



# Civil Liberties in Personalising Autocracies

How personalism degrades civil liberties by disempowering repressors

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**Abstract:**

This thesis investigates the way personalism (e.g., Geddes et al., 2018) affects four civil liberties. I theorise greater personalism to decrease freedom of expression through limiting perceived coup threat, decrease freedom of assembly because the dictator has less need for the general population to monitor the elite, and lower protection of life and physical integrity and freedom of movement because the competence of coercive institutions degrades. I test these hypotheses using multi-level (random intercept) models and find that more personalist countries have slightly lower civil liberties. The competence of coercive institutions operationalised as the rigour and impartiality of the public administration might mediate the relation between personalism both protection of life and physical integrity and freedom of movement, and possibly the relations to other civil liberties. My findings seem in line with Frantz et al. (2019), but substantively weak results and problems in accounting for dependence structures restrict my conclusions.

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## Introduction:

The rule of one takes the effort of many and the compliance of more. This means that explaining such a rule of one, a personalised autocracy, requires a look at the interactions between a dictator, their elite, and the general populace. Previous work has already done much to explain how dictators gain personal power and consolidate it (e.g., Acemoglu et al., 2009; Geddes et al., 2018; Svolik, 2012). I will look into the consequences of personalism for four civil liberties, rights allotting freedom from various kinds of coercion or freedom to make certain choices (Davenport, 2007a).

Existing research into the civil liberties and personalism has looked into the effect of personalisation on the protection of life and physical integrity (Frantz et al., 2019; Greitens, 2016) and freedom of expression (Boleslavsky et al., 2021; Hollyer et al., 2019). I try to build on this knowledge, and will explicitly distinguish between freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of movement and protection of life and physical integrity. The processes creating personalised autocracy might affect different civil liberties in distinctive ways, making it theoretically meaningful to separate out the effects of personalism on various civil liberties (Davenport, 2007b; Møller & Skaaning, 2013a). To deepen knowledge on these effects, I will also test to what extent the relation between personalism and civil liberties is mediated by variables linked to the mechanisms I identify in my theory. My research question is:

*“To what extent do the level of personalism and changes in the level of personalism within an autocratically ruled country affect respect for various civil liberties, and what are the mechanisms underlying these relations?”*

To explain how personalised autocracy affects civil liberties, it is important to first establish what personalism is, and what perspective I will take on it. *Personalism* is the extent to which power in a regime is concentrated in the hands of a single individual (Geddes et al., 2018; Sinkkonen, 2021; Svolik, 2012). To explain how personalism evolves over time, I will use the coalition-formation model established by Acemoglu et al. (2008, 2009, 2012). This model starts from the assumption that autocratic regimes lack effective formal rules and procedures to regulate political actions (Gehlbach et al., 2016). This makes credible commitments hard, costly, or outright impossible (Acemoglu et al., 2008, 2009; Gehlbach et al., 2016; Svolik, 2012). When there is no trust in an independent law enforcement system (judiciary, police) for example, members of the elite with influence over parts of it will be

reluctant to give up this influence for fear of later being persecuted by that same system. Even if the person who receives power from others is benevolent, the fact that the power of this individual makes them impervious to external control makes others mistrustful. As such, those with access to power in an autocratic regime (the elite) feel like they must use it to have their interests met, and strive to increase their power for further security.

Because members of an autocratic elite strive to increase their power, they want a ruling coalition including themselves to be as small possible (Acemoglu et al., 2008). This means that members of a ruling coalition have an incentive to exclude others when they can safely do so. The incentive of members of the ruling coalition to shrink the ruling coalition creates the risk of factionalist infighting, and dictators tend to exploit factionalism in autocratic regimes by acting as an arbiter between factions (Geddes et al., 2018). By strategically choosing sides in internal conflicts, successful dictators eliminate powerful factions within the regime until the remaining factions are no longer able to limit this dictator (Geddes et al., 2018; Svolik, 2012). A dictator that has accrued some personal power can further reinforce factionalism by encouraging competition among government institutions and limiting the elite's opportunities to communicate and establish mutual trust (Geddes et al., 2018; Greitens, 2016). Still, leveraging internal conflict to personalised the regime fails more often than not, since (the rest of) the elite will eliminate a dictator if they comprehend the dictator's strategy on time (Svolik, 2012), while cohesive ruling coalitions lack the necessary factionalism (Geddes et al., 2018; see also Levitsky & Way, 2016). But people do not always have the foresight to avoid being outplayed (Jandoc & Juarez, 2019), and exogenous events or failed resistance can tip the balance of power (Acemoglu et al., 2008; Chin, 2020).

To summarise, previous research suggests that personalism results from the disruptions to the balance of power within an autocratic elite, and reduces protection of life and physical integrity and freedom of expression. I will broaden this research by considering not only protection of life and physical integrity and freedom of expression, but also freedom of assembly and freedom of movement. I will also try to deepen the research by looking at the mechanisms underlying relations between personalism and civil liberties.

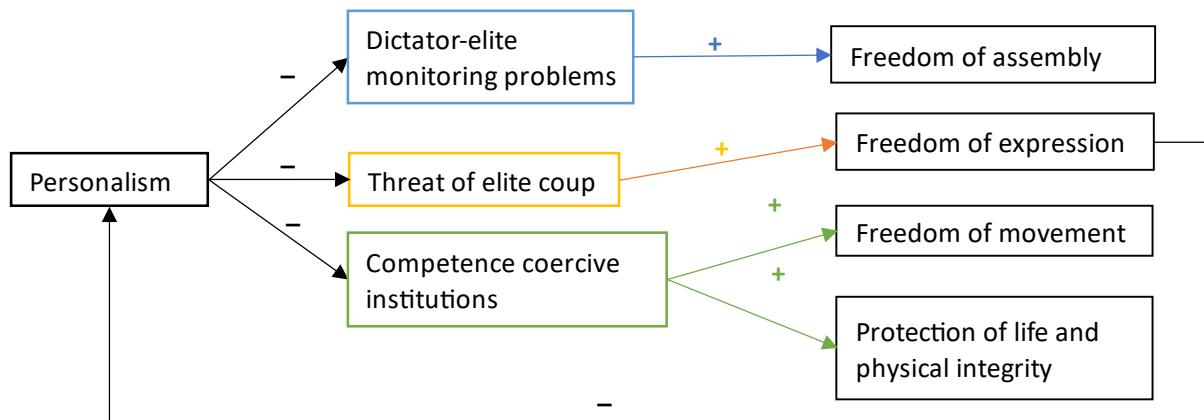
In the next section, I will detail the mechanisms through which personalism affects civil liberties. After this theoretical argument, I use a third section to introduce the dataset and my empirical approach. The fourth section gives descriptive statistics of the dataset and model results. I draw my conclusions and reflect on them in a fifth section, which rounds off the article.

