The Ideology of Heads of Government, 1870–2012

Codebook, Version 1.0

November 28, 2013

Thomas Brambor [*], Johannes Lindvall [†], and Annika Stjernquist[‡]

1 Introduction

This dataset provides summary information about the ideological orientation of heads of government in 33 countries in Europe, Latin America, North America, and the Asia-Pacific region between 1870 and 2012.

The dataset is in the country-year format. When several heads of government were in office in the same year, the dataset includes the head of government that was in office during the greater part of that year.

Our coding of head-of-government ideology has two dimensions: on the one hand the economic dimension (left, center, or right); on the other hand the religious dimension (an explicitly Christian platform or not an explicitly Christian platform). These have arguably been the two main dimensions in industrial-era political competition (although other dimensions, such as ethnicity and language, have been very important in particular countries).

The main methodological problem for any study that attempts to capture ideological differences and similarities among leading politicians in more than 30 countries over a period of 140 years is consistency: developing a measure of ideology that can be applied systematically to all country-years. In our view, the long time period and the large number of countries in our dataset makes it impossible in practice to place leaders along a (continuous or ordinal) scale from left to right. It is also more or less impossible to take into account that the political center of gravity might shift over time, or that parties change their policies over time. Instead, our categories of left, center, and right – with the right-wing category being subdivided into Christian/Christian democratic on the one hand and conservative/market-liberal on the other – correspond to party families that have existed for most of the time period that we cover: as we explain in more detail below, "left" largely denotes socialist and social democratic parties and factions, "center" denotes centrist agrarian

[*]Lund University, Department of Political Science, PO Box 52, 221 00 Lund, Sweden. (thomas.brambor@svet.lu.se).

[†]Lund University, Department of Political Science, PO Box 52, 221 00 Lund, Sweden. (johannes.lindvall@svet.lu.se).

[‡]Lund University, Department of Political Science, PO Box 52, 221 00 Lund, Sweden. (annika.stjernquist@svet.lu.se).

and social liberal parties and factions, and "right" denotes conservative, Catholic, Christian democratic, and market-liberal parties and factions. Clearly, these families of parties have behaved very differently in different political systems and in different periods of time, but that is a problem that needs to be resolved through research design and judicious use of the data; we have not been able to take it into account as we have generated the data themselves.

The dataset builds on two earlier datasets: the World Bank's Database of Political Institutions (Beck et al., 2001; Keefer, 2012), which covers the period from 1975 to 2012, and Lindvall and Erman (2013), which was used in Ansell and Lindvall (2013) and which includes a subset of our full 33-country sample, covering the period from 1870 to 1939. We also draw on a large number of other sources, which are listed below.

2 Coverage

The following countries are included in the data set: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany (West Germany between 1949 and 1990), Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Some of these countries were not independent for the entire period between 1870 and 2012. We have included all country-years that are included in the Boix, Miller, and Rosato (2012) dataset on political regimes (that is, country-years for which the `democracy_omitteddata` variable in the Boix, Miller, and Rosato dataset takes non-missing values).

The starting year of 1870 is chosen for two reasons. First, and most importantly, this was a period when the rate of industrialization increased sharply in most of the countries in our sample (Britain being the main exception), turning the 1870s into a watershed in political history, as Finer (1997, volume III, chapter 12) noted in his *History of Government*. Since political conflicts in industrial societies were in many ways radically different from political conflicts in pre-industrial societies, a consistent coding of ideology would be even more difficult to achieve if we included the pre-1870s period. Second, many countries in our sample undertook fundamental constitutional changes in the 1860s and early 1870s. For example, the Second Reform Act was passed in Britain, Germany and Italy were unified, Canada and New Zealand became independent, the Third Republic was established and consolidated in France, the Meiji restoration transformed the Japanese political system, and the Civil War ended in the United States (cf. Ansell and Lindvall, 2013).

3 Variables

cname The name of the country, using names from the QOG dataset (Teorell et al., 2012).

ccode ISO three-digit numeric country code.

year The year.

hogname The name of the head of government (president, prime minister, chancellor, etc.) that was in power during the greatest part of the year. This includes dictators. (We also have lists of party names – or labels of ideological tendencies – available. If you need this, please contact the authors via email.)

hogideo The ideological orientation of the head of government, concentrating on the economic dimension. As we explain below, the coding conventions are based on the World Bank's categorization of economic ideologies for the post-1975 period. The variable takes five values: R(ight), L(eft), C(enter), O(ther) or NA.

Right: Conservative, Christian democratic (see the discussion of Christian democracy below), or market-liberal. Fascist heads of government are also coded as right.

Left: Communist, socialist, social democratic, or with an otherwise strongly redistributive platform.

Center: Various centrist ideologies, especially social liberalism – a generally market-oriented ideology combined with a social reform agenda.

Other: Ideological positions that do not fit into either of the previously mentioned categories (for example, where the head of government's party does not have any economic policy platform). We also use this label if we have insufficient information (for example, if there are competing wings within the head of government's party and his or her own ideological position cannot be determined, or when government is led by a group of individuals such as military juntas).

NA: There is no head of government.

hogrel Whether the head of government or his or her party had an explicitly Christian platform, or, absent evidence from written party programs, whether religious values were strongly emphasized. This variable takes the value 1 for heads of government with explicitly Christian platforms, 0 for all others. Whether the state is secular or whether the leader is Christian him/herself does not determine the coding.

