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Democratic reforms and legitimacy in established Western democracies

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Inventories of Reform, Discussion and Failures

A.1 Inventory of Reforms

This inventory of reforms is based on the following sources: For electoral system reforms, EU and international reforms, courts, decentralization-centralization, executive reforms, reform of parliament, subsidies to political parties:

- European Journal of Political Research Data Yearbooks 1991 - 2008
[http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)2047-8852](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)2047-8852)
- Keesing's Record of World Events 1990 - 2008 (Print edition at the university library)
- The Annual Register 1990 - 2008 (Print edition at the university library)
- Bedock et al. (2012)

Electoral Systems

- Gallagher and Mitchell (2005)
- <http://aceproject.org/>

Direct Elections of Mayors

- Magre and Bertrana (2007)

Regional Authority

- Hooghe et al. (2010)
- Keating and Ziller (2008)

Public funding political parties

- Nassmacher (2009)

- IDEA dataset on party financing
<http://www.idea.int/political-finance/sources.cfm>

For National Non-majoritarian regulators

- Jorana et al. (2011)
- Gilardi (2008)

For referendums and initiatives

- Scarrow (2001)
- C2D (2010)

New Public Management reforms aimed at public access and consultations

- Ansell and Gingrich (2003)

National freedom of information laws

- Cain et al. (2006)
- Banisar (2006)

Public consultations

- <http://participedia.net/>

And additional information from country experts (especially for exact dates of EU treaties and courts)