## Theory:

In this section, I will outline my hypotheses and the reasoning behind them. In doing this, I build on the general perspective presented in the introduction. My hypotheses are summarised in Figure 1.

**Figure 1**

*Conceptual model of the relations between personalism and freedom of assembly, freedom of expression, freedom of movement and protection of life and physical integrity.*



*Note:* Although omitted in the figure, it can be assumed that there are also direct arrows from personalism to civil liberties to account for other mechanisms linking personalism to civil liberties, even if these are not of interest to this study.

### Freedom of expression: Transparency and shifting risks

*Freedom of expression* is the freedom to express, seek and receive thoughts and opinions in private or in public (Coppedge et al., 2021a, p. 46, p. 307; Møller & Skaaning, 2013b, p. 1071; Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Art. 19).

For the mechanism linking of personalism to freedom of expression and personalism, I propose that weak dictators maintain freedom of expression to keep their rivals in check, but sufficiently powerful dictators no longer need to do this and want to remove these checks when acting against their rivals. By and large, dictators mostly have an opportunity to establish themselves when the elite is factionalised and prone to infighting (Geddes et al., 2018). For the situation where a dictator is still relatively weak, this creates an initial environment where members of the elite have to be more wary of being ousted in infighting than having the regime come down due to popular protest. This is the case because members of the elite need to overcome less of a coordination problem than the general populace to rise up against a dictator (Svolik, 2012; Geddes et al., 2018). To keep the threat of an internal

power grab in check, members of the elite use the fact that cooperation problems for the general populace decrease when they can coordinate on shared knowledge of infighting in and thus vulnerability of the ruling coalition (Hollyer et al., 2019). To enable the creation of such shared knowledge, the dictator and other members of the elite can facilitate the general populace (journalists in particular) in observing and reporting infighting in the elite. While this poses a risk to the elite (including the dictator), this is outweighed by the fact that it discourages infighting that might lead to their own exclusion (Boleslavsky et al., 2021; Hollyer et al., 2019).

The effort required to restrict freedom of expression makes it unlikely that the dictator, or any subgroup of the elite for that matter, will unilaterally restrict freedom of expression as long as they do not completely dominate the coalition. Comprehensively limiting freedom of expression requires a great deal of coordination. And when it happens, it is likely to signal both to the rest of the elite and to the general populace that that subgroup is an urgent threat to their interests of retaining, respectively, power and freedom of expression. By unilaterally trying to limit freedom of expression, members of the ruling coalition incur the risk of facing coordinated resistance from both the rest of the ruling coalition and the general populace. Unless at least one of these threats can be removed, limiting freedom of expression makes the perpetrator's position untenable.

A dictator in a factionalised ruling coalition that is still vulnerable to coordinated resistance from the rest of the elite has a use for freedom of expression and incurs a lot of risk by limiting it. However, once their power becomes great enough to make resistance from within the elite ineffectual (see Svolik, 2012), they have an opportunity to limit freedom of expression. Since their domination of the elite means that they no longer need external control to keep their rivals in check, their priority lies with limiting freedom of expression to disrupt coordination in the general populace (Boleslavsky et al., 2021; Hollyer et al., 2019). When moving to limit freedom of expression the dictator will still face popular resistance, but since the dictator can use considerable government resources it is likely that they can overcome this counterforce.

A point of note here is that the mechanism I sketched above not only implies that freedom of expression is limited after personalism is at sufficiently high levels, but also that limiting freedom of expression stimulates greater personalism. Decreasing freedom of expression takes away the constraints on infighting that drove the elite to accept some freedom of expression in the first place, and as such lower freedom of expression can amplify personalisation by permitting the dictator more aggressive use of their power dominance.

Empirically, I expect that from a factionalised ruling coalition that allows some freedom of expression, increasing personalism leaves freedom of expression unchanged at first but leads to a decrease in freedom of expression once the dictator has consolidated their position. I also expect there to be a reverse relation of less freedom of expression leading to increasing personalism, but I do not posit a specific hypothesis about this. This makes my hypothesis on freedom of expression:

**H1:** *Freedom of expression in a country has a curvilinear association with personalism, remaining fairly constant at low levels of personalism and decreasing at high levels of personalism.*

### **Freedom of assembly: Who monitors the elite?**

*Freedom of assembly* is the freedom to peacefully gather to signal opinions or concerns in public (Coppedge et al., 2021a, p. 225; Møller & Skaaning, 2013b, p. 1071).

My theory on the relation between personalism and freedom of assembly is based on the ability of a dictator to monitor their elite. Once in power, dictators need to monitor their elites both to make sure that they carry out their policies and to prevent any members of the elite from illicitly building an independent power base. For monitoring and disciplining their officials, dictators can use freedom of assembly by justifying punishment of threatening officials with public discontent. In addition, giving the general populace some opportunities to voice their discontents grants the dictator a source of information about unusual or dysfunctional behaviour among the executive elite (Geddes, 2018; Zu, 2020). However, the downside of freedom of assembly is that protests can be targeted against the dictator and their government as a whole as well as against specific policies. The dictator will want to prevent such protests, and repress them when they do occur (Davenport, 2007a; Zu, 2020). A dictator thus faces a trade-off between leaving some freedom of assembly to monitor their elite, and further limiting it to minimise the risk of protest against the regime as a whole.

This trade-off makes the creation of parallel coercive institutions and overlap in roles very important (Greitens, 2016). It is common for dictators to create several *coercive institutions*, government agencies tasked with repressing dissent, with similar tasks and unclear authority hierarchies between them (Greitens, 2016). When dictators do this, they can use these parallel organisations to monitor each other. At a more general level, a dictator can make the military, a support party and secret police monitor each other (Geddes et al., 2018). This means that dictators can keep watch over the majority of their government apparatus

without the need for popular protest. Restrictions to freedom of assembly then become more advantageous, since the risks of popular protest remain while the benefits have decreased.

Succinctly, freedom of assembly offers a way to control the executive elite, but can be supplanted by using the elite to monitor itself once a dictator has sufficient power. My hypothesis on freedom of assembly is then:

**H<sub>2</sub>:** *Higher levels of personalism are associated with lower levels of freedom of assembly in a country.*

### **Protection of life and physical integrity and freedom of movement: The competence of repressors**

*Protection of life and physical integrity* is protection from forms of purposeful physical violence and violent coercion (e.g., torture), as well as protection against state-sanctioned killing (Coppedge et al., 2021a, p. 173; Davenport, 2007a, p. 2). *Freedom of movement* is the freedom of inhabitants of a country to go to and be at any location they wish to be for any amount of time (Coppedge et al., 2021a, pp. 182-184; Møller & Skaaning, 2013b, p. 1071; Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Art. 16).