Empirically, most of the Christian heads of governments that we identify belong to Catholic or other Christian parties before World War II or to Christian democratic parties after World War II, or personally advocated religious values. As we note below, in democracies, this variable can be used to identify Christian democratic heads of government.

4 Acknowledgements

We are deeply grateful for the excellent research assistants who were involved in different phases of this project: Alvina Erman helped to compile the Lindvall and Erman (2013) dataset that we draw on for the earlier part of the period, and Simon Kus compiled data on the 1940–1974 period for the countries that are included in the Lindvall and Erman dataset.

We are also deeply grateful to the following scholars for their kind help and advice: John Ahlquist (Australia), Pedro Tavares de Almeida (Portugal), David Altman (Uruguay), Ben Ansell (United Kingdom), Lars Bille (Denmark), John Bullock (United States), Matthew Carnes (Argentina and Chile), Ricardo Ceneviva (Brazil), Fabio Cristiano (Italy), Ana Beatriz Franco Cuervo (Colombia), Marie Demker (France), Pascal Dewitt (Belgium), Alberto Diaz-Cayeros (Mexico), Holger Döring, Peter Esaiasson (Sweden), David Goldey (France), Ursula Hackett (United States), Niamh Hardiman (Ireland), Silja Häusermann (Switzerland), Marta Irurozqui (Bolivia), Lars Bo Kaspersen (Denmark), Kees van Kersbergen (Netherlands), Pauli Kettunen (Finland), Douglas Kriner (United States), Varvara Lalioti (Greece), Scott Matthews (Canada), Victor Lapuente (Spain), Cathie Jo Martin (United States), Kenneth Mori McElwain (Ireland and Japan), Iván Molina (Costa Rica), Marek Naczyk (Belgium), Espen Olsen (Norway), Thomas Paster (Austria), Mariela Szwarcberg (Argentina), Herman Schwartz (New Zealand), Valentin Schröder (Germany), Marco Simoni (Italy), Bradley Spahn (United States), Manuel Viedma (Bolivia), Gunnar Wetterberg (Sweden), Jaap Woldendorp (Netherlands).

It goes without saying that we remain responsible for all errors.

5 Future Revisions

This dataset includes information about the ideological orientation of governments in many countries over a very long period of time. Inevitably, therefore, the data contain errors. Those errors are of two types: first, as we have already discussed, it is difficult to achieve consistency when trying to describe ideological orientations in very different economic, social, and political contexts; second, any measurement of a latent concept such as political ideology at times requires judgement calls, and although we have sought to cross-check all our coding decisions with country experts, it is likely that reasonable people disagree on some of the judgments that we have made. If you find any errors in the data or if you have reasons to believe that our coding decisions should be altered, we would greatly appreciate your input via email to the authors (see contact info above). We expect to publish revised versions of the dataset in the future.

6 Recommended Citations

Scholars who wish to use the data compiled here in their own work are kindly asked to include the following two references:

1. Brambor, Thomas, and Johannes Lindvall. 2013. "Democratic Breakdowns in Economic Crises: The Role of Political Ideology." Unpublished manuscript, Department of Political Science, Lund University.

2. Brambor, Thomas, Johannes Lindvall, and Annika Stjernquist. 2013. "The Ideology of Heads of Government, 1870–2012." Version 1.0. Department of Political Science, Lund University.

7 The Coding Process

The goal of this database is to provide a coding of leadership ideology in the economic dimension and the religious dimension that is robust across both space and time. This section provides an account of our coding procedures.

Ideological Categories

Our starting point for the coding of leader ideology is the `execrlc` variable in the World Bank's *Database of Political Institutions* (Beck et al., 2001; Keefer, 2012). The World Bank provides ideological measures for heads of governments in most countries in the world between 1975 to 2012, including all the countries in our dataset. We adopt Keefer's (2012) definition of economic ideology (see the variable definitions above). For this reason, we have tried to avoid changes in the World Bank's coding for the period from 1975 onward. However, for reasons of temporal and spatial consistency, to correct errors, to more closely follow established comparative projects measuring ideological placement of political parties, and following the advice of our country experts, about 10 percent of our ideological codings and 5 percent of our religious codings differ from the World Bank dataset.

We also include a version of one of the other variables in the Keefer (2012) dataset: the execrel variable, which indicates whether the head of government ran on a religious platform. Since we are examining a sample of mainly Christian countries (with the exception of Japan), we have only included heads of government running on an explicitly Christian platform in this category. Among democracies, the value "1" on this variable therefore *de facto* means a Christian democratic platform (or, before the Second World War, the Catholic or Protestant precursors of contemporary Christian democratic parties).

General Approach

We proceeded in the following manner.

1. We used the rulers.org dataset (Schemmel, 2013) to produce a list of heads of government (prime ministers, presidents, chancellors, etc.) for each country in the dataset. As we mentioned earlier, we then identified the head of government who was in office for the greater part of each year to create a basic country-year dataset that simply included a list of names.

2. We then used a number of different sources, including, in particular, Nohlen and Stöver (2010), Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann (2002), Nohlen (2005a), Nohlen (2005b), Von Beyme (1970), Encyclopedia Britannica (2013), and, in a few remaining cases, Wikipedia, to identify the name of the party that the head of government belonged to (or, alternatively, his or her parliamentary faction or ideological tendency, in countries without institutionalized party systems).

