140e	v031y2	1940s	1 = 1940s	Decade Dummies: Decade in which cabinet ends
v141e	v032y2	1950s	1 = 1950s	
v142e	v033y2	1960s	1 = 1960s	
v143e	v034y2	1970s	1 = 1970s	
v144e	v035y2	1980s	1 = 1980s	
v145e	v036y2	1990s	1 = 1990s	
v146e		v2000s	1 = 2000s	
v147e		v2010s	1 = 2010s	

## 2. Parliamentary seat distribution

Variable	CPD variable name(s)	Label	Coding	Notes
v200e	v020x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 1	See party code book for party codes	
v201e	v021x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 2		
v202e	v022x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 3		
v203e	v023x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 4		
v204e	v024x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 5		
v205e	v025x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 6		
v206e	v026x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 7		

v207e	v027x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 8		
v208e	v028x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 9		
v209e	v029x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 10		
v210e	v030x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 11		
v211e	v031x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 12		
v212e	v032x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 13		
v213e	v033x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 14		
v214e	v034x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 15		
v215e	v035x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 16		
v216e	v036x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 17		
v217e	v037x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 18		
v218e	v038x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 19		
v219e	v039x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 20		
v220e	v040x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 21		
v221e	v041x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 22		
v222e	v042x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 23		
v223e	v043x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 24		
v224e	v044x	Party seats lower chamber, Party 25		
v225e		Party seats lower chamber, Party 26		
v226e		Party seats lower chamber, Party 27		
v227e		Party seats lower chamber, Party 28		
v228e		Party seats lower chamber, Party 29		
v229e		Party seats lower chamber, Party 30		
v230e		Party seats lower chamber, Party 31		
v231e		Party seats lower chamber, Party 32		
v250e	v053x	Party seats upper chamber, party 1		
v251e	v054x	Party seats upper chamber, party 2		
v252e	v055x	Party seats upper chamber, party 3		
v253e	v056x	Party seats upper chamber, party 4		
v254e	v057x	Party seats upper chamber, party 5		
v255e	v058x	Party seats upper chamber, party 6		
v256e	v059x	Party seats upper chamber, party 7		
v257e	v060x	Party seats upper chamber, party 8		
v258e	v061x	Party seats upper chamber,		

		party 9		
v259e	v062x	Party seats upper chamber, party 10		
v260e	v063x	Party seats upper chamber, party 11		
v261e	v064x	Party seats upper chamber, party 12		
v262e	v065x	Party seats upper chamber, party 13		
v263e	v066x	Party seats upper chamber, party 14		
v264e	v067x	Party seats upper chamber, party 15		
v265e	v068x	Party seats upper chamber, party 16		
v266e	v069x	Party seats upper chamber, party 17		
v267e	v070x	Party seats upper chamber, party 18		
v268e	v071x	Party seats upper chamber, party 19		
v269e	v072x	Party seats upper chamber, party 20		
v270e	v073x	Party seats upper chamber, party 21		
v271e	v074x	Party seats upper chamber, party 22		
v272e	v075x	Party seats upper chamber, party 23		
v273e	v076x	Party seats upper chamber, party 24		
v274e	v077x	Party seats upper chamber, party 25		

### 3. Structural Attributes

Variable	CPD variable name(s)	Label	Coding	Notes
v300e	v017x	Does the cabinet represent the start of a new government	0=No, 1=Yes (= A new government is only recorded at a change in party composition or a new election), 3=non-partisan cabinet	
v301e	v019x	Proximity to election, popularly elected /lower chamber	F=Cabinet immediately following an election. E=Cabinet ended by an election. FE=Cabinet immediately following an election and ended by the next election, N=neither immediately following or ended by an election	
v302e	v052x	Proximity to election, upper chamber, cabinet	F=Cabinet immediately following an election. E=Cabinet ended by an election. FE=Cabinet immediately following an election and ended by the next election, N=neither immediately following or ended by an election	
v303e	v040y, folelec	Post Election Cabinet	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v304e	v041y, v007x	Max Possible Cab Duration	# (unit = days)	
v305e		Max Possible Cab Duration	# (unit = days)	Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets
v306e	v042y, v083x	Absolute No. Parl Parties	# (unit = parties)	Updates from 1999-2010 based on parties with recorded seats
v307e		Absolute No. Parl Parties according to recorded seat distribution		ONLY includes parties with recorded seats, excluding the Others category.
v308e		Absolute No. Parl Parties according to recorded seat distribution + 1 if there are others recorded)		Includes all parties with recorded seats, where the Others category is recorded as a single party.

