Cross-National Research on USAID's Democracy and Governance Programs

Codebook

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1. Measures of USAID Activity

AID   **Total USAID investment (all sectors)**

Definition: Total USAID investment in the country for all sectors, in Millions of 1995 US dollars (average for the last two years). AID = AID100+AID000

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average (y, y-1)

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Two-year average is based on the fact that original figures reflected yearly obligations (disbursements may have happened during the following year). Dates refer to fiscal years (e.g., 1990 covers Oct. 1, 1989 to Sept. 30, 1990). Constant dollars were estimated using the World Bank's GDP deflator. Only USAID programs (Agency=us_aid in the original database) were included.

OBL   **New USAID Obligations During Year (all sectors)**

Definition: Dichotomous indicator coded 1 if the country was recipient of USAID obligations during the year, 0 otherwise.

Scale: 0 (No obligations for the fiscal year) 1 (Recipient)

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Variable is *not* based on two-year averages. Years coded as zero may still show positive values for AID (carry-over funds from previous year).

1.1. Democracy and Governance Assistance

AID100   **Total Democracy and Governance (DG)**

Definition: Total USAID investment for all Democracy and Governance programs. AID100=AID110+AID120+AID130+AID140

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year. Only USAID programs (Agency=us_aid in the original database) were included.

OBL100   **New USAID DG Obligations During Year**

Definition: Dichotomous indicator coded 1 if the country was recipient of new USAID Democracy and Governance funds during the year, 0 otherwise (based on country-level obligations).

Scale: 0 (No obligations for the fiscal year) 1 (Recipient)

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Variable is *not* based on two-year averages. Years coded as zero may still show positive values for AID100 (carry-over funds from previous year).

AID110 **DG - Elections and Political Processes**

Definition: USAID investment in Electoral Assistance and Political Party Support programs.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub=EPP)

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

AID120 **DG - Rule of Law**

Definition: USAID investment in programs to strengthen Human Rights and Legal and Judicial Development.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub=RoL)

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

AID121 **DG - Human Rights (Segment of Rule of Law)**

Definition: USAID investment in activities to strengthen awareness and compliance with human rights. (Part of the Rule of Law sub-sector)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub2b=DGHR)

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

AID130 **DG - Civil Society**

Definition: USAID investment in activities to strengthen non-governmental organizations (including civic groups, professional associations, and labor unions).

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub=CivSoc)

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

AID131 **DG – Mass Media (Segment of Civil Society)**

Definition: USAID investment in activities to strengthen the independent media (also counted as part of DG130).

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub2b=DGME)

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

AID140   **DG - Governance**

Definition: USAID investment on other areas of governance, including government transparency and anti-corruption, decentralization, and civil-military relations.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub=GGovc)

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

1.2. Other (Non-DG) Sectors

AID000   **Total Investment in Other Sectors (Non-DG)**

Definition: Total USAID investment in Non-Democracy and Governance Sectors. AID000=AID200+AID300+AID400+AID500+AID600+AID700+AID800

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year. Only USAID programs (Agency=us_aid in the original database) were included.

AID200   **Non-DG - Agriculture and Economic Growth**

Definition: USAID investment in Agriculture and Economic Growth programs (including trade, poverty reduction, market promotion, etc.)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Agriculture," "Other Growth, "Poverty Reduct.," "Private Mkts")

Notes: This is a large category. (On average 39% of total investment, compared to 17% for DG programs).

AID300   **Non-DG - Education**

Definition: USAID investment in educational programs (adult literacy, basic education, higher education).

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Adult Literacy," "Basic Ed," "Higher Ed")

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

AID400   **Non-DG - Environment**

Definition: USAID investment in programs regarding biodiversity, energy, natural resource management, global climate change, and other forms of environmental protection.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Biodiversity," "Energy," "GCC," "NRM," "Other Env," "Urb/PP")

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

AID500   **Non-DG - Health**

Definition: USAID investment in health programs (child survival, HIV/AIDS, infectious diseases, maternal health, population issues, etc.)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Child Survival," "HIV/AIDS," "Inf Diseases," "Maternal Health," "Other Health," "Population")

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

AID600   **Non-DG - Humanitarian Assistance**

Definition: USAID investment in humanitarian assistance (disaster assistance, etc.)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Humanit Asst" and "OTI")

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

AID700   **Non-DG - Human Rights**

Definition: USAID investment in Human Rights programs outside of the DG (rule of law) sector (e.g., programs against trafficking in persons).

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Human Rights")

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

AID800   **Non-DG - Conflict Management and Mitigation**

Definition: USAID investment in activities to promote conflict resolution and management.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="CMM")

Notes: Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.

1.3. Sources and Composition of Funding

PDAAID   **Development Assistance as Percentage of total USAID investment**

Definition: Percentage of country-level funds invested by USAID that belonged to USAID's budget ("Development Assistance"), as opposed to the State Department's budget or other Congressionally-created funding sources.

Scale: Percentage of AID

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Fund="DA")

Notes: If there is no USAID presence in a country, value is set to missing.

PDADG   **Development Assistance as Percentage of total DG funds**

Definition: Percentage of country-level invested in Democracy and Governance programs that belonged to USAID's budget, as opposed to the State Department's budget or other Congressionally-created funding sources.

Scale: Percentage of AID100

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Fund="DA")

Notes: If no funds were allocated to any DG programs, value is set to missing.

PDANDG   **Development Assistance as Percentage of Non-DG funds**

Definition: Percentage of country-level funds invested in Non-DG programs that belonged to USAID's budget, as opposed to the State Department's budget or other Congressionally-created funding sources.

Scale: Percentage of AID000

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Fund="DA")

Notes: If all funds were allocated to DG programs, value is set to missing.

PDGAID   **DG Programs as Percentage of total USAID investment**

Definition: Percentage of total country-level obligations devoted to Democracy and Governance programs. PDGAID=AID100/AID*100

Scale: Percentage of AID

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: If there is no USAID presence in a country, value is set to missing.

AID_2   **Development Assistance Not Channeled Through USAID**

Definition: Total development assistance (all sectors) not channeled through USAID programs. Estimated as the difference between total Economic Assistance (loans and grants reported by the Greenbook) and the AID variable.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average (y, y-1)

Source: AID item (see above) and total Economic Assistance (USAID 2005)

Notes: If AID was greater than Greenbook figures, value was set to zero.

1.4. Regional Programs

RAID100   **Regional Programs in Democracy and Governance (DG)**

Definition: Total USAID investment in region-wide Democracy and Governance programs. Regional programs make a common pool of funds available to all countries in a particular region.
RAID100=RAID110+RAID120+RAID130+RAID140

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Amounts vary across regions and not across countries. Regions are defined according to USAID programs. (See list of regions in the appendix.)

RAID110   **Regional DG - Elections and Political Processes**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide Electoral Assistance and Political Party Support programs.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=EPP)

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID120   **Regional DG - Rule of Law**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide programs to strengthen Human Rights and Legal and Judicial Development.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=RoL)

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID121   **Regional DG - RL - Human Rights**

Definition: USAID investment in regional-wide activities to strengthen awareness and compliance with human rights. (Mostly part of the Rule of Law sub-sector)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub2b=DGHR)

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID130   **Regional DG - Civil Society**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide activities to strengthen non-governmental organizations (including civic groups, professional associations, and labor unions).

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: Data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=CivSoc)

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID140   **Regional DG – Governance**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide governance programs, including government transparency and anti-corruption, decentralization, and civil-military relations.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=GGovc)

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID000   **Total Regional Investment in Other Sectors (Non-DG)**

Definition: Total USAID investment in region-wide programs for other sectors. RAID000=RAID200+RAID300+RAID400+RAID500+RAID600+ +RAID700+RAID800

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID200   **Regional Non-DG - Agriculture and Economic Growth**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide Agriculture and Economic Growth programs (including trade, poverty reduction, market promotion, etc.)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Agriculture," "Other Growth, "Poverty Reduct.," "Private Mkts")

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID300   **Regional Non-DG - Education**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide educational programs (adult literacy, basic education, higher education).

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Adult Literacy," "Basic Ed," "Higher Ed")

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID400   **Regional Non-DG - Environment**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide programs regarding biodiversity, energy, natural resource management, global climate change, and other forms of environmental protection.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: Data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Biodiversity," "Energy," "GCC," "NRM," "Other Env," "Urb/PP")

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID500   **Regional Non-DG - Health**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide health programs (child survival, HIV/AIDS, infectious diseases, maternal health, population issues, etc.)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Child Survival," "HIV/AIDS," "Inf Diseases," "Maternal Health," "Other Health," "Population")

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID600   **Regional Non-DG - Humanitarian Assistance**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide humanitarian assistance (disasters, etc.)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Humanit Asst" and "OTI")

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID700   **Regional Non-DG - Human Rights**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide Human Rights programs outside of the DG (rule of law) sector (e.g., programs against trafficking in persons).

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
(DGsub="Human Rights")

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

RAID800   **Regional Non-DG - Conflict Management and Mitigation**

Definition: USAID investment in region-wide activities to promote conflict resolution and management.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
(DGsub="CMM")

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

NR   **Number of Countries in the Region**

Definition: Total number of countries considered to be part of the region (including those that do not receive USAID funds but are potentially eligible).

Scale: N

Source: Relevant geographic regions are determined by USAID offices and programs. UN standard geographic regions were adjusted to classify countries not included in USAID programs.

Notes: See list of regions in appendix.

1.5. Sub-Regional Programs

SAID100   **Subregional Programs in Democracy and Governance (DG)**

Definition: Total USAID investment in subregional Democracy and Governance programs. Subregional programs make a common pool of funds available to all countries in a particular geographic area (smaller than a region). SAID100=SAID110+SAID120+SAID130+SAID140

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Amounts vary across sub-regions and not across countries. See list of sub-regions in the appendix.

SAID110 **Subregional DG - Elections and Political Processes**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional programs for Electoral Assistance and Political Party Support.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=EPP)

Notes: See list of subregions in the appendix.

SAID120 **Subregional DG - Rule of Law**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional programs to strengthen Human Rights and Legal and Judicial Development.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=RoL)

Notes: See list of subregions in the appendix.

SAID121 **Subregional DG - RL - Human Rights**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional activities to strengthen awareness and compliance with human rights. (Mostly part of the Rule of Law sub-sector)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub2b=DGHR)

Notes: See list of regions in the appendix.

SAID130 **Subregional DG - Civil Society**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional programs to strengthen non-governmental organizations (including civic groups, professional associations, and labor unions).

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=CivSoc)

Notes: See list of subregions in the appendix.

SAID140 **Subregional DG – Governance**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional governance programs, including government transparency and anti-corruption, decentralization, and civil-military relations.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=GGovc)

Notes: See list of subregions in the appendix.

SAID000   **Total Subregional Investment in Other Sectors (Non-DG)**

Definition: Total USAID investment in region-wide programs for other sectors.
SAID000=SAID200+SAID300+SAID400+SAID500+SAID600+
+SAID700+SAID800

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: See list of sub-regions in the appendix.

SAID200   **Subregional Non-DG - Agriculture and Economic Growth**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional Agriculture and Economic Growth
programs (including trade, poverty reduction, market promotion, etc.)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
(DGsub="Agriculture," "Other Growth, "Poverty Reduct.," "Private Mkts")

Notes: See list of subregions in the appendix.

SAID300   **Subregional Non-DG - Education**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional educational programs (adult literacy,
basic education, higher education).

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
(DGsub="Adult Literacy," "Basic Ed," "Higher Ed")

Notes: See list of subregions in the appendix.

SAID400   **Subregional Non-DG - Environment**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional programs on environmental protection.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
(DGsub="Biodiversity," "Energy," "GCC," "NRM," "Other Env,"
"Urb/PP")

Notes: See list of sub-regions in the appendix.

SAID500   **Subregional Non-DG - Health**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional health programs (child survival,
HIV/AIDS, infectious diseases, maternal health, population issues, etc.)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
(DGsub="Child Survival," "HIV/AIDS," "Inf Diseases," "Maternal
Health," "Other Health," "Population")

Notes: See list of sub-regions in the appendix.

SAID600   **Subregional Non-DG - Humanitarian Assistance**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional humanitarian assistance (disasters, etc.)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
(DGsub="Humanit Asst" and "OTI")

Notes: See list of sub-regions in the appendix.

SAID700   **Subregional Non-DG - Human Rights**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional Human Rights programs outside of the
DG (rule of law) sector (e.g., programs against trafficking in persons).

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
(DGsub="Human Rights")

Notes: See list of sub-regions in the appendix.

SAID800   **Subregional Non-DG - Conflict Management and Mitigation**

Definition: USAID investment in subregional activities to promote conflict resolution.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
(DGsub="CMM")

Notes: See list of sub-regions in the appendix.

NS   **Number of Countries in the Sub-Region**

Definition: Total number of countries considered to be part of the sub-region (including
those that do not receive USAID funds but are potentially eligible).

