

# DEMOCRACY BAROMETER

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zde  
Zentrum für  
Demokratie  
Aarau

WZB

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democracy

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## CODEBOOK

Core Set (Blueprint) and Extended Sample

Data for 70 countries from 1990 to 2014<sup>5</sup>

Version 5

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## Notes

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**(3) Please have a look at the extensive Methodology for a description of selection of indicators, scaling, and aggregation at [www.democracybarometer.org](http://www.democracybarometer.org).**

**(4) Visit us on:**

<http://www.democracybarometer.org>

<http://www.zdaarau.ch>

<http://www.wzb.eu>

<http://www.nccr-democracy.uzh.ch>

**(5) Country sample:** Our core set (blueprint countries) is based on the 30 most established democracies from 1995-2005. Our extended dataset covers 40 additional democracies from Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, as well as some Asian countries. For all countries we provide the aggregated data from 1990-2014.

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# Introduction

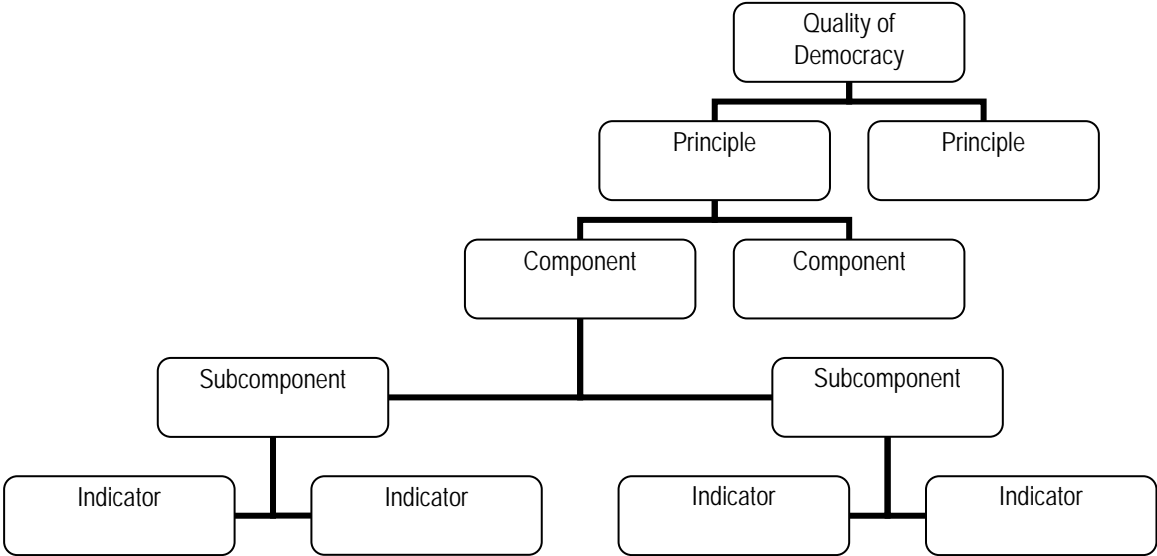
Based on our theoretical concept of democracy, it is feasible to measure a country's quality of democracy for a given point in time. Nevertheless, the quality of the whole endeavor is not only the result of an adequate theoretical concept but equally depends on the quality of the measurement itself (Bollen 1990). As Blalock (1982: 31) puts it: "If either process [conceptualization or measurement] lags too far behind the other, we shall find ourselves stymied."

Using Munck and Verkuilen (2002) as a starting point, one of the most critical tasks to accomplish is to find appropriate indicators. The Democracy Barometer project aims at providing not only a sound and transparent theoretical concept but also a convincing measurement strategy. In the following we therefore give a short overview of the guiding principles of the selection of our indicators (for a more detailed description see our methodology note at [www.democracybarometer.org](http://www.democracybarometer.org)).

## Selection of Indicators

Overall, about 300 indicators were collected from existing datasets as well as produced or calculated by the project team on the basis of various types of documents and information. From this collection 100 indicators were selected to build the Democracy Barometer. The indicators constitute the lowest level of a concept tree that mirrors the theoretical framework of the Democracy Barometer, i.e. the stepwise deduction of principles, components, subcomponents, and indicators (see figure 1 and the paper on the theoretical framework on [democracybarometer.org](http://democracybarometer.org)).

Figure 1: Concept tree of the Democracy Barometer (schematically)



The selection of the indicators was basically theory-driven to ensure content validity. The necessary reduction from 300 to 100 was structured by the following guidelines:

- The Democracy Barometer tries not to rely too heavily on data produced by expert judgments. As Bollen and Paxton (1998, 2000) or Steenbergen and Marks (2007) have pointed out, the reliability of expert ratings is sometimes questionable. In lieu of or in addition to expert judgments, the Democracy Barometer uses – whenever possible – ‘hard’ data and aggregated survey data. That is a decisive difference to other democracy indices such as Freedom House (FH), the Polity Project or the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI), which are all purely based on expert judgments.
- Measurement errors pose a serious problem, though to a certain degree they are inevitable (Zeller and Carmines 1980). However, some approaches may help to scale down their number. On the one hand, data was collected from a wide variety of sources. This should reduce the amount of systematic error. On the other hand, to minimize random error, subcomponents are composed – if data availability allows for it – of two different indicators which capture similar concepts, but do so in a different fashion or originate from different sources. Studies on democracy measurement have shown that these are very effective strategies to increase the measurement quality (Bollen 1993; Munck and Verkuilen 2002; Kaufmann and Kraay 2008).
- Last but not least, the chosen indicators have to fulfill a pragmatic condition: they should be available at least for all countries and all years in our blueprint-sample (see below) and – if possible – also for further countries and years.

We finally selected 100 indicators that fulfill these criteria. In the following we describe them in-depth. The structure of the codebook corresponds to the original structure of the Democracy Barometer (9 functions with 2 components and several sub-components each). For the indicators, we give a definition, describe the categories and mention when and how we had to replace missing values. The range of values gives an insight of the variance of the indicator. The sources are abbreviated. The explanation of these abbreviations can be found at the end of this codebook.



## INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES [INDLIB]

### *RIGHT TO PHYSICAL INTEGRITY [IL\_PHIN]*

#### *1. Constitutional provisions guaranteeing physical integrity [IL\_PHIN1]*

##### Consttort

- Definition: Existence of constitutional provisions banning torture or inhumane treatment. In case there are no constitutional provisions, the signing of binding international treaties was also considered.
- Categories: 0 = neither mentioned in constitution nor signed a binding treaty; 1 = either mentioned in constitution with reservations, or signed a binding treaty, or signed ECPHRFF with reservation clause; 2 = explicitly mentioned in constitution without reservations, or signed ECPHRFF without reservations.
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missing 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place or the country signed a binding treaty. (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on Yugoslavia (socialist rep.); 1992-2002 values taken from Yugoslavia (federal rep.); 2003-2004: values based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): CON, DAP, ECPHRFF, IAPPT, ACHPR, ACHR, CTOCIDTP, CCP.

##### Conv TORT

- Definition: Ratification of the *United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*.
- Categories: 0 = Not ratified; 1 = Ratified.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): HDR.

#### *2. No transgressions by the state [IL\_PHIN2]*

##### Politerr

- Definition: Political Terror Scale (reversed). The dataset actually provides two scales, one derived from the Amnesty International Yearbooks, the other from U.S. State Department Reports. The two scales were combined here by mutually complementing missing scores. If the two scales reported different figures the higher score was chosen.
- Categories: 1 = Countries under a secure rule of law, people are not imprisoned for their views, and 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 and torture and beatings are exceptional. Political murder is rare; 3 = Here 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 = Civil and political rights violations have expanded to large numbers of the population. 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 = terror has 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.
- Measurement notes: (I) The scale was reversed by subtracting value from 5. (II) Missings for Slovenia 1990 to 1996 were replaced with the value from 1997. (III) Values for Serbia and Montenegro are based on values of Yugoslavia from 1990 to 2002; values 2003-2005 are based on Serbia-

Montenegro; from 2006 onwards PTS reported separate values for Serbia and Montenegro. Missing values 2007 are replaced with values from 2006. (IV) United States: Missing value 2013 replaced with mean of 2012 and 2014.

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 5.
- Source(s): PTS.

## Torture

- Definition: Torture and other cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment or punishment. 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. Torture can be anything from simple beatings, to other practices such as rape or administering shock or electrocution as a means of getting information, or a forced confession. Coding is based on US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices and Amnesty International's Annual Reports.
- Categories: 0 = practiced frequently (50 or more incidents); 1 = practiced occasionally (1 to 49 incidents); 2 = not practiced (no incidents).
- Measurement notes: (I) The original variable was recoded so that code 1 is weighted according to its frequency over time. This was done because category 1 is very broad. Hence, we assume that in country which always carries a 2 (i.e. torture never takes place) except for one year, a value 1 has a different meaning than in a country which is coded as 1 or even 0 (i.e. more than 50 incidents of torture took place) across most years. The weighting is supposed to account for this problem. It was carried out according to the following formula: a) a value '1' was left unweighted if the respective country was assigned the value '0' at least once in the previous four years (i.e. the subsequent four years for the beginning of the time-series); b) if a country was never assigned the value '0' in the previous four years, every value '1' was recoded according to the formula ' $2-(x/5)$ ', whereby x equals the number of values '1' in the respective and the previous four years (i.e. the subsequent four years for the beginning of the time-series). (II) Malta: missings 1990-2000 replaced by value of 2001; missings 2002 replaced by mean values of 2001 and 2003. (III) Slovenia: missing 1991 replaced by values of 1992. (IV) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on coding of Yugoslavia; 1992-1999: based on Serbia-Montenegro; 2000-2002: based on Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; 2003-2005: values based on values of Serbia-Montenegro; since 2006 CIRI reports separate values for Serbia and Montenegro. (V) All countries: Missing values for 2012-14 are replaced with values from 2011.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): CIRI.

### ***3. Mutual acceptance of right to physical integrity by citizens [IL\_PHIN3]***

## Homicide

- Definition: Number of homicides per 100'000 capita (reversed).
- Measurement notes: (I) Inversion: All values were multiplied by -1 so that the higher the homicide rate, the lower the value. (II) Missing values for Argentina 2010, 2013-14, Australia 1990-1992; Chile 2013-14, Cyprus 1998-1999, Iceland 1994-1995; 1998; Ireland 2000, South Africa 1990-1993; Dominican Republic 1990-1994, 2013-14; Bolivia 1990-2000, 2002-2003, 2007-2012; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2002; El Salvador 1990-1994; Guatemala 1990-1991; Honduras 1990-1995; India 1999-2002; Israel 2002, 2013-14; Luxembourg 2012; Montenegro 1990-2005; Netherlands 2011-2014; Paraguay 1990-1994; Peru 1990-1994; Philippines 1990-1997 and 2008-2012; South Korea 2008-2014, Slovakia 1990-1992; Taiwan 1990-2009; 2011-2014; Thailand 1990-1994 and 2001-2002, 2012-2014; Turkey 1990-1999; 2009-2011, 2012-2014; Ukraine 2011-2014; Uruguay 1990-1994 are linearly interpolated in democratic years. (III) Values for United Kingdom = average of Eng-

- land&Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland. (IV) All countries: Missing values for 2008 and 2009 are linearly interpolated. (V) All countries: Missing values for 2014 are replaced with values from 2013.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -91.6; maximum = 0.
  - Source(s): EUROSTAT, UNODC, WB, WHO, Wikipedia.

## Riot

- Definition: Any violent demonstration or clash of more than 100 citizens involving the use of physical force (reversed).
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by multiplying values by -1. (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro 1990-2002 based on values for Yugoslavia, 2003-2005 based on values for Serbia-Montenegro. Since 2006 separate values available. (III) Slovenia: value of 1991 replaced with value of 1992. Mexico: missing value of 2007 replaced with value of 2008; Serbia-Montenegro: missing value 2004 replaced by value of 2003.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -15; maximum = 0.
- Source(s): BCNTS.

## *RIGHT TO FREE CONDUCT OF LIFE [IL\_SELFU]*

### *1. Constitutional provisions guaranteeing right to freedom of conduct of life [IL\_SELFU1]*

#### Constrel

- Definition: Existence of constitutional provisions protecting religious freedom. In case there are no constitutional provisions, the signing of binding international treaties was also considered.
- Categories: 0 = neither mentioned in constitution nor signed a binding treaty; 1 = either mentioned in constitution with reservations, or signed a binding treaty, or signed ECPHRFF with reservation clause; 2 = explicitly mentioned in constitution without reservations, or signed ECPHRFF without reservations.
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missings 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place or a binding treaty was signed. (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on Yugoslavia (socialist rep.); 1992-2002 values taken from Yugoslavia (federal rep.); 2003-2004: values based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): CON, DAP, ECPHRFF, ICCPR, ACHPR, ACHR; CCP.

#### Constfreemov

- Definition: This variable measures, whether constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of movement exist. In case there are no constitutional provisions, the signing of binding international treaties was also considered.
- Categories: 0 = neither mentioned in constitution nor signed a binding treaty; 1 = constitutional guarantees provided or signed a binding treaty.
- Measurement notes: Poland: missing values 1990-1994 replaced by values of 1995; South Africa: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by values of 1993; Thailand: missing values 1993-1996 replaced by value of 1997; (IV) Standardized values: 100=1; 0=0.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): CON, ECPHRFF, ICCPR, UNUDHR; CCP.

## **2. Freedom of conduct of life [IL\_SELFU2]**

### **Freerelig**

- Definition: This variable indicates the extent to which the freedom of citizens to exercise and practice their religious beliefs is subject to actual government restrictions. Does the government respect rights including the freedom to publish religious documents in foreign languages? Does religious belief affect membership in a ruling party or a career in government? Does the government prohibit promotion of one religion over another and discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief? Does the government restrict the teaching or practice of any faith? Does the government discriminate against minority religious groups? Coding is based on US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices.
- Categories: 0 = Yes, there are severe restrictions on religious practices by the government; 1 = restrictions are moderate. 2 = there are no restrictions
- Measurement notes: (I) Slovenia, Macedonia: missing value 1991 replaced by value of 1992; United States: missing values 1990-2006 replaced by value of 2007. Venezuela: missing value 2003 replaced by mean value of 2002 and 2004. (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on coding of Yugoslavia; 1992-1999: based on Serbia-Montenegro; 2000-2002: based on Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; 2003-2005: values based on values of Serbia-Montenegro; since 2006 CIRI reports separate values for Serbia and Montenegro. (III) All countries: Missing values for 2012-2014 are replaced with values from 2011.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): CIRI.

### **Freemove**

- Mean of two indicators: Freedom of domestic movement, Freedom of foreign movement
- Definition: This variable indicates the extent to which governments restrict the freedom of citizens to travel within or leave their own country of birth or the movement of certain groups based on political or religious grounds. It also captures the extent to which there are restrictions on the duration of stay abroad, whether citizens lose their property and other assets if they leave for a very long time, whether some citizens have to get permission to leave or when they leave, are not allowed to return. Coding is based on US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices.
- Categories: 0 = freedom of movement is severely restricted; 0.5 = intermediate category; 1 = freedom of movement is somewhat restricted; 1.5 = intermediate category; 2 = freedom of movement is unrestricted
- Measurement notes: (I) Slovenia, Macedonia: missing value 1991 replaced by value of 1992; (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on coding of Yugoslavia; 1992-1999: based on Serbia-Montenegro; 2000-2002: based on Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; 2003-2005: values based on values of Serbia-Montenegro; since 2006 CIRI reports separate values for Serbia and Montenegro. (III) All countries: Missing values for 2012-2014 are replaced with values from 2011.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): CIRI.

## **3. Effective property rights [IL\_SELFU3]**

### **Propright**

- Definition: This variable measures the degree to which a country's laws protect private property rights and the degree to which its government enforces those laws. The more certain the legal protection of property, the higher a country's score; similarly, the greater the chances of government expropriation of property, the lower a country's score. Coding is based on the following sources of in-

formation: Economist Intelligence Unit, U.S. Department of Commerce and Country Reports on Human Rights Practices by the U.S. Department of State.