v309e	v043y, v049x	Effective No. Parl Parties, lower chamber	# (unit = parties)	
v310e		Bargaining power fragmentation	# (unit= Frag Index)	Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets
v311e	v080x	Effective no of parliamentary parties, upper chamber		
v312e	v045y, lppern	Largest Party Seat Share	# (range 0 to 1)	
v313e	v046y bpmax	Bargaining Power of Largest Party	# (unit = Banzhaf Index)	Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets
v314e	v047y, minosit	Minority Situation in Parliament	1 = Minority Situation	No single party holds 50% plus one seat or more of parliamentary seats
v315e	v048y, v012x	Non-partisan cabinet	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v316e	v049y, v014x	Coalition Cabinet	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v317e	v047x	Cabinet strength, lower chamber	Seats	
v318e	v050y, v048x	Cabinet Seat Share	# (unit = % points)	
v319e	v079x	Cabinet strength, upper chamber	Seats	
v320e	v051y, v013x	Number of Cabinet Parties	# (unit = parties)	
v321e	v051y2, v051ychsimp	Change in Cabinet Parties	1 = Inc, 0 = No Ch, -1 = Dec	
v322e	v052y, bpmaxcab	Max Bargaining Power Pty in Cab	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v323e	v053y, majone	Single Party Majority Cabinet	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v324e	v054y, minone	Single Party Minority Cabinet	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v325e	v055y, minmul	Minority Coalition	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v326e	v056y, v015x	Majority Cabinet	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v326e_add		Majority Coalition	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v327e	v057y, mwc	Minimal Winning Coalition	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v328e	v058y, surplus, v016x	Surplus Majority Cabinet	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v329e	v058y2, govtype	Government Type	1 = Single Party Minority, 2 = Minority Coalition, 3 = Single Party Majority, 4 = MWC, 5 = Surplus	
v330e	v060y, v217x	Number of Cabinet Members (ministers)	# (unit = people)	
v331e	v060y2, v060ychsimp	Change in Number of Cabinet Members (ministers)	1 = Inc, 0 = No Ch, -1 = Dec	

#### 4. Preferences

Variable	CPD variable name(s)	Label	Coding	Notes
v400e	v045x	Party of the median legislator, first dimension, lower chamber	Party label	Taxes vs. spending
v401e		Saliency of first dimension, lower chamber		Taxes vs. spending Importance/ weight of first dimension to parties
v402e	v050x	Party of the median legislator, second policy dimension, lower chamber	Party label	
v403e		Saliency of second dimension, lower chamber		Importance/ weight of second dimension to parties
v404e	v081x	Party of the median legislator, first policy dimension, upper chamber	Party label	
v405e	v082x	Party of the median legislator, second policy dimension, upper chamber	Party label	
v406e		Parliamentary Preference Range		Party manifesto data. Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets
v407e		Polarization (BP Weighted)	# (manifesto points)	Party manifesto data. Coded