Scale: N

Source: Relevant geographic sub-regions are determined by USAID offices and
programs. UN standard geographic sub-regions were used to classify
countries not included in USAID programs.

Notes: See list of sub-regions in appendix.

RSAID100   **Regional and Sub-Regional Funding "Available" for Democracy and
Governance Programs.**

Definition: Funds available for DG programs at the regional or sub-regional level for
the average country in a given geographic area.
$RSAID100 = (RAID100/NR) + (SAID100/NS)$

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average.

Source: See components above.

Notes: Values are constant for all countries in the same sub-region. See list of sub-
regions in appendix.

RSAID000 **Regional and Sub-Regional Funding "Available" for Non-Democracy and Governance Programs.**

Definition: Funds available for Non-DG programs at the regional or sub-regional level for the average country in a given geographic area.
RSAID000=(RAID000/NR)+(SAID000/NS)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average.

Source: See components above.

Notes: Values are constant for all countries in the same sub-region. See list of sub-regions in appendix.

2. Measures of Democratic Development

2.1. General Democracy and Governance

DG01 **Combined Polity IV Score (Revised version)**

Definition: A general measure of democratization, the combined Polity score is computed by subtracting the autocracy (0-10) score from the democracy (0-10) score. These scores reflect the competitiveness and openness of executive recruitment, the competitiveness and regulation of political participation, and the constraints on the chief executive. (For definitions of these components, see Marshall and Jaggers 2002).

Scale: +10 (strongly democratic) to -10 (strongly autocratic)

Source: POLITY2 item (Marshall, Jaggers, and Gurr 2005)

Notes: Revised Polity scores (POLITY2 item) recode transitional "standardized authority scores" (i.e., -66, -77, and -88) to conventional polity values in the -10–10 range. Regime transitions (-88) are linearly prorated across the span of the transition; cases of foreign intervention (-66) are treated as system missing; and cases of "interregnum" or anarchy (-77), are converted to a "neutral" score of 0 (Marshall and Jaggers 2002, 15-16).

DG02 **Freedom House Index**

Definition: Based on a checklist, Freedom House rates the presence of political rights (see EL01 below) and civil liberties (RL01) in 192 countries. Scores for the two variables range from 1 to 7, with 7 being the lowest level of freedoms in each case (Freedom House 2004b). Following the standard procedure, we combined the two scores into a single index of liberal democracy:

$$DG02 = 15 - (EL01 + RL01).$$

Scale: 1-13 (with 1 representing the lowest and 13 the highest level of freedoms).

Source: PR and CL items (Freedom House 2004a)

Notes: The periodicity of Freedom House reports was uneven in the 1980s. As a rule, we assumed that scores reflected the situation of a country in the year prior to the publication of the report. The only exception was 1982: scores for 1982 were computed as the average of scores in the reports covering January 1981-August 1982, and August 1982-November 1983.

DG03 **Vanhanen Index**

Definition: Vanhanen's index of democratization is created by multiplying the competition (EL02) and the participation (EL03) variables and then dividing the outcome by 100.

Scale: 0-100 (where 0 means least democratic).

Source: Q[y]_3 (Vanhanen 2003)

Notes:

DG04   **"Free" Status (Freedom House)**

Definition: Country is rated as "Free" (i.e., with a combined score lower than 3) by Freedom House that year.

Scale: 0 (Not Free or Partially Free), 1 (Free)

Source: Status item (Freedom House 2004a)

Notes:

DG05   **Democracy Status (Polity)**

Definition: Countries with a combined Polity score greater than 5.

Scale: 0 (DG01<6), 1 (DG01>5)

Source: DG01

Notes:

2.2. Elections and Electoral Processes

EL01   **Political Rights (Freedom House)**

Definition: Based on a twelve-item checklist, Freedom House rates the presence of political rights in 192 countries. The checklist deals with three major issues: transparency of the electoral process; political pluralism and participation; and government transparency and accountability. Lowest scores reflect better conditions. "Countries and territories that receive a rating of 1 for political rights come closest to the ideals suggested by the checklist questions, beginning with free and fair elections. Those who are elected rule, there are competitive parties or other political groupings, and the opposition plays an important role and has actual power. Minority groups have reasonable self-government or can participate in the government…" (For the actual checklist, see Freedom House 2004b)

Scale: 1-7 (with 1 representing the highest and 7 the lowest level of rights).

Source: PR item (Freedom House 2004a)

Notes: Disaggregated scores for checklist are never supplied by Freedom House.

EL02   **Index of Electoral Competition (Vanhanen)**

Definition: "The competition variable portrays the electoral success of smaller parties, that is, the percentage of votes gained by the smaller parties in parliamentary and/or presidential elections. The variable is calculated by subtracting from 100 the percentage of votes won by the largest party (the party which wins most votes) in parliamentary elections or by the party of the successful candidate in presidential elections. Depending on their importance, either parliamentary or presidential elections are used in the calculation of the variable, or both elections are used, with weights" (Vanhanen 2003).

Scale: 0-100 (where 0 means that ruling party "won" one hundred percent of the votes).

Source: Q[y]_1 (Vanhanen 2003)

Notes: Coding favors multiparty parliamentary systems. If there are no elections, score is set at zero.

EL03   **Index of Participation (Vanhanen)**

Definition: "The political participation variable portrays the voting turnout in each election, and is calculated as the percentage of the total population who actually voted in the election. (…) National referendums raise the variable value by five percent and state referendums by one percent for the year they are held. Referendums can increase the degree of participation at maximum by 30 percent a year. The value of the combined degree of participation cannot be higher than 70 percent, even in cases where the sum of participation and referendums would be higher than 70" (Vanhanen 2003).

Scale: 0-100 (where 0 means that no elections are held or that a trivial minority is allowed to cast a vote).

Source: Q[y]_2 (Vanhanen 2003)

Notes: Compulsory vote may affect turnout (numerator); age composition of the population may affect denominator. Index seems to capture gender exclusion.

EL04   **Legislative Index of Electoral Competitiveness (DPI)**

Definition: Measures pluralism in the composition of the legislative body (Keefer 2002b, 15).

Scale: 1. No legislature
                  2. Unelected legislature
                  3. Elected, one candidate
                  4. One party, multiple candidates
                  5. Multiple parties are legal but only one party won seats
                  6. Multiple parties won seats but the largest party received more than 75 percent of the seats.
                  7. The largest party got less than 75 percent of the seats

Source: LIEC item (Keefer 2002a)

Notes: Similar index available for the executive branch (presumably regarding votes)

EL05   **Electoral Fraud and Intimidation (DPI)**

Definition: Captures electoral irregularities in the form of fraud or intimidation (if they were serious enough to affect the outcome of elections). Fraud is coded if allegations were backed by international observers but *also* if the opposition just claimed that fraudulent elections occurred. In any year, coding refers to most recent election (Keefer 2002b, 18).

Scale: 0. Elections were fair *or* there was no fraud because opposition was banned.
                  1. Opposition was legal but suppressed through fraud or intimidation.

Source: FRAUD item (Keefer 2002a)

Notes: A score of 0 may mean that fraud does not exist either because the last election was fair, or because opposition parties are legally banned.

EL06   **Political Discrimination of Minorities (MAR)**

Definition: Captures "the role of public policy and social practice in maintaining or redressing political inequalities" among communal groups in the country (Davenport 2003, 36-37). The Minorities at Risk project codes discrimination policies against specific groups. Values for countries during particular years represent the average score across all groups.

Scale: 0. No discrimination.
                  1. Neglect/Remedial policies: Substantial under representation of some minorities 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.
                  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.
                  4. Exclusion/Repressive policy: Public policies substantially restrict the group's political participation by comparison with other groups.

Source: POLDIS item (Minorities at Risk Project 2004)

Notes: Values represent mean for all minority groups, thus the variable behaves as a continuous scale. Missing data for a large proportion of observations (about 50 percent is coded as -99 "No basis for judgment").

EL07   **Restrictions on Voting Rights for Minorities (MAR)**

Definition: Captures restrictions on voting rights against specific groups in the country (Davenport 2003, 37-38). The Minorities at Risk project codes voting discrimination policies at the group level. Values for countries during particular years represent the average score for all groups.

Scale: 0. Not restricted
                  1. Voting moderately restricted
                  2. Voting prohibited

Source: POLIC5 item (Minorities at Risk Project 2004)

Notes: Values represent mean for all minority groups, thus the variable behaves as a continuous scale. Missing data for a large proportion of observations (about 50 percent is coded as -99 "No basis for judgment").

EL08   **Women's Political Rights (CIRI)**

Definition: "Women's political rights include (…) 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" (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 32)

Scale: 0. Laws overtly restrict the participation of women in the political process.
1. Equality is guaranteed by law, but significant limitations in practice: Women hold less than five percent of seats in the national legislature and other high ranking positions.
2. 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. Equality 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.

Source: (Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)

Notes: Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Section 3: Respect for Political Rights).

EL09   **Registered Voters as Percentage of VAP (IDEA)**

Definition: Citizens registered to vote for the last election as a share of the estimated population of voting age (VAP).

Scale: 0-100 (%)

Source: (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance 2004)

Notes:

EL10   **Voter Turnout as Percentage of VAP (IDEA)**

Definition: Citizens who voted in the last election as a share of the estimated population of voting age (VAP).

Scale: 0-100 (%)

Source: (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance 2004)

Notes: Figures average last presidential and parliamentary elections (if non-concurrent).

EL11   **Right of Suffrage (Paxton, Bollen, Lee, and Kim)**

Definition: Estimate of the "percentage of the adult population (twenty or older) who are eligible to vote in a given year. (…) The formal or constitutional statement of franchise is not taken as meaningful unless the population actually has the opportunity to vote" (Paxton et al. 2003, 94-95)

Scale: 0-100 (where 0 means full exclusion and 100, universal franchise). A score of zero is given if the executive and legislative branches were not elected, or if there have not been any elections for 8 years.

Source: Appendix B (Paxton et al. 2003)

Notes: For the 1990s, bimodal distribution with 14 percent of the valid observations (n=240) with values of 0 (no elections) and 85 percent (n=1452) with values greater than 90%.

EL12   **Competitiveness of Participation (Polity IV)**

Definition: "Extent to which alternative preferences for policy and leadership can be pursued in the political arena" (Marshall and Jaggers 2002, 25).

Scale: 1. Repressed: No significant opposition is permitted.
2. Suppressed: The regime limits the forms and extent of opposition by excluding substantial social groups or parties from participation.
3. Factional: Polities with parochial or ethnic-based political factions (lack common, secular, or cross-cutting agendas).
4. Transitional: From Restricted or Factional patterns to fully Competitive patterns, or vice versa.
5. Competitive: Secular political groups regularly compete for political influence at the national level; ruling parties regularly transfer power to competing groups.
0. *Not Applicable*. No structured patterns of competition. Neither enduring political organizations nor controls on political activity. Intermittent factions may form around leaders, ethnic or clan groups, etc.

Source: (Marshall, Jaggers, and Gurr 2004)

Notes: Category 0 applied to 21 observations (0.9%); we treated them as missing.

EL13   **Legislative Weight of the Opposition Parties (DPI)**

Definition: Herfindahl index of opposition parties (the sum of the squared seat shares of all opposition parties in the legislature). Blank if there is no parliament, if opposition party seats are unknown, or if there are no opposition parties in the legislature (Keefer 2002b, 12).

Scale: 0-1 (where 0 means that opposition has no seats and 1 that a single opposition party controls all the seats in the legislature)

Source: HERFOPP item (Keefer 2002a)

Notes:

EL14   **Legislative Effectiveness (Banks)**

Definition: Ordinal scale indicating the relative leverage of the legislature (if any) in the political process.

Scale: 0. No legislature exists.
                  1. Ineffective. Legislature is a "rubber stamp;" turmoil makes the implementation of legislation impossible; or the executive prevents the legislature's exercise of its functions.
                  2. Partially Effective. The executive outweighs, but does not completely dominate the legislature.
                  3. Effective. Typically includes substantial legislative authority over taxation and spending, and the power to override executive vetoes.

Source: S22F4 item (Banks 2004)

Notes: "It may be noted that the data in field S19F3 are substantively similar to the data in field S22F4. The two data sets are not, however, identical. They were initially coded at different times and incorporated into the file as components of different sub-files. Nonetheless, it is anticipated that the contents of field S19F3 of this segment will, at some future date, be deleted for reason of redundancy" (Banks 2005, 15).

2.3. Rule of Law

RL01   **Civil Liberties (Freedom House)**

Definition: Based on a fifteen-item checklist, Freedom House rates the presence of civil liberties in 192 countries. The checklist deals with four issues: freedom of expression and belief; associational and organizational rights; rule of law; and personal autonomy and individual rights. Lowest scores reflect better conditions. "Countries and territories that receive a rating of 1 come closest to the ideals expressed in the civil liberties checklist, including freedom of expression, assembly, association, education, and religion. They are distinguished by an established and generally equitable system of rule of law. Countries and territories with this rating enjoy free economic activity and tend to strive for equality of opportunity" (for the checklist, see Freedom House 2004b)

Scale: 1-7 (with 1 representing the highest and 7 the lowest level of liberties).

