



COUNTRY BRIEF

GHANA

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January 2016

Country Brief

SERIES 2016:01

THE VARIETIES OF DEMOCRACY INSTITUTE



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V-Dem Working Papers are available in electronic format at www.v-dem.net.

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About V-Dem

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) is a new approach to conceptualizing and measuring democracy. V-Dem's multidimensional and disaggregated approach acknowledges the complexity of the concept of democracy. The V-Dem project distinguishes among five high-level principles of democracy: *electoral*, *liberal*, *participatory*, *deliberative*, and *egalitarian*, which are disaggregated into lower-level components and specific indicators.

Key features of V-Dem:

- Provides reliable data on five high-level principles and 22 lower-level components of democracy such as regular elections, judicial independence, direct democracy, and gender equality, consisting of more than 400 distinct and precise indicators;
- Covers all countries and dependent territories from 1900 to the present and provides an estimate of measurement reliability for each rating;
- Makes all ratings public, free of charge, through a user-friendly interface.

With four Principal Investigators, two Project Coordinators, fifteen Project Managers, more than thirty Regional Managers, almost 200 Country Coordinators, several Assistant Researchers, and approximately 2,600 Country Experts, the V-Dem project is one of the largest-ever social science data collection projects with a database of over 15 million data points. The database makes highly detailed analysis of virtually all aspects of democracy in a country possible, while also allowing for summary comparisons between countries based on aggregated indices for different dimensions of democracy. The V-Dem online analysis tools found on the project's website, are available to users all over the world. Governments, development agencies, and NGOs can benefit from the nuanced comparative and historical data when making critical decisions such as selecting country program priorities, informing program designs and monitoring the impact of their programs.

Methodology:

Unlike extant data collection projects, which typically use a small group of experts who rate all countries or ask a single expert to code one country, the V-Dem project has recruited over 2,600 local and cross-national experts to provide judgments on various indicators of democracy. The V-Dem dataset is created by combining factual information from existing data sources about constitutional regulations and de jure situations with expert coding for questions that require evaluation. Experts' ratings are aggregated through an advanced statistical model that takes into account the possibilities that experts may make mistakes or have different scales in mind when coding. In addition, bridge-coders - experts who code multiple countries - are recruited to calibrate the scales of estimates cross-nationally¹.

¹ For further details and information about the V-Dem methodology, see <http://v-dem.net>.

Introduction

This V-Dem data brief illustrates the democratic development of Ghana from 1900 to 2014. The purpose is to provide a concise overview of the V-Dem data collected for Ghana. The historical development of the five V-Dem principles of democracy - *electoral, liberal, egalitarian, deliberative and participatory* - is analyzed, accompanied by an overview of the female rights index. In addition, the brief delves further into the different components and detailed indicators of the main principles of democracy². We anticipate that this brief will be a useful resource for policy-makers, practitioners and citizen-led democracy assessments.

Ghana became independent from British colonial rule in 1956 and adopted its first constitution in 1957; however, three direct national elections to parliament were held even before this. Ghana's political history after independence was turbulent, as series of disruptions to the country's democratic development occurred. First, in 1966 the elected President Nkrumah was overthrown by the military, the constitution was suspended and political parties were banned.

A second military coup in January 1972 led to the military government National Redemption Council ruling the country until 1975. Yet another coup in June 1979 headed by Jerry J. Rawlings brought to power the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). A short episode of democratization followed until the second coup d'état, also led by J. J. Rawlings, in December 1981. Political parties were prohibited and the years that followed saw flagrant oppression.

After increasing pressure from foreign and domestic forces, a new constitution was adopted in April 1992. As a result of contentious elections in 1992, a new period of continued rule by Rawlings and his new National Democratic Congress party followed. The first turnover in power occurred in January 2001 when President J. A. Kufuor of the National Patriotic Party was sworn in. A second alternation in power followed when the 2008 general elections were won by the National Democratic Congress and its flagbearer President Prof. John Atta Mills.

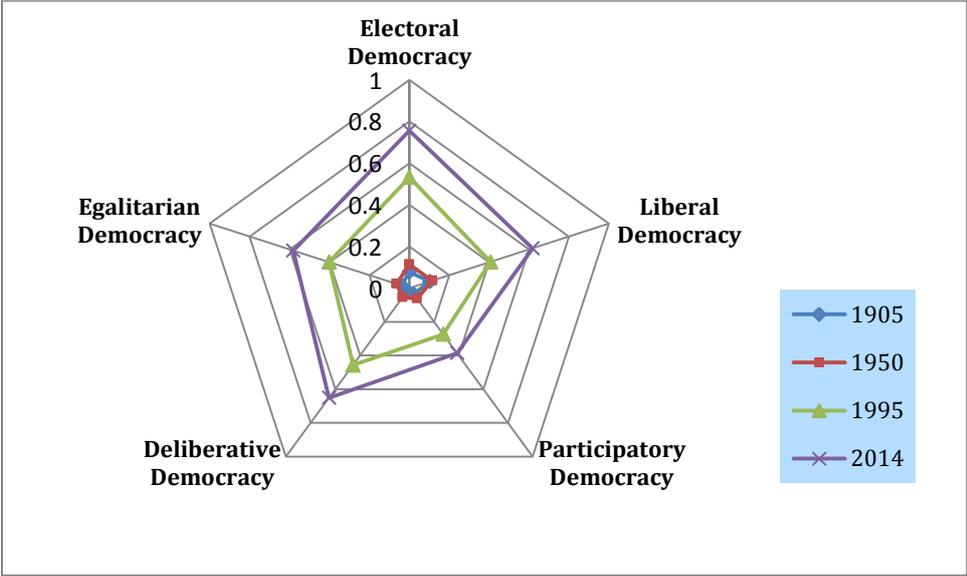
Principles of Democracy

The radar chart in **Figure 1**, gives an overview of the five V-Dem indices of democracy for Ghana at four different points in time: 1905, 1950, 1995 and 2014. All indices in the figure range from 0 to 1, where a score of 0 suggests that a country did not evince the characteristics of democracy relevant to this particular index at this point in time, while 1 corresponds to the best possible situation for this index, according to the V-Dem measures.