				in-house 2017, re-calculated for all cabinets: Polarization is based on the equation $\sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n b_i (x_i - \bar{x})^2}$ , where b is for bargaining power (Banzhaf index) of party i, x is the left-right position of party i, and x bar is the weighted average left-right positions of all parties.
v408e	v085y, medparbp	Median Party Bargaining Power	# (unit = Banzhaf Index)	
v409e		Largest Party Distance to Median	# (manifesto points)	Party manifesto data. Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets
v410e		Cabinet Preference Range	# (manifesto points)	Party manifesto data. Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets
v411e	v089y, medleg1	Median Party (1 <sup>st</sup> Dim) in Cab	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v412e	v090y, newmedleg2	Median Party (2 <sup>nd</sup> Dim) in Cab	1 = Yes, 0 = No	Up to 1999 Experts coded Denmark, France, and Greece as having one dim. For these countries, this variable is coded with the 2 <sup>nd</sup> dim equaling the 1 <sup>st</sup> dim up to 1999.
v413e	v091y, connect	Connected Cab	1 = Yes, 0 = No	Single-party cabinets, as well as connected coalitions, are coded as connected. Non-partisan cabinets are coded as Non-applicable (=88888).
v414e	v091y2, mcwc	Minimal Winning Connected Coalition	1 = Yes, 0 = No	
v415e	v092y, ceconmaj	Conservative Cab	1 = Yes, 0 = No	Coded 1 if cabinet majority is from conservative bloc, i.e. liberal and conservative parties
v416e	v093y, cesocmaj	Socialist Cab	1 = Yes, 0 = No	Coded 1 if cabinet majority is from socialist bloc, i.e. socialist, left socialist and communist parties.

\* Bergman, Torbjörn et al. (2008) "The Empirical Study of Cabinet Governance" in Strøm, Kaare, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman *Cabinets and Coalition Bargaining: The Democratic Life Cycle in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## 5. Institutions

Variable	CPD variable name(s)	Label	Coding	Notes
v500e	v121y, V228zi5	Lower Chamber Only Decides Legislation	1 = Yes, 0 = No	0 = Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden (–1970)
v501e	v122y, ddconsref4	Supermajority for Const Amend	1 = Yes, 0 = No	0 = Denmark, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Spain (–1978), Sweden, UK. Assumed constant after 1999.
v502e	v123y, strong2nd	Strong Second Chamber	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Belgium (–95), Italy (1948–), Sweden (–70).
v503e	v124y, weak2nd	Weak Second Chamber	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Austria, Belgium (95–), France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Spain (–1978), UK. Assumed constant after 1999.
v504e	V124y2, bicameral	Bicameralism	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Austria, Belgium, Denmark (–70), France, Germany, Ireland, Italy (1948–), Netherlands, Spain

				(1978—), Sweden (—70), UK
v505e	v126y, invest	Positive Parliamentarism	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Belgium, Germany, Greece, Ireland (1945—), Italy (1948—), Luxembourg, Spain (1978—), Finland (2000 —)
v506e	v127y, screen	Ex Ante Gvt Program Screen	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Belgium, Greece, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain. Assumed constant after 1999.
v507e	v128y, noconf	Abs Majority No-confidence	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Belgium (95—) France, Germany, Greece, Iceland (1945—), Portugal, Spain (1978—), Sweden (71—). Assumed constant after 1999.
v508e	v129y, construct	Constructive No-Confidence	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Germany, Spain, Belgium (1995—)
v509e	v130y, cabunan	Cabinet Rule: Unanimity	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Austria, Italy (1948—), Portugal
v510e	v131y, cabconsPM	Cabinet Rule: PM Consensus	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Belgium, Denmark, Spain (1978—), Sweden, UK. Assumed constant after 1999.
v511e	v132y, v227zis4	Cabinet Co-decides Leg	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Denmark, Netherlands, Sweden (—70)
v512e	v133y, pmpow	PM Cabinet Powers	Range: 1 to 7	One point each of 7 PM Cabinet Powers. For definition see variable 513e but note one difference: Bergman et al (2003: 183-194)* used a somewhat different definition of Prime Minister cabinet powers that substituted Cabinet decision rule for whether an administrative structure exists under the Prime Minister's control, i.e. whether the job of the PM includes command of resources that provide him/her with independent information/expertise on what goes on in the individual ministries.
v513e		PM Cabinet Powers (b)	Range: 1 to 7	One point for each existing PM power. Variable consists of: the existence of an actual decision rule for cabinet decision-making (one point if the PM sums up the cabinet discussion or if majority voting applies, and zero if cabinet decisions are made unanimously) (i); the PM has the right to appoint (ii) and dismiss (iii) ministers; ministers can only be removed by parliament if parliament dismisses the PM/full cabinet (iv); Prime minister has the right to decide ministry jurisdiction (v); Prime minister has steering or co-coordinating rights vis-à-vis ministers (vi); and Prime minister has



