Institutional Constraints and Fiscal Policy Stability *

Hao Wang *Arizona State University*

Veto player theory (Tsebelis, 2002) predicts that the number of veto players influencing policy stabilities. While studies in OECD countries have shown supportive evidence (Tsebelis and Chang, 2004), there is few work on policy stability in nondemocracies. This project uses a new dataset from GSRE (Global State Revenues and Expenditures dataset) and performs an empirical test on veto player / institutional constraint and budget stability in nondemocratic countries. Results show that there is at most moderate support that institutional constriants (veto players) lead to incremental budget changes, coefficients hardly achieve significant levels. Besides, our results show little evidence on Punctual Equilibrium Theory (PET): higher institutional constraints are not directly related to budget punctuations.

Keywords: veto player, public policy, budget, punctuations

Introduction

Veto player theory (Tsebelis, 2002) defines 'veto players' as individuals or institutions whose agreement is required for a change of the status quo. This theory predicts that: when the number of veto players increase, the winning set that can defeat status quo will shrink, which in turn leads to higher policy stability. Since veto player is ultimately related to the level of institutional constraints, a corollary is that institutional checks leads to more stable, incremental policy outcomes. With many checks and balances in the government, it will be harder to move policies from status quo equilibrium.

Tsebelis and Chang (2004) apply veto player theory in the budget changes of the 19 OECD countries. In their analysis, parties with more polarized positions are modeled as potential veto players who could have blocked the policy proposals. Their results show that countries with more veto players have more stable budget policies.

On the other hand, veto player theory also implies that more veto players make politicians harder to adjust current policies. This is particularly salient in countries with multiple veto players (e.g. the United States). During some time periods with exogenous shocks, the policy stability can be harmful and politicians may react to the long-time stability with rapid changes of policies, which forms a policy punctuation.

This theoretical expectation leads to another potential hypothesis: the amount of veto power may leads to larger policy punctuation. Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) (John and Bevan, 2012, Jones and Baumgartner (2014)) argues that government budget shifts over due to the over-attention and under-attention to certain policy areas. Consequently it features with long periods of stability and short periods of radical changes.

*Replication files are available on the author's Github account (http://github.com/haowang666). **Current version**: April 13, 2017

Considering the institutional constraints, we also want to test the effect of veto player on policy punctuation.

Our study contributes to the existing literature in two parts: First, with the newly released GSRE data, we extend the coverage to a much broader sample size. Till now most empirical studies on budget changes are drawn from OECD countries, although a few studies have started looking at nondemocratic cases, they are mostly cases studies (Baumgartner et al., 2017, Lam and Chan (2015)). Second, we systematically evaluate the two theories. Our results show that institutional constraints lead to more stable policy changes. However, there is little evidence that institutional constraints lead to policy punctuation.

Argument

Institutional Constraints

Institutional Constraints lead to more stable budget policies.

Policy Punctuations

Veto player $\Rightarrow$ unable to change policy rapidly $\Rightarrow$ long term incremental changes and short-term rapid changes $\Rightarrow$ punctual equilibrium (Epp and Baumgartner, 2016; Keefer and Stasavage, 2003).

Data

Data in this project comes from various sources. The dependent variable comes from the GSRE project (Global State Revenues and Expenditures data set). GSRE is a comprehensive budget data set based on the previous released historical documents from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Comparing with the IMF COFOG data set, GSRE increases coverage and accuracy of budgeting data for most authoritarian regimes and some democratic regimes. Since GSRE is built on IMF historical documents, it covers all independent states that have been or are the members of the IMF and are being coded as an authoritarian regime in the (Geddes, Wright and Frantz, 2014) data set.

Data on deliberative democracies and other regime-related variables come from the Varieties of Democracy (Vdem) project (Coppedge et al., 2016). Unlike the widely used democracy index like Polity (Marshall, Gurr and Jaggers, 2015), Vdem provides multidimensional measurements of regimes, including both democracies and autocracies.