Source: CL item (Freedom House 2004a)

Notes: Disaggregated scores for checklist are never supplied by Freedom House.

RL02   **Freedom of the Press - Ordinal (Freedom House)**

Definition: Freedom House measures (threats to) press freedoms in 192 countries. The index comprises three dimensions: the legal environment (constitutional rights; media regulations, etc.); the political environment (harassment, official censorship and self-censorship); and the economic environment (media ownership; concentration; manipulation of advertising, etc.).

Scale: 1. Not Free
2. Partly Free
3. Free

Source: (Freedom House 2004c)

Notes: For 1979-1992, only a trichotomous scale (Free; Partly Free; Not Free) is available.

RL03   **Freedom of the Press - Interval (Freedom House)**

Definition: Freedom House measures (threats to) press freedoms in 192 countries. The index comprises three dimensions: the legal environment (constitutional rights; media regulations, etc.); the political environment (harassment, official censorship and self-censorship); and the economic environment (media ownership; concentration; manipulation of advertising, etc.).

Scale: 0-100 ("Countries scoring 0 to 30 are regarded as having 'Free' media, 31 to 60, 'Partly Free' media, and 61 to 100, 'Not Free' media").

Source: (Freedom House 2004c)

Notes: Interval measure starts in 1993. For 1979-1992, only the trichotomous scale (RL02) is available.

RL04	**Freedom of Speech and Press (CIRI)**
Definition:	"Indicates the extent to which freedoms of speech and press are affected by government censorship, including ownership of media outlets" (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 16). Includes radio, TV, Internet, and news agencies.
Scale:	0. Complete government censorship and/or ownership of the media. Denies citizens freedom of speech, and does not allow the printing or broadcasting media to express opposing views that challenge the policies of the existing government.
	1. Some government censorship. Government places some restrictions yet does allow limited rights to freedom of speech and the press.
	2. No government censorship. Freedom to speak freely and to print opposing opinions without the fear of prosecution.
Source:	(Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)
Notes:	Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Sec.2, Subsection A).

RL05	**Respect for Women's Social Rights (CIRI)**
Definition:	"Women's social rights include (…) the rights to equal inheritance; to enter into marriage on a basis of equality with men; to travel abroad; to obtain a passport; to confer citizenship to children or a husband; to initiate a divorce; to own, acquire, manage, and retain property brought into marriage; to participate in social, cultural, and community activities; to an education; to choose a residence; freedom from female genital mutilation; and freedom from forced sterilization" (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 40).
Scale:	0. No social rights for women under law. The government tolerates a high level of discrimination against women.
	1. Some social rights for women under law. In practice, the government does not enforce these laws effectively and tolerates a moderate level of discrimination against women.
	2. Social rights for women under law. The government enforces these laws effectively, but it still tolerates a low level of discrimination against women.
	3. All or nearly all of women's social rights are guaranteed by law. The government enforces these laws, tolerating almost no discrimination against women.
Source:	(Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)
Notes:	Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Sec. 5).

RL06   **Equal Legal Protection for Minorities (MAR)**

Definition: Captures unequal protection of legal rights for different groups in the country (Davenport 2003, 30). The Minorities at Risk project codes how specific groups compare to the dominant group in the country. Values for countries during particular years represent the average score for all groups.

Scale: 0. No differential across groups in terms of legal protection
1. Some indeterminate differential
2. Significant differential

Source: POLDIFX6 item (Minorities at Risk Project 2004)

Notes: Values represent mean for all minority groups, thus the variable behaves as a continuous scale. Missing data for 51% of the observations (-99 "No basis for judgment" n=1137).

RL07   **Rights in Judicial Proceedings for Minorities (MAR)**

Definition: Captures unequal treatment in judicial proceedings for members of different groups (Davenport 2003, 37). The Minorities at Risk project codes how members of specific groups are treated. Values for countries during particular years represent the average score for all groups in the dataset.

Scale: 0. Rights in judicial proceedings are not restricted for any group
1. Rights in judicial proceedings moderately restricted
2. Rights in judicial proceedings are restricted

Source: POLIC3 item (Minorities at Risk Project 2004)

Notes: Values represent mean for all minority groups, thus the variable behaves as a continuous scale. Missing data for a large proportion of observations (about 50 percent is coded as -99 "No basis for judgment").

RL08   **Political or Extrajudicial Killings (CIRI)**

Definition: "Extrajudicial killings are killings by government officials without due process of law. These killings may result from the deliberate, illegal, and excessive use of lethal force by the police, security forces, or other agents of the state whether against criminal suspects, detainees, prisoners, or others. (…) A victim of politically motivated killing is someone who was killed by a government or its agents as a result of his or her involvement in political activities or for supporting the political actions of opposition movements against the existing government" (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 8).

Scale: 0. Frequent political or extrajudicial killings (50 or more during the year, or described by sources as "gross," "widespread," "systematic," etc.)
1. Occasional political or extrajudicial killings (1 to 49 episodes per year)
2. Have not occurred

Source: (Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)

Notes: Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Sec. 1, subsections A and C), and Amnesty International reports.

RL09 **Disappearances (CIRI)**

Definition: "Disappearances are cases in which people have disappeared, political motivation appears likely, and the victims (the disappeared) have not been found. In most instances, disappearances occur because of a victim's ethnicity, religion, or race or because of the victim's political involvement or knowledge of information sensitive to authorities" (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 10).

Scale: 0. Frequent disappearances (50 or more during the year, or described by sources as "gross," "widespread," "systematic," etc.)
1. Occasional disappearances (1 to 49 episodes per year)
2. Have not occurred

Source: (Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)

Notes: Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Sec. 1, subsection B), and Amnesty International reports.

RL10 **Torture and other Cruel, Inhumane, or Degrading Treatment (CIRI)**

Definition: "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" (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 12).

Scale: 0. Frequent cases of torture (50 or more during the year, or described by sources as "gross," "widespread," "systematic," etc.)
1. Occasional torture (1 to 49 episodes per year)
2. Have not occurred

Source: (Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)

Notes: Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Sec. 1, subsection C), and Amnesty International reports.

RL11 **Political Imprisonment (CIRI)**

Definition: "Political imprisonment refers to the incarceration of people by government officials because of their speech; their non-violent opposition to government policies or leaders; their religious beliefs; their non- violent religious practices including proselytizing; or their membership in a group, including an ethnic or racial group" (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 14).

Scale: 0. Many political prisoners (50 or more during the year, or described by sources as "extensive," "widespread," "systematic," etc.)
1. Few political prisoners (1 to 49 episodes per year)
2. Have not occurred

Source: (Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)

Notes: Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Sec. 1, subsections D and E), and Amnesty International reports.

RL12   **Political Terror Scale (Gibney)**

Definition: Captures the extent of political repression in 179 countries since 1980.

Scale:
1. Countries under a secure rule of law, people are not imprisoned for their view; 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, torture and beatings are exceptional. Political murder is rare.
3. There 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. The practices of level 3 are expanded to larger numbers. 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. The terrors of level 4 have been 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.

Source: Items *a* (score based on Amnesty International reports) and *s* (score based on State Department reports) (Gibney 2004)

Notes: Values reflect average of items *a* and *s*.

RL13   **Rule of Law (World Bank Institute)**

Definition: This index combines multiple indicators "which measure the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society. These include perceptions of the incidence of crime, the effectiveness and predictability of the judiciary, and the enforceability of contracts" (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2003; Kaufmann, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobatón 1999). Estimations for the overall project are based on 37 sources from 31 different organizations.

Scale: Z score for the Unobserved Component Model (UCM). Virtually all scores lie between -2.5 and 2.5 (higher scores correspond to better outcomes).

Source: Governance Matters project. Estimate point for "rule of law"(Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2005).

Notes: Estimates available only for 1996, 1998, 2000, and 2002 (2004 not included).

RL14   **Freedom of Expression (MAR)**

Definition: Captures restrictions to the right of free expression affecting specific groups in the country (Davenport 2003, 37). The Minorities at Risk project codes censorship policies at the group level. Values for countries during particular years represent the average score for all groups.

Scale:
0. Not restricted
1. Free expression moderately restricted
2. Free expression prohibited

Source: POLIC1 item (Minorities at Risk Project 2004)

Notes: Values represent mean for all minority groups, thus the variable behaves as a continuous scale. Missing data for a large proportion of observations (about 50 percent is coded as -99 "No basis for judgment").

RL15   **Index of Respect for Human Integrity**

Definition: Aggregate index reflecting the degree of respect for human integrity. Scores are based on a factor analysis of items reflecting gross human rights violations (RL08, RL09, RL10, RL11, and RL12).

Scale: T score for factor analysis (mean=50, s.d.=10). A value of 50 represents the performance of the average country-year in our sample. Scores approaching 100 indicate high respect for human rights; scores approaching 0 indicate low respect for human integrity.

Source: See entries for RL08, RL09, RL10, RL11, and RL12

Notes:

RL16   **Index of Freedom of the Press**

Definition: Aggregate index reflecting the degree of respect for free speech and freedom of the press. Scores are based on a factor analysis of items RL02, RL03, RL04, and RL14.

Scale: T score for factor analysis: a value of 50 represents the performance of the average country-year in our sample. Scores approaching 100 indicate high respect for free speech; scores approaching 0 indicate low press freedom.

Source: See entries for RL02, RL03, RL04, and RL14

Notes:

2.4. Civil Society

CS01   **Restrictions on the Organization of Minorities (MAR)**

Definition: Captures restrictions to free organization against members of different communal groups (Davenport 2003, 37). The Minorities at Risk project codes to what extent members of specific groups are prevented from organizing. Aggregate values for country-years represent the average score for all groups in the dataset.

Scale: 0. Right to organize is not restricted for any group
1. Right to organize is moderately restricted
2. Organization is prohibited

Source: POLIC4 item (Minorities at Risk Project 2004)

Notes: Values represent mean for all minority groups, thus the variable behaves as a continuous scale. Missing data for a large proportion of observations (about 50 percent is coded as -99 "No basis for judgment").

CS02   **Freedom of Assembly and Association (CIRI)**

Definition: "Right of citizens to assembly freely and to associate with other persons in political parties, trade unions, cultural organizations, or other special-interest groups. This variable evaluates the extent to which the freedoms of assembly and association are subject to actual governmental limitations or restrictions (as opposed to strictly legal protections)" (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 21).

Scale: 0. Government routinely denies or severely restricts all citizens' freedom of assembly and association or restricts this right for a significant number of citizens based on their gender, race, religion, or other criteria (e.g., countries that legally bar women from participating in public assemblies).
1. Government places some restrictions on assembly and association for all citizens, or severely restricts or denies these rights to particular groups. (Sources describe respect for rights of assembly and association as "limited," "restricted," or "partial"). An example of a moderate restriction is the denial of permits to outlawed groups (e.g., neo-nazis).
2. Virtually unrestricted and freely enjoyed by practically all citizens.

Source: (Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)

Notes: Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Sec. 2, subsection B).

CS03　　　　　**Non-Profit Sector (Green)**

Definition:　The Non-Profit Sector index reflects four conditions for the operation of civil society: (a) the diversity of organizational types (associations, foundations, etc.); (b) the ease of registration (reasonable cost, lack of administrative discretion, existence of appeal process); (c) the nature of the NGOs economic context (favorable tax concessions, ability to engage in unrelated economic activities); and (d) their ability to act politically (lack of bans on advocacy and lobbying) (Green 2004).

Scale:　　0-4 (where 4 means that all four favorable conditions are present)

Source:　NPS item (Data collected by Andrew Green)

Notes:　Data is available only for Eastern Europe, former Soviet Republics, and Mongolia (1991-2001).

CS04　　　　　**Religious Freedom (CIRI)**

Definition:　This dummy "indicates the extent to which the freedom of citizens to exercise and practice their religious beliefs is subject to actual government restrictions. Citizens of whatever religious belief should be able to worship free from government interference" (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 21).

Scale:　　0. Restrictions on religious practices (citizens are prohibited from proselytizing; clergy prohibited from advocating political views; government harassment of religious groups; forced conversions or restrictions on conversion; stringent laws for religious minorities; imposition of religious education in public schools).
　　　　　1. No restrictions on religion.

Source:　(Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)

Notes:　Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Sec. 2, subsection B).

CS05   **Respect for Workers' Rights (CIRI)**

Definition: "The 1984 Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) agreement of the World Trade Organization (…) states that internationally recognized worker rights include: (A) the right of association; (B) the right to organize and bargain collectively; (C) a prohibition on the use of any form of forced or compulsory labor; (D) a minimum age for the employment of children; and (E) acceptable conditions of work with respect to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational safety and health " (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 28).

Scale: 0. Workers' rights severely restricted. Government does not protect the rights of private workers to freedom of association (restricts unions from political activity, fails to act in the face of employer discrimination or specific attacks against unions) or does not protect their right to bargain collectively (including private workers' right to strike).