				control over cabinet agenda (vii). (See these variables in Bergman et al 2003: 183-194)*
v514e		PM Cabinet Powers (3)	Range: 1 to 3	One point for each existing Prime minister power. Consists of right to appoint (i) and dismiss (ii) ministers, and ministers being parliamentary accountable through the PM only (iii).
v515e	v134y, pmdiss	PM Dissolution Powers	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, Spain (1978—), Sweden 1971-1974, UK. Assumed constant after 1999.
v516e	v135y, pmappdism	PM Cab Appt Power	1 = Yes, 0 = No	0 = Belgium, Finland (–2000), Netherlands, Spain (–1977)
v517e	v136y, v138zis2	HoS Discretionary Cab Appt Role	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Finland (–2000), France, Spain (–1977)
v518e	v137y, semip	Semi-Presidentialism	1 = Yes, 0 = No	1 = Finland (–2000), France, Greece (–1985), Portugal (–82)
v519e	V139y, V046x	Size of Lower Chamber	# of Seats	
v520e	v078x	Size of upper chamber	# of Seats	

\* Bergman, Torbjörn, Wolfgang C. Müller, Kaare Strøm, and Magnus Blomgren (2003). “Democratic delegation and accountability: cross-national patterns”, in Strøm, Kaare, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman, *Delegation and accountability in parliamentary democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## 6. Bargaining environment

Variable	CPD variable name(s)	Label	Coding	Notes
v600e	v167y, v095x	Cabinet bargaining duration	# (days)	
v601e	v010x	Full Duration	0=No, 1=Yes	Full duration is calculated based on a 90% relative cabinet duration threshold
v602e	v179y, v009x	Relative Cab Duration	%	
v603e		Relative Cab Duration		Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets
v604e	v179y2, v008x	Absolute Cab Duration	# (Unit = Days)	
v605e		Absolute Cab Duration		Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets

## 7. Critical Events

Variable	CPD variable name(s)	Name	Coding	Notes
v700e		Total cabinet electoral volatility	# (%)	For each cabinet party, the vote support (%) received at the relevant parliamentary election is subtracted from the vote support (%) that the same party received at the immediately preceding election; the absolute value of these scores are summarized for all cabinet parties. Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets
v701e		Average cabinet electoral volatility	# (%)	For each cabinet party, the vote support (%) received at

				the relevant parliamentary election is subtracted from the vote support (%) that the same party received at the immediately preceding election; the absolute value of these scores are summarized for all cabinet parties and then divided by the number of cabinet parties. Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets
v702e	v205y, cpa3	Inflation (Cab Beginning)	# (-3 to 98)	
v703e	v206y, jla3	Unemployment (Cab Beginning)	# (0 to 22.2)	
v704e	v207y, gdppc3	Growth (Beginning)	# (-58.8 to 68.8)	
v705e	v208y, jla3end	Unemployment (End)	# (.1 to 22.2)	
v706e	v209y, cpa3end	Inflation (End)	# (-3 to 98)	
v707e	v210y, cegdppc3	Growth (End)	# (-7.1 to 19)	
v708e	v219y, Elecperf.	Cabinet El Performance	# (%)	For each cabinet party, the vote support (%) that a political party received at the parliamentary election which preceded its cabinet membership is subtracted from the vote support (%) it received at the next (following) parliamentary election; these scores then are summarized. Coded in-house 2012, re-calculated for all cabinets
v709e		Technical termination	0 = No, 1 = Yes	
v710e		Discretionary termination	0 = No, 1 = Yes	
v711e		Early election	0 = No, 1 = Yes	
v712e		Discretionary early election	0 = No, 1 = Yes	
v713e		Replacement	0 = No, 1 = Yes	
v714e		Discretionary replacement	0 = No, 1 = Yes	
v715e		Technical - discretionary early election - discretionary replacement	0 = Technical termination, 1 = Discretionary early election, 2 = Discretionary replacement	