Data on institutional constraints come from the political constraints index (POLCON) (Henisz, 2000). Political constraint index measures the risk of policy changes. Henisz uses a quantitative model to capture the competitiveness portion of the definition of democracy (competitiveness and participation) with a proxy of number of independent veto points over policy outcomes and distribution of preferences of those actors. POLCON is based on strong assumptions about each actors veto power. In the newest version, mea-

sure is also modified to take into account the extent of alignment across branches of government using data on the party composition of the executive and legislative branches.

Data on division of power draws from the Political Institution Index (Beck et al., 2001).

Measuring Dependent Variables

To evaluate the budget-stability hypothesis and punctual equilibrium hypothesis, we create two different dependent variables. The volatility index measures the budget shifts of a certain country at a single time point. We use L-Kurtosis score to measure the degree of punctuation (peakness).

Volatility Index

I measure the budget stability as the simple euclidean distance of the between-year percentage differences. It can be written in the following equation: S_{jt} is the volatility index of the *jth* country at a certain year t. Since government budget has various categories: p_{jit} denotes the percentage of ith category out of total expenditure of the country j at year t. S_{jt} will increase as the difference between p_{it} and p_{it-1} increases.

$$S_{jt} = \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^{i}(p_{jit} - p_{jit-1})^2} \tag{1}$$

For the percentage of each expenditure term p_{it}, $p_{it} \in [0, 1]$, S_{jt} has the same boundary as $[0, 1]$. Larger score means more volatile budget policies.

L-Kurtosis Score

To evaluate the distribution of budget shifts, we calculated the L-Kurtosis score of policy changes of each country across the available time spans. Specifically, we calculate the between-year difference of budget percentages, and then using L-Kurtosis statistics to find the L-Kurtosis (LK) score. L-Kurtosis (LK) is the 4th L-moment of the moment statistics. It is used to summarize the peakness of the variable distributions. An L-Kurtosis score of 0.123 approximates a Gaussian distribution (also see (Baumgartner et al., 2017; Breunig and Jones, 2011)). Higher LK score means heavy tails and high peaks. Figure 1 shows an example of LK score and distributions. In this figure, the red line has a LK score of 0.84, makes it more 'punctuated' than the blue line: it features long-time incremental changes and short-term radical shifts (for detailed calculation, check (Hosking, 1990)).

Independent Variables

We two major independent variables: In the horizontal level: veto players are different government divisions and political parties. In the vertical level, a strong local government with independent fiscal abilities can act as a strong veto players well.

