

# DEMOCRACY BAROMETER

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**zda**  
Zentrum für  
Demokratie  
Aarau

**WZB**



## CODEBOOK

Data for 52 countries from 1990 to 2017

Version 7

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## Notes

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<http://www.democracybarometer.org>

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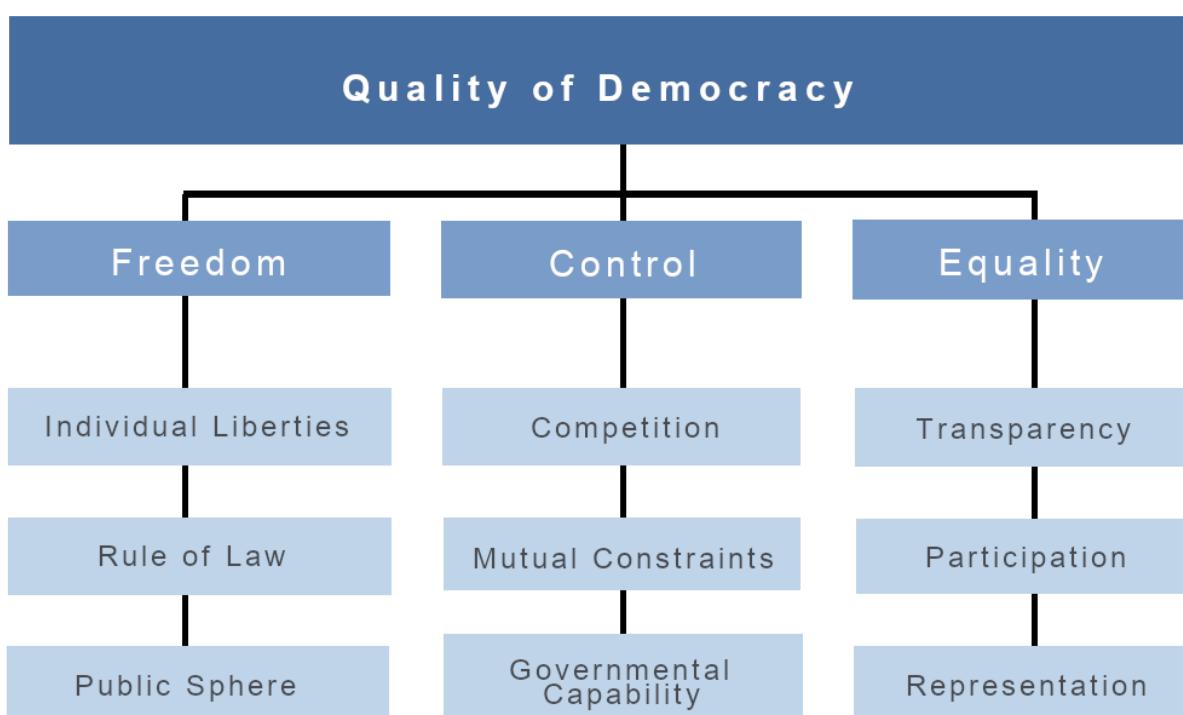
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# Introduction

The Democracy Barometer is an index of democracy. It aims to overcome the conceptual and methodological shortcomings of existing measures, in order to measure the subtle differences in the quality of established democracies.

The Democracy Barometer is based on a middle range concept of democracy, embracing liberal as well as participatory ideas of democracy, which illuminate the phenomenon from different perspectives. It consists of a stepwise theoretical deduction of fundamental elements of democracy. The starting point is the premise that a democratic system tries to establish a good balance between the normative, interdependent values of freedom and equality and that this requires control. In order to guarantee these three fundamental principles and thus the quality of democracy, nine democratic functions need to be fulfilled. Every function is further disaggregated into two components each, which finally, are measured by several sub-components and indicators.

**Figure 1: Structure of the Democracy Barometer**



## Case selection

The data set is based on two components: The core set consists of all European countries. In addition, the data set was supplemented with additional democracies which fulfilled the following criterion: For at least 10 consecutive years in the period from 1995 to 2017, the country must have a value of 1.5 or below in the combined Freedom House Scores and a Polity IV Score of 9 or higher.

The final set of the democracy barometer includes the following 53 countries:

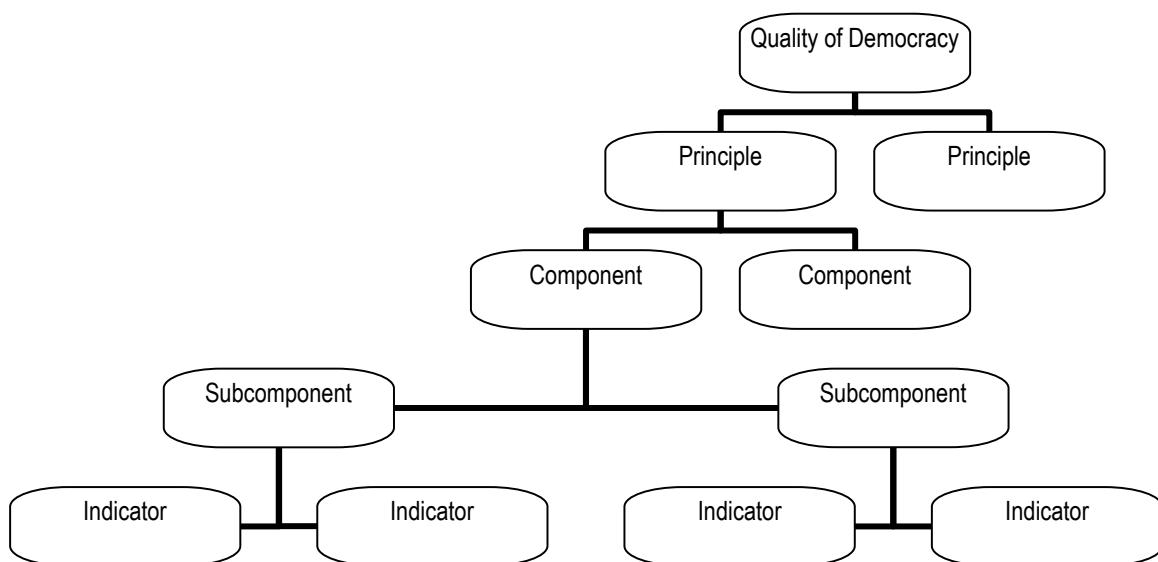
Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, FR Yugoslavia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Netherlands, New Zealand, North Macedonia, Norway, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay

## Selection of Indicators

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.

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 98 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 2).

**Figure 2: 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 98 was structured by the following guidelines:

- The Democracy Barometer tries not to rely too heavily on data produced by expert judgments. Rather than or in addition to expert judgments, the Democracy Barometer uses – whenever possible – ‘hard’ data and aggregated survey data.
- To avoid measurement errors as far as possible, data was collected from a wide variety of sources. This should reduce the amount of systematic error. In addition, 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.

We finally selected 98 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 (Quality of Democracy, 3 principles, 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.

## Scaling

In order to aggregate the indicators to subcomponents and further levels of the concept tree, they need to have the same scales. The Democracy Barometer Project has therefore opted for following standardization:

$$S = \left[ \frac{X - \mu}{\sigma} \right] + |\min(X)| + 1$$

The Democracy Barometer provides scholars with access to both the standardized full dataset and the non-standardized raw dataset and therefore many opportunities to create other indices if they like. It is for example possible to measure an entirely different concept of democracy with the data at hand. Researchers supporting a more minimalist concept might consider the functions 'Competition', 'Individual Liberties' and 'Participation' as more important than the other six functions. Others might want to set other aggregation rules. The scientific community is explicitly encouraged to test different ways of scaling, aggregating and/or weighting. Of course, researchers should always make sure to theoretically justify their choices.

## Aggregation

For measuring variation in the quality of democracy properly, the relationships between principles, functions, components, and sub-components have to be translated into aggregation rules, which fit the hierarchical concept of our theory. We proceed stepwise up the concept tree from indicators back to subcomponents, components, functions and principles to the overall index of the quality of democracy.

## Basic Assumptions

Our aggregation rule is based on the following four basic assumptions:

1. Equilibrium is **regarded** as a positive feature. It indicates that (at a certain level), the elements of quality of democracy are in balance. Because the assumption of the underlying theory is that the best democracy is one, in which all its elements show a maximum performance and the worst is one where all its elements show a minimum of performance, this is justified.
2. Since we deal in the framework with established democracies, we cannot apply the simple and strict rule of necessary condition. Instead, a modification, which allows for compensation of poor quality in one element by better quality in another element, is introduced.
3. Compensation, however, cannot result in full compensation (substitutability). The larger the disequilibrium, the smaller is the compensation. Thus, disequilibrium has to be punished relative to equilibrium.
4. Equal degrees of disequilibrium should be punished equally, larger disequilibrium more than smaller disequilibrium. This implies progressive discount the larger the disequilibrium.

Furthermore, our theoretical consideration about compensation suggests having costs implied if quality measurements are not in equilibrium. In other words, a democracy is the better the more quality elements score evenly high. The more deviation there is between qualities of elements, the more declining the score. This implies that the measure accounts for discordance, i.e. the higher it is, the lower weight should the better performance in one spatial dimension have.

The aggregation formula reads as follows:

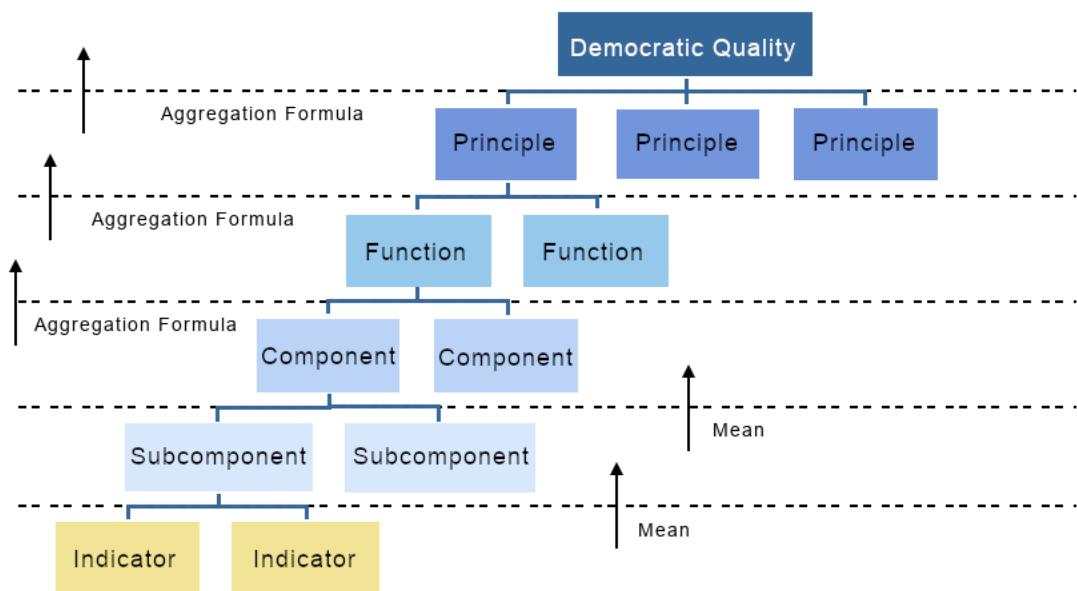
$$DB = \left[ \prod_{i=1}^n X_i \right]^{\frac{1}{n}}$$

## Aggregation procedure

The Democracy Barometer is a complex measure, which starts from indicators, subcomponents, components, functions, principles, and finally the overall-score (see figure 2). Except for the sub-components composed of indicators and the components composed of the subcomponents of which we cannot postulate necessary and sufficient conditions, the aggregation rule must be applied on every stage of aggregation. Thus, we apply the following aggregation procedure stepwise (see Figure 3):

1. Data must be available for at least two indicators per component in order to aggregate them into a sub-component. If this condition is not met, no value is specified.
2. The first level of aggregation – from indicators to subcomponents – is based on arithmetic means of the standardized indicators. The ‘simple’ average of the indicators corresponds to the idea that the indicators within a subcomponent must measure the same phenomenon and that they can thus compensate each other.
3. The same procedure and the same underlying idea are adopted for the second step of aggregation from subcomponents to components: thus, the components are the means of the subcomponents.
4. Functions are measured by applying the aggregation formula specified above to components.
5. Principles are measured by applying the aggregation formula specified above to functions.
6. Democratic quality is measured by applying the aggregation formula specified above to principles.

Figure 3: Stepwise aggregation (schematically)



## General rules

There are three general rules regarding the years to which our coded data apply:

- 1) Data is only coded when a country exists except as regards a few minor cases. In the Democracy Barometer data, countries that do not exist for the whole time-period (1990-2016) are the following:
  - a. Bosnia-Herzegovina before 1992
  - b. Czechia before 1993
  - c. Czechoslovakia after 1992
  - d. Croatia before 1991
  - e. Estonia before 1991
  - f. Kosovo before 2008
  - a. Latvia before 1991
  - b. Lithuania before 1991
  - c. North Macedonia before 1991
  - d. Moldova before 1991
  - e. Montenegro before 2006 (exceptions apply for the indicators seatdiff, adminhurd, meandistrict, largpavo, votediff, herfindex, enep, smallpavo, leg\_thresh, balpowexle, seatsgov, gallagindex)
  - f. Serbia before 2006 (same exceptions as for Montenegro)
  - g. Slovakia before 1993
  - h. Ukraine before 1991
  - i. FR Yugoslavia / Serbia-Montenegro after 2005
- 2) Coding of FR Yugoslavia (resp. from 2003 Serbia-Montenegro): In case of values not being available explicitly for FR Yugoslavia values from Serbia were coded for the corresponding years
- 3) Data are furthermore only coded if a country is not occupied by foreign powers and thus only if it constitutes an independent polity. The coding is based on the Polity IV database (Polity = -66) and Bosnia constitutes an exception. Due to this exception, there are no current cases to which the criterion applies.
  - a. The country needs to constitute an independent polity as given by point 2 above (no cases at the moment).

### Note:

In contrast to the previous versions of the Democracy Barometer, we refrain from normalizing the data to a range from 0 to 100. The reason for this is that no theoretical maximum or minimum is defined. Instead, it is left to the researchers to scale the values for their specific purpose.

# **QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY**

## **Country**

- Definition: Country names

## **Year**

- Definition: Year of observation

## **Countryyear**

- Definition: Country and year of observation

## **DQ**

- Definition: Final index of the quality of democracies.
- Categories: 0 = low/no quality of democracy. 100 = perfect quality of democracy.
- Measurement notes: Democratic quality is measured by applying the aggregation formula to principles.
- Source(s): All variables.

## **EQUALITY**

- Definition: Final index of the equality in democracies.
- Categories: 0 = low/no equality of democracy. 100 = perfect equality of democracy.
- Measurement notes: Principles are measured by applying the aggregation formula to functions.
- Source(s): All variables from the 'equality in democracies' section.

## **CONTROL**

- Definition: Final index of the control over democratic institutions.
- Categories: 0 = low/no control over democratic institutions. 100 = perfect control over democratic institutions.
- Measurement notes: Principles are measured by applying the aggregation formula to functions.
- Source(s): All variables from the 'control over democratic institutions' section.

## **FREEDOM**

- Definition: Final index of the freedoms guaranteed in democracies.
- Categories: 0 = low/no freedom guaranteed in democracy. 100 = perfect freedom guaranteed in democracy.
- Measurement notes: Principles are measured by applying the aggregation formula to functions.