- Categories: 100 = Private property is guaranteed by the government. The court system enforces contracts efficiently and quickly. The justice system punishes those who unlawfully confiscate private property. There is no corruption or expropriation; 90 = Private property is guaranteed by the government. The court system enforces contracts efficiently. The justice system punishes those who unlawfully confiscate private property. Corruption is nearly nonexistent, and expropriation is highly unlikely; 80 = Private property is guaranteed by the government. The court system enforces contracts efficiently but with some delays. Corruption is minimal, and expropriation is highly unlikely; 70 = Private property is guaranteed by the government. The court system is subject to delays and is lax in enforcing contracts. Corruption is possible but rare, and expropriation is unlikely; 60 = Enforcement of property rights is lax and subject to delays. Corruption is possible but rare, and the judiciary may be influenced by other branches of government. Expropriation is unlikely; 50 = The court system is inefficient and subject to delays. Corruption may be present, and the judiciary may be influenced by other branches of government. Expropriation is possible but rare; 40 = The court system is highly inefficient, and delays are so long that they deter the use of the court system. Corruption is present, and the judiciary is influenced by other branches of government. Expropriation is possible; 30 = Property ownership is weakly protected. The court system is highly inefficient. Corruption is extensive, and the judiciary is strongly influenced by other branches of government. Expropriation is possible; 20 = Private property is weakly protected. The court system is so inefficient and corrupt that outside settlement and arbitration is the norm. Property rights are difficult to enforce. Judicial corruption is extensive. Expropriation is common; 10 = Private property is rarely protected, and almost all property belongs to the state. The country is in such chaos (for example, because of ongoing war) that protection of property is almost impossible to enforce. The judiciary is so corrupt that property is not protected effectively. Expropriation is common; 0 = Private property is outlawed, and all property belongs to the state. People do not have the right to sue others and do not have access to the courts. Corruption is endemic.
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: values 1990-1994 replaced by values of 1995. (II) Iceland missing values for 1995 and 1996 replaced by values of 1997; Macedonia missing values 1991-2001 replaced by value of 2002; Montenegro missing values 1992-2001 replaced by value of 2002 and 2004-2007 replaced by value of 2003; Serbia missing values 1992-2001 replaced by value of 2002 and 2004-2007 replaced by value of 2003; (III) Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Slovenia and Switzerland: value of 1995 replaced by value of 1996 (III) Kosovo completely missing.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 95.
- Source(s): IEF.

## Secprop

- Definition: Assessment of whether personal security and private property are adequately protected. Measured on a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: values 1990-1992 replaced by values of 1993 if democratic; (II) Argentina, Czech Republic and Poland: missing values 1990-1993 replaced by values of 1994, Slovenia 1991-1998 replaced by values of 1999; Iceland: values 1990-1994 replaced by values of 1995, Estonia 1991-2000 replaced by values from 2001, Bulgaria, Croatia, Lithuania, Peru, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine missing values 1990-2005 replaced by values from 2006 in democratic years (III) Completely missing countries: Albania, Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Kosovo, Latvia, Macedonia, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Serbia, Uruguay. (IV) Imputation for missing countries: values are imputed on the basis of a multiple linear regression with the indicators Pro-prietary (see above) and the World Bank Governance Indicator "Rule of Law" (Pearsons r between

Secprop and indicators is 0.720 and 0.847, respectively). The regression coefficients used are  $\alpha = 5.376$ ,  $\beta_{\text{Propright}} = -0.017$  and  $\beta_{\text{RuLLaw}} = 2.396$ .

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.11; maximum = 9.72.
- Source(s): IMD; WGI.

## RULE OF LAW [RULEOFLAW]

### EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW [RL\_EQL]

#### 1. Constitutional provisions for impartial courts [RL\_EQL1]

##### Constfair

- Definition: Constitutional provisions for fair organization of court system (no exceptional courts and hierarchical judicial system). Sum of two constitutional guarantees:
  - o No exceptional courts: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions stating that the courts have jurisdiction over all issues of a judicial nature and that civilians are to be tried by ordinary courts or tribunals instead of military or exceptional courts (-1 = Constitution specifically allows civilians to be tried in military courts or explicitly allow the formation of exceptional courts; 0 = Constitution does not specify a ban on exceptional courts; 1 = Constitution provides for a ban on exceptional courts somewhat or provides for it vaguely but not fully; 2 = Constitution provides for a ban on exceptional courts fully and explicitly).
  - o Hierarchical judicial system: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions stating that the courts are structured in multiple layers with the highest-level court exercising final control/review of lower court decisions (0 = Constitution does not provide for a hierarchical judicial system; 1 = Constitution provides for a hierarchical judicial system somewhat or provides for it vaguely but not fully; 2 = Constitution provides for a hierarchical judicial system fully and explicitly).
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missing 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place. (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on Yugoslavia (socialist rep.); 1992-2002 values taken from Yugoslavia (federal rep.); 2003-2004: values based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 4.
- Source(s): DAP, CCP.

##### Pubtrial

- Definition: Existence of constitutional provisions guaranteeing a public trial.
- Categories: 0 = Not mentioned in the constitution; 1 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution but with exceptions or qualifications, such as a public interest clause; 2 = Explicitly guaranteed or mentioned in the constitution.
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missing 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place. (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on Yugoslavia (socialist rep.); 1992-2002 values taken from Yugoslavia (federal rep.); 2003-2004: values based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP, CCP.

#### 2. Effective independence of the judiciary [RL\_EQL2]

##### Judindepcor

- Definition: Judicial independence: This variable documents the level of independence in the Judiciary, as reported by the *Annual Human Rights Reports* of the Department of State (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor).
- Categories: 0 = Non-independent judiciary: The judiciary is described as non independent; as having significant levels of executive influence or interference, or as having high levels of corruption; 1 = Somewhat Independent Judiciary: The judiciary is described as somewhat independent, with pres-

sure from the executive branch "at times," or with occasional reports of corruption; 2 = Independent Judiciary: The judiciary is described as "generally independent" or as independent in practice with no mention of corruption or outside influences.

- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missing 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place. (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on Yugoslavia (socialist rep.); 1992-2002 values taken from Yugoslavia (federal rep.); 2003-2004: values based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro. (III) All countries: missing values 2012-14 replaced with values from 2011.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP, CIRI.

## Judindepinf

- Definition: Assessment of the independence of the judiciary: "The judiciary in your country is independent and not subject to interference by the government and/or parties to the dispute." Measured on a scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7).
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings 1990-1997 replaced by values of 1998, unless these countries were not considered democratic by Polity IV and FH<sup>1</sup>, in that case, values remain missing. (II) Albania: missing values 2003-2004 replaced by values from 2005, Luxembourg: missings 2001-2002 replaced by value of 2003; Costa Rica: missings 1990-1998 replaced by value of 1999; Slovenia: missings 1991 to 2000 replaced by values of 2001; Cyprus: missings 1990-2002 replaced by values of 2003; Malta: missings 1990-2001 replaced by values of 2002. (III) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 2004-2006: Serbia-Montenegro; remaining years separate values are available.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.20; maximum = 6.89.
- Source(s): GCR.

## 3. *Effective impartiality of the legal system [RL\_EQL3]*

### Impcourts

- Definition: Impartial Courts: This component is from the Global Competitiveness Report's question: "The legal framework in your country for private businesses to settle disputes and challenge the legality of government actions and/or regulations is inefficient and subject to manipulation (= 1) or is efficient and follows a clear, neutral process (= 7)." This is recoded into a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missing values 1990-1994 replaced by values of 1995 (unless these countries were not considered democratic by Polity IV and FH, in that case, values remain missing); missings 1996-1999 replaced by running means of 1995 and 2000; missings 2007 replaced by values of 2006. (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 2004-2006: Serbia-Montenegro; remaining years separate values are available.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.42; maximum = 6.8.
- Source(s): GCR, WGI.

### Intgrlegal

- Definition: "This component is based on the International Country Risk Guide's Political Risk Component I for Law and Order: "The 'law' sub-component assesses the strength and impartiality of the legal system". Measured on a scale ranging from 0 to 6.

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<sup>1</sup> Polity IV assigns countries scores from -10 to 10, with values of 6 and higher considered as democratic. Freedom House ranks countries on a scale from 1 to 7, with values of 3 and higher considered as free. In our case, replacing missing values for in the 40 Non-Blueprint countries was only done for periods showing both Polity IV values of 6 or higher and Freedom House Scores of 3 or higher.



- Measurement notes: (I) Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia: Missing values 1991-1996 replaced by value from 1997; Moldova, Ukraine: missing values 1995-1997 replaced with value from 1998; (II) Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo are completely missing.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 6.
- Source(s): ICRG.

## ***QUALITY OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM [RL\_QUAL]***

### ***1. Constitutional provisions for judicial professionalism [RL\_QUAL1]***

#### **Profjudg**

- Definition: Professionalism (law degree, professional experience) is a precondition for appointment of judges to highest courts. Categories: 0 = No constitutional provision exists; 1 = Constitutional provision exists.
- Measurement notes: (I) Values for Serbia and Montenegro based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro. (II) Values for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Taiwan completely missing. (III) All countries: Missing values 2013-2014 replaced by values from 2012.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): Kritzer et al. (2002).

#### **Proftenure**

- Definition: Professionalism of judges concerning length of tenure. Professionalism is high, if tenure is not restricted, i.e. if it is lifelong. Categories: 0 = Tenure is restricted; 0.5 = Tenure is explicitly restricted to a certain retirement age; 1 = no restriction; lifelong tenure.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: Missing values 2013-2014 replaced by values from 2012.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): Kritzer et al. (2002).

### ***2. Confidence in the justice system [RL\_QUAL2]***

#### **Confjust**

- Definition: Confidence in the legal system: Share of survey respondents indicating high confidence/trust.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1991-1997, 1992-1998 etc.). (IV) Serbia and Montenegro: value of 1996 refers to Serbia-Montenegro (only one value for Montenegro; second value for Serbia refers to Serbia).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 12.36; maximum = 87.54
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, EB, ESS, ISS, LAPOP, LB, WVS.

#### **Fairjust**

- Definition: Assessment of the confidence in the fair administration of justice in the society. Measured on a scale ranging from "There is no confidence in the fair administration of justice in the society" (1) to "There is full confidence in the fair administration of justice in the society" (6). This is recoded into a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia: missings 1991-2005 replaced by values from 2006, Czech Republic and Poland: missings 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993; Iceland: missings 1990-1994 replaced by values of 1995; Slovenia: missings 1991-1998 replaced by value of 1999; South Africa: missing values 1990-1991 replaced by values of 1992 (II) completely missing coun-

tries: Albania, Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Latvia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Serbia, Uruguay . (III) Imputation for missing countries: values are imputed on the basis of a multiple linear regression with the indicators Confjust (see above) and the World Bank Governance Indicator "Rule of Law" (Pearsons r between Fairjust and indicators is 0.659 and 0.853, respectively). The regression coefficients used are  $\alpha = 1.402$ ,  $\beta_{\text{Confjust}} = 0.050$  and  $\beta_{\text{RuLLaw}} = 1.770$ .

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 9.40.
- Source(s): IMD; WGI.

### **3. Confidence in the police [RL\_QUAL3]**

#### **Confpolice**

- Definition: Confidence in the police: Share of survey respondents indicating high confidence/trust.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values from different surveys and different years averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1995, 1991-1996, 1992-1997 etc.). (IV) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: values based on Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 11.71; maximum = 92.93.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, EB, ESS, LAPOP, LB, WVS.

#### **Fairpolice**

- Definition: Assessment of reliability/effectiveness of the police services: 1998-1999: "The police in your country effectively safeguard personal security so that it is an important consideration in business activity", "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7). / 2000: "Private business can rely on police for protection", "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7). / 2002-2008: "Police services cannot be relied upon to protect business from criminals" (1) to "can be relied on to protect business from criminals".
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings 1990-1997 replaced by values of 1998; missings 2001 replaced by values of 2002. (II) Costa Rica: missings 1990-1998 replaced by values of 1999; Slovenia: missings 1991-2001 replaced by values of 2002; Malta: missings 1990-2002 replaced by values of 2003; Cyprus: missings 1990-2004 replaced by values of 2005; South Korea: missing values 2013-14 replaced by value from 2012. (III) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 2004-2006: Serbia-Montenegro; remaining years: separate values are available.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.7; maximum = 6.84.
- Source(s): GCR.

## **PUBLIC SPHERE [PUBLIC]**

### ***FREEDOM TO ASSOCIATE [PS\_FRAS]***

#### ***1. Constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom to associate [PS\_FRAS1]***

##### **Constfras**

- Definition: Freedom of Association: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions regarding freedom of association. In case there are no constitutional provisions, the signing of binding international treaties was also considered.
- Categories: 0 = neither mentioned in constitution nor signed a binding treaty; 1 = either mentioned in constitution with reservations, or signed a binding treaty, or signed ECPHRFF with reservation clause; 2 = explicitly mentioned in constitution without reservations, or signed ECPHRFF without reservations.
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missing 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place or a treaty was signed. (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on Yugoslavia (socialist rep.); 1992-2002 values taken from Yugoslavia (federal rep.); 2003-2004: values based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP, CON, ICESCR, ICCPR, ACHR, ECPHRFF, CCP.

##### **Constass**

- Definition: Freedom of Assembly: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions protecting the freedom of assembly. In case there are no constitutional provisions, the signing of binding international treaties was also considered.
- Categories: 0 = neither mentioned in constitution nor signed a binding treaty; 1 = either mentioned in constitution with reservations, or signed a binding treaty, or signed ECPHRFF with reservation clause; 2 = explicitly mentioned in constitution without reservations, or signed ECPHRFF without reservations.
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missing 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place or a treaty was signed. (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on Yugoslavia (socialist rep.); 1992-2002 values taken from Yugoslavia (federal rep.); 2003-2004: values based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP, CON, ICESCR, ICCPR, ACHR, ECPHRFF, CCP.

#### ***2. Degree of association (economic interests) [PS\_FRAS2]***

##### **Union**

- Definition: Trade union density. Union membership as a percentage of wage and salary earners.
- Measurement notes: (I) Argentina 1996-1998, 2007, 2009-2014, Bolivia 1996-1998, 2003, 2005, 2008-2014, Brazil: 1996-1998, 2003, 2008-2011; Costa Rica 2011; Cyprus 1991-1992; 1996-1997, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009-2010, 2013-14; Czech Republic 1990-1992, 2011; Denmark 2011; Hungary 1992-1994; Malta 2007, 2013-14; Slovenia 1990-1997, 1999-2001 and 2005; South Africa 1994; 1996-1998, 2001, 2003, 2005; 2009; 2011-2014; Bulgaria 1991, 1994-1996; 2001; 2010-2014; Colombia 1998; 2000-2006; 2008-2011; Croatia 1990-1998, 2001; 2003; 2005; 2009-2014; Dominican Republic 1996-1998; 2001; 2003; 2005; 2008-2011; Ecuador 1996-1998; 2001-2003; 2005; 2008-2011; El Salvador 1996-1998; 2001-2003; 2009-2014; Estonia 2011; France: 2011; Guatemala 1993-2005; 2007-2009; Honduras 1996-1998; 2001; 2003; 2005; 2008-2014; Hungary:

1992, 1994, 2009-2011; Iceland 2009-2011; India 2009-2014; Israel 1997-1998; 2001; 2003; 2005-2006; 2008-2014; Latvia 1991-1994; 1996-1997; 2001; 2009-2011; Lithuania 1991-1994; 2011; Luxembourg 2009, 2011; Moldova 1995-1998; 2001-2003; 2005; 2008; 2011; Nicaragua 2000-2001; 2005; 2007-2014; Panama 1996-2001; 2003; 2005-2006; 2008-2009; 2011-2014; Paraguay 1990-1994, 1996-1998; 2001; 2003; 2005; 2008-2010; 2013-13; Peru 1996-1998; 2001; 2003; 2005-2006; 2008; 2011-2014; Philippines 2011; Poland 2011; Portugal 2011; Romania 1992; 1994-1997; 2004-2005; 2009-2014; Slovakia 1990-1992; South Korea 2013-14; 1990; Spain 2011; Switzerland 2011; Taiwan 2011-2014; Thailand 1990-1994, 1996-1998; 2001; 2003; 2005; 2008; 2011-2014; Ukraine 1990-1997, 2011-2014; Uruguay 1991-1992; 1994; 1996; 1998; 2001-2005; 2007-2008; 2011; Venezuela 1990-1994, 1996-1998; 2000-2001; 2003; 2005; 2008-2014: missing values replaced by linear interpolation in democratic years. (II) All countries: Missing values for 2012 replaced by values from 2011. (III) Completely missing: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 2; maximum = 99.07.
- Source(s): Visser (2009), GURN, ILO, OECD, Eurofund, Blanchflower (2006), Golden&Wallerstein (2006), McGuire (1999).

### **Memproorg**

- Definition: Membership in professional organizations. Share of survey respondents indicating that they are member in a professional organization.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1991-1997, 1992-1998 etc.). (IV): Serbia and Montenegro: values of 1996 and 2001 refer to Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.41; maximum = 37.61.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, EB, ESS, CSES, WVS.