In the V-Dem conceptual scheme, the electoral component of democracy is fundamental and understood as an essential element of the other principles of representative democracy - *liberal, participatory, deliberative, and egalitarian*; without it, we cannot call a regime "democratic". However, we recognize that countries can have "democratic qualities", without being democracies. As a result, the aggregation formulae for *all* high-level principles of democracy include the measure of electoral democracy. Thus, for example, "Participatory Democracy" is a composite score of the electoral and in the participatory components.

² All indicators and indices can be found in Glossary of Terms in Appendix I. For an overview of the structure of the indices, please see Appendix II.

Figure 1. Principles of Democracy Indices

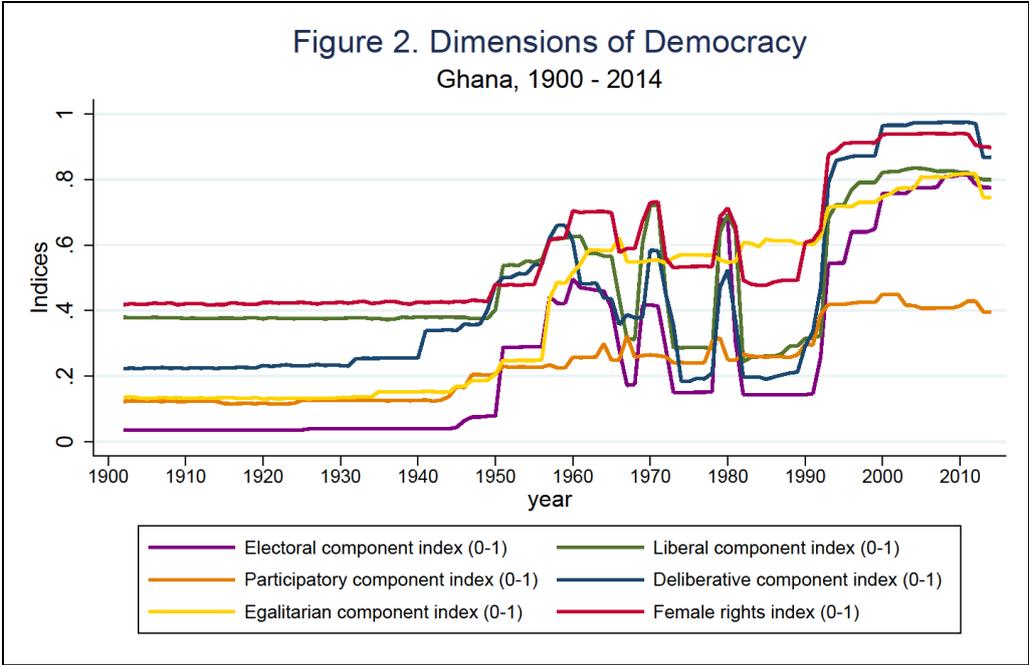


In the beginning of the 20th century and in 1950 the scores for Ghana on all democracy indices are close to 0, and as a result, all values are gathered in the very center of the chart. These low scores indicate that the democratic development in Ghana in the pre-independence period was minimal.

Later on, in 1995 all principles of democracy expand to reach scores around the middle of the scale, although Ghana only crosses the .5 threshold on *electoral democracy*. Reaching the upper half of the scale could be seen as suggesting that the country is more democratic than not in this area, and that overall leaders are held responsive to the citizens through electoral competition. It would suggest that political and civil society organizations could operate freely within an environment of relative freedom of expression. The *participatory democracy index* is the only one that is not close to the middle of the scale, achieving a score of .27. This means that Ghana, similar to other democratic countries, has not realized the participatory principle of democracy, which captures direct rule and citizen participation in the political process.

Significant democratic improvement is captured by the scores from 2014 on all democracy indices. The electoral principle is still the highest with a score of .75 and participatory is the lowest with a score of .38. In terms of the other areas of democracy, the *deliberative* (score .65), *liberal* (score .61) and *egalitarian* (.58), Ghana has progressed substantially. This indicates that wide deliberation is common when important policy-changes are being considered, that individual and minority rights are, for the most part, protected, and finally, that a moderate level of equality is achieved among social groups in terms of representation, agenda-setting power, protection of the law, and influence over policymaking.

In **Figure 2** below, we drill down into the above indices and graph the components that comprise the five indices of the principles of democracy: electoral, liberal, egalitarian, participatory and deliberative aspects. The development of these components in Ghana over more than one hundred years is displayed together with the female rights index³.



In the beginning of the time series Ghana starts off with minimal scores on almost all components included in the figure. The lowest score is for the *electoral component*, which reflects the fact that colonial rulers are not held accountable to the general population through elections and that political and civil organizations cannot operate freely. Somewhat higher scores are shown for the *liberal component* and *female rights index*, indicating that certain civil liberties were protected even during the pre-independence period, both for men and for women.