Source(s): All variables from the 'freedoms guaranteed in democracies' section

## **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) Values were copied forward, unless a constitutional change took place or the country signed a binding treaty. (II) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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.
- Source(s): CON, Constitute, DAP, ECPhRFF, IAPPT, ACHPR, ACHR, CTOCIDTP, CCP.

##### **Convttort**

- 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: -
- Source(s): HDR, UNTREAT.

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

##### **Politterr**

- Definition: Political Terror Scale (reversed). The dataset actually provides three scales, one derived from the Amnesty International Yearbooks, the second from U.S. State Department Reports and the third from the Human Rights Watch. The three scales were combined here by mutually complementing missing scores. If the three 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 Croatia 1991; Czechoslovakia 1992; Estonia 1991; FR Yugoslavia 1990; Latvia 1991; North Macedonia 1991; Moldova 1991; Montenegro 2006-2007; Serbia 2006; Slovenia 1990-1996; Ukraine 1991 (III) Kosovo is completely missing..
- 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) All countries: Missing values for 2012-2017 (III) Additional missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2000; Croatia 1991; Estonia 1991; Estonia 1991; Kosovo 2008; Latvia 1991; Lithuania 1991; North Macedonia 1991-1992; Moldova 1991; Slovenia 1990-1992; Ukraine 1991-1992. (IV) FR Yugoslavia is completely missing.
- Source(s): CIRIGHTS.

### ***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 Albania 1990-1991; Australia 1993, 2008-2009; Austria 2008-2009, 2017; Belgium 2008-2009; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2009; Bulgaria 2008-2009; Canada 2008-2009; Chile 2008-2009, 2013, 2015; Croatia 2008-2009; Cyprus 1998-1999, 2008-2009; Czech Republic 2008-2009; Denmark 2008-2009; Estonia 2008-2009; Finland 2008-2009; Kosovo 2009-2011, 2014-2017; FR Yugoslavia 1990-2002; France 2008-2009; Germany 2008-2009; Greece 2008-2009; Hungary 2008-2009, 2015; Iceland 1994-2009; Italy 2008-2009, 2017; Japan 2008-2009, 2015, Latvia 2008-2009; Lithuania 2008-2009; Luxembourg 2008-2009, 2012, 2015; North Macedonia 2008-2011, 2015; Malta 2008-2009, 2015; Moldova 2008-2010, 2015-2017; Montenegro 2009; Netherlands 2008-2009, 2011-2013; New Zealand 2008-2009, 2015; Norway 2008-2009, 2015; Panama 2008-2009; Poland 2008-2009; Portugal 2008-2009; Romania 2008-2009; Serbia 2008-2009; Slovenia 1990, 2008-2009; Slovakia 2008-2009; South Africa 1990-1994, 2008-2009; Spain 2008-2009; Sweden 2008-2009; Switzerland 2008-2009; Taiwan 1990-2009, 2011-2014, 2016-2017; Turkey 1990-1999, 2009-2011, 2013-2017; Ukraine 2009, 2011-2016; United Kingdom 2008-2009, 2015; United States 2008-2009, Uruguay 1990-1993, 2008-2009. (III) Values for United Kingdom = average of England&Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland.
- Source(s): EUROSTAT, UNODC, WB, WHO.

#### **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. (III) Missing values for Croatia 1991, Estonia 1991; Latvia 1991; Lithuania 1991, 2017; North Macedonia 1991; Moldova 1991; Slovenia 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991.
- 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) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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.
- Source(s): CON, Constitute, 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: -
- Source(s): CON, Constitute, 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) All countries: missing values for 2012-2017. (II) Additional missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2000; Croatia 1991; North Macedonia 1991; Moldova 1991; Slovenia 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991; United States 1990-2006. (III) FR Yugoslavia is completely missing. North Macedonia (IV) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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;
- Source(s): CIRIGHTS

### **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) All countries: missing value for 2012-2017. (II) Additional missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2000; Croatia 1991; North Macedonia 1991; Moldova 1991; Slovenia 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991. (III) Fr Yugoslavia is completely missing. North Macedonia(IV) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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.
- Source(s): CIRIGHTS.

## **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 information: 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: missing values for 1990-1994. (II) Additional missing values for Belgium 1995; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1995-1997; Croatia 1995; Cyprus 1995; Denmark 1995; Finland 1995; FR Yugoslavia 1995-2001, 2004-2006; Iceland 1995-1996; Kosovo 2008-2012; Latvia 1995; Lithuania 1995; Luxembourg 1995; North Macedonia  
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: missing values for 1990-1992. (II) Additional missing values for Bulgaria 1993-2005; Croatia 1993-2005; Cyprus 1993-2016; Estonia 1993-2000; Iceland 1993-1994, 2009; Latvia 1993-2013; Lithuania 1993-2006; Poland 1993; Romania 1993-2002; Slovakia 1993-2000; Slovenia 1993-1998; Ukraine 1993-2006, 2014. (III) Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Costa Rica, FR Yugoslavia, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Panama, Serbia, Uruguay are completely missing. North Macedonia
- 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) United Kingdom is completely missing (as there is no written constitution).. (II) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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..
- Source(s): CON, Constitute, 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) Missing values for: Slovenia 1990. (II) United Kingdom is completely missing (as there is no written constitution). (III) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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.
- Source(s): CON, Constitute DAP, CCP.

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

##### **Judindepco**

- Definition: Judicial independence: This variable documents the level of independence in the Judiciary from other branches of the government.
- 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 pressure 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) Missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2000; Croatia 1991; Estonia 1991; Kosovo 2008; Latvia 1991; Lithuania 1991; Moldova 1991, 2017; North Macedonia 1991-1992; Poland 2017; Slovakia 2017; Slovenia 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991; Turkey 2017; United States 2016-2017.
- Source(s): DAP, CIRIGHTS.

##### **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) Missing values for Albania 1990-2004; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1993-2013; North Macedonia 1991-2002, 2017; Moldova 2009; Ukraine 1991-1997; FR Yugoslavia 1990-2002. (IV) Kosovo is completely missing.

- 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 of the Efficiency of legal framework in challenging regulations (1-7 where 7 is the best) and the question of the efficiency of legal framework in challenging regulations (1-7 where 7 is the best). Then the mean between the two values of the two questions is calculated and used.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missing values for 1990-1997. (II) Additional missing values for Albania 1998-2004; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1998-2003, 2014; Bulgaria 1998; Costa Rica 1998; Croatia 1998-1999; Cyprus 1998-1999; Estonia 1998-1999; Latvia 1998-1999; Lithuania 1998-1999; Luxembourg 2002; North Macedonia 1998-2002, 2017; Malta 1998-2002; Moldova 1998-1999, 2009-2010; Panama 1998-1999; Romania 1998-1999; Slovenia 1998-1999; Ukraine 2001; Uruguay 1998-1999; FR Yugoslavia 1998-2002. (III) Kosovo is completely missing.
- 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
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values for: Croatia 1991-1998; Estonia 1991-1998; Latvia 1991-1998; Lithuania 1991-1998; Moldova 1991-1998; Slovenia 1990-1998; Ukraine 1991-1997. (II) Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia and Montenegro are completely missing. North Macedonia
- 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 written in the constitution for appointment of judges to highest courts. Categories: 0 = No constitutional provision exists; 1 = Constitutional provision exists.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values for Australia 2008-2010; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2017; Chile 2008-2017; Kosovo 2008-2017; Serbia 2012-2017; Taiwan 1990-2004.
- Source(s): CCP, SGI, BTI, Kritzer et al. (2002).

#### **Proftenure**

- Definition: Professionalism of judges concerning length of tenure is written in the constitution. 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) Missing values for Australia 2008-2010; Bosnia-Herzegovina 2010-2017; Chile 2008-2017; Czechoslovakia 1990-1992; Serbia 2007-2017.
- Source(s): CCP, SGI, BTI, 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) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1994; 1995-1999, 2000-2004 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1994, 1991-1995, 1992-1996 etc.). (II) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2000-2009; Australia 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1993-1994, 2000-2017; Canada 2000-2004; Costa Rica 1990-1994; Cyprus 1990-1994; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1994, 2000-2005; Greece 1990-1994; Iceland 2000-2004; Kosovo 2008-2009, 2015-2017; Luxembourg 1990-1994; North Macedonia 1991-1994,

2000-2004; Moldova 1991-1994, 2000-2004, 2010-2017; Montenegro 2006-2009; New Zealand 2000-2004; Switzerland 1990-1994; Taiwan 1995-1999; Ukraine 1991-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; United States 2000-2004; Uruguay 1990-1994. (IV) Coding FR Yugoslavia: value of 1996 refers to Serbia-Montenegro (V) Coding Czechoslovakia: Value of 1990 and 1991 refers to region of Czech Republic.

- 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) Missing values for Bulgaria 1990-2005; Croatia 1991-2005; Cyprus 1993-2016; Estonia 1991-2000; Iceland 1990-1994, 2009; Latvia 1991-2013; Lithuania 1991-2006; Poland 1990-1992; Romania 1990-2002; Slovakia 1993-2000; Slovenia 1990-1998; South Africa 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991-2006.(II) Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Czechoslovakia, Costa Rica, FR Yugoslavia, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Panama, Serbia, Uruguay are completely missing.
- 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) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values from different surveys and different years averaged across 5 years (1990-1994; 1995-1999; 2000, 2000-2004 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1994, 1991-1995, 1992-1996 etc.). (II) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2005-2009; Australia 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1991-1994, 2005-2017; Canada 1995-1999; Costa Rica 1990-1994; Croatia 1991-1994; Cyprus 1990-1999; Greece 1990-1994, Kosovo 2008-2009; 2015-2017; Luxembourg 1990-1994; North Macedonia 1991-1994; Moldova 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Montenegro 2006-2009; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2005-2009, 2015-2017; Panama 1990-1994; Switzerland 1990-1994, Taiwan 1995-1999, Ukraine 1991-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; United States 2000-2004, Uruguay 1990-1994, FR Yugoslavia 1990-1994, 2005. (III) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: values based on regional data of Serbia of 1990-2005. Coding of Czechoslovakia: values based on regional data of Czech Republic of 1990-1992.
- 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" (7).
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missing values for 1990-1997 and 2001. (II) Additional missing values for Albania 1998-2004; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1998-2003, 2014; Costa Rica 1998; Cyprus 1998-2004; FR Yugoslavia 1998-2002; North Macedonia 1998-2002, 2017; Malta 1998-2002, 2017; Moldova 2009-2010; Slovakia 1998-2000 (II) Kosovo is completely missing.
- 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 ECPRFF with reservation clause; 2 = explicitly mentioned in constitution without reservations, or signed ECPRFF 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 FR Yugoslavia: 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) 2014-2016: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place. (IV) Kosovo is completely missing.
- Source(s): DAP, CON, Constitute, ICESCR, ICCPR, ACHR, ECPRFF, 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 ECPRFF with reservation clause; 2 = explicitly mentioned in constitution without reservations, or signed ECPRFF 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 FR Yugoslavia: 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) 2014-2016: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place. (IV) Kosovo is completely missing.
- Source(s): DAP, CON, Constitute, ICESCR, ICCPR, ACHR, ECPRFF, 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) Missing values for Albania 1990-2008, 2014-2017; Belgium 2017; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2011, 2013-2017; Bulgaria 1991-1992, 1994-1996, 1999, 2001-2002, 2004, 2006, 2017; Chile 2017; Costa Rica 1990-1999, 2017; Croatia 1991-1993, 1995, 1997-1998, 2000-2003, 2005-2007, 2009-2010, 2017; Cyprus 1991-1992, 1994, 1996-1997, 1999, 2017; Denmark 2017; Estonia 1991, 1997, 1999; France 2017; Greece 1991, 1993-1994, 1996-1997, 1999-2000, 2003, 2010, 2014-2015, 2017; Hungary 1991-1994; 1996-1997, 1999, 2002, 2006, 2010-2011, 2013, 2017; Iceland 1990, 2017 Latvia 1991-1994, 1996-2001, 2004-2005, 2017; Lithuania 1991-1994, 1996-1998, 2000, 2002, 2004-2005, 2017; Luxembourg 1991-1992, 1994-1996, 1999-2002, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2015, 2017; Moldova 1991-2012, 2014-2015, 2017; Montenegro 2006-2011, 2013-2017; Panama 1990-2011, 2017; Poland 2017; Portugal 2017; Romania 1990, 1992, 1994-1997, 1999-2000, 2013-2015, 2017; Serbia 2006, 2008-2009, 2011-2017; Slovakia 2017; Slovenia 2017; South Africa 1990-1993, 1995-1999, 2017; Spain 2017; Switzerland 2017; Turkey 2004-2007, 2009,-2012, 2017; Ukraine 1991-2007, 2013, 2016-2017; Uruguay 1990-2008, 2013-2017; Taiwan 2011-2014, 2016-2017. (II) Czechoslovakia, FR Yugoslavia, Kosovo and North Macedonia are completely missing. North MacedoniaSource(s): Visser (2019), ILO, OECD.

##### Memproorg

- Definition: Membership in professional organizations. Share of survey respondents indicating that they are member in a professional organization.
- Measurement notes: (I) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1994; 1995-1999, 2000-2004 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1994, 1991-1995, 1993-1996 etc.). (II) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2010-2017; Australia 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Austria 2015-2017; Belgium 2015-2017; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1994, 2005-2017; Canada 1995-1999, 2015-2017; Chile 2015-2017; Costa Rica 1990-1994, 2015-

2017; Croatia 1991-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Cyprus 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Czech Republic 2015-2017; Denmark 2015-2017; Estonia 2015-2017; Finland 2015-2017; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1994, 2005; France 2015-2017; Germany 2015-2017; Hungary 2015-2017; Iceland 2000-2009, 2015-2017; Ireland 2015-2017; Italy 2015-2017; Latvia 2015-2017; Lithuania 2015-2017; North Macedonia 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Malta 2015-2017; Montenegro 2006-2009, 2015-2017; Netherlands 2015-2017; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Norway 2015-2017; Panama 1995-1999, 2015-2017; Poland 2015-2017; Romania 2015-2017; Serbia 2010-2017; Slovakia 2015-2017; Slovenia 2015-2017; South Africa 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Spain 2015-2017; Sweden 2015-2017; Switzerland 2010-2017; Taiwan 1995-1999, 2015-2017; Turkey 1990-1994; Ukraine 1991-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; United Kingdom 2015-2017; United States 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Uruguay 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017. (III): Coding FR Yugoslavia: Values of 1996 and 2001 are based on regional data of Serbia. (IV) Coding Czechoslovakia: Values are based on regional data of Czech Republic.

- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsnB, 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) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1994; 1995-1999, 2000-2004 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1994, 1991-1995, 1992-1996etc.). (II) All countries: missing values for 2015-2017. (III) Additional missing values for Albania 1990-1994; Australia 1990-1994; Austria 2005-2009; Belgium 2000-2009; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1990-1994; Bulgaria 2000-2004; Canada 2010-2014; Croatia 1991-1994, 2000-2009; Cyprus 1990-1994; Czech Republic 2005-2009; Denmark 2000-2009; Estonia 2000-2009; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1994, 2005; Germany 2000-2004; Greece 1990-1994, 2000-2009; Latvia 2005-2009; Lithuania 2005-2009; Luxembourg 1990-1994, 2000-2009; North Macedonia 1991-1994, 2000-2009; Malta 2000-2014; Moldova 1991-1994, 2010-2014; Netherlands 2000-2004; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2005-2009; Norway 2005-2014; Portugal 2000-2009; Romania 2000-2004; Serbia 2010-2014; Slovakia 2000-2009; Spain 2005-2009; Sweden 2000-2004; Switzerland 1990—1994, 2000-2014; Taiwan 1995-2004; Turkey 1990-1994, 2005-2009; Ukraine 1991-1994, 2000-2004; United Kingdom 2000-2009; Uruguay 1990-1994, 2000-2004. (III) Costa Rica, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Kosovo, Montenegro, Panama are completely missing. (IV) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: Values are based on regional data of Serbia. (V) Coding Czechoslovakia: Values are based on regional data from Czech Republic.
- 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) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1994; 1995-1999, 2000-2004 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1994, 1991-1995, 1992-1996 etc.). (II) All countries: missing values for 2015-2017. (III) Additional missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2005-2014; Australia 1990-1994, 2000-2004; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1999, 2005-2014; Canada 1995-1999; 2010-2014; Costa Rica 1990-1994, 2010-2014; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1994, 2005; Greece 1990-1994; Iceland 2005-2014; Lithuania 2010-2014; Luxembourg 1990-1994; North Macedonia 1991-1994, 2005-2009; Moldova 1991-1994, 2010-2014; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2005-2009; Norway 2010-2014; Panama 1990-1994, 2010-2014; Serbia 2010-2014; South Africa 1990-1994; Switzerland 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2010-2014; Taiwan 1995-2004; Turkey 1990-1994; Ukraine 1991-1994, 2000-2004; United States 2000-2004, Uruguay 1990-1994. (IV) Montenegro, Kosovo are completely missing. (V) Coding FR Yugoslavia: values of 1996 and 2001 are based on regional data of Serbia. (VI) Coding: Czechoslovakia: Values are based on regional data of Czech Republic.
- 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 (II) all countries: missings 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place. (III) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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. (IV) 2014-2016: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place. (V) Kosovo is completely missing.
- Source(s): DAP, CON, Constitute, 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: (II) All countries: missings 2005-2007 were replaced by values of 2004, unless a constitutional change took place. (III) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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. (IV) 2014-2016: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place. (V) Kosovo is completely missing.
- Source(s): DAP, CON, Constitute, 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) Missing values for Belgium 1990-1994; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2002; Bulgaria 1990-1995; Costa Rica 1990-1993, 2014; Croatia 1991-1994; Estonia 1991-1994; France 1990-1993; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1995, 2003-2005; Greece 1991; Hungary 1990-1991; Ireland 1990-1991; Italy 1990-1993, 2012; Latvia 1991-1994; Lithuania 1991-1994; Luxembourg 1990-1994; North Macedonia 1991-1994; Malta 1990-1993, 2017; Moldova 1991-1994; Netherlands 1990-1991; Norway 1990-1992; Panama 1990-1994, 2004, 2012, 2017; Poland 1990-1993; Romania 1990; Slovenia 1990-1994; South Africa 1990-1991; Sweden 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991-1995, 2010, 2016; United Kingdom 1990-1992; United States 1990. (II) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing. North Macedonia
- 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. (II) Additional missing values for Albania 1993-1999, 2010-2017; Australia 2017; Belgium 2014-2016; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1993-2001, 2015-2017; Bulgaria 1994, 1995, 2015-2017; Canada 2017; Chile 1993-1998, 2017; Costa Rica 1993-1993, 2010, 2015-2017; Croatia 2014, 2015, 2017; Cyprus 2010-2017; FR Yugoslavia 1993-2001, 2003, 2004; Greece 2015-2017; Iceland 1993-1993, 2015-2017; Ireland 2017; Japan 2007; Latvia 1996, 2010; Lithuania 1993-2003; Luxembourg 2015-2017; Macedonia 1993-1999, 2010-2017; Malta 1993-2001, 2010-2017; Moldova 1993-2001, 2010-2017; Montenegro 1993-2002, 2010-2017; New Zealand 2017; Norway 2017; Panama 1993-2001, 2010-2017; Portugal 1994, 2000, 2001, 2017; Romania 1993-1999, 2015; Serbia 2015; Slovenia 1993, 2010, 2015-2017; Slovakia 2015-2017; South Africa 2015-2017; Switzerland 2015-2017; Taiwan 1993, 2015-2017; Turkey 1993, 2016, 2017; Ukraine 1993-1997, 2000-2004, 2014-2016; United States 2016-2017; Uruguay 1993-1997, 2010-2017.. Source(s): own calculation based on WB, WPT.

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

### **Medinteg**

- Definition: Integrity of the media based on the extent that media sources are diverse and critical as well as guaranteed freedom of expression and independence from the government. The following five indicators were combined to an index:

(1) freedom of the media to criticise the government, (2) diverse perspectives are presented by the media, (3) media bias towards or against political actors, (4) media corruption, (5) media criticises the government on a regular basis. Categories: Interval scaled variable ranging from 0 (lowest integrity) 1 (highest integrity).

- Measurement notes: (I) Missing value for Slovenia 1990. (II) Completely missing: Iceland, Luxembourg, Malta, Montenegro
- Source(s): IDEA-D

## **Freeinternet**

- Definition: Freeinternet measures the freedom of the internet by looking at the freedom of access, freedom of navigation and freedom of publication on the internet. Indicator ranges from 1 (low degree of freedom) to 4 (high degree of freedom).
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missing for 1990-2008. (II) Additional missing values for Albania 2009-2011; Bosnia-Herzegovina 2009-2011, Costa Rica 2009-2011; Croatia 2009-2011; Iceland 2009-2011; Luxembourg 2009-2015; Moldova 2009-2015; North Macedonia 2009-2015. (III) FR Yugoslavia, Kosovo and Montenegro are completely missing.
- Source(s): IPD

## **COMPETITION [COMPET]**

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

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

##### **Meandistrict**

- Definition: Mean district magnitude in lower parliamentary chamber at the highest level of seat allocation. Average number of parliamentary seats per electoral district.
- Measurement notes: district magnitude in different voting system was coded as follows: (I) Proportional or majoritarian systems: mean district magnitude: meandistrict = (number of seats/number of districts); (II) mixed systems, non-compensatory: meandistrict = (( m\_PR \* s\_PR) + ( m SSD \* s SSD ))/ S, where m\_PR is the average magnitude of the PR districts, s\_PR is the overall number of seats under proportional rule, m SSD is the average magnitude of the SSD districts (=1), s SSD is the overall number of single-seat districts in parliament and S is the overall number of seats in parliament; (III) mixed systems, compensatory: meandistrict = s\_PR + s SSD, where s\_PR is the overall number of seats under proportional rule, and s SSD is the overall number of all single-seat districts in the territorial units, where the seats are allocated (= whole country); (V) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro since 1992; (VI) Missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995; Bulgaria 2008; Estonia 1991; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1991; Montenegro 1990-1991; Poland 1990; Serbia 1990-1999; Taiwan 1990.
- Source(s): DPI; IPU; ACE; Freidenberg (2011); 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) Missing values for Montenegro 2006-2010. (II) FR Yugoslavia completely missing.
- Source(s): ACE.

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

##### **Largpavo**

- Definition: Margin of electoral concentration of votes. Calculated as 100% - p<sub>strongest</sub>, where p<sub>strongest</sub> = percentage of votes obtained by strongest party.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values for Albania 1990; Estonia 1991; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1991; Moldova 1991-1993; Panama 1990-1993; Poland 1990; South Africa 1990-1993; Ukraine 1991-1993. (II) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan completely missing. (III) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections). (IV) All countries years from 2015 on: If no new election has taken place, previous value copied forward during democratic years.
- 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) Missing values for Albania 1990; Estonia 1991; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1991; Moldova 1991-1993; Panama 1990-1993; Poland 1990; South Africa 1990-1993; Ukraine 1991-1993. (III) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing. (IV) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections). (V) All countries years from 2015 on: If no new election has taken place, previous value copied forward during democratic years.
- 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) In case of multiple inaugurations of parliaments in a year, the last one was considered. (III) Missing values for Albania 1990; Estonia 1991; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1991; North Macedonia 1991-1993; Moldova 1991-1993; Montenegro 1990-2005; Panama 1990-1993; Poland 1990; Serbia 1990; South Africa 1990-1993; Ukraine 1991-1993. (IV) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing. (V) All countries years: If no new election has taken place, previous value copied forward during democratic years.
- Source(s): Own calculations based on data from the WZB.

## **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) Missing values for Albania 1990; Estonia 1991; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1990; Moldova 1991-1993; Panama 1990-1993; Poland 1990; South Africa 1990-1993; Ukraine 1991-1993. (III) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing. (IV) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections). (V) All countries years from 2015 on: If no new election has taken place, previous value copied forward during democratic years.
- 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 =  $\frac{1}{2}$  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]).
  - o **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) All countries: missing values for 2009-2017. (V) Additional missing values for Australia 2008; Belgium 2008; Bosnia-Herzegovina 2008; Canada 2008; Chile 2008; Costa Rica 2008; Croatia 2008; Cyprus 2008; Czech Republic 2008; Denmark 2008; Estonia 20008; Finland 2008; France 2008; Germany 2008; Greece 2008; Hungary 2008; Iceland 2008; Italy 2008; Japan 2008; Latvia 2008; Luxembourg 2008; Malta 2008; Moldova 2008; Netherlands 2008; New Zealand 2008; Norway 2008; Poland 2008; Portugal 2008; Romania 2008; Slovenia 2008; South Africa 2008; Sweden 2008; Switzerland 2008; Turkey 2008; Ukraine 2008; United Kingdom 2008; United States 2008; Uruguay 2008. (V) Panama, Slovakia and Taiwan are completely missing.
- Source(s): ACE, Bischoff (2006), Bowler et al. (2003), CoE, Elkit/Reynolds (2002), Hug (2001), IPU, Katz (1996), Mozaffar/Schedler (2002), Tavits (2006).

## **Leg\_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: (I) 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. (II) Missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995; Bulgaria 2008; Estonia 1991; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1991, Lithuania 1991; Montenegro 1990-1991; Poland 1990; Serbia 1990-1999; Taiwan 1990; Ukraine 1998-2005.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values replaced by closest available value.
- Source(s): District magnitude: see meandistrict above.

## **2. Effective Contestsation [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) Missing values for Albania 1990; Estonia 1991; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1991; Moldova 1991-1993; Panama 1990-1993; Poland 1990; South Africa 1990-1993; Ukraine 1991-1993. (II) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing. (III) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections). (IV) All countries years from 2015 on if no new election has taken place, previous value copied forward during democratic years.
- Source(s): WZB, Nohlen et al. (2001).

### **E nep**

- Definition: Effective number of parties at the electoral level.
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values for Albania 1990; Estonia 1991; Latvia 1990-1991; Lithuania 1991; Moldova 1991-1993; Panama 1990-1993; Poland 1990; South Africa 1990-1993; Ukraine 1991-1993. (II) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing. (III) Separate values for Serbia and Montenegro (based on respective elections). (IV) All countries years from 2015 on: If no new election has taken place, previous value copied forward during democratic years.
- 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: (I) Missing values for Albania 2004-2006; Chile 2004-2010; Croatia 1991-1992; Czechoslovakia 1990; Finland 2008-2010; Germany 2015-2016; Greece 1990-2001; Hungary 1990-1996; Japan 1990-2002; Moldova 1991-1997; Montenegro 2006-2008; New Zealand 1990-1992; Portugal 1990-2002; Taiwan 1990-2010; Ukraine 1991. (II) Kosovo is completely missing.
- Sources: IDEA-F, Griner/Zovatto (2005), Castillo/Zovatto (1998); Gutierrez/Zovatto (2011); GRECO; 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: (I) Missing values for Bulgaria 2004-2006; Czechoslovakia 1990; Greece 1990-2001; Iceland 1990-2002; Japan 1990-2002; Latvia 1991-2002; Lithuania 1991-2002; Moldova 1991-1996; Portugal 1990-2002; South Africa 1990-1996; Taiwan 1990-2010; Ukraine 1991-1993. (II) Kosovo is completely missing.
- Sources: IDEA-F, Griner/Zovatto (2005), Castillo/Zovatto (1998); Gutierrez/Zovatto (2011); GRECO; 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* - *controlle*) in the standardized checks available to the legislative (*controlex*) and the executive (*controlle*) 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) Missing values for Albania 1990; Belgium 1990; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995; Chile 1990; Croatia 1991-1992; Estonia 1991-1992; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1992; Latvia 1991-1993; Lithuania 1991-1993; North Macedonia 1991; Moldova 1991-1995; Slovenia 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991. (II) Czechoslovakia and Kosovo are completely missing. North Macedonia
- Source(s): see *controlex*, *controlle*.

#### 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: -
- 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) FR Yugoslavia: 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.
- Source(s): IAEP, CON, Constitute, 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) FR Yugoslavia: 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.
- Source(s): IAEP, CON, Constitute, 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: -
- Source(s): CON, Constitute, 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: -
- Source(s): IPU, Ismayr (1997, 2004), CCP, CON, Constitute.

#### **Controle**

- Definition: Summary of constitutional provisions for checks (*exveto*, *dissleg*, *elecex*) over the legislative available to the executive.
- Measurement notes: -
- 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: (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.
- Source(s): IAEP, CCP, CON, Constitute.

#### *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.
- Source(s): IAEP, CCP, CON, Constitute.

#### *Elecex*

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

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

#### **Balpowexe**

- 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 multiple values in one year, the mean of these values is taken. (II) Each seat composition value was counted as part of the year during which the inauguration of the new legislature / new members of the legislature occurred. (III) NA values were dealt with as follows: First, each recorded composition was carried forward up to six years after the inauguration year. Second, remaining NAs between available values were replaced by linear interpolation. (IV) Missing values for Albania 1990; Cyprus 1990-1992; Estonia 1991; FR Yugoslavia 1990; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1991; Moldova 1991-1993; Montenegro 1990; Panama 1990-1993; Poland 1990; Serbia 1990; South Africa 1990-1993; Ukraine 1991-2003. (V) Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing.
- Source(s): WZB

#### **Seatsgov**

- Definition: Proportion of parliamentary seats belonging to governing parties as calculated by the inverse logit:  $1/(1+2.71 \cdot ((50-g)/3))$ ,  $g_i$  stands for the seat shares of government parties.. The indicator takes low values for majority governments and high values for minority governments. The inverse logit is taken to weigh changes in a situation of a relatively balanced parliament (i.e. g close to 50 percent) more than changes of clear majorities of either the opposition or governing parties.
- Measurement notes: (I) If there are multiple values in one year, the mean of these values is taken. (II) Each seat composition value was counted as part of the year during which the inauguration of the new legislature / new members of the legislature occurred. (III) NA values were dealt with as follows: First, each recorded composition was carried forward up to six years after the inauguration year. Second, remaining NAs between available values were replaced by linear interpolation.

interpolation. (IV) Missing values for Albania 1990; Cyprus 1990-1992; Estonia 1991; FR Yugoslavia 1990; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1991; Moldova 1991-1993; Montenegro 1990; Panama 1990-1993; Poland 1990; Serbia 1990; South Africa 1990-1993; Ukraine 1991-2003. (V) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing.

- 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 FR Yugoslavia: 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) Missing value for Slovenia 1990.North Macedonia. (V) 2014-2016: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place.
- Source(s): DAP, CON, Constitute, CCP.

## **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) Missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995; Slovenia 1990. (III) FR Yugoslavia, Serbia, Kosovo, and Montenegro are completely missing. (IV) 2014-2016: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place.
- Source(s): CCP, CON, Constitute, Gerring/Thacker 2004.