Protection of life and physical integrity, and to a lesser extent freedom of movement, could deteriorate as personalism undermines the competence of *coercive institutions*, government agencies tasked with repressing dissent (Egorov & Sonin, 2020; Greitens, 2016). Less competent coercive institutions resort to means of repressing dissent that limit the civil liberties of large groups more readily (Greitens, 2016).

The reduction in the competence of coercive institutions follows from the clientelist divide-and-rule strategy that a personalising dictator uses, which can be illustrated with four tactics fitting such a strategy. First, rewards and job security based on loyalty might lead to neglect of competence as a selection criterion, greater tolerance of corruption, and reduced willingness to critique ineffectual policies among agents in coercive institutions (Svolik, 2012). Second, dictators might purposefully seek out less competent agents to prevent being outsmarted and removed (Egorov & Sonin, 2020; Libman, 2020). Third, dictators can use position rotation systems to control their elite, and officials that are constantly rotated can neither gain experience with local conditions nor nurture loyalty from their subordinates (Greitens, 2016). Fourth, when dictators create competing agencies fulfilling the same tasks to stimulate competition among them, the information gathered by these agencies remains fragmented and the agencies hamper each other's actions (Greitens, 2016). Overall, a dictator's strategy of divide and rule means the people selected into coercive institutions are

less capable than they would be under less personalised government, and have limited opportunities to accrue competence over time.

When the competence of coercive institutions decreases, they are more likely to resort to violent and indiscriminate measures that limit civil liberties on a large scale (Greitens, 2016). This happens because disorganisation within agencies, a lack of trust among agencies and little investment in informant networks among the general population limits insight into nascent threats (Egorov & Sonin, 2020; Greitens, 2016). And for the times when coercive institutions are able to detect a threat to the government, their persuasive power is limited because confused organisation means that they have little foothold among the general population (Greitens, 2016). With little insight into threats before they grow large and reduced means to control them in a peaceful manner, coercive institutions are more likely to have to resort to violence when a threat to the government is detected (Greitens, 2016). And as coercive institutions become less competent at assessing threats, their lack of insight also reduces their ability to deploy targeted measures against these threats (Greitens, 2016). Instead of violence against clear targets, coercive institutions then have to be more indiscriminate (Greitens, 2016). Inability to gather information on threats and identify targets of repressive action also means that coercive institutions are more likely to resort to large-scale monitoring that restricts freedom of movement. To illustrate, instead of singling out dissenters through intelligence-gathering, coercive institutions with less access to information might have to establish extensive access regulations and checkpoint systems to protect important locations or disrupt open resistance. Because of this, protection of life and physical integrity is probably violated more intensely and more indiscriminately under more personalised governments, and freedom of movement is reduced.

Because I expect personalism to gradually reduce both the protection of life and physical integrity and freedom of movement through the declining competence of coercive institutions, my hypotheses for these two civil liberties are:

**H3:** *Higher levels of personalism are associated to lower levels of protection of life and physical integrity in a country.*

**H4:** *Higher levels of personalism are associated to lower levels of freedom of movement in a country.*

## Methods:

This section will start with a description of the dataset and peculiarities in the data collection. I will then discuss the operationalisations of concepts introduced in the theory section. This is supplemented with a description of my control variables and their operationalisation. The section ends with an analysis plan.

### Dataset

In order to measure both personalisation and civil liberties, I combine two datasets. For personalisation, I use data on autocratic regimes from Geddes et al. (2018) extended by a latent variable model for personalism by Wright (2021). I retrieve civil liberties indicators from version 11.1 of the V-Dem dataset (Coppedge et al., 2021b), which uses latent variable models to provide continuous measures of various kinds of civil liberties. To obtain a regime type variable, I use another dataset by Geddes et al. (2014) which contains the same years and countries as the 2018 dataset. The Geddes et al. (2014, 2018) datasets run from 1946 to 2010 and cover autocratic regimes. V-Dem extends from 1789 to 2020 and also includes democratic regimes, which means that I only use a subset of the V-Dem dataset. All three datasets are time-series cross-sectional (or panel) data sets, containing yearly observations per country (country-years). Since years within a country will be related, the dataset has a multilevel structure with country-years at level 1 nested in countries over time in level 2. The full dataset includes 4591 country-years from 119 countries observed for 1 to 65 years, but the effective size when accounting for missingness is 3406 country-years from 109 countries observed for 1 to 55 years. I will report results for this subset.

#### *Data collection procedure*

Both the Geddes et al. (2014, 2018) datasets and the V-Dem dataset (Coppedge et al., 2021c) are coded by either the scholars constructing the dataset, expert surveys or research assistants. My subset of the V-Dem data also includes a number of variables extracted from other datasets (Coppedge et al., 2021c). This means that for many variables, the final values will depend on the availability of experts and their judgements on the state of a variable in a specific country-year. V-Dem uses multiple coders per country-year, and when feasible provides estimates of the uncertainty of reported values (Coppedge et al., 2021c). Geddes et al. (2014, 2018) do not provide extensive information about the number of coders or the reliability of their estimates.

### *Variable modelling*

The values of personalism and the scale items for civil liberties have been created via Item-Response Theory (IRT) models (Pemstein et al., 2021; Wright, 2021). This means that the responses to basic indicators (as given by coders) were taken as imperfect measurement of a latent variable, and a probable value for this latent variable was inferred from aggregating the basic indicators (Pemstein et al., 2021). For the personalism score, this aggregation was done across a number of items (Wright, 2021), while the civil liberties measures aggregate across multiple coders' responses (Pemstein et al., 2021). For personalism, I use Wright's (2021) measure directly, while for the civil liberties I use a combination of direct scores, results from Bayesian factor analyses included in the V-Dem dataset (Pemstein et al., 2021, pp. 25-26) and simple sums and/or means (uniform weighing of items) calculated either by myself or by the V-Dem team.

### *Lags and coding dates*

The Geddes et al. (2014, 2018) datasets use January 1<sup>st</sup> as the date of coding, while V-Dem measures averages over a year. If personalism increases in the middle of one year, these changes will only be reflected in the data in the next year. This means that V-Dem scores often reflect the effect of a change in the level of personalism in the previous year. An important advantage of this is that changes in personalism in a year then always precede changes in respect for civil liberties, satisfying one condition for causal inference. As such, the personalism scores are matched to their nominal years. Previous research on the relation between repression and personalism also used this approach (Frantz et al., 2019).

