

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

## Codebook

Steven Finkel, University of Virginia  
Andrew T. Green, USAID  
Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, University of Pittsburgh  
Mitchell Seligson, Vanderbilt University

(July 2, 2005)

|   |    |
|---|----|
| 1. Measures of USAID Activity.....                                  | 1  |
| 1.1. Democracy and Governance Assistance.....                       | 1  |
| 1.2. Other (Non-DG) Sectors.....                                    | 3  |
| 1.3. Sources and Composition of Funding.....                        | 5  |
| 1.4. Regional Programs.....   | 6  |
| 1.5. Sub-Regional Programs.....                                     | 9  |
| 2. Measures of Democratic Development.....                          | 14 |
| 2.1. General Democracy and Governance.....                          | 14 |
| 2.2. Elections and Electoral Processes.....                         | 15 |
| 2.3. Rule of Law.....   | 22 |
| 2.4. Civil Society.....   | 28 |
| 2.5. Governance.....  | 32 |
| 3. Additional Independent Variables.....                            | 35 |
| 3.1. Other Donor Agencies.....                                      | 35 |
| 3.2. Development.....   | 37 |
| 3.3. Economic Performance.....                                      | 39 |
| 3.4. Population and Social Indicators.....                          | 41 |
| 3.5. Economic Dependence.....                                       | 44 |
| 3.6. Political History and Institutions.....                        | 46 |
| 3.7. International Factors.....                                     | 47 |
| 4. Level 2 Predictors (Constant within Countries).....              | 49 |
| 4.1. History of Democracy.....                                      | 49 |
| 4.2. State Failure and International Factors.....                   | 50 |
| 4.3. Social and Economic Predictors.....                            | 51 |
| 4.4. U.S. Policy Priority Indicators.....                           | 53 |
| 4.5. USAID Presence.....  | 55 |
| 5. Country Codes and ID Variables.....                              | 58 |
| 6. Appendices.....  | 62 |
| 6.1. Countries and Regions.....                                     | 62 |
| 6.2. Protocol for Cases of State Fragmentation and Unification..... | 68 |
| 6.3. Sources and References.....                                    | 70 |

## 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).

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>AID110</b>      | <b>DG - Elections and Political Processes</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in Electoral Assistance and Political Party Support programs.   |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub=EPP)                                |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.  |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>AID120</b>      | <b>DG - Rule of Law</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in programs to strengthen Human Rights and Legal and Judicial Development.  |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub=RoL)                                |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.  |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>AID121</b>      | <b>DG - Human Rights (Segment of Rule of Law)</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in activities to strengthen awareness and compliance with human rights. (Part of the Rule of Law sub-sector)                      |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub2b=DGHR)                             |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.  |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>AID130</b>      | <b>DG - Civil Society</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in activities to strengthen non-governmental organizations (including civic groups, professional associations, and labor unions). |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub=CivSoc)                             |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Average obligations for current and previous fiscal year.  |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>AID131</b>      | <b>DG – Mass Media (Segment of Civil Society)</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in activities to strengthen the independent media (also counted as part of DG130).  |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (Funds are identified in the USAID database by code DGsub2b=DGME)                             |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | 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

**PDAID**            **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.

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>RAID120</b>     | <b>Regional DG - Rule of Law</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in region-wide programs to strengthen Human Rights and Legal and Judicial Development.  |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=RoL)   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of regions in the appendix.   |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>RAID121</b>     | <b>Regional DG - RL - Human Rights</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in regional-wide activities to strengthen awareness and compliance with human rights. (Mostly part of the Rule of Law sub-sector)             |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub2b=DGHR)  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of regions in the appendix.   |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>RAID130</b>     | <b>Regional DG - Civil Society</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in region-wide activities to strengthen non-governmental organizations (including civic groups, professional associations, and labor unions). |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | Data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=CivSoc)  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of regions in the appendix.   |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>RAID140</b>     | <b>Regional DG – Governance</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in region-wide governance programs, including government transparency and anti-corruption, decentralization, and civil-military relations.    |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=GGovc)   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of regions in the appendix.   |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>RAID000</b>     | <b>Total Regional Investment in Other Sectors (Non-DG)</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total USAID investment in region-wide programs for other sectors.<br>RAID000=RAID200+RAID300+RAID400+RAID500+RAID600+<br>+RAID700+RAID800                      |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | 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.