#### **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. (II) Missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995; Slovenia 1990. (III) FR Yugoslavia, Serbia, Kosovo, and Montenegro are completely missing. (V): Slovakia: Missing values 1993-2002 replaced by values from 2003. (IV) 2014-2016: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place. Thailand (from 2014) and Dominican Republic (from 2015): New constitution was consulted and manually coded.
- Source(s): CCP, CON, Constitute, Gerring/Thacker 2004.

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

#### **Subexp**

- Definition: Subnational expenditures as a percentage of the total national expenditures.
- Measurement notes: (I) All countries: missing values for 2017. (II) Additional missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 1999-2013; Australia 2012-2013, 2016; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1997, 1998-1999, 20001-2007, 2012-2013; Costa Rica 2001-2002, 2008-2013, 2015-2016; Cyprus 1990-1997, 2012-2013; Italy 1990-1994; Japan 1991-1999, 2001-2004, 2007, 2012-2013; Luxembourg 1998; North Macedonia 1991-2002, 2004-2007, 2009-2013; Malta 1990-2001; New Zealand 1990-

1991, 2000-2001; Panama 2008-2016; Poland 1990-1993; Serbia 2006, 2008-2016; Slovenia 1990-1991; South Africa 2000-2002; Switzerland 1990; Turkey 1990-2007; United Kingdom 2001, 2003-2004; Ukraine 1991-1998; Uruguay 1998-2004, 2006-2017. (III) FR Yugoslavia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Taiwan are completely missing. North Macedonia (X) There was a change in the new standards of the reporting system to the System of National Accounts (SNA) 2008, which was implemented by most OECD countries since December 2014. This can lead to a jump in the indicator from 2013 to 2014 that does not derive from a change in the federal finances but which is due to the change of the measurement of the data.

- 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) All countries: missing values for 2017. (II) Additional missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 1999-2013; Australia 2008-2013, 2016; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2013; Bulgaria 2008-2012, 2014-2016; Canada 2011-2012; Chile 2008-2013; Costa Rica 2001-2002, 2008-2013; Croatia 2008-2012, 2015-2016; Cyprus 1990-1997, 2008-2016; Chile 2008-2013; Costa Rica 2008-2013; Italy 1990-1994; Japan 1991-1998, 2001-2005, 2008-2013; Latvia 2008-2012; Lithuania 2008-2013; Luxembourg 1998; North Macedonia 1991-2012; Malta 1990-2001, 2008-2016; Moldova 2008-2012; New Zealand 1990-1991, 2000, 2008-2013; Panama 2008-2016; Poland 1990-1992; Portugal 2004-2007; Romania 2008-2013; Serbia 2005, 2008-2016; Slovakia 2008-2013; Slovenia 1990-1991, 2007; South Africa 2000-2002, 2008-2013; Spain 1998-2003; Sweden 2000-2007; Switzerland 1990; Turkey 1990-2013; Ukraine 1991-1998, 2008-2013; United States 2002-2007; Uruguay 2008-2016. (III) FR Yugoslavia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Taiwan are completely missing.
- North Macedonia). (X) There was a change in the new standards of the reporting system to the System of National Accounts (SNA) 2008, which was implemented by most OECD countries since December 2014. This can lead to a jump in the indicator from 2013 to 2014 that does not derive from a change in the federal finances but which is due to the change of the measurement of the data.
- 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: (I) Missing values for Albania 1990; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995; Slovenia 1990. (II) 2014-2017: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place.
- Source(s): CCP, CON, Constitute, IPU.

#### **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: (I) Missing values for Albania 1990; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1994; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1991, 2004-2005. (II) 2014-2017: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place.
- Source(s): CON, Constitute, CIA.

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

#### **Confgov**

- Definition: Confidence in the government: Share of survey respondents indicating high confidence/trust.
- Measurement notes: . (I) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1994; 1995-1999; 2000-2004 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1994, 1991-1995, 1992-1996 etc.). (II) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2005-2009; Australia 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Austria 1990-1999; Belgium 1990-1999; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1994, 2005-2017; Bulgaria 1990-1994; Canada 1990-1999; Costa Rica 1990-1994; Croatia 1991-1994; Cyprus 1990-1994; Denmark 1990-1999; Estonia 1990-1994; Finland 1990-1994; France 1990-1999; Germany 1990-1994; Greece 1990-1999; Hungary 1990-1994; Iceland 1990-1994; Ireland 1990-1999; Japan 1990-1994; Latvia 1991-1994; Lithuania 1991-1994; North Macedonia 1991-1994; Malta 1990-1999; Moldova 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Montenegro 2006-2009; Netherlands 1990-1999; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2005-2009; 2015-2017; Norway 1990-1994; Poland 1990-1994; Portugal 1990-1994; Romania 1990-1994; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1994, 2005; Slovenia 1990-1994; South Africa 1990-1994; Sweden 1990-1994; Switzerland 1990-1994; Taiwan 1995-1999, 2015-2017; Ukraine 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; United Kingdom 1990-1999; United States 1990-1994; Uruguay 1990-1994. (III) Kosovo is completely missing. (IV) Coding FR Yugoslavia: values of 1996 and 2001 are based on regional data of Serbia. (V) Coding Czechoslovakia: values are based on regional data of Czech Republic.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, , EB, ESS, EES, ISS, LAPOP, LB, WVS..

#### **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) The indicator was reversed by subtracting values from 100. (II) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1994; 1995-1999, 2000-2004 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (1990-1994, 1995-1999, 2000-2004 etc.). (III) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2011-2017; Australia 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Austria 2000-2004, 2010-2017; Belgium 2000-2004, 2010-2017; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1994, 2010-2017; Bulgaria 2000-2004, 2010-2014; Canada 1995-1999, 2010-2017; Chile 2015-2017; Costa Rica 1990-2014; Croatia 1991-1994, 2000-2004, 2010-2017; Czech Republic 2000-2004, 2010-2014; Denmark 2000-2004, 2010-2014; Estonia 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Germany 2000-2004, 2010-2017; Iceland 1995-2004, 2010-2014; Ireland 1995-2004, 2010-2017; Italy 2000-2004, 2010-2017; Japan 2015-2017; Kosovo 2010-2017; Latvia 2000-2004, 2010-2017; Lithuania 2000-2004, 2010-2017; Luxembourg 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2010-2017; North Macedonia 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Malta 1995-2004, 2010-2017; Moldova 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Montenegro 2010-2017; Netherlands 2000-2004; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2005-2009, 2015-2017; Norway 2000-2004, 2010-2017; Poland 2000-2004; Portugal 1995-2004,

2010-2017; Romania 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Slovakia 2000-2004, 2010-2014; Slovenia 2000-2004; South Africa 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Taiwan 1995-2004, 2015-2017; Turkey 1995-2004, 2015-2017; Ukraine 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; United Kingdom 2000-2004, 2010-2017; United States 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Uruguay 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017. (IV) FR Yugoslavia and Panama are completely missing. (V) Panama, Paraguay.

- 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 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 multiple values in one year the mean is taken. Values are copied to the entire government period. (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 December refer to the given year. (V) In presidential systems, government change is measured by president change. (VI) NA values were dealt with as follows: First, each recorded composition was carried forward up to six years after the inauguration year. Second, remaining NAs between available values were replaced by linear interpolation. (VII) Missing values for Albania 1990; Costa Rica 2011-2017; Estonia 1991; FR Yugoslavia 1990; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1991-1992; Moldova 1991-1993; Panama 1990-1993; Poland 1990; Portugal 1990; South Africa 1990-1993; Ukraine 1991-1993. (VIII) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing.
- Source(s): own calculation according to procedure by Lijphart (1984), data from WZB.

#### **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) All countries: missing values for 2017. (III) Additional missing values for Malta 2012; Moldova 1991-2005, 2012; Slovenia 1990; Kosovo 2012. (IV) Cyprus is completely missing. (V) FR Yugoslavia: 2003-2005 coded based on values for Serbia-Montenegro; 2006. (VI) All countries: missing values for 2014-2016 replaced by values from 2013. (VII).
- 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 **Agdemons:** 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) Missing values for Croatia 1991; Estonia 1991; Latvia 1991; Lithuania 1991; North Macedonia 1991; Moldova 1991; Slovenia 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991. (III) FR Yugoslavia coded with values of Yugoslavia 1990-2002. 2003-2005 coded based on values for Serbia-Montenegro; 2006: separate values.
- Source(s): BCNTS.

#### **Violantigov**

- Definition: Illegitimate anti-government action (reversed). Sum of two indicators:

- **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.
  - **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) Missing values for Croatia 1991; Estonia 1991; Latvia 1991; Lithuania 1991; North Macedonia 1991; Moldova 1991; Slovenia 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991. (III) FR Yugoslavia coded with values of Yugoslavia 1990-2002. 2003-2005 coded based on values for Serbia-Montenegro; 2006: separate values.
- Source(s): BCNTS.

## **2. No Interference [GC\_CEIM2]**

### **Mip**

- Definition: No political interference by the military:
- **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 take-over 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) Missing values for Croatia 1991-1998; Estonia 1991-1998; Latvia 1991-1998; Lithuania 1991-1998; Moldova 1991-1998; Slovenia 1990-1998; Ukraine 1991-1997. (II) FR Yugoslavia: Values up to 2005 are based on values for Serbia-Montenegro. (III) Bosnia-Herzegovina, North Macedonia and Kosovo are completely missing.
- 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 off 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) Missing values for Croatia 1991-1998; Estonia 1991-1998; Latvia 1991-1998; Lithuania 1991-1998; Moldova 1991-1998; Slovenia 1990-1998; Ukraine 1991-1997. (II) FR Yugoslavia: Values up to 2005 are based on values for Serbia-Montenegro. (III) Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia and Montenegro are completely missing. North MacedoniaSource(s): ICRG.

## **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 values for 1990-1997.(II) Additional missing values for Bulgaria 1998-2005; Croatia 1998-2005; Cyprus 1998-2016; Estonia 1998-2000; Iceland 2009; Latvia 1998-2012; Lithuania 1998-2006; Romania 1998-2002; Slovakia 1998-2000; Sweden 2016; Ukraine 1998-2006. (III) Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, FR Yugoslavia, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Panama, Serbia and Uruguay are completely missing.
- North MacedoniaSource(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) Missing values for Croatia 1991-1998; Estonia 1991-1998; Lithuania 1991-1998; Moldova 1991-1998; Slovenia 1991-1998; Ukraine 1991-1997. (II) Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia and Montenegro are completely missing. North MacedoniaSource(s): ICRG.

## **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) Missing values for Croatia 1991-1992; Czechoslovakia 1990; Greece 1990-2001; Japan 1990-2003; North Macedonia 1991-1993; Moldova 1991-1996; Montenegro 2006-2007; New Zealand 1990-1992; Portugal 1990-2002; Slovakia 2004; Taiwan 1990-2012; Ukraine 1991. (II) Kosovo is completely missing.
- Sources: IDEA-F, Griner/Zovatto (2005), Castillo/Zovatto (1998); Gutierrez/Zovatto (2011); GRECO; Cons; Partylaw.

##### **Discrexp**

- 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) Missing values for Croatia 1991-1993; Czechoslovakia 1990; Greece 1990-2001; Japan 1990-2002; North Macedonia 1991-1994; Moldova 1991-1996; Montenegro 2006-2007; New Zealand 1990-1992; Portugal 1990-2002; Slovakia 2004; Taiwan 1990-2012; Ukraine 1991. (II) Kosovo is completely missing.
- Source(s): IDEA-F, Griner/Zovatto (2005), Castillo/Zovatto (1998); Gutierrez/Zovatto (2011); GRECO; 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) Missing values for Croatia 1991-1998; Estonia 1991-1998; Latvia 1991-1998; Lithuania 1991-1998; Moldova 1991-1998; Slovenia 1990-1998; Ukraine 1991-1997. (II) Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia and Montenegro are completely missing. (III) FR Yugoslavia: Values up to 2005 are based on values for Serbia-Montenegro.
- 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: missing values for 1990-1994. (II) Additional missing values for Albania 1995-2001, 2005-2006; Belgium 1995; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1995-2002, 2005-2006; Bulgaria 1995-1997; Costa Rica 1995-1996; Croatia 1995-1998, 2006; Cyprus 1995-2002; Czech Republic 1995-1996; Estonia 1995-1997; FR Yugoslavia 1995-1996, 2000-2002, 2005; Iceland 1995-1997; Kosovo 2008-2011; Latvia 1995-1997; Lithuania 1995-1998; Luxembourg 1995-1997; North Macedonia 1995-1998, 2000-2002, 2005-2006, 2008-2011; Malta 1995-2003; Moldova 1995-1998, 2005-2006; New Zealand 1995; Panama 1995-2000, 2006; Poland 1995; Romania 1995-1996, 2005-2006; Slovakia 1995-2002; Slovenia 1995-1998; Ukraine 1995-1997, 2005-2006; United Kingdom 1995-1996; Uruguay 1995-1996, 2000. (III) Czechoslovakia is completely missing. North Macedonia. (X) FR Yugoslavia: Values for 1997-1999, 2003 and 2004 are taken from Serbia.
- Source(s): TI.

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

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

#### **LegFOI**

- Definition: Legal 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) FR Yugoslavia is completely missing.
- Source(s): RTI, own composition based on Banisar (2006), CON, CDA, Tromp (2008), HRR, FI.

### ***3. Willingness for transparent communication [TR\_PTPP2]***

#### **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 for 1990-1992. (II) Additional missing values for Iceland 1993-1994, 2009; Latvia 1993-2012; Slovenia 1993-1998; Ukraine 1993-2016. (III) Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Costa Rica, FR Yugoslavia, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Panama, Serbia and Uruguay are completely missing. North MacedoniaSource(s): IMD; FH.

## PARTICIPATION [PARTICIP]

### EQUALITY OF PARTICIPATION [PAR\_EQPA]

#### 1. Suffrage [PAR\_EQPA1]

##### Suffrage

- Definition: Requirements for and disqualifications of active suffrage. 14-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.
  - o Others: measures if additional disqualifications to the ones cited above exist. Categories: 0 = no additional disqualifications; 1 = additional disqualifications in place.
- Measurement notes: (I) The scale was reversed by subtracting the values from the maximum (14). A high value indicates more requirements and disqualifications of suffrage and a lower value fewer. (II) Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing.
- Source(s): IPU-Chronicles.