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|---|----------------|
| <i>Australia</i> | 2000 | Public consultation for administrative procedures | Consultation |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1990 | Public consultation for administrative procedures | Consultation |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1999 | Public consultation for administrative procedures | Consultation |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1994 | Public consultation for administrative procedures | Consultation |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1998 | Public consultation for administrative procedures | Consultation |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 2001 | Public consultation for administrative procedures | Consultation |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1998 | Public consultation for administrative procedures | Consultation |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2000 | Public consultation for administrative procedures | Consultation |
| <i>Australia</i> | 2002 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1997 | New court of appeal for immigration | Court |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2000 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2007 | New court for Asylum | Court |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|---|----------------|
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2000 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2007 | Court of arbitration turned into constitutional court | Court |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1997 | Judicial independence | Court |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1999 | Independent court of administration created | Court |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 2001 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 2007 | Court reform: more specialized and professional courts | Court |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1995 | position of courts increased: Basic right introduced in constitution | Court |
| <i>Finland</i> | 2000 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>France</i> | 2000 | France ratified treaty for the creation of the international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Germany</i> | 2000 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1995 | Human rights act | Court |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 2000 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 2002 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Israel</i> | 1992 | Increase the formal powers of court: human dignity and liberty | Court |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1999 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1996 | Constitutional court with constitutional review powers | Court |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1999 | New court of auditors to control government | Court |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2000 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2001 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1990 | Bill of rights | Court |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 2000 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 2005 | Creation new supreme court | Court |
| <i>Norway</i> | 2000 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Norway</i> | 2007 | Introduction of a new (elected) impeachment court | Court |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1991 | Freedom of expression laws | Court |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2001 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1999 | Bill of rights | Court |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 2001 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1998 | Human rights act | Court |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2001 | Ratified international criminal court | Court |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|--|-----------------------------------|
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2005 | Supreme Court of the United Kingdom to take over the existing role of the Law Lords as well as some powers of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council | Court |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1995 | Changed the financial relationship in the Federal structure | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1992 | More competencies to lower level: Housing responsibility on Lander level. Lower levels of government can take part in EU decision-making | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1996 | Laws can now be passed against the states will - if financing comes from the central government. | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1993 | Federal Reform: Belgium constitutionally a federal state; Belgium will have 10 provinces instead of 9 (Flemish Brabant and Walloon Brabant);competences of the communities and the regions increased; powers of federal government decreased (what is not explicitly federal is regional). | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2001 | Financing mechanisms of the federal system altered- increase of taxation autonomy. Regions get more control over : provincial and local laws, overseas development, agriculture, trade and research | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2003 | Regions more competencies: can license weapons | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1996 | Administrative decentralization of provinces (given greater authority to manage own residents) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1997 | Referendum: yes to dividing north west territory into two | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1999 | Self governing territory for eastern arctic-new assembly created(Nunavut got autonomy with many competencies) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Canada</i> | 2002 | Yukon gets formal powers | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1995 | Faroe Island given more independence | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 2004 | Faroe Home rule. | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 2005 | Local government reform: municipalities merged into 198. Including change in distribution of seats | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 2007 | Restructuring of local level: counties merged to 5 regions | Decentralization / Centralization |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|----------------|------|---|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Finland</i> | 1991 | Aland more autonomy: legislative assembly and municipalities | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1993 | 19 regional councils created: elected by municipality. Tax collection, fund distribution, regional planning, enterprise development and education. | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1995 | Government act: more flexibility to local authorities in government act. | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Finland</i> | 2005 | Regional council of Kainuu directly elected (administrative powers from central government) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Finland</i> | 2007 | Law obliging municipalities to co-operate (health care) and urging municipal mergers | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>France</i> | 1991 | Corsica given more powers for economic and social development | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>France</i> | 1992 | Territorial Administration Act: inter-municipal co-operation in some policies | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>France</i> | 1999 | Agglomeration community (metropolitan co-operation government structure) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>France</i> | 2002 | Corsica receives more authority | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>France</i> | 2003 | Exceptions for Corsica and overseas departments (local referendum and contest national laws). Constitution consolidates regional and local authorities. | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1992 | Länder direct participation in EU decision-making | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1994 | Strengthening of legislative powers to Länder (separation of legal powers between federal and land made more clear) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Germany</i> | 2002 | Constitution changed distribution of judicial power on Federal level and Land level | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Germany</i> | 2006 | Increase regional autonomy in key policy issues (separate legislative responsibilities more clear national and land responsibilities: first part) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1998 | Rights and responsibilities of local authorities laid out | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 2000 | Number of municipalities reduced (124) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 2006 | Number of municipalities reduced (79) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1991 | 8 regional authorities introduced for EU structural funds | Decentralization / Centralization |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|---|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1998 | Two regional assemblies for monitoring/ co-ordination of structural funds (Local government act approves two tiers). | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 2003 | Dual mandate for members of parliament and local councilers abolished | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1993 | Regional governments can raise some of their own taxes | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2001 | Greater autonomy to regional governments. State Subsidy to poorer regions. | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1999 | Decentralisation of power to local authorities (prefectures) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2000 | Inter-municipal joint bodies created | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1994 | Revision of provinces act: ex ante central government controls abolished (only ex post) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1992 | Granting local government some freedoms (e.g. taxation structure)/ with some centralizing measures | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1991 | Local government act: Municipalities more freedoms and competencies | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1997 | Counties merged to create two regions (Vas-tra Gotland and Skane) with new competencies taken over from national government | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1999 | Cantons have the right to participate in foreign policy | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1994 | Creation of regional offices to coordinate regional level and EU (official administrative role within UK Government) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1996 | Local authorities made into unitary authorities (one tier in Scotland and Wales; England single and two tier) | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1997 | Devolution Scotland, Wales Northern Ireland | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1998 | 8 regional assemblies in England: to supervise regional development agencies | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2006 | Government of Wales Act: Welsh assembly gets more legislative competencies | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2007 | Further devolution of competences to N.Ireland | Decentralization / Centralization |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1999 | Proportional representation system expanded on state level | Electoral |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|----------------|------|---|----------------|
| <i>Austria</i> | 1992 | Nationalrat Electoral tiers introduced : nine provincial electoral districts/forty-three regional electoral districts (threshold 4% or winning 1 region) More preference voting | Electoral |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1996 | One district for EU elections | Electoral |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1998 | Fewer signatures necessary to become candidate | Electoral |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2007 | Introduction postal voting for Austrians overseas. Reduce active and passive voting age: Right to vote reduced to 16, candidateship to 18. | Electoral |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1993 | Reform of procedures for voting for citizens abroad | Electoral |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1994 | Gender quota: A fourth of the candidates of the party lists at local elections should be female | Electoral |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1995 | Multiple preferential voting | Electoral |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1998 | European foreigners can vote | Electoral |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2002 | Number of constituencies reduced to 11. 5% threshold and d'hondt method.Further gender parity in party lists. Proxy vote made possible | Electoral |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2000 | Increase of preference voting (weight of list votes lowered by 50%). | Electoral |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2002 | Gender quota increased 50% | Electoral |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1993 | Canadians abroad given right to vote | Electoral |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1997 | Gender quota: every electoral district should from now on return one man and one woman; National register of electors (voter registration) | Electoral |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1995 | Voting age lowered by 6 months | Electoral |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1998 | Borders of constituencies changed to those of counties | Electoral |
| <i>France</i> | 2001 | PR in all districts (except: for those with 3 or less seats). All local election candidate lists should have equal representation of men and women | Electoral |
| <i>France</i> | 2004 | Meta -regional constituencies for EP elections | Electoral |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1995 | Seats fixed to particular constituency (all seats are fixed to a particular constituency before an election). One seat moved to Reykjavik | Electoral |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1999 | Reduce no. of constituencies (to 6) 5% threshold (national vote) and d'hondt method | Electoral |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|--|----------------|
| <i>Israel</i> | 1991 | Threshold increased from 1% to 1,5% | Electoral |
| <i>Israel</i> | 2001 | Threshold to enter parliament increased to 2% | Electoral |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1991 | Referendum: abolishing multi-preferential voting system used in the election of lower chamber. | Electoral |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1993 | Mixed Member Majoritarian system for both chambers (Single member districts 75 % ; 25 | |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2005 | Electoral system: party list proportional representation system/10% threshold for coalitions (replaces Mixed Member System). Overseas constituencies. Italians abroad have right to vote | Electoral |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1994 | Mixed Member System | Electoral |
| <i>Japan</i> | 2000 | House of councillors open list elections | Electoral |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2003 | Voting rights at local elections to non EU members/ Minimum age to be candidate lowered to 18 /list of signatures necessary increased | Electoral |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1997 | Lowering threshold preference voting | Electoral |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1993 | Increased weight of preferential voting | Electoral |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1993 | Binding referendum on electoral system :MMP introduced | Electoral |
| <i>Norway</i> | 2003 | Distribution formula: 19 adjustment candidates to give urban areas more representation | Electoral |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1994 | Single preference voting introduced (candidate with highest preference voting to top of list) | Electoral |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1995 | Preference voting for European elections | Electoral |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1998 | Competing lists in same party do not have ballot access. Voters cannot change party list. | Electoral |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1991 | Voting age reduced to 18 | Electoral |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1992 | Extension of voting rights to Swiss citizens living abroad | Electoral |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1999 | Postal voting for federal and canton elections referendums | Electoral |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1997 | Mixed member electoral system Scotland Wales N. Ireland | Electoral |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2001 | Postal and proxy voting simplified | Electoral |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1999 | Postal and proxy voting made easier | Electoral |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2004 | STV for local elections in Scotland | Electoral |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|----------------------|------|--|-------------------------------|
| <i>United States</i> | 1993 | Motor voter bills (to make voter registration easier) | Electoral |
| <i>United States</i> | 2002 | Help America vote act | Electoral |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1995 | EU Accession | EU/International organization |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam signed (common foreign and security policy) | EU/International organization |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1998 | EMU decision to enter Euro | EU/International organization |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2004 | Budesrat ratified EU constitution | EU/International organization |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1992 | Maastricht treaty ratified | EU/International organization |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam (common security and foreign policy) | EU/International organization |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1998 | EMU/euro | EU/International organization |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1992 | Canada enters NAFTA | EU/International organization |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1993 | Second Danish referendum on Maastricht treaty (with opt outs) approved | EU/International organization |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1998 | referendum Amsterdam Treaty - accepted - opt out EMU | EU/International organization |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 2001 | Full accession to Schengen | EU/International organization |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1993 | Membership EEA | EU/International organization |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1994 | EU accession approved | EU/International organization |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam (common foreign and security policy) | EU/International organization |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1998 | EMU Euro | EU/International organization |
| <i>France</i> | 1991 | Law authorizing Schengen Treaty | EU/International organization |
| <i>France</i> | 1992 | Referendum on the Maastricht treaty (accepted) | EU/International organization |
| <i>France</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam | EU/International organization |
| <i>France</i> | 1998 | EMU/Euro | EU/International organization |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|--------------------|------|---|-------------------------------|
| <i>Germany</i> | 1992 | Maastricht ratified | EU/International organization |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam | EU/International organization |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1998 | EMU/Euro | EU/International organization |
| <i>Germany</i> | 2007 | Ratified Treaty of Lisbon | EU/International organization |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1992 | European Economic Treaty | EU/International organization |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1992 | Maastricht referendum approved | EU/International organization |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam (new: common foreign and security policy) | EU/International organization |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1999 | EMU/Euro | EU/International organization |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 2002 | Second referendum on Nice was accepted | EU/International organization |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1992 | Ratified Maastricht Treaty | EU/International organization |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam | EU/International organization |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1998 | EMU/Euro | EU/International organization |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1992 | Maastricht ratified | EU/International organization |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam | EU/International organization |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1998 | EMU/Euro | EU/International organization |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1992 | Maastricht ratified (decision not to hold a referendum) | EU/International organization |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam | EU/International organization |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1998 | EMU/Euro | EU/International organization |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1993 | Membership GATT (later WTO) | EU/International organization |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1993 | EEA membership: referendum held | EU/International organization |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1996 | Full accession into Schengen treaty | EU/International organization |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|---|-------------------------------|
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam (new: common foreign and security policy) | EU/International organization |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1992 | Citizens voted for IMF in referendum | EU/International organization |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 2002 | Member of the UN | EU/International organization |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 2005 | Switzerland became part of Schengen | EU/International organization |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1992 | Maastricht | EU/International organization |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam (new: common foreign and security policy) | EU/International organization |
| <i>United States</i> | 1993 | NAFTA | EU/International organization |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1993 | Membership EEA | EU/International organization |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1995 | Accession to EU | EU/International organization |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1994 | Direct election of mayors introduced | Executive/Direct |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2006 | Direct election of mayors in Wallonia | Executive/Direct |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1994 | Direct election of president replaces elected college | Executive/Direct |
| <i>France</i> | 2000 | Reduction of presidential mandate to five years | Executive/Direct |
| <i>France</i> | 2004 | Regional elections: two rounds with PR and majority bonus | Executive/Direct |
| <i>Israel</i> | 1992 | Directly elected prime minister | Executive/Direct |
| <i>Israel</i> | 2001 | prime minister given powers to dissolve Knesset under certain conditions/ Constructive vote of no confidence (proposes a formateur) | Executive/Direct |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1993 | Direct election of Mayors and provincial president (two rounds) | Executive/Direct |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1995 | Regional electoral law was approved by Parliament for Direct elections of the president of the region (two rounds) | Executive/Direct |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1999 | Referendum electoral reform: direct election of regional presidents one round system with surplus majority. Term limits for Mayors | Executive/Direct |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2001 | Direct election of regional presidents in regions with a special status | Executive/Direct |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1999 | Power of prime minister enhanced | Executive/Direct |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|---|------------------|
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2001 | Two candidates for mayor can be put to the referendum | Executive/Direct |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2000 | Local government act: Direct election of mayors possible (London mayor directly elected) | Executive/Direct |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1995 | Expansion of the right to information | Information |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2004 | National freedom of information laws extended | Information |
| <i>France</i> | 1992 | Freedom of information: Transparency law for public proceedings | Information |
| <i>Germany</i> | 2005 | Freedom of Information Act | Information |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1996 | Freedom of information act | Information |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1997 | National freedom of information laws (Higher court determines government document disclosure) | Information |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1990 | National freedom of information laws | Information |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1999 | National freedom of information laws | Information |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1995 | New transparency rules for appointments in guanos and mps working for lobby's | Information |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2000 | National freedom of information laws | Information |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1997 | Citizen charter introduced | NPM |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1998 | Satisfaction surveys to increase citizen access in policy and Procedural simplification | NPM |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1998 | Satisfaction surveys to increase citizen access in policy | NPM |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1998 | Satisfaction surveys to increase citizen access in policy | NPM |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1997 | Citizen charter: improving the link between public service and citizens | NPM |
| <i>France</i> | 1992 | Citizen charter: improving the link between public service and citizens | NPM |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1997 | Citizen Charter: improving the link between public service and citizens | NPM |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1994 | Citizen charter: improving the link between public service and citizens | NPM |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1998 | Citizen charter | NPM |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1998 | Citizen charter | NPM |
| <i>United States</i> | 1999 | Satisfaction surveys to increase citizen access in policy | NPM |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1992 | MPs in cabinet can return to parliament when they leave cabinet | Parliament |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|--------------------|------|---|----------------|
| <i>Austria</i> | 1996 | Changes to rules and procedures of Nationalrat to increase deliberation | Parliament |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2005 | Automatic presidential rotation in Bundesrat stopped. Alternative parliamentarian can be appointed by the provincial parliament. Reform Nationalrat inquiry committee (procedural attorney) | Parliament |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2007 | Parliamentary term increased from 4 to 5 years | Parliament |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1993 | Parliamentary reforms: Lowering size of lower house and senate; Majority: 50 percent of the parliament; Holding office of minister together with parliament membership prohibited | Parliament |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2002 | Number of MPs from Brussels increased to 89 | Parliament |
| <i>Canada</i> | 2002 | Change voting powers of house to give it more power | Parliament |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1992 | Abolishment of minority protection clause: decisions taken by normal majority | Parliament |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1994 | Reform of minority delaying mechanism | Parliament |
| <i>Finland</i> | 2000 | Increase of powers of Parliament (Powers of president reduced) | Parliament |
| <i>France</i> | 1995 | Two annual session of parlement were unified into one to allow more debates; compulsory weekly questions to government; reserved session for private bills | Parliament |
| <i>France</i> | 1992 | Give parliament a greater role through committees | Parliament |
| <i>France</i> | 2003 | Senate members increased to 348; Senate term reduced to 6 years; Passive right to vote (candidacy) reduced to 30 (Senate) | Parliament |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1996 | Reduction of no. of seats in Bundestag | Parliament |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1991 | Tricameral system becomes unicameral and reformed its rules of procedures (majority 63) | Parliament |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2003 | Parliamentary dissolution no longer necessary to reform constitution / two-thirds of all MPs | Parliament |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2004 | Speed the adoption of laws by changing the vote on individual articles | Parliament |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 2001 | MPs resigning from party have to leave their seat in parliament (electoral integrity act) | Parliament |
| <i>Norway</i> | 2003 | Increase in parliamentarians to 169 | Parliament |
| <i>Norway</i> | 2007 | Storting has two chambers- becomes one | Parliament |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|--|-------------------------|
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1994 | Parliamentary term extended to 4 years | Parliament |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1999 | Hereditary element reformed in House of Lords (only 92 remain) | Parliament |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2002 | Amount Scottish MPs reduced in parliament. Committee chairs made independent of government. House of Lords appointment commission reduces ministerial power and discretion in the nomination of members of the upper house | Parliament |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2005 | Constitutional Reform Act 2005: Removed the functions of Speaker of the House of Lords and Head of the Judiciary of England and Wales from the office of Lord Chancellor (not presiding officer of the House of Lords) | Parliament |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1998 | Fewer signatures needed to enact citizen initiative | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2007 | Parliamentary plebiscite (for laws) | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1995 | Local initiatives (consultative) authorized | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1992 | Federal referendum legally recognized | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1990 | Local (consultative) referendum authorized | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1994 | Consultative parliamentary plebiscite | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>France</i> | 1992 | Local (consultative) referendum authorized | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>France</i> | 1995 | Use of referendums widened | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1990 | Binding referendums extended to new states after unification | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1990 | Increase use of consultative referendums authorized: entitling all citizens to register their opinions on controversial questions | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Japan</i> | 2007 | Referendum law passes for constitutional amendments | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2003 | Popular initiative bills; non binding and constitutional referendums introduced | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1994 | Local consultative referendums | Referendum / Initiative |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|--|-------------------------|
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2001 | Temporary Citizen initiated corrective consultative referendum authorized- bill on amendment went through upper and lower chamber | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2004 | Citizen initiatives introduced | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2005 | Lower house allowed European referendum | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1993 | Citizen initiated referendum introduced (if 10% of electorate asks for it) | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2002 | Citizen proposal introduced | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1991 | Referendum: voting age lowered to 18 | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 2003 | Extension of referendums to international treaties. More signatures required for general popular initiative and referendums amending changing repeating laws | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2000 | Local referendums possible | Referendum / Initiative |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1992 | Environmental Protection Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1995 | Australia Competition and Consumer Commission | Regulation |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1996 | Australian Energy Regulator AND Reserve Bank of Australia | Regulation |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1997 | Australian Communications and Media Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1998 | Australian Prudential Regulatory Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Australia</i> | 2001 | Australian Securities and Investments Commission | Regulation |
| <i>Australia</i> | 2002 | Food Standards Australia | Regulation |
| <i>Australia</i> | 2004 | National Water Commission | Regulation |
| <i>Australia</i> | 2006 | Australian Commission on Safety and Quality in Healthcare | Regulation |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1997 | Telekom-Kontrol-Kommission | Regulation |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1999 | Federal Environment Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2000 | Elektrizitaet-Control | Regulation |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2001 | Austrian Financial Market Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2002 | Bundeswettbewerbshorhorde | Regulation |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1990 | Comission Bancaire, Financiere et des Assurances | Regulation |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|----------------|------|---|----------------|
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1991 | Consell de la Concurrence | Regulation |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1998 | Nationale Bank van Belgie-Banque nationale de Belgique | Regulation |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1999 | Commission for Regulation of Electricity and Gas | Regulation |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2000 | Agency for food safety | Regulation |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2002 | Insurance Supervisory Office AND Comission Bancaire, Financiere et des Assurances | Regulation |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2004 | Institut Belge des Services Postaux et des Telecommunications | Regulation |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1997 | Canadian Food Inspection Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1999 | Danish Energy Regulatory Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1993 | Financial Supervision Authority AND Pharmaceutical Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1995 | Electricity Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Finland</i> | 2001 | Food safety Agency | Regulation |
| <i>France</i> | 1990 | Environment Agency | Regulation |
| <i>France</i> | 1993 | Banque de France AND Agence Francaise de securite sanitaire des product de santes | Regulation |
| <i>France</i> | 1996 | Autorite des Marches Financiers AND Autorite de Regulation des Communications et des Postes | Regulation |
| <i>France</i> | 1998 | Food Safety Agency | Regulation |
| <i>France</i> | 2003 | Commission de Regulation de l'Energie AND Communication and post agency | Regulation |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1994 | Pharmaceutical Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1995 | Bundesanstalt fuer Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht | Regulation |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1996 | Bundesnetzagentur | Regulation |
| <i>Germany</i> | 2002 | Financial Services | Regulation |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1993 | Competition Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1998 | Financial Supervisory Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 2001 | Central Bank of Iceland AND Post and Telecom Administration | Regulation |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 2003 | Icelandic National Energy Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1991 | Competititon Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1995 | Financial Regulator | Regulation |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1996 | Commission for Communications Regulation | Regulation |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1998 | Food Safety Authority of Ireland | Regulation |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|--------------------|------|--|----------------|
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1999 | Commission for Energy Regulation | Regulation |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 2001 | Health Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 2002 | Commission for Energy Regulation AND Commission for Communications Regulation | Regulation |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1990 | Autorita Garante della Concorrenza e del Mercato | Regulation |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1993 | Commissione di Vigilanza sui Fondi Pensiones | Regulation |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1994 | Environment Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1995 | Autorita per l'Energie Electrica e il Gas AND Autorita per la Garanzie della Comunicazione | Regulation |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1998 | Banca d'Italia | Regulation |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1992 | Securities & Exchange Surveillance Commission | Regulation |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1997 | Bank of Japan | Regulation |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1998 | Financial Services Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Japan</i> | 2003 | Food Safety Commission | Regulation |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1997 | Institut Luxembourgeois de Regulation | Regulation |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1998 | Commission de surveillance du secteur financier | Regulation |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1999 | Central Bank of Luxembourg | Regulation |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1992 | Authority for the Financial Markets | Regulation |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1993 | Nederlandsche Bank | Regulation |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1996 | Agency: environment | Regulation |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1997 | Independent Post and Telecommunications Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2004 | Netherlands Competition Authority AND Office for Energy Regulation | Regulation |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 2002 | New Zealand Food Safety Authority | Regulation |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 2003 | Electricity Commission | Regulation |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 2004 | Commerce Commission | Regulation |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1991 | Norwegian Water resources and Energy Directorate | Regulation |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1994 | Competition Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1997 | Norwegian Post and Telecom Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Norway</i> | 2001 | Pharmaceutical Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1990 | Pharmaceutical Agency | Regulation |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|--|----------------|
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1991 | Finansinspektionen | Regulation |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1992 | Competition Authority AND National Post and Telecom Agency | Regulation |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1999 | Sveriges Riksbank | Regulation |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2001 | Work Environment Authority | Regulation |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2004 | National Energy Administration | Regulation |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1995 | Commission de la Concurrence | Regulation |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1997 | Commission Federal des Banques AND Swiss Federal Communications Commission | Regulation |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1999 | Swiss National Bank | Regulation |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 2000 | Institute Suisse des Productes Therapeutiques | Regulation |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1991 | Office of Water Services | Regulation |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1995 | Environment Agency | Regulation |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1997 | Bank of England AND Financial Services Authority | Regulation |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1999 | Food Safety Agency | Regulation |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2000 | Postal Service Commission | Regulation |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2003 | Office of Communications | Regulation |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1990 | State subsidy for campaign expenses | Subsidies |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1992 | State subsidy for members of parliament and provincial parties | Subsidies |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1997 | Limit the income of elected officials and top functionaris | Subsidies |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1993 | Increasing level of public funding to parties | Subsidies |
| <i>Canada</i> | 2003 | State subsidy to political parties introduced (Contributions from corporations and unions to parties banned) | Subsidies |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1995 | Law changed to increase public subsidy to political parties (transparency of donors requested) | Subsidies |
| <i>France</i> | 1993 | Lowering requirements for receiving public subsidy | Subsidies |
| <i>France</i> | 1995 | Public subsidies: presidential and legislative candidates compensated (local regional european) | Subsidies |
| <i>France</i> | 2003 | Reduction of requirements for public funding of candidates | Subsidies |
| <i>France</i> | 2000 | New funding rules. Penalties for not applying gender quota | Subsidies |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|-----------------------|------|---|----------------|
| <i>Iceland</i> | 2007 | Party funding 2,5% of vote. Restriction on party funding from private sources and more scrutiny | Subsidies |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1997 | Increase party funding (Rules on party and campaign finances) | Subsidies |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 2001 | State subsidy to parties doubled | Subsidies |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1993 | Referendum: Abolish state financing for parties. (Reimbursement of campaign expenditure for parties with more than 4% of the vote) | Subsidies |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1999 | Campaign costs reimbursed to parties with more than 1% of vote | Subsidies |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1993 | Ban on corporate funding for individual politicians | Subsidies |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1994 | Annual subsidy for registered political parties (severe penalties for those who exceed legal limits in donation received) | Subsidies |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2007 | Public financing of political parties | Subsidies |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1993 | Increase direct state subsidies to parties due to decline in membership levels | Subsidies |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1998 | New system of subsidies for parties (according to seats) | Subsidies |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2000 | Government subsidies to parties doubled (Limits introduced to private financing) | Subsidies |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2001 | Increase in public subsidies to parties | Subsidies |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2002 | Increase in public subsidies to parties | Subsidies |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2004 | Raise subsidies to political parties | Subsidies |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2007 | Cut in party subsidy | Subsidies |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1995 | Imposed financial disclosure requirements to parties. Limits on campaign expenditure and donations | Subsidies |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 2007 | Electoral finance act | Subsidies |
| <i>Norway</i> | 2006 | Subsidy for registered parties | Subsidies |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1998 | Reform of party finance laws: based on proportion of seats | Subsidies |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2000 | Regulation of party funding (transparency of finances, expenditure limits, rules of conduct for referendums, third party regulation) | Subsidies |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2007 | Subsidies to political parties increased | Subsidies |
| <i>United States</i> | 1996 | Courts loosened campaign spending restrictions | Subsidies |