The immediate pre- and post- independence years show significant expansion of almost all democracy components (the exception being *the participatory component* displayed in orange with a modest increase). However, later on the unstable political environment as described in the introduction is reflected by the fluctuating scores of the V-Dem measures. Episodes of democratization are followed by serious deficits of democracy qualities, as many of the indices drop significantly in 1966, 1969, 1972, and 1981. The longest period of democracy stagnation occurs between 1981 and 1992. The present constitution is adopted and elections are held again in 1992. After this period, all democracy areas, captured with the V-Dem measures in Figure 2, rose extensively and this trend continues in more recent years too.

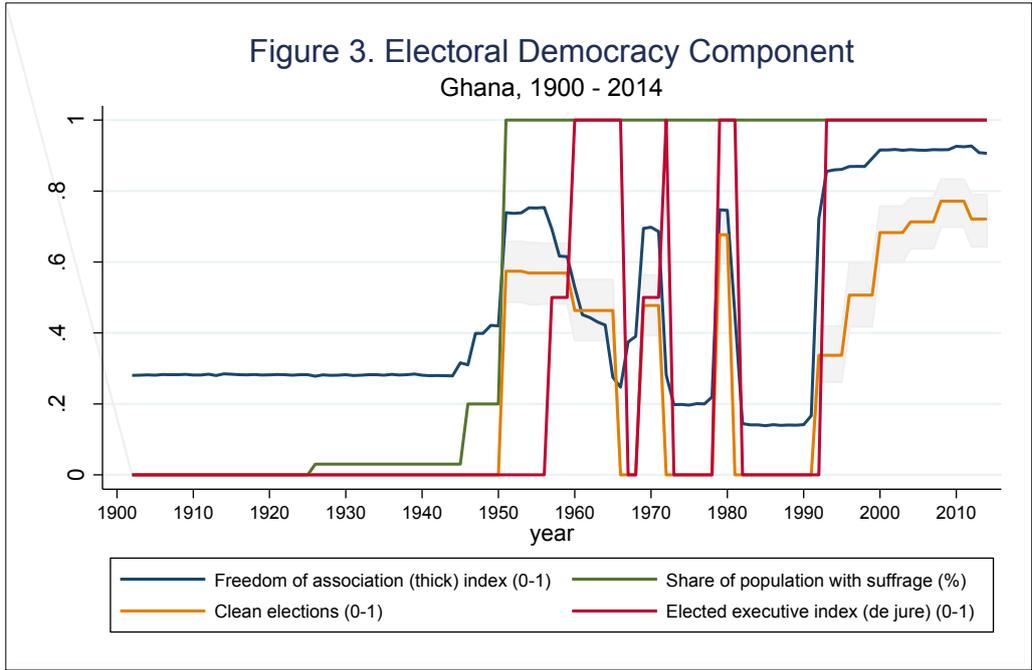
The one component that seems to be unaffected by the political disruptions is the *egalitarian component* (yellow line), which increases substantially after independence and continues to grow later on with only small fluctuations suggesting minimal backsliding. This index captures whether all social groups have approximately equal participation, representation, protection under the law, and influence over policymaking. The relatively high scores on this component, even under oppressive political regimes, could be interpreted as indicating that when the governing elite violates the civil liberties or does not respect the rule of law, then this affects society as a whole relatively equally.

³ The scale of each index and indicator is specified within parentheses in the legend of each graph. In all indicators and indices graphed, a lower score corresponds to a less democratic level, while a higher score suggests a more democratic level. Please see Appendix I for more information on each of the indicators and indices.

In order to track down more specific aspects within these various democratic developments, the following section further explores each one of the six components of democracy by graphing the indicators and indices constituting them.

The Electoral Component

The V-Dem electoral democracy component index measures the core value of achieving responsiveness and accountability between leaders and citizens through the mechanism of competitive and periodic elections that are clean and not marred by fraud or systematic irregularities; whether political and civil society organizations can operate freely; and whether the chief executive of a country is selected (directly or indirectly) through elections. **Figure 3** displays the four sub-indices that constitute the electoral component index, which was one of the lowest scoring in Figure 2 for the pre-independence period.



As portrayed by the suffrage indicator (green line) the elections in Ghana until the mid-20th century are highly exclusive. Universal suffrage is not introduced until 1950, when women are granted the right to vote and all tax requirements for voting are removed.

The *elected executive index* represents quite accurately the political development of Ghana in which elected officials, through direct or indirect elections, periodically have a turn at the seat of power. However, a series of interruptions of the electoral regime occur in the second half of the 20th century.