## **Operationalisations of core variables**

My main variables of interest are personalisation and four indicators for various kinds of civil liberties. The civil liberties measures are measures of actual respect for or violation of civil liberties.

### Personalism

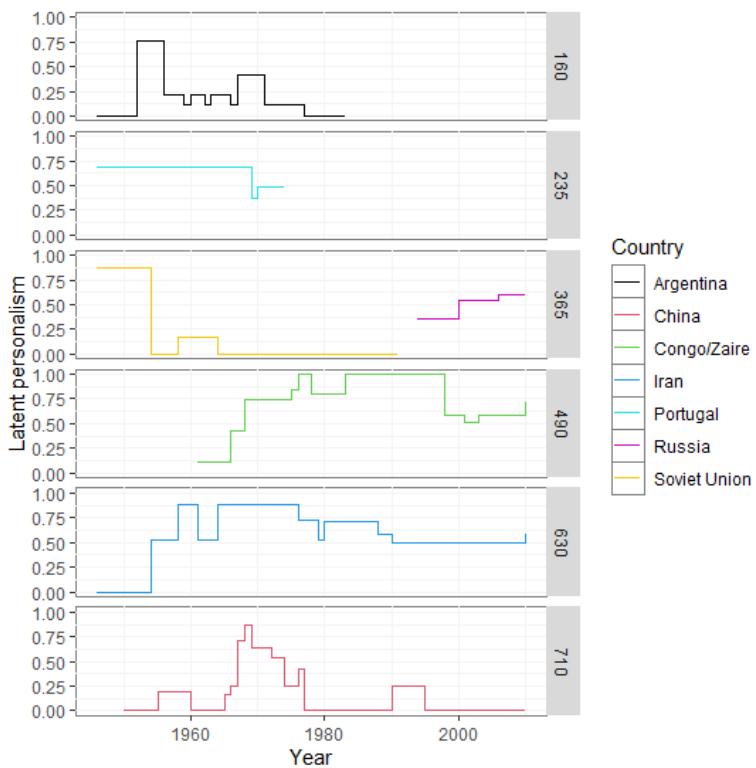
The basic indicators with which personalism was estimated are eight binary variables recording whether access to high office depends on loyalty to the regime leader, a leader creates a new political support party after gaining power, a regime leader controls appointments to a party executive committee, the party executive committee is either absent or powerless (a ‘rubber stamp’), the leader personally controls the security apparatus, the regime leader promotes officers loyal to himself or his group and forces officers from other groups out of the military, the leader creates paramilitary forces and whether the leader imprisons or kills officers from other groups without a fair trial (Geddes et al., 2018; Wright, 2021).

Wright (2021) aggregates these indicators to a variable on the 0 to 1 range via an IRT model, with values closer to 1 indicating a greater degree of personalism. The indicators had Cronbach’s Alpha values between 0,66 and 0,83 in individual years. This variable was observed for all country-years in the full dataset ( $N = 4591$ ,  $n = 119$ ,  $T = 1-65$ ).

A practical problem with a constructed variable to measure personalism is the lack of natural reference values for interpreting the variable. To aid interpretation of the personalism scores, I have added example time-series of personalism levels for six countries in Figure 1.

**Figure 2**

*Time series of personalism in the People’s Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Congo (and former Zaire), Russia (and the former Soviet Union), Portugal, Iran and Argentina*



*Note.* The time series only depict the period in which a country was classified as autocratic by Geddes et al. (2018). The 1992-1993 break in the time series for the Soviet Union and Russia signifies the transition from one country to the other and a short period where Russia was deemed democratic in the Geddes et al. (2018) coding scheme.

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To discuss a few examples, personalism rose to near unity for Mobutu Sese Seko, who is broadly recognised as a dictator with an exceptionally complete grasp on power in the Democratic Republic of the Congo/Zaire (e.g., Turner & Young, 1985). Meanwhile, communist autocracies such as the USSR and the People's Republic of China tend to have very low levels of personalism. Where this pattern is disrupted that is theoretically sensible, with episodes such as the dominant position of Joseph Stalin (McDermott, 2014) and the attempt to achieve greater power by Mao Zedong during the cultural revolution (Wright, 2021, pp. 5-6).

#### *Freedom of expression*

Freedom of expression is a variable combining IRT model values based on ordinal expert-coded assessments of the direct or indirect government censorship of print and/or broadcast media, harassment of journalists, media self-censorship, the freedom of ordinary people to discuss political matters at home and in the public sphere, and the freedom of academic and cultural expression (Coppedge et al., 2021a, p. 307). The indicators are aggregated by (Bayesian) factor analysis (Coppedge et al., 2021a, p. 307; Pemstein et al., 2020, pp. 25-26). Cronbach's Alpha varied between 0,80 and 0,93 for individual years. The variable runs from 0 to 1 with higher values indicating higher levels of freedom of expression. To avoid problems with floating point arithmetic when estimating models of freedom of expression, I multiplied the 0 to 1 scale a hundredfold (to a 0 to 100 scale).<sup>1</sup> The variable was observed for all country-years in the full dataset ( $N = 4591$ ,  $n = 119$ ,  $T = 1-65$ ).

#### *Freedom of assembly*

Freedom of association and assembly is also measured by IRT model values based on ordinal expert coding ranging from 0 if state authorities do not allow peaceful assemblies and are willing to use lethal force to prevent them to 4 if state authorities almost always allow and actively protect peaceful assemblies except in rare cases of lawful, necessary and proportionate limitations (Coppedge et al., 2021a, p. 225). The resulting variable has a mean of zero in the complete V-Dem dataset (which includes democracies excluded from my dataset), with higher values indicating greater freedom of assembly. This variable had 4,40% of values missing ( $N = 4389$ ,  $n = 114$ ,  $T = 1-65$ ).

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<sup>1</sup> The personalism variable did not require this treatment because it is not a dependent variable. The models presented later were also estimated with personalism multiplied by a hundred, but this did not change conclusions.

*Protection of life and physical integrity*

Protection of life and physical integrity is measured as the mean of expert-coded ordinal indicators of freedom from torture and freedom from political killings rescaled to a 0 to 1 range (Coppedge et al., 2021a, p. 293) Higher values indicate greater protection of life and physical integrity. As with freedom of expression, I multiplied the scale by a hundred to avoid problems with floating point arithmetic. The items have correlations between 0,74 and 0,88 within individual years. The variable was observed for all country-years in the full dataset ( $N = 4591$ ,  $n = 119$ ,  $T = 1-65$ ).