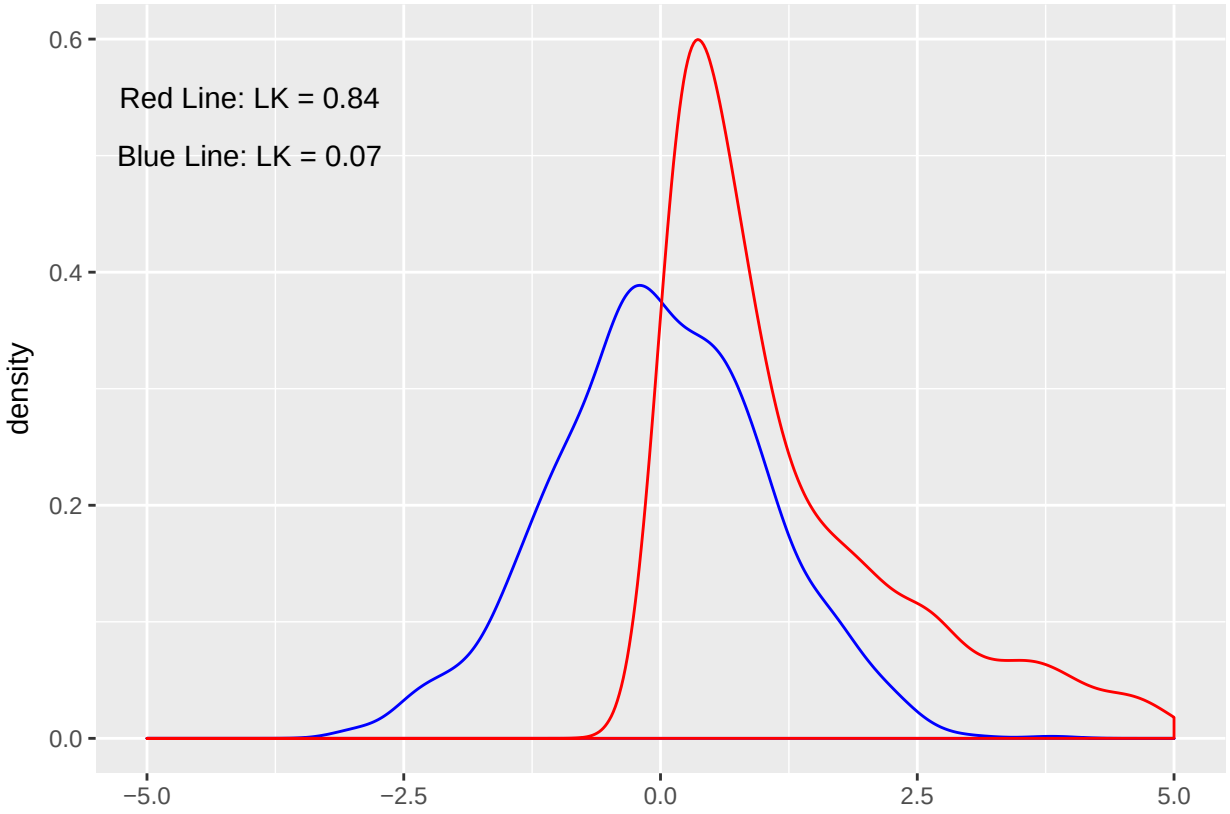

Figure 1: LK Score Example

Horizontal Level

We use two measurements of institutional constraints: POLCON index (Henisz, 2000) and Party Institutionalization Index (Coppedge et al., 2016).

Vertical Level

Regional authority index, modeled by the state government authority over taxation (Beck et al., 2001).

Corruption

From Vdem Project (Coppedge et al., 2016)

Other Controls

Education, GDP, GDP grow rate, inequality, Democracy Indices, etc .

Method and Results

GSRE data set contain lots of missing data, we did 5 multiple imputations and report results of the original dependent variable as well as the 5 imputed ones.

Table 1 reports pooled OLS result. Table 2 reports fixed effect result. Table 4 reports L-Kurtosis score result. Table 3 reports twoway fixed effect result, as a robustness check.

, (Beck and Katz, 2011)

Pooled OLS with Lagged DV and Panel Corrected Standard Errors

First we conduct a pooled model with lagged dependent variable and panel corrected standard standard errors (Beck and Katz, 1995).

$$S_{jt} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 S_{jt-1} + \beta_2 Cont_{jt} + \beta_3 Party_{jt} + \beta_4 Corrupt_{jt} + \mathbf{Z}\beta + \epsilon_{jt} \tag{2}$$

Fixed Effect Panel Data

$$S_{jt} = a_i + \beta_2 Cont_{jt} + \beta_3 Party_{jt} + \beta_4 Corrupt_{jt} + \mathbf{Z}\beta + \epsilon_{jt} \tag{3}$$

Fiexed Effect with Two Way Effects

$$S_{jt} = a_i + \lambda_t + \beta_2 Cont_{jt} + \beta_3 Party_{jt} + \beta_4 Corrupt_{jt} + \mathbf{Z}\beta + \epsilon_{jt} \tag{4}$$