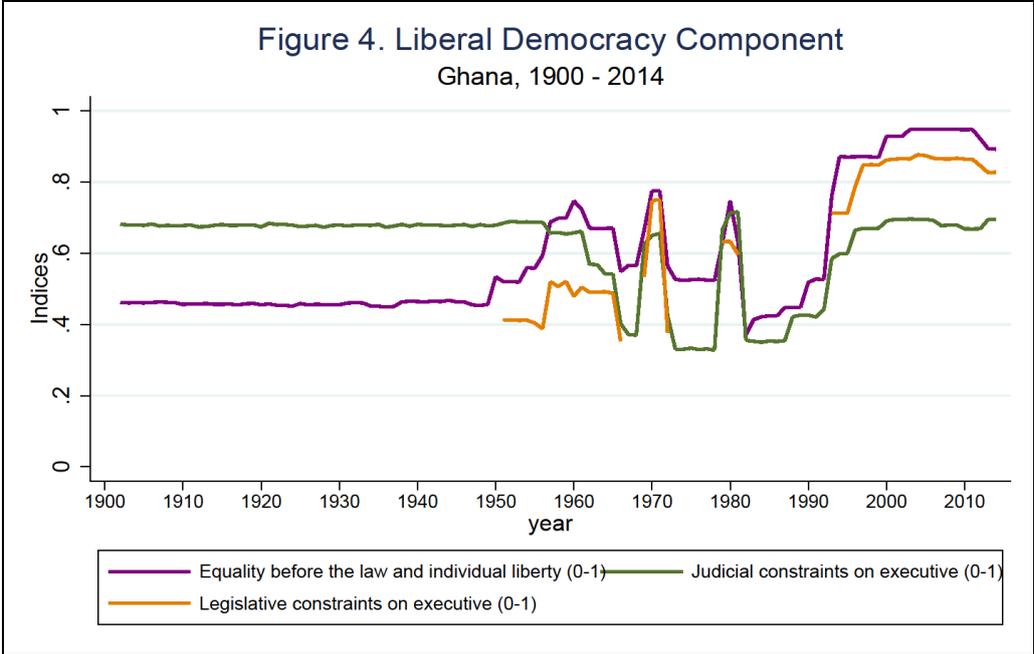
The *freedom of association* index captures whether parties, including opposition parties, is allowed to form and participate in elections, and whether civil society organizations are able to form and operate freely. In Ghana these have been allowed during the democratic episodes the country experiences, while contractions could be associated with the military regimes taking over power.

The *clean elections* index measures the levels of registration fraud, systematic irregularities, government intimidation of the opposition, vote buying, and election violence for the periods when elections are held in Ghana. The scores suggest that electoral irregularities have been common historically, although a gradual improvement is noticed in more recent years.

Also, a drop can be noted in the last two years for some of the indices and indicators graphed in this brief, including the *clean elections index*, for which we graphed the confidence intervals⁴. As evident, the drop is within the confidence bounds, which indicates that it is not statistically significant; hence, the seeming decrease in the levels of election quality should not necessarily be interpreted as a deterioration of the democratic situation but can be attributed to other factors.

The Liberal Component

The liberal dimension of democracy embodies the intrinsic value of protecting individual and minority rights against a potential tyranny of the state and the majority. This is achieved through constitutionally protected civil liberties and strong rule of law, and effective checks and balances by the judiciary and the legislature that limit the use of executive power. These aspects are captured by the three indices that constitute the V-Dem liberal component. **Graph 3** shows the development of these three indices over time in Ghana.



Liberal democracy, displayed in **Figure 4**, was one of the highest scoring indices in Figure 2 in the pre-independence era. When taking a look at the three components that comprise the liberal component index, one can see that the high scores are driven by close to the middle scores of the component *equality before the law and individual liberty*. This suggests that, during colonial administration, Ghanaians enjoyed access to justice, secure property rights, freedom from forced labor, freedom of movement, physical integrity rights and freedom of religion to a certain extent. The extent to which these freedoms are protected is reduced during the military regimes.

The second sub-index in the graph, *legislative constraints on the executive*, measures the extent to which the legislature and government agencies are capable of questioning, investigating, and exercising oversight over the executive. As indicated in Figure 4, this form of constraint on the executive has only been exercised in Ghana to a limited extent. For a greater part of the century, the legislature is closed down as reflected by the missing data for this index. In more recent years, however, the legislature has strengthened its role as a body capable of controlling the executive.

⁴ The confidence intervals are based on inter-coder reliability checks and are, in principle, provided for all V-Dem measures.

The judiciary’s ability to exercise restricting power over the executive is indicated in the line for *judicial constraints on the executive*. This index captures whether the executive respects the constitution, whether it complies with court rulings and whether the judiciary is free to act in an independent fashion. Reaching levels around .7 on this V-Dem measure, Ghana has shown significant progress in more recent years but the maximum score is yet to be achieved.

The Participatory Component

The participatory dimension of democracy embodies the values of direct rule and active participation by citizens in all political processes; it emphasizes non-electoral forms of political participation through such channels as civil society organizations and through the mechanisms of direct democracy.

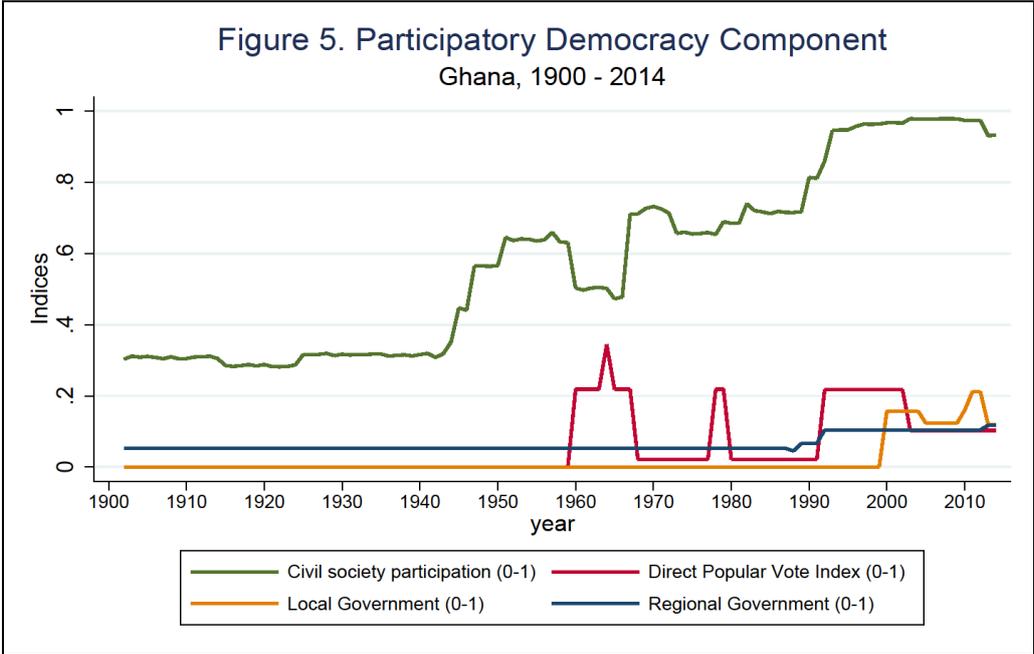


Figure 5 displays the indices that go into the participatory component index, which scores the lowest compared to the other dimensions in the first two figures.