1. Workers' rights somewhat restricted. Government protects rights to association and collective bargaining but there are still significant violations of worker rights (public employees not allowed full freedom of association or bargaining; forced or compulsory labor; child labor; discrimination in hiring or treatment; no minimum wage; one union allowed per sector if union is independent from the government).

2. Workers' rights fully protected. Governments that protect the exercise of these rights and have no other significant violations of worker rights.

Source: (Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)

Notes: Coding based on U.S. State Department reports: Sections 2 (1981-85), 5 (1986-87), and 6 (1988-2003).

CS06   **Freedom of Movement (CIRI)**

Definition: "The freedom to travel within one's country and to leave and return to one's country is a right. There are governments that do not allow citizens to travel within their own country of birth or that restrict the movement of certain groups based on political or religious grounds. There are countries that do not allow citizens to leave. There are countries where even if one is allowed to leave there are restrictions on the duration of stay abroad. Citizens can lose their property and other assets if they leave for a very long time; some citizens have to get permission to leave; and others, when they leave, are not allowed to return or if they are allowed to return the government makes this very difficult" (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 19).

Scale: 0. Restrictions on free movement for all citizens or for a significant number based on their ethnicity, gender, race, religion, political convictions, or group membership.

1. Generally unrestricted freedom to travel within and outside the country.

Source: (Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)

Notes: Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Sec. 2, subsection D).

CS07	**Respect for Women's Economic Rights (CIRI)**
Definition:	Women's economic rights include equal pay for equal work; free choice of profession; the right to gainful employment without male consent; equality in hiring and promotion; job security (maternity leave, unemployment benefits, no arbitrary firing); non-discrimination by employers; the right to be free from sexual harassment; the right to work at night; the right to work in occupations classified as dangerous; the right to work in the military and the police force (Cingranelli and Richards 2004a, 35).

Scale:
0. No economic rights for women under law. The government tolerates a high level of discrimination against women.
1. Some economic rights for women under law. In practice, the government does not enforce these laws effectively and tolerates a moderate level of discrimination against women.
2. Some economic rights for women under law. The government enforces these laws effectively, but it still tolerates a low level of discrimination against women.
3. Women's economic rights are guaranteed by law. The government enforces these laws, tolerating almost no discrimination against women.

Source:	(Cingranelli and Richards 2004b)
Notes:	Coding based on U.S. State Department reports (Sections 5 and 6).

CS08	**Index of Conditions for Civil Society**
Definition:	Aggregate index reflecting the conditions for the operation of civil society. Scores are based on a factor analysis of items CS01, CS02, CS03, CS04, CS05, CS06, and CS07.
Scale:	T score for factor analysis: a value of 50 represents the performance of the average country-year in our sample. Scores approaching 100 indicate an independent civil society; scores approaching 0 indicate low autonomy of civil society.
Source:	See entries for CS01, CS02, CS03, CS04, CS05, CS06, and CS07
Notes:	

2.5. Governance

GV01   **Corruption Perceptions Index (Transparency International)**

Definition: CPI reflects the "perceptions of the degree of corruption as seen by business people, academics and risk analysts." It ranks "countries in terms of the degree to which corruption is perceived to exist among public officials and politicians. It is a composite index, drawing on 17 different polls and surveys from 13 independent institutions carried out among business people and country analysts, including surveys of residents, both local and expatriate" (Transparency International 2003, 6)

Scale: 0 (highly corrupt) to 10 (highly clean)

Source: CPI item (Transparency International 2004)

Notes: Available since 1995, uneven coverage.

GV02   **Election of Municipal Governments (DPI)**

Definition: Variable indicates whether municipal governments are locally elected. If there are multiple levels of sub-national government, lowest level was considered the "municipal" level (Keefer 2002b, 21).

Scale: 0. Neither local executive nor local legislature are locally elected.
1. Executive is appointed, legislature is elected.
2. Municipal executive and legislature are both locally elected.

Source: MUNI item (Keefer 2002a)

Notes: Keefer reports that 58 percent of the observations are missing values (Keefer 2002b, 21).

GV03   **Election of State/Provincial Governments (DPI)**

Definition: Variable indicates whether state or provincial governments are locally elected. If there are multiple levels of sub-national government, highest level was considered the "state" level. Indirectly elected state governments are considered "locally elected" if appointed by directly elected state-level bodies, but not if appointed by elected municipal bodies (Keefer 2002b, 21).

Scale: 0. Neither local executive nor local legislature are locally elected.
1. Executive is appointed, legislature is elected.
2. State executive and legislature are both locally elected.

Source: STATE item (Keefer 2002a)

Notes: Keefer reports that 34 percent of the observations are missing values (Keefer 2002b, 21).

GV04 **Sub-National Expenditures as Percentage of Total Expenditures (WB)**

Definition: Expenditures of state and local governments over total government expenditures (including central government). Original data comes from the International Monetary Fund's Government Finance Statistics (GFS).

Scale: 0-100 (Percentage of total expenditures for all levels of government).

Source: ExpShare item (World Bank 2004)

Notes: There is a large number of missing values (presumably due to gaps in GFS)

GV05 **Sub-National Expenditures Financed by Transfers (WB)**

Definition: Also called "Vertical Imbalance," this measure reflects the degree to which sub-national (local and state) governments rely on central government revenues to support their expenditures. Variable reflects intergovernmental transfers as a share of the total sub-national expenditures.

Scale: 0-100 (Percentage of sub-national expenditures financed by transfers).

Source: VIM item (World Bank 2004)

Notes: There is a large number of missing values (presumably due to gaps in GFS)

GV06 **Sub-National Revenues as Percentage of GDP (WB)**

Definition: Total revenue (taxes and others) for local and state governments as a share of the GDP.

Scale: 0-100 (Percentage of sub-national revenues over gross domestic product).

Source: RevGDP item (World Bank 2004)

Notes: There is a large number of missing values (presumably due to gaps in GFS)

GV07 **Government Effectiveness (World Bank Institute)**

Definition: This index combines multiple indicators (37 sources from 31 different organizations) to reflect "the quality of public service provision, the quality of the bureaucracy, the competence of civil servants, the independence of the civil service from political pressures, and the credibility of the government's commitment to policies" (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2003; Kaufmann, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobatón 1999).

Scale: Z score for the Unobserved Component Model (UCM). Virtually all scores lie between -2.5 and 2.5 (higher scores correspond to better outcomes).

Source: Governance Matters project. Point estimates for "government effectiveness" (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2005).

Notes: Estimates available only for 1996, 1998, 2000, and 2002 (2004 not covered by the period of our study).

GV08   **Regulatory Quality (World Bank Institute)**

Definition: The index of regulatory quality summarizes multiple indicators of substantive policy content, including "measures of the incidence of market-unfriendly policies such as price controls or inadequate bank supervision, as well as perceptions of the burdens imposed by excessive regulation in areas such as foreign trade and business development" (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2003; Kaufmann, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobatón 1999).

Scale: Z score for the Unobserved Component Model (UCM). Virtually all scores lie between -2.5 and 2.5 (higher scores correspond to better outcomes).

Source: Governance Matters project. Point estimates for "regulatory quality"(Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2005).

Notes: Estimates available only for 1996, 1998, 2000, and 2002 (2004 not included).

GV09   **Control of Corruption (World Bank Institute)**

Definition: This index combines multiple "perceptions of corruption, conventionally defined as the exercise of public power for private gain (…) The particular aspect of corruption measured by the various sources differs somewhat, ranging from the frequency of 'additional payments to get things done,' to the effects of corruption on the business environment, to measuring 'grand corruption' in the political arena or in the tendency of elite forms to engage in state capture" (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2003; Kaufmann, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobatón 1999).

Scale: Z score for the Unobserved Component Model (UCM). Virtually all scores lie between -2.5 and 2.5 (higher scores correspond to better outcomes).

Source: Governance Matters project. Point estimates for "control of corruption"(Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2005).

Notes: Estimates available only for 1996, 1998, 2000, and 2002 (2004 not included).

3. Additional Independent Variables

3.1. Other Donor Agencies

ODA01   **Official Development Assistance and Official Aid**

Definition: "Net official development assistance consists of disbursements of loans made on concessional terms (net of repayments of principal) and grants by official agencies of the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), by multilateral institutions, and by non-DAC countries to promote economic development and welfare in countries and territories in part I of the DAC list of recipients. It includes loans with a grant element of at least 25 percent (calculated at a rate of discount of 10 percent). Net official aid refers to aid flows (net of repayments) from official donors to countries and territories in part II of the DAC list of recipients: more advanced countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the countries of the former Soviet Union, and certain advanced developing countries and territories. Official aid is provided under terms and conditions similar to those for ODA. Data are in current U.S. dollars" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Millions of current US dollars (net)

Source: Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Geographical Distribution of Financial Flows to Aid Recipients and Development Cooperation Report. Item DT.ODA.ALLD.CD (World Bank 2005)

Notes: Note that net assistance after repayments can be negative (60 observations in the database have negative values). Values include US assistance. Advanced developing countries display missing values rather than zeros.

ODA02   **Aid as Percentage of Central Government Expenditures**

Definition: ODA01 as percentage of central government spending. "Aid includes both official development assistance (ODA) and official aid. Ratios are computed using values in U.S. dollars converted at official exchange rates" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Percentage (values may occasionally be negative; values greater than 100% were truncated).

Source: Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, and IMF government expenditures estimates. Item DT.ODA.ALLD.XP.ZS (World Bank 2005)

Notes: The series presents multiple problems, including: (1) A large number of missing values (non-missing N=990); (2) 36 observations with ratios greater than 100% (the extreme cases being ECU 1989-94, with an average of 14,351% and ZAR 1998-2001, with an average of 2,022%). To avoid these evident coding errors, all 36 observations were recoded to missing; (3) 25 observations with negative values ranging between -2.09% and -0.04% (presumably because repayments exceeded inflows).

ODA100   **Non-US Democracy and Governance Assistance**

Definition: Official development assistance for Democracy and Governance Programs originating in governments other than the United States. DG Programs were defined as those (a) coded by the Development Assistance Committee as having "participatory development and good governance" as a significant or principal objective; or (b) those investing in strengthening the public sector, in legal and judicial development, in government administration (parliaments, local governments), in civil society, in post-conflict peace-building, in elections, in human rights, in military demobilization, or in promoting free flows of information (OECD - Development Assistance Committee 2005)

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System, 1973-2003 (OECD 2005)

Notes: Projects were coded as DG when the OECD database indicated that PDDG>0 or when the 5-digit CRS purpose code was between 15020 and 15065. (The two criteria proved to be highly consistent). Constant 1995 dollars were estimated using the World Bank GDP deflator. Regional programs were not included in the country-level figures.

ODA000   **Non-US, Non-Democracy and Governance Assistance**

Definition: Total funds for development programs in Non-DG areas provided by governments other than the United States. Figures comprise all ODA programs not classified as Democracy and Governance according to the criteria described for ODA100 above.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: OECD Creditor Reporting System, 1973-2003 (OECD 2005)

Notes: Data aggregates amounts for all projects with CRS purpose codes between 11110 and 15010 or between 15066 and 99820, *and* not coded as participatory development/good governance projects (i.e., PDDG=0). Constant 1995 dollars were estimated using the World Bank GDP deflator. Regional programs were not included as part of country-level figures.

3.2. Development

DEV01   **Gross Domestic Product (Constant 1995 US dollars)**

Definition: "GDP at purchaser's prices is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources. Data are in current U.S. dollars. Dollar figures for GDP are converted from domestic currencies using single year official exchange rates. For a few countries where the official exchange rate does not reflect the rate effectively applied to actual foreign exchange transactions, an alternative conversion factor is used" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Millions of current US dollars

Source: Item NY.GDP.MKTP.CD, rescaled (World Bank 2005)

Notes:

DEV02   **Gross Domestic Product (Constant 1995 US dollars)**

Definition: "GDP at purchaser's prices is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources. Data are in constant 1995 U.S. dollars. Dollar figures for GDP are converted from domestic currencies using 1995 official exchange rates. For a few countries where the official exchange rate does not reflect the rate effectively applied to actual foreign exchange transactions, an alternative conversion factor is used" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Millions of 1995 US dollars

Source: Item NY.GDP.MKTP.KD, rescaled (World Bank 2005)

Notes:

DEV03   **Gross Domestic Product per capita (1995 US dollars)**

Definition: "GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by midyear population. GDP is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources. Data are in constant U.S. dollars" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Thousands of 1995 US dollars per capita

Source: Item NY.GDP.PCAP.KD, rescaled (World Bank 2005)

Notes:

DEV04	**Gross Domestic Product per capita, PPP (1995 US dollars)**
Definition:	"GDP per capita based on purchasing power parity (PPP). PPP GDP is gross domestic product converted to international dollars using purchasing power parity rates. An international dollar has the same purchasing power over GDP as the U.S. dollar has in the United States. GDP at purchaser's prices is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources. Data are in constant 1995 international dollars" (World Bank 2005).
Scale:	Purchasing Power Parities, thousands of 1995 US dollars
Source:	Item NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.KD, rescaled (World Bank 2005)
Notes:	

DEV05	**Telephone Lines PTI**
Definition:	"Telephone mainlines are telephone lines connecting a customer's equipment to the public switched telephone network. Data are presented per 1,000 people for the entire country" (World Bank 2005).
Scale:	Mainlines per Thousand Inhabitants
Source:	International Telecommunication Union - Item IT.MLT.MAIN.P3 (World Bank 2005)
Notes:	Wide coverage.