Table 1: Lagged DV with PCSE

	Dependent variable:					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Constraints	−0.004	−0.014	−0.016	−0.014	−0.019	−0.023
	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Party	−0.036***	−0.002	−0.006	−0.010	−0.005	0.005
	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Consult	0.006**	−0.003	−0.004	−0.003	−0.004	−0.002
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Federalism	−0.001	0.014	0.008	0.023**	0.011	0.020**
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Corruption	0.006	0.022*	0.025**	0.023*	0.026**	0.026**
	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Polity	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.0004	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Censorship	−0.006**	0.007**	0.010***	0.009***	0.009***	0.008***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Education	0.001	−0.001	−0.0005	−0.001	−0.0003	−0.0004
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
GDP pc	−0.00001	0.011***	0.012***	0.014***	0.012***	0.011***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Constant	0.089***	0.030	0.034	0.016	0.030	0.029
	(0.027)	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Observations	3,381	3,381	3,381	3,381	3,381	3,381
R^2	0.025	0.244	0.230	0.205	0.230	0.228

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
DV: Stability Index, higher value indicates more volatile policies

Table 2: Fixed Effect Regression Results

	Dependent variable:					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Constraints	−0.025	−0.035	−0.030	−0.010	−0.022	−0.051**
	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Party	−0.010	0.032	−0.016	0.007	0.004	0.007
	(0.023)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Consult	−0.005	0.002	0.001	0.004	−0.0003	0.007
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Federalism	0.021	0.012	−0.0003	0.042**	0.024	0.012
	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Corruption	−0.066**	−0.141***	−0.124***	−0.129***	−0.126***	−0.097***
	(0.026)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.030)
Polity	0.002	0.002*	0.001	−0.0005	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Censorship	0.008*	−0.002	0.010*	0.005	0.006	0.004
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Education	−0.006*	−0.00002	−0.001	−0.002	−0.002	−0.001
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
GDP pc	0.017*	0.014	0.010	0.019	0.014	0.018
	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Observations	3,482	3,482	3,482	3,482	3,482	3,482
R^2	0.008	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.011

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

DV: Stability Index, higher value indicates more volatile policies

Table 3: Two Way Fixed Effect Regression Results

	Dependent variable:					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Constraints	0.009	−0.038	−0.007	0.001	−0.016	−0.038
	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Party	−0.007	0.030	−0.021	0.007	−0.003	0.006
	(0.023)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Consult	0.001	0.008	0.005	0.010*	0.004	0.012**
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Federalism	0.019	0.027	0.011	0.065***	0.034	0.026
	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Corruption	−0.045	−0.118***	−0.117***	−0.089***	−0.122***	−0.070**
	(0.028)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Polity	−0.0004	0.001	−0.001	−0.001	0.0002	−0.0003
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Censorship	0.006	−0.002	0.011**	0.003	0.007	0.005
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Education	0.004	0.010*	0.008	0.015***	0.010*	0.012**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
GDP pc	0.016	0.017	0.003	0.016	0.008	0.014
	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Observations	3,656	3,656	3,656	3,656	3,656	3,656
R^2	0.006	0.014	0.015	0.017	0.016	0.014

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
DV: Stability Index, higher value indicates more volatile policies

Table 4: OLS Regression with L-Kurtosis as Dependent Variable

	Dependent variable:					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Constraints	0.0002	0.002	0.001	0.001	−0.002	0.003
	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Party	−0.004	0.002	−0.0004	0.0004	0.001	0.002
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Consult	−0.0003	0.0003	0.00002	0.0005	0.0002	0.0004
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Federalism	0.003	−0.00004	−0.001	0.002	−0.0001	0.002
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Corruption	0.002	0.004*	0.004*	0.006***	0.006***	0.004**
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Polity	0.0001	−0.00002	0.0001	0.00002	−0.00000	−0.0001
	(0.0003)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
Censorship	0.001	0.0004	0.0003	−0.0004	0.001	0.001*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Education	0.001*	−0.0004*	0.0002	−0.0003	−0.0001	−0.0002
	(0.0004)	(0.0002)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
GDP pc	0.001	0.001	0.0001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	−0.007	0.004	0.010*	0.002	0.004	0.003
	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Observations	117	117	117	117	117	117
R^2	0.182	0.096	0.074	0.143	0.108	0.182
Adjusted R^2	0.096	0.001	−0.023	0.053	0.014	0.096
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

OLS with L-Kurtosis

Discussion

Constraint Index does not appear to be statistically significant in all models. Corruption needs more attention.