3. In countries where it was possible to do so, we used sources such as Caramani (2000), Caramani (2004), Szajkowski (2005), and country-specific sources (see below for a full listing) to determine how historical parties are related to modern political parties (that is, which broad families of parties existed in each country, and which parties belonged to those families).

4. We then used a number of different sources to categorize parties and party families into the three categories left, center, and right (see the discussion of additional and country-specific sources below). The resulting categorization places parties in three grand ideological traditions, with the label "Right" for conservative parties, strongly market-liberal parties, and Catholic/Christian democratic parties, "Center" for liberal parties with a significant social reform agenda (social liberalism), and "Left" for socialist parties.

5. Finally, we used historical reference works and, in some cases, examined the biographies of heads of government to determine if the ideological orientations of individual heads of government deviated from the ideology of their parties or factions. We used similar sources to determine the ideologies of heads of government that did not belong to any particular party.

6. Once we had a preliminary coding for each country, we sent out the spreadsheets with the years, names, party names, and preliminary ideological categorizations to country experts (who are listed in the Acknowledgements section, section 4). Based on the expert responses, often following further inquiries, and after consultation of additional country specific sources, we decided on a final ideological coding.

Christian Democracy

One of the difficult problems that we have confronted is how to code Christian Democratic parties in the economic dimension. There are two important questions here. First of all, there is some debate about whether to think of Christian democratic parties as largely similar to conservative parties (such as the British Conservative Party) or as parties with a largely centrist ideology. Second, there is some debate about whether Catholic and other Christian parties before the Second World War were different from post-war Christian democratic parties: according to one view, they were; according to another – perhaps more modern – view, they were not (on these matters, see especially Kalyvas and van Kersbergen, 2010).

In the end, we chose to code almost all Christian democratic heads of government as "R" in the economic dimension and "1" in the religious dimension, since that is how they are coded in the World Bank's dataset (the exceptions from this rule in our dataset include some of the Chancellors from the German party *Zentrum*, who are coded as centrists, and the smaller Christian democratic parties in party systems with large conservative parties, such as Norway). For some purposes, we suspect that it might be better to think of Christian democratic parties and even pre-war Catholic parties as centrist. Since, *in democracies*, the value "1" on the **hogrel** variable is used almost exclusively for Christian democratic parties, it is fairly straightforward to recode economic ideology for those cases, particularly when keeping in mind that Christian democracy was only a significant political force in five countries in Western Europe: Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands (Kalyvas and van Kersbergen, 2010).

Dictatorships

Our dataset provides the ideology of head of governments of democracies and dictatorships for an almost one and a half century period. Accordingly, *right* ideology is attributed to authoritarian leaders ranging from Otto von Bismarck and Adolf Hitler to Alberto Fujimori, while the group of *left* dictators includes Juan Perón and Hugo Chavez. Among democratically elected leaders we place Tony Blair and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva on the left of the spectrum, ideologically opposite of leaders such as Ronald Reagan and Winston Churchill on the right political side.

Importantly, all these head of government's ideological positions should be seen in relation to the type of regime they lead as well as the cultural and temporal context. Do we think these leaders are ideologically all the same if given the same ideological label? Obviously not. Analysts using these data should make use of information about regime type (e.g. the classification of democracies and dictatorships by Boix, Miller, and Rosato (2012)) or other contextual information to allow for appropriate comparisons. By using the same ideological labels across regime types, we intended to allow analysts to make their own decisions about how to classify leaders, rather than imposing a specific structure of regime classifications, the

extent of democracy, or different temporal contexts.

Among the authoritarian head of governments in the dataset, there are a few types of leaders that appear to fall into several broad categories. First, there is a substantial number of conservative (and often Christian) authoritarian leaders that can be found in the earlier years of the period covered. Second, we find several fascist leaders on the far right end of the political spectrum, but given the geographic coverage of our dataset very few leaders with communist convictions. Third, there are a few left-wing populist dictators, especially in Latin America. Lastly, there is a spattering of military regimes, in which the ideological orientation was at times harder to identify (especially with military juntas) and as a result is sometimes coded as "Other" if indeterminate.

Populism in Latin America

During the twentieth century, several countries in Latin America were governed, from time to time, by populist leaders whose approaches to politics were in some ways similar but whose ideological convictions are at times difficult to place in the traditional left-right spectrum. Populist leaders distinguished themselves by embracing the poor and lower classes as their power base and by promising to break oligarchic power structures, yet they often combined these demands with strong nationalist overtones. While often classified as communists at the time, the substantive policy choices of such leaders frequently borrowed from the platforms of both traditional conservative parties and left parties.

For example, there is little doubt that Venezuela's Hugo Chavez embraced socialism and is best placed on the left of the political spectrum. In contrast, Getulio Vargas's reign as Brazil's dictator, from 1930 to 1945, and as democratically elected President from 1951 until his suicide in 1954, is less ideologically pristine. While Vargas initially distinguished himself as a supporter of labor, extending social security and legalizing labor unions early on, during the *Estado Novo* (1937–45) his convictions became infused by fascist ideas (later admitting inspiration from Mussolini's Italian Fascism), including the use of paramilitaries, condoning anti-Semitism, and banning the communist party. Despite these contradictions, our interest in coding the *economic* dimension of ideology led us to place Vargas on the left for his entire time in office. In our view, he consistently showed an ideological conviction to support social and economic advances, even if also pursuing political (and civil liberties) repression and fascist ideas.