DEV06	**Radios PTI**
Definition:	Radio receivers in use for broadcasts to the general public, per thousand people (World Bank 2005).
Scale:	Receivers per Thousand Inhabitants
Source:	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics. Item IT.RAD.SETS.P3 (World Bank 2005)
Notes:	

DEV07	**Television Sets PTI**
Definition:	Television sets in use, per thousand people.
Scale:	Receivers per Thousand Inhabitants
Source:	International Telecommunication Union. Item IT.TVS.SETS.P3 (World Bank 2005)
Notes:	

3.3. Economic Performance

PRF01   **Annual Growth in GDP Per Capita**

Definition: "Annual percentage growth rate of GDP per capita based on constant local currency. GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by midyear population. GDP at purchaser's prices is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Annual percent change (based on constant figures in 1995 US dollars).

Source: Item NY.GDP.PCAP.KD.ZG (World Bank 2005)

Notes: Three observations stand out with annual growth booms over 50% (BIH 1996, GNQ 1997, LBR 1997). Few other cases represent instances of economic collapse with the economy shrinking in more than 30% (ARM 1992, GEO 1992, IRQ 1990-91, LBR 1990-93, LBN 1989, LVA 1992, MDA 1994, TJK 1992).

PRF02   **Inflation, Consumer Prices**

Definition: "Inflation as measured by the consumer price index reflects the annual percentage change in the cost to the average consumer of acquiring a fixed basket of goods and services that may be fixed or changed at specified intervals, such as yearly. The Laspeyres formula is generally used" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Annual percent change in consumer price index.

Source: Item FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (World Bank 2005)

Notes: Three observations (COG 1997, LSO 1997, RWA 1994) displayed negative values (i.e., deflation) of -100%. Since inflation estimations based on GDP deflator (PRF04) yielded positive values between 5% and 17% for these same cases, it was assumed that the scores reflected coding problems and observations were recoded as missing.

PRF03   **GDP Deflator**

Definition: "The GDP implicit deflator is the ratio of GDP in current local currency to GDP in constant local currency" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Index (base year varies by country).

Source: Item NY.GDP.DEFL.ZS (World Bank 2005)

Notes:

PRF04   **Inflation, GDP Deflator**

Definition: "Inflation as measured by the annual growth rate of the GDP implicit deflator shows the rate of price change in the economy as a whole" (World Bank 2005).   PRF04=(PRF03(t)/PRF03(t-1)-1)*100

Scale: Annual percent change in GDP deflator.

Source: Computed from item NY.GDP.DEFL.ZS (World Bank 2005)

Notes: Correlation with consumer price inflation (PRF02) is .987

PRF05   **Gross Private Capital Flows**

Definition: "Gross private capital flows are the sum of the absolute values of direct, portfolio, and other investment inflows and outflows recorded in the balance of payments financial account, excluding changes in the assets and liabilities of monetary authorities and general government. The indicator is calculated as a ratio to GDP in U.S. dollars" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Flows as percentage of GDP

Source: Item BG.KAC.FNEI.GD.ZS (World Bank 2005)

Notes:

3.4. Population and Social Indicators

SOC01   **Population**

Definition: "Total population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship--except for refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum, who are generally considered part of the population of their country of origin" (World Bank 2005). Figures represent the average of population estimates presented by the World Bank and by Banks.

Scale: Thousands

Source: Items SP.POP.TOTL rescaled (World Bank 2005) and S02F3 (Banks 2004).

Notes: World Bank and Banks figures are very close, but several countries covered by Banks are not covered by the World Bank (yet Banks does not include the West Bank and Gaza).

SOC02   **Rural Population (%)**

Definition: "Rural population is calculated as the difference between the total population and the urban population. (…) The data on urban population shares used to estimate rural population come from the United Nations, World Urbanization Prospects" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Percentage of total population

Source: Item SP.RUR.TOTL.ZS (World Bank 2005)

Notes:

SOC03   **Literacy**

Definition: "Adult literacy rate is the percentage of people ages 15 and above who can, with understanding, read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Percentage of the population of age 15 and over.

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics - Item SE.ADT.LITR.ZS (World Bank 2005)

Notes:

SOC04   **Female Literacy**

Definition: Percentage of female population of age 15 and over who can read and write a "simple statement on their everyday life."

Scale: Percentage of the female population of age 15 and over.

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics - Item SE.ADT.LITR.FE.ZS (World Bank 2005)

Notes:

SOC05　　　　　**Infant Mortality**

Definition:　　Number of infants dying before reaching one year of age, per every thousand births in a given year.

Scale:　　　Deaths per thousand live births

Source:　　Item SP.DYN.IMRT.IN (World Bank 2005). World Bank estimates are based on data from the United Nations and UNICEF, State of the World's Children.

Notes:

SOC06　　　　　**Income Distribution (Share of top 20%)**

Definition:　　Percentage share of income that accrues to the top 20 percent of the population.

Scale:　　　Percentage

Source:　　Item SI.DST.05TH.20, averaged. World Bank estimates are based on household surveys conducted by governments and WB country departments. Data for high-income economies are from the Luxembourg Income Study database (World Bank 2005).

Notes:　　　Data are scattered. Available figures for the period 1989-2002 were averaged and assumed to be constant for each country.

SOC07　　　　　**Unemployment**

Definition:　　"Share of the labor force that is without work but available for and seeking employment. Definitions of labor force and unemployment differ by country" (World Bank 2005).

Scale:　　　Percentage of the labor force

Source:　　Item SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS (World Bank 2005), based on International Labor Organization, Key Indicators of the Labor Market database.

Notes:

SOC08　　　　　**Military Personnel (as Percentage of Labor Force)**

Definition:　　"Armed forces personnel refer to active duty military personnel, including paramilitary forces if those forces resemble regular units in their organization, equipment, training, or mission. Labor force comprises all people who meet the International Labor Organization's definition of the economically active population" (World Bank 2005).

Scale:　　　Percentage of the labor force

Source:　　Item MS.MIL.TOTL.TF.ZS (World Bank 2005), based on U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Verification and Compliance - World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers.

Notes:　　　World Bank indicates that "Data for some countries are based on partial or uncertain data or rough estimates."

SOC09   **Religious Fractionalization**

Definition: Index of religious fragmentation: $1 - \sum_{i=1}^{n} p_i^2$, where p_i denotes the population share for each of the n religious denominations in the country.

Scale: 0 (perfect religious homogeneity) to ~1 (extreme religious fragmentation).

Source: SOC09 is an average of the Annett and Fearon indices of religious fractionalization, both measured using the same formula (Annett 2001; Fearon 2003; Fearon and Laitin 2003).

Notes: Although Annett presents figures by decade and Fearon has yearly time series (1945-99), the figures display virtually no variance over time. The two sources present very similar scores, but some countries are covered by one author and not by the other. Some 18 microstates are not covered by any of the two sources.

SOC10   **Ethnic Fractionalization**

Definition: Index of ethnolinguistic fractionalization: $1 - \sum_{i=1}^{n} p_i^2$, where p_i denotes the population share for each of the n ethnic groups in the country.

Scale: 0 (perfect homogeneity) to ~1 (extreme ethnic fractionalization).

Source: SOC10 is an average of the Annett and the two Fearon indices of ethnolinguistic fractionalization, all measured using the above formula. Fearon estimated one index based on the figures of the *Atlas Narodov Mira* and another one using the CIA's *World Factbook* and other sources (Annett 2001; Fearon 2003; Fearon and Laitin 2003).

Notes: Although Annett presents figures by decade and Fearon has yearly time series (1945-99), the figures display virtually no variance over time. The two sources present very similar scores, but some countries are covered by one author and not by the other. Some 20 microstates are not covered by any of the two sources.

3.5. Economic Dependence

DEP01   **Merchandise Exports**

Definition: "Merchandise exports show the f.o.b. value of goods provided to the rest of the world valued in U.S. dollars. Data are in current U.S. dollars" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Millions of current US dollars

Source: Item TX.VAL.MRCH.CD.WT, rescaled. Data from World Trade Organization (World Bank 2005)

Notes:

DEP02   **Merchandise Exports as Percentage of GDP**

Definition: DEP02=DEP01/DEV01*100

Scale: Ratio (Percentage)

Source: See components above.

Notes:

DEP03   **Agricultural Raw Materials (Percentage of Merchandise Exports)**

Definition: "Agricultural raw materials comprise SITC section 2 (crude materials except fuels) excluding divisions 22, 27 (crude fertilizers and minerals excluding coal, petroleum, and precious stones), and 28 (metalliferous ores and scrap)" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Percentage of DEP01

Source: Item TX.VAL.AGRI.ZS.UN (World Bank 2005), based on United Nations' COMTRADE database.

Notes:

DEP04   **Fuel Exports (Percentage of Merchandise Exports)**

Definition: Oil and mineral fuels as percentage of merchandise exports. "Fuels comprise SITC section 3 (mineral fuels)" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Percentage of DEP01

Source: Item TX.VAL.FUEL.ZS.UN (World Bank 2005), based on United Nations' COMTRADE database.

Notes:

DEP05 **Ores and Metal Exports (Percentage of Merchandise Exports)**

Definition: Mineral (metal) exports as percentage of total merchandise exports. "Ores and metals comprise the commodities in SITC sections 27 (crude fertilizer, minerals nes); 28 (metalliferous ores, scrap); and 68 (non-ferrous metals)" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Percentage of DEP01

Source: Item TX.VAL.MMTL.ZS.UN (World Bank 2005)

Notes:

3.6. Political History and Institutions

POL01   **Number of Coups d'Etat (Last three decades)**

Definition: Number of coups d'etat observed in the three decades prior to the year under observation. Coups are "extraconstitutional or forced changes in the top government elite and/or its effective control of the nation's power structure in a given year. The term coup includes, but is not exhausted by, the term 'successful revolution'. Unsuccessful coups are not counted" (Banks 2005).

Scale: N

Source: Item S21F1, aggregated over a thirty-year span (Banks 2004)

Notes:

POL02   **Number of Legislative Elections (Last three decades)**

Definition: Number of elections for the lower house observed in the three decades prior to the year under observation.

Scale: N

Source: Item S22F6, aggregated over a thirty-year span (Banks 2004)

Notes: Fairness of the election is not assessed by Banks.

POL03   **Type of Executive**

Definition: Head of government is "the individual who exercises primary influence in the shaping of most major decisions affecting the nation's internal and external affairs. The other category may refer to a situation in which the individual in question (such as the party first secretary in a Communist regime) holds no formal governmental post, or to one in which no truly effective national executive can be said to exist" (Banks 2005).

Scale: 1. Monarch
                  2. President
                  3. Premier
                  4. Military
                  5. Other

Source: Item S21F5 (Banks 2004)

Notes:

POL04   **Presence of Guerrilla Warfare**

Definition: Indicates the presence of "any armed activity, sabotage, or bombings carried on by independent bands of citizens or irregular forces and aimed at the overthrow of the present regime" (Banks 2005).

Scale: 0 (No guerrilla activity) 1 (Guerrilla Warfare)

Source: Item S17F3 (Banks 2004)

Notes:

3.7. International Factors

DIF01   **Level of Democracy in the International System**

Definition: Average Freedom House (DG02) score for all countries in the sample (excluding the country in question) during the previous year.

Scale: 1 (authoritarian) to 13 (democratic)

Source: DG02 averaged for all units at t-1

Notes: Estimation includes all independent states, not only countries "eligible" for official development assistance.

DIF02   **Level of Democracy in the Region**

Definition: Average Freedom House (DG02) score for all countries in the region (excluding the country in question) during the previous year.

Scale: 1 (authoritarian) to 13 (democratic)

Source: DG02 averaged for all units at t-1

Notes: We employed USAID-defined regions. See list of regions in the appendix. Estimation includes all independent states, not only countries "eligible" for official development assistance.

DIF03   **Pending Application for European Union Membership**

Definition: Dichotomous variable coded 1 if the country has applied for EU membership, and 0 if the country has not applied or it is already a member.

Scale: 0 Applicant 1 Non-applicant/Member

Source: Coded based on several sources (European Union 2005; European Union Center 2005; Mattli and Plümper 2002)

Notes:

FPP01   **Military Assistance Priority**

Definition: Percentage of global U.S. security assistance allocated to a particular country during the fiscal year. Security assistance is defined as comprising military assistance and counter-narcotics grants.