| Country | Year | Description | Type of reform |
|----------------------|------|---|----------------|
| <i>United States</i> | 2001 | Campaign finance reforms passed by senate | Subsidies |
| <i>United States</i> | 2002 | BCRA campaign finance legislation | Subsidies |

A.2 Inventory of Discussions

This inventory of reform discussions is based on findings in the European Journal of Political Research Data Yearbooks 1991 - 2008 and additional information from country experts.

| Country | Year | Description |
|------------------|------|--|
| <i>Australia</i> | 1993 | Extensive discussion and advisory committee installed. Investigating the option of making Australia a Republic in which the British queen |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1997 | Convention on republicanism: proposal for non elected president will no longer be the head of state |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1998 | Constitutional convention on republican proposal |
| <i>Australia</i> | 2005 | National human right bill |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1990 | Application for EU membership |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1991 | EC membership discussion |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1992 | Formal accession negotiations started (Ratified EEA) |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1993 | EC negotiations |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1994 | Discussion on the reform of the federal system |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1994 | EU referendum |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1997 | NATO membership |
| <i>Austria</i> | 1998 | Constitutional amendment to increase the control powers of the president |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2002 | Proposal to reform electoral system from PR to majority rule (SPO) |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2002 | Reform of constitutional court |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2003 | Discussion on reforming the constitution |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2004 | Expansion of parliamentary controls discussed; distribution of responsibilities between federal and provincial governments was controversial |
| <i>Austria</i> | 2005 | Debate on European Convention: introduction of an EU president and High representative of foreign affairs |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1990 | Devolution to linguistic regions: Separate parliaments should receive more powers |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1990 | Discussion about giving more power to European Central Bank |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1991 | Reform Bicameral system |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1991 | Reduce political power of king |

| Country | Year | Description |
|----------------|------|---|
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1991 | Direct elections to councils. |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1991 | Treaty making powers of regions. Radio and television legislation to regions. |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1991 | Maastricht Treaty: Monetary Treaty |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1991 | EU Defence Union |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1995 | Calling for further separation and empowerment of regions. |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1996 | Calls for judicial reform |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1996 | Euro debate |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 1997 | Debate about Belgium's federal organization |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2000 | Shift to mixed electoral system |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2001 | Discussions about becoming a republic |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2001 | Direct elections of local mayors discussed |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2005 | European convention |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 2007 | Regions want more functions |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1990 | NAFTA negotiations |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1991 | Royal Commission (Lortie) on electoral reform and party financing |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1991 | Quebec independence discussion: national consultation on nation's future; reports published; referendum promised |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1991 | Aboriginals seeking constitutional redress |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1994 | Citizen consultation process in Quebec with regard to secession. Quebec's secession from the federation - referendum decided for 1995 |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1996 | Amendment to election act: permanent voter list, short election campaign, polls open longer |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1997 | Discussion on flexible federalism |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1998 | Court case with regard to legality of Quebec succession |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1998 | Self government aspirations of Nisga |
| <i>Canada</i> | 2001 | Discussions about adopting PR |
| <i>Canada</i> | 2002 | Six point plan to counter the excessive power of prime minister |
| <i>Canada</i> | 2003 | Electoral reform on the agenda |
| <i>Canada</i> | 2004 | Electoral reform discussion |
| <i>Canada</i> | 2005 | Accountability act to reform government procedures |
| <i>Canada</i> | 2006 | Limit senatorial terms to 8 years and electoral consultation |