In general, for populist leaders we sought to understand their personal agenda and ideological beliefs with regard to the economic dimension. Importantly, each populist leader was analyzed individually rather than drawing generalized conclusions about populist leaders as a phenomenon. Empirically, most of Latin America's populists have been coded as left-wing due to strong beliefs in redistribution. In most cases the ideological placement of these leaders does not change over time

(but there are a few exceptions to this rule, such as the case of Velasco Ibarra in Ecuador).

Sources

Beyond the sources already mentioned above, we relied on a number of region- and country-specific sources to identify the ideological leaning of heads of governments.

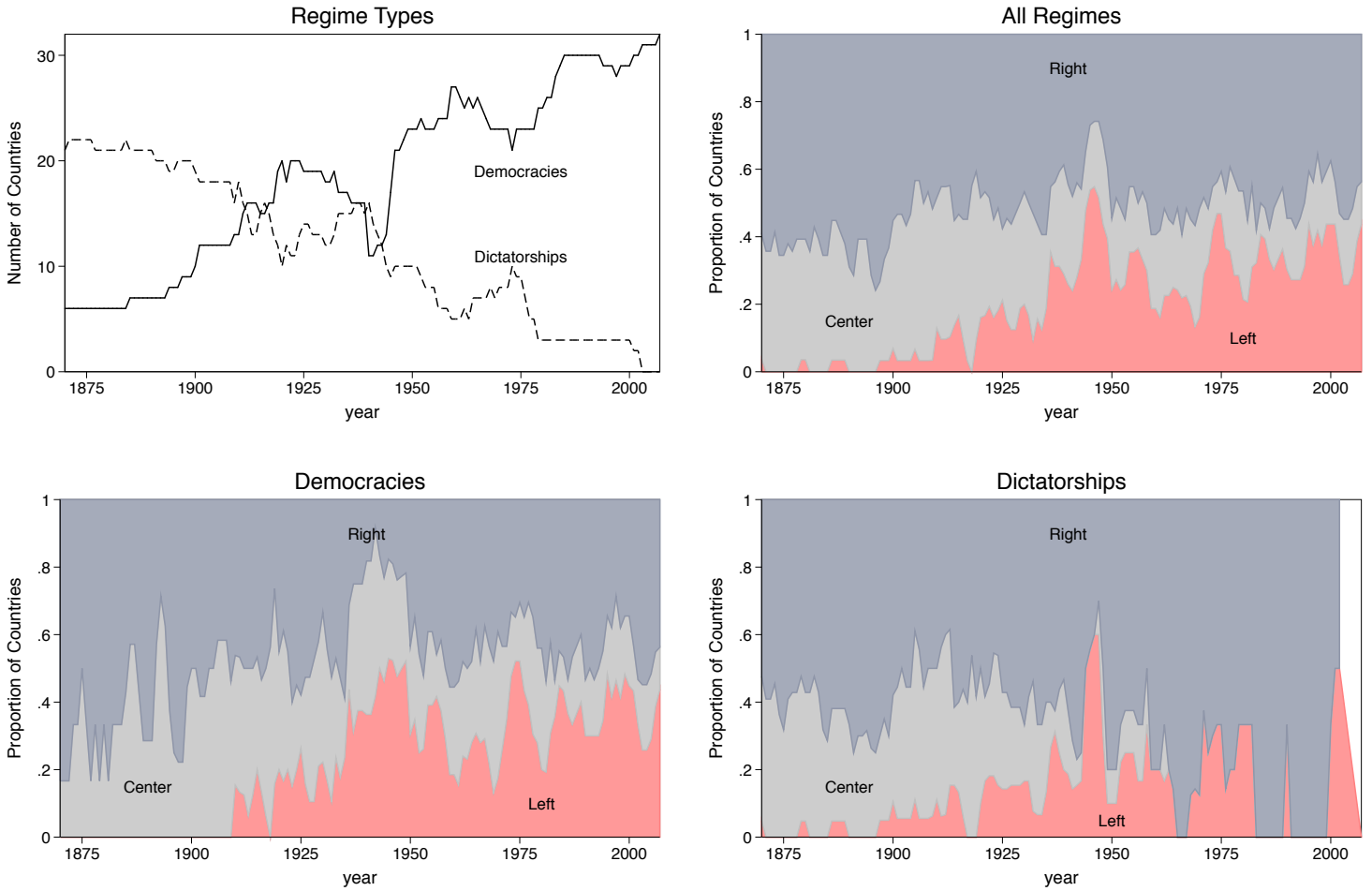
Advanced industrialized countries in Western Europe, North America, and the Asia Pacific regions are often grouped in comparative analyses. For information about the ideological placement of parties in the advanced industrialized countries, we relied on Armingeon et al. (2012), Döring and Manow (2010), and Swank (2010), which relies, in turn, on the expert codings by Castles and Mair (1984). We also relied on the excellent survey of party position codings that is provided in Rehm (2006).

For the Latin American cases, we stand on the shoulders of Coppedge's (1997) work, which provides an ideological classification of parties for 12 countries during large parts of the twentieth century. In addition, we used the dataset provided by Murillo, Oliveros, and Vaishnov (2010) to cross-check the data from the World Bank's *Database of Political Institutions* (2001) for the period 1978–2009. The most difficult part was extending the ideological coding to the late nineteenth century, a period when political competition in several of the countries in our sample was still dominated by concerns about the state building process. For general historical information, we made extensive use of several of the volumes of *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (Bethell, 1994). For information about the history and ideological placement of parties, the compendium by Di Tella (2004) proved invaluable.