Scale: Percentage of all security assistance obligated in year.

Source: Calculation based on items "Military Assistance Loans and Grants" and "Other Economic Assistance - Narcotics Grants" (USAID 2005).

Notes: Countries with largest shares are Israel (47% in 2000), Egypt (33% in 1998), and Poland (31% in 2003).

FPP02	**U.S. Foreign Policy Priority Indicator**
Definition:	Dichotomous indicator coded 1 if a country represented a U.S. foreign policy priority during a particular year, 0 otherwise. The coding is based on the level of U.S. foreign assistance targeted to each country, measured on a per capita basis. Assistance was classified into five (non-exclusive) areas: military and counter-narcotics, economic, USAID programs, food aid, and the total for all areas. A country was classified as priority if it was among the top five recipients in any category during a particular year, or if it was among the top fifteen recipients in two or more categories.
Scale:	0 (not a priority), 1 (priority)
Source:	Data compiled by Andrew Green.
Notes:	

4. Level 2 Predictors (Constant within Countries)

4.1. History of Democracy (L2 01 - L2 10)

L201   **Average Freedom House Index 1972-1989**

Definition: Average combined Freedom House score (DG02), 1972-1989.

Scale: 1-13 (where 1 is least democratic and 13 is most democratic)

Source: DG02 (Freedom House 2004a)

Notes: Level 2 predictor (i.e., constant within countries). See appendix 6.2 for treatment of divided and unified countries.

L202   **Proportion of "Free" Years, 1972-2004 (Freedom House)**

Definition: Proportion of years between 1972 and 2004 that the country was rated as "Free" by Freedom House.

Scale: 0-1

Source: PR and CL items (Freedom House 2004a)

Notes: Level 2 predictor (i.e., constant within countries). In contrast to POL02, this indicator is sensitive to the age of the country.

L203   **Years Rated "Free" 1972-1989 (Freedom House)**

Definition: Number of years between 1972 and 1989 that the country was rated as "Free" by Freedom House.

Scale: N

Source: PR and CL items (Freedom House 2004a)

Notes: Level 2 predictor (i.e., constant within countries)

L204   **Average Polity Score, 1900-1989**

Definition: Average Polity IV score between 1900 (or year of independence) and 1989.

Scale: -10 (authoritarian) to 10 (democratic).

Source: POLITY2 item (Marshall, Jaggers, and Gurr 2004)

Notes: Long-term, level 2 predictor (i.e., constant within countries).

L205   **Average Vanhanen Score, 1900-1989**

Definition: Average Vanhanen democracy index between 1900 (or year of independence) and 1989.

Scale: 0 (authoritarian) to 100 (democratic).

Source: DG03

Notes: Long-term, level 2 predictor (i.e., constant within countries).

4.2. State Failure and International Factors (L2 02 - L2 19)

L210 **Years Under Foreign Intervention, 1960-1989**

Definition: Number of years between 1960 and 1989 that the country was under foreign occupation (i.e., coded as -66 in the Polity dataset).

Scale: N (years)

Source: POLITY item (Marshall, Jaggers, and Gurr 2004)

Notes: Level 2 predictor (i.e., constant within countries)

L211 **Years of Political Anarchy, 1960-1989**

Definition: Number of years between 1960 and 1989 that the country was in a situation of regime anarchy or uncertain rule (i.e., coded as -77 in the Polity dataset).

Scale: N (years)

Source: POLITY item (Marshall, Jaggers, and Gurr 2004)

Notes: Level 2 predictor (i.e., constant within countries)

L212 **State Failure Indicator, 1960-1989**

Definition: Number of years between 1960 and 1989 that the country suffered political anarchy *or* foreign intervention.

Scale: N (years)

Source: POLITY item (Marshall, Jaggers, and Gurr 2004)

Notes: Level 2 predictor (i.e., constant within countries). Micro-states coding based on historical sources.

L213 **Former British Colony**

Definition: Dichotomous indicator (coded 1 if country was a British colony).

Scale: 0-1

Source: (Bernhard, Reenock, and Nordstrom 2004; Teorell and Hadenius 2004)

Notes: Level 2 predictor (i.e., constant within countries).

L214 **European Union Application**

Definition: Dichotomous indicator coded 1 if the country applied for EU membership at any point between 1990 and 2003.

Scale: 0-1

Source: DIF03 (maximum value for 1990-2003).

Notes: Level 2 predictor (i.e., constant within countries).

4.3. Social and Economic Predictors (L2 20 - L2 29)

L220   **Average Population, 1990-2003**

Definition: "Total population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship--except for refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum, who are generally considered part of the population of their country of origin" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Thousands

Source: SOC01

Notes:

L221   **Income per capita, PPP (CIA)**

Definition: "GDP on a purchasing power parity basis divided by population as of 1 July for the same year (…) The PPP method involves the use of standardized international dollar price weights, which are applied to the quantities of final goods and services produced in a given economy. (…) Whereas PPP estimates for OECD countries are quite reliable, PPP estimates for developing countries are often rough approximations" (Central Intelligence Agency 2005)

Scale: Thousands of US dollars per capita (Purchasing Power Parities)

Source: CIA World Factbook, 2000-05
                  http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/index.html

Notes: Values reflect average of data points collected by the CIA for 2000-2005. This indicator correlates at .95 with L227 (World Bank data) but it offers broader coverage (195 countries vs. 177 in WDI). Figure for Czechoslovakia was taken from the 1992 Factbook and adjusted to 2000 dollars using the BEA deflator (http://www.bea gov/bea/dn/home/gdp.htm)

L222   **Income Distribution (Share of top 20%) 1990-2002**

Definition: Percentage share of income that accrues to the top 20 percent of the population.

Scale: Percentage (Average for the whole period)

Source: SOC06 (World Bank Data)

Notes:

L223   **Size of the Country (Banks)**

Definition: Land area of the country measured in squared kilometers.

Scale: Thousands of square kilometers.

Source: S02F1 item, averaged for 1990-2003 (Banks 2004)

Notes: Unscaled entries for microstates (those marked in the original Banks dataset as "<") were re-scaled to thousands of square kilometers.

L224   **Religious Fragmentation (1960-2003)**

Definition: Average index of religious fractionalization for 1960-2003

Scale: 0 (perfect religious homogeneity) to ~1 (extreme religious fragmentation)

Source: SOC09

Notes: See details for SOC09 above. Values for 20 microstates were imputed based on sub-regional mean and country size.

L225   **Ethnolinguistic Fractionalization (1960-2003)**

Definition: Average index of ethno-linguistic fractionalization for 1960-2003

Scale: 0 (perfect ethnic homogeneity) to ~1 (extreme ethnic fragmentation)

Source: SOC10

Notes: See details for SOC10 above. Values for 20 microstates were imputed based on sub-regional mean and country size.

L226   **Urban Population, 1990-2003 (%)**

Definition: Percentage of the population living in urban centers. "Urban population is the share of the total population living in areas defined as urban in each country" according to the United Nations World Urbanization Prospects (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Percentage of total population (average 1990-2003)

Source: Item SP.RUR.TOTL.ZS (World Bank 2005)

Notes: Item SP.RUR.TOTL.ZS is equivalent to 100% minus Rural Population, thus this variable was estimated based on SOC02.

L227   **Average GDP per capita (1995 US dollars), 1990-2003**

Definition: "GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by midyear population. GDP is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources. Data are in constant U.S. dollars" (World Bank 2005).

Scale: Thousands of 1995 US dollars per capita

Source: DEV03

Notes:

4.4. U.S. Foreign Policy Priority Indicators (L2 30 – L2 39)

L230   **Proximity to U.S. Foreign Policy, 1946-1989 (Gartzke)**

Definition: This index reflects the degree of agreement between the U.S. and the position adopted by each country in the United Nations General Assembly between 1946 and 1989. Scores are based on General Assembly votes, and were computed using the *S* index of portfolio similarity (Signorino and Ritter 1999).

Scale: -1 to 1, where -1 means disagreement with U.S. foreign policy in every UN vote, and 1 means complete alignment with U.S. foreign policy (Gartzke and Jo 2002).

Source: Item SUN2CAT (Gartzke 2002). Yearly scores averaged for 1946-89.

Notes: Gartzke's original dataset provides distance between all country dyads. We focused on distance to U.S. policy only.

L231   **Proximity to Bush Administration's Foreign Policy (Gartzke)**

Definition: Reflects the degree of agreement between the U.S. and each country in the United Nations General Assembly between 1989 and 1992, using the *S* index of portfolio similarity (Signorino and Ritter 1999).

Scale: -1 to 1, where -1 means complete disagreement with U.S. foreign policy and 1 means complete alignment (Gartzke and Jo 2002).

Source: Item SUN2CAT (Gartzke 2002). Yearly scores averaged for 1989-92.

Notes:

L232   **Proximity to First Clinton Administration's Foreign Policy (Gartzke)**

Definition: Reflects the degree of agreement between the U.S. and each country in the United Nations General Assembly between 1993 and 1996, using the *S* index of portfolio similarity (Signorino and Ritter 1999).

Scale: -1 to 1, where -1 means complete disagreement with U.S. foreign policy and 1 means complete alignment (Gartzke and Jo 2002).

Source: Item SUN2CAT (Gartzke 2002). Yearly scores averaged for 1993-96.

Notes: No data for second Clinton administration.

L233   **Proximity to U.S. Foreign Policy, 1990-1996 (Gartzke)**

Definition: Reflects the degree of agreement between the U.S. and each country in the United Nations General Assembly between 1990 and 1996, using the *S* index of portfolio similarity (Signorino and Ritter 1999).

Scale: -1 to 1, where -1 means complete disagreement with U.S. foreign policy and 1 means complete alignment (Gartzke and Jo 2002).

Source: Item SUN2CAT (Gartzke 2002). Yearly scores averaged for 1990-96.

Notes: Gartzke's original dataset provides no scores beyond 1996.

L234   **Military Assistance Priority, 1990-2003**

Definition: Average percentage of global U.S. security assistance allocated to a particular country during fiscal years 1990-2003. Security assistance is defined as comprising military assistance and counter-narcotics grants.

Scale: Percentage of all security assistance obligated (14-year average).

Source: Calculation based on items "Military Assistance Loans and Grants" and "Other Economic Assistance - Narcotics Grants" (USAID 2005).

Notes: Average of FPP01

4.5. USAID Presence (L2 000 - L2 999)

L2100	**Total AID for Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-2003**
Definition:	Total USAID investment for all Democracy and Governance programs during 1990-2003.
Scale:	Millions of constant 1995 US dollars
Source:	USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
Notes:	Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (as in AID100)

L2REC	**Recipient of Democracy and Governance Funds, 1990-2003**
Definition:	Dichotomous indicator coded 1 if the country received DG funds at any point between 1990 and 2003.
Scale:	0 (Never recipient), 1 (Recipient)
Source:	OBL100
Notes:	The equivalent indicator for all forms of assistance is ELIG1.

L2000	**Total AID for Non-Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-2003**
Definition:	Total USAID investment in other sectors, 1990-2003.
Scale:	Millions of constant 1995 US dollars
Source:	USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
Notes:	Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (as in AID000)

L2PDA	**Development Assistance as Percentage of total USAID Investment**
Definition:	Average percentage of country-level funds that belonged to USAID's budget ("Development Assistance"), as opposed to the State Department's budget or other Congressionally-created funding sources.
Scale:	Percentage of AID (yearly average for the period)
Source:	PDAAID
Notes:	If there is no USAID presence in a country, value is set to missing.

L2100a	**Total AID for Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-1992**
Definition:	Total USAID investment for all Democracy and Governance programs during the last three years of the Bush administration.
Scale:	Millions of constant 1995 US dollars
Source:	USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
Notes:	Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID100)

L2000a   **Total AID for Non-Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-1992**

Definition: Total USAID investment in other sectors during the last three years of the Bush administration.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID000)

L2100b   **Total AID for Democracy and Governance Programs, 1993-1996**

Definition: Total USAID investment for all DG programs during the first Clinton administration.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID100)

L2000b   **Total AID for Non-Democracy and Governance Programs, 1993-1996**

Definition: Total USAID investment in Non-DG sectors during the first Clinton administration.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID000)

L2100c   **Total AID for Democracy and Governance Programs, 1997-2000**

Definition: Total USAID investment for all Democracy and Governance programs during the second Clinton administration.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID100)

L2000c   **Total AID for Non-Democracy and Governance Programs, 1997-2000**

Definition: Investment in Non-DG sectors during the second Clinton administration.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID000)

L2100d   **Total AID for Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-1996**

Definition: Total USAID investment for all DG programs during 1990-1996.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID100)

L2000d   **Total AID for Non-Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-1996**

Definition: Total USAID investment in Non-DG sectors during 1990-1996.

Scale: Millions of constant 1995 US dollars

Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green

Notes: Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID000)

L2999a   **Total U.S. Aid 1960-1989**

Definition: Total U.S. official development assistance and official aid for the period 1960-1989.

Scale: Millions of 1995 US dollars (Net transfers).