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>SAID110</b>     | <b>Subregional DG - Elections and Political Processes</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional programs for Electoral Assistance and Political Party Support.   |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=EPP)   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of subregions in the appendix.  |
| <b>SAID120</b>     | <b>Subregional DG - Rule of Law</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional programs to strengthen Human Rights and Legal and Judicial Development.  |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=RoL)   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of subregions in the appendix.  |
| <b>SAID121</b>     | <b>Subregional DG - RL - Human Rights</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional activities to strengthen awareness and compliance with human rights. (Mostly part of the Rule of Law sub-sector)             |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub2b=DGHR)  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of regions in the appendix.   |
| <b>SAID130</b>     | <b>Subregional DG - Civil Society</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional programs to strengthen non-governmental organizations (including civic groups, professional associations, and labor unions). |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=CivSoc)  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of subregions in the appendix.  |
| <b>SAID140</b>     | <b>Subregional DG – Governance</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional governance programs, including government transparency and anti-corruption, decentralization, and civil-military relations.  |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub=GGovc)   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of subregions in the appendix.  |

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <b>SAID000</b>     | <b>Total Subregional Investment in Other Sectors (Non-DG)</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total USAID investment in region-wide programs for other sectors.<br>SAID000=SAID200+SAID300+SAID400+SAID500+SAID600+<br>+SAID700+SAID800                     |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of sub-regions in the appendix.  |
| <br>               |   |
| <b>SAID200</b>     | <b>Subregional Non-DG - Agriculture and Economic Growth</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional Agriculture and Economic Growth programs (including trade, poverty reduction, market promotion, etc.)                         |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green<br>(DGsub="Agriculture," "Other Growth," "Poverty Reduct.," "Private Mkts")                              |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of subregions in the appendix.   |
| <br>               |   |
| <b>SAID300</b>     | <b>Subregional Non-DG - Education</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional educational programs (adult literacy, basic education, higher education).   |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green<br>(DGsub="Adult Literacy," "Basic Ed," "Higher Ed")   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of subregions in the appendix.   |
| <br>               |   |
| <b>SAID400</b>     | <b>Subregional Non-DG - Environment</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional programs on environmental protection.   |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green<br>(DGsub="Biodiversity," "Energy," "GCC," "NRM," "Other Env.,"<br>"Urb/PP")                             |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of sub-regions in the appendix.  |
| <br>               |   |
| <b>SAID500</b>     | <b>Subregional Non-DG - Health</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional health programs (child survival, HIV/AIDS, infectious diseases, maternal health, population issues, etc.)                     |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green<br>(DGsub="Child Survival," "HIV/AIDS," "Inf Diseases," "Maternal Health," "Other Health," "Population") |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of sub-regions in the appendix.  |

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>SAID600</b>     | <b>Subregional Non-DG - Humanitarian Assistance</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional humanitarian assistance (disasters, etc.)  |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Humanit Asst" and "OTI")  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of sub-regions in the appendix.   |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>SAID700</b>     | <b>Subregional Non-DG - Human Rights</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional Human Rights programs outside of the DG (rule of law) sector (e.g., programs against trafficking in persons).                                    |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="Human Rights")  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of sub-regions in the appendix.   |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>SAID800</b>     | <b>Subregional Non-DG - Conflict Management and Mitigation</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | USAID investment in subregional activities to promote conflict resolution.   |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green (DGsub="CMM")   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of sub-regions in the appendix.   |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>NS</b>          | <b>Number of Countries in the Sub-Region</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total number of countries considered to be part of the sub-region (including those that do not receive USAID funds but are potentially eligible).                                |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | N  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | 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. |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | See list of sub-regions in appendix.   |
| <br>               |  |
| <b>RSAID100</b>    | <b>Regional and Sub-Regional Funding "Available" for Democracy and Governance Programs.</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Funds available for DG programs at the regional or sub-regional level for the average country in a given geographic area.<br>$RSAID100=(RAID100/NR)+(SAID100/NS)$                |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars, two-year average.  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | See components above.  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | 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-Lobaton 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-Lobaton 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-Lobaton 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-Lobaton 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 Cooperation 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 Cooperation 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)