##### Regprovap

- Definition: Registered voters as a percentage of voting age population, in parliamentary elections. Values were copied until to the following legislation.
- Measurement notes: (I) Values above 100 were set to 100. (II) Missing values for Albania 1990; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995; Bulgaria 1990; Chile 1990-1992; Croatia 1991; Czech Republic 1993-2995; Finland 1990; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1991; Greece 1990-1992; Iceland 1990; Lithuania 1991; North Macedonia 1991-1993; Moldova 1991-1993; Poland 1990; Romania 1991; Serbia 2006; Slovakia 1993; Slovenia 1990-1991; South Africa 1990-1993; Taiwan 1990; Ukraine 1990-1993. (V) Missing Values for FR Yugoslavia were replaced by matching values of Serbia-Montenegro.
- Source(s): IDEA-T, Nohlen (1995)

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

### **Repturnined**

- Definition: Representative voter turnout in national legislative elections (lower house if applicable) 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) 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 = 1990; 1991 = mean (1990, 1991); 1992 = mean (1990, 1991, 1992); 1993 = mean (1991, 1992, 1993), etc.). (II) If data from more than one survey was available, average values were calculated. (III) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Australia 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Austria 1990-1994; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1994, 2005-2017; Bulgaria 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Canada 1990-1994, 2010-2017; Chile 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Costa Rica 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Croatia 1991-2004, 2015-2017; Cyprus 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Czech Republic 1990-1993; Denmark 2015-2017; Estonia 1991-1994; Finland 1990-1994; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1994, 2005; Greece 2015-2017; Hungary 1990-1994; Iceland 1990-1994; Japan 1990-1994; Kosovo 2008-2009, 2015-2017; Latvia 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Lithuania 1991-1994, 2005-2009; Luxembourg 2005-2017; North Macedonia 1991-1994, 2005-2017; Malta 1990-1999, 2005-2017; Moldova 1991-1994, 2015-2017; Montenegro 2006-2009, 2015-2017; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Panama 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Poland 1990-1994; Romania 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Serbia 2015-2017; Slovakia 1993-1994; Slovenia 1990-1994; Taiwan 2015-2017; Ukraine 1991-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; United States 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Uruguay 1990-1994, 2015-2017. (IV) Czechoslovakia is completely missing. (V) FR Yugoslavia: base values of 1996 and 2001 refer to Serbia-MontenegroAs 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.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LAPOP, 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) 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.). (II) If data from more than one survey was available, average values were calculated. (III) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Australia 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Austria 1990-1994; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1994, 2005-2017; Bulgaria 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Canada 1990-1994, 2010-2017; Chile 2015-2017; Costa Rica 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Croatia 1991-1994, 2000-2004; Cyprus 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Denmark 2015-2017; Estonia 1991-1994; Greece 2015-2017; Hungary 1990-1994; Iceland 1990-1994; Kosovo 2008-2009, 2015-2017; Latvia 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Lithuania 1991-1994, 2005-2009; Luxembourg 2005-2017; North Macedonia 1991-1994, 2005-2017; Malta 1990-1994, 2010-2017; Moldova 1990-1994, 2010-2017; Montenegro 2006-2009, 2015-2017; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Panama 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Romania 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Serbia 2015-2017; Slovenia 1990-1994; Sweden 1990-1994; Taiwan 2015-2017; Ukraine 1991-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; United States 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Uruguay 1990-1994, 2015-2017. (IV) Completely missing value for FR Yugoslavia. (V) Czechoslovakia: base value of 1990 is based on regional value of Czech Republic.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LAPOP, 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) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1994; 1995-1999, 2000-2004etc.) for each form of participation (signing petition / attending demonstrations); 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.). (III) If data from more than one survey was available, average values were calculated. (II) Costa Rica: no income data for 1990-2013. Repturnaltined is therefore calculated by taking two times representative turnout in terms of education (for demonstration as well as for petition). (III) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Australia 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Austria 1990-1999, 2010-2014; Belgium 1990-1999; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1994, 2005-2017; Bulgaria 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Canada 1990-1999, 2010-2017; Costa Rica 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Czech Republic 1993-1994; Denmark 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Estonia 1990-1994, Finland 1990-1994; France 1990-1999; Germany 1990-1994; Greece 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Hungary 1990-1994; Iceland 1990-1999; Ireland 1990-1999; Italy 1990-1999; Japan 1990-1999; Kosovo 2008-2009, 2015-2017; Latvia 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Lithuania 1991-1994, 2005-2009; Luxembourg 1990-1999, 2005-2017; North Macedonia 1991-1994, 2005-2017; malta 1990-1999, 2005-2017; Moldova 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Netherlands 1990-1999; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2005-2009, 2015-2017; Norway 1990-1994, Panama 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Poland 1990-1994; Portugal 1990-1999; Romania 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Serbia 2010-2017; Slovakia 1993-1994, 2015-2017; Slovenia 1990-1994; South Africa 2015-2017; Spain 1990-1994; Sweden 1990-1994; Taiwan 1995-1999, 2015-2017; Turkey 2015-2017; Ukraine 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; United Kingdom 1990-1994; United States 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Uruguay 1990-1994, 2015-2017. (IV) Czechoslovakia, FR Yugoslavia and Montenegro are completely missing.
  - Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LAPOP, 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) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (1990-1994; 1995-1999, 2000-2004 etc.) for each form of participation (signing petition / attending demonstrations); 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.). (II) If data from more than one survey was available, average values were calculated. (III) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Australia 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Austria 1990-1999, 2015-2014; Belgium 1990-1999; Bosnia-Herzegovina 2015-2017; Bulgaria 2015-2017; Canada 2015-2017; Chile 2015-2017; Costa Rica 2015-2017; Cyprus 2015-2017; Denmark 2015-2017; Greece 2015-2017; Kosovo 2015-2017; Latvia 2015-2017; Luxembourg 2015-2017; North Macedonia 2015-2017; Malta 2015-2017; Moldova 2015-2017; Montenegro 2015-2017; New Zealand 2015-2017; Panama 2015-2017; Romania 2015-2017; Serbia 2015-2017; Slovakia 2015-2017; Taiwan 2015-2017; Ukraine 2015-2017; United States 2015-2017; Uruguay 2015-2017. (IV) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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. (V) Czechoslovakia: base values of 1990-1992 are based on values of the Czech Republic.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LAPOP, 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.
- Measurement notes: (I) Since 2015 is the advanced voting data not available anymore. Therefore, the values are coded manually with the ACE database. (II) Missing values for Serbia 2006-2011.
- Source(s): ACE, IDEA-T, Blais et al. (2007), EV.

#### **Registr**

- Definition: Voter registration is *not* required, i.e. no action is needed by the voter to get a place on the voter register (1 = no action required, 0 = action required). 1 was coded in the following instances: (I) If vote rights are based on the population register (which implies automated registration); (II) If self-registration is required but mandatory (i.e., if there are fines for failing to register; (III) If registration is required but done by the state (e.g., the state dispatches teams to register voters). 0 was coded if self-registration is required to exercise the right to vote, but there is no automatic process and if the registration is voluntary (e.g., in the U.S.).
- Measurement notes: (I) since 2015 coding has to be done manually. (II) Missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995; Kosovo 2008-2012.
- 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 and IDEA-T. 2017 Value copied from previous year, as there were no new elections. (II) Missing values for Albania 1990; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995; Bulgaria 1990; Czech Republic 1992-1995; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1991; Greece 1990-1992; North Macedonia 1991-1993; Moldova 1991-1993; South Africa 1990-1993; Taiwan 1990; Ukraine 1991-1993. (IV) Measurement of FR-Yugoslavia: 1990-2002 data refer to Serbia-Montenegro. Thereafter, we calculated separate values for Serbia and Montenegro.
- Source(s): US Census Bureau 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) Missing value for Montenegro 2006. (IV) Czechoslovakia, FR Yugoslavia Taiwan are completely missing.
- Source(s): ACE, 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) 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.). (II) If data from more than one survey was available, average values were calculated. (IV) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2005-2009, 2015-2017; Australia 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Austria 1990-1999, 2010-2014; Belgium 1990-1999; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1990-1994, 2005-2017; Bulgaria 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Canada 1990-1999, 2010-2017; Chile 2015-2017; Costa Rica 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Croatia 1991-1994, 2000-2004; Cyprus 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Czech Republic 1993-1994; Denmark 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Estonia 1991-1994; Finland 1990-1994; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1994, 2005; France 1990-1999; Germany 1990-1994; Greece 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Hungary 1990-1994; Iceland 1990-2004; Ireland 1990-1999; Italy 1990-1999; Kosovo 2008-2009, 2015-2017; Latvia 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Lithuania 1991-1994, 2005-209; Luxembourg 1990-1999, 2005-2017; North Macedonia 1991-1994, 2005-2017; Malta 1990-1999, 2005-2017; Moldova 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Netherlands 1990-1999; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2005-2009, 2015-2017; Norway 1990-1994; Panama 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Portugal 1990-1999; Romania 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Serbia 2010-2017; Slovakia 1993-1994, 2015-2017; Slovenia 1990-1994; Sweden 1990-1994; Taiwan 1995-2004, 2015-2017; Ukraine 1991-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; United Kingdom 1990-1994; United States 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Uruguay 1990-1994, 2015-2017. (III) Czechoslovakia and Montenegro are completely missing. (IV) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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. (V) Czechoslovakia: base values of 1990-1992 are based on values of the Czech Republic.

- 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: (II) 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.). (II) If data from more than one survey was available, average values were calculated. (III) Missing values for Albania 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Australia 1990-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; Austria 1990-1999; Belgium 1990-1999; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1994, 2005-2017; Bulgaria 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Canada 1990-1999, 2010-2017; Chile 2015-2017; Costa Rica 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Croatia 1991-1994, 2000-2004; Cyprus 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Denmark 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Estonia 1991-1994; Finland 1990-1994, FR Yugoslavia 1990-1994, 2005; France 1990-1999; Germany 1990-1994; Greece 1990-1999, 2015-2017; Hungary 1990-1994; Iceland 1990-1999; Ireland 1990-1999; Italy 1990-1999; Kosovo 2008-2009, 2015-2017; Latvia 1991-1994, 2015-2017; Lithuania 1991-1994, 2005-2009; Luxembourg 1990-1999, 2005-2009, 2015-2017; North Macedonia 1991-1994, 2005-2017; Malta 1990-1999, 2005-2009, 2015-2017; Moldova 1991-1994, 2010-2017; Netherlands 1990-1999; New Zealand 1990-1994, 2005-2009, 2015-2017; Norway 1990-1994; Panama 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Serbia 2010-2017; Slovakia 2015-2017; Slovenia 1990-1994; Sweden 1990-1994; Taiwan 1995-1999, 2015-2017; Ukraine 1991-1994, 2000-2004, 2015-2017; United Kingdom 1990-1999; United States 1990-1994, 2015-2017; Uruguay 1990-1994, 2015-2017. (IV) Montenegro is completely missing. (IV) Coding of FR Yugoslavia: 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. (V) Czechoslovakia: base value of 1990 is based on value of the Czech Republic.
- Source(s): own calculation based on AfB, AsB, AsnB, CSES, ESS, LAPOP, LB, WVS, ISS, EES, EB.

# **REPRESENTATION [REPRES]**

## **SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION [REP\_SR]**

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

#### **Seatperin**

- Definition: Number of statutory seats (lower house) per 100'000 inhabitants.
- Measurement notes: ((I) Values 1990-2003 of FR Yugoslavia refer to Serbia-Montenegro. Population figures for Serbia-Montenegro are calculated as the sum of Serbia and Montenegro. (II) Cyprus: Number of current seats is considered, as additional seats are reserved for Turkish-Cypriot community but have been vacant since 1985. (III) North Macedonia can appoint from 120-140 seats, the maximum statutory number (140) is considered. (IV) Missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1997; Croatia 1990-1991; Czech Republic 1993-1995; FR Yugoslavia 1990-1992, 2003-2005; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1991; North Macedonia 1991; Moldova 1991-1993; Slovakia 1993; Slovenia 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991.
- Source(s): ACEA, Bormann/Golder (2013), DPI, IPU, UNSTATS, WB, additional individual internet research.

#### **No\_district**

- Definition: Number of districts in lowest tier. The logarithm (log 10) of the number of districts is taken to account for the fact that more districts are less important in countries, which already have many districts (diminishing marginal returns of additional district).
- Measurement notes: (I) Missing values for Albania 1990-1991; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-2000; Croatia 1991; Czech Republic 1993-1995; Estonia 1991; FR Yugoslavia 1990-2005; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1990-1991; Moldova 1991-1993; Slovakia 1993; Slovenia 1990; Taiwan 1990-1997, 2017; Ukraine 1991-1993.
- Source(s): IPU, Golder (2004), PDoA, Electoral statistics, additional individual internet research.

### **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) Missing values for Montenegro 2006; Slovenia 1990. (IV) Czechoslovakia, FR Yugoslavia and Taiwan are completely missing. (V) 2014-2017: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place or unless secondary sources indicated otherwise.
- Source(s): Hug/Tsebelis (2002); 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.
- 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). (III) Missing values for Albania 1990-1999; Lithuania 1991; Montenegro 2006; Slovenia 1990. (IV) Czechoslovakia, France, FR Yugoslavia and Taiwan are completely missing.(V) 2014-2017: Values copied from 2013 unless a constitutional change took place or unless secondary sources indicated otherwise.
- Source(s): Own calculations based on: Kaufmann et al. (2006), ACM, Venice Commission, C2D, Herrera/Mattozzi (2010), Auer/Bützer (2001), Rodrigo Salazar (2008), IDEA-T, ACE

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

#### **Gallagindex**

- Definition: Index of disproportionality between vote and seat distributions according to the Gallagher “Least Squares Index”  

$$\sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^m (v_i - s_i)^2}$$
 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.
  - 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: The unweighted values were copied forward for years with no general elections. (IV) Missing values for Albania 1990; Estonia 1991; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1991; Moldova 1991-1993; Panama 1990-1993; Poland 1990; South Africa 1990-1993; Ukraine 1991-1993. (IV) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing.
- 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. The value from the election year was used for all years up to the next election. (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 Australia 2016-2017; Costa Rica 2008-2017; Denmark 2015-2017; Finland 2015-2017; France 1990; Iceland 2017; Ireland 2008-2015; Japan 2017; Luxembourg 2008-2017; Malta 2008-2017; Montenegro 1990-2008; Norway 2017; Panama 2008-2017; Serbia 1990-2007; Slovenia 1990; Switzerland 2008-2014; Poland 2015-2017; Uruguay 2008-2013. (IV) Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Moldova, Taiwan, Ukraine are completely missing. 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), WVS, WZB.

### ***DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION [REP\_DR]***

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

#### **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: (I) Missing values for Albania 1990-1997; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1994; North Macedonia 1991-1993; Moldova 1991-1996. (II) Taiwan is completely missing.
- 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: -
- Source(s): CON, Constitute, 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) Values are coded as of the election year and copied to the whole electoral period. (II) Missing values for Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1999; Croatia 1991; Estonia 1991; Latvia 1991-1992; Lithuania 1991; North Macedonia 1991-1993; Moldova 1991-1993; Slovenia 1990-1991; Ukraine 1991-1996; Uruguay 1990-1993. (III) Czechoslovakia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing. (II) Values FR Yugoslavia refer to Serbia-Montenegro 1990-2005. (III) North Macedonia
- 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) All countries: missing values for 1991-1994, 1997, 2002-2004 (except Turkey, which has a value for 2004). (II) Additional missing values for Albania 1990, 2012; Australia 1990, 2007-2008; Austria 2007-2008, 2012; Belgium 1990, 2007-2008, 2010; Bosnia-Herzegovina 1995-1996, 1998-2001, 2007-2008, 2010-2012; Bulgaria 2007, 2010; Canada 1990, 1998; 2007-2008, 2010-2012; Chile 1990, 1995, 2007-2008, 2010-2012. Costa Rica 1990, 1995, 2007-2008, 2010-2012. Croatia 1995, 2007-2008, 2012, 2017; Cyprus 1995, 1999-2001, 2007-2008, 2010; Czech Republic 1999-2001, 2007-2008, 2010; Denmark 2007-2008, 2010; Estonia 2007-2008; Finland 1990; France 1990, 2007-2008, 2010; Germany 2007-2008; Greece 1990, 2007-2008, 2010; Hungary 2007, 2010; Iceland 2007-2008, 2010, 2012; Italy 1990, 2007-2008, 2010; Japan 1990, 2007-2008, 2010-2012; Latvia 2007-2008, 2010; Lithuania 2007-2008; Luxembourg 2007, 2010; North Macedonia 1995, 2007-2008, 2010-2012, 2016; Malta 1990, 2007-2008, 2010; Moldova 1999-2001, 2007-2008, 2010-2012; Montenegro 2006-2008, 2010-2011; Netherlands 2007-2008; New Zealand 1990, 2010-2012; Norway 2007-2008, 2012; Panama 1990, 1995, 2007-2008, 2010-2012; Poland 1990, 2007-2008, 2010; Portugal 2007-2008; Romania 1990, 2007-2008, 2010; Serbia 2006-2008, 2010, 2012; Slovakia 1993-1994; Slovenia 1995, 2007-2008; South Africa 1990, 1995, 2010-2012; Sweden 1990; Turkey 1995, 2012; Ukraine 1999-2001, 2007-2008, 2010-2011; United Kingdom 1990, 2007-2008, 2010; United States 1990, 2007-2008, 2010-2011, 2016; Uruguay 1990, 1995, 1999-2001, 2007-2008, 2010-2012. (III) Czechoslovakia, FR Yugoslavia, Kosovo and Taiwan are completely missing.
- Source(s): HDR, IPU, UNECE, UN Women.