| Country | Year | Description |
|----------------|-------------|---|
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1991 | Discussion about the powers of the European Central Bank |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1991 | Maastricht Treaty debate |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1991 | Defense Union of EU discussed |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1994 | Considering to join WEU as full member |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1995 | Faroe Island more independence |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1996 | Treaty of Amsterdam (common foreign and security policy) |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 2002 | Discussion about another referendum on EMU |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 2005 | European convention debate: giving power away |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1990 | EC membership debate |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1992 | EU membership will be put to a referendum |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1993 | EU membership |
| <i>Finland</i> | 1996 | EMU debate |
| <i>Finland</i> | 2001 | Further reduction of presidential powers discussed |
| <i>Finland</i> | 2002 | NATO membership discussion |
| <i>Finland</i> | 2005 | European convention debate |
| <i>Finland</i> | 2007 | Municipalities are encouraged to merge and cooperate in certain policy terrains |
| <i>France</i> | 1990 | European Central Bank |
| <i>France</i> | 1991 | Presidential term should be reduced and decided by a referendum |
| <i>France</i> | 1991 | Discussion defence unions |
| <i>France</i> | 1992 | Discussion about introducing primaries |
| <i>France</i> | 1996 | Discussions on vigorous reforms of the state |
| <i>France</i> | 2000 | Sharing of powers (Corsica , Brittany, Basque, Caribbean) |
| <i>France</i> | 2001 | Corsican Autonomy |
| <i>France</i> | 2006 | More direct democracy |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1990 | The role of the European central bank |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1991 | Defence Union |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1994 | Introduction of more elements of direct democracy |
| <i>Germany</i> | 1996 | EMU project |
| <i>Germany</i> | 2002 | European constitutional treaty |

| Country | Year | Description |
|----------------|------|--|
| <i>Germany</i> | 2002 | Federal constitutional court ruled certain features of the electoral law as unconstitutional |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1991 | EC negotiations |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1992 | Debate about joining the EU and conducting a referendum (for the first time) |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1992 | West European Union associate membership |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1993 | EU negotiations |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1994 | EU membership discussion |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1995 | EU membership referendum |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 2001 | EU membership discussion |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 2003 | EU membership |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 2005 | Party finance |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1990 | Government transparency |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1990 | EC: alternation of article 2 and 3 of the constitution came under discussion |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1990 | European Central Bank |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1991 | Maastricht: constitutional referendum will be necessary in 1992 |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1991 | Defence union |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1991 | Local government reform |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 1991 | Parliamentary reforms |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 2000 | Electoral reform (regional list) |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 2004 | European Convention |
| <i>Israel</i> | 1990 | Electoral reform |
| <i>Israel</i> | 1991 | Directly elected prime minister |
| <i>Israel</i> | 1991 | Judicial review |
| <i>Israel</i> | 1999 | Change basic law (Allow the increase of number of ministers) |
| <i>Israel</i> | 2007 | Electoral system change |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1990 | President of republic starts a discussion about electoral reform |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1990 | Discussion European central bank |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1991 | Give president more power to dissolve parliament in the last 6 months of his presidency |

| Country | Year | Description |
|-------------------|------|---|
| <i>Italy</i> | 1991 | Change political system to a presidential republic like France with more executive powers directly elected by voters |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1991 | Defence union |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1992 | Electoral reform: commission established and referendum will be held at the end |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1992 | Measures to reduce the powers of parties |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1995 | Round tables on electoral reform, federalism, direct elections, bicameralism, presidential vs. parliamentary system |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1996 | Bicameral commission to investigate various reforms including Federalism |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1997 | Bicameral commission: reform of judiciary, federal structure, semi-presidential system |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2000 | Lombardy holds consultative referendum about devolution |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2004 | Reform of electoral law |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2005 | Directly elected prime minister |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2005 | Cutting back powers of president |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2005 | Revision of constitution: greater regional autonomy, asymmetrical bicameralism, reduced no. of MPs stronger PM (repelled by referendum) |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2005 | European Convention |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2006 | Attempts to reduce courts powers again |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1993 | Abolish multiseat constituencies (instead single seat constituencies with PR) adopted by lower house |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1995 | Electoral reform for a Two party system |
| <i>Japan</i> | 2006 | Intention to pass bill to stipulate referendum procedures for constitutional amendments |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1990 | European central bank |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1991 | Defence union |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 1993 | Calls to abolish/reform the council of state which had a double jurisdiction |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2001 | Discussions on the usage of popular initiatives and referendums |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2002 | Direct democratic instruments should be added to the constitution |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2002 | Non EU citizens right to vote in local elections |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2002 | Public financing of political parties |

| Country | Year | Description |
|--------------------|-------------|--|
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2002 | Revise constitution to allow shorter process of constitutional reform |
| <i>Luxembourg</i> | 2005 | European convention |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1990 | European Central Bank |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1991 | Defence Union |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1995 | Referendum for revising parliamentary bills |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1995 | Mixed electoral system |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1996 | Allow referendum on legislation |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1997 | Referendum legislation (national and local referendums) upper house still needs to vote |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2001 | Directly elected prime minister/ mayors/ provincial governors and mixed electoral system |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2003 | Consultative amendment to allow binding abrogatory referendums |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2003 | New electoral system/ direct election of prime minister |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2005 | Reforming party funding and campaign subsidies |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2005 | Various institutional reforms debated. Convention on electoral reform |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2005 | European convention |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2006 | Discussion on binding referendum |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2006 | Discussions on possible new electoral systems |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2006 | Discussion on creating a constitutional court |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1990 | Decision to hold a referendum on electoral reform |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1992 | First nonbinding referendum on electoral system |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1993 | Change the parliamentary system : accountability procedures |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1995 | Turning back citizen initiated referendums due to low turnout |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1998 | Alternative supplementary member electoral system |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1999 | Referendum on the size of parliament (CIR) favoured reduction but was disregarded |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 2000 | Committee to evaluate electoral system MMP |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 2003 | Creation of new supreme court discussed |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1990 | EC and EFTA negotiation |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1991 | EU EEA |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1992 | EC application |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1993 | EC negotiations |

| Country | Year | Description |
|--------------------|-------------|---|
| <i>Norway</i> | 1999 | EU debate |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1990 | EMU |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1991 | EC negotiations |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1993 | EC negotiations (will follow with referendum) |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1994 | EC negotiations (will follow with referendum) |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1995 | Referendum on single currency |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1996 | Euro |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 1996 | NATO membership |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2000 | EMU discussion |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2001 | EMU membership discussion |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2002 | EMU |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2004 | EU constitution |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2005 | Constitutional Reform |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2005 | European convention |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1990 | EC membership |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1991 | EEA negotiations |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1991 | Parliament: extension of standing groups in main political areas to increase efficiency, professionalism and continuity |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1991 | Parliament decided to join the IMF citizens called for a referendum |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1993 | About joining the European Union |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1994 | About joining the European Union |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1995 | Doubling number of signatures needed for initiatives and referendums |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1995 | Optional administrative and financial referendums |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1995 | More responsibility for the federal council |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1996 | The power to decide about territorial issues should be given to the legislature |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1996 | Taking budget responsibility away from federation |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1996 | About joining the European Union |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1996 | Increase the no. of voter signatures needed for a referendum |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1997 | Should the public have the right to decide on foreign policy |

| Country | Year | Description |
|-----------------------|-------------|--|
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1997 | Acceleration of direct democracy: issues should be put to the vote within 12 months |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1997 | Optional referendum on financial and administrative matters |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1997 | Raising number of signatures needed for popular initiative |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1997 | Constructive referendum: public given opportunity for the collection of counter proposals |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1998 | No magic formula anymore: each federal council does not have to come from a different canton, party, language, region etc. |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1999 | EU membership |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 2003 | EU negotiations |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 2004 | EU negotiations |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1990 | European central bank |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1991 | Local governments reform |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1991 | Electoral reform discussion on PR |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1991 | Maastricht - opt out from single currency |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1991 | Constitutional convention on N.Ireland/ Scottish and Welsh devolution |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1991 | Defense union |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1992 | Electoral reform (PR) |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1992 | Devolution |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1992 | EU referendum and more direct democracy |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1993 | Electoral reform (PR) |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1993 | Devolution |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1993 | Hereditary element in house of lords should be abolished |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1993 | Calling referendum on Maastricht |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1994 | Devolution to local authority |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1994 | Referendum on single currency |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1995 | Devolution |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1995 | Proposal : public finance of parties |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1995 | Proportional Representation |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1995 | Referendum on single currency |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1996 | Discussion PR |

| Country | Year | Description |
|-----------------------|-------------|--|
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1996 | Hereditary element in House of Lords should be abolished |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1996 | Referendum on devolution |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1996 | New information act |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1996 | Referendum on single currency |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1997 | Hereditary element in House of Lords should be abolished |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1997 | Freedom of Information Act |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1997 | PR proposal |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1997 | Changes to parliament procedures proposal |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1998 | Rules to govern funding of political parties |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1998 | Jenkins report on Proportional Representation |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1999 | Further reform of House of Lords: royal commission |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1999 | New freedom of information bill |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2000 | Commission report on hereditary peers |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2000 | Electronic voting |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2000 | European army debate |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2001 | Further regulation party spending |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2001 | Referendum on Euro |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2002 | Experimenting with postal and internet |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2002 | Experimenting with direct election of mayors in some counties |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2003 | Separate supreme court (separate from parliament to replace House of Lords as highest court of appeal) |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2004 | Debate: alternative voting methods to encourage turnout after STV introduced in Scotland |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2004 | Referendum on EU treaty |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2004 | Separate supreme court |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2005 | European convention debate |
| <i>United States</i> | 1990 | Term limits for elected representatives |
| <i>United States</i> | 1995 | Reform of House rules Contract with America |
| <i>United States</i> | 1996 | Term limits for members of congress |
| <i>United States</i> | 1996 | Balanced budget amendment: president can veto parts of budget |
| <i>United States</i> | 1997 | Campaign finance reform |

| Country | Year | Description |
|----------------------|------|------------------------------|
| <i>United States</i> | 2000 | Abolishing electoral college |

A.3 Inventory of Failures

This inventory of reform failures is based on findings in the European Journal of Political Research Data Yearbooks 1991 - 2008 and additional information from country experts.