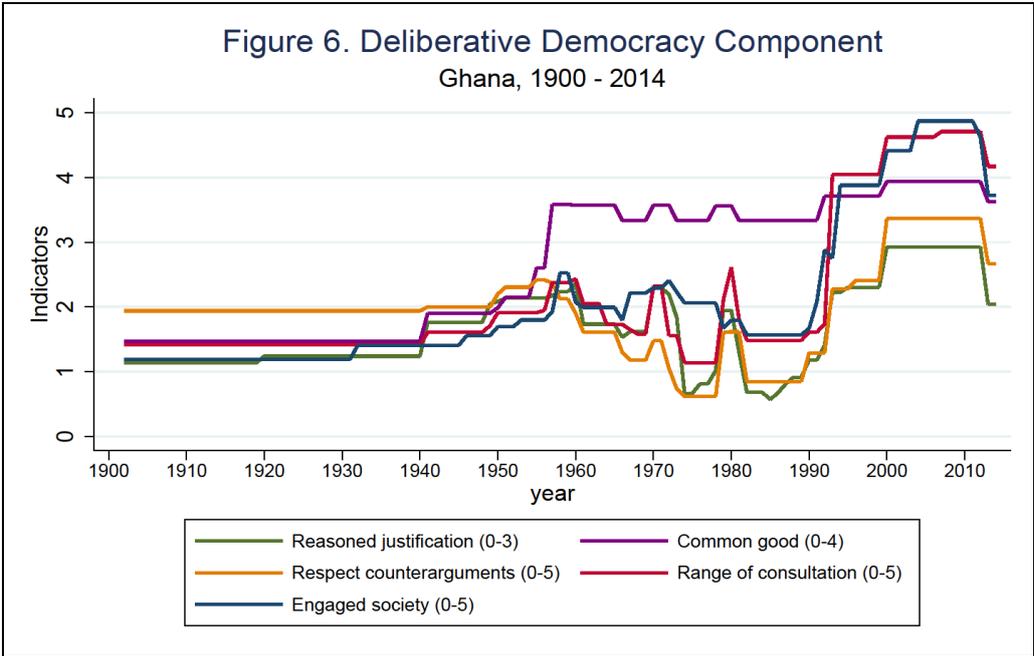
The variable which scores the highest is the *civil society participation index*, which is also the one improving consistently throughout the period, with the exception of the 1960s, when a decreasing trend captures the evolution during the one-party era. After the 1990s, however, Ghana succeeds in reaching almost the top of the scale on this index. This indicates that Ghanaians’ involvement in the political life of their country has increased substantively in the sense that their involvement in CSOs is high, that women are also largely involved, that policymakers routinely consult these organizations, and that political party nominations are highly decentralized.

However, on the *direct popular vote index*, Ghana shows much lower scores which suggest that Ghana is among the countries where the ideal of direct democracy has not been realized. This index measures how easy it is to initiate and approve direct popular votes (such as initiatives, referendums and plebiscites) and how consequential that vote is; it includes aspects such as the existence of a direct democracy process, the number of signatures needed and the time limits to circulate the signatures. A pattern of increases and declines for the scores of the index can be seen after independence, suggesting that, to some extent, this form of direct democracy has been utilized during several episodes.

On the *regional government index* Ghana gives consistently low scores between 0 and .1, indicating that regional governments are not elected, and that they are unable to operate without restrictions from unelected actors. *Local governments* in Ghana are similarly dependent on unelected officials who are directed by the central government without the independent substantial decision-making powers necessary for elected offices. However, the roles of both the regional governments after 1989, and of local government after 1999, are increasing, although to a small extent.

The Deliberative Component

The deliberative component of democracy captures the core value that political decisions are guided by the pursuit of the public good and should be informed by respectful and reasonable dialogue at all levels rather than by emotional appeals, solidary attachments, parochial interests, or coercion.



Note, that the indicators displayed in **Figures 6, 7 and 8** have different scales, which are specified in parentheses in the legend of each figure.

The indicators of the deliberative component, shown in **Figure 6**, have followed a similar pattern of development. Overall, Ghana receives relatively low scores for all indicators during the colonial period. After the level of public deliberation with independence briefly increases, the one-party and military regimes ruling the country afterwards constrain this area to a large extent with some positive changes with elected regimes. A more positive development of wider and more inclusive dialogue with the pursuit of public good is captured by the V-Dem measures after the 1992 constitution is adopted, and the situation is improved even further after the 2000s. However, a significant setback is noted in 2013-2014 on all indicators included in Figure 6. This suggests that there has been a change negatively impacting the deliberative processes in Ghana.

A somewhat different development occurs for the indicator *common good* (purple line) for which Ghana receives quite high scores, around 4, after independence and sustains more or less the same level afterwards. This means that during this period Ghanaian politicians have justified important policy changes with explicit statements, for the most part, based on the common good for society. Common good is here understood either as the greatest good for the greatest

number or as helping the least advantaged in a society, rather than referring to the interests of specific groups.