## **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:, where  $\pi$  refers to a group's share

in the population and 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) Homogenous countries (Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden, and Taiwan) 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) All countries: values for 2015 and 2017 are missing. (VIII) Austria, Croatia, Italy, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia are completely missing for all years. (IX) Additional missing values for Albania 1990; Croatia 1991-2006; Estonia 2012-2014; Latvia 2012-2014; Lithuania 1991, 2012-2014; Moldova 1991-1993; Romania 1990-1991; Turkey 1990-2012.
- Source(s): HRR, Hänni (2017), 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: (I) majority groups were deleted from the dataset. (II) Indigenous population in Bolivia and Guatemala is coded as minority group even though they are in a numerical majority. (III) Afrikaans in South Africa are not coded as the minority group up to 1994 because they were the dominant group. (IV) Ashkenazim in Israel are not coded as a minority group. (V) Mainland Chinese in Taiwan are not coded as a minority group until 2000, as they dominate the political system up to this point. (VI) In Belgium, all ethnic groups were coded as minority groups due to their equal constitutional status. (VII) Homogenous countries receive the highest value in the sample (4.33). (VIII) Missing values for Croatia 1991; Slovenia 1990-1991.
- Source: Cederman et al. (2013)

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<http://aceproject.org>
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<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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<b>BPHW</b>	Banks' Political Handbooks of the World.
<b>BTI</b>	Bertelsmann Transformation Index <a href="https://www.bti-project.org/en/">https://www.bti-project.org/en/</a>
<b>Castillo/Zovatto (1998)</b>	Castillo, Pilar del, Zovatto, Daniel (1998). La Financiación de la Política en Iberoamérica. IIDH/CAPEL.
<b>C2D</b>	Centre for Research on Direct Democracy. <a href="http://www.c2d.ch">http://www.c2d.ch</a>
<b>CCP</b>	Comparative Constitutions Project: Zachary Elkins, Tom Ginsburg, and James Melton. 2013. Characteristics of National Constitutions, Version 2.0. <a href="http://comparativeconstitutionsproject.org">http://comparativeconstitutionsproject.org</a>
<b>CD</b>	Comtrade Database (UN). <a href="http://comtrade.un.org">http://comtrade.un.org</a>
<b>CDA</b>	CentralAmerciaData. <a href="http://www.centralamericanadata.com/es/article/home/Costa_Rica_y_El_Salvador_si_n_Ley_de_Acceso_a_Information">http://www.centralamericanadata.com/es/article/home/Costa_Rica_y_El_Salvador_si_n_Ley_de_Acceso_a_Information</a>
<b>CIA</b>	CIA World Factbook.
<b>CIRI</b>	The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset.
<b>CIRIGHTS</b>	<a href="https://www.binghamton.edu/institutes/hri/researcher-resources.html">https://www.binghamton.edu/institutes/hri/researcher-resources.html</a>
<b>CMP</b>	Comparative Manifestos Project Data Set. <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. <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. <a href="http://confinder.richmond.edu">http://confinder.richmond.edu</a>
<b>Constitute</b>	Constitute: The World's Constitutions to Read, Search, and Compare <a href="https://www.constituteproject.org/#/">https://www.constituteproject.org/#/</a>
<b>Coppedge (1997)</b>	Coppedge, Michael (1997). "A Classification of Latin American Political Parties", Kellogg Institute for International Studies Working Paper #244. <a href="http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/members/congress-papers/lasa2004/files/CoppedgeMichael.pdf">http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/members/congress-papers/lasa2004/files/CoppedgeMichael.pdf</a>
<b>CSES</b>	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. <a href="http://www.csdes.org">http://www.csdes.org</a>
<b>CTOCIDTP</b>	Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment <a href="http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&amp;mtdsg_no=IV-9&amp;chapter=4&amp;lang=en#7">http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&amp;mtdsg_no=IV-9&amp;chapter=4&amp;lang=en#7</a>
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<b>DAP</b>	Democracy Assistance Project - Phase II. Steven E. Finkel, Anibal Perez-Liñan, Mitchell A. Seligson and C. Neal Tate

<http://www.pitt.edu/~politics/democracy/democracy.html>

<b>Dexia</b>	Local Governments in the World. Basic Facts on 82 selected countries
<b>DPI</b>	Database of Political Institutions 2009. Thorsten Beck , Philip E. Keefer, George R. Clarke, Thorsten Beck and Philip E. Keefer . Development Research Group. The World Bank. <a href="http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRES/Resources/DPI2009_corrected_April2010.dta">http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRES/Resources/DPI2009_corrected_April2010.dta</a>
<b>EB</b>	Eurobarometer Trend File <a href="http://www.gesis.org/?id=798">http://www.gesis.org/?id=798</a>
<b>ECPHRFF</b>	European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
<b>EES</b>	European Election Survey <a href="http://www.ees-homepage.net/">http://www.ees-homepage.net/</a>
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<b>ESS</b>	European Social Survey. <a href="http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org">http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org</a>
<b>EUROSTAT</b>	European Commission. Eurostat – key to European statistics. <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>
<b>EV</b>	Early Voting. United States. <a href="http://www.earlyvoting.net/blog/2010/05/balloting-busy">http://www.earlyvoting.net/blog/2010/05/balloting-busy</a>
<b>FH</b>	Freedom House. Freedom of the Press. <a href="http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=16">http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=16</a>
<b>FI</b>	Freedominfo.org The global network of freedom of information advocates <a href="http://www.freedominfo.org">www.freedominfo.org</a>
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<b>GALLAGHER</b>	Election indices ( <a href="http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/E!Systems/Docts/ElectionIndices.pdf">www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/E!Systems/Docts/ElectionIndices.pdf</a> ); also see: Gallagher, Michael (1991). Proportionality, disproportionality and electoral systems. Comparative Electoral Studies 10(1): 33-51. Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (2008; eds). The Politics of Electoral Systems. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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<b>GCR</b>	Global Competitiveness Report World Economic Forum. <a href="http://www.weforum.org/en/initiatives/gcp/Global%20Competitiveness%20Report/index.htm">http://www.weforum.org/en/initiatives/gcp/Global%20Competitiveness%20Report/index.htm</a>
<b>GFS</b>	Government Finance Statistics CD-ROM. International Monetary Fund.
<b>GRECO</b>	Group of Countries against Corruption. Evaluations. <a href="http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/greco/evaluations/index_en.asp">http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/greco/evaluations/index_en.asp</a>

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<b>HBI</b>	Hans-Bredow-Institut. <a href="http://www.hans-bredow-institut.de">http://www.hans-bredow-institut.de</a>
<b>HDR</b>	Human Development Reports. <a href="http://hdrstats.undp.org/indicators/indicators_table.cfm">http://hdrstats.undp.org/indicators/indicators_table.cfm</a>
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<b>HRR</b>	Human Right Reports of the U.S. Departement of State <a href="http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt">http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt</a>
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<b>Hug/Tsebelis (2002)</b>	Hug, Simon, Tsebelis, George (2002). Veto Players and Referndums around the World. <i>Journal of Theoretical Politics</i> , 14(4): 465-515.
<b>IAPPT</b>	Inter-American Convention To Prevent And Punish Torture <a href="http://www.oas.org/juridico/English/Sigs/a-51.html">http://www.oas.org/juridico/English/Sigs/a-51.html</a>
<b>IAEP</b>	Institutions and Elections Project Dataset. <a href="https://havardhegre.net/iaep/">https://havardhegre.net/iaep/</a>
<b>ICCPR</b>	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights <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>
<b>ICESCR</b>	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights <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>
<b>ICRG</b>	International Country Risk Guide. <a href="http://www.prsgroup.com/ICRG.aspx">http://www.prsgroup.com/ICRG.aspx</a>
<b>IDEA-D</b>	Global State of Democracy Indices. International IDEA. <a href="https://www.idea.int/data-tools/tools/global-state-democracy-indices">https://www.idea.int/data-tools/tools/global-state-democracy-indices</a>
<b>IDEA-F</b>	Political Finance Database. International IDEA. <a href="https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/political-finance-database">https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/political-finance-database</a>
<b>IDEA-T</b>	Voter turnout. International IDEA. <a href="http://www.idea.int/vt">http://www.idea.int/vt</a>
<b>IEF</b>	Index of Economic Freedom. Heritage Foundation. <a href="http://www.heritage.org/index">http://www.heritage.org/index</a>
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organization. <a href="http://www.ilo.org">http://www.ilo.org</a>
<b>IMD</b>	Institute for Management Development, Lausanne. The World Competitiveness Yearbook / Report. Executive Opinion Survey.
<b>IPD</b>	Institutional Profiles Database, Cepii

	<a href="http://www.cepii.fr/institutions/EN/download.asp">http://www.cepii.fr/institutions/EN/download.asp</a>
<b>IPU</b>	International Parliamentary Union. Parline database. <a href="http://www.ipu.org/parline">http://www.ipu.org/parline</a>
<b>IPU-Chronicles</b>	Inter Parliamentary Union (various years). Chronicle of parliamentary elections. Vol (various). Geneva, CH: IPU.
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<b>Ismayr (2004)</b>	Ismayr, Wolfgang (2004). Die politischen Systeme Westeuropas. Leske und Budrich.
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<b>LAPOP</b>	Latin American Public Opinion Project. Vanderbilt University. <a href="http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop">http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop</a>
<b>LB</b>	Latinobarometro. <a href="http://www.latinobarometro.org">http://www.latinobarometro.org</a>
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<b>Partylaw</b>	Party Law in Modern Europe. <a href="http://www.partylaw.leidenuniv.nl/">http://www.partylaw.leidenuniv.nl/</a>
<b>PDoA</b>	Political Database of the Americas. Georgetown University. <a href="http://pdba.georgetown.edu">http://pdba.georgetown.edu</a>
<b>PELA</b>	Elites Parlamentarias de América Latina. <a href="http://americo.usal.es/oir/Elites/bases_de_datos.htm">http://americo.usal.es/oir/Elites/bases_de_datos.htm</a>
<b>PTS</b>	Political Terror Scale. <a href="http://www.politicalterrorscale.org">http://www.politicalterrorscale.org</a>
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<b>RTI</b>	The Global Right to Information Rating by Center of Law and Democracy <a href="https://www.rti-rating.org/country-data/">https://www.rti-rating.org/country-data/</a>
<b>Tavits (2006)</b>	Tavits, Margit (2006). Party System Change: Testing a Model of New Party Entry. Party Politics 12(1): 99-119.
<b>SGI</b>	Bertelsmann Sustainable Governance Indicators <a href="https://www.sgi-network.org/">https://www.sgi-network.org/</a>
<b>Ten Brinke/Deml (2002)</b>	Ten Brinke, Daniel Hans-Michael Deml (2002). Judges in the Service of State?
<b>TI</b>	Transparency International <a href="http://www.transparency.org/">http://www.transparency.org/</a>
<b>Tromp (2008)</b>	Tromp, Stanley (2008). Fallen Behind: Canada's Access to Information Act in the World Context. <a href="http://www3.telus.net/index100/report">http://www3.telus.net/index100/report</a>
<b>UCI</b>	University of California: The Election Turnout Database. <a href="http://www демoc.uci.edu/resources/archive.php">http://www демoc.uci.edu/resources/archive.php</a>
<b>UNECE</b>	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. <a href="http://www.unece.org">http://www.unece.org</a>
<b>UNODC</b>	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime <a href="http://www.unodc.org/">http://www.unodc.org/</a>
<b>UNUDHR</b>	United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights <a href="http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml">http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml</a>
<b>UNSTATS</b>	United Nations Statistics Division. <a href="http://unstats.un.org">http://unstats.un.org</a>
<b>UNTRET</b>	United Nations Treaty Collection <a href="https://treaties.un.org/">https://treaties.un.org/</a>
<b>UN WOMEN</b>	Women in Politics: 2015. <a href="http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2015/3/press-release-sluggish-progress-on-women-in-politics-will-hamper-development">http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2015/3/press-release-sluggish-progress-on-women-in-politics-will-hamper-development</a> ;

<b>US Census Bureau</b>	<a href="http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2017/4/women-in-politics-2017-map">http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2017/4/women-in-politics-2017-map</a> <a href="https://www.census.gov/topics/public-sector/voting.html">https://www.census.gov/topics/public-sector/voting.html</a>
<b>USEP</b>	United States Elections Project. <a href="https://sites.google.com/site/uselectionsproject/home/voter-turnout">https://sites.google.com/site/uselectionsproject/home/voter-turnout</a>
<b>Vanhelanen (2008)</b>	Women's Representation in National Parliaments 1970-2008. <a href="http://www.fsd.uta.fi/english/data/catalogue/FSD2183/meF2183.html">http://www.fsd.uta.fi/english/data/catalogue/FSD2183/meF2183.html</a>
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<b>Visser (2019)</b>	Visser, Jelle (2009). <i>The ICTWSS Database: Database on Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention and Social Pacts in 34 countries between 1960 and 2007</i> . University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies (AIAS).
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<b>WB</b>	World Bank Statistics. <a href="http://data.worldbank.org">http://data.worldbank.org</a>
<b>Welp/Serdült (2009)</b>	Welp, Yanina and Uwe Serdült (eds.) (2009) Armas de doble filo: La participación ciudadana en la encrucijada. Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros.
<b>WGI</b>	Worldwide Governance Indicators. World Bank. <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). <a href="http://www.who.int/research/en">http://www.who.int/research/en</a>
<b>Wiesehomeier/Benoit (2009)</b>	Wiesehomeier, Nina and Kenneth Benoit (2009). "Presidents, Parties, and Policy Competition", The Journal of Politics 71(4): 1435-47.
<b>WP</b>	Worldpress. <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. <a href="http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/">http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/</a>
<b>WZB</b>	Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin.

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## **Appendix 1: Overview**

The following pages give a short overview of the functions (concept tree, indicators). Additionally, tables with first results were presented.