| Country | Year | Description |
|------------------|------|--|
| <i>Australia</i> | 1991 | Plan to fix vertical federal imbalance |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1998 | Northern territory rejected an offer of statehood in a referendum |
| <i>Australia</i> | 1999 | Australians decided to vote against the proposal of a non elected president |
| <i>Australia</i> | 2004 | Abolition of the elected aboriginal commission |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1990 | Failure of Meech lake accord about status of Quebec |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1992 | Charlottetown accord: equality of provinces, representation by population, Quebec independence defeated in nonbinding referendum |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1993 | Limiting election spending of third parties; struck down as unconstitutional by courts |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1994 | Federal district boundary commission wanted to redraw electoral map- senate refused |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1995 | After citizen consultation process Quebec's dissolution from federation was narrowly avoided in referendum |
| <i>Canada</i> | 1999 | Unilateral succession of Quebec declared illegal by courts |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 1992 | Referendum on Maastricht Treaty. EMU rejected |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 2000 | Euro rejected in referendum |
| <i>France</i> | 1993 | PR electoral system discussion |
| <i>France</i> | 2003 | Corsican assembly more power than departments (rejected in referendum) |
| <i>France</i> | 2005 | European Convention (rejected in referendum) |
| <i>Germany</i> | 2002 | Bill aimed at introducing referendum without requiring supra majorities |
| <i>Iceland</i> | 1993 | Unification of local authorities |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 2001 | Treaty of Nice rejected in referendum |
| <i>Ireland</i> | 2004 | Electronic voting unsuccessful |
| <i>Israel</i> | 2001 | Directly elected prime minister abolished |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1997 | Referendum on judges and journalists quorum not met |

| Country | Year | Description |
|-----------------------|------|---|
| <i>Italy</i> | 1998 | Reforming Constitution |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2004 | Reduction of the courts powers: unable to prosecute leaders during term (2002). Turned back 2004 |
| <i>Italy</i> | 2006 | Constitutional Referendum: more powers to prime minister and chamber of deputies/The proposals would also have increased the power of the regions |
| <i>Japan</i> | 1991 | Introduction of system based on single member constituencies for lower house |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1993 | The formateur should be decided by parliament and not by the queen |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1993 | Corrective referendum |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1993 | Mixed German system |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1993 | Directly elected prime minister |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1993 | Directly elected mayors |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1996 | Proposed mixed electoral system dropped |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1998 | Upper house approved amendment allowing referendums (defeated by new parliament after elections) |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 1999 | Upper house voted against proposal for consultative referendum |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2002 | No support from government for consultative referendum |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2002 | Old procedures of appointment returned to local level: no mayor referendum |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2004 | Referendum acts defeated in lower house. Temporary referendum law not renewed |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 2005 | Failure Proposed constitutional amendment for mayors failed |
| <i>New Zealand</i> | 1990 | Referendum: change the 3 year parliamentary term |
| <i>Norway</i> | 1994 | Failure Citizens voted against EC membership |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 2003 | Referendum on Euro |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 1992 | Referendum on European integration: rejected |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 2000 | Talks with EU rejected in referendum |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1999 | No referendum on PR |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1999 | No referendum on EU |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2003 | A wholly appointed second chamber defeated in the commons |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2004 | Attempt to set directly elected regional assemblies : failed in a referendum |

| Country | Year | Description |
|-----------------------|-------------|--|
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 2007 | Abolish regional assemblies |
| <i>United States</i> | 1995 | Term limits in political for office (congress) |

Under what circumstances do Major Reforms Occur?

B.1 Operationalization of Variables

- Occurrence of Reform is a binary variable coded as either 1, which signifies the occurrence of a reform in a given country in a given year or 0, which signifies the absence of a reform in the given year. This variable is based on the list of reforms presented in chapter 3. Data is presented at the end of this list.
- ICRG indicator of Quality of Government is a scale from 1-0 compounded from three variables “corruption”, “law and order” and “bureaucracy quality”. Higher values indicate a higher quality of government. Source: Teorell, Jan, Nicholas Charron, Marcus Samanni, Sören Holmberg & Bo Rothstein. 2010. The Quality of Government Dataset, version 27 May 2010. University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute, <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se> (visited May 2010).
- Economic Growth variable is the annual percentage growth rate of GDP at market prices based on constant local currency. World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files. Source: Teorell, Jan, Nicholas Charron, Marcus Samanni, Sören Holmberg & Bo Rothstein. 2010. The Quality of Government Dataset, version 27 May 2010. University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute, <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se> (visited May 2010).

- Number of Parties in Parliament variable gives the effective number of parties at the parliamentary or legislative level. Source: Michael Gallagher's Electoral Systems Website http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/ElSystems/Docts/ElectionIndices.pdf (visited May 2010).
- Presidential System variable is based on the Cheibub, Gandhi & Vreeland Regime Institutions variable. The variable is coded as follows: 0 = Parliamentary democracy, 1 = Mixed (semi-presidential) democracy and 2 = Presidential democracy. Source: Teorell, Jan, Nicholas Charron, Marcus Samanni, Sören Holmberg and Bo Rothstein. 2010. The Quality of Government Dataset, version 27 May 2010. University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute, <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se> (visited May 2010).
- Alignment Executive and Legislature is derived from the Political Constraints dataset. Alignment between the executive and the upper legislative chamber is coded (ALIGN E_L2=1) when the Executive's party is the largest in the upper legislative chamber. Source: http://www.management.wharton.upenn.edu/henisz/_vti_bin/shtml.dll/POLCON/ContactInfo.html (visited May 2010).
- Effective Second Chamber is derived from the Political Constraints dataset. Effective second legislative chambers (L2=1) are found in countries where the legislative chamber is elected under a distinct electoral system and has a substantive (not merely delaying) role. Source: http://www-management.wharton.upenn.edu/henisz/_vti_bin/shtml.dll/POLCON/ContactInfo.html24 (visited May 2010).
- Independent Federal System is derived from the Political Constraints dataset. Independent sub-federal entities (states, provinces, regions) are coded (1) when these institutions impose substantive constraints on national fiscal policy. Source: http://www.management.wharton.upenn.edu/henisz/_vti_bin/shtml.dll/POLCON/ContactInfo.html (visited May 2010).
- Elections drawing near variable shows how near elections are for a certain country. 0 = election year, 1 = one year before elections, 2 = 2 years before elections and so on. Data is based on expert reports in the Political Data Year Books from 1991-2007 in the European Journal of Political Research.
- Occurrence of Referendum: 1 = Referendum took place in given year, 0 = No Referendum in given year. Source: Center for Research on Direct Democracy

(c2d); http://www.c2d.ch/inner.php?table=country_information&sublinkname=country_information&continent=Europe (visited May 2010).

B.2 Diagnostics

1. Fixed versus random effects: I run a Hausman test to decide whether to use fixed or random effects in the models. The Hausman test checks whether the unique errors (u_i) are correlated with the regressors, the null hypothesis is that this is not the case. The assumption of the FE model is that time-invariant characteristics are unique to the specific country and should not be correlated with other countries. Each country is different. Therefore the country's error term and the constant should not be correlated with the others. The FE model also solves problems of unit heterogeneity. The Hausman test reveals that fixed effects are not necessary.
2. Time fixed effects: unexpected variation or special events may affect the dependent variable. I therefore control for time-fixed effects using the `testparm` command. The null hypotheses that the dummies for all years are equal to zero for trust in government and trust in parliament were not rejected. The test reveals that time fixed effects are not necessary in the model.
3. Unit root: Unit root is also known as non-stationary. I use the Dickey-Fuller unit root test for panel data (the function `xtunitroot fisher`) to detect non-stationarity. The null hypothesis that all panels contain unit roots is rejected for all variables except for the quality of government indicator. The variables do not need to be differenced.
4. Serial Correlation: Serial correlation is also known as autocorrelation which is the correlation of a time series with its own future or past values. An error term in one time is dependent on an error term at a previous time point. The Durbin-Watson test (first order autocorrelation) and the Breusch-Godfrey test (higher order correlation) can be used to test for serial-correlation. The model does not have any problem with serial correlation and a lagged dependent variable is not necessary.
5. Interaction effects: Following Brambor et al. (2006) interaction effects should be added to the analysis when the hypothesis tested has a conditional nature. In other words, when we expect x to have an effect on y when condition z is met. The New-Zealand case study about the state of the economy and the use of referendums lead me to add an interaction effect for these two variables.

6. Determining the lag structure: The impact of contextual and institutional structures can either have an immediate or lagged effect on the occurrence of reforms in different countries. At the moment, there is no theory to help us determine the number of lags necessary. Another way of determining the lag structure is statistically, by letting the data determine what is appropriate (Lake and Baum, 2011). After running different models with a variety of lags (with a maximum of 5 lags due to limited data points) I chose the specific lag for the independent variable based on the lag that produces the highest R-square and lowest Root Mean Square Error (RMSE) for the model.
7. Specification error: the assumption of the logistic regression is that the logit of the outcome is a linear combination of the independent variables. Using linktest I test whether the link function and the model is properly specified and whether any other predictors are necessary. Given that $_hatsq$ is not significant I conclude that there is no specification error.
8. Goodness of fit: The fit statistics (using fitstat) compares the intercept only model to the full model. The AIC and BIC reveal that the full model is a better model.
9. Multicollinearity: multicollinearity indicates that two or more independent variables have an almost perfect linear relationship. If this is the case then the coefficients are probably weak and the standard errors are blown up. I use the variance inflation factor (vif) to check for multicollinearity. Vif values higher than 10 are a source of concern. In my analysis all vif scores are below 10.
10. Influential Cases: I plot Pearson residuals against the predicted probabilities. Pearson residuals are standardized differences between the observed and predicted frequency, it is a way to measure the relative deviation between the observed and fitted values. No extreme observations can be detected in these plots (i.e. observations which are far away from most other observations).
11. Some might argue that odds ratios can illegitimately overestimate the effects of variables. However this is more often the case when the outcomes examined are common. Reforms are not rare events but they are also not a daily occurrence - it therefore seems appropriate to keep reporting the odds ratio. I do not standardize the covariates for comparison of effects. The problem with such an approach is that the interpretation often becomes meaningless in dummy variables (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal, 2008).

B.3 Occurrence of Reform per Country

| Country | Year | Types of reform that took place |
|-----------|------|---|
| Australia | 1995 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 1999 | Electoral |
| | 2000 | Consultation |
| | 2002 | Court |
| Austria | 1990 | Subsidies |
| | 1992 | Decentralization/Centralization, Electoral, Parliament, Subsidies |
| | 1994 | Executive/ Direct |
| | 1995 | EU/International organization |
| | 1996 | Decentralization/Centralization, Electoral, EU/International organization, Parliament |
| | 1997 | Court,Subsidies |
| | 1998 | Electoral, EU/International organization, Referendum/initiative |
| | 2000 | Court |
| | 2004 | EU/International organization |
| | 2005 | Parliament |
| | 2007 | Court, Electoral, Parliament, Referendum/initiative |
| Belgium | 1992 | EU/International organization |
| | 1993 | Decentralization/Centralization, Electoral, Parliament, Subsidies |
| | 1994 | Electoral |
| | 1995 | Electoral, Referendum/initiative |
| | 1996 | EU/International organization |
| | 1998 | Electoral, EU/International organization |
| | 2000 | Court, Electoral |
| | 2001 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2002 | Electoral, Parliament |
| | 2003 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2006 | Executive/ Direct |
| | 2007 | Court |
| Canada | 1992 | EU/International organization, Referendum/initiative |
| | 1993 | Electoral |
| | 1996 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 1997 | Court, Decentralization/Centralization, Electoral |
| | 1999 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2002 | Decentralization/Centralization, Parliament |
| | 2003 | Subsidies |