*Freedom of movement*

For freedom of movement, I averaged IRT model values from expert-coded ordinal indicators of freedom of domestic movement for men, freedom of domestic movement for women and freedom of foreign movement (Coppedge et al., 2021a, pp. 182-184). All three items have a mean of zero in the complete V-Dem dataset, with higher scores indicating greater freedom of movement. Cronbach's Alpha varies from 0,76 to 0,91 for individual years. The scale was computed as the mean of the three indicators. This variable was observed for all country-years in the full dataset ( $N = 4591$ ,  $n = 119$ ,  $T = 1-65$ ).

*Rigour and impartiality public administration*

The rigour and impartiality of the public administration is measured by IRT model values based on expert coding ranging from 0 if the law is not respected by public officials and arbitrary or biased administration of the law is rampant to 4 if the law is generally fully respected by public officials and arbitrary or biased administration of the law is very limited (Coppedge et al., 2021a, pp. 175-176). The original (ordinal) variable was also coded 0 if no functioning public administration existed. Again, the resulting variable has a mean of zero for the complete V-Dem dataset with higher values indicating greater rigour and impartiality of the public administration. This variable was observed for all country-years in the full dataset ( $N = 4591$ ,  $n = 119$ ,  $T = 1-65$ ).

**Control variables and operationalisations**

To avoid bias in effect estimates from my observational data, I include a number of control variables that might change over time and possibly between countries and over time. I believe that these variables can affect both respect for civil liberties and personalism, but I will only sketch a possible mechanism for each variable.

*Regime type*

Regime type is a nominal variable with four categories: single-party regimes, military regimes, personalist regimes and monarchies. These categories identify whether control over policy, leadership selection and the security apparatus in an autocratic regime are primarily in the hands of a ruling party (single-party), the military (military), a narrower group centred around an individual dictator (personalist) or a royal family (monarchy, Geddes et al., 2014, p. 318). Wright (2021, pp. 7-9) shows that these regime type variables are distinct from the personalism variable, which will be reflected in my bivariate results presented later. The variable is constructed from a set of four mutually exclusive (linearly dependent) binary variables, of which three are entered into regressions (Geddes et al., 2014).

*International or internal conflict*

The most important control variables are separate binary variables indicating whether the country was in international conflict or internal conflict (Coppedge et al., 2021a, pp. 362-363), which previous work has shown to be an important predictor of respect for civil liberties (Hill & Jones, 2014). Conflict might also affect personalism, for example because a government under external pressure is more likely to concentrate formal responsibilities in a single individual (e.g., Geddes et al., 2018, pp. 160-162), or conflict forces military spending that creates a powerbase independent from the dictator (e.g., Geddes et al. 2018, pp. 162-163; Svolik, 2012, pp. 127-133). These variables were always missing simultaneously, which was the case for 16,99% of all country-years ( $N = 3811$ ,  $n = 115$ ,  $T = 1-55$ ).

*Political violence*

Since political violence is a well-established predictor of government repression (e.g., Davenport et al., 2021) and political violence might accompany or encourage personalisation, I include a measure of political violence by non-state actors (Coppedge et al., 2021a, pp. 224-225). This variable had 4,47% of its values missing ( $N = 4386$ ,  $n = 114$ ,  $T = 1-65$ ).

*Population size*

I control for logged ( $\log_{10}$ ) population size (Coppedge et al., 2021a, p. 360), as population size might affect the functioning of government both with regard to its tendency to respect civil liberties and the degree of personalism. Logged population size had 18,62% missing values ( $N = 3736$ ,  $n = 113$ ,  $T = 1-55$ ).

### *GDP per capita and GDP growth*

I include both GDP growth and the logged (ln) GDP per capita (Coppedge et al., 2021a, p. 358-359), as both the level of economic prosperity and changes in it may affect the political climate such that they might make personalism more (or less) likely, but also make restrictions on civil liberties more (or less) likely. Logged GDP per capita had 5,97% of values missing ( $N = 4317, n = 114, T = 1-61$ ). For GDP growth, the percentage of missing values was 6,32% ( $N = 4301, n = 114, T = 1-61$ ).

### **Analysis plan**

Since I will be estimating models for four kinds of civil liberties, and thus running a large number of independent statistical tests, I will apply a Bonferroni correction to my significance level of  $\alpha = 0,05$  and use a significance level of  $\alpha = 0,0125$  at the level of a single test. I will carry out my analyses in R (R Core Team, 2021) using the “lme4” package to estimate multi-level models (Bates et al., 2015) extended by the “clubSandwich” package for clustered standard errors (Pustejovsky & Tipton, 2016). I estimate all models with REML, but re-estimate using normal ML when comparing models.

The models I will be estimating are linear random intercept models of the form:

$$CL_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \lambda_t + \beta_0 + \beta_P P_{i,t} + \beta_{RI} RI_{i,t} + \sum_{k=1}^K \beta_k X_{k,i,t-1} + \sum_{j=1}^3 \beta_{K+j} RT_{j,i,t} + \varepsilon_{i,t}$$

where I assume that countries have persistent differences in their mean level of respect for civil liberty  $CL_{i,t}$  over time, modelled by deviations from a between-country intercept  $\beta_0$  using the term  $\alpha_i$ . These country-specific deviations have a normal distribution with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation  $\sigma_\alpha$ . Note that these country deviations can be regarded as an error term, as they use those parts of deviations of observed values from predicted values that are stable over time.

In addition to the random country effects, I model global changes in the level of respect for a civil liberty over time by year-fixed effects  $\lambda_t$ . These are dummies for all years except 1946 (which is represented by the intercept). I assume that the effect  $\beta_P$  of personalism ( $P_{i,t}$ ) is the same in every country  $i$ . Rigour and impartiality of the public administration ( $RI_{i,t}$ ) and the control variables  $X_{k,i,t-1}$  are also assumed to have the same effect ( $\beta_{RI}, \beta_k$ ) in every country. To account for the fact that personalism is coded to the value on the first of January of year  $t$ , I lag the control variables by one year (to  $t - 1$ ). The regime type variables with personalist

regimes as the reference category ( $RT_{j,i,t}$ ) are an exception, as these also have the first of January of year  $t$  as coding date.

While the random country intercepts can be regarded as a level 2 error term, the model also has a level 1 error term ( $\varepsilon_{i,t}$ ) for the part of deviations from predicted values that changes over time. I assume these errors to follow a normal distribution with a mean of 0 and a different standard deviation  $\sigma_{\varepsilon,i}$  in each country using Pustejovsky and Tipton's (2017) extension of MacKinnon and White's (1985) heteroscedasticity-robust standard errors. This means that the variances used to calculate the standard errors differ from the within-country variance reported for my models, since this within-country variance is estimated assuming homoscedasticity. The random country intercepts and standard error clustering correct for the dependence of prediction errors in the same country that result from persistent differences between countries, but not for dependence in prediction errors caused by the tendency for values in the same country to be more similar as they are closer in time.