The colors in the conceptual trees have the following meanings:

dark blue: Overall quality of democracy score (QOD)

mint: principles

light blue: functions

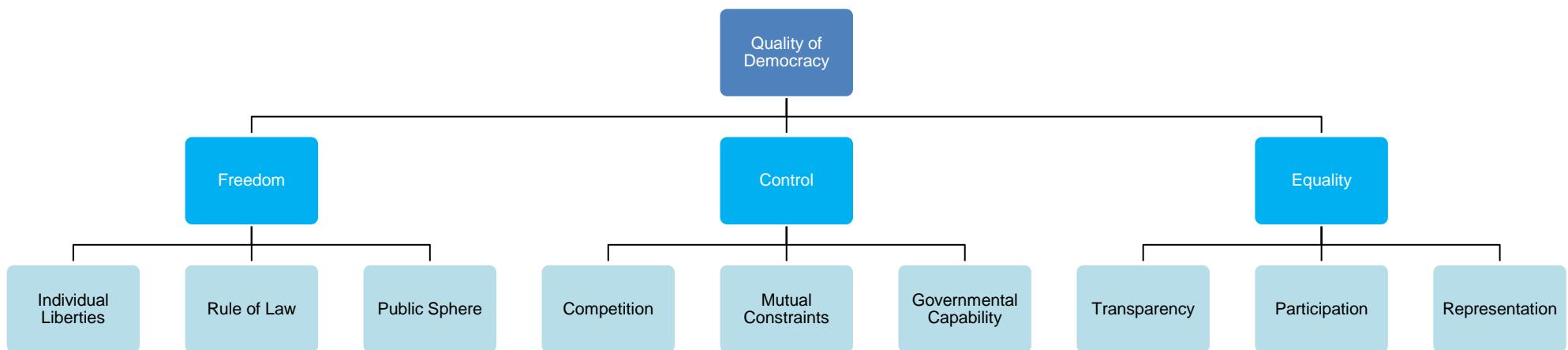
yellow: components

orange: subcomponents measuring effective impact (rules in use)

pink: subcomponents measuring constitutional settings (rules in law)

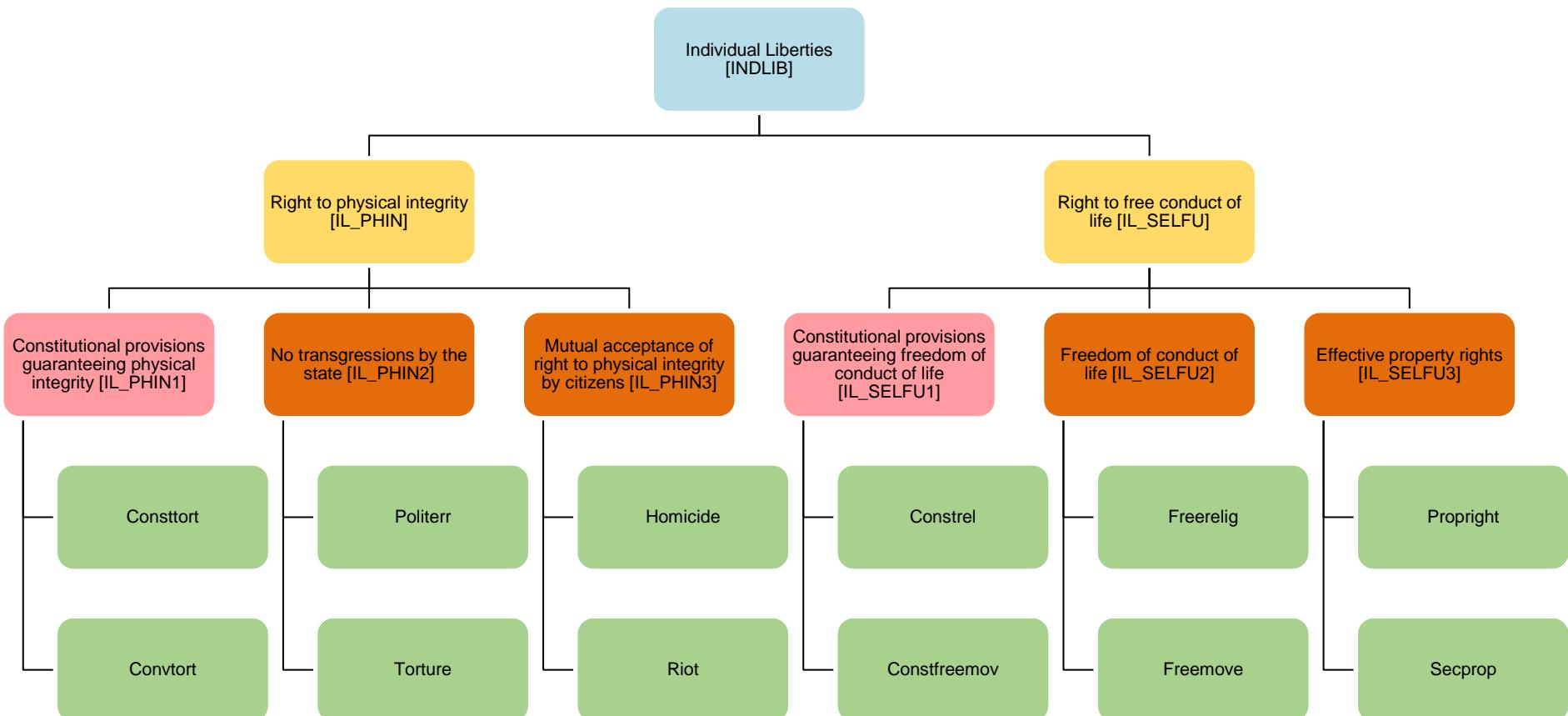
green: indicators

# 1 OVERALL QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY, PRINCIPLES, FUNCTIONS - CONCEPT TREE



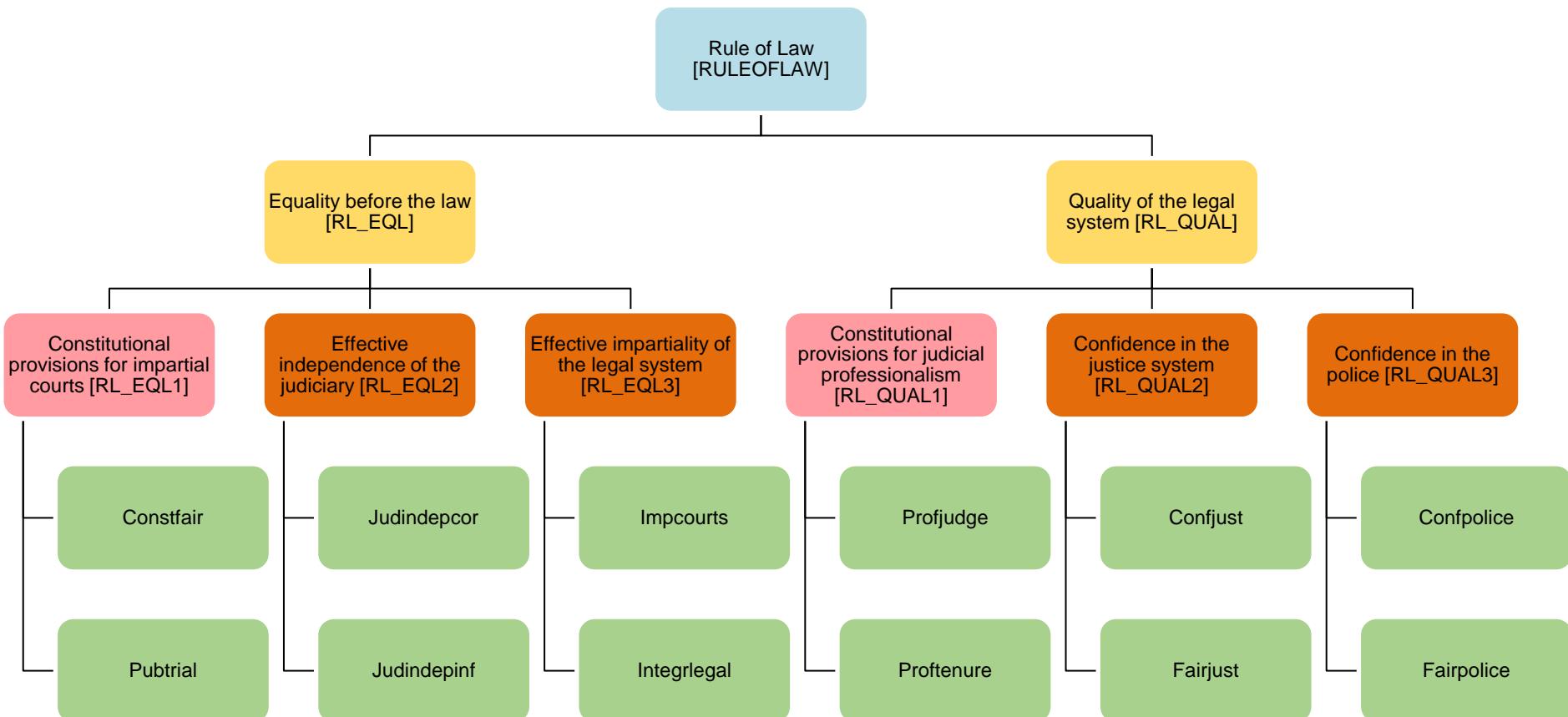
## 2 INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