Appendix

Descriptive Statistics

Here I provide summary statistics of the variables I used in this study

summary statistics of deliberative democracy

Table 5: Deliberative Democracy Statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Deliberative Democracy	6,373	0.201	0.225	0.001	0.881
Justification on Public Policy	6,382	−0.067	1.226	−3.125	3.415
Justification on Common Goods	6,382	0.083	1.153	−3.394	2.868
Respect for Counterarguments	6,382	−0.526	1.297	−3.257	2.726
Range of Consultation	6,382	−0.194	1.267	−3.211	3.713
Range of Engagement	6,382	−0.266	1.311	−3.244	3.159

summary statistics on institutional constriants

Table 6: Institutional Constraints

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Judical Constraints	6,382	0.450	0.269	0.006	0.979
Legislative Constraints	6,354	0.385	0.282	0.024	0.959
Institutionalization of Party	6,381	0.492	0.273	0.006	0.986
Institutionalizaed Democracy	5,904	2.874	3.609	0	10
Institutionalizaed Autocracy	5,904	4.403	3.517	0	10
Political Constraints Index-5	5,296	0.222	0.290	0.000	0.890
Political Constraints Index-3	6,079	0.147	0.196	0.000	0.688

summary statistics on federalism

summary statistics on curruption and election irregularities

summary statistics on other control variables

dependent variable components

In the following table I report the components of dependent variables. It is measured as the percentage expenditure of total expenditure. Two indicators are dropped out in

Table 7: Division of Power (centrl-regional) Index

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Division of Power	5,774	0.304	0.330	0.000	0.991
Regional Government Power	5,782	−0.325	1.286	−2.664	2.775
Local Government Power	5,852	0.013	1.249	−2.733	2.326

Table 8: Corruption and Election Irregularities

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Corruption Index	6,382	0.552	0.232	0.028	0.946
Executive Corruption Index	6,382	0.564	0.264	0.018	0.979
Vote Buying	1,531	−0.090	1.328	−3.033	3.228
Election Irregularities	1,531	−0.175	1.348	−3.095	3.290

Table 9: Other Control Variables

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Media Censorship	6,382	−0.311	1.434	−3.036	3.316
Education	6,184	4.470	2.691	0.004	13.285
GDP pp(logged)	5,839	7.629	0.886	5.315	10.667
GDP growth	5,807	1.763	6.388	−61.493	86.946
Income Inequality	4,137	42.720	10.359	15.000	73.900
Civial War	6,200	0.090	0.286	0	1
Oil Production Per Capita	6,164	347.425	2,506.486	0.000	78,588.800

the further analysis due to technical concerns. The variable `subpentrans` contains too few points, and the variable `pensions` must be dropped due to the convergence issue in multiple imputation.

Table 10: Components of Budget Stability Measurements

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
expend_security_EXP	3,034	0.166	0.123	0.000	0.712
expenddefence_EXP	2,418	0.143	0.119	0.00001	0.712
exp_public_order_EXP	1,300	0.059	0.034	0.000	0.248
wagessalaries_EXP	3,981	0.293	0.128	0.00000	0.859
pensions_EXP	1,131	0.058	0.065	0.000	0.392
total_welfare_EXP	2,927	0.238	0.127	0.00003	0.920
education_EXP	2,624	0.133	0.061	0.00002	0.388
health_EXP	2,337	0.058	0.032	0.00001	0.212
social_protection_EXP	1,451	0.055	0.073	0.000	0.599
housing_EXP	1,084	0.035	0.036	0.000	0.420
owelfarespend_EXP	1,334	0.067	0.077	0.00000	0.510

dependent variable statistics

Table 11: Volatility Index Table

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Original	5,299	0.103	0.144	0.00000	1.110
Imputation 1	5,299	0.249	0.176	0.00001	1.318
Imputation 2	5,299	0.256	0.172	0.00001	1.085
Imputation 3	5,299	0.245	0.171	0.00001	1.810
Imputation 4	5,299	0.253	0.173	0.00001	1.121
Imputation 5	5,299	0.249	0.169	0.00001	1.064