For the civil liberties where I do not assume a mediation through the rigour and impartiality of the public administration, I will first estimate the random intercept model without year-fixed effects or predictors. In a second model I add the year-fixed effects. A third model adds the personalism variable. Then, I estimate a fourth model where I add the control variables (international conflict, internal conflict, political violence, population size, GDP per capita, GDP growth, and three regime type dummies). For the civil liberties where I do not assume a mediation, this fourth model is used to test my hypothesis of personalism being related to the civil liberty in question. The other models clarify this model by showing the stability of the relation to control variables and showing the distribution of variance between countries and within countries. In the case of freedom of expression, I also estimate a model with personalism and its square as predictors in addition to year-fixed effects to test my hypothesis of a curvilinear association. If this model suggests a curvilinear association between personalism and freedom of expression, I will incorporate that into the final model.

For the civil liberties where I can test mediation, I further estimate a fifth model where I not only include the control variables, but also the rigour and impartiality of the public administration. In these cases, this model tests my mediation hypothesis. In addition to the models with civil liberties as the dependent variable, I will estimate random intercept models with the rigour and impartiality of the public administration as dependent variable. Here, I first estimate a model with random country effects, add year-fixed effects in a second model, estimate a third model with personalism as predictor and add the control variables also used in the other regressions as a fourth step (international conflict, internal conflict, political

violence, population size, GDP per capita, GDP growth, and three regime type dummies). Similar to the models for civil liberties without mediation by the rigour and impartiality of the public administration, I use the last model to test my hypothesis that personalism influences the rigour and impartiality of the public administration while the other models contextualise and clarify this model.

## Results:

In this section, I will present the results of my analyses on the dataset introduced in the last section. I will first give univariate and bivariate descriptives of the dataset to aid interpretation of further results, and then move on to a discussion of the estimated models. R script for all analyses can be found in the Appendix.

### Univariate statistics

To get an impression of univariate distributions of my variables, I will first discuss the distribution of over-time country means for the various variables. These give a first indication of the chances that the assumption of normally distributed country effects will be met and provide a succinct summary of the data, given that within-country observations have over-time dependence and are thus probably quite similar to each other and their mean. When describing the distribution of over-time country means I provide intra-country correlations, but to give more insight into the over-time developments in variables I will separately discuss some important over-time changes in the univariate distributions.

To start on the first point, the over-time country means are summarised by their mean, standard deviation, skew and kurtosis in Table 1. To get a first impression of missing data effects, these descriptive statistics are reported for both the full dataset and complete cases (where any country-year with a missing value on any of the variables is removed). On average, personalism is at a medium level of 0,40 among complete cases. There is a fair amount of variation around this mean, with a standard deviation of 0,21. The distribution of personalism is nearly symmetric (*Skew* = 0,02), and has fewer extreme values than a normally distributed variable (*Kurtosis* = -0,67). There is correlation in personalism within countries, but this intra-country correlation is actually not that large (*ICC* = 0,41). This suggests that the level of personalism in a given year tells something about the level of personalism in other years in the same country, but not so much as to have the level of personalism be very stable over long periods.

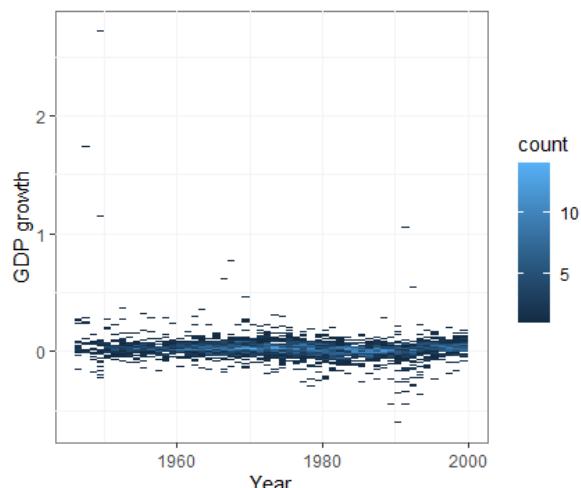
The mean of freedom of movement is not especially low or high ( $M > -0,01$ ), that of freedom of assembly ( $M = -0,90$ ) is somewhat low. Since these variables are constructed in such a way that their mean in the entire V-Dem dataset containing both autocracies and non-autocracies is zero, the mean level of freedom of assembly in autocracies is lower than the overall mean in both autocracies and non-autocracies. Given a theoretical 0-100 range, protection of life and physical integrity ( $M = 35,16$ ) and freedom of expression ( $M = 28,93$ ) are low. Between-country standard deviations are quite high for all civil liberties, as the range

of the variables can be covered by less than six standard deviations while a normally distributed variable would have 99,7% (instead of 100%) of its observations within three standard deviations from the mean. This ratio would suggest lower kurtosis than a normal distribution if the variables were symmetrically distributed. However, freedom of movement and freedom of expression both have above-normal kurtosis (1,25 and 0,53), which is possible because both variables are skewed (-0,86 and 0,96 respectively). Protection of life and physical integrity and freedom of assembly have below-normal kurtosis (-0,30 and -0,20 respectively), but while freedom of assembly is closer to symmetry ( $Skew = 0,27$ ) protection of life and physical assembly has clear right-skew ( $Skew = 0,72$ ). The intra-country correlation of the civil liberties varies somewhat, from freedom of movement having rather strong over-time dependence ( $ICC = 0,76$ ) to freedom of expression varying considerably more within countries over time ( $ICC = 0,46$ ).