### **3. Degree of association (public interests) [PS\_FRAS3]**

#### **Memhuman**

- Definition: Membership in humanitarian organizations. Share of survey respondents indicating that they are member in and/or active for a humanitarian organization.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1991-1997, 1992-1998etc.). (IV) Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras, Kosovo, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay are completely missing: (V) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-2005 based on Serbia-Montenegro; 2006 onwards separate values for Serbia.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.15; maximum = 41.23.
- Source(s): own calculation based on WVS, ESS, EB, LB.

#### **Memenviron**

- Definition: Membership in environmental/animal rights organizations. Share of survey respondents indicating that they are member in and/or active for a environmental/animal rights organization.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1991-1997, 1992-1998 etc.). (IV) Serbia and Montenegro: values of 1996 and 2001 refer to Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.20; maximum = 59.4.

- Source(s): own calculation based on WVS, EB, ESS, LB.

## ***FREEDOM OF OPINION [PS\_FROP]***

### ***1. Constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of speech [PS\_FROP1]***

#### **Constspeech**

- Definition: Freedom of Speech: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions concerning freedom of speech. In case there are no constitutional provisions, the signing of binding international treaties was also considered.
- Categories: 0 = neither mentioned in constitution nor signed a binding treaty; 1 = either mentioned in constitution with reservations, or signed a binding treaty, or signed ECPHRFF with reservation clause; 2 = explicitly mentioned in constitution without reservations, or signed ECPHRFF without reservations.
- Measurement notes: (I) The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament. (II) all countries: missings 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place. (III) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on Yugoslavia (socialist rep.); 1992-2002 values taken from Yugoslavia (federal rep.); 2003-2004: values based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP, CON, ICESCR, ICCPR, ACHR, ECPHRFF, CCP.

#### **Constpress**

- Definition: Freedom of the press: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions concerning the freedom of the press. In case there are no constitutional provisions, the signing of binding international treaties was also considered.
- Categories: 0 = neither mentioned in constitution nor signed a binding treaty; 1 = either mentioned in constitution with reservations, or signed a binding treaty, or signed ECPHRFF with reservation clause; 2 = explicitly mentioned in constitution without reservations, or signed ECPHRFF without reservations.
- Measurement notes: (I) The United Kingdom is given the value of 0.5, there is no constitution but mentioned in Common Law or as Act of Parliament. (II) All countries: missings 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place. (III) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on Yugoslavia (socialist rep.); 1992-2002 values taken from Yugoslavia (federal rep.); 2003-2004: values based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP, CON, ICESCR, ICCPR, ACHR, ECPHRFF, CCP.

### ***2. Media offer [PS\_FROP2]***

#### **Newsimp**

- Definition: Import of newspapers, journals and periodicals in % of GDP (in current US dollars).
- Measurement notes: (I) Argentina, Costa Rica, Czech Republic, Norway and United Kingdom: missings 1990-1992 replaced by values of 1993. (II) Austria, Costa Rica, El Salvador France, Honduras, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malta, Nicaragua, Poland, Slovenia, Uruguay, Venezuela: missings 1990/1991-1993 replaced by values of 1994 in democratic years. (III) Belgium and Luxembourg: missings 1990-1998 replaced by values of 1999. (IV) Colombia, Hungary, Ireland, Greece, Netherlands and Sweden: missings 1990-1991 replaced by values of 1992. (V) South Africa: missings 1990-1999 replaced by values of 2000. (VI) Germany, Ecuador, and United States: missings 1990 replaced by values of 1991. (VII) New Zealand: the highly implausible value of 1998 replaced by

mean of adjacent years. (XIII) Panama: missing value 2004 replaced by value of 2003. (X) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1997-2002 based on values of Yugoslavia; Since 2006 there are separate values available. (XI) Taiwan is completely missing. (XII) Bulgaria, Philippines, Ukraine: missings 1991-1995 replaced by value of 1996 (Ukraine 1994-1995 only). (XIII): Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Honduras 2010-2014 replaced by value of 2009. (IX) Dominican Republic 1996-2000 replaced by value of 2001. (X) El Salvador 1997 replaced by value of 1998. (XI) Estonia, Israel, Panama: 1990-1994 replaced with value of 1995. (XII) Greece 1991 replaced by value of 1990. (XIII) Honduras 2008 replaced by value of 2007. (XIV): Montenegro: 1990-1996 replaced by value of 1997. 2004-2006 replaced with running mean of 2003 and 2007. (XV) Israel, Italy, New Zealand, Panama, Philippines, South Korea, Venezuela: missing values 2013-14 replaced by value from 2012.

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 5.87E-08; maximum = 0.39.
- Source(s): own calculation based on WB, WPT, CD.

## Newspaper

- Definition: Number of (paid and free) daily newspaper titles per 1 million inhabitants.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings 1990 to 1992 replaced by values from 1993. (II) Malta: missings 1990-2001 replaced by values of 2002. (III) Costa Rica, Iceland, Slovenia, Turkey: missings 1990-1993 replaced by values of 1994. (IV) Portugal: missings 1994, 2000 and 2001 replaced by means of nearest years. (V) Cyprus has an implausible leap between 2001 and 2002 (perhaps due to change of sources); value for 2002 is replaced by mean of 2001 and 2003; 2010-2014 replaced by value of 2009. (VI) Argentina: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993. (VII) Brazil: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993. (VIII) Colombia: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993; 2000-2001 replaced by value of 1999; 2003-2004 replaced by value of 2002; 2010-2011 replaced by value of 2009 (X) Dominican Republic: missing value 2001 replaced by value of 2002. (XI) El Salvador, Honduras: missing values 1990-2001 replaced by value of 2002, Guatemala missing values from 1996-2001 replaced by value from 2002 (XII) Greece: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993. (XIII) India: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993. (XIV) Latvia: missing value 1996 replaced by value of 1995; missing value of 2010 replaced by value of 2009. (XV) South Korea: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993. (XVI) Thailand, Moldova, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay: missing values 1999-2001 replaced by value of 2002. (XVII) Turkey: missing values 1990-1993 replaced by values of 1994. (XVIII) Serbia and Montenegro: value of 2002 based on Serbia-Montenegro; value of 2002 copied back to 1990.; Serbia: missing value 2004 replaced by mean of adjunct values. (XIX) Albania, Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Macedonia, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, South Korea, Uruguay 2010-2014 replaced by value of 2009. (XX) Costa Rica, Slovenia: missing value 2010 replaced with value of 2009. (XXI) Ecuador: missings 1990-1998 replaced by values of 1999. (XXII) Israel, Lithuania, Venezuela: missings 1990-2003 replaced by value of 2004. (XXIII) Macedonia: missings 1990-1999 replaced by values of 2000, Romania: missings 1996-1999 replaced by values of 2000 (XXIV) Mexico: missing values 1998-2000 replaced by value of 2001; missing values 2003-2004 replaced by value of 2002. (XXV) Peru: 1990-2001 completely missing (XXVI) Philippines: missing value 1994 replaced by value of 1993; missing value 1996 replaced by value of 1995; missing values 1998-2004 replaced by value of 1997. (XXVII) Taiwan: value 2011 replaced by value of 2010. (XXVIII) Ukraine: missing values 1994-1997 replaced by 1998; 2000-2004 replaced by 1999. (XXIX) Uruguay: highly implausible value of 1998 set to missing, missing values 1990-1999 replaced by value of 2000; highly implausible value of 1998 set to missing and replaced with value of 2000.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.3; maximum = 56.93.
- Source(s): own calculation based on WB, WPT.

### 3. Political neutrality of press system [PS\_FROP3]

#### Balpress

- Definition: Ideological balance of the press system (regional and national newspapers). Calculated as follows: (1) Each newspaper listed by the BPHW is assigned a value between 1 to 6 indicating its commitment or affiliation to a certain political ideology or party (on the basis of information from BPHW). These are Manifesto codes: 1 to 3 represent the left side of the political spectrum, 4 to 6 the right side. Newspapers listed as "independent" are considered neutral, i.e. internally diverse, and therefore receive the value for the exact centre of the political spectrum: 3.5. Also, newspapers listed in the BPHW without indication of a political orientation are considered as independent. (2) Each code is then multiplied by the respective newspaper's circulation so that smaller newspapers receive less weight (non-dailies' circulation was adjusted accordingly). If information on a paper's circulation is missing, it is replaced by either the paper's circulation of previous or preceding years or by the average circulation of the corresponding country and year. (3) Finally, the weighted codes are aggregated (average) per country and year. The values of Balpress reflect the absolute deviance of these aggregate scores from the neutral value 3.5, multiplied by -1.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings replaced by means from nearest years. Missings from 2010-2014 replaced by values from 2009. (II) Cyprus: missings 2003-2007 replaced by value of 2002. (III) Norway: missings 1999-2007 replaced by value of 1998. (IV) United States: missings 2005-2007 replaced by value of 2004. (V) Completely missing: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -2.5; maximum = 0.
- Source(s): own coding and calculation based on Blum (2005), BPHW, HBI, Kelly et al. (2004), MT, Østergaard (1992), Voltmer (2000), WP, Wikipedia.

#### Neutrn

- Definition: Share of neutral / independent newspapers' circulation (weighted by frequency of publication) of a country's total newspaper circulation in %. Neutral newspapers = papers with value 3.5 in Balpress.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings replaced by means from nearest years. Missings from 2010-2014 replaced by values from 2009. (II) Cyprus: missings 2003-2007 replaced by value of 2002. (III) Norway: missings 1999-2007 replaced by value of 1998. (IV) United States: missings 2005-2007 replaced by value of 2004. (V) Completely missing: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.0; maximum = 100.
- Source(s): own coding and calculation based on Blum (2005), BPHW, HBI, Kelly et al. (2004), MT, Østergaard (1992), Voltmer (2000), WP, Wikipedia.

## COMPETITION [COMPET]

### VULNERABILITY (COMPETITIVENESS OF ELECTIONS) [CO\_COMP]

#### 1. Formal rules for competitiveness [CO\_COMP1]

##### Meandistrict

- Definition: Natural log (ln) of mean district magnitude in lower parliamentary chamber at the highest level of seat allocation.
- Measurement notes: district magnitude in different voting system was coded as follows: (I) Proportional or majoritarian systems: ln of mean district magnitude ( $\ln(\text{number of seats}/\text{number of districts})$ ); (II) mixed systems, non-compensatory:  $\text{meandistrict} = (\ln(m_{PR}) * s_{PR})/S + (\ln(1) * s_{SSD})/S$ , where  $m_{PR}$  is the average magnitude of the PR districts,  $s_{PR}$  is the overall number of compensatory seats,  $S$  is the overall number of seats in parliament, and  $s_{SSD}$  is the overall number of single-seat districts in parliament. (III) mixed systems, compensatory:  $\text{meandistrict} = \ln(s_{PR} + s_{SSD})$ , where  $s_{PR}$  is the overall number of compensatory seats, and  $s_{SSD}$  is the overall number of all single-seat districts in the territorial units, where the seats are allocated (= whole country). (IV) Bolivia: Bolivia is a mixed compensatory system, but seats are allocated in nine departments and not in the whole country. Therefore, calculation is as follows:  $\ln((s_{PR} + s_{SSD})/9)$ . Hungary:  $((\ln(M_{PR}) * S_{PR}) / (S_{PR} + S_{SSD} + S_{comp}) + \ln(M_{SSD}) * S_{SSD}) / (S_{PR} + S_{SSD} + S_{comp}) + \ln(M_{comp}) * S_{comp}) / (S_{PR} + S_{SSD} + S_{comp})$ ; (V) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro since 1992.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.0; maximum = 150.0.
- Source(s): DPI; IPU; ACE; Katz 2001; 2006; Nohlen et al. 1999; 2001; Nohlen 2004; 2005.

##### Gerryman

- Definition: Possibilities to delimit electoral districts; categories: 3 = no possibility; 2 = body responsible for drawing the boundaries is NOT executive or legislative; 1 = legislative is responsible for drawing the boundaries; 0 = executive is responsible for drawing the boundaries. When several bodies (e.g. legislative and bounding commission) take the lowest value (e.g. legislative = 1).
- Measurement notes: (I) Czech Republic: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993. (II) Ecuador, Montenegro, and Serbia missing (Serbia and Ecuador until 2006).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): ACE.

#### 2. Closeness of electoral outcomes [CO\_COMP2]

##### Largpavo

- Definition: Margin of electoral concentration of votes. Calculated as  $100\% - p_{\text{strongest}}$ , where  $p_{\text{strongest}}$  = percentage of votes obtained by strongest party.
- Measurement notes: (I) Poland: missing value 1990 replaced by value of 1991; Argentina, Paraguay, Thailand, Venezuela: missing values 2011-2012 replaced by values from 2010; Bosnia-Herzegovina: missing values 2006-2014 replaced by values from 2005; Estonia, Lithuania, Taiwan: 1990-1991 missing; Honduras: missing from 2006-2012 replaced by values from 2005; Philippines: missing from 2004-2009 replaced by values from 2010. (II) South Africa & India replaced by own calculations based on Nohlen et al. (2001) and Nohlen et al (1995). (IV) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 14.51; maximum = 99.23.
- Source(s): WZB, Nohlen et al. 2001, Nohlen et al. 1995.



## Votediff

- Definition: 100 - [Difference between largest and second largest lower house party in % of all votes].
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by subtracting values from 100; (II) Poland: missing value 1990 replaced by value of 1991; Argentina, Paraguay, Thailand: missing values 2011-2012 replaced by values from 2010; Bosnia-Herzegovina: missing values 2006-2012 replaced by values from 2005; Estonia, Lithuania: missing values from 1991 replaced by values from 1992; Honduras, Venezuela: missing values from 2006-2012 replaced by values from 2005; Philippines: missing values for 2004-2009 replaced by values from 2010 (II) South Africa & India replaced by own calculations based on Nohlen et al. (2001) and Nohlen et al (1995). (V) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 40.92; maximum = 99.99.
- Source(s): WZB, Nohlen et al. 2001, Nohlen et al. 1995.

### 3. Low concentration of seats [CO\_COMP3]

#### Herfindex

- Definition: Herfindahl index: the sum of the squared seat shares of all parties in the lower house of parliament. Measures the degree of concentration (reversed).
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by multiplying values by -1. (II) South Africa: missing values 1990-1993 replaced by values of 1994. (III) Poland, Malta: missing value 1990 replaced by value of 1991, Estonia, Lithuania: missing values for 1990-1991 replaced by values from 1992, India: missing values from 2010-2014 replaced by values from 2009 (IV) Kosovo completely missing.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -0.93; maximum = -0.09.
- Source(s): Own calculations based on data from the WZB, DPI (for India).

#### Seatdiff

- Definition: Difference between largest and second largest lower house party in % of all seats (reversed).
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by subtracting values from 100. (II) Poland: missing value 1990 replaced by value of 1991; Estonia, Lithuania: missing values for 1990-1991 replaced by values from 1992; South Africa missing values 1990-1993 replaced by value of 1994, Venezuela: missing for 2005 to 2009 replaced by values from 2004. (III) India replaced by own calculations based on Nohlen et al. (2001). (IV) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections). (V) Kosovo completely missing.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 100.00.
- Source(s): WZB, Nohlen et al. 2001.