### 2.1 Concept Tree



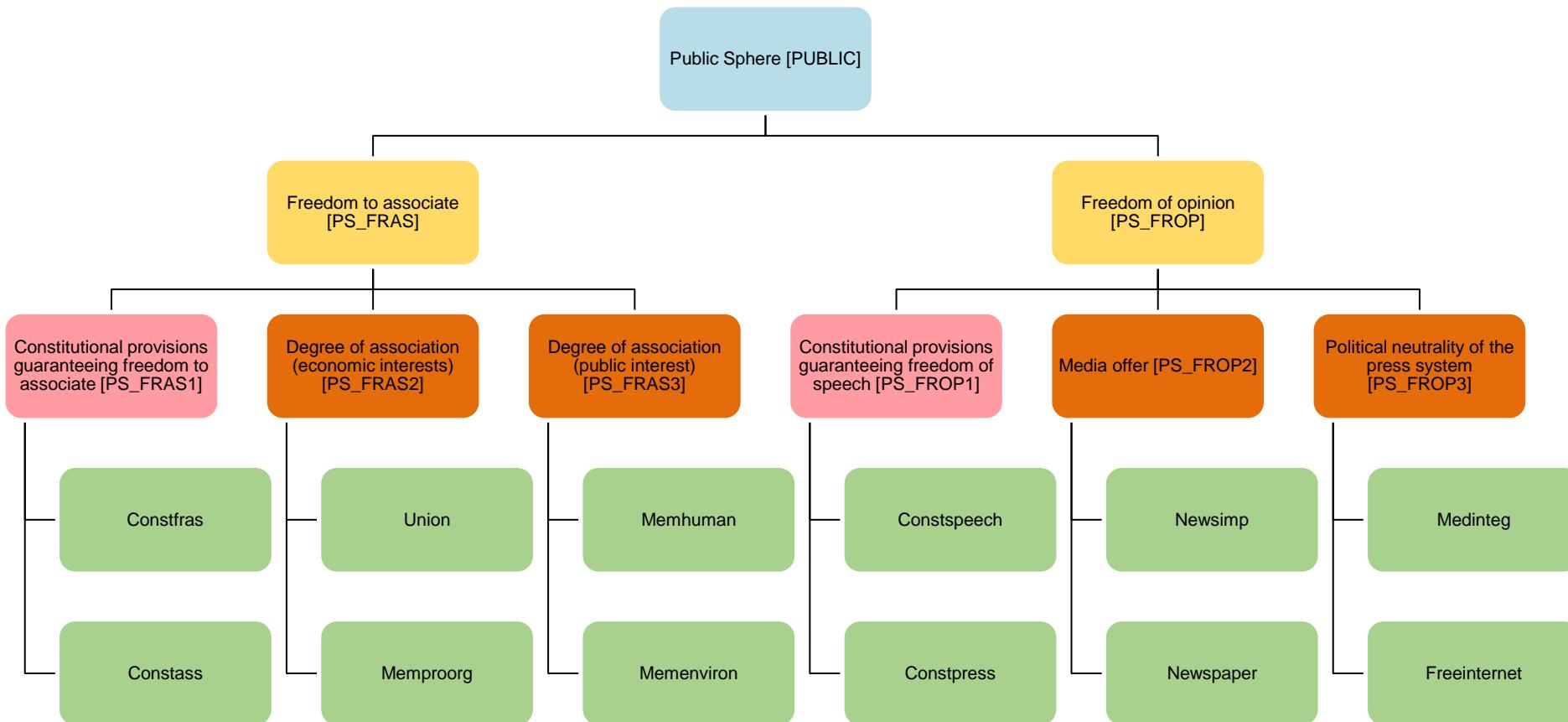
### 3 RULE OF LAW

#### 3.1 Concept Tree



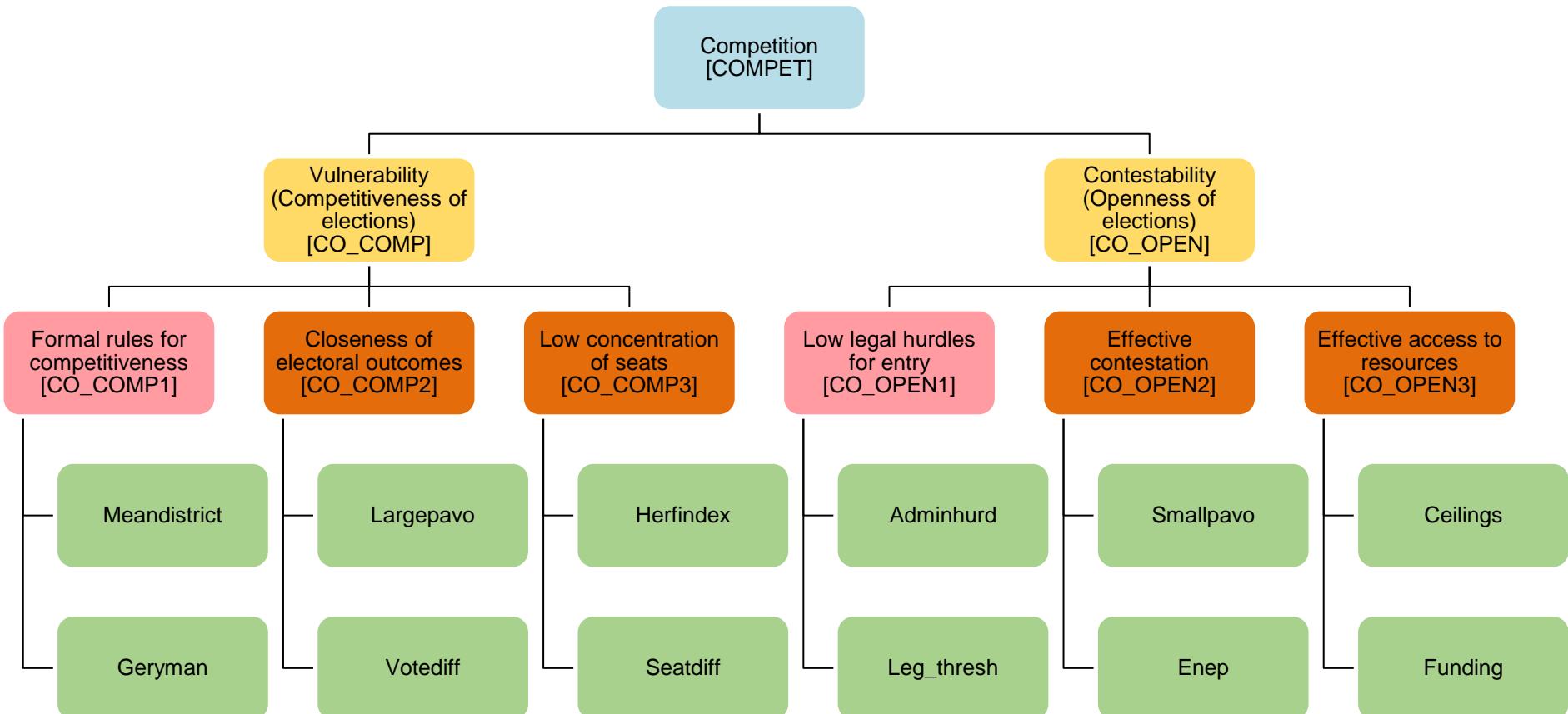
## 4 PUBLIC SPHERE

### 4.1 Concept Tree



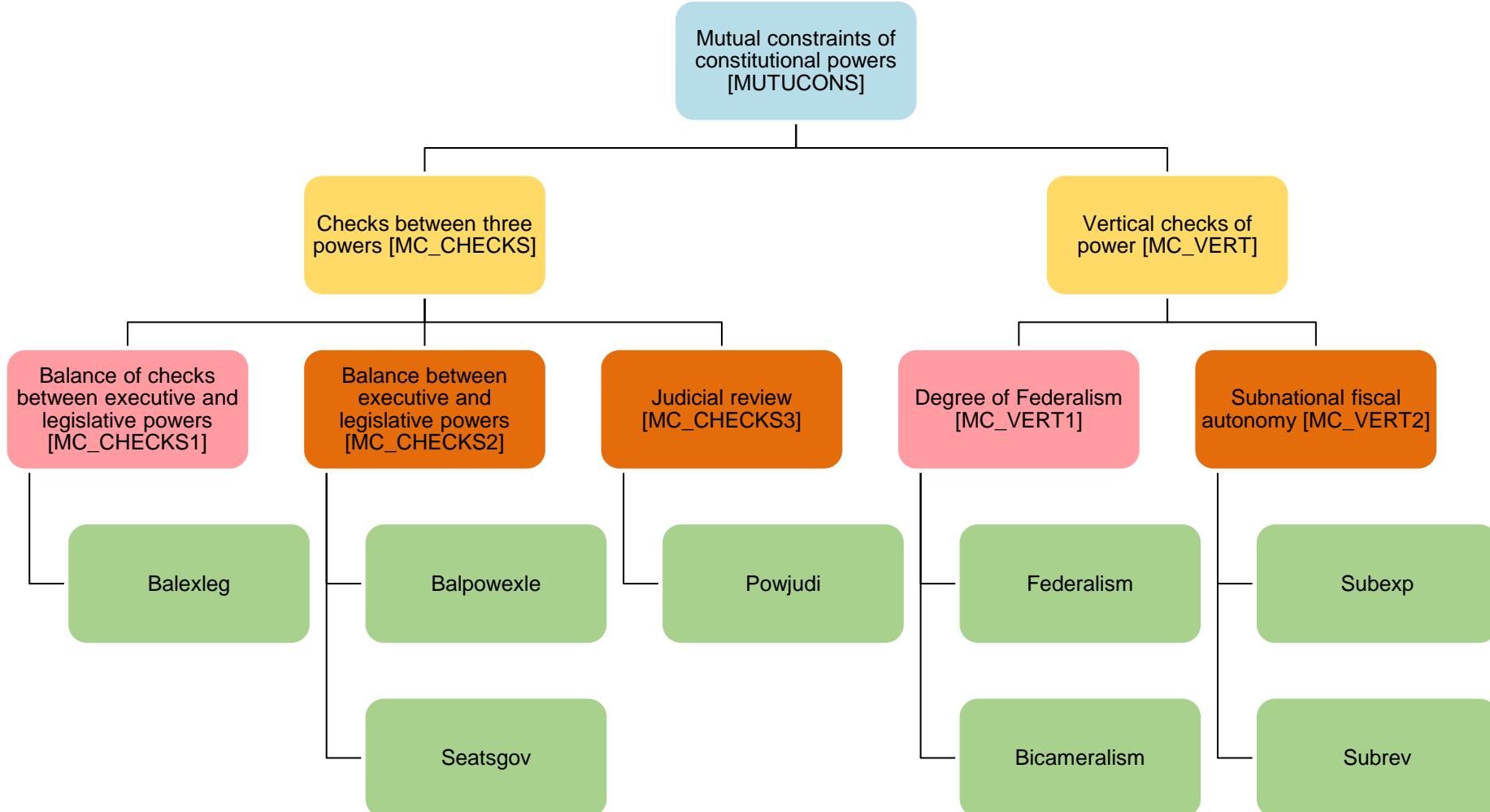
## 5 Competition

### 5.1 Concept Tree



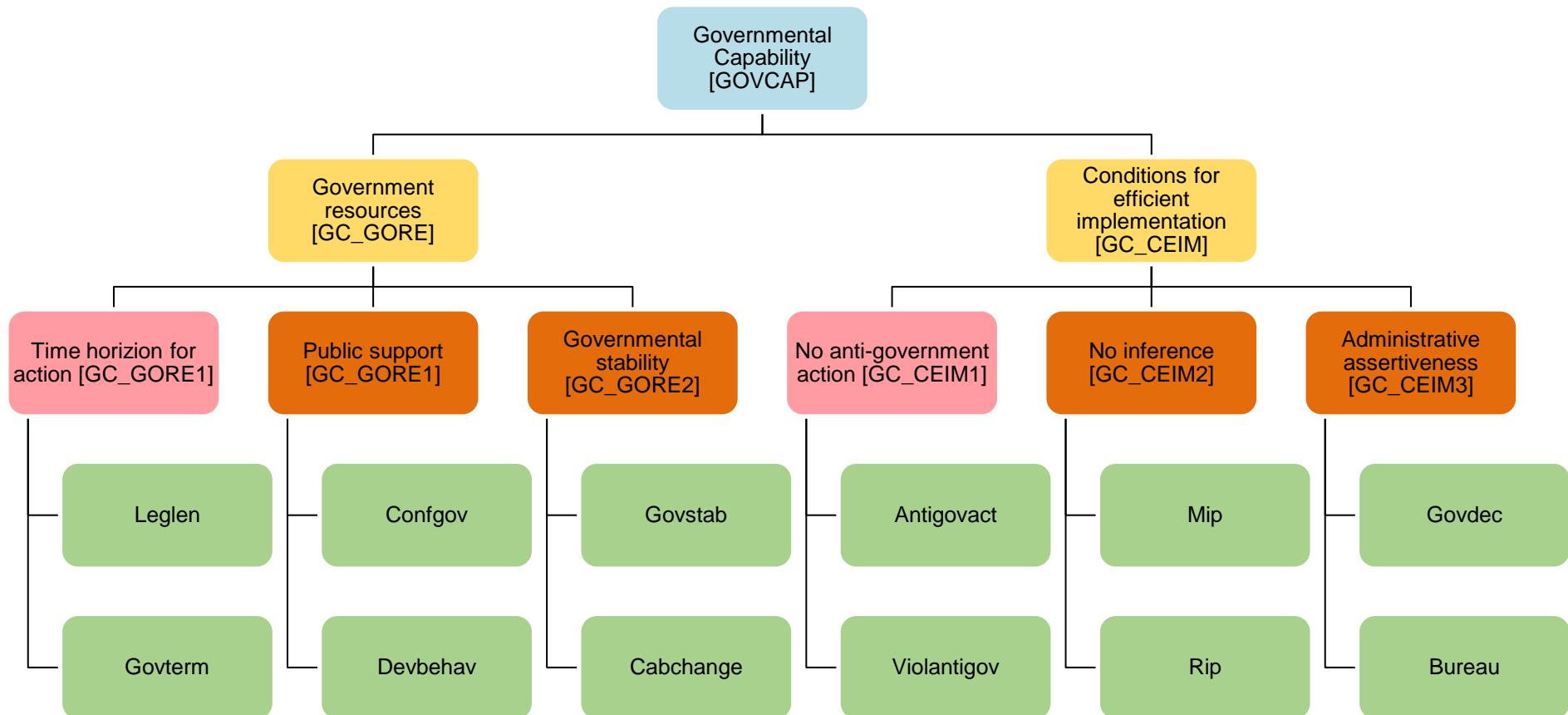
## 6 Mutual Constraints

### 6.1 Concept Tree



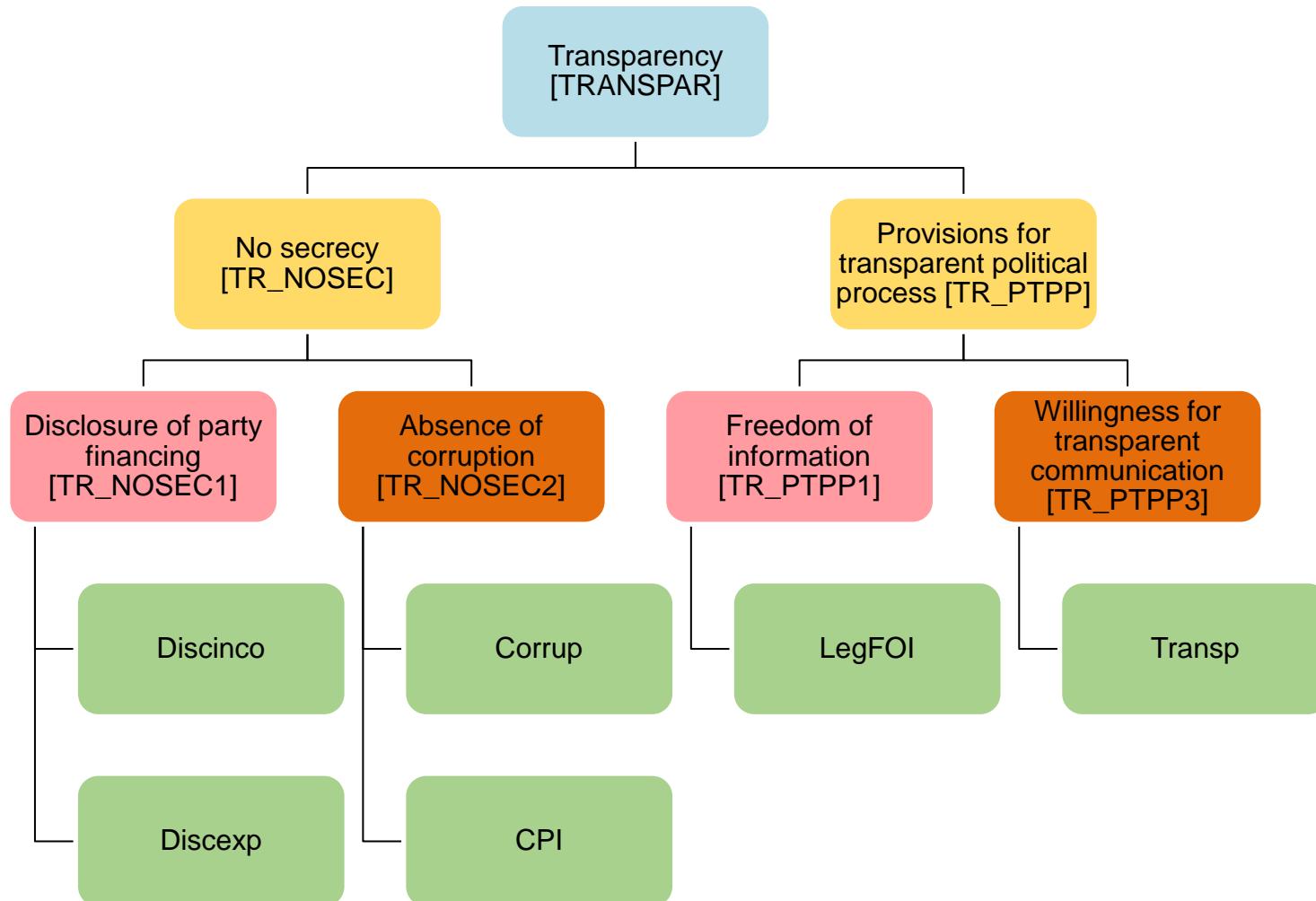
## 7 Governmental Capability

### 7.1 Concept Tree



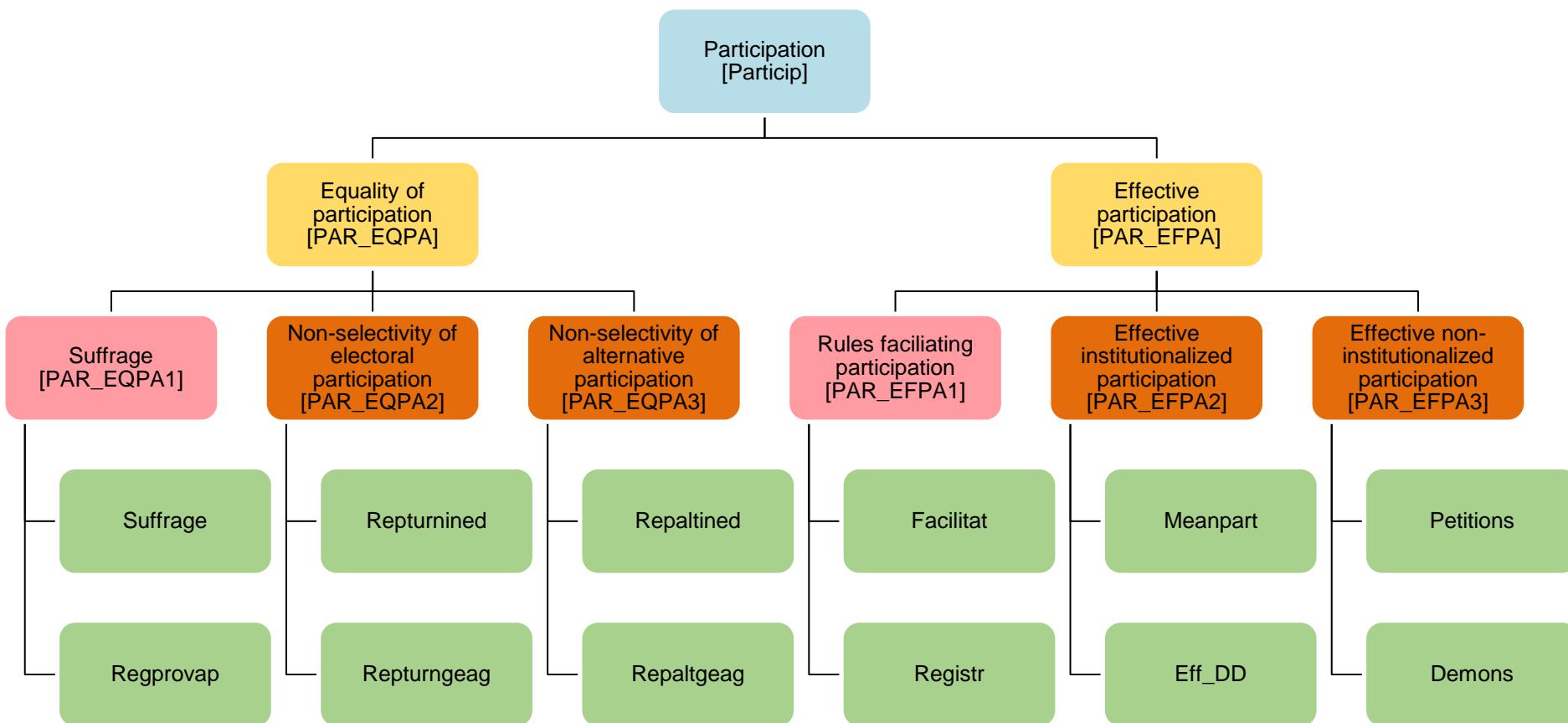
## 8 Transparency

### 8.1 Concept Tree



## 9 Participation

### 9.1 Concept Tree



## 10 Representation

### 10.1 Concept Tree