For some countries, we used additional sources to complement the general sources that we have mentioned so far. Since we have been able to rely more on existing comparative studies of political parties when we have coded parties in North America, Western Europe, and the Asia-Pacific region and since our coding of parties in these regions builds on an existing dataset (Ansell and Lindvall, 2013; Lindvall and Erman, 2013), most of the additional country-specific sources concern countries in Latin America and Southern Europe.

Argentina: El Historiador (2013) Gallo (1986), Hale (1986), Ministerio del Interior (2012), López (2000), McGuire (1995), Smith and Sylvestre (1967).
Austria: Various party programs of the FPÖ and SPÖ.
Bolivia: Cajías (2000), Klein (1986), Lynch (1986), Office of the Vice-President of Bolivia (2013), Rouquie and Suffern (1995).
Brazil: Fausto (1986), Mainwaring, Meneguello, and Power (1999), Bello (1966).
Chile: Blakemore (1986), Collier and Sater (2004), Ejército de Chile (2013), Memoria Chilena (2013), Universidad de Chile (2013).

Figure 1: The Ideology of Heads of Government over Time



Colombia: Asi Es Colombia (2013), Lynch (1986).
Costa Rica: Cardoso (1986), Cruz (2005), Mahoney (2001), Mejías (2000), Mora and Mora (1991), Oppenheim (2003), Vargas (1990).
Ecuador: Deas (1986), Henderson (2008), Stornaiolo (1999), Lauderbaugh (2012), Capello (2011), Chaves (2004).
France: Campbell (2013), Slomp (2011), party program of the CNIP.
Greece: Clogg (2002), Clogg (1987), Forster (1957), Hering (1992), Hionidou (2006), Lane, McKay, and Newton (1996), Keridis (2009), Kitromilides (2008), Koliopoulos and Veremis (2009), Lykogiannis (2002), MacRidis (1984), Pappas (2003), Psalidopoulos (2009), Smith (1998).
Ireland: Barberis, McHugh, and Tyldesley (2005), Volberg (2007).
Italy: Diamond and Gunther (2001), Morgan (2007).
Japan: AfE (2013), Berger (1989), Jansen and Hall (1989), Hane (1969), Kohno (1997), Mitani and Duus (1989), Sakata and Hall (1956), Sumikawa (1999).
Mexico: Garner (2001), Garrido (1995), Meyer (1986), Knight (1990), Smith (1990).
Netherlands: Broughton (1999).
New Zealand: Bassett (1975), Legassé (2007), Martin (2005), NZ History (2013), Te Ara (2013).
Paraguay: Lewis (1986), Lynch (1986).
Peru: Angell (1994), Bertram (1991), Crabtree (2011), Gootenberg (1995), Klarén (1986), Levitt (1998), Mücke (2001), Alfonso (2002), Tuesta Soldevilla (1995).
Portugal: Broughton (1999), Gallagher (1983), International Business Publications (2012), Wheeler (1972), Wheeler (1998), Wheeler and Opello (2010).
Spain: Carr (1980), Graham (2002), Junco (2002), Linz, Jerez, and Corzo (2003), Payne (1993), Payne (1999), Reguillo and Tardío (2012), Rein (1999), Townson (2000).
Switzerland: Hug and Schulz (2007).
Uruguay: Oddone (1966), Rock (2000), Yaffe (2001).
Venezuela: Coppedge (1999), Coronil (1997), Deas (1986), Glade (1986), Tarver Denova and Frederick (2005), Kantor (1959), Kornblith and Levine (1993), Lynch (1986), McCoy and Myers (2004), Morón (1964), Olivar (2007), Rodríguez (2013), Rouquie and Suffern (1995), Yarrington (2003).
United States: Caldeira and Zorn (2011)

References

AfE. 2013. "Various Entries." URL http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/.

Alfonso, Sernaque Silva. 2002. "Control Social, Neoliberalismo y Derecho Penal." *UNMSM Fondo Editorial lima* .

Angell, Alan. 1994. "The Left in Latin America since c. 1920." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 163–232.

Ansell, Ben and Johannes Lindvall. 2013. "The Political Origins of Primary Education Systems: Ideology, Institutions, and Interdenominational Conflict in an Era of Nation-Building." *American Political Science Review* 107 (03):505–522.

Armingeon, Klaus, David Weisstanner, Sarah Engler, Panajotis Potolidis, and Marlène Gerber. 2012. "Comparative political data set I, 1960-2010."

Asi Es Colombia. 2013. "Various Entries." URL http://web.presidencia.gov.co/asiescolombia/.

Barberis, Peter, John McHugh, and Mike Tyldesley. 2005. *Encyclopedia of British and Irish Political Organizations: Parties, Groups and Movements of the 20th Century*. Continuum International Publishing Group.

Bassett, Judith. 1975. "Sir Harry Atkinson and the Conservative Faction in New Zealand Politics, 1879-1890." In *Sir Harry Atkinson, 1831-1892*. Auckland, Australia: Auckland University Press.

Beck, Thorsten, George Clarke, Alberto Groff, Philip Keefer, and Patrick Walsh. 2001. "New Tools in Comparative Political Economy: The Database of Political Institutions." *World Bank Econ Rev* 15 (1):165–176.

Bello, José Maria. 1966. *A History of Modern Brazil: 1889-1964*. Stanford University Press.