## CONTESTABILITY (OPENNESS OF ELECTIONS) [CO\_OPEN]

### 1. Low legal hurdles for entry [CO\_OPEN1]

#### Adminhurd

- Definition: Degree of administrative hurdles to become an electoral competitor (reversed). Mean of reg\_parr\_part and reg\_parr\_cand:
  - o **Reg\_parr\_part** = Barriers for the registration of parties: sum of Reg\_comp, Reg\_req\_pet, Reg\_req\_dep, Reg\_req\_oth (max. 12 points possible).
    - *Reg\_comp*: Is registration compulsory for parties to run in elections? Categories: 0 = No (for none of the parties); 1 = No, but registration gives party advantages (e.g. name of party on ballot paper); 2 = Yes, but only for new parties or for parties without candidates in preceding

- elections or without electoral success in preceding elections; 3 = Yes, for all parties in every election.
- *Reg\_req\_pet*: Requirements for registration of parties: petition / announcement. Categories: 0 = No petition requirements; 1 = Petition requirements low (< 1000 signatures) 2 = Petition requirements medium (1000-4000 signatures); 3 = Petition requirements high ( $\geq 4000$  signatures). Note: According to Bischoff's (2006) calculation and comparable with the GDP-measure (see below *Cand\_dep*): 10 persons are able to collect 200 signatures in one week-day: 1000 signatures = 1 week; 4000 signatures = 1 month; 2400 signatures = ½ year; more than 5000 signatures = 1 year.
  - *Reg\_req\_dep*: Requirements for registration of parties: fees. Categories: 0 = No fee required (or only deposit); 1 = Low fees required (< 2% of GDP per capita); 2 = Medium fees required (2%-8% of GDP per capita); 3 = High fees required ( $\geq 8\%$  of GDP per capita). Subtract -1 if requirements for reimbursement are low (< 1% of all votes).
  - *Reg\_req\_oth*: Requirements for registration of parties: other requirements. Categories: 0 = No other requirements; 1 = Low other requirements (fixed number of members / supporters but less than 0.1% of voting age population (Source(s): IDEA Turnout 1995 (or nearest year)) OR written statutes OR regional distribution required); 2 = Medium other requirements (fixed number of members/supporters of at least 0.1% of voting age population OR two of the three additional requirements listed for category 1 at the same time); 3 = High other requirements (fixed number of members/supporters of at least 0.5% of voting age population OR/AND registration only possible at precise dates [e.g. every 3 years]).
- **Reg\_parr\_cand** = Barriers for registration of candidates: sum of *Cand\_pet*, *Cand\_dep*, *Cand\_dep\_reim* (max. 9 points possible). If independent candidates are not allowed to run for election, the maximum value of 9 (very high barriers) is given (this is the case for Costa Rica and South Africa).
- *Cand\_pet*: Requirements for registration of candidates: petition / announcement. Categories: 0 = No petition requirement; 1 = Petition requirements low (< 100 signatures OR recommendations of members of national parliament OR only party announcement); 2 = Petition requirements medium (100-400 signatures); 3 = Petition requirements high (> 400 signatures). If different number of signatures per district mean number of signatures is taken. Note: According to Bischoff's (2006) calculation and comparable with the GDP-measure (see *Cand\_dep*): 1 person is able to collect 20 signatures in one week-day: 100 signatures = 1 week; 400 signatures = 1 month.
  - *Cand\_dep*: Requirements for registration of candidates: deposit. Categories: 0 = No deposit required; 1 = Low deposit required (< 2% of GDP per capita); 2 = Medium deposit required (2%-8% of GDP per capita); 3 = High deposit required ( $\geq 8\%$  of GDP per capita). If deposit must be paid per list (not per candidate), the fee is divided by 10.
  - *Cand\_dep\_reim*: Is the deposit refundable? Categories: 0 = No deposit required; 1 = Low requirements for reimbursement (< 5% of votes); 2 = High requirements for reimbursement ( $\geq 5\%$  of valid votes); 3 = Non-refundable deposit.
- Measurement notes: (I) The scale was reversed by multiplying values by -1. (II) Where regulations differ across states in the US, the mean was taken. (III) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro available for entire period. (IV) Colombia, Honduras, Panama, Philippines, and Taiwan are completely missing. For Ukraine und Slovakia information for some of the variables is available. but not enough to construct index (IV) All countries: Missing values for 2008-2014 replaced by vales from 2007; Estonia: Missing value from 1990 replaced by value from 1991.
  - Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -8.00; maximum = 0.
  - Source(s): ACE, Bischoff (2006), Bowler et al. (2003), CoE, Elklit/Reynolds (2002), Hug (2001), IPU, Katz (1996), Mozaffar/Schedler (2002), Tavits (2006).

## Eff\_thresh

- Definition: Effective threshold calculated as approximately the midway between the threshold of representation (the lowest level of support with which a party could win a seat under the most favourable conditions) and the threshold of exclusion (the highest level of support with which a party could fail to win a seat under the most unfavourable conditions). Calculated according to Lijphart's formula:  $T_{\text{eff}} = 75\% / (M + 1)$ . We consider only theoretical information and NOT results from elections. The indicator was reversed by subtracting the effective threshold from 100 (lower effective thresholds receive higher values). If the legal threshold in proportional systems and mixed compensatory systems, respectively, exceeds the effective threshold, the legal threshold becomes the effective threshold.
- Measurement notes: Mixed non-compensatory systems with legal thresholds were calculated separately by taking the legal threshold of the PR tier into account if it was higher than the effective threshold of the PR tier.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 62.5; maximum = 99.77.
- Measurement notes: (I) Paraguay: missing values for 1992 replaced by values from 1993; Estonia: Missing values from 1991 replaced by values from 1992.
- Source(s): District magnitude: see meandistrict above

## 2. Effective Contestation [CO\_OPEN2]

### Smallpavo

- Definition: Chance for small parties to win a seat: vote share of smallest party in the lower house of national parliament (reversed = multiplied with -1). The higher the value, the smaller the smallest party, hence the greater the possibility for small parties to win a seat. Independent candidates and "other" parties are included into the calculation of Smallpavo.
- Measurement notes: (I) South Africa: missing values 1990-1993 replaced by values of 1994; (II) Poland: missing value 1990 replaced by value of 1991; Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania: Missing values from 1990-1991 replaced by values from 1992, Latvia: missing values for 1990-1992 replaced by values from 1993. (III) India replaced by own calculations based on Nohlen et al. (2001). (IV) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections). (V) Argentina, Thailand: missing values for 2011-2014 replaced by values from 2010. (VI) Bosnia-Herzegovina, Honduras, Paraguay: Missing values for 2006-2012 replaced by values from 2005; Philippines: missing values for 2004-2009 replaced by values from 2003; Venezuela: missing values for 2005-2014 replaced by values from 2004.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -48.9; maximum = 0.00.
- Source(s): WZB, Nohlen et al. (2001).

### Enep

- Definition: Effective number of parties at the electoral level.
- Measurement notes: (I) missing for Cyprus 1995-1999 replaced by values of 2000 (II) India replaced by own calculations based on Nohlen et al. (2001). (III) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections). (IV) South Africa: missing values 1990-1993 replaced by values of 1994; Poland: missing value 1990 replaced by value of 1991; Argentina, Thailand: missing values for 2011-2012 replaced by values from 2010; Bosnia-Herzegovina, Honduras, Paraguay: Missing values for 2006-2012 replaced by values from 2005; Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania: Missing values from 1990/1991 replaced by values from 1992, Latvia: missing values for 1990-1992 replaced by values from 1993; Philippines: missing values for 2004-2009 replaced by values from 2003; Venezuela: missing values for 2010-2014 replaced by values from 2009.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.12; maximum = 16.57.
- Source(s): WZB, Nohlen et al. (2001).

### **3. Effective Access to Resources [CO\_OPEN3]**

#### **Ceilings**

- Definition: Ceilings on expenditure and income of political parties. Sum of two variables: 0 = there are no ceilings on expenditure or income of political parties; +1 if there are either ceilings on expenditure or income of political parties; +2 if there are ceilings on both, expenditure and income of political parties
- Measurement notes: (l) Czech Republic, Colombia: missing 1990 replaced by value of 1991. Hungary: Missing values 1990-1996 replaced by value of 1997. Japan, Greece, Thailand: 1993-2002 replaced by value of 2003. New Zealand 1990-1992 replaced with value of 1993, Paraguay: 1992 replaced with value of 1993. Portugal, Ecuador: 1990-2002 replaced with values from 2003. Brazil: missing values for 1990-1994 replaced by values from 1995. Chile: missing values for 2004-2010 replaced by values from 2003. South Korea, Taiwan, Philippines missing until 2011; replaced by values from 2011 in democratic years. Finland. missing values 2008-2010 replaced by values from 2007. Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2
- Sources: IDEA, Griner/Zovatto (2005), Castillo/Zovatto 1998; Gutierrez/Zovatto (2011); GRECO (2011); Cons; Partylaw.

#### **Funding**

- Definition: Provisions for direct and indirect public funding of political parties. Sum of two variables: 0 = there are no provisions for direct or indirect funding; +1 if there are either provisions for direct or indirect public funding; +2 if there are provisions for both, direct and indirect party funding.
- Measurement notes: (l) Czech Republic, Colombia: missing 1990 replaced by value of 1991. Iceland 1990-2002 replaced by value of 2003. Italy: 1990-1999 replaced by value of 2000. Japan, Greece,: 1990-2002 replaced by value of 2003. Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia: missing from 1990-1992 replaced by values from 1993. Portugal, Thailand: 1993-2002 replaced with values from 2003. South Africa 1990-1996 replaced with value of 1997. Bulgaria missing values for 2004-2006 replaced by values from 2003. Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2
- Sources: IDEA, Griner/Zovatto (2005), Castillo/Zovatto 1998; Gutierrez/Zovatto (2011); GRECO (2011); Cons; Partylaw.

# MUTUAL CONSTRAINTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS [MUTUCONS]

## CHECKS BETWEEN THREE POWERS [MC\_CHECKS]

### 1. Balance of checks between executive and legislative powers [MC\_CHECKS1]

#### Balexleg

- Definition: Balance of checks between the executive and the legislative powers as represented by the (reversed) absolute difference (controlex - controle) in the standardized checks available to the legislative (controlex) and the executive (controle) powers over each other. The measure is reversed by subtracting the absolute difference from 100. Therefore, low values indicate unbalanced checks either in favour of the executive or the legislative, whereas high values are assigned when there is a balance in checks between the legislative and the executive branches.
- Measurement notes: (I) Slovenia, Chile: missing values for 1990-1991 replaced by value of 1992; Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Slovakia: missing values 1991-1992 replaced by values from 1993.
- Range of values (standardized): minimum = 12.50, maximum = 95.83.
- Source(s): see *controlex*, *controle*.

#### Controlex

- Definition: Summary of constitutional provisions for checks (*legveto*, *legappr*, *confleg*, *removeex*) over the executive available to the legislative, where low values indicate low levels of constitutional checks by the legislative branch, and high values indicate high levels of constitutional checks by the legislative branch.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1; maximum = 9.
- Source(s): See *legveto*, *agendaset*, *confleg*, *removeex*.

#### *Legveto*

- Definition: does the legislative branch have the constitutional power to stop executive actions (legislative veto)?
- Categories: 0 = No constitutional provision exists; 1 = Constitutional provision exists.
- Measurement notes: (I) Serbia and Montenegro: Values of 1992 replaced by values of 1993, values of Yugoslavia for the years 1993-2003, 2003-2005: values of Serbia-Montenegro; 2003-2007: own calculations; all countries: values for 2006-2007 replaced by 2005; (II) Malta, Iceland, Romania, Luxembourg: own calculations based on constitutions. (III) All countries: values from 2005 were copied to 2006-2007 unless a constitutional change took place.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): IAEP, CON, CCP.

#### *Legappr*

- Definition: Is there a constitutional requirement for the executive to secure approval by the legislative branch on changes and policies proposed on the following issues: budget, ratification of international treaties (1 = one chamber only, 2 = two chambers), changes to taxes.
- Measurement notes: (I) Serbia and Montenegro: Values of 1992 replaced by values of 1993, values of Yugoslavia for the years 1993-2003, 2003-2005: values of Serbia-Montenegro; 2003-2007: own calculations; all countries: values for 2006-2007 replaced by 2005; (II) Malta, Iceland, Romania, Luxembourg: own calculations based on constitutions. (III) All countries: values from 2005 were copied to 2006-2007 unless a constitutional change took place.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 4.

- Source(s): IAEP, CON, CCP.

#### *Confleg*

- Definition: Does a constitutional requirement exist for the executive to seek legislative confidence upon formation?
- Categories: 0 = No constitutional provision exists; 1 = Constitutional provision exists.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1;
- Source(s): CON, CCP.

#### *Removex*

- Definition: Does the legislative branch have the constitutional power to remove the executive from office (by means of instruments such as vote of no confidence or impeachment) and how difficult is this?
- Categories: 0 = No possibility to remove the executive; 1 = The circumstances/procedure to remove the executive are difficult (circumstances are defined as breach of law or something similar); 2 = The circumstances/procedure to remove the executive are challenging (absolute parliamentary majority or more); 3 = The circumstances/procedure to remove the Executive are easy (simple majority).
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): IPU, Ismayr (1997, 2004), CON, CCP.

#### **Controlle**

- Definition: Summary of constitutional provisions for checks (*exveto*, *dissleg*, *elecex*) over the legislative available to the executive.
- Measurement notes:
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): See *exveto*, *removeleg*, *legelex*.

#### *Exveto*

- Definition: Does the executive have the constitutional power to veto laws passed by the legislature?
- Categories: 0 = No constitutional provision exists, 1 = Constitutional provision exists.
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missing values 2006-2007 replaced by values of 2005; missing value 1990 replaced by value of 1991. (II) Completely missing countries: Malta/Luxembourg/Iceland: all values based on own calculation; (IV) Costa Rica and South Africa: missing values 1990-1994 replaced by values of 1995; (VI) Czech Republic: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993. (V) Values for Serbia and Montenegro based on values of Yugoslavia. (VI) All countries: values from 2005 were copied to 2006-2007 unless a constitutional change took place.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): IAEP, CON, CCP.

#### *Dissleg*

- Definition: Does the executive have the constitutional power to dissolve the legislature?
- Categories: Categories: 0 = No constitutional provision exists, 1 = Constitutional provision exists.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: values from 2005 were copied to 2006-2007 unless a constitutional change took place.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): IAEP, CON, CCP.

### *Eleceex*

- Definition: Does the country hold national elections for an executive (direct election)?
- Categories: 0: No, 1: Yes.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: values from 2005 were copied to 2006-2007 unless a constitutional change took place.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): IAEF, CON, CCP.

## **2. Balance between executive and legislative powers [MC\_CHECKS2]**

### **Balpowexle**

- Definition: Balance of powers (opposition vs. government) as calculated by:  $C = 1 - \text{abs}((G-O)/100)$ , where  $G = \sum g_i^2 / \sum g_i$  and  $O = \sum o_i^2 / \sum o_i$ .  $g_i$  and  $o_i$  stand for the seat shares of government and opposition parties respectively. C equals 0 whenever the government (or the opposition) controls the whole legislature and 1 if there is a full balance between government and opposition.
- Measurement notes: (I) if there are two values in one year, the mean of these two values is taken. (II) Elections, which took place on the 01.07 of a given year or later, affect the values of the following year. (III) Bulgaria, Colombia, Macedonia: missing value 1990 replaced by value from 1991, Cyprus, Estonia, Israel, Latvia, Lithuania: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by values of 1993. (IV) Italy: missing value 1995 replaced by mean of 1994-1996. (V) Malta: missing values 1990-1991 replaced by values of 1992; (VI) Poland: missing values 1990-1991 replaced by values of 1992; (VII) South Africa missing values 1990-1993 replaced by value of 1994. (VIII) Bulgaria: missing values 1993-1996 replaced by mean value of adjacent years; Argentina: Missing value 2002 replaced by mean value of adjacent years, Bolivia: missing values 2004-2005 replaced by mean values of adjacent years; Bosnia-Herzegovina: missing values 1995-2002 replaced by mean values of adjacent years; Colombia: missing values 1999-2006 replaced by mean values of adjacent years; Croatia: missing value 2003 replaced by mean value from adjacent years; Guatemala: missing values 1993-1995 replaced by mean value of adjacent years; Honduras, Hungary: missing value 2009 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Moldova. missing values for 1997 and 2001-2007 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Montenegro: missing values 1998-2002 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Panama: Missings 1990-1994 replaced by value from 1995, missings 2000-2003 by mean values from adjacent years; Paraguay: missings 1992-1993 replaced by value of 1994, Peru: missing values 2006 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Philippines: missings 2001-2003 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Romania: missings 2001-2004 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; South Korea. missings 1997 and 2002 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Thailand: missings 2006-2007 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; (IX) Ukraine: missing values 1994-2004 replaced by value from 2005.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): WZB

### **Seatsgov**

- Definition: Proportion of parliamentary seats belonging to governing parties as calculated by the inverse logit:  $1/(1+2.71^{-((G-50)/3)})$ ,  $G = \sum g_i^2 / \sum g_i$ .  $g_i$  stands for the seat shares of government parties. The indicator takes low values for minority governments and high values for majority governments.
- Measurement notes: (I) if there are two values in one year, the mean of these two values is taken. (II) Elections, which took place on the 01.07 of a given year or later, affect the values of the following year. (IV) Cyprus, Estonia, Israel, Latvia, Lithuania: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by values of 1993. (IV) Italy: missing value 1995 replaced by mean of 1994-1996. (V) Malta: missing values 1990-

1991 replaced by values of 1992; (VI) Poland: missing values 1990-1991 replaced by values of 1992; (VII) Bulgaria: missing values 1993-1996 replaced by mean value of adjacent years; South Africa: missing values 1990-1993 replaced by value of 1994; Argentina: Missing value 2002 replaced by mean value of adjacent years; Bolivia: missing values 2004-2005 replaced by mean values of adjacent years; Bosnia-Herzegovina: missing values 1995-2002 replaced by mean values of adjacent years; Chile: missing values 1991-1993 and 2002-2005 replaced by mean values of adjacent years; Colombia: missing values 1999-2006 replaced by mean values of adjacent years; Croatia: missing values 2000-2003 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Guatemala: missing values 1993-1995 replaced by mean value of adjacent years; Honduras, Hungary missing value 2009 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Moldova. missing values for 1997 and 2001-2007 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Montenegro: missing values 1998-2002 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Panama: Missings 1990-1994 replaced by value from 1995, missings 2000-2008 by mean values from adjacent years; Paraguay: missings 1992-1993 replaced by value of 1994, Peru: missing values 2006 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Philippines: missings 2001-2003 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Romania: missings 2001-2004 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; South Korea. missings 1997 and 2002 replaced by mean values from adjacent years; Thailand: missings 2009-2011 replaced by mean values from adjacent years. (VIII) Ukraine: missing values 1994-2004 replaced by value from 2005.

