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The Pseudo-Democrat's Dilemma

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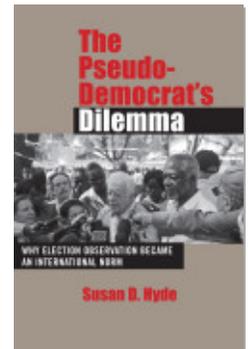
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APPENDIX B

Codebook

Data used in the cross-national empirical analysis come from both original data collection efforts and pre-existing sources. All sources are cited, summarized, and referenced in relation to individual variable definitions, which are also provided below.

Sources

Elections and Election Observation Data

Original data collection efforts took place in two stages. First, it was necessary to collect data on national level election events from 1960 to 2006. Second, I coded whether an election was internationally observed or not. When possible, data also indicate which organizations observed the election and the content of their summary judgment about the quality of the election process.

In evaluating whether the government of a country invited international observers, it is necessary to distinguish between first and multi-round elections. Because the invitation to observers in the final round of an election is nearly perfectly determined by whether the election was observed in the first round, data were collected on multiple rounds, with emphasis on first-round elections. Data on election events were coded from a variety of sources, beginning with Tatu Vanhannen's Polyarchy manuscript.² The Oxford University Press data handbooks on elections, edited by Dieter Nohlen and a series of coauthors, were principal sources

2. See http://www.prio.no/sptrans/-929210677/file42502_contents.pdf.

of information on multiple rounds and precise election dates.³ The IFES election guide was the primary source for election dates in the post-1998 period.⁴ For this book, the original data collection on national election events used in Hyde (2006) was updated based on the NELDA dataset, described below, and fully reconciled. International system membership data are from Gleditsch and Ward (1999).

The original data collection excluded the developed democracies, which have been added based primarily on Matt Golder's dataset on elections and electoral systems.⁵ Dates of these elections were then updated, cleaned, and converted into the format used in the NELDA dataset.

Observed elections were coded in the following manner. First, observer organizations' official reports were sought as primary sources. Except in rare cases, if an observer organization reported that they observed an election, it was coded as observed. However, a number of observer organizations have lost records of some observed elections or make only a subset of their reports public. For every election held between 1962 and 2006, newswire reports and other news sources were searched for mention of the election and the words *international*, *foreign*, *observer*, and *monitor*. The secondary literature on election observation was searched extensively for comparison,⁶ with articles such as Amanda Sives's analysis of election observation by the Commonwealth Secretariat serving as the principle record of early election observation by that organization.⁷ For elections in which it was still difficult to determine whether observers were present, academic writing on elections and personal accounts written by individual observers were searched for references to elections.

If it was clear from news reports that international election observers were invited and actually monitored a given election, it was recorded as observed even if it was never made clear which organization monitored the election. Out of the 522 observed first-round national elections

3. Nohlen, *Elections in the Americas*; Nohlen, Krennerich, and Thibaut, *Elections in Africa*; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann, *Elections in Asia and the Pacific*.

4. See <http://www.electionguide.org/>.

5. Golder, "Democratic Electoral Systems Around the World, 1946–2000."

6. Beigbeder, *International Monitoring of Plebiscites, Referenda and National Elections*; Bjornlund, *Beyond Free and Fair*; Lean, "External Validation and Democratic Accountability"; Legler, Lean, and Boniface, *Promoting Democracy in the Americas*; Pastor, "Mediating Elections"; Carothers, "The Observers Observed"; Abbink and Hesselting, *Election Observation and Democratization in Africa*; McCoy, "Monitoring and Mediating Elections during Latin American Democratization"; Middlebrook, *Electoral Observation and Democratic Transitions in Latin America*; Santa-Cruz, "Monitoring Elections, Redefining Sovereignty"; Santa-Cruz, "Constitutional Structures, Sovereignty, and the Emergence of Norms."

7. Amanda Sives, "A Review of Commonwealth Election Observation."

recorded in the dataset, I was unable to identify the observer organization for 33 elections, or 6.3% of observed elections.

Embassy delegations and delegations sent from individual countries were not considered official observers unless they joined a multinational delegation, a delegation sponsored by an intergovernmental organization, an international nongovernmental organization, or participated in “coordination and support” under the umbrella of the United Nations. Similarly, journalists, individual academics, and nonpartisan domestic observers are not considered international observers.

The National Elections across Democracy and Autocracy (NELDA) Dataset

In cooperation with Nikolay Marinov, data were collected on 58 variables and attributes for each election event occurring in the developing world between 1960 and 2006. The dataset, variables, sources, and intercoder reliability tests are described in detail on the project’s website, <http://hyde.research.yale.edu/nelda>. The NELDA data were used to update and reconcile the list of election dates originally collected for this project. In addition, six of the variables used in chapter 2 originated in the NELDA data, as cited below.