Berger, Gordon M. 1989. "Politics and Mobilization in Japan, 1931–1945." In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, edited by Peter Duus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 97–153.

Bertram, Geoffrey. 1991. "Peru, 1930–60." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 383–450.

Bethell, Leslie. 1994. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. Various Volumes. Cambridge University Press.

Blakemore, Harold. 1986. "Chile from the War of the Pacific to the World Depression, 1880–1930." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 497–552.

Boix, Carles, Michael Miller, and Sebastian Rosato. 2012. "A Complete Data Set of Political Regimes, 1800–2007." *Comparative Political Studies* .

Broughton, David. 1999. *Changing Party Systems in Western Europe*. Continuum International Publishing Group.

Cajías, Lupe. 2000. "Tendencias Ideológicas y Partidos Políticos en Bolivia." In *Opiniones y Análisis*. La Paz, Bolivia: FUNDEMOS.

Caldeira, Gregory A. and Christopher Zorn. 2011. "A Media-Based Measure of Presidential Candidate Ideology." .

Campbell, Caroline. 2013. "National Regeneration in Vichy France: Ideas and Policies, 1930–1944." *Modern & Contemporary France* 21 (2):250–251.

Capello, Ernesto. 2011. *City at the Center of the World: Space, History, and Modernity in Quito*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Caramani, Daniele. 2000. *Elections in Western Europe 1815-1996 (Societies of Europe)*. Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2004. *The Nationalization of Politics: The Formation of National Electorates and Party Systems in Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

Cardoso, Ciro F. S. 1986. "Central America: the Liberal Era, c. 1870–1930." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 195–228.

Carr, Raymond. 1980. *Modern Spain, 1875-1980*. Oxford University Press.

Castles, Francis G. and Peter Mair. 1984. "Left–Right Political Scales: Some 'Expert' Judgments." *European Journal of Political Research* 12 (1):73–88.

Chaves, Germán Rodas. 2004. *La Izquierda Ecuatoriana*. Quito, Ecuador: Editorial Abya Yala.

Clogg. 1987. *Parties and Elections in Greece: The Search for Legitimacy*. Duke University Press.

Clogg, Richard. 2002. *A Concise History of Greece*. Cambridge University Press.

Collier, Simon and William F. Sater. 2004. *A History of Chile, 1808-2002*. Cambridge University Press.

Coppedge, Michael. 1997. *A classification of Latin American political parties*. 244. Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies.

———. 1999. *Venezuela: Conservative representation without conservative parties*. 268. Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies.

Coronil, Fernando. 1997. *The Magical State: Nature, Money, and Modernity in Venezuela*. University of Chicago Press.

Crabtree, John. 2011. *Fractured Politics: Peruvian Democracy Past and Present*. School of Advanced Study.

Cruz, Consuelo. 2005. *Political Culture and Institutional Development in Costa Rica and Nicaragua: World Making in the Tropics*. Cambridge University Press.

Deas, Malcolm. 1986. "Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, c. 1880–1930." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 641–682.

Diamond, Larry and Richard Gunther. 2001. *Political Parties and Democracy*. JHU Press.

Döring, Holger and Philip Manow. 2010. "Parliament and government composition database (ParlGov)." *An infrastructure for empirical information on parties, elections and governments in modern democracies. Version* 10 (11):6.

Ejército de Chile. 2013. "Various Entries." URL http://www.ejercito.cl/.

El Historiador. 2013. "Various Entries." URL http://www.elhistoriador.com.ar/.

Encyclopedia Britannica. 2013. "Various Entries." URL http://www.britannica.com/.

Fausto, Boris. 1986. "Brazil: the social and political structure of the First Republic, 1889–1930." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 779–830.

Finer, Samuel E. 1997. *The History of Government*, vol. 3 Volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Forster, Edward Seymour. 1957. *A Short History of Modern Greece, 1821-1956*. Taylor & Francis.

Gallagher, Tom. 1983. *Portugal: A Twentieth-Century Interpretation*. Manchester University Press.

Gallo, Ezequiel. 1986. "Argentina: Society and Politics, 1880–1916." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 359–392.

Garner, Paul H. 2001. *Porfirio Díaz*. Pearson Education.

Garrido, Luis Javier. 1995. *El Partido de la Revolución Institucionalizada: La Formación del Nuevo Estado en México, 1928-1945*. Siglo XXI Editores.

Glade, William. 1986. "Latin America and the international economy, 1870–1914." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–56.

Gootenberg, Paul. 1995. "Order[s] and Progress in Developmental Discourse: A Case of Nineteenth Century Peru." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 8 (2):111–135.

Graham, Helen. 2002. *The Spanish Republic at War 1936-1939*. Cambridge University Press.

Hale, Charles A. 1986. "Political and social ideas in Latin America, 1870–1930." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 367–442.

Hane, Mikiso. 1969. "Early Meiji Liberalism. An Assessment." *Monumenta Nipponica* 24 (4):353–371.

Henderson, Peter V. N. 2008. *Gabriel García Moreno and Conservative State Formation in the Andes*. University of Texas Press.

Hering, Gunnar. 1992. *Die politischen Parteien in Griechenland, 1821-1936*. Oldenbourg Verlag.

Hionidou, Violetta. 2006. *Famine and Death in Occupied Greece, 1941-1944*. Cambridge University Press.

Hug, Simon and Tobias Schulz. 2007. "Left—Right Positions of Political Parties in Switzerland." *Party Politics* 13 (3):305–330.