For the control variable, it is noteworthy that the mean population level in the countries in the complete dataset over time is approximately 23.000.000 people ( $\overline{10^{\log_{10}(Population)}} \approx 23.294.375$ ) and the over-time mean GDP per capita across all countries is approximately \$4.500 ( $e^{\ln(GDP\ per\ capita)} \approx \$4.423,96$ ) in 2011 US dollars (Bolt et al., 2018), while the average over-time mean GDP growth per year is 2% ( $M = 0,02$ ). The average level of rigour and impartiality of the public administration in the autocratic countries in the complete dataset is somewhat below the average level in all (autocratic and non-autocratic) countries in the V-Dem dataset ( $M = -0,60$ ). Population levels are very strongly related within one and the same country ( $ICC = 0,90$ ), while the intra-country correlation of GDP growth is very low ( $ICC = 0,02$ ). GDP growth also has a rather large number of average GDP growth levels far from the country mean ( $Kurtosis = 1,82$ ). Figure 3 shows the by-year distribution of personalism using a heatmap that bins observations by value-year combinations (like a bivariate histogram), and this suggests that very large outliers (of up to 272%) that distort the mean of the countries with those outliers might explain the high kurtosis. Lastly, the distribution of over-time country

**Figure 3**

*Heatmap of GDP growth over time for complete cases*



**Table 1**

*Comparison of descriptive statistics between complete cases and the full dataset ( $M$  = mean,  $SD$  = standard deviation,  $S$  = skew,  $K$  = kurtosis,  $ICC$  = intra-country correlation)*

Variable	Data	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>ICC</i>
Personalism	Full	0,41	0,21	-0,01	-0,55	0,52
	Complete	0,40	0,21	0,02	-0,67	0,55
Freedom of movement	Full	-0,01	1,08	-0,73	1,16	0,82
	Complete	>-0,01	1,13	-0,86	1,25	0,86
Freedom of expression	Full	29,28	18,26	0,87	0,48	0,60
	Complete	28,93	18,85	0,96	0,53	0,65
Freedom of assembly	Full	-0,91	1,01	0,19	-0,24	0,71
	Complete	-0,90	1,00	0,27	-0,20	0,71
Protection of life and physical integrity	Full	35,11	21,03	0,75	-0,15	0,71
	Complete	35,16	21,77	0,72	-0,30	0,75
Political violence	Full	-0,03	1,28	-0,05	-0,71	0,78
	Complete	-0,07	1,32	0,02	-0,70	0,81
$\log_{10}$ (Population)	Full	6,88	0,55	0,48	0,71	0,94
	Complete	6,89	0,55	0,44	0,68	0,94
ln(GDP per capita)	Full	8,06	0,82	0,40	-0,24	0,79
	Complete	7,99	0,81	0,29	-0,31	0,83
GDP growth	Full	0,02	0,02	0,49	0,20 <sup>a</sup>	0,04
	Complete	0,02	0,03	-0,24	1,82	0,04
Rigour and impartiality public administration	Full	-0,58	0,96	0,54	0,33	0,71
	Complete	-0,60	0,97	0,43	0,08	0,73

*Note:* Kurtosis is excess kurtosis, such that the normal distribution has a kurtosis of 0.

<sup>a</sup> The comparatively low kurtosis of GDP growth for the full dataset results from a number of countries with outliers being dropped from the calculation due to ill-defined means.

means of political violence is notable because it has far lower kurtosis than a normally distributed variable (*Kurtosis* = -0,70).

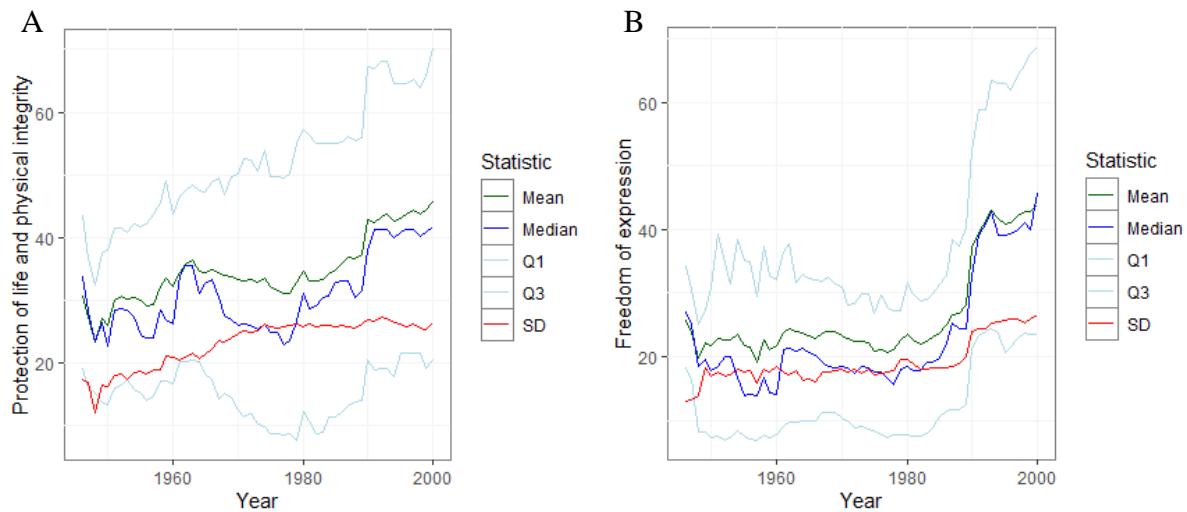
To expand on the intra-country correlations reported in Table 1, I will also describe two important over-time changes in the variables. The most important change in this regard is shown in Figure 4, which depicts how the yearly summary statistics of protection of life and physical integrity and freedom of expression evolve over time. Around the end of the Cold War in 1990, there is a clear upward shift in freedom of expression from approximately 0,2 to approximately 0,4. Protection of life and physical integrity also increases, but comparatively less. Generally, the civil liberties increase to varying extents around the end of the Cold War.

Interestingly, there is no clear shift in the proportion of single-party regimes around the end of the Cold War (See the Appendix, lines 2560 to 2606). A second point of interest is that the distribution of personalism moves steadily upward throughout the time period, starting at a mean of approximately 0,3 and ending up close to 0,5 by 2000.

As Table 1 suggests, the differences between the full dataset and complete cases are minor, with an important exception. Missingness of internal conflict and international conflict means that the complete cases only cover the period from 1946 to 2000 instead of running until 2010. This means that the data available cannot be used for conclusions about the early twenty-first century and developments therein.

#### **Figure 4**

*Summary statistics of protection of life and physical integrity and freedom of expression over time for complete cases*



*Note:* Panel A shows protection of life and physical integrity, Panel B shows freedom of expression. The mean is shown in dark green, the median in dark blue, the first and third quartile in light blue and the standard deviation in red.

#### **Bivariate statistics**

Although modelling will focus on variation within countries, accessing this variation without having intra-country correlation distort results is rather difficult without using a formal modelling approach. This section will only present the bivariate correlation between over-time country means (between-country correlations) in Table 2. I will focus on theoretically relevant correlations that are significant at the five percent level, which is any correlation of at least 0,19 for 109 independent observations.