Missing Cases

GSRE contains lots of missing cases. To avoid losing statistical powers and potential bias due to list-wise deletion, this article employs multiple imputation of the GSRE part data. Results reported in the paper are from the first imputation. Appendix includes the rest 4 imputations.

The total missing map is showing in the corresponding figure. In this table, the components represent the percentage expenditure of each sector in terms of total expenditure.

I also calculated results without multiple imputation: points that are missing in the GSRE data set is set to be 0. Theoretically in this situation missing cases will contribute

Table 12: LK Score Table

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Original	158	0.003	0.007	−0.015	0.053
Imputation 1	158	0.013	0.004	0.001	0.026
Imputation 2	158	0.013	0.004	−0.008	0.034
Imputation 3	158	0.013	0.004	0.001	0.030
Imputation 4	158	0.013	0.004	0.001	0.025
Imputation 5	158	0.013	0.004	0.001	0.022

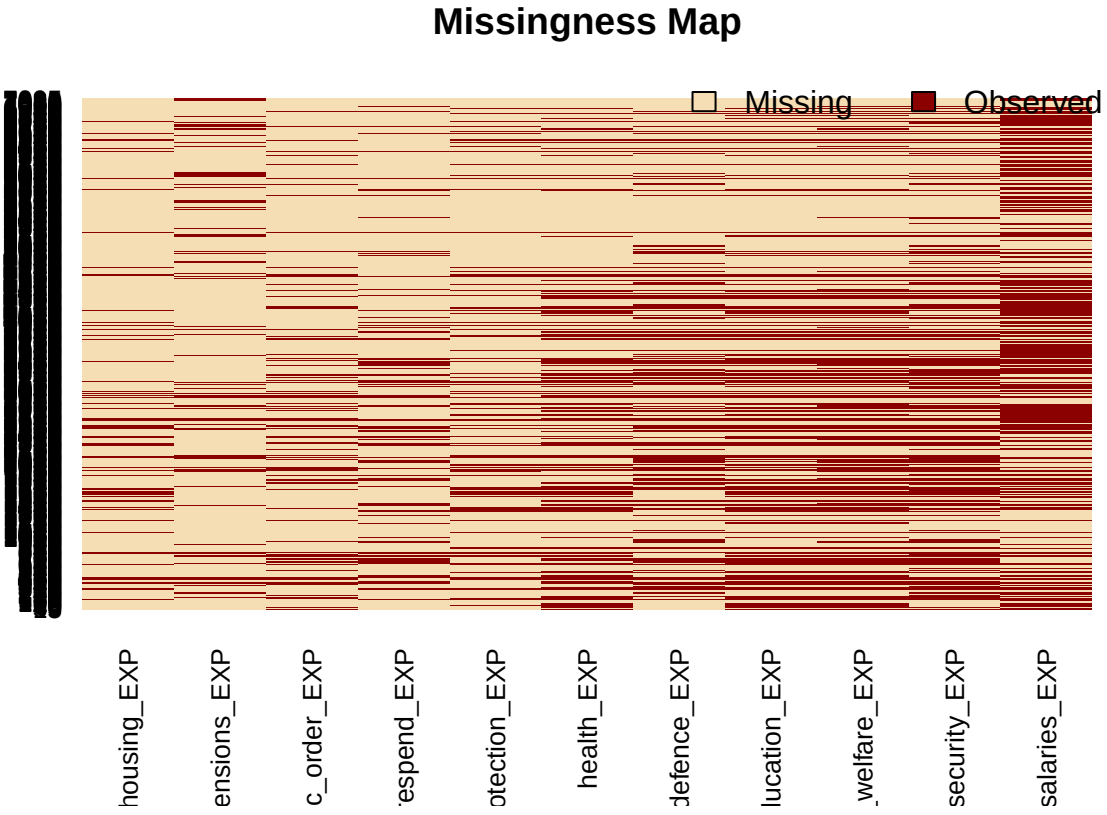

Figure 2: Missing Map

zero effects to the policy stability indicator. I calculate dependent variable while filling missing cases as 0. After the DV is imputed, I re-coded observations with 0 values as missing (This is because a completely missing case will yield 0 as the outcome).

The density plot of stability index without imputation is shown in the following figure