International Business Publications. 2012. *Portugal Country Study Guide: Strategic Information and Developments*. Int'l Business Publications (Ibpus.com).

Jansen, Marius B. and John Whitney Hall. 1989. *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Cambridge University Press.

Junco, José Álvarez. 2002. *The Emergence of Mass Politics in Spain: Populist Demagoguery and Republican Culture, 1890-1910*. Sussex Academic Press.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. and Kees van Kersbergen. 2010. "Christian Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13 (1):183–209.

Kantor, Harry. 1959. "The Development of Acción Democrática de Venezuela." *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 1 (2):237–255.

Keefer, Philip. 2012. "DPI2000 Database of Political Institutions: Changes and Variable Definitions." *Development Research Group, The World Bank* .

Keridis, Dimitris. 2009. *Historical Dictionary of Modern Greece*. Scarecrow Press.

Kitromilides, Paschalis M. 2008. *Eleftherios Venizelos: The Trials of Statesmanship*. Edinburgh University Press.

Klarén, Peter F. 1986. "The Origins of Modern Peru, 1880–1930." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 587–640.

Klein, Herbert S. 1986. "Bolivia from the War of the Pacific to the Chaco War, 1880–1932." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 553–586.

Knight, Alan. 1990. "Mexico, c. 1930–46." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–82.

Kohno, Masaru. 1997. *Japan's Postwar Party Politics*. Princeton University Press.

Koliopoulos, John S. and Thanos M. Veremis. 2009. *Modern Greece: A History since 1821*. John Wiley & Sons.

Kornblith, Miriam and Daniel H. Levine. 1993. "Venezuela: The Life and Times of the Party Systems."

Lane, Jan-Erik, David McKay, and Kenneth Newton. 1996. *Political Data Handbook: OECD Countries*. Oxford University Press.

Lauderbaugh, George. 2012. *The History of Ecuador*. ABC-CLIO.

Legassé, P. 2007. *The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Levitt, Barry S. 1998. *Parties and Politicians in Contemporary Peru: Exploring New Forms of Electoral Representation*. Latin American Studies Association.

Lewis, Paul H. 1986. "Paraguay from the War of the Triple Alliance to the Chaco War, 1870–1932." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 475–496.

Lindvall, Johannes and Alvina Erman. 2013. "Heads of Government in 18 Countries, 1870–1939." Version 1.0. [01/29/2012].

Linz, Juan J., Miguel Jerez, and Susana Corzo. 2003. "Ministers and Regimes in Spain: From First to Second Restoration, 1874-2001. CES Working Paper, no. 101, 2003." .

Lykogiannis, Athanasios. 2002. *Britain and the Greek Economic Crisis, 1944-1947: From Liberation to the Truman Doctrine*. University of Missouri Press.

Lynch, John. 1986. "The Catholic Church in Latin America, 1830–1930." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 527–596.

López, Javier Ocampo. 2000. "Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: El Presidente de Argentina 'Maestro de América'." *Revista Historia de La Educación Latinoamericana* (2):11–36.

MacRidis, Roy C. 1984. *Greek Politics at a Crossroads: What Kind of Socialism?* Hoover Press.

Mahoney, James. 2001. *The Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependence and Political Regimes in Central America*. JHU Press.

Mainwaring, Scott, Rachel Meneguello, and Timothy Power. 1999. *Conservative Parties, Democracy, and Economic Reform in Contemporary Brazil*, vol. 264. Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies.

Martin, John E. 2005. "Political Participation and Electoral Change in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand." *Political Science* 57 (1):39–58.

McCoy, Jennifer L. and David J. Myers. 2004. *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*. JHU Press.

McGuire, James W. 1995. "Political parties and democracy in Argentina." In *Building democratic institutions: Party systems in Latin America*, edited by Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 200–246.

Mejías, Sonia Alda. 2000. "El Debate ente Liberales y Conservadores en Centroamérica: Distintos Medios para un Objetivo Común, la Construcción de una República de Ciudadanos (1821-1900)." *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie V, Historia contemporánea* (13):271–312.

Memoria Chilena. 2013. "Various Entries." URL http://www.memoriachilena.cl/.

Meyer, Jean. 1986. "Mexico: Revolution and Reconstruction in the 1920s." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 155–194.

Ministerio del Interior. 2012. "Manual de Formación Poliítica." Tech. rep., Instituto Nacional de Capacitacioón Poliítica, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Mitani, Taichirō and Peter Duus. 1989. "The Establishment of Party Cabinets, 1898–1932." In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, edited by Peter Duus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 53–96.

Mora, Orlando Salazar and Jorge Mario Salazar Mora. 1991. *Los Partidos Políticos en Costa Rica*. EUNED.

Morgan, Philip. 2007. *The Fall of Mussolini: Italy, the Italians, and the Second World War*. Oxford University Press.

Morón, Guillermo. 1964. "A History of Venezuela."

Murillo, Maria Victoria, Virginia Oliveros, and Milan Vaishnov. 2010. "Dataset on Political Ideology of Presidents and Parties in Latin America."

Mücke, Ulrich. 2001. "Voting Patterns and the Rise of Parliamentary Parties in Peru's Congress, 1860–1879." *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe/European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* :59–78.

Nohlen, Dieter. 2005a. *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook, Volume 1 (North America, Central America, and the Caribbean)*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nohlen, Dieter, editor. 2005b. *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook: Volume 2: South America*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Nohlen, Dieter, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann, editors. 2002. *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook: Volume 1: Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Nohlen, Dieter and Philip Stöver, editors. 2010. *Elections in Europe: A Data Handbook*. Nomos Publishers.