After the millennium shift, on the indicator *reasoned justification* (ranging from 0 to 3, green line), Ghana receives close to maximum scores. This variable measures the extent to which political elites give public and reasoned justifications for their positions when important policy changes are being considered. Ghana's score of 3 indicates that sophisticated justification has taken place since 2000, meaning that elites tend to offer one or more complex, nuanced and complete justifications for their position on a particular issue. This positive development can be contrasted with earlier years when political elites offer only inferior or no justification for the policies they adopt.

Holding wide and independent public deliberations on important policies plays a central role in deliberative democracy. The extent to which this is achieved in a country is measured by the indicator *engaged society* (blue line). In Ghana engagement from society is frequent and prominent, reflected in the score of 4 from the 1990s, and is increasing to the point that it almost reaches the top of the scale. As is true with other indicators on this graph, this has not been the case in previous years.

Similarly, on the measure of *range of consultation*, displayed in red in the graph, Ghana shows scores between 4 and 5 in more recent years. This suggests that consultation on important policies engages elites from essentially all parts of the political spectrum and all politically relevant sectors of society and business, as opposed to the colonial rulers and military regimes who involved only a small circle of loyal groups.

The variable *respect counterarguments* (on a scale from 0 to 5, orange line) captures the extent to which political elites acknowledge and respect counterarguments, when important policy changes are being considered. This is the variable for which Ghana receives the lowest scores, around 3, among the indicators used in this graph for recent years. Thus, the data suggest that even though political elites tend to acknowledge opinions different from their own, often they will neither accept them nor change their positions. However, this is a substantive improvement from the periods in the second half of the 20th century when articulated counterarguments were punished by the ruling regimes.

The Egalitarian Component

The egalitarian idea is that material and immaterial inequalities inhibit the actual exercise of formal rights and liberties; hence a more equal distribution of resources, education, and health across socioeconomic groups should enhance political equality.

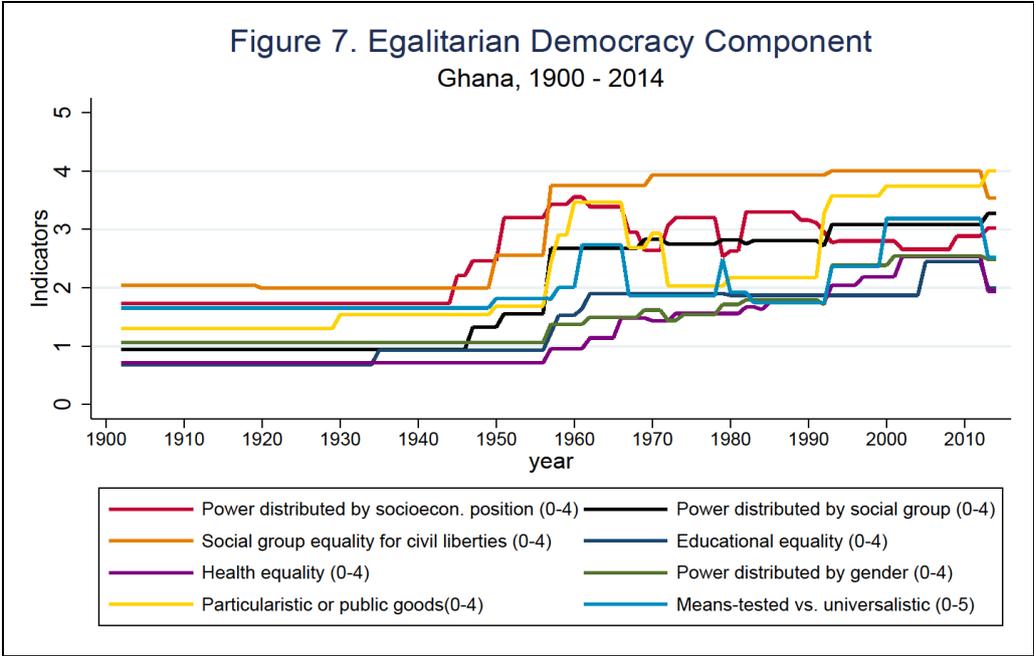


Figure 7 shows the eight indicators that comprise the egalitarian democracy component. As seen in the graph, the different aspects do not always develop in tandem; instead some improve while others are stagnant or decline. However, almost all show a drop in the last two years graphed, indicating that egalitarian democracy has taken a small but substantial hit.

The largest change has taken place in terms of the indicator *particularistic or public goods* (yellow line). On this indicator, Ghana starts from quite low levels in the beginning of the century when most social and infrastructure expenditures are particularistic narrowly targeting a specific corporation, social group, region, party, or set of constituents. The situation is similar between the 1970s and the 1990s. Ghana receives higher scores, close to the maximum, after independence until 1966, and after the 1990s. This means that almost all social and infrastructure expenditures are public-goods in character, benefiting all communities within a society. Only a small portion is particularistic.

The indicator *means-tested vs. universalistic* (light blue line) follows a pattern similar to the one above. This measure aims to capture if welfare programs are means-tested targeting specific groups only (e.g. the poor or underprivileged constituents through, for example, cash-transfer programs) or if they potentially benefit all members of the polity (these can be free education, national healthcare schemes, and retirement programs). In the V-Dem conceptual scheme, welfare programs that benefit everyone and do not stigmatize certain unprivileged groups, such as poor people, are more democratic from an egalitarian perspective than means-tested programs which only target these particular groups. From the beginning of the 20th century and up until the 1960s, and between 1970s and up until 2000s, most welfare state policies are means-tested, but a significant portion is universalistic and potentially benefits everyone in the population. After first making a move towards even more universalistic policies in early 1960s, briefly in the 1980s, and after year 2000, Ghanaian policies change direction and are roughly evenly divided between being means-tested and universalistic.