| Country | Year | Types of reform that took place |
|---------|-------------------------------|--|
| Denmark | 1993 | EU/International organization |
| | 1995 | Decentralization/Centralization, Subsidies |
| | 1998 | EU/International organization |
| | 1999 | Court |
| | 2001 | Court, EU/International organization |
| | 2004 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2005 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| Finland | 1990 | Referendum/initiative |
| | 1991 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 1992 | Parliament |
| | 1993 | Decentralization/Centralization, EU/International organization, Regulation |
| | 1994 | EU/International organization, Executive/ Direct, Parliament, Referendum/initiative |
| | 1995 | Court, Decentralization/Centralization, Electoral, Regulation |
| | 1996 | EU/International organization |
| | 1998 | Electoral, EU/International organization |
| | 2000 | Court, Parliament |
| | 2005 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2007 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| France | 1991 | Decentralization/Centralization, EU/International organization |
| | 1992 | Decentralization/Centralization, EU/International organization, Information, Parliament, Referendum/initiative |
| | 1993 | Subsidies |
| | 1995 | Parliament, Referendum/initiative, Subsidies |
| | 1996 | EU/International organization |
| | 1998 | EU/International organization |
| | 1999 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2000 | Court, Executive/ Direct, Subsidies |
| | 2001 | Electoral |
| | 2002 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2003 | Decentralization/Centralization, Parliament, Subsidies |
| 2004 | Electoral, Executive/ Direct | |
| Germany | 1990 | Referendum/initiative |
| | 1992 | Decentralization/Centralization, EU/International organization |
| | 1994 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 1996 | EU/International organization, Parliament |
| | 1998 | EU/International organization |
| | 2000 | Court |
| | 2002 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2005 | Information |
| | 2006 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| 2007 | EU/International organization | |

| Country | Year | Types of reform that took place |
|---------------|--------------|--|
| Iceland | 1991 | Parliament |
| | 1992 | EU/International organization |
| | 1995 | Court, Electoral |
| | 1996 | Information |
| | 1998 | Decentralization/Centralization, Regulation |
| | 1999 | Electoral |
| | 2000 | Court, Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2006 2007 | Decentralization/Centralization Subsidies |
| Israel | 1991 | Electoral |
| | 1992 | Court, Executive/ Direct |
| | 2001 | Electoral, Executive/ Direct |
| Italy 1991 | 1990 | Information, Referendum/initiative |
| | Electoral | |
| | 1992 | EU/International organization |
| | 1993 | Decentralization/Centralization, Electoral, Executive/ Direct, Subsidies |
| | 1995 | Executive/ Direct |
| | 1996 | EU/International organization |
| | 1998 | EU/International organization, Regulation |
| | 1999 | Consultation, Court, Executive/ Direct, Subsidies |
| | 2001 | Decentralization/Centralization, Executive/ Direct |
| 2005 | Electoral | |
| Japan | 1993 | Subsidies |
| | 1994 | Consultation, Electoral, Subsidies |
| | 1999 | Decentralization/Centralization, Executive/ Direct, Information |
| | 2000 | Electoral |
| | 2007 | Referendum/initiative |
| Luxembourg | 1992 | EU/International organization |
| | 1996 | Court, EU/International organization |
| | 1998 | EU/International organization, Regulation |
| | 1999 | Court |
| | 2000 | Court, Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2003 | Electoral, Parliament, Referendum/initiative |
| | 2004 | Parliament |
| | 2007 | Subsidies |

| Country | Year | Types of reform that took place |
|-------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Netherlands | 1992 | EU/International organization, Regulation |
| | 1993 | Electoral, Subsidies |
| | 1994 | Decentralization/Centralization, Referendum/initiative |
| | 1996 | EU/International organization |
| | 1997 | Electoral |
| | 1998 | Consultation, EU/International organization, Subsidies |
| | 2000 | Subsidies |
| | 2001 | Court, Executive/ Direct, Referendum/initiative, Subsidies |
| | 2002 | Subsidies |
| | 2004 | Referendum/initiative, Subsidies |
| | 2005 | Referendum/initiative |
| New Zealand | 1990 | Court |
| | 1993 | Electoral, EU/International organization, Referendum/initiative |
| | 1995 | Subsidies |
| | 2000 | Court |
| | 2001 | Consultation, Parliament |
| | 2005 | Court |
| | 2007 | Subsidies |
| Sweden | 1991 | Court, Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 1993 | EU/International organization |
| | 1994 | Electoral, Parliament |
| | 1995 | Electoral, EU/International organization |
| | 1996 | EU/International organization |
| | 1997 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 1998 | Consultation, Electoral, Subsidies |
| | 2001 | Court |
| 2002 | Referendum/initiative | |
| Switzerland | 1991 | Electoral, Referendum/initiative |
| | 1992 | Electoral, EU/International organization |
| | 1999 | Court, Decentralization/Centralization, Electoral |
| | 2001 | Court |
| | 2002 | EU/International organization |
| | 2003 | Referendum/initiative |
| 2005 | EU/International organization | |

| Country | Year | Types of reform that took place |
|----------------|------|--|
| United Kingdom | 1992 | EU/International organization |
| | 1994 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 1996 | Decentralization/Centralization, EU/International organization |
| | 1997 | Decentralization/Centralization, Electoral |
| | 1998 | Court, Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 1999 | Electoral, Parliament, Regulation |
| | 2000 | Consultation, Executive/ Direct, Information, Referendum/initiative, Subsidies |
| | 2001 | Court, Electoral |
| | 2002 | Parliament |
| | 2004 | Electoral |
| | 2005 | Court, Parliament |
| | 2006 | Decentralization/Centralization |
| | 2007 | Decentralization/Centralization, Subsidies |
| United States | 1993 | Electoral, EU/International organization |
| | 1996 | Subsidies |
| | 2001 | Subsidies |
| | 2002 | Electoral, Subsidies |

B.4 List of Interviews Israel

- Uriel Lynn, former member of the Israeli parliament (Likud) and chairman of the Constitution Law and Justice Committee. Interview 16th November 2008.
- Yoash Tsiddon, former member of the Israeli parliament (Tzomet Party). He introduced a private member bill for governmental reform and was later member of the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee during the reform process. Interview 13th November 2008.
- Amnon Rubinstein, former founder and member of the Israeli parliament for the Shinui party which advocated electoral reform and written constitution. Interview 17th November 2008.
- Professor Uriel Reichman, chairman of the Constitution for Israel group and one of the founders of the Shinui Party. Author's interview 23rd December 2008.
- Eliad Shruga, founder and chairman of the Movement of Quality of Government. Authors interview 28th December 2008.

B.5 List of Interviews New-Zealand

- Angela Foulkes, former secretary of the NZ Council of Trade Unions and one of the Patrons of the Electoral Reform Coalition. Author's interview 10th of March 2010.
- Jim Bolger, former Prime minister of New Zealand (National Party). His term of office saw the introduction of MMP in 1996. Interview 22nd March 2010.
- Dr. David McGee, former clerk of the house of representatives 1985-2000. In that capacity he was the principal adviser to the speaker and members of parliament and parliamentary law and practice. Interview 30th March 2010.
- Professor Nigel Roberts, former adviser to the Electoral Referendum Panels established by the New Zealand Minister of Justice. Interview 11th March 2010.
- Phil Saxby, secretary of the Electoral Reform Coalition in New Zealand. Interview 24th March 2010.

The Impact of Reforms on Satisfaction with Democracy and Trust in Institutions

C.1 The Variables

1. Satisfaction With Democracy can be found in Eurobarometers from 1990-2008 & “*European Social Survey 2008*”. The question wording is as follows: “*On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied with the way democracy works (in your country)?*” The percentage of those satisfied was pooled for each year for each country in the analysis. The specific Eurobarometers used for the analysis are: EB35, EB36, EB37, EB38, EB39, EB40, EB41, EB43.1, EB44.3, EB48, EB49, EB53, EB56.2, EB58.1, EB59.1, EB61, EB63.4, EB65.2, EB68.1 and EVS(ZA4800). <http://www.gesis.org/eurobarometer/topics-trends/eb-trends-trend-files/list-of-trends/democracy-satisf/> <http://zacat.gesis.org/ebview/> Available data: Austria(1995-2008), Belgium (1990-2008), Denmark (1990-2008), Finland (1993-2008), France (1990-2008), Germany (1990-2008), Ireland (1990-2008), Italy (1990-2008), Luxembourg (1990-2008), Netherlands (1990-2008), Sweden (1995-2008), UK (1990-2008), Norway 1990-1995 and 2008.
2. “Trust in Parliament” and “Trust in Government” can be found in the Eurobarometers from 1997-2008. The question wording is as follows: “*I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each*