Source: Database on Geographic Distribution of Financial Flows, Parts 1 and 2 (OECD 2005)

Notes: Current dollars converted to 1995 dollars using the World Bank's GDP deflator. Countries created after 1989 reflect experience of the root state.

L2999b   **Prior U.S. Aid 1960-1989**

Definition: Dichotomous variable indicating U.S. official development assistance or official aid during 1960-1989.

Scale: 0 (never received U.S. assistance) 1 (some assistance)

Source: Based on L2999a

Notes:

5. Country Codes and ID Variables

Units of analysis are country-years in the Level 1 dataset and countries in the Level 2 dataset (variables in the L2 series do not change over time).

CNAME   **Country Name**
Definition: Full country name

YEAR   **Year Coded (fiscal year if USAID data) - Level 1**
YEARNUM   **Year Counter (1990=1) - Level 1**
ENTRY   **Year when the Country Entered the Sample - Level 2**

ELIGIBLE   **"Eligibility" for USAID Foreign Assistance**
Definition: Only 165 of 195 countries were considered "eligible" for USAID Democracy and Governance programs. We did not focus on formal criteria of eligibility for foreign assistance (which are hard to pinpoint and often do not reflect underlying assumptions in USAID policy) but on functional principles. Countries were included in the analysis when they met any of the following criteria: (1) they were recipients of USAID funds at any point during 1990-2003; (2) they were classified by the World Bank as low or middle-income countries; (3) historically they were rated by Freedom House as a "partially free" or "not free" (i.e., had an average combined score equal to or greater than 3 over the period 1972-2003); or (4) they were newly independent countries (i.e., states created after 1990, typically in Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union). Countries that failed to meet any of these criteria (i.e., those that never received funds and were high-income, "free" by Freedom House standards and independent prior to 1991) were excluded from the analysis. We considered them virtually "ineligible" for USAID Democracy and Governance programs because they were too wealthy, too democratic, and too stable.
Scale: 0 (Non-eligible, dropped from the analysis), 1 (Included in the analysis)
Source: ELIG1, ELIG2, ELIG3, ELIG4
Notes: If any of the four criteria is true, ELIGIBLE=1

ELIG1   **Eligibility Criterion 1: Received USAID funds between 1990 and 2003**
Definition: Dummy indicating if the country was in fact an aid recipient between 1990 and 2003 (ELIG1=1 if OBL=1 for any year).
Scale: 0 (Not recipient), 1 (Recipient)
Source: USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green
Notes: Level 2 variable

ELIG2   **Eligibility Criterion 2: Low or Middle Income**

Definition: Dichotomous variable indicating if the country was classified by the World Bank as low or middle-income.

Scale: 0 (High income), 1 (Low or Middle income)

Source: (World Bank 2002)

Notes: Level 2 variable

ELIG3   **Eligibility Criterion 3: "Not Free" or "Partially Free"**

Definition: Coding is based on the average Freedom House score for the period 1972-2004.

Scale: 0 (average FH score 1972-2004<3), 1 (average FH score 1972-2004>=3)

Source: Average FH score for 1972-2004 (reported in Level 2 dataset as L2FH)

Notes: Level 2 variable

ELIG4   **Eligibility Criterion 4: Newly Independent State**

Definition: States entering the "universe" after 1990 were included in the sample.

Scale: 0 (year of entry=1990), 1 (NIS)

Source: ENTRY variable

Notes: Level 2 variable. The concept of newly independent states here includes not only former Soviet states, but also few other cases (e.g., East Timor) entering the sample after 1990.

SC_WB   **World Bank Country Codes (Three-Letter)**

Definition: Country ID adopted by the World Bank.

Source: (World Bank 2005)

Notes: It is a revised version of ISO Alpha-3 country codes, but it does not change over time (even if the name of the country changes) and occasionally differs from the ISO standard (e.g., in the case of Andorra). All countries in the sample have a World Bank country code. If World Development Indicators omitted the country (e.g., North Korea), ISO Alpha-3 code was adopted.

SC_ID   **Unit Identification Code**

Definition: World Bank country ID followed by year (e.g., ARG1990).

SC_ISO2   **International Organization for Standardization, Two-Letter Country Codes**

Definition: ISO 3166-1 Alpha-2 country codes.

Source: (International Organization for Standardization 2005)

Notes: All countries have a code, but a few codes were updated when the name of the country changed (e.g., YU to CS in 2003).

CC_COW **Correlates of War - Country Codes**
Definition: ID codes adopted by the COW project.
Source: http://cow2.la.psu.edu/
Notes: Microstates not covered by COW have blank entries.

CC_P4 **Polity IV - Country Codes**
Definition: ID codes adopted by the Polity project.
Source: (Marshall and Jaggers 2002)
Notes: An extension of the COW codes. Microstates not covered by Polity have blank entries.

CC_GW **Gleditsch and Ward - Country Codes**
Definition: ID codes adopted by Kristian Gleditsch and Michael Ward.
Source: (Gleditsch 2003)
Notes: An extension of the COW codes. It covers more microstates than Polity (but not every country has an ID number).

CC_G **Gartzke - Country Codes**
Definition: ID codes adopted by Erik Gartzke.
Source: CODEB item (Gartzke 2002)
Notes: An extension of the COW codes. It covers every state in the sample except the West Bank (and Vatican City). The codebook for Gartzke's affinity data (Gartzke and Jo 2002) makes a series of mistakes when describing the dataset's treatment of divided and re-unified states (e.g., the codebook states that Germany post 1991 is coded as 260, but the actual dataset preserves the COW convention of coding Germany post 1989 as 255). When there are disagreements, CC_G follows the actual Gartzke data and not the codebook.

CC_B **Banks Country Codes**
Definition: ID codes adopted by the Banks Cross-National Time-Series Data.
Source: (Banks 2004)
Notes: System covers every country except the West Bank and Gaza.

CC_UN **United Nations – Country Codes**
Definition: ID codes adopted by the UN Statistics Division.
Source: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49alpha.htm
Notes: Covers every country except the West Bank and Gaza. A few country codes changed after the territorial structure of the country was altered.

CC_1   **DG Project Country Codes**

Definition: ID codes specifically created for this project. Seven-digit codes indicate the Continent (first digit), the UN sub-region (digits 2-4) and the country within the sub-region (digits 5-7).

Notes: System covers every country in the sample. For alternative codes CC_2, CC_3 (and corresponding weight WCC_3) see the appendix on treatment of fractured and re-unified countries.

UN_REG   **United Nations – Numerical Regional Codes**

Definition: ID codes adopted by the UN Statistics Division.

Source: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm

Notes:

UN_SUB   **United Nations – Sub-Regional Codes**

Definition: ID codes adopted by the UN Statistics Division.

Source: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm

Notes:

REGION   **USAID Regional Codes**

Definition: Regional codes were attached to programs in the USAID funding database. The set of regions was similar, but not equal to the UN-defined regions. We created numerical codes for the USAID funding regions and matched them to the three-digit UN codes when it was possible. When definitions were not consistent with the UN Statistical Division, we created a four-digit code to flag the distinctive nature of the category.

Categories: 002 Africa; 009 Oceania; 021 North America (not in USAID database but in Greenbook); 142 Asia; 150 Europe; 419 Latin America and the Caribbean; 1100 Eurasia; 1200 Middle East and the Mediterranean.

Notes: Labels were attached. See classification of countries in the appendix.

SUBREG   **USAID Sub-Regional Codes**

Definition: Sub-regional programs were identified in the USAID funding database. The set of sub-regions was similar, but not equal to UN sub-regions. We created codes for the sub-regions and matched them to UN codes when possible. When definitions were not consistent, we created a four-digit code to flag the distinctive nature of the category.

Notes: Categories not listed for reasons of space. Labels were attached in dataset. See classification of countries in the appendix.

6. Appendices

6.1. Countries and Regions

Standard academic criteria for the inclusion of territorial units into the "universe" of states proved to be too restrictive for our analytical purposes. For instance, the Small-Singer standard adopted by the Correlates of War project requires country membership in the United Nations, or a population of at least 500,000 and presence of diplomatic missions from two major international powers (Small and Singer 1982, 38-46). Because several countries in the USAID investment database would be excluded using the Small-Singer criteria, we considered to be part the universe all territorial units that matched two criteria: (1) they were recognized (i.e., assigned a numeric code) by the United Nations Statistical Division; and (2) were independent states (we excluded overseas territories like Martinique, islands in free association with a larger country like the Cook Islands or Puerto Rico, autonomous regions like the Aland Islands, or occupied territories like Tibet; when in doubt we adopted the "date of independence" stated by the CIA's World Factbook).

The only exception to this rule was the inclusion of the West Bank and Gaza, since it is possible that the West Bank will become an independent state in the future, it is treated as distinct territorial unit in the USAID database, and it is covered by comparative datasets (e.g., the World Bank and Penn World Tables) as a distinct entity. Even though Kosovo and Northern Ireland were also treated as distinct territorial units in the USAID database, we were unable to include them given the operational rule (these units are not recognized by the UN statistical division) and the absence of any systematic information in standard comparative datasets. Investment for Kosovo was aggregated into Serbia-Montenegro, and investment for Northern Ireland into the United Kingdom (funds directed to the UK, however, were not included in the analysis since they did not reflect programs managed by USAID—as opposed to the Department of State or other agencies) . According to these operational criteria, the universe of states was constituted by 195 territorial units between 1990 and 2003. Of these, only 165 countries were considered "eligible" for USAID Democracy and Governance programs and thus included in the analysis. (See definition of the ELIGIBLE filter above).

Countries Included in the Analysis (Potentially "Eligible" for USAID DG Programs)

Region –Subregion Country	SC_WB	CC_COW	CC_B	CC_UN	UN_REG	UN_SUB
Africa – Central Africa						
Burundi	BDI	516	150	108	2	14
Cameroon	CMR	471	170	120	2	17
Central African Republic	CAF	482	190	140	2	17
Gabon	GAB	481	400	266	2	17
Sao Tome and Principe	STP		985	678	2	17
Sudan	SDN	625	1070	736	2	15

Countries Included in the Analysis (Cont.)

Region –Subregion Country	SC_WB	CC_COW	CC_B	CC_UN	UN_REG	UN_SUB
Africa – East Africa						
Djibouti	DJI	522	325	262	2	14
Eritrea	ERI	531	375	232	2	14
Ethiopia	ETH	530	370	230	2	14
Kenya	KEN	501	620	404	2	14
Rwanda	RWA	517	980	646	2	14
Seychelles	SYC		1005	690	2	14
Somalia	SOM	520	1030	706	2	14
Tanzania	TZA	510	1120	834	2	14
Uganda	UGA	500	1180	800	2	14
Africa – South Africa						
Angola	AGO	540	35	24	2	17
Botswana	BWA	571	110	72	2	18
Comoros	COM	581	245	174	2	14
Congo, Republic of the	COG	484	250	178	2	17
Lesotho	LSO	570	680	426	2	18
Madagascar	MDG	580	730	450	2	14
Malawi	MWI	553	740	454	2	14
Mauritius	MUS	590	800	480	2	14
Mozambique	MOZ	541	835	508	2	14
Namibia	NAM	565	837	516	2	18
South Africa	ZAF	560	1040	710	2	18
Swaziland	SWZ	572	1080	748	2	18
Zaire / Congo	ZAR	490	260	180	2	17
Zambia	ZMB	551	1300	894	2	14
Zimbabwe	ZWE	552	1214	716	2	14
Africa – West Africa						
Benin	BEN	434	310	204	2	11
Burkina Faso	BFA	439	1230	854	2	11
Cape Verde	CPV		185	132	2	11
Chad	TCD	483	210	148	2	17
Cote d'Ivoire	CIV	437	580	384	2	11
Equatorial Guinea	GNQ	411	355	226	2	17
Gambia	GMB	420	410	270	2	11
Ghana	GHA	452	440	288	2	11
Guinea	GIN	438	470	324	2	11
Guinea-Bissau	GNB	404	475	624	2	11
Liberia	LBR	450	690	430	2	11
Mali	MLI	432	770	466	2	11
Mauritania	MRT	435	790	478	2	11
Niger	NER	436	880	562	2	11
Nigeria	NGA	475	890	566	2	11
Senegal	SEN	433	1000	686	2	11
Sierra Leone	SLE	451	1010	694	2	11
Togo	TGO	461	1140	768	2	11

Countries Included in the Analysis (Cont.)