NZ History. 2013. "Various Entries." URL http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/.

Oddone, Juan Antonio. 1966. *La formación del Uruguay moderno: la inmigración y el desarrollo económico-social*, vol. 43. Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires.

Office of the Vice-President of Bolivia. 2013. "1888-1892 Serapio Reyes Ortiz." URL http://www.vicepresidencia.gob.bo/1888-1892-Serapio-Reyes-Ortiz.

Olivar, José Alberto. 2007. "La Agrupación Cívica Bolivariana: Instrumento De Control Político Electoral Del Postgomecismo (1937-1942)." *Revista Mañongo* (28).

Oppenheim, Ben. 2003. *Soil and Struggle: Civil Conflict and State Formation in El Salvador and Costa Rica*. London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Development Studies Institute (DESTIN).

Pappas, Takis S. 2003. "The Transformation of the Greek party System since 1951." *West European Politics* 26 (2):90–114.

Payne, Stanley G. 1993. *Spain's First Democracy: The Second Republic, 1931-1936*. University of Wisconsin Press.

———. 1999. *Fascism in Spain: 1923 - 1977*. University of Wisconsin Press.

Psalidopoulos, Michalis. 2009. "The Greek 'Society for the Freedoms of Trade' (1865–67): Rise, Activities, Decline." *Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 27 (04):383.

Reguillo, Fernando Del Rey and Manuel Álvarez Tardío. 2012. *The Spanish Second Republic Revisited: From Democratic Hopes to the Civil War (1931-1936)*. Sussex Academic Press.

Rehm, Philipp. 2006. "Measuring Parties' Positions in the Policy Space. A Critical Survey with Some Suggestions."

Rein, Raanan. 1999. *Spain and the Mediterranean Since 1898*. Routledge.

Rock, David. 2000. "State-Building and Political Systems in Nineteenth-Century Argentina and Uruguay." *Past & Present* (167):176.

Rodríguez, Simón. 2013. "Nuestra historia republicana."

Rouquie, Alain and Stephen Suffern. 1995. "The Military in Latin American Politics since 1930." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 233–304.

Sakata, Yoshio and John Whitney Hall. 1956. "The Motivation of Political Leadership in the Meiji Restoration." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 16 (1):31–50.

Schemmel, Benjamin. 2013. "Rulers Database." URL http://www.rulers.org.

Slomp, Hans. 2011. *Europe, a Political Profile: An American Companion to European Politics*. ABC-CLIO.

Smith, Michael Llewellyn. 1998. *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922*. C. Hurst & Co. Publishers.

Smith, Peter H. 1990. "Mexico since 1946." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 83–157.

Smith, Peter H. and Graciela Sylvestre. 1967. "Los Radicales Argentinos y la Defensa de los Intereses Ganaderos, 1916-1930." *Desarrollo Económico* :795–829.

Stornaiolo, Ugo. 1999. *Ecuador: Anatomía de un País en Transición*. Editorial Abya Yala.

Sumikawa, Shunsuke. 1999. "The Meiji Restoration: Roots of Modern Japan." .

Swank, Duane. 2010. *Electoral, legislative, and government strength of political parties by ideological group in capitalist democracies, 1950-2006: A database*.

Szajkowski, Bogdan. 2005. *Political Parties of the World*. London, UK: John Harper Publishing.

Tarver Denova, Hollis Micheal Tarver and Julia C. Frederick. 2005. *The History of Venezuela*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Te Ara. 2013. "Various Entries." URL http://www.TeAra.govt.nz.

Tella, Torcuato S. Di. 2004. *History of Political Parties in Twentieth-century Latin America*. Transaction Publishers.

Teorell, Jan, Marcus Samanni, Sören Holmberg, and Bo Rothstein. 2012. "The Quality of Government Dataset, version 6 April 2011."

Townson, Nigel. 2000. *The Crisis of Democracy in Spain: Centrist Politics Under the Second Republic, 1931-1936*. Sussex Academic Press.

Tuesta Soldevilla, Fernando. 1995. "Sistema de Partidos Políticos en el Perú 1978-1995." .

Universidad de Chile. 2013. "Various Entries." URL http://www.uchile.cl/portal/presentacion/historia/grandes-figuras.

Vargas, Claudia Quirós. 1990. *Historia de Costa Rica*. Editorial Universidad de Costa Rica.

Volberg, Thorsten. 2007. *How Has Fianna Fail Adapted to Changes in Irish Society Since 1945?* GRIN Verlag.

Von Beyme, Klaus. 1970. *Die parlamentarischen Regierungssysteme in Europa*. München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag.

Wheeler, Douglas L. 1972. "The Portuguese Revolution of 1910." *The Journal of Modern History* 44 (2):172–194.

———. 1998. *Republican Portugal: A Political History, 1910-1926*. University of Wisconsin Press.

Wheeler, Douglas L. and Walter C. Opello. 2010. *Historical Dictionary of Portugal*. Scarecrow Press.

Yaffe, Jaime. 2001. "Política y Economía en la Modernización: Uruguay 1876 - 1933."

Yarrington, Doug. 2003. "Cattle, Corruption, and Venezuelan State Formation During the Regime of Juan Vicente Gomez, 1908-1935." *Latin American Research Review* 38 (2):9–33.