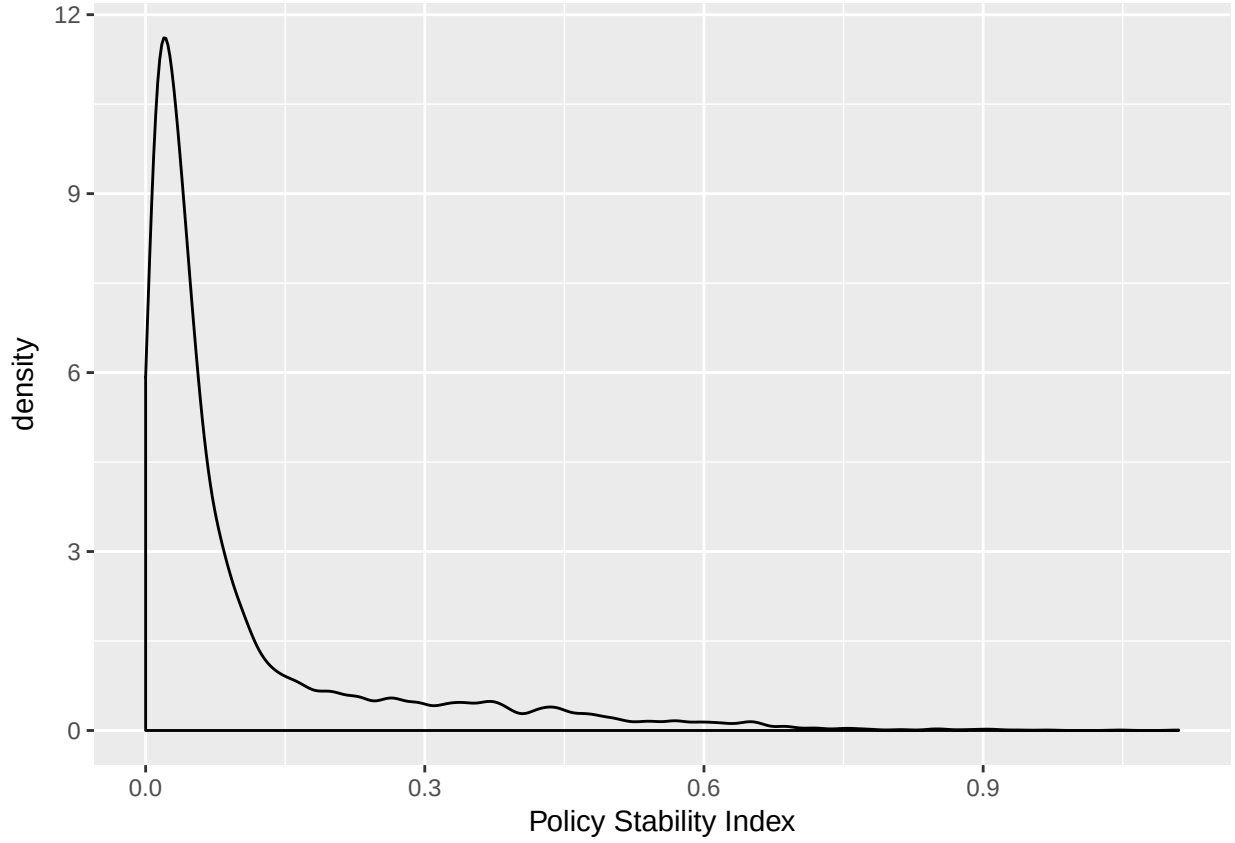

Figure 3: Policy Stability Index Density

The relationship between the raw DV and the imputed DV is shown in the following graph. Due to the page limits only the relationships between the original dependent variable and the first two imputed dependent variables are displayed here.

References

Baumgartner, Frank B., Marcello Carammia, Derek A. Epp, Ben Noble, Beatriz Ray and Tevfik Murat Yildrim. 2017. "Budget change in authoriatrian and democrartic regimes." *Journal of European Public Policy* .

Beck, Nathaniel and Jonathan Katz. 1995. "What to do (and not to do) with Time-Series-Cross-Section Data." *American Political Science Review* 89(3):634 – 647.

Beck, Nathaniel and Jonathan Katz. 2011. "Modeling Dynamics in Time-Series-Cross-Section Political Economy Data." *Annual Review of Political Science* 14(1):331 – 352.

Beck, Thorsten, George Clarke, Alberto Groff, Philip Keefer and Patrick Walsh. 2001. "New tools in comparative political economy: The Database of Political Institutions." *World Bank Economic Review* 15(1):165 – 176.

Breunig, Christian and Bryan D. Jones. 2011. "Stochastic Process Methods with BudBudget Data." *Political Analysis* 19(1):103 – 117.

Coppedge, Michael, John Gerring, Staffan I. Lindberg, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jan Teorell, David Altman, Frida Andersson, Michael Bernhard, M. Steven Fish, Adam Glynn, Allen Hicken, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Kelly McMann, Valeriya Mechkova, Farhad Miri, Pamela Paxton, Daniel Pemstein, Rachel Sigman, Jeffrey Staton and Brigitte Zimmerman. 2016. V-Dem Codebook v6. Technical report Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project.