Region –Subregion Country	SC_WB	CC_COW	CC_B	CC_UN	UN_REG	UN_SUB
Asia – East and Southeast Asia						
Brunei Darussalam	BRN		125	96	142	35
Cambodia	KHM	811	160	116	142	35
China	CHN	710	230	156	142	30
Indonesia	IDN	850	530	360	142	35
Korea, Democratic People's Rep (N)	PRK	731	631	408	142	30
Korea, Republic of (S)	KOR	732	632	410	142	30
Laos	LAO	812	650	418	142	35
Malaysia	MYS	820	750	458	142	35
Mongolia	MNG	712	820	496	142	30
Myanmar (Burma)	MMR	775	140	104	142	35
Philippines	PHL	840	940	608	142	35
Singapore	SGP	830	1020	702	142	35
Taiwan	TWN	713	231	158	142	30
Thailand	THA	800	1130	764	142	35
Timor Leste	TMP	860	335	626	142	35
Vietnam	VNM	816	1260	704	142	35
Asia – South Asia and Afghanistan						
Afghanistan	AFG	700	10	4	142	62
Bangladesh	BGD	771	901	50	142	62
Bhutan	BTN	760	66	64	142	62
India	IND	750	520	356	142	62
Iran	IRN	630	540	364	142	62
Maldives	MDV		760	462	142	62
Nepal	NPL	790	840	524	142	62
Pakistan	PAK	770	900	586	142	62
Sri Lanka	LKA	780	200	144	142	62
Eurasia – Caucasus/ Slavic Republics						
Armenia	ARM	371	45	51	142	145
Azerbaijan	AZE	373	64	31	142	145
Belarus	BLR	370	75	112	150	151
Georgia	GEO	372	415	268	142	145
Moldova	MDA	359	813	498	150	151
Russian Federation*	RUS	365	975	810	150	151
Soviet Union	RUS	365	1190	810	150	151
Ukraine	UKR	369	1183	804	150	151
Eurasia – Central Asia						
Kazakhstan	KAZ	705	615	398	142	62
Kyrgyzstan	KGZ	703	645	417	142	62
Tajikistan	TJK	702	1115	762	142	62
Turkmenistan	TKM	701	1172	795	142	62
Uzbekistan	UZB	704	1241	860	142	62

* Treated as continuation of Soviet Union (see 6.2).

Countries Included in the Analysis (Cont.)

Region –Subregion Country	SC_WB	CC_COW	CC_B	CC_UN	UN_REG	UN_SUB
Europe – Eastern Europe						
Albania	ALB	339	20	8	150	39
Bosnia-Herzegovina	BIH	346	107	70	150	39
Bulgaria	BGR	355	130	100	150	151
Croatia	HRV	344	275	191	150	39
Czech Republic	CZE	316	301	203	150	151
Czechoslovakia	CSK	315	300	200	150	151
Estonia	EST	366	360	233	150	154
Hungary	HUN	310	62	348	150	151
Latvia	LVA	367	660	428	150	154
Lithuania	LTU	368	710	440	150	154
Macedonia	MKD	343	725	807	150	39
Poland	POL	290	950	616	150	151
Romania	ROM	360	970	642	150	151
Slovakia	SVK	317	302	703	150	151
Slovenia	SVN	349	1023	705	150	39
Yugoslavia/ Serbia-Montenegro	YUG	345	1290	890	150	39
Europe – Southern Europe						
Portugal	PRT	235	960	620	150	39
Europe – Western and Northern Europe						
Ireland	IRL	205	1212	372	150	154
Latin America and the Caribbean – Caribbean						
Antigua and Barbuda	ATG		37	28	419	29
Cuba	CUB	40	280	192	419	29
Dominica	DMA		327	212	419	29
Dominican Republic	DOM	42	330	214	419	29
Grenada	GRD		455	308	419	29
Haiti	HTI	41	490	332	419	29
Jamaica	JAM	51	590	388	419	29
Saint Lucia	LCA		981	662	419	29
St. Kitts and Nevis	KNA		1063	659	419	29
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	VCT		1065	670	419	29
Trinidad and Tobago	TTO	52	1150	780	419	29
Latin America and the Caribbean – Central America						
Belize	BLZ		90	84	419	13
Costa Rica	CRI	94	270	188	419	13
El Salvador	SLV	92	350	222	419	13
Guatemala	GTM	90	460	320	419	13
Honduras	HND	91	500	340	419	13
Mexico	MEX	70	810	484	419	13
Nicaragua	NIC	93	870	558	419	13
Panama	PAN	95	910	590	419	13

Countries Included in the Analysis (Cont.)

Region – Subregion Country	SC_WB	CC_COW	CC_B	CC_UN	UN_REG	UN_SUB
Latin America and the Caribbean – South America						
Argentina	ARG	160	40	32	419	5
Bolivia	BOL	145	100	68	419	5
Brazil	BRA	140	120	76	419	5
Chile	CHL	155	220	152	419	5
Colombia	COL	100	240	170	419	5
Ecuador	ECU	130	340	218	419	5
Guyana	GUY	110	480	328	419	5
Paraguay	PRY	150	920	600	419	5
Peru	PER	135	930	604	419	5
Suriname	SUR		1075	740	419	5
Uruguay	URY	165	1240	858	419	5
Venezuela	VEN	101	1250	862	419	5
Middle East and the Mediterranean – Eastern Mediterranean						
Israel	ISR	666	560	376	142	145
Turkey	TUR	640	1170	792	142	145
West Bank and Gaza	WBG				142	145
Middle East and the Mediterranean – Middle East and N. Africa						
Algeria	DZA	615	30	12	2	15
Bahrain	BHR	692	65	48	142	145
Egypt	EGY	651	1200	818	142	145
Iraq	IRQ	645	550	368	142	145
Jordan	JOR	663	610	400	142	145
Kuwait	KWT	690	640	414	142	145
Lebanon	LBN	660	670	422	142	145
Libya	LBY	620	700	434	2	15
Morocco	MAR	600	830	504	2	15
Oman	OMN	698	895	512	142	145
Qatar	QAT	694	965	634	142	145
Saudi Arabia	SAU	670	990	682	142	145
Syria	SYR	652	1110	760	142	145
Tunisia	TUN	616	1160	788	2	15
United Arab Emirates	ARE	696	1185	784	142	145
Yemen	YEM	679	1285	887	142	145
Oceania – South Pacific						
Fiji	FJI	950	1216	242	9	54
Kiribati	KIR		625	296	9	57
Marshall Islands	MHL		785	584	9	57
Micronesia, Federated States	FSM		812	583	9	57
Nauru	NRU		51	520	9	57
Palau	PLW		905	585	9	57
Papua New Guinea	PNG	910	915	598	9	54
Solomon Islands	SLB		1025	90	9	54
Tonga	TON		1215	776	9	61

Countries Included in the Analysis (Cont.)

Region –Subregion Country	SC_WB	CC_COW	CC_B	CC_UN	UN_REG	UN_SUB
Tuvalu	TUV		1175	798	9	61
Vanuatu	VUT		1243	548	9	54
Samoa/ Western Samoa	WSM		1270	882	9	61

Countries Not Included in the Analysis ("Non-Eligible")

Region – Subregion Country	SC_WB	CC_COW	CC_B	CC_UN	UN_REG	UN_SUB
Asia - East and Southeast Asia						
Japan	JPN	740	600	392	142	30
Europe - Southern Europe						
Andorra	ADO		32	20	150	39
Greece	GRC	350	450	300	150	39
Holy See (Vatican City)	VAT		1245	336	150	39
Italy	ITA	325	570	380	150	39
Malta	MLT		780	470	150	39
San Marino	SMR		982	674	150	39
Spain	ESP	230	1060	724	150	39
Europe - Western and Northern Europe						
Austria	AUT	305	61	40	150	155
Belgium	BEL	211	80	56	150	155
Denmark	DNK	390	320	208	150	154
Finland	FIN	375	380	246	150	154
France	FRA	220	390	250	150	155
Germany	DEU	255	420	276	150	155
Iceland	ISL		510	352	150	154
Liechtenstein	LIE		705	438	150	155
Luxembourg	LUX		720	442	150	155
Monaco	MCO		815	492	150	155
Netherlands	NLD	210	850	528	150	155
Norway	NOR	385	1091	578	150	154
Sweden	SWE	380	1092	752	150	154
Switzerland	CHE	225	1100	756	150	155
United Kingdom**	GBR	200	1210	826	150	154
Latin America and the Caribbean - Caribbean						
Bahamas	BHS		69	44	419	29
Barbados	BRB		70	52	419	29
North America						
Canada	CAN	20	180	124	21	21
United States of America (excluded by definition)	*USA*	*2*	*1220*	*840*	*21*	*21*
Middle East and the Mediterranean – Eastern Mediterranean						
Cyprus**	CYP	352	290	196	142	145
Oceania - Australia and New Zealand						
Australia	AUS	900	50	36	9	53
New Zealand	NZL	920	860	554	9	53

** Included as recipient in the USAID database, but programs not administered by USAID (i.e., Agency coded as "us_dst" or "us_xfr" in the database).

6.2. Protocol for Cases of State Fragmentation and Unification

The general problem adopts three forms: (i) secession, when a splinter state abandons the "root" country (e.g, when Eritrea separated from Ethiopia); (ii) fracture, when the root country fragments into multiple new states (e.g., Czechoslovakia); and (iii) unification (or re-unification) when two or more countries consolidate into one (e.g., Germany, Yemen)

We have addressed this problem in three different contexts: (1) when creating retrospective Level 2 variables (e.g., the historical level of democracy between 1900 and 1989), (2) when identifying Level 2 units (the countries for which latent curves were estimated), and (3) when computing short-term lags (e.g., the two-year moving average for aid).

(1) Rules for Retrospective Level 2 Variables

i-ii) For secessions and fractures, retrospective values referred to the root country (so, for instance, the history of democracy imputed to the Czech and the Slovak republics between 1918 and 1992 was in both cases the one for Czechoslovakia). When the root country was partly dismembered but it preserved some enduring identity (e.g., the Russian Federation following the collapse of the USSR, Yugoslavia after 1991, Ethopia after 1993) we considered the crippled successor state a continuation of the root country.

iii) For unifications (Germany, Yemen) retrospective values corresponded to the average score for the country partitions, weighted by the relative size of their population at the time of reunification. For instance, we assumed that the democratic experience of West Germany between 1945 and 1989 affected 79% of the population of the current Germany (or their parents) while the experience of East Germany affected the remaining 21% of the population. (In the case of foreign assistance, weights did not apply and we just aggregated the totals).

These rules were implemented using country id code CC_3 and weight WCC_3

Exceptions:
In four cases (the West Bank and Gaza pre-1994, the Marshall Islands and Micronesia pre-1986, and Palau pre-1994) the democratic experience of the "root" country (Israel, the United States) could not be assumed to be shared by the territorial unit, and thus the lack of Freedom House data for the period 1980-89 prevented a straight forward estimation of the past democratic experience of these countries (variables L201 and L203). The absence of data was related to the lack of independence of the territories, but also to late incorporation into the Freedom House list (Freedom House offered scores for Palestine since 1997, the Marshall Islands and Micronesia since 1991, and Palau since 1994). Rather than treating those cases as missing values, we adopted the following procedures:
a) For L201 (the average DG02 score for 1972-89) we imputed the mean DG02 score for the territory's geographic region during the years when the country was moving towards independence (see starting dates below) in the period 1972-89. The

assumption was that the experience of the country would have been similar to the experience of its neighbors had the country achieved independence during that period. Scores based on this procedure were in fact very close to the ones observed in the first year rated by Freedom House (see comparison below).

b) For L203 (years rated as "Free" since 1972 under Freedom House criteria), we assumed that Palestine would have not been rated free at any point during this period, that the Marshall Islands and Micronesia would have been rated free since 1979, and that Palau would have been rated free since 1981 (following the adoption of home rule in the latter three cases).

Country	L201 based on Region's Mean		DG02: first observed		L203 Years "Free" (since)	
Marshall Islands	10.7	(1979-89)	13	(1991)	11	(1979)
Micronesia	10.7	(1979-89)	13	(1991)	11	(1979)
Palau	10.6	(1981-89)	12	(1994)	9	(1981)
West Bank and Gaza	4.9	(1987-89)	4	(1997)	0	(never)

(2) Rules for Identification of Level 2 Units

i) Secessions: Splinters were treated as a new unit, while the crippled successor state was treated as a lasting unit. Thus the Russian Federation was treated as a continuation of the USSR, but Ukraine was not. Note that, according to the rules described above, retrospective Level 2 variables may display the same scores for Ukraine and for Russia, but latent curves were estimated separately for the two countries.

ii) Fractures: We treated splinter countries as new units. For instance, in the case of the former Czechoslovakia, we estimated latent curves for three countries: the Czech and Slovak republics, and the last few years of Czechoslovakia. The three units had equivalent scores for retrospective Level 2 variables (based on the history of Czechoslovakia).

iii) Re-Unifications: This was not a problem for us, since both Yemen and Germany were re-united by 1990. But as a rule the "leading" state in the re-unification process would be treated as a surviving unit (e.g., Germany would preserve the same ID code of West Germany; Yemen, of North Yemen; Viet-Nam, of North Viet-Nam, etc.).

(3) Rules for Lags

We adopted the same continuity rules applied to the identification of Level 2 units. The underlying principle was that lagged variables would be meaningful only when there was continuity in the country unit.

Rules for the identification of units and the estimation of lags were implemented using the CC_2 country id.

6.3. Sources and References

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