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum =  $0.717 \cdot 10^{-7}$ ; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): WZB

### 3. *Judicial review [MC\_CHECKS3]*

#### Judrev

- Definition: This variable documents the existence of constitutional provisions allowing for judicial or constitutional review of legislative and executive decisions.
- Categories: -1 = constitution gives the power of constitutional review to another branch of government such as the executive or the legislature; 0 = constitution does not provide for judicial (constitutional) review; 1 = constitution provides for judicial review somewhat or provides for it vaguely but not fully; 2 = constitution provides for judicial review fully and explicitly.
- Measurement notes: (I) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1991: values based on Yugoslavia (socialist rep.); 1992-2002 values taken from Yugoslavia (federal rep.); 2003-2004: values based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro. (II) values from 2004 copied to all years unless a constitutional change took place. (III) Update for years 2005-2012 based on constitutional texts taken from the constitute project. Values of latest available year have been copied to all years unless const. change took place (IV) Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Slovenia: missing value for 1990 replaced by value from 1991.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -1; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): DAP, Constitute, CCP.

#### Powjudi

- Definition: Power of judiciary. Effective possibility to control political decisions. Own coding on the basis of Kritzer (2002).
- Categories: 0 = Low power (parliament is the legitimate source of all laws); 1 = Moderate power (constitutional review but not with respect to all laws or not widely used); 2 = High power (court has the final say over all laws)
- Measurement notes: (I) Serbia and Montenegro based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro. (II) Argentina, Bulgaria, Colombia, Dominican Republic, India, Panama, Philippines, Romania, Taiwan, Turkey, Uruguay: value of 2004 copied to 2005-2011. (III) All countries: Missing values 2013-14 replaced by value from 2012.



- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): Kneipp 2007, Kritzer (2002), La Porta et al. (2003), Rhyne (1978), Ten Brinke/Deml (2002), DAP, constitutions.

## ***VERTICAL CHECKS OF POWER [MC\_VERT]***

### ***1. Degree of Federalism [MC\_VERT1]***

#### **Federalism**

- Definition: Federalism as defined by Gerring and Thacker (2004) (indicator was reversed).
- Categories: 0 = non-federal; 1 = semi-federal [where there are elective legislatures at the regional level but in which constitutional sovereignty is still reserved to the national government]; and 2 = federal [elective regional legislatures plus constitutional recognition of subnational authority].
- Measurement notes: (I): All countries: value of 2002 copied to following years (2003-2014) unless there was a constitutional change. (II) Serbia, Kosovo, and Montenegro are completely missing. (IV): Slovakia: Missing values 1993-2002 replaced by values from 2003.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): Gerring/Thacker 2004, CCP.

#### **Bicameralism**

- Definition: Bicameralism as defined by Gerring and Thacker (2004) (indicator was reversed).
- Categories: 0 = unicameral [no or weak upper house]; 1 = weak bicameral [upper house has some effective veto power, though not necessarily a formal veto]; and 2 = strong bicameral [same as above but the two houses are also incongruent]
- Measurement notes: (I): all countries: value of 2002 copied to following years (2003-2014) unless there was a constitutional change. (III) Serbia, Kosovo, and Montenegro are completely missing. (IV): Slovakia: Missing values 1993-2002 replaced by values from 2003.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 2.
- Source(s): Gerring/Thacker 2004.

### ***2. Subnational fiscal autonomy [MC\_VERT2]***

#### **Subexp**

- Definition: Subnational expenditures as a percentage of the total national expenditures.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values were replaced, where possible, by World Bank excel-sheet data (Costa Rica 1991-1999; Italy 1990 replaced by value of 1989; New Zealand 1992-1999; Portugal 1990-1996). (II) Missing values between two given data points were linearly adjusted (Costa Rica 2001/2; Italy 1990-1994; Luxembourg 1998; New Zealand 2000/1; South Africa 1996, 2000-2; United Kingdom 2001, 2003/4; Japan 1991-1999, 2001-2005, Serbia 2004-2006, Uruguay 1998-2004, Venezuela 1991-1998). (III) Missing values after last assured data point were replaced by a three-year-moving-average (Albania 1999-2013, Argentina, Bolivia, Croatia, Dom. Republic, India, Macedonia, Nicaragua, Panama, Philippines, Serbia, Thailand 2008-2013, Australia 2012, Costa Rica 2005-2012; Sweden 2000-2012, Ecuador 2006-2012, Macedonia 2004-2012, Uruguay 2006-2012, Venezuela 2000-2012). (IV) Missing values before first assured data point are replaced by a three-year-moving-average of subsequent years (Cyprus 1990-7; Czech Republic 1990-1992; Malta 1990-2001; New Zealand 1990-1991; Poland 1990-1993; Slovenia 1990-1991; Switzerland 1990, Ecuador 1990-2004, Macedonia, Serbia 1990-2002, South Korea 1990-1999, Turkey 1990-2007, Ukraine 1990-1998). (V) If no data for the period under review exist averaged date back data were used for the entire period (Japan: 1972-4 used for averaging). (VI) Completely missing countries: Guatemala, Mac-

edonia, Montenegro, Taiwan. (VIII) missing values Italy, Slovakia, South Korea, and United States replaced by values of OECD if available. (IX) All countries: missing value 2014 replaced by value from 2013.

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.22; maximum = 98.7.
- Source(s): own calculations based on data of GFS, WB, OECD, Dexia

## Subrev

- Definition: Subnational revenues as a percentage of the total national revenues.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values were replaced, where possible, by World Bank excel-sheet data (Costa Rica 1991-9; Italy 1990 replaced by value of 1989; Malta 1995-9; New Zealand 1992-1999; Portugal 1990-1996). (II) Missing values between two given data points were linearly adjusted (Costa Rica 2000/1; Italy 1990-1994; Luxembourg 1998; Malta 2000; South Africa 2000-2; Spain 1998-2003; New Zealand 2000; Japan 1991-1999, 2001-2005, Serbia 2002-2006). (III) Missing values after last assured data point were replaced by a three-year-moving-average (Albania 1999-2014, Argentina 2008-2014, Australia 2008-2014, Bolivia 2008-2014, Brazil 2008-2014, Canada 2011-2014, Chile, Colombia, Croatia, Cyprus, Dom. Republic, El Salvador, Honduras, India, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Moldova, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, South Africa, South Korea, Thailand, Ukraine, Uruguay 2008-2014, Costa Rica, Macedonia 2004-2014; Portugal 2004-2007; Sweden 2000-2007; Slovenia 2007; United States 2002-2007, Guatemala 1996-2012). (IV) Missing values before first assured data point are replaced by a three-year-moving-average of subsequent years (Cyprus 1990-7; Czech Republic 1990-1992; Malta 1990-2001; New Zealand 1990-1991; Poland 1990-1992; Slovenia 1990-1991; Switzerland 1990, Macedonia 1990-2011, Serbia 1990-2001, South Korea 1990-1999, Ukraine 1990-1998). (V) If no data for the period under review exist averaged date back data were used for the entire period (Japan: 1972-4 used for averaging). (VI) Serbia and Montenegro: value of 2002 refers to Serbia-Montenegro. (VII) Completely missing countries: Kosovo, Taiwan, Turkey, Venezuela. (VIII) missing values Italy and South Korea replaced by values of OECD if available.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.26; maximum = 57.00.
- Source(s): own calculations based on data of GFS, WB, OECD

# GOVERNMENTAL CAPABILITY [GOVCAP]

## GOVERNMENT RESOURCES [GC\_GORE]

### 1. Time horizon for action [GC\_GORE1]

#### Leglen

- Definition: Length of governmental (legislative or presidential) period (if no given rule in constitution the maximum length is taken).
- Measurement notes: separate values for Serbia and Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 3; maximum = 7.
- Source(s): CON, IPU, Wikipedia, CCP.

#### Govterm

- Definition: Is there a term limit of government? A term limit exists, when it is not possible to re-elect an incumbent after a certain period of time.
- Categories: 0 = 0 to 4 years; 1 = 5 to 8 years; 2 = 9-12 years; 3 = more than 12 years.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): CIA.

### 2. Public support [GC\_GORE2]

#### Confgov

- Definition: Confidence in the government: Share of survey respondents indicating high confidence/trust.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1991-1997, 1992-1998 etc.). (IV) Serbia and Montenegro: values of 1996 and 2001 refer to Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 9.89; maximum = 56.54.
- Source(s): own calculation based on CSES, ESS, LB, WVS, EB, ISS.

#### Devbehav

- Definition: Deviant behaviour. Share of survey who answer – on a scale from 1 (never justifiable) to 10 (always justifiable) – 8, 9 or 10 regarding each of the following activities: a) avoiding a fare on public transport, b) cheating on taxes, c) someone accepting a bribe and d) claiming government benefits.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) the indicator was reversed by subtracting values from 100. (III) Missings were replaced by values from nearest year. (IV) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1996, 1997-2001, 2002-2006 etc.). (V) Missing for all years: Costa Rica, Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Israel, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay. Imputation: values are imputed on the basis of a linear regression with the indicator Antigovact (see below) (Pearsons  $r$  is 0.14). The regression coefficients used are  $\alpha = 85.29$ ,  $\beta = 0.77$ .
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 56.35; maximum = 98.71.
- Source(s): own calculation based on WVS, EVS, BCNTS, ESS; LB, ISS, EB.

### **3. Governmental stability [GC\_GORE3]**

#### **Govstab**

- Definition: Stability of government. A cabinet is seen as stable if its party composition does not change during a whole legislative period. Relatively short governments, i.e. interim governments (< 1/6 of the legislation), are excluded. A government gets 100% (for all years within a legislative period) if it does not change in the respective legislative period. If there is a change, Govstab reflects the number of days that the government was stable as a share of the remaining possible period.
- Measurement notes: (I) When there were more than two governments within one single election period, and the last government ended due to normal general elections the last government does not receive 100 per cent, but the value of the longest government in the respective period, unless the third or later government, was the only government in the election period which lasted for more than 1/6 of legislation. Missing values from interim governments are completed with closest value of the respective election period (if two values have the same distance, the earlier value is taken). If there are two values in one year the mean is taken. Values are copied to the entire government period. Values above 100 are set to 100. (II) The Swiss government is a cooperative government, and the 'prime minister' (Bundespräsident), who has a mainly representative function, changes every year (but cabinet does not change). Switzerland is therefore always coded 100. (III) All values greater than 100 are set to 100. (IV) Elections between 1 January and 31 January refer to the given year. (V) In presidential systems, government change is measured by president change. (VI) Malta, Lithuania, Estonia: missing values 1990-1991 replaced by value of 1992; Poland, Latvia: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993; South Africa: missing values 1990-1993 replaced by value of 1994.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 16.70; maximum = 100.
- Source(s): own calculation according to procedure by Lijphart (1984), data from WZB and IPU (for India).

#### **Cabchange**

- Definition: Number of major cabinet changes.
- Measurement notes: (I) number of changes per year multiplied with -1; values of 2007 based on own calculations. (II) Serbia and Montenegro coded with values of Yugoslavia 1990-2002. 2003-2005 coded based on values for Serbia-Montenegro; 2006: separate values. (III) All countries: missing values for 2014 replaced by values from 2013. (IV) Cyprus: Missing values 2008-2014 replaced by 2007.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -3; maximum = 0.
- Source(s): BCNTS.

### **CONDITIONS FOR EFFICIENT IMPLEMENTATION [GP\_CEIM]**

#### **1. No Anti-government action [GC\_CEIM1]**

##### **Antigovact**

- Definition: Legitimate anti-government action (reversed). Sum of two indicators:
  - o **Agdemon**s: Number of peaceful public gatherings of at least 100 people for the primary purpose of displaying or voicing their opposition to government policies or authority, excluding demonstrations of a distinctly anti-foreign nature.
  - o **Genstrike**: Number of strikes of 1,000 or more industrial or service workers that involves more than one employer and that is aimed at national government policies or authority.
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by multiplying values by -1. (II) Serbia and Montenegro coded with values of Yugoslavia 1990-2002. 2003-2005 coded based on values for Serbia-Montenegro; 2006: separate values.

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -51; maximum = 0.
- Source(s): BCNTS.

## Violantigov

- Definition: Illegitimate anti-government action (reversed). Sum of two indicators:
  - o **Guerill**: Number of incidents of armed activity, sabotage, or bombings carried on by independent bands of citizens or irregular forces and aimed at the overthrow of the present regime.
  - o **Revolut**: Number of incidents of illegal or forced change in the top government elite, any attempt at such a change, or any successful or unsuccessful armed rebellion whose aim is independence from the central government.
- Measurement notes: (I) The indicator was reversed by multiplying values by -1. (II) Serbia and Montenegro coded with values of Yugoslavia 1990-2002. 2003-2005 coded based on values for Serbia-Montenegro; 2006: separate values.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -10; maximum = 0.
- Source(s): BCNTS.

## 2. No Interference [GC\_CEIM2]

### Mip

- Definition: No political interference by the military:
  - o **MIP**: Military in politics. The military is not elected by anyone. Therefore, its involvement in politics, even at a peripheral level, is a diminution of democratic accountability. However, it also has other significant implications. The military might, for example, become involved in government because of an actual or created internal or external threat. Such a situation would imply the distortion of government policy in order to meet this threat, for example by increasing the defense budget at the expense of other budget allocations. In some countries, the threat of military takeover can force an elected government to change policy or cause its replacement by another government more amenable to the military's wishes. A military takeover or threat of a takeover may also represent a high risk if it is an indication that the government is unable to function effectively and that the country therefore has an uneasy environment for foreign businesses; values from 0 (high risk) to 6 (no risk of political interference by military).
- Measurement notes: (I) Slovenia: missing values 1991-1998 are replaced with value of 1999. (II) Serbia and Montenegro: Values up to 2005 are based on values for Serbia-Montenegro. (III) Completely missing countries: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.00; maximum = 6.
- Source(s): ICRG.

### Rip

- Definition: No political interference by religion. Religious tensions may stem from the domination of society and/or governance by a single religious group that seeks to replace civil law by religious law and to exclude other religions from the political and/or social process; the desire of a single religious group to dominate governance; the suppression of religious freedom; the desire of a religious group to express its own identity, separate from the country as a whole. The risk involved in these situations range from inexperienced people imposing inappropriate policies through civil dissent to civil war; values from 0 (high risk) to 6 (no risk of political interference by religion).
- Measurement notes: (I) Slovenia: missing values 1991-1998 are replaced with value of 1999. (II) Serbia and Montenegro: Values up to 2005 are based on values for Serbia-Montenegro. (III) Completely missing countries: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.00; maximum = 6.
- Source(s): ICRG.

## Publser

- Definition: The public service is independent from political interference. Measured on a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: years before 1998 are missing and the values from 1998 were copied to all previous years; (II) Bulgaria and Croatia: all values before 2006 are missing and the values from 2006 were copied to all previous democratic years. Estonia: all values before 2001 were replaced by value of 2001. Lithuania all values before 2007 replaced by value of 2007. Peru: value of 2008 copied to all democratic years. Romania: value of 2003 copied to previous democratic years. Slovakia: value 2001 copied back to all previous years, Chile, Colombia: missings for 1990-1997 replaced by values from 1998 (II) All countries: Missing values 2009-2014 replaced by values from 2008. (III) Albania, Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Costa Rica, Dom. Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Latvia, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Serbia, Ukraine, Uruguay and Cyprus are completely missing and imputed. (IV) Imputation for missing countries: values are imputed on the basis of a multiple linear regression with the indicators Mip and Rip (see above) and the World Bank Governance Indicator "Government Effectiveness" (Pearsons r between Publser and indicators is 0.47 (Mip), 0.30 (Rip), and 0.76, respectively). The regression coefficients used are  $\alpha = 2.40$ ,  $\beta_{Mip} = -0.17$ ,  $\beta_{Rip} = 0.11$ , and  $\beta_{GovEff} = 1.48$ . (V) Completely missing: Kosovo, Macedonia
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.43; maximum = 7.12.
- Source(s): IMD; ICRG; WGI.