POLITY and Regime Type Data

Data on regime types come from several sources. Data on long-term developed democracies were compiled from Arend Lijphart’s book and from OECD membership data.⁸ As an alternative measure of regime type and level of democratization, the *POLITY* dataset was used.⁹

The Democracy Assistance Project

Sector-specific data on foreign aid are from the Democracy Assistance Project, a USAID-funded investigation of the effectiveness of democracy assistance. The data and codebook for this project are available on the project’s website, <http://www.pitt.edu/~politics/democracy/democracy.html>.

Data were downloaded from Phase II of the project, and they include two-year averages of the total amount of aid devoted to democracy and governance and nondemocracy and governance for 1990–2005 and for U.S. and non-U.S. bilateral foreign aid donors.¹⁰

8. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*; OECD, “Ratification of the Convention on the OECD.”

9. Marshall and Jaggers, “Polity IV Project.”

10. Finkel et al., “Effects of US Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building.”

The Democracy Assistance Project was also used as the source for data on the U.S. policy priority for each aid-receiving country in terms of military assistance, as described below.

Variables

Observed

Coded by the author, this variable is equal to one if the election was observed by an official delegation of foreigners invited to observe and report on the electoral process.

Pre-election Concerns about Election Fraud

Coded from NELDA11, the variable is equal to one if the answer to the following question was yes, and zero otherwise: “Before elections, are there significant concerns that the election would not be free and fair?” If the variable was coded as “no,” “unclear,” or “unknown,” it was zero.

Opposition Competition

This variable measures whether opposition parties were allowed to compete, and was coded from three variables in the NELDA data, NELDA 3–5. If all three variables were coded as “yes,” *Opposition Competition* was equal to one, and zero otherwise. The three variables answer the following questions:

NELDA3: “Was opposition allowed?”

NELDA4: “Was more than one party legal?”

NELDA5: “Was there a choice of candidates on the ballot?”

Previous Elections Suspended

This variable measures whether elections had previously been suspended in the country and was coded from NELDA1: “Were regular elections suspended before this election?” It is equal to one if NELDA1 is yes, and zero otherwise.

First Multiparty

This variable measures whether the elections were the first multiparty elections held in a country and was coded from NELDA2: “Were these the first multiparty elections?” It is equal to one if NELDA2 is yes, and zero otherwise.

Transitional Government

This variable measures whether the elections were organized by transitional leadership and was coded from NELDA10: “Was the country run

by ‘transitional leadership’ tasked with ‘holding elections?’” It is equal to one if NELDA10 is yes, and zero otherwise.

Uncertain Type

This variable is a composite of *Previous Elections Suspended*, *First Multi-party*, and, *Transitional Government*. If any one of these variables is coded as “yes,” *Uncertain Type* is coded as one, and is zero otherwise.

Consolidated Democracy

This is a dummy variable that indicates governments widely considered to be long-term consolidated democracies. This group of countries includes the long-term developed democracies, which are defined as countries that have been continuously democratic for forty years or more, as coded by Arend Lijphart,¹¹ and that were also OECD members before 1975. These 23 countries are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and United States. *Consolidated Democracy* also includes countries after they have joined the European Union or countries after they were officially informed by a respected international election observer organization that they no longer need to invite international observers because they were widely considered consolidated democracies. I also consider Israel and India to be long-term consolidated democracies.

Democracy and Governance/ODA

This variable was constructed from data provided by the Democracy Assistance Project and collected from USAID. For each aid recipient, it measures the percentage of aid devoted to democracy and governance as a percentage of total development assistance in the previous year. The four variables used from the Democracy Assistance Project dataset are *aid100* (total Democracy & Governance aid from the United States, or D & G aid), *aid000* (total non-D & G aid from the United States), *oda100* (total non-U.S. D & G aid), and *oda000* (total non-U.S. non-D & G aid). All four variables are two-year averages of aid in year t and year $t-1$ and were reported in millions of 2000 U.S. constant dollars.¹² Thus, for each election holding country,

$$\text{Democracy and Governance/ODA} = (\text{aid100} + \text{oda100}) / (\text{aid100} + \text{oda100} + \text{aid000} + \text{oda000})$$

11. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*.

12. Finkel et al., *Cross-National Research on USAID's Democracy and Governance Programs—Codebook (Phase II)*.

U.S. Military Assistance Priority

This variable was constructed by Finkel et al. and represents the percentage of global U.S. military assistance (including counternarcotics) devoted to a given country in the previous year.¹³

GDP (logged) and GDP per capita (logged)

Both *GDP* variables are from the World Development Indicators, as published by the World Bank.¹⁴

POLITY and POLITY Squared

The POLITY2 variable from the Polity IV dataset was used as a measure of regime type. Because the *POLITY* variables lag by one year, for newly independent states I assume that the POLITY2 score for the current year (year of independence) can be substituted for the previous year.