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <b>L2100</b>       | <b>Total AID for Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-2003</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total USAID investment for all Democracy and Governance programs during 1990-2003.  |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (as in AID100)   |
| <b>L2REC</b>       | <b>Recipient of Democracy and Governance Funds, 1990-2003</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Dichotomous indicator coded 1 if the country received DG funds at any point between 1990 and 2003.  |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | 0 (Never recipient), 1 (Recipient)  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | OBL100  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | The equivalent indicator for all forms of assistance is ELIG1.  |
| <b>L2000</b>       | <b>Total AID for Non-Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-2003</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total USAID investment in other sectors, 1990-2003.   |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (as in AID000)   |
| <b>L2PDA</b>       | <b>Development Assistance as Percentage of total USAID Investment</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | 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. |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Percentage of AID (yearly average for the period)   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | PDAAID  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | If there is no USAID presence in a country, value is set to missing.  |
| <b>L2100a</b>      | <b>Total AID for Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-1992</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total USAID investment for all Democracy and Governance programs during the last three years of the Bush administration.  |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID100)   |



|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>L2000a</b>      | <b>Total AID for Non-Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-1992</b>                                      |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total USAID investment in other sectors during the last three years of the Bush administration.            |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID000)                                  |
| <b>L2100b</b>      | <b>Total AID for Democracy and Governance Programs, 1993-1996</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total USAID investment for all DG programs during the first Clinton administration.                        |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID100)                                  |
| <b>L2000b</b>      | <b>Total AID for Non-Democracy and Governance Programs, 1993-1996</b>                                      |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total USAID investment in Non-DG sectors during the first Clinton administration.                          |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID000)                                  |
| <b>L2100c</b>      | <b>Total AID for Democracy and Governance Programs, 1997-2000</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total USAID investment for all Democracy and Governance programs during the second Clinton administration. |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID100)                                  |
| <b>L2000c</b>      | <b>Total AID for Non-Democracy and Governance Programs, 1997-2000</b>                                      |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Investment in Non-DG sectors during the second Clinton administration.                                     |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Aggregation reflects total obligations, not two-year means (e.g., AID000)                                  |
| <b>L2100d</b>      | <b>Total AID for Democracy and Governance Programs, 1990-1996</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Total USAID investment for all DG programs during 1990-1996.   |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | Millions of constant 1995 US dollars   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | 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).

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>CNAME</b>       | <b>Country Name</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Full country name  |
| <b>YEAR</b>        | <b>Year Coded (fiscal year if USAID data) - Level 1</b>  |
| <b>YEARNUM</b>     | <b>Year Counter (1990=1) - Level 1</b>   |
| <b>ENTRY</b>       | <b>Year when the Country Entered the Sample - Level 2</b>  |
| <b>ELIGIBLE</b>    | <b>“Eligibility” for USAID Foreign Assistance</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | 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. |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | 0 (Non-eligible, dropped from the analysis), 1 (Included in the analysis)  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | ELIG1, ELIG2, ELIG3, ELIG4   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | If any of the four criteria is true, ELIGIBLE=1  |
| <b>ELIG1</b>       | <b>Eligibility Criterion 1: Received USAID funds between 1990 and 2003</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Dummy indicating if the country was in fact an aid recipient between 1990 and 2003 (ELIG1=1 if OBL=1 for any year).  |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | 0 (Not recipient), 1 (Recipient)   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | USAID data compiled by John Richter and Andrew Green   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Level 2 variable   |

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>ELIG2</b>       | <b>Eligibility Criterion 2: Low or Middle Income</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Dichotomous variable indicating if the country was classified by the World Bank as low or middle-income.   |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | 0 (High income), 1 (Low or Middle income)  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | (World Bank 2002)  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Level 2 variable   |
| <b>ELIG3</b>       | <b>Eligibility Criterion 3: “Not Free” or “Partially Free”</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Coding is based on the average Freedom House score for the period 1972-2004.   |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | 0 (average FH score 1972-2004<3), 1 (average FH score 1972-2004>=3)  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | Average FH score for 1972-2004 (reported in Level 2 dataset as L2FH)   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Level 2 variable   |
| <b>ELIG4</b>       | <b>Eligibility Criterion 4: Newly Independent State</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | States entering the “universe” after 1990 were included in the sample.   |
| <b>Scale:</b>      | 0 (year of entry=1990), 1 (NIS)  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | ENTRY variable   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | 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.   |
| <b>SC_WB</b>       | <b>World Bank Country Codes (Three-Letter)</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | Country ID adopted by the World Bank.  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | (World Bank 2005)  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | 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. |
| <b>SC_ID</b>       | <b>Unit Identification Code</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | World Bank country ID followed by year (e.g., ARG1990).  |
| <b>SC_ISO2</b>     | <b>International Organization for Standardization, Two-Letter Country Codes</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | ISO 3166-1 Alpha-2 country codes.  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | (International Organization for Standardization 2005)  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | 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).   |