## 3. Administrative assertiveness [GC\_CEIM3]

### Govdec

- Definition: Assessment of the effective implementation of government decisions. Measured on a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missings 1990-1997 replaced by values of 1998 in democratic years. (II) Iceland: missings 1990-1997, 1999-2007 replaced by value of 1998. (III) Slovenia, Greece, Israel, Mexico, Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, Venezuela: missings 1990-1998 replaced by value of 1999 if democratic; Bulgaria, Croatia, Lithuania, Peru, Ukraine: Missing values 1990-2005 replaced by values from 2006 in democratic years. Estonia: missing values 1990-2000 replaced by values from 2001, Romania: missings 1996-2002 replaced by value from 2003; Slovakia: missings 1990-2000 replaced by values from 2001 (IV) completely missing countries: Albania, Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dom. Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Malta, Guatemala, Honduras, Kosovo, Latvia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Serbia. (V) Imputation: values for completely missing countries are imputed on the basis of a multiple linear regression with the indicators Bureau (see below) and the World Bank Governance Indicators "Regulatory Quality" and "Government Effectiveness" (Pearsons r between Govdec and indicators is 0.544, 0.629 and 0.691, respectively). The regression coefficients used are  $\alpha = 4.868$ ,  $\beta_{Bureau} = -0.737$ ,  $\beta_{RegQual} = -0.333$  and  $\beta_{GovEff} = 2.260$ .
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.9; maximum = 8.05.
- Source(s): IMD; ICRG; WGI.

### Bureau

- Definition: Bureaucracy quality. High points are given to countries where the bureaucracy has the strength and expertise to govern without drastic changes in policy or interruptions in government services. In these low risk countries, the bureaucracy tends to be somewhat autonomous from political pressure and to have an established mechanism for recruitment and training. Countries that lack

the cushioning effect of a strong bureaucracy receive low points because a change in government tends to be traumatic in terms of policy formulation and day-to-day administrative functions.

- Measurement notes: (I) Slovenia, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Ukraine: all years before 1998 are missing and values from 1999 were copied to all previous democratic years. (II) Completely missing countries: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 4.
- Source(s): ICRG.

#### **4. Independence of Central Bank [GC\_CEIM4]**

##### **CenBank\_Ind**

- Definition: Assessment of the independence of the central bank. The indicator was reversed by multiplying all values with -1. High values (close to zero) represent lower independence.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missing values were replaced with the closest previous value. Australia: missing values 1991-1997 replaced with value of 1990. Austria: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. Belgium: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. Canada: missing values 1991-1997 replaced with value of 1990. Czech Republic: missing values 1990-1991 replaced by value of 1992. Denmark: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. Finland: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. FR Yugoslavia: Missing values 1991-2002 replaced by value from 1990; France: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. Germany: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. Hungary: missing value 1991 replaced with value of 1990. Iceland: missing values 1991-1997 replaced with value of 1990. Ireland: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. Italy, Israel: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. Japan: missing values 1991-1997 replaced with value of 1990. Luxembourg: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. Malta: missing values 1991-2002 replaced with value of 1990. Netherlands: missing values 1991-1997 replaced with value of 1990. New Zealand: missing values 1991-1997 replaced with value of 1990. Norway: missing values 1991-2002 replaced with value of 1990. Panama: missing values 1991-2014 replaced by 1990; Portugal: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. Slovenia: missing values 1999-2002 replaced by value of 1998. South Africa: missing values 1991-2002 replaced with value of 1990. 3. Spain: missing values 1991-1998 replaced with value of 1990. Sweden: missing values 1991-2002 replaced with value of 1990. Switzerland: missing values 1991-2002 replaced with value of 1990. Taiwan: missing values 1991-2014 replaced by 1990; Ukraine: Missing values 1998-2014 replaced by values from 1997; United Kingdom: missing values 1991-1997 replaced with value of 1990. Greece: missing values 1991-1998 replaced by values from 1990. (II) Cyprus is completely missing and was coded manually on the basis of the central bank law from 2002-2012. (III) All countries: Missing values 2011-2014 replaced by values from 2010. (IV) Bulgaria: Missing values from 1991 replaced by values from 1992. (V) Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Malta, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Switzerland, Uruguay: Missing values 2004-2014 replaced by value from 2003. (VI) Completely missing: South Korea.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -0.89; maximum = -0.10
- Source(s): Crowe/Meade 2008; Cukierman et al. 1992; Cukierman et al. 2003; Jácome & Vázquez (2005), Dincer/Eichengreen 2013.

## TRANSPARENCY [TRANSPAR]

### NO SECRECY [TR\_NOSEC]

#### 1. Disclosure of party financing [TR\_NOSEC1]

##### Discinco

- Definition: Disclosure rules for contributions to political parties (parties have to disclose contributions received). 0 = no provision for disclosure of income; 1 = rules on disclosure of income.
- Measurement Notes: (I) Brazil: missing values 1990-1996 replaced by value of 1997. (II) Czech Republic: missing value 1990 replaced with value of 1991. (III) Ecuador: missing values 1999-2004 replaced by value of 2005. (IV) Greece: missing values 1990-2001 replaced by value of 2002. (V) Japan: missing values 1990-2002 replaced by values of 2003. (VII) Moldova: missing values 1995-1996 replaced by value of 1997. (VIII) New Zealand: missing values 1990-1992 replaced with value of 1993. (IX) Philippines: all years replaced by value of 2011. (X) Portugal: missings 1990-2002 replaced by value of 2003. (XI) Slovakia: missing 2004 replaced with value of 2003. (XII) Thailand: missing values 1993-1997 replaced by value of 1998. (XIII) Completely missing: Kosovo, South Korea, Taiwan, (until 2012).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Sources: IDEA, Griner/Zovatto (2005), Castillo/Zovatto 1998; Gutierrez/Zovatto (2011); GRECO (2011); Cons; Partylaw.

##### Discexp

- Definition: Disclosure rules for expenditures of political parties (parties have to disclose contributions received). 0 = no provision for disclosure of income; 1 = rules on disclosure of income.
- Measurement notes: (I) Brazil: missing values 1990-1994 replaced by value of 1995. (II) Czech Republic: missing value 1990 replaced with value of 1991. (III) Ecuador: missing values 1999-2004 replaced by value of 2005. (IV) Greece: missing values 1990-2001 replaced by value of 2002. (V) Japan: missing values 1990-2002 replaced by values of 2003. (VII) Moldova: missing values 1995-1996 replaced by value of 1997. (VIII) New Zealand: missing values 1990-1992 replaced with value of 1993. (IX) Nicaragua: missings 1991-1995 replcaed by value of 1996. (X) Philippines: all years replaced by value of 2011. (XI) Portugal: missings 1990-2002 replaced by value of 2003. (XII) Slovakia: missing 2004 replaced with value of 2003. (XIII) Thailand: missing values 1993-1997 replaced by value of 1998. (XIII) Completely missing: Kosovo, South Korea, Taiwan (until 2012).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): IDEA, Griner/Zovatto (2005), Castillo/Zovatto 1998; Gutierrez/Zovatto (2011); GRECO (2011); Cons; Partylaw.

#### 2. Absence of corruption [TR\_NOSEC2]

##### Corrup

- Definition: Assessment of corruption within the political system. Such corruption is a threat to foreign investment for several reasons: it distorts the economic and financial environment; it reduces the efficiency of government and business by enabling people to assume positions of power through patronage rather than ability; and, last but not least, introduces an inherent instability into the political process. Values range from 0 (high risk of corruption) to 6 (no risk of corruption between politics and business).



- Measurement notes: (I) Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania: missing values 1990/1991-1998 replaced by value of 1999. (II) Serbia and Montenegro: Values up to 2005 are based on values for Serbia-Montenegro. (III) Completely missing countries: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 6.
- Source(s): ICRG.

## **CPI**

- Definition: The Corruption Perception Index (CPI) measures the overall extent of corruption (frequency and/or size of bribes) in the public and political sectors. Assessments are based on surveys of business people and assessments by country analysts. Sources can vary from year to year. Values range from 0 to 10 (the higher the values, the less corruption).
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missings 1990-1994 replaced by values of 1995. (II) Czech Republic: missings 1990-1995 replaced by values of 1996. (III) Costa Rica: missings 1990-1996 replaced by values of 1997. (IV) Malta: missings 1990-2004 replaced by value of 2005. (V) Cyprus: missings 1990-2002 replaced by value of 2003; (VI) Island: 1990-1997 replaced by value of 1998; (VII) Slovenia, Bulgaria, Estonia, Honduras, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Slovakia: missings 1990-1998 replaced by values of 1999 in democratic years; (VIII) Poland: missing 1990-1995 replaced by value of 1996; (IX) Missings for single years replaced by linear interpolation with adjacent years: Kosovo 2008-2011; Luxembourg 1996; United Kingdom 1996; Albania 2000-2001, 2005-2006; Argentina 2005-2006; Bolivia 1995, 2005-2006; Bosnia-Herzegovina 2005-2006; Brazil 2006; Croatia 2006; Dominican Republic 2005-2006; Ecuador 1997, 2005-2006; Guatemala 2000, 2005-2006; Honduras 2000, 2005-2006; India 2005-2006; Mexico 2006; Montenegro 2001-2002, 2005-2012; Nicaragua 2000, 2005-2006; Panama 2006; Paraguay 2005-2006; Philippines 2005-2006; Romania 2005-2006; Serbia 2001-2002, 2005-2006; Ukraine 2005-2006; Uruguay 2000; Venezuela 2005-2006. (X) Serbia and Montenegro: Up to 2000 values refer to Yugoslavia; 2003-2004 values are based on coding of Serbia-Montenegro; from 2007 onwards separate values are available.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.3; maximum = 10.0.
- Source(s): TI.

## ***PROVISIONS FOR TRANSPARENT POLITICAL PROCESS [TR\_PTPP]***

### ***1. Freedom of information [TR\_PTPP1]***

#### **RestricFOI**

- Definition: Restriction of freedom of information / barriers for access to official information.
- Categories: 0 = No Freedom of Information (FOI) legislation; 1 = High restrictions (high fees for information AND long delays [more than 2 weeks]); 2 = Considerable restrictions (1 restriction only (fee, delay)); 3 = No restrictions (no fee, immediate information [less than 2 weeks]).
- Measurement notes: (I) Value since year law came into force. (II) All countries except Chile, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Brazil, El Salvador, Guatemala, Kosovo, Macedonia, Malta, Montenegro, Paraguay, Serbia, Ukraine, Uruguay, Venezuela: Missing values for 2008-2011 replaced by values from 2007. (III) All countries: missing values 2013-14 replaced by value from 2012.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): own composition based on Banisar (2006), CON, CDA, Tromp (2008), HRR, FI.

#### **EffFOI**

- Definition: Effectiveness of Freedom of Information (FOI) laws. FOI is seen as effective if the following conditions are fulfilled: A) FOI does not only cover the executive and administration (0.5) but also further public authorities (1); B) Official documents are accessible (except for common exemptions such as matters of national security or documents that contain personal information, etc.) (1) but not

considerable number of exemptions and/or delay for Cabinet documents (0.5); C) Compliance with FOI is supervised by an independent commission (1) or at least a court review (i.e. directly contact the court (1) but not first administrative review (0.5).  $Foi\_eff = \text{sum of A+B+C}$ ; recoded such as 1.5 = 1; 2 = 2; 2.5 = 3; 3 = 4. A country without any FOI legislation receives the value 0.

- Categories: 0 = No FOI law; 1 = Low effectiveness; 2 = Quite considerable effectiveness; 3 = Considerable effectiveness; 4 = High effectiveness.
- Measurement notes: Value since year law came into force. (III) All countries: missing values 2013-14 replaced by value from 2012.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 4.
- Source(s): own composition based on Banisar (2006), CON, CDA, Tromp (2008), HRR, FI.

## 2. Informational openness [TR\_PTPP2]

### Legmedia

- Definition: Press Freedom: Legal Environment (reversed). "The legal environment category encompasses an examination of both the laws and regulations that could influence media content and the government's inclination to use these laws and legal institutions to restrict the media's ability to operate: We assess the positive impact of legal and constitutional guarantees for freedom of expression; the potentially negative aspects of security legislation, the penal code, and other criminal statutes; penalties for libel and defamation; the existence of and ability to use freedom of information legislation; the independence of the judiciary and of official media regulatory bodies; registration requirements for both media outlets and journalists; and the ability of journalists' groups to operate freely." Countries are given a total score from 0 (best) to 30 (worst).
- Measurement notes: Index was calculated according to the following rules (partly following advice from Karin Deutsch Karlekar from Freedom House) (I) 1990-1993:  $F = 25.5 (= (100 - \text{mean}(0;30)) * 0.3)$ ;  $PF = 16.35 (= (100 - \text{mean}(31;60)) * 0.3)$ ;  $NF = 5.85 (= (100 - \text{mean}(61;100)) * 0.3)$  --> if broadcast & print differ, the mean value was used; multiplication with 0.3 in order to make scale comparable to years 1997-2008 (II)  $(20 - (A\_bdcst + A\_print)) * 1.5$ ; multiplication with 1.5 in order to make the scale comparable to years 1997-2008 (III)  $30 - (A\_bdcst + A\_print)$  (IV) 2002-2008:  $30 - A$  (V) Cyprus: values for Greek-Cyprus were taken. (VI) Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1992: values for Yugoslavia are taken; 1993-2006 values refer to Serbia-Montenegro; Since 2007 separate values for Serbia and Montenegro are available. (VII) Czech Republic & Slovakia 1990-1994: values refer to Czechoslovakia. (VIII) Slovenia: missing values 1991-1992 are replaced by value of 1993. (IX) Montenegro: missing values 2004-2006 replaced by value of 2003. (X) Serbia: missing values 2004-2006 replaced by value of 2003. (XI) Bolivia: values 2009-2013 replaced by value of 2008. (XII): Kosovo: Missing values 2008-2013 replaced by value from 2014.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 30.0.
- Source(s): FH.

### Polmedia

- Definition: Press Freedom: Political Environment (reversed). "Under the political environment category, we evaluate the degree of political control over the content of news media. Issues examined include the editorial independence of both state-owned and privately owned media; access to information and sources; official censorship and self-censorship; the vibrancy of the media; the ability of both foreign and local reporters to cover the news freely and without harassment; and the intimidation of journalists by the state or other actors, including arbitrary detention and imprisonment, violent assaults, and other threats." Countries are given a total score from 0 (best) to 40 (worst).
- Measurement notes: Index was calculated according to the following rules (partly following advice from Karin Deutsch Karlekar from Freedom House) (I) 1990-1993:  $F = 34 (= (100 - \text{mean}(0;30)) * 0.4)$ ;  $PF = 21.8 (= (100 - \text{mean}(31;60)) * 0.4)$ ;  $NF = 7.8 (= (100 - \text{mean}(61;100)) * 0.4)$  --> if broadcast & print differ, use mean value; multiplication with 0.3 in order to make scale comparable to years 1997-2008

(II) 1994-1996:  $(60 - (B\_bdcst + B\_print + D\_bdcst + D\_print)) * (2/3)$ ; multiplication with 2/3 in order to make scale comparable to years 1997-2008 (III) 1997-2001:  $40 - (B\_bdcst + B\_print + D\_bdcst + D\_print)$ . (IV) 2002-2008:  $40 - B$ . (V) Cyprus: values for Greek-Cyprus were taken. (VI) Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1992: values for Yugoslavia are taken; 1993-2006 values refer to Serbia-Montenegro; Since 2007 separate values for Serbia and Montenegro are available. (VII) Czech Republic & Slovakia 1990-1994: values refer to Czechoslovakia. (VIII) Slovenia: missing values 1991-1992 are replaced by value of 1993. (IX) Montenegro: missing values 2004-2006 replaced by value of 2003. (X) Serbia: missing values 2004-2006 replaced by value of 2003. (X) Bolivia: values 2009-2013 replaced by value of 2008. (XI): Kosovo: Missing values 2008-2013 replaced by value from 2014.

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 2; maximum = 40.
- Source(s): FH.