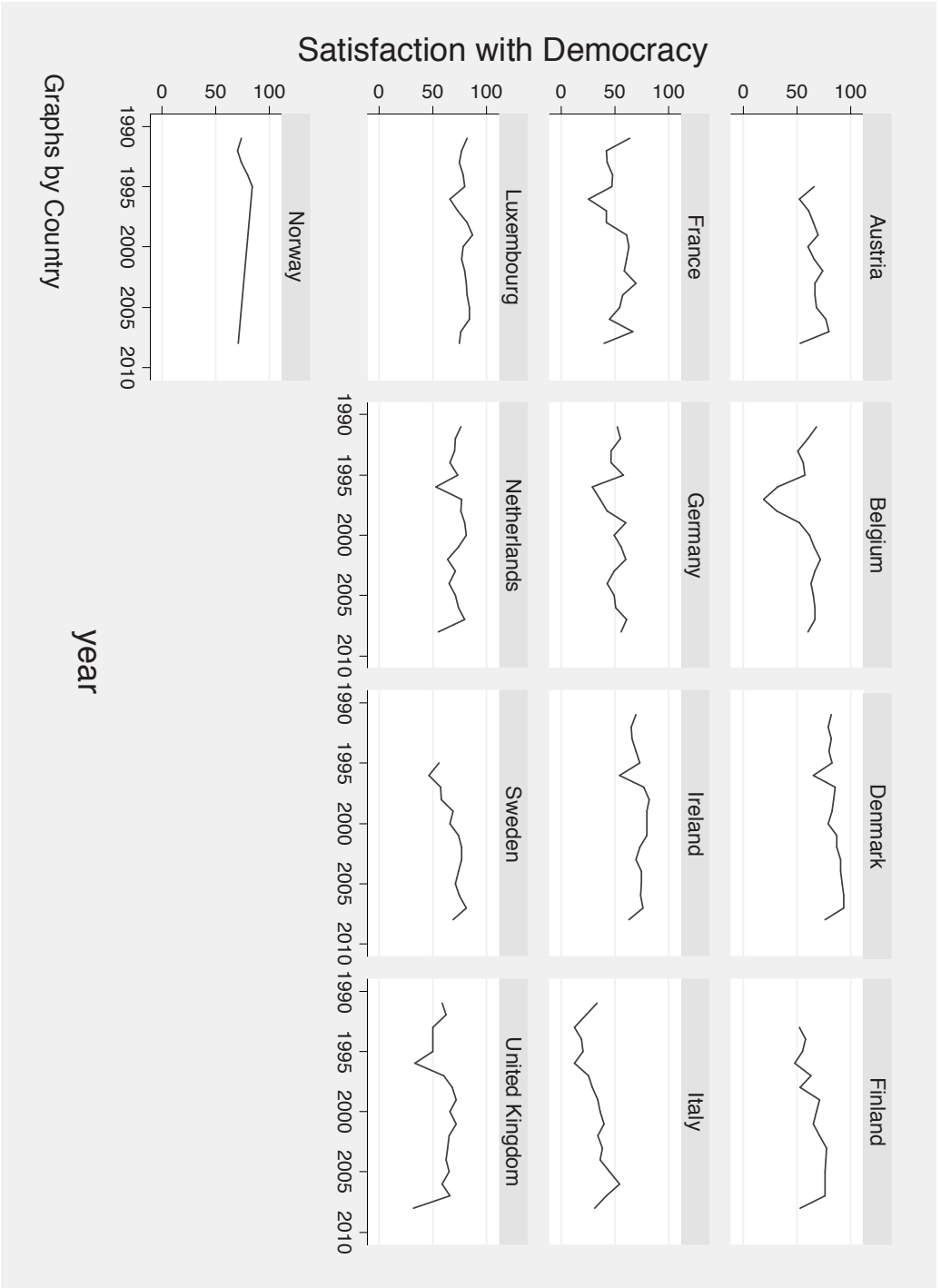


Figure C.1: Satisfaction with Democracy Over Time per Country

of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it". The percentage of those trusting was pooled for each year for each country in the analysis. The specific Eurobarometer datasets used in the analysis are: EB48, EB50.1, EB51, EB54.1, EB55.1, EB57.1, EB59.1, EB61, EB63.4, EB65.2, EB67.2, EB70.1; <http://www.gesis.org/eurobarometer/topics-trends/eb-trends-trend-files/list-of-trends/trust-in-institutions/> & <http://zacat.gesis.org/webview/> Available data: Austria(1997-2008), Belgium (1997-2008), Denmark (1997-2008), Finland (1997-2008), France (1997-2008), Germany (1997-2008), Ireland (1997-2008), Italy (1997-2008), Luxembourg (1997-2008), Netherlands (1997-2008), Sweden (1997-2008), UK (1990-2008).

3. Electoral reform: Occurrence of electoral reform which have been classified as inclusive by Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012): Increase of preference vote, corrective tiers in majoritarian systems, expansion of proportionality of the electoral system, gender equality, reduction territorial discrepancies, facilitating postal voting, facilitating registration procedures, allowing citizens abroad to vote or (non) Eu citizens, lowering voting age. Coding: 1= occurrence of electoral reform 0 = no electoral reform. Source: European Journal of Political Science Political Data Yearbook (1991-2007), Gallagher and Mitchell (2005). Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012) Dataset http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/20817/RSCAS_2012_11.pdf?sequence=1. Do not include: Introduction of legal threshold, reduction of proportionality, introduction of majority bonus. Due to lack of variability it was not possible to enter these reforms into the analysis as a separate variable: Only three cases were valid Iceland 1999, Italy and Sweden 1998. Austria introduced preference voting and threshold in one reform and was therefore removed. Belgium introduced gender quota with threshold in 2002 and was therefore removed.
4. Parliamentary reform: Occurrence of parliamentary reform which have been classified as inclusive by Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012): Decrease of the duration of terms of MPs, increase in the number of MPs, reduction of the majority needed to pass legislation, changing the (voting/ deliberation) procedures of parliament, changing the powers of the chambers, increasing the powers of parliamentary committees. Coding: 1 = occurrence of parliamentary reform, 0 = no parliamentary reform. Source: European Journal of Political Science Political Data Yearbook (1991-2007). This was later validated by country experts and the Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012) Dataset http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/20817/RSCAS_2012_11.pdf?sequence=1. Excludes: decrease in the number of MPs, increasing term of MPs, weakening the ability of the minority

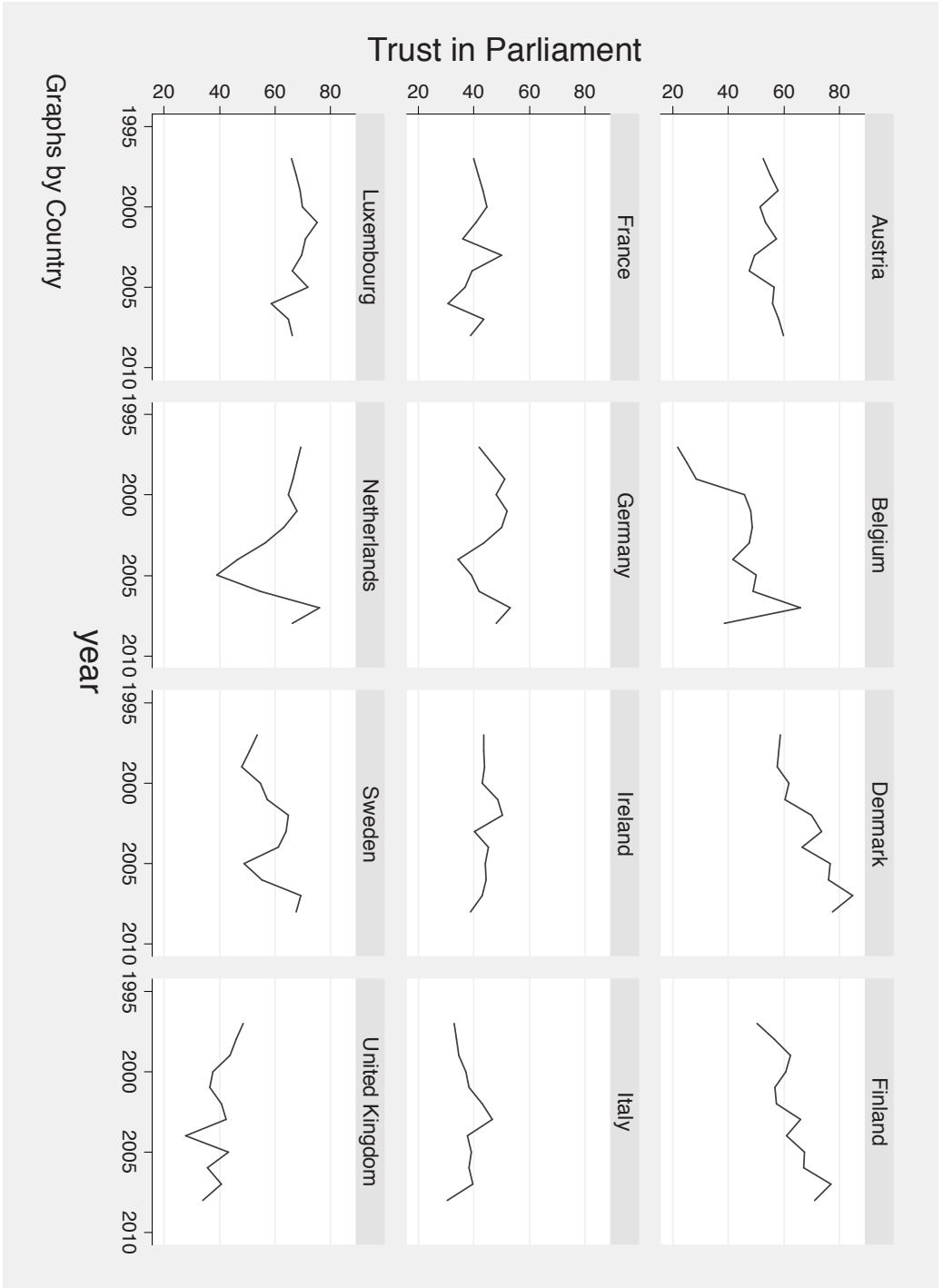


Figure C.2: Trust in Parliament Over Time per Country

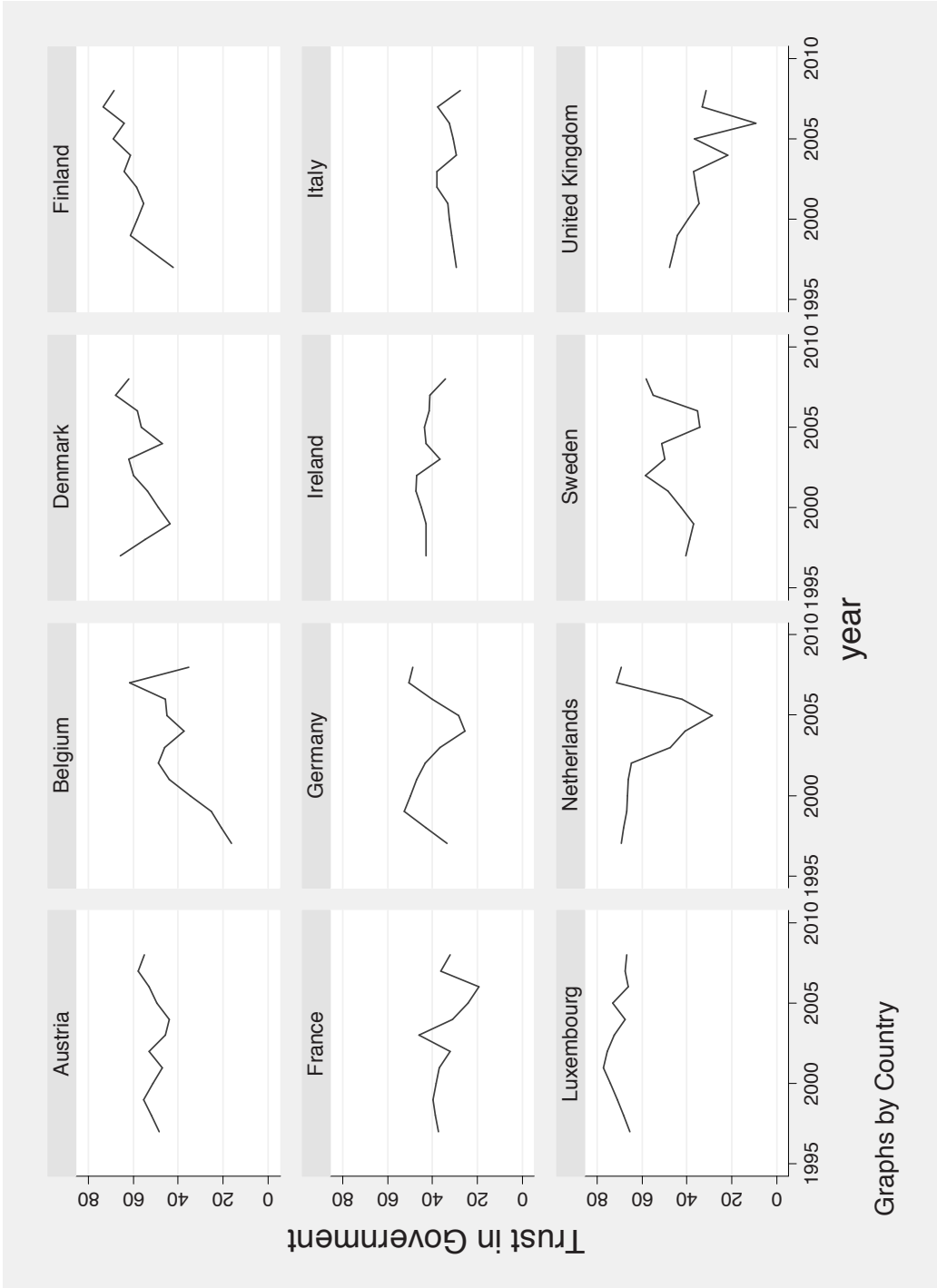


Figure C.3: Trust in Government Over Time per Country

to delaying powers. Four cases are valid: Belgium 1993, Finland 1992, Germany 1996 and Iceland 1991. Austria and 2007 do not qualify due to missing cases. UK had two logics: reduced MPS from Scotland together with making committee chairs independent from government.