In the 1950s *the distribution of civil liberties across social groups* becomes more equal, shown by the orange line in the graph. In the beginning of the century members of some social groups

enjoy moderately fewer civil liberties than the general population but after a swift increase in 1955, more recent years have shown that all groups enjoy more or less the same level of civil liberties.

Political power distribution by gender (green line) changes significantly over time too, as the scores until 1958 suggest. Up to this period, Ghanaian women have only a marginal influence over politics. Since then women gradually gain more influence; however the process towards parity is slow and in 2014 Ghana has still some way to go.

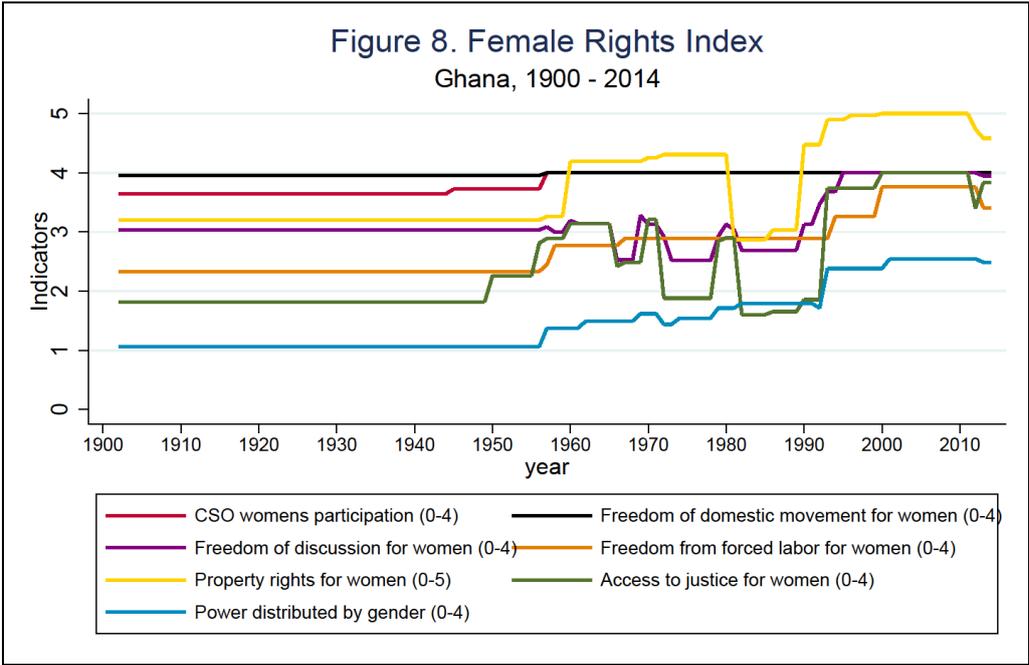
Consistent scores, around 3, for the whole period after independence are also shown for the indicator *power distributed by social group* (black line). This suggests that all significant groups have roughly proportionate representation in the seats of power. The low scores before independence reflect the fact that political power was monopolized by a social group comprising a minority of the population.

Compared with the previous indicator, *power distributed by socioeconomic groups* (red line) shows more turbulent development. The scores on this measure vary between 2 and 3, suggesting that people of average or poorer income have a certain degree of influence, but that overall, wealthy people have more political power than others.

On the indicators *health equality* (purple line) and *educational equality* (dark blue line) Ghana receives scores around 1 and 2. These scores indicate that overall citizens have unequal access to high quality healthcare and education in Ghana. Because of poor-quality healthcare and education, at least 25 percent of citizens' ability to exercise their political rights as adult citizens is undermined. In more recent years this percent varies between 10 and 25.

Female Rights

Equality between women and men is indivisible from democracy at all levels, and is broadly recognized as a pre-condition for truly representative and responsive governments. The V-Dem *female rights index* focuses on the ability of women to participate in open discussion of political issues, participation in civil society organizations, equal share in the overall distribution of power, freedom of movement, the right to private property, access to justice, and freedom from forced labor. **Figure 8** displays the seven indicators for Ghana.



The graph indicates that certain women's freedoms in Ghana have been largely protected throughout the period explored in this brief, while others aspects of female rights have been violated.

The indicators *freedom of domestic movement* (black line) and *CSO women's participation* (red line) receive consistently high scores even in the beginning of the century. The data suggests that most women have enjoyed full freedom of movement and have not been prevented from participating in civil society organizations.

Most women also enjoy most *property rights* (yellow line) between the 1960s and 1980, and after the 1990s, while more restrictions in this area occur during the Rawlings regime in the 1980s, and during the colonial years.

Secure and effective access to justice for Ghanaian women is inconsistently observed by the state, as indicated by the fluctuating scores of the variable *access to justice* (green line) which coincides with Ghana's years of military regimes. The situation has become more consistently stable since the 1990s.

Freedom of discussion (purple line) for women is mostly respected throughout the century, with more substantive deficiencies occurring during the military regimes. However, in more recent years, women's freedom of speech in their homes and in public spaces is not restricted.

Freedom from forced labor (orange line) is also largely protected after the millennium, although lower scores on this indicator suggest that female servitude and other kinds of forced labor had previously existed in Ghana.