### **3. Willingness for transparent communication [TR\_PTPP3]**

#### **Transp**

- Definition: Assessment of the transparency of government policy. Measured on a scale ranging from "The government does not often communicate its intentions successfully" (1) to "The government is transparent towards citizens" (6). This is recoded into a scale ranging from 0 to 10.
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by values of 1993. (II) Argentina, Iceland: missings 1990-1994 replaced by value of 1995; Czech Republic: missing values 1990-1993 replaced by values of 1994; Slovenia: missing values 1990-1998 replaced by values 1999. (III) completely missing countries: Albania, Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzgovina, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dom. Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Kosovo, Latvia, Macedonia, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Serbia, Ukraine, Uruguay. (IV) Imputation: values for completely missing countries are imputed on the basis of a linear regression with the indicator Polmedia (see above) (Pearsons  $r$  is 0.335). The regression coefficients used are  $\alpha = 2.901$  and  $\beta = 0.064$ .
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 8.29.
- Source(s): IMD; FH.

# PARTICIPATION [PARTICIP]

## EQUALITY OF PARTICIPATION [PAR\_EQPA]

### 1. Suffrage [PAR\_EQPA1]

#### Suffrage

- Definition: Requirements for and disqualifications of active suffrage. 17-sum of requirements and disqualifications.
- Requirements:
  - o Age: different constraints of age regarding active suffrage in the national parliament (single or lower chamber). Categories: 0 = to be entitled to active suffrage at the age of 18 or before; 1 = to be entitled to active suffrage at the age between 19 and 24.
  - o Citizenship: measures if citizenship is a precondition for active suffrage in the national parliament (single or lower chamber). Categories: 0 = citizenship is no precondition for active suffrage; 1 = citizenship is a precondition for active suffrage.
  - o Citizenship by birth: measures if citizenship BY BIRTH is a precondition for active suffrage in the national parliament (single or lower chamber). Categories: 0 = citizenship by birth is no precondition for active suffrage; 1 = citizenship by birth is a precondition for active suffrage.
  - o Extended requirements: measures whether naturalized citizens are required to wait additional years after naturalization to be granted active suffrage. Categories: 0 = extended waiting period after naturalization not required for active suffrage; 1 = extended waiting period after naturalization is required for active suffrage.
  - o Residency: measures whether citizens are required to live in a country to be entitled to vote. Categories: 0 = residency is no precondition for active suffrage; 1 = residency is a precondition for active suffrage
- Disqualifications:
  - o Insanity: measures if citizens with mental illness and/or insanity are deprived of the active suffrage rights. Categories: 0 = people with mental illness/insanity are not deprived of the active suffrage rights; 1 = people with mental illness/insanity are deprived of the active suffrage rights.
  - o Conviction: measures if citizens convicted of a crime are deprived of active suffrage rights. Categories: 0 = convicted citizens are not deprived of active suffrage rights; 1 = convicted citizens are deprived of active suffrage rights only for specific crimes (e.g. electoral fraud, organized crime, treason, etc.); 2 = convicted citizens are generally deprived of active suffrage rights.
  - o Imprisonment: measures if inmates are deprived of active suffrage rights. Categories: 0 = inmates are not deprived of active suffrage rights; 1 = inmates are deprived of active suffrage rights during imprisonment; 2 = former inmates are deprived of active suffrage rights after release (determined time or indefinitely).
  - o Suspension: measures whether active suffrage rights may be legally suspended. Categories: 0 = Active suffrage rights cannot be legally suspended; 1 = Active suffrage rights can be legally suspended.
  - o Office: measures if specific offices (e.g. electoral commissioners) and/or jobs (civil service) imply the loss of active suffrage rights. Categories: 0 = Loss of active suffrage rights is not related to specific office holders and/or jobs; 1 = higher jobs in the electoral process entail the loss of active suffrage rights; 2 = job as civil servant entails the loss of active suffrage rights.

- Others: measures if additional disqualifications to the ones cited above exist. Categories: 0 = no additional disqualifications; 1 = additional disqualifications in place.
- Measurement notes: -
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 6; maximum = 13.
- Source(s): IPU-Chronicles.

## Regprovap

- Definition: Registered voters as a percentage of voting age population, in parliamentary elections.
- Measurement notes: (I) Slovenia: missing value 1991 replaced by value of 1992. (II) values above 100 were set to 100. (III) Argentina, Canada, Denmark, Estonia, Guatemala, New Zealand, Peru, Thailand, and Turkey: missing values 2011 replaced by values of 2010
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 13.53; maximum = 100.
- Source(s): IDEA-T, Nohlen (1995)

## 2. Non-selectivity of electoral participation [PAR\_EQPA2]

### Repturnind

- Definition: Representative voter turnout in legislative elections in terms of resources (education and income). Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of education and in terms of income (3 groups each): education gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low education in survey – share of voting respondents with high/middle/low education (differences in absolute values); income gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low income – share of voting respondents with high/middle/low income (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of unrepresentative turnout: sum of education gap + income gap. (3) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 3 years (1990 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992); 1993 = mean (1991, 1992, 1993), etc.). (IV) Costa Rica: no income data. Repturnind is therefore calculated by taking two times representative turnout in terms of education. (V) Serbia and Montenegro: base values of 1996 and 2001 refer to Serbia-Montenegro. For Serbia, a separate base value is available for 2006. As a consequence of the five year average and the calculation of running-means all final values are at least partly based on values of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -11.60; maximum = -0.08.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LB, WVS, ISS, EES, EB.

### Repturngeag

- Definition: Representative voter turnout in legislative elections in terms of gender and age. Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of gender and in terms of age (3 groups: 15-30; 31-65; 65+): gender gap = mean of share of women in survey – share of female voting respondents and share of men in survey – share of male voting respondents (differences in absolute values); age gap = mean of share of respondents 18-30/31-65/65+ years old – respective share of 18-30/31-65/65+ year old voting respondents (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of unrepresentative turnout: sum of gender gap + age gap. (3) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 3 years (1990 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992); 1993 = mean (1991, 1992, 1993), etc.). (IV) Serbia and Montenegro: base values of 1996 and 2001 refer to Ser-

bia-Montenegro. For Serbia, a separate base value is available for 2006. As a consequence of the five year average and the calculation of running-means all final values are at least partly based on values of Serbia-Montenegro.

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -11.44; maximum = -0.26.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LB, WVS, ISS, EES, EB.

### **3. Non-selectivity of alternative participation [PAR\_EQPA3]**

#### **Repaltined**

- Definition: Representative participation in alternative forms of participation (signing petitions, attending lawful demonstrations) in terms of resources (education and income). Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of education and in terms of income (3 groups each): education gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low education in survey – share of participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) with high/middle/low education (differences in absolute values); income gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low income – share of participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) with high/middle/low income (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of unrepresentative participation: sum of education gap + income gap for both participation forms (signing petitions / attending demonstrations). (3) Overall mean of both indicators (signing petition / attending demonstrations) for unrepresentative participation. (4) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.) for each form of participation (signing petition / attending demonstrations); b) Calculation of running means for overall mean of both indicators between 3 years (1995 = 1996; 1996 = mean (1995, 1996); 1997 = mean (1995, 1996, 1997); 1998 = mean (1996, 1997, 1998), etc.). (IV) Costa Rica: no income data. Repturnaltined is therefore calculated by taking two times representative turnout in terms of education (for demonstration as well as for petition). (V) Serbia and Montenegro: base values of 1996 and 2001 refer to Serbia-Montenegro. For Serbia, a separate base value is available for 2006. As a consequence of the five year average and the calculation of running-means all final values are at least partly based on values of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -63.31; maximum = -4.8.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LB, WVS, ISS, EES, EB.

#### **Repaltgeag**

- Definition: Representative participation in alternative forms of participation (signing petitions, attending lawful demonstrations) in terms of gender and age. Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of gender and in terms of age (3 groups: 15-30; 31-65; 65+): gender gap = mean of share of women in survey – share of female participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) and share of men in survey – share of male participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) (differences in absolute values); age gap = mean of share of respondents 18-30/31-65/65+ years old – respective share of 18-30/31-65/65+ year old participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of unrepresentative turnout: sum of gender gap + age gap. (3) Overall mean of both indicators (signing petition / attending demonstrations) for unrepresentative participation. (4) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.) for each form of participation (signing petition / attending demonstrations); b) Calculation of running means for overall mean of both indicators between 3 years (1990 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992); 1993

= mean (1991, 1992, 1993), etc.). (IV) Serbia and Montenegro: base values of 1996 and 2001 refer to Serbia-Montenegro. For Serbia, a separate base value is available for 2006. As a consequence of the five year average and the calculation of running-means all final values are at least partly based on values of Serbia-Montenegro.

- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -63.31; maximum = -4.8.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LB, WVS, ISS, EES, EB.

## ***EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION [PAR\_EFPA]***

### ***1. Rules facilitating participation [PAR\_EFPA1]***

#### **Facilitat**

- Definition: Facilitation of electoral participation.
- Categories: 0 = voters can vote at specific polling station only; 1 = voters can vote everywhere in the same district; 2 = voters can vote everywhere in the country; Additional point (+1) if absentee ballot is possible; Additional point (+1) if there are mobile polling stations; Additional point (+1) if there is a possibility to vote in advance.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 5.
- Source(s): ACE, IDEA-T, Blais et al (2007), EV.

#### **Regist**

- Definition: Voter registration is *not* compulsory (1 = not compulsory, 0 = is compulsory)
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.
- Source(s): ACE, CON, Rosenberg/Chen (2009). OSCE, CCP.

### ***2. Effective institutionalized participation [PAR\_EFPA2]***

#### **Meanpart**

- Definition: Participation rate in % of registered electorate in elections of respective or previous years (only first ballot considered if more were held): average of legislative elections (copied to years of following legislation), and presidential elections if they exist (copied to years of following legislation).
- Measurement notes: (I) United States: turnout is based on the voting age population as reported by the US Census Bureau. (II) Measurement of Serbia-Montenegro: 1990-2002 data refer to Serbia-Montenegro. Thereafter, we calculated separate values for Serbia and Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 18.44; maximum = 98.92.
- Source(s): AED, ANU, IDEA-T, IPU, UCI, USEP.

#### **Eff\_DD**

- Definition: Effective use of direct democratic instruments. Sum of national non-mandatory referenda per year.
- Measurement notes: (I) The data is recoded by adding +1 to every observation. (II) The log of the number of non-mandatory referenda is taken to account for the fact that an additional referendum is less important in countries with many referenda than in countries with few referenda. (III) Completely missing: Taiwan, Philippines,
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1.26
- Source(s): c2d

### **3. Effective non-institutionalized participation [PAR\_EFPA3]**

#### **Petition**

- Definition: Practice of non-institutionalized participation: share of survey respondents who indicate having signed petitions.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means for overall mean of both indicators between 5 years (1990 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992); 1993 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993); 1994 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994); 1995 = mean (1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995); 1996 = mean (1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996) etc.). (IV) Serbia and Montenegro: base values of 1996 and 2001 refer to Serbia-Montenegro. For Serbia, a separate base value is available for 2006. As a consequence of the five year average and the calculation of running-means all final values are at least partly based on values of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.21; maximum = 90.58.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LB, WVS, ISS, EES, EB.

#### **Demons**

- Definition: Practice of non-institutionalized participation: share of survey respondents who indicate having attended lawful demonstrations.
- Measurement notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missings are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means for overall mean of both indicators between 5 years (1990 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992); 1993 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993); 1994 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994); 1995 = mean (1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995); 1996 = mean (1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996) etc.). (IV) If data from more than one survey was available, average values were calculated. (IV) Serbia and Montenegro: base values of 1996 and 2001 refer to Serbia-Montenegro. For Serbia, a separate base value is available for 2006. As a consequence of the five year average and the calculation of running-means all final values are at least partly based on values of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.09; maximum = 32.71.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LB, WVS, ISS, EES, EB.



## REPRESENTATION [REPRES]

### SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION [REP\_SR]

#### 1. Structural possibilities for inclusion of preferences [REP\_SR1]

##### Seatperin

- Definition: Number of seats (lower house) per 100'000 inhabitants.
- Measurement notes: (I) all countries: missing years replaced by precedent years or by mean of precedent and antecedent years: Czech Republic 1990-1994; Slovenia 1990-1991. (II) Values 1990-2003 of Serbia and Montenegro refer to Serbia-Montenegro. Population figures for Serbia-Montenegro are calculated as the sum of Serbia and Montenegro.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0.05; maximum = 24.73.
- Source(s): ACEA, DPI, IPU, UNSTATS.

##### No\_district

- Definition: Number of districts in lowest tier. The logarithm of the number of districts is taken to account for the fact that more districts are less important in countries which already have a lot of districts (diminishing marginal returns of additional district).
- Measurement notes: Czech Republic: missing values 1993-1995 replaced by value of 1996.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum=2.82.
- Source(s): IPU, Golder (2004), PDoA, Electoral statistics

#### 2. Constitutional provisions for direct democracy [REP\_SR2]

##### Dirdem

- Definition: Constitutional provisions for direct democracy. Sum of four direct democratic institutions (1 point for each institution). 1) Mandatory referendum; 2) veto-player referendum: referendum is triggered and question is asked by an existing veto-player; 3) popular veto: non veto-player (part of parliament, citizens...) triggers referendum, but question is asked by an existing veto player; 4) popular initiative: non veto-player asks question and triggers referendum.
- Measurement notes: 1) only binding referenda are considered; 2) referenda are considered when they exclude certain issues (e.g. budgetary questions) but not if they only include specific questions (e.g. referendum only possible for EU-Accession). (III) Completely missing: Taiwan, Philippines
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum: = 0; maximum=4
- Source(s): Hug/Tsebelis (2001); ACE, C2d; Cons; Electoral laws; Direct Democracy Navigator; Welp/Serdült 2009.

##### DD\_Quora

- Definition: Constitutional provisions for approval or participation quorum in direct democratic votes. If different rules apply for different instruments, the rule which applies for most instruments is taken.
- Measurement notes: (I) Approval quorum: 1-2\*approval quorum; Participation quorum: 1-participation quorum. Reason: to reach an approval quorum of 25%, at least 50% of the population must participate. (II) Countries with no direct democracy receive the value of the country with the highest quorum (0.4). (III) Completely missing: Taiwan, Phillippines
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum: = 0.4; maximum=1
- Source(s): Own calculations based on: Kaufmann, ACM, Venice Commission, C2D, Herrera/Mattozzi, Auer/Bützer, Rodrigo Salazar.

### 3. No distortion [REP\_SR3]

#### Gallagindex

- Definition: Index of disproportionality between vote and seat distributions according to the Gallagher "Least Squares Index" for all parties in general election (reversed). Where  $v_i$  is the percentage of votes obtained by  $i$ th party and  $s_i$  is the percentage of seats obtained by  $i$ th party.  
$$\sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^m (v_i - s_i)^2}$$
- Measurement notes: (I) The scale was reversed by multiplying values by -1. (II) The variable was weighted in the years in which general elections took place in order to take into account that elections divide the year into two periods with different values for the Gallagher Index. On the basis of the number of days between January 1 and December 31 two numeric values were calculated expressing every period's share in days before and after the day of general elections. These expressions were used to calculate a weighted average of the Gallagher Index for the respective years. (III) All countries: missing values replaced by nearest (precedent) year: Poland 1990; South Africa 1990-1993. (IV) India replaced by own calculations based on Nohlen et al. (2001) India not weighted in election years. (V) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections).
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = -45.82; maximum = -0.18.
- Source(s): WZB.

#### Issuecongr

- Definition: Congruence between distribution of left/right positions among voters and distribution of left/right positions among members of parliament (measured by party positions). Calculated as follows: (1) Each party was assigned to one of three categories (left/middle/right), which were calculated on the basis of the mean and standard deviation of the distribution of left/right positions of all parties for a given election (e.g. left range: left of 1 standard deviation). The distribution of the three categories within parliaments was then calculated by taking into account the seat shares of the different parties. (2) Voters, i.e. survey respondents, were assigned to one of three categories (left/middle/right) according to their self-placement on a left-right scale. The three categories were determined by subdividing the left-right scale (either ranging from 1-10 or 0-10) on the grounds of mean and standard deviation. The distribution of voters across the three categories was then calculated and the values averaged across 5 years (1990-1995; 1996-2000, 2001-2005 etc.) (3) For each of the categories, the differences between the seat shares in parliament and among voters were calculated. These issue differences for each category are then added and divided by 2. This gives a scale (theoretically) ranging from 0-100, where 0 = complete congruence and 100 = complete incongruence between voters and parliament. (4) The scale was reversed by subtracting values from 100.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values for left-right placement of parties and/or voters' self-placement were replaced by values from nearest (preceding) year. All countries: Missing values for 2008-2014 replaced by values from 2007. (II) Completely missing and imputed: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovia, Guatemala, India, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Philippines, Serbia, South Africa, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Ukraine. Imputation is based on a linear regression with the indicator Gallagindex (see above) (Pearsons  $r$  is 0.124). The regression coefficients used are  $\alpha = 78.862$  and  $\beta = 0.589$ .
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 23.98; maximum = 97.32.
- Source(s): own calculation based on Altman et al. (2009), CMP, Coppedge (1997), CSES, EB, EES, ESS, ISS, IPU, LAPOP, LB, PELA, PDoA, Wiesehomeier/Benoit (2009), Wikipedia, WVS, WZB.

## DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION [REP\_DR]

### 1. No legal constraints for inclusion of minorities [REP\_DR1]

#### Polrightwom

- Definition: This variable measures the political rights of women, including 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. Coding is based on US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices.
- Categories: 0 = None of women's political rights are guaranteed by law. There are laws that completely restrict the participation of women in the political process; 1 = Political equality is guaranteed by law. However, there are significant limitations in practice. Women hold less than five percent of seats in the national legislature and in other high-ranking government positions; 2 = Political equality is guaranteed by law. 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 = Political equality is 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.
- Measurement notes: (I) Malta: missings 1990-2000 replaced by value 2001; missing 2002 replaced by mean value of 2001 and 2003. Slovenia: 1991 replaced by value of 1992. South Africa 1995 replaced by mean value of 1994 and 1996. Bolivia: Missing values for 1992-1993 replaced by values from 1991. Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia: Missing values for 1990-1991 replaced by values from 1992 (II) Coding of Serbia and Montenegro: 1990-1999 and 2003-2005 based on values for Serbia-Montenegro. 2000-2002 based on values for Yugoslavia, Fed. Republic. Thereafter, separate values for Serbia and Montenegro are available. (III) All countries: Missing values for 2012-2014 replaced by values from 2011
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 3.
- Source(s): CIRI.

#### Constraints

- Definition: Measures the existence of constraints regarding passive suffrage and inverses the score: 8-Sum of 5 different indicators:
  - o *Age*: Different constraints of age regarding passive suffrage in the national parliament (if bicameral parliament: lower chamber); Categories: 0 = to be entitled to passive suffrage at the age of 18 or before; 1 = to be entitled to passive suffrage at the age between 19 and 24; 2 = to be entitled to passive suffrage at the age of 25 or after.
  - o *Citizenship*: measures if citizenship is a precondition for passive suffrage in the national parliament (if bicameral parliament: lower chamber); Categories: 0 = citizenship is no precondition for passive suffrage; 1 = citizenship is a precondition for passive suffrage.
  - o *Citizenship by birth*: measures if citizenship BY BIRTH is a precondition for passive suffrage in the national parliament (if bicameral parliament: lower chamber); Categories: 0 = citizenship by birth is no precondition for passive suffrage; 1 = citizenship by birth is a precondition for passive suffrage.
  - o *Offices*: measures the number of incompatible offices regarding passive suffrage by coding: 1) incompatibility with other elected posts; 2) exclusion of high civil servants; 3) exclusion of high military and/or police officers; 4) exclusion of all civil servants; 5) exclusion of all members of security or military forces; 5) existence of compulsory military service. Categories: 0 = incompatible with other elected political posts such as: presidency, government minister, Prime Minister, member in other parliament (e.g. local or European parliament), high judges (e.g. federal judge or judge of supreme court); members of electoral commissions; 1 = exclusion of high members of civil service or security forces; 2 = exclusion of all civil servants or all members of the military forces (no

compulsory service); 3 = exclusion of all members of the military forces and compulsory military service.

- *Others*: measures the existence of other constraints regarding passive suffrage (besides requirements necessary for the active suffrage); Categories: 0 = no, there are no other constraints; 1 = yes, there are other constraints (e.g. imprisonment; extended naturalization period; membership in certain organizations).
- Measurement notes: Taiwan completely missing
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 7
- Source(s): IPU-Chronicles.

## Partreg

- Definition: Ban of ethnic minority parties. Categories: 0 = there is a ban of ethnic minority parties; 1 = no parties are banned. If regional parties are banned the variable is coded as 0.
- Measurement notes: (I) Malta and Iceland are completely missing: since there are no ethnic minority groups in these countries the variable is coded as 1. (II) Czech Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Slovakia: missing values 1990-1992 replaced by value of 1993.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 1
- Source(s): IAEP

## 2. Adequate representation of women [REP\_DR2]

### Womrep

- Definition: Proportion of female representatives in the lower house of parliament in % of all seats.
- Measurement notes: (I) Completely missing values for Kosovo, Taiwan (II) Values of Serbia and Montenegro refer to Serbia-Montenegro 1990-2005. (III) Values are coded as of the election year and copied to the whole electoral period. (III) Slovenia: missing value 1991 replaced by value of 1992; Bolivia: Missing values for 1997 and 1998 replaced by values from 1996; Colombia, Honduras, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Paraguay, Philippines, Slovakia, Uruguay: missings 1990-1993 replaced by value from 1994 in democratic years; Ecuador, El Salvador, Estonia: missings 1990-1991 replaced by value from 1992 in democratic years.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1.0; maximum = 47.3.
- Source(s): Armingeon et al. (2010), Vanhanen (2008), IPU, WB

### Womgov

- Definition: Proportion of female representatives in the government (incl. ministerial positions)
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values (All countries: 1990-1994; 1997, 2002-2004, 2007-2008; Argentina 2010-2012, Austria 2012, Belgium 2010, Bolivia 1999-2004, 2010-2012; Brazil 2010-2012; Bulgaria 2010; Canada 2010-2012; Chile 2010-2012, Cyprus 1999-2004, 2010; Czech Republic 1999-2004, 2010; Denmark 2010; Dominican Republic 1999-2004; 2007-2012; Ecuador 2010-2012; El Salvador 2010-2011; France 2010; Greece 2010; Guatemala 2010-2011; Honduras 2007-2012; Iceland 2010; India 2010-2012; Japan 2010-2012, Latvia 2010; Macedonia 2010-2012; Malta 2010; Moldova 1999-2004; 2010-2011; Montenegro 2010-2011; Nicaragua 2010-2011; Panama 2010-2011; Paraguay 1999-2004, 2010-2011; Peru 2010-2011; Philippines 1999-2004, 2010-2011, Poland 2010; Romania 2010; South Africa 2010-2011; Thailand 2010-2011; Ukraine 1999-2004, 2010-2011; United Kingdom 2010; United States 2010-2011; Uruguay 1999-2004, 2010-2011; Venezuela 2010-2011, South Korea 1990-2012) were replaced by values from nearest (if possible precedent) year, but only in democratic periods. (II) Kosovo, Taiwan completely missing.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 60.0.
- Source(s): HDR, UNECE.

### 3. Effective access to power for minorities [REP\_DR3]

#### Minrep

- Definition: Index of descriptive representation of autochthonous ethnic minority groups in the lower chamber of parliament. Ethnic minority groups are selected on the basis of politically relevant ethnic groups according to EPR-ETH (groups > 1%). Descriptive representation is defined as the representation of minority groups through members of their own ethnic groups. Proportionality of descriptive representation is measured as a reversed Gallagher index:  $MinRep = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^m (s_i - r_i)^2$ , where  $s_i$  refers to a group's share in the population and  $r_i$  to the share of descriptive representatives in parliament. The index is restricted at 1 in order not to correct for overrepresentation.
- Measurement notes: (I) Values between elections are copied from previous election. (II) Homogeneous countries (Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden, and South Korea) receive the highest value in the sample (1). (III) Missing values for indigenous groups in Latin America were replaced by 0 for the 1990s if the first available value was 0 (because it is highly unlikely that indigenous representation was higher in earlier time periods). (IV) Values for Bosnia-Herzegovina refer to party sizes. (V) Values for the United Kingdom refer to MPs in the regions (Scots, Wales). (VI) South Africa: Minority groups were recoded into "black" and "non-black", or "white" and "non-white" for the Apartheid period, respectively. Afrikaans ("whites") in South Africa are not coded as the minority group up to 1994 because they were the dominant group. (VII) Completely missing countries (Austria, Italy, India, Dominican Republic) were imputed with MAR's variable on political discrimination. (VIII) Missing values replaced with values from adjacent years (Estonia 1991, 2012-14; Latvia 1991, 2012-14; Lithuania 1991, 2012-14; Nicaragua 1991-1994, Thailand 1993-1995; Turkey 1990-2012; Venezuela 1990-1993)
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 4.
- Source(s): HRR, Hänni (2015), MAR.

#### Minpower

- Definition: Access to central power by ethnic minority groups (mean of all countries).
- Categories: 1 = discriminated; 2 = powerless; 3 = regional or separatist autonomy; 4 = junior partner; 5 = senior partner.
- Measurement notes: 1) majority groups were deleted from the dataset; 2) Indigenous population in Bolivia and Guatemala is coded as minority group even though they are in a numerical majority. 3) Afrikaans in South Africa are not coded as the minority group up to 1994 because they were the dominant group. 4) Homogenous countries receive the highest value in the sample (4.33). (V) All countries: Missing values 2014 replaced by values from 2013.
- Range of values (not standardized): minimum = 1; maximum = 4.33
- Source: Cederman et al. (2013)

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<http://aceproject.org>
- ACEA Adam Carr's Election Archive.  
<http://psephos.adma-carr.net>
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[http://www.achpr.org/english/ratifications/ratification\\_african%20charter.pdf](http://www.achpr.org/english/ratifications/ratification_african%20charter.pdf)
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<http://www.afrobarometer.org>
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- AsnB Asian Barometer  
<http://www.asianbarometer.org/>
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- BCNTS Banks Cross-National Time-Series Data Archive.

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| <b>CD</b>                   | Comtrade Database (UN).<br><a href="http://comtrade.un.org">http://comtrade.un.org</a>  |
| <b>CDA</b>                  | CentralAmericiaData.<br><a href="http://www.centralamericadata.com/es/article/home/Costa_Rica_y_El_Salvador_sin_Ley_de_Acceso_a_Informacion">http://www.centralamericadata.com/es/article/home/Costa_Rica_y_El_Salvador_sin_Ley_de_Acceso_a_Informacion</a>                             |
| <b>CIA</b>                  | CIA World Factbook.   |
| <b>CIRI</b>                 | The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset.<br><a href="http://ciri.binghamton.edu/index.asp">http://ciri.binghamton.edu/index.asp</a>  |
| <b>CMP</b>                  | Comparative Manifestos Project Data Set.<br><a href="http://www.wzb.eu/zkd/dsl/Projekte/projekte-manifesto.en.htm">http://www.wzb.eu/zkd/dsl/Projekte/projekte-manifesto.en.htm</a>   |
| <b>CoE</b>                  | Council of Europe (1998). Prohibition of political parties and analogous measures report.<br><a href="http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/1998/CDL-INF(1998)014-e.asp">http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/1998/CDL-INF(1998)014-e.asp</a>  |
| <b>CON</b>                  | Specific constitution of every country.   |

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|                         | <a href="http://confinder.richmond.edu">http://confinder.richmond.edu</a>  |
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| CTOCIDTP                | Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment<br><a href="http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&amp;mtmsg_no=IV-9&amp;chapter=4&amp;lang=en#7">http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&amp;mtmsg_no=IV-9&amp;chapter=4&amp;lang=en#7</a>  |
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| EB                      | Eurobarometer Trend File<br><a href="http://www.gesis.org/?id=798">http://www.gesis.org/?id=798</a>  |
| ECPHRFF                 | European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms  |
| EES                     | European Election Survey<br><a href="http://www.ees-homepage.net/">http://www.ees-homepage.net/</a>  |



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| Eurofound              | European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.<br><a href="http://www.eurofound.europa.eu">http://www.eurofound.europa.eu</a>   |
| EUROSTAT               | European Commission. Eurostat – key to European statistics.<br><a href="http://epp-eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home">http://epp-eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home</a>   |
| EV                     | Early Voting. United States.<br><a href="http://www.earlyvoting.net/blog/2010/05/balloting-busy">http://www.earlyvoting.net/blog/2010/05/balloting-busy</a>  |
| FH                     | Freedom House. Freedom of the Press.<br><a href="http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=16">http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=16</a>  |
| FI                     | Freedominfo.org The global network of freedom of information advocates<br><br>www.freedominfo.org  |
| GALLAGHER              | Election indices<br>( <a href="http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/E%20Systems/Docs/ElectionIndices.pdf">www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/E%20Systems/Docs/ElectionIndices.pdf</a> ); also see: Gallagher, Michael (1991). Proportionality, disproportionality and electoral systems. <i>Comparative Electoral Studies</i> 10(1): 33-51. Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (2008; eds). <i>The Politics of Electoral Systems</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press. |
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| IAEP                | Institutions and Elections Project Dataset.<br><a href="http://cdp.binghamton.edu/IAEP.htm">http://cdp.binghamton.edu/IAEP.htm</a>  |
| ICCPR               | International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights<br><a href="http://treaties.un.org/Pages/Treaties.aspx?id=4&amp;subid=A&amp;lang=en">http://treaties.un.org/Pages/Treaties.aspx?id=4&amp;subid=A&amp;lang=en</a>   |
| ICESCR              | International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights<br><a href="http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&amp;mtdsg_no=IV-3&amp;chapter=4&amp;lang=en">http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&amp;mtdsg_no=IV-3&amp;chapter=4&amp;lang=en</a> |
| ICRG                | International Country Risk Guide.<br><a href="http://www.prsgroup.com/ICRG.aspx">http://www.prsgroup.com/ICRG.aspx</a>  |
| IDEA-F              | Political Finance Database. International IDEA.<br><a href="http://www.idea.int/parties/finance/db/">http://www.idea.int/parties/finance/db/</a>  |
| IDEA-T              | Voter turnout. International IDEA.<br><a href="http://www.idea.int/vt">http://www.idea.int/vt</a>   |
| IEF                 | Index of Economic Freedom. Heritage Foundation.<br><a href="http://www.heritage.org/index">http://www.heritage.org/index</a>  |
| ILO                 | International Labour Organization.<br><a href="http://www.ilo.org">http://www.ilo.org</a>   |
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| IRI                    | Initiative and Referendum Institute.<br><a href="http://www.iandrinstitute.org/">http://www.iandrinstitute.org/</a>   |
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| ISS                    | International Social Survey (2004)<br><a href="http://www.issp.org/">http://www.issp.org/</a>   |
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| OSCE                     | Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe<br><a href="http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr-el/2009/07/38973_en.pdf">http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr-el/2009/07/38973_en.pdf</a>    |
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| PDoA                     | Political Database of the Americas. Georgetown University.<br><a href="http://pdba.georgetown.edu">http://pdba.georgetown.edu</a>  |
| PELA                     | Elites Parlamentarias de América Latina.<br><a href="http://americo.usal.es/oir/Elites/bases_de_datos.htm">http://americo.usal.es/oir/Elites/bases_de_datos.htm</a>                              |
| PTS                      | Political Terror Scale.<br><a href="http://www.politicalterroryscale.org">http://www.politicalterroryscale.org</a>   |
| QoG                      | The Quality of Government Institute.<br><a href="http://www.qog.pol.gu.se">http://www.qog.pol.gu.se</a>  |

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| UCI                    | University of California: The Election Turnout Database.<br><a href="http://www.democ.uci.edu/resources/archive.php">http://www.democ.uci.edu/resources/archive.php</a>   |
| UNECE                  | United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.<br><a href="http://www.unece.org">http://www.unece.org</a>   |
| UNODC                  | United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime<br><a href="http://www.unodc.org/">http://www.unodc.org/</a>   |
| UNUDHR                 | United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights<br><a href="http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml">http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml</a>   |
| UNSTATS                | United Nations Statistics Division.<br><a href="http://unstats.un.org">http://unstats.un.org</a>  |
| USEP                   | United States Elections Project.<br><a href="http://elections.gmu.edu">http://elections.gmu.edu</a>   |
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| <b>WGI</b>                        | Worldwide Governance Indicators. World Bank.<br><a href="http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp">http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp</a> |
| <b>WHO</b>                        | World Health Organization: SDR, homicide and intentional injury (different issues).<br><a href="http://www.who.int/research/en">http://www.who.int/research/en</a>  |
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| <b>WP</b>                         | Worldpress.<br><a href="http://www.worldpress.org">http://www.worldpress.org</a>  |
| <b>WPT</b>                        | World Press Trends. Different issues. Paris: Zenithmedia.   |
| <b>WVS</b>                        | World Values Survey.<br><a href="http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/">http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/</a>   |
| <b>WZB</b>                        | Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin.  |

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