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <b>CC_COW</b>      | <b>Correlates of War - Country Codes</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | ID codes adopted by the COW project.  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | <a href="http://cow2.la.psu.edu/">http://cow2.la.psu.edu/</a>   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Microstates not covered by COW have blank entries.  |
| <b>CC_P4</b>       | <b>Polity IV - Country Codes</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | ID codes adopted by the Polity project.   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | (Marshall and Jaggers 2002)   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | An extension of the COW codes. Microstates not covered by Polity have blank entries.  |
| <b>CC_GW</b>       | <b>Gleditsch and Ward - Country Codes</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | ID codes adopted by Kristian Gleditsch and Michael Ward.  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | (Gleditsch 2003)  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | An extension of the COW codes. It covers more microstates than Polity (but not every country has an ID number).   |
| <b>CC_G</b>        | <b>Gartzke - Country Codes</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | ID codes adopted by Erik Gartzke.   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | CODEB item (Gartzke 2002)   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | 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. |
| <b>CC_B</b>        | <b>Banks Country Codes</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | ID codes adopted by the Banks Cross-National Time-Series Data.  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | (Banks 2004)  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | System covers every country except the West Bank and Gaza.  |
| <b>CC_UN</b>       | <b>United Nations – Country Codes</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | ID codes adopted by the UN Statistics Division.   |
| <b>Source:</b>     | <a href="http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49alpha.htm">http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49alpha.htm</a>   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Covers every country except the West Bank and Gaza. A few country codes changed after the territorial structure of the country was altered.   |

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>CC_1</b>        | <b>DG Project Country Codes</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | 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).   |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | 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.  |
| <b>UN_REG</b>      | <b>United Nations – Numerical Regional Codes</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | ID codes adopted by the UN Statistics Division.  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | <a href="http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm">http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm</a>  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      |  |
| <b>UN_SUB</b>      | <b>United Nations – Sub-Regional Codes</b>   |
| <b>Definition:</b> | ID codes adopted by the UN Statistics Division.  |
| <b>Source:</b>     | <a href="http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm">http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm</a>  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      |  |
| <b>REGION</b>      | <b>USAID Regional Codes</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | 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. |
| <b>Categories:</b> | 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.  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | Labels were attached. See classification of countries in the appendix.   |
| <b>SUBREG</b>      | <b>USAID Sub-Regional Codes</b>  |
| <b>Definition:</b> | 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.  |
| <b>Notes:</b>      | 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<br>Country   | SC_WB | CC_COW | CC_B | CC_UN | UN_REG | UN_SUB |
|--------------------------------|-------|--------|------|-------|--------|--------|
| <b>Africa – Central Africa</b> |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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 |
| <b>Africa – East Africa</b>  |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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     |
| <b>Africa – South Africa</b> |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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     |
| <b>Africa – West Africa</b>  |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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 |
| <b>Asia – East and Southeast Asia</b>       |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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     |
| <b>Asia – South Asia and Afghanistan</b>    |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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     |
| <b>Eurasia – Caucasus/ Slavic Republics</b> |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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    |
| <b>Eurasia – Central Asia</b>               |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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 |
| <b>Europe – Eastern Europe</b>                           |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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     |
| <b>Europe – Southern Europe</b>                          |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| Portugal   | PRT   | 235    | 960  | 620   | 150    | 39     |
| <b>Europe – Western and Northern Europe</b>              |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| Ireland  | IRL   | 205    | 1212 | 372   | 150    | 154    |
| <b>Latin America and the Caribbean – Caribbean</b>       |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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     |
| <b>Latin America and the Caribbean – Central America</b> |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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 |
| <b>Latin America and the Caribbean – South America</b>               |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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      |
| <b>Middle East and the Mediterranean – Eastern Mediterranean</b>     |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| Israel   | ISR   | 666    | 560  | 376   | 142    | 145    |
| Turkey   | TUR   | 640    | 1170 | 792   | 142    | 145    |
| West Bank and Gaza   | WBG   |        |      |       | 142    | 145    |
| <b>Middle East and the Mediterranean – Middle East and N. Africa</b> |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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    |
| <b>Oceania – South Pacific</b>                                       |       |        |      |       |        |        |
| 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    |
|--|--|------------|----------|-------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| <b>Asia - East and Southeast Asia</b>                            |  |            |          |             |            |           |           |
|  | Japan  | JPN        | 740      | 600         | 392        | 142       | 30        |
| <b>Europe - Southern Europe</b>                                  |  |            |          |             |            |           |           |
|  | 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        |
| <b>Europe - Western and Northern Europe</b>                      |  |            |          |             |            |           |           |
|  | 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       |
| <b>Latin America and the Caribbean - Caribbean</b>               |  |            |          |             |            |           |           |
|  | Bahamas  | BHS        |          | 69          | 44         | 419       | 29        |
|  | Barbados   | BRB        |          | 70          | 52         | 419       | 29        |
| <b>North America</b>   |  |            |          |             |            |           |           |
|  | Canada   | CAN        | 20       | 180         | 124        | 21        | 21        |
|  | <i>United States of America</i> (excluded by definition) | <i>USA</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>1220</i> | <i>840</i> | <i>21</i> | <i>21</i> |
| <b>Middle East and the Mediterranean – Eastern Mediterranean</b> |  |            |          |             |            |           |           |
|  | Cyprus**   | CYP        | 352      | 290         | 196        | 142       | 145       |
| <b>Oceania - Australia and New Zealand</b>                       |  |            |          |             |            |           |           |
|  | 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, Ethiopia 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).