Epp, Derek A. and Frank B. Baumgartner. 2016. "Complexcity, Capacity and Budget Punctuations." *Policy Studies Journal* 00(00):1–16.

Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright and Erica Frantz. 2014. "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(2):313 – 331.

Henisz, Witold. 2000. "The Institutional Enivronment for Economic Growth." *Economics and Politics* 12(1):1 – 31.

Hosking, J. R. M. 1990. "L-Moments: Analysis and Estimation of Distributions Using Linear Combinations of Order Statistics." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 52(1):105 – 124.

John, Peter and Shaun Bevan. 2012. "What Are Policy Punctuations? Large Changes in the Legislative Agenda of the UK Government, 1911-2008." *Policy Studies Journal* 40(1):89–106.

Jones, Bryan D. and Frank B. Baumgartner. 2014. "From There to Here: Punctuated Equilibrium to the General Punctuation Thesis to a Theory of Government Information Processing." *Policy Studies Journal* 40(1):1 – 19.

Keefer, Philip and David Stasavage. 2003. "The Limits of Delegation: Veto Players, Central Bank Independence, and the Credibility of Monetary Policy." *American Political Science Review* 97(3):407 – 423.

Lam, Wai Fung and Kwan Nok Chan. 2015. "How Authoritarianism Intensifies Punctuated Equilibrium: The Dynamics of Policy Attention in Hong Kong." *Governance* 28(4):549–570.

Marshall, Monty G., Ted Robert Gurr and Keith Jaggers. 2015. "Polity IV Project: Dataset Users' Manual." Center for Systemic Peace.

Tsebelis, George. 2002. *Veto Players: How political institutions work*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tsebelis, George and Eric Chang. 2004. "Veto players and the structure of budgets in advanced industrialized countries." *European Journal of Political Research* 43(3):449 – 479.