The last measure in the graph, *power distributed by gender* displayed in blue, develops somewhat slower when compared with the other indicators. Ghana has not reached the maximum score on this indicator even in the most recent years. However, a gradual improvement starting in the 1950s has led to women gaining more power, as was noted in the previous section. Still, parity has not yet been achieved, and men have much more political power.

Concluding Remarks

Based on data from key V-Dem indices and indicators, this brief provides an overview of the democratic development of Ghana. The graphs have revealed variations among different aspects of democracy, reflecting the dynamic history of Ghana, which can be of interest to both the research and the policy community.

In the years before independence, the country receives very low scores on almost all democracy measures which reflects the fact that a non-elected minority rules the country at the time. The liberal principle of democracy receives somewhat higher scores, although it is still in the lower half of the scale. This score suggests that certain rights and freedoms are protected. During the immediate years before and after independence Ghana starts improving and many of the indicators expand. However, this is only for a brief period, as a series of interruptions of the electoral regime follow. The years leading up to 1992, when the new constitution is adopted, are marked with several episodes of democracy deficiencies.

In comparison with other V-Dem indices, the *participatory component* receives low scores, and shows that there is room for improvement. This is mostly driven by the measure of how hard it is to initiate and get approval for a direct popular vote, and the minimal role of elected officials in the local and regional governments. The data also shows that, although Ghana has been successful in the protection of some civil and women's rights and freedoms, even now there is room for improvement in terms of political power distribution by gender, social and economic groups. In addition, the data suggests that there is serious inequality in terms of access to high quality healthcare and education in Ghana, which leads to an undermining of citizens' ability to exercise their rights.

A positive trend which is reflected in the graphs is that the election quality has improved significantly in recent years. In conjunction with this, the legislature has strengthened its role as a body that can exercise oversight over the executive. Civil society organizations are also becoming more active as more people get involved and as policy-makers increasingly consult these organizations when important policy-changes are being considered.

Appendix. Structure of Aggregation – Indices and Indicators

Democracy Indices Names	Mid-Level Democracy and Governance Indices Names	Lower-Level Democracy and Governance Indices Names	Names Indicators	v2_tag Indices and Indicators
Electoral democracy index				v2x_polyarchy
Expanded freedom of expression index				v2x_freexp_thick
			Government censorship effort - Media	v2mecenefm
			Government censorship effort - Internet	v2mecenefi
			Harassment of journalists	v2meharjrn
			Media self-censorship	v2meslfcen
			Media bias	v2mebias
			Print/broadcast media critical	v2mecrit
			Print/broadcast media perspectives	v2merange
			Freedom of discussion for men	v2cldiscm
			Freedom of discussion for women	v2cldiscw
			Freedom of academic and cultural expression	v2clacfree
Alternative source information index				v2xme_altinf
			Media bias	v2mebias
			Print/broadcast media critical	v2mecrit
			Print/broadcast media perspectives	v2merange
Freedom of association index (thick)				v2x_frassoc_thick
			Party ban	v2psparban
			Barriers to parties	v2psbars
			Opposition parties autonomy	v2psoppaut
			Elections multiparty	v2elmulpar
			CSO entry and exit	v2cseeorgs
			CSO repression	v2csreprss
Share of population with suffrage				v2x_suffr
			Percent of population with suffrage	v2elsuffrage
Clean elections index				v2xel_frefair
			EMB autonomy	v2elembaut
			EMB capacity	v2elembcap

	Election voter registry	v2elrgstry
	Election vote buying	v2elvotbuy
	Election other voting irregularities	v2elirreg
	Election government intimidation	v2elintim
	Election other electoral violence	v2elpeace
	Election free and fair	v2elfrfair
Elected executive index (de jure)		v2x_accex
	Lower chamber elected	v2lgello
	Upper chamber elected	v2lgelecup
	Legislature dominant chamber	v2lgdomchm
	HOS selection by legislature in practice	v2exaphos
	HOS appointment in practice	v2expathhs
	HOG selection by legislature in practice	v2exaphogp
	HOG appointment in practice	v2expathhg
	HOS appoints cabinet in practice	v2exdfcbhs
	HOG appoints cabinet in practice	v2exdjcbhg
	HOS dismisses ministers in practice	v2exdfdmhs
	HOG dismisses ministers in practice	v2exdfdshg
	HOS appoints cabinet in practice	v2exdfcbhs
Liberal democracy index		v2x_libdem
Electoral democracy index		v2x_polyarchy
Liberal component index		v2x_liberal
	Equality before the law and individual liberty index	v2xcl_rol
	Rigorous and impartial public administration	v2clrspct
	Transparent laws with predictable enforcement	v2cltrnslw
	Access to justice for men	v2clacjstm
	Access to justice for women	v2clacjstw
	Property rights for men	v2clprptym
	Property rights for women	v2clprptyw
	Freedom from torture	v2cltort
	Freedom from political killings	v2clkill
	Freedom from forced labor for men	v2clslavem

	Freedom from forced labor for women	v2clslavef
	Freedom of religion	v2clrelig
	Freedom of foreign movement	v2clfmov
	Freedom of domestic movement for men	v2cldmovm
	Freedom of domestic movement for women	v2cldmovw
Judicial constraints on the executive index		v2x_jucon
	Executive respects constitution	v2exrescon
	Compliance with judiciary	v2jucomp
	Compliance with high court	v2juhccomp
	High court independence	v2juhcind
	Lower court independence	v2juncind
Legislative constraints on the executive index		v2xlg_legcon
	Legislature questions officials in practice	v2lgqstexp
	Executive oversight	v2lgotovst
	Legislature investigates in practice	v2lginvstp
	Legislature opposition parties	v2lgoppart
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