| <u>Country</u>     | <u>L201 based on Region's Mean</u> | <u>DG02: first observed</u> | <u>L203 Years "Free" (since)</u> |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 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

- Annett, Anthony. 2001. "Social Fractionalization, Political Instability and the Size of Government." *IMF Staff Papers* 48 (3):561-592.
- Banks, Arthur. 2004. *Cross-National Time-Series Data (CNTS)*. [cited 2004]. Available from [www.databanks.sitehosting.net/index.htm](http://www.databanks.sitehosting.net/index.htm).
- Banks, Arthur. 2005. Banks' Cross-National Time-Series Data Archive: Variables and Variable Locations. Binghamton: Databanks International.
- Bernhard, Michael, Christopher Reenock, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2004. "The Legacy of Western Overseas Colonialism on Democratic Survival." *International Studies Quarterly* 48:225-250.
- Central Intelligence Agency. 2005. *The World Factbook*. [cited May 2005]. Available from <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html>.
- Cingranelli, David L., and David L. Richards. 2004a. The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Database: Coder Manual (Version 8.01.04). Dept. of Political Science: Binghamton University.
- Cingranelli, David L., and David L. Richards. 2004b. *CIRI Human Rights Project*. [cited 2004]. Available from [www.humanrightsdata.com](http://www.humanrightsdata.com).
- Davenport, Christian. 2003. Minorities at Risk - Dataset User's Manual (030703). University of Maryland: Center for International Development and Conflict Management.
- European Union. 2005. *EUROPA - Candidate Countries*. [cited May 2005]. Available from <http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/candidate.htm#cc>.
- European Union Center. 2005. *EU Timeline*. University System of Georgia, [cited May 2005]. Available from [http://eu-center.org/Resources/EU\\_timeline.html](http://eu-center.org/Resources/EU_timeline.html).
- Fearon, James D. 2003. "Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country." *Journal of Economic Growth* 8:195-222.
- Fearon, James D. , and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97 (1):75-90.
- Freedom House. 2004a. *Freedom in the World Country Ratings, 1972 through 2003*. [cited 2004]. Available from [www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org).
- Freedom House. 2004b. *Freedom of in the World 2004 - Survey Methodology*. [cited 2004]. Available from <http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/freeworld/2004/methodology.htm>.
- Freedom House. 2004c. *Freedom of the Press 2004 - Survey Methodology*. [cited 2004]. Available from [www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org).
- Gartzke, Erik. 2002. *The Affinity of Nations: Similarity of State Voting Positions in the UNGA*. [cited March 2005]. Available from <http://www.columbia.edu/~eg589/datasets.htm>.
- Gartzke, Erik, and Dong-Joon Jo. 2002. The Affinity of Nations Index, 1946-1996 [Codebook Version 3.0]. New York: Columbia University.
- Gibney, Mark. 2004. *Political Terror Scale*. [cited 2004]. Available from [www.unca.edu/politicalscience/faculty-staff/gibney.html](http://www.unca.edu/politicalscience/faculty-staff/gibney.html).
- Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede. 2003. *Modified Polity P4 Data*. (Version 1.0). [cited 2004]. Available from <http://weber.ucsd.edu/~kgledits/Polity.html>.