Regional Percentage Observed

This variable was computed from the original data on observed elections and represents the total percentage of elections observed in a country's region in the previous year, excluding the country's own elections, if any.

Table B.1. Descriptive statistics for table 2.3

Variables	Observers	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
<i>Observed</i>	727	.567	.496	0	1
<i>Previously Observed</i>	727	.495	.500	0	1
<i>Opposition Competition</i>	727	.915	.279	0	1
<i>Consolidated Democracy</i>	727	.184	.388	0	1
<i>Previous Elections Suspended</i>	727	.124	.330	0	1
<i>First Multiparty</i>	727	.0867	.282	0	1
<i>Transitional Government</i>	727	.0825	.275	0	1
<i>Uncertain Type</i>	727	.190	.392	0	1
<i>Democracy and Governance/ ODA_{t-1}</i>	727	.0865	.118	0	1
<i>U.S. Military Assistance (Current USD)_{t-1}</i>	727	.755	4.55	0	48.67
<i>GDP (logged)</i>	714	23.7	2.17	18.84	30.09
<i>GDP per capita (logged)</i>	710	7.54	1.57	4.62	11.09
<i>Year</i>	727	1998	4.27	1991	2005

13. Ibid.

14. World Bank, *World Development Indicators*.

Table B.2. Countries included in analysis

Afghanistan	Djibouti	Laos	Republic of Vietnam
Albania	Dominican Republic	Latvia	Romania
Algeria	East Timor	Lebanon	Russia
Angola	Ecuador	Lesotho	Rwanda
Argentina	Egypt	Liberia	Senegal
Armenia	El Salvador	Libya	Serbia (Yugoslavia)
Australia	Equatorial Guinea	Lithuania	Sierra Leone
Austria	Estonia	Macedonia (FYROM)	Singapore
Azerbaijan	Ethiopia	Madagascar	Slovakia
Bahrain	Fiji	Malawi	Slovenia
Bangladesh	Finland	Malaysia	Somalia
Belarus	France	Mali	South Africa
Belgium	Gabon	Mauritania	Spain
Benin	Gambia	Mauritius	Sri Lanka
Bolivia	Georgia	Mexico	Sudan
Bosnia- Herzegovina	German Dem. Rep.	Moldova	Swaziland
Botswana	Ghana	Mongolia	Sweden
Brazil	Greece	Morocco	Switzerland
Bulgaria	Guatemala	Mozambique	Syria
Burkina Faso	Guinea	Myanmar (Burma)	Taiwan
Burundi	Guinea-Bissau	Namibia	Tajikistan
Cambodia	Guyana	Nepal	Tanzania
Cameroon	Haiti	Netherlands	Thailand
Canada	Honduras	New Zealand	Togo
Central African Republic	Hungary	Nicaragua	Trinidad and Tobago
Chad	Iceland	Niger	Tunisia
Chile	India	Nigeria	Turkey
Colombia	Indonesia	Norway	Turkmenistan
Comoros	Iran	Oman	Uganda
Congo	Iraq	Pakistan	Ukraine
Costa Rica	Ireland	Panama	United Kingdom
Côte d'Ivoire	Israel	Papua New Guinea	United States
Croatia	Italy	Paraguay	Uruguay
Cuba	Jamaica	People's Republic of Korea	Uzbekistan
Cyprus	Japan	People's Republic of Yemen	Venezuela
Czech Republic	Jordan	Peru	Yemen
Czechoslovakia	Kazakhstan	Philippines	Zambia
Democratic Re- public of Congo	Kenya	Poland	Zimbabwe
Democratic Republic of Vietnam	Kuwait	Portugal	
Denmark	Kyrgyz Republic	Republic of Korea	

Table B.3. Excluded countries by reason for exclusion

Micro-states with population < 500,000	Countries holding no national elections between 1960–2006
Antigua and Barbuda	China
Andorra	Eritrea
Barbados	Qatar
Bahamas	Saudi Arabia
Bhutan	
Belize	
Brunei	
Cape Verde	
Dominica	
Federated States of Micronesia	
Grenada	
Kiribati	
Liechtenstein	
Luxembourg	
Maldives	
Malta	
Monaco	
Marshall Islands	
Nauru	
Palau	
Seychelles	
Saint Kitts and Nevis	
Saint Lucia	
San Marino	
São Tomé and Príncipe	
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	
Solomon Islands	
Surinam	
Tonga	
Tuvalu	
Vanuatu	
Samoa/Western Samoa	