5. Referendum Laws: Facilitation or increasing citizen's initiative (classified as inclusive by Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012)) Decreasing the amount of signatures necessary for referendums or initiative. On local, national and regional level. Excludes: suppression of citizen initiative or tougher regulation such as, increasing amount of signatures necessary for referendum Coding: 1 = Introduction of (New) Referendum Laws, 0 = No Introduction / Reform. Source: European Journal of Political Science Political Data Yearbook (1991-2007) and Centre for Research on Direct Democracy (c2d); http://www.c2d.ch/inner.php?table=country_information&sublinkname=country_information&continent=Europe (visited May 2010). Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012) Dataset http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/20817/RSCAS_2012_11.pdf?sequence=1.
6. Decentralization: By which I mean extending the powers (competency, tax autonomy) of or introducing new regional and local authorities. Increasing the ability to cooperate with other municipalities. Extending powers to regional authorities sometimes means that powers are taken away from national as well as local level authorities. Information about the loss of power of local level authorities were not always available. Known cases were excluded from the analysis. 1 = reform introducing more decentralization 0 = no further decentralization. Source: European Journal of Political Science Political Data Yearbook (1991-2007), dataset on Regional Authority by Gary Marks et al. (2008); and the Committee of the Regions dataset on local and regional governments by Michael Keating and Jacques Ziller (2008). Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012) Dataset http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/20817/RSCAS_2012_11.pdf?sequence=1. Excluded: reducing the number or powers of municipalities, regions or federal authority. The only valid in these category are Austria 1996, Iceland 2000, Sweden 1997 and UK 1996. Denmark 2005 and 2007 were not included due to missing data in other variables from 2003-2007. This variable was removed from the analysis because it only had 4 relevant categories.
7. Extension/ introduction party subsidy; Classified as inclusive by Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012): introduction or lowering of the threshold of access of reimbursement of campaign costs, access to state funding for individual MPS and political

- parties, tougher regulation for individual and organisational donations and reduction of campaign expenditure. Excludes: increasing threshold for public funding, decreasing public funding to political parties, increasing private donations, increasing campaign expenditure. Extension of Party Subsidy 1 = extension of party subsidy 0 = no extension. Source: European Journal of Political Science Political Data Yearbook (1991-2007), IDEA dataset on party financing and Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012) Dataset http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/20817/RSCAS_2012_11.pdf?sequence=1.
8. Directly elected executives; Classified as inclusive by Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012): Introduction of direct elections of the president, mayors, regional or provincial presidents. Excludes: abolition of direct elections of the president, mayors, regional or provincial presidents. Coding: 1 = introduction of a directly elected executive 0 = no introduction of a directly elected executive. Including: Mayors, prime ministers and (national, regional or provincial) presidents. Source: European Journal of Political Science Political Data Yearbook (1991-2007). Bedock, Mair and Wilson (2012) Dataset http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/20817/RSCAS_2012_11.pdf?sequence=1.
 9. Extension of regulation: The Jorana et al. (2007) expert dataset on the spread of autonomous regulatory agencies is used in this chapter. This dataset includes 16 sectors and 48 countries in (Latin American and OECD countries). The major sectors selected in the dataset include health, water, work safety, post services, environment, food safety, pharmaceutical, pensions and social security, gas, competition, insurance, electricity, security and exchange, telecommunications, central bank and financial services. For the purpose of this analysis only specifically independent agencies in European democracies were selected from 1990-2007.
 10. Extension of powers to EU: Extension of powers to the European Union by signing a new European treaty. Coding: 1 = Country signed new European treaty 0 = no new European treaty signed. Source: European Journal of Political Science Political Data Yearbook, 1991-2007.
 11. Creation of new courts: Creation or extending the powers of national, regional, international courts of justice. Excludes: decreasing the powers of national, regional, international courts of justice. Coding: 1 = new national court introduced 0 = no new national court introduced. Source: European Journal of Political Science Political Data Yearbook, 1991-2007. This was later validated by country experts.

12. Introduction of freedom of information laws: Enactment of national freedom of information laws based on figure 6.1 page 118 of Cain et al. and David Banisar (2006). <https://www.privacyinternational.org/foi/foisurvey2006.pdf>
13. New Public Management reforms: Based on Table 8.1 page 167 of Ansell and Gingrich (2006) New Public Management reforms aimed at public access (till 2003). Composed of: citizen charters, one-stop shops, satisfaction surveys, and procedural simplification.
14. Administrative Procedures and Public Consultation: Based on Table 8.5 page 175 of Ansell and Gingrich (2006) Laws on Administrative procedures (till 2003).
15. Quality of Government: ICRG indicator of Quality of Government. The mean value of the ICRG variables "Corruption", "Law and Order" and "Bureaucracy Quality", scaled 0-1. Higher values indicate higher quality of government. TheQoGdata; www.qog.pol.gu.se/data/data_1.htm
16. Economy: GDP growth in percentage from 1991-2008. Source: World Development Indicators. <http://go.worldbank.org/U0FSM7AQ40>
17. Nearness of Elections variable shows how close elections are for a certain country. 0 = election year, 1 = one year before elections, 2 = 2 years before elections and so on. Source: European Journal of Political Science Political Data Yearbook, 1991-2007.
18. Not included due to lack of cases: Strengthening of executive branch occurred in Israel and Japan (which are not part of the analysis).

C.2 Diagnostics

1. Fixed versus random effects: I run a Hausman test to decide whether to use fixed or random effects in the models. The Hausman test checks whether the unique errors (u_i) are correlated with the regressors, the null hypothesis is that this is not the case. The assumption of the FE model is that time-invariant characteristics are unique to the specific country and should not be correlated with other countries. Each country is different. Therefore the country's error term and the constant should not be correlated with the others. The FE model also solves problems of unit heterogeneity. The Hausmann test reveals that the satisfaction with democracy model and the Trust in Parliament should have fixed

- effects. The Trust in Government model, on the other hand, is a random effects model. However, by adding country fixed effects country variations are ignored and the analysis only focuses on changes over time, assessing the predictors net effect. Given that this is the main focus of this chapter, I decide to include $n-1$ country-dummies into the models to remove the country means from the scores.
2. Time fixed effects: unexpected variation or special events may affect the dependent variable. I therefore control for time-fixed effects using the `testparm` command. The null hypotheses that the dummies for all years are equal to zero for trust in government and trust in parliament were not rejected. The satisfaction with democracy model, however, is the only model in need of time fixed effects.
 3. Linearity: I check the linearity of the models ,i.e., whether the relationship between the dependent and the independent variables is linear, by plotting the standardized residuals against each of the dependent variables in the model. If there is a random scatter of points in the different plots then there is no issue of non-linearity. There is no problem of non-linearity in the analysis.
 4. Influential cases: I look at the leverage of the cases to identify whether any of the observations has great influence on the coefficient estimates of the regression. Using `lvr2`-plots I look for observations that are both large on residuals and large on leverage. When we run the model no observations were be left out of the analysis.
 5. Normality: One of the assumption of regression analysis is that the residuals should be distributed independently and identically. After the different regressions are run, I use the `kdensity` command to create a kernel density plot with the normal option and the Shapiro-Wilk W test for normal data to see whether the residuals are normally distributed. All three models are normally distributed although the distribution for satisfaction with democracy is somewhat more narrowly distributed and its left tail is not completely smooth.
 6. Heteroscedacity: Another assumption for regression analysis is the homogeneity of variance of the residuals. The residuals of a model that fit well have no pattern to them. To test for heteroscedacity I use the Breusch-Pagan/Cook-Weisberg test for heteroscedacity. The satisfaction with democracy model needs to be corrected for heteroscedacity. One way for correcting heteroscedacity is to use robust standard errors for panels.
 7. Serial Correlation: Serial correlation is also known as autocorrelation which is the correlation of a time series with its own future or past values. An error

term in one time is dependent on an error term at a previous time point. The Durbin-Watson test (first order autocorrelation) and the Breusch-Godfrey test (higher order correlation) can be used to test for serial-correlation. All three models have a problem with serial correlation. In most cases the inclusion of a lagged dependent variable or an autoregressive function (AR1) will deal with the serial-correlation problem. To correct both serial correlation and homoscedasticity I use a cross-sectional FGLS time-series analysis with heteroskedastic option and common AR(1) coefficient for all panels.

8. Multicollinearity: Multicollinearity indicates that two or more dependent variables have an almost perfect linear relationship. If this is the case then the coefficients are probably weak and the standard errors are blown up. I use the variance inflation factor (vif) to check for multicollinearity. Vif values higher than 10 are a source of concern. In my analysis all vif scores are below 10.
9. Unit root: Unit root is also known as non-stationarity. I use the Dickey-Fuller unit root test for panel data (the function `xtunitroot fisher`) to detect non-stationarity. The null hypothesis that all panels contain unit roots is rejected for all variables except for the quality of government indicator. This variable is differenced to fix the unit root problem.
10. Interaction effects: Following Brambor et al. (2006) interaction effects should be added to the analysis when the hypothesis tested has a conditional nature. In other words, when we expect x to have an effect on y when condition z is met. The literature does not specify which conditions are necessary for different types of reforms to have an impact on trust in institutions and/or satisfaction with democracy (although researchers do discuss the conditions necessary for reforms to take place). Therefore, I do not add any interaction effects in the models.
11. Determining the lag structure: The impact of institutional change can either have an immediate or lagged effect on the public's attitudes in different countries. It takes time before people realize what has changed in their system. At the moment, there is no theory to help us determine the number of lags necessary for institutional change to have an effect on attitudes. Another way of determining the lag structure is statistically, by letting the data determine what is appropriate (Lake and Baum, 2011). After running different models with a variety of lags (with a maximum of 5 lags due to limited data points) I chose the specific lag for the independent variable based on the lag that produces the highest R-square and lowest Root Mean Square Error (RMSE) for the model.

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