- Green, Andrew T. 2004. Trends in Post-Communist Civil Societies: Nonprofits, Unions, and Information Legislation, 1991-2001. Washington, DC: USAID/DCHA, Office of Democracy & Governance.
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, IDEA. 2004. *Voter Turnout from 1945 to Date*. [cited 2004]. Available from [www.idea.int/vt/index.cfm](http://www.idea.int/vt/index.cfm).
- International Organization for Standardization, ISO. 2005. *English Country Names and Code Elements*. [cited March 2005]. Available from <http://www.iso.ch/iso/en/prods-services/iso3166ma/02iso-3166-code-lists/list-en1.html>.
- Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Kraay, and Massimo Mastruzzi. 2003. Governance Matters III: Governance Indicators for 1996-2002. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Kraay, and Massimo Mastruzzi. 2005. *Governance Matters IV: Governance Indicators for 1996–2004*. May 9, 2005 [cited June 2005]. Available from <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pubs/govmatters4.html>.
- Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Kraay, and Pablo Zoido-Lobaton. 1999. "Aggregating Governance Indicators". Washington, DC: The World Bank - Policy Research Working Paper #2195.
- Keefer, Philip. 2002a. *Database on Political Institutions (DPI2000)*. The World Bank, [cited 2004]. Available from [www.worldbank.org/research/bios/pkeefer.htm](http://www.worldbank.org/research/bios/pkeefer.htm).
- Keefer, Philip. 2002b. Database on Political Institutions: Changes and Variable Definitions. The World Bank: Development Research Group.
- Marshall, Monty G., and Keith Jaggers. 2002. Polity IV Project: Dataset Users' Manual. College Park: University of Maryland.
- Marshall, Monty G., Keith Jaggers, and Ted Robert Gurr. 2004. *Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2002*. [cited 2004]. Available from <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/polity/>.
- Marshall, Monty G., Keith Jaggers, and Ted Robert Gurr. 2005. *Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2003*. [cited April 2005]. Available from <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/polity/>.
- Mattli, Walter, and Thomas Plümpner. 2002. "The Demand-Side Politics of EU Enlargement: Democracy and the Application for EU Membership." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9 (4):550-574.
- Minorities at Risk Project. 2004. *MAR Data*. [cited 2004]. Available from [www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar/](http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar/).
- OECD. 2005. International Development Statistics (CD-ROM): OECD.
- OECD - Development Assistance Committee. 2005. CRS Aid Activities (Creditor Reporting System) 1973-2003 - Documentation: International Development Statistics CD-ROM, 2005 Edition.
- Paxton, Pamela, Kenneth A. Bollen, Deborah M. Lee, and Hyojoung Kim. 2003. "A Half-Century of Suffrage: New Data and a Comparative Analysis." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38 (1):93-122.
- Signorino, Curtis S., and Jeffrey M. Ritter. 1999. "Tau-b or Nor Tau-b: Measuring the Similarity of Foreign Policy Positions." *International Studies Quarterly* 43 (1):115-144.



- Small, Melvin, and J. David Singer. 1982. *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Teorell, Jan, and Axel Hadenius. 2004. "Global and Regional Determinants of Democratization: Taking Stock of the Large-N Evidence." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5.
- Transparency International. 2003. *Corruption Perceptions Index 2003*. Berlin: Transparency International Secretariat.
- Transparency International. 2004. *Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)*. [cited 2004]. Available from [www.transparency.org/surveys/index.html](http://www.transparency.org/surveys/index.html).
- USAID, United States Agency for International Development. 2005. *U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook)*. [cited May 2005]. Available from <http://quesdb.cdie.org/gbk/home.html>.
- Vanhanen, Tatu. 2003. *Measures of Democracy 1810-2002*. Finnish Social Science Data Archive, [cited 2004]. Available from <http://www.fsd.uta.fi/english/data/catalogue/FSD1289/>.
- World Bank, The. 2002. *World Development Report 2002. Building Institutions for Markets*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- World Bank, The. 2004. *Fiscal Decentralization Indicators*. [cited 2004]. Available from <http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/decentralization/fiscalindicators.htm>.
- World Bank, The. 2005. *World Development Indicators On-Line*. [cited February 2005]. Available from <http://devdata.worldbank.org/dataonline/>.