Countries that have a higher average level of any one civil liberty also tend to have high values for other civil liberties ( $0,44 \leq r \leq 0,78$ ). This means that the effect of personalism on any one civil liberty might be distorted when not controlling for the effect of other civil liberties. Beyond the correlations among the civil liberties, higher mean levels of personalism tend to be accompanied by lower average protection of life and physical integrity ( $r = -0,24$ ), while the associations between personalism and the other civil liberties are statistically indistinguishable from zero. Greater rigour and impartiality of the public administration over time has a strong association with greater protection of life and physical integrity over time ( $r = 0,61$ ). Countries with higher over-time means for the rigour and impartiality of the public administration also have more freedom of movement ( $r = 0,36$ ), greater freedom of expression ( $r = 0,44$ ), and greater freedom of assembly ( $r = 0,38$ ). Although the association is in the expected direction, mean rigour and impartiality of the public administration is not significantly associated with mean levels of personalism ( $r = -0,14$ ).

As expected, countries with more years under personalist regimes have higher average personalism ( $r = 0,44$ ), although personalistic regimes and regimes with high levels of personalism are still statistically distinguishable. Countries with more years under military or single-party regimes are less personalistic ( $r = -0,27$  and  $r = -0,23$  respectively). The average levels of personalism in countries under a monarchy for differing lengths of time are statistically indistinguishable ( $r = 0,06$ ). Beyond the regime type variables, other control variables do occasionally have sizeable correlations with civil liberties, but seldomly have a strong correlation to personalism. For example, political violence is strongly related to protection of life and physical integrity ( $r = -0,52$ ), but too weakly related to personalism to say anything sensible about the relation ( $r = -0,01$ ). This suggests that these control variables will probably not be particularly important in controlling the relation between personalism and civil liberties. At the same time, the between-country correlations in Table 2 might not accurately represent the within-country associations.

**Table 2**  
*Bivariate associations between over-time country means for complete cases*

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
1. Personalism	-															
2. Freedom of movement	-0,13	-														
3. Freedom of expression	-0,18	0,72	-													
4. Freedom of assembly	-0,17	0,58	0,78	-												
5. Protection of life and physical integrity	-0,24	0,44	0,57	0,51	-											
6. Political violence	-0,01	-0,11	-0,15	-0,14	-0,52	-										
7. $\log_{10}$ (Population)	-0,15	-0,14	-0,13	-0,20	-0,22	0,21	-									
8. ln (GDP per capita)	-0,23	0,06	-0,02	-0,10	0,32	-0,27	-0,10	-								
9. GDP growth	-0,19	-0,05	-0,13	-0,12	0,14	-0,14	0,01	0,33	-							
10. Rigour and impartiality public administration	-0,14	0,36	0,44	0,38	0,61	-0,47	-0,20	0,18	0,25	-						
11. International conflict	-0,03	-0,04	-0,02	-0,04	0,17	0,07	0,05	0,09	0,13	-						
12. Internal conflict	-0,01	-0,12	-0,13	-0,22	-0,30	0,42	0,24	-0,14	-0,04	-0,34	-0,02	-				
13. Personalist regime	0,44	0,26	0,16	0,08	-0,16	0,14	-0,06	-0,18	-0,35	-0,11	0,08	0,09	-			
14. Military regime	-0,27	0,02	-0,12	-0,15	-0,24	0,27	0,11	0,11	0,15	-0,26	-0,13	0,11	-0,22	-		
15. Single-party regime	-0,23	-0,20	<0,01	0,06	0,18	-0,17	0,09	-0,08	0,04	0,21	-0,02	-0,13	-0,60	-0,40	-	
16. Monarchy	0,06	-0,07	-0,10	-0,05	0,20	-0,23	-0,20	0,25	0,26	0,11	0,08	-0,04	-0,20	-0,17	-0,32	-

Note: n is 109, correlations larger than 0,19 are significant at  $\alpha = 0,05$

## Regression modelling

### *Freedom of expression*

The first civil liberty for which I will discuss the regression models is freedom of expression. I will report the results for the first two models with random country intercepts and random country intercepts plus year-fixed effects in running text, while the models adding theoretically important predictors are also reported in Table 3.

Model 1 containing only the random country intercepts can be used to see which variation in freedom of expression is attributable to persistent between-country differences, and which variation lies in over-time changes within countries. The estimates suggests that most variation is between-country variance at 330,36, while pooled within-country variance is lower at 177,95. The variance decomposition implies an intra-country correlation of 0,65, while the between-country intercept is 28,81 ( $SE = 1,77$ , 98,75% CI [24,33; 33,30]). Since Model 1 does not contain any regressors, these statistics should and do approximately match the statistics reported in Table 1 ( $M = 28,93$ ,  $ICC = 0,65$ ).

Adding the year-fixed effects in Model 2 significantly improves the model fit ( $\chi^2(54) = 789,67$ ,  $p < 0,001$ ). This is also reflected in the decrease in both between-country variance and within-country variance from Model 1 to Model 2. There is a proportional decrease by 12,24 percent in variance, calculated by taking subtracting the total variance in Model 2 compared to that in Model 1 from one ( $R_1^2 = 1 - (\hat{\sigma}_{\varepsilon,2} + \hat{\sigma}_{\alpha,2})/(\hat{\sigma}_{\varepsilon,1} + \hat{\sigma}_{\alpha,1})$ ; Snijders & Bosker, 2012, p. 112). The intra-country correlation is a little higher than in Model 1 at 0,68. The mean level of freedom of expression rises significantly after 1990, with the 1946 mean level being 27,61 ( $SE = 3,64$ , 98,75% CI [17,59; 37,62]) while the 2000 mean level is 27,61 + 15,26  $\approx$  42,86 ( $b = 15,26$ ,  $SE = 4,51$ , 98,75% CI [2,82; 27,69]).

Model 3 is the first model reported in Table 3, and adds the personalism variable. Countries with the highest possible level of personalism are predicted to have a level of freedom of expression that is 17,03 points lower ( $SE = 3,46$ , 98,75% CI [-26,28; -9,94]) than countries with the lowest possible level of personalism, corrected for the mean level of freedom of expression in that country over time and the mean level of freedom of expression across countries in a year. I deem this a small-to-medium sized effect, since a country that has the lowest possible level of personalism instead of the highest possible level would in expectation have only about a within-country standard deviation's lower level of freedom of assembly. Model 3 significantly improves model fit compared to Model 2 ( $\chi^2(1) = 239,68$ ,  $p < 0,001$ ). The year-fixed effects still improve the model fit, given that personalism is in the

model ( $\chi^2(54) = 898,47, p < 0,001$ ). The decrease in total compared to Model 1 is 17,85 percent, and since the intra-country correlation is still approximately 0,68 between-country and within-country variance decreased roughly equally.

Model 4 adds the square of personalism to the model with just a linear personalism term. This squared term only minimally decreases total variance compared to Model 3 ( $R_I^2 = 0,19$ ), while neither the linear personalism term ( $b = -7,29, SE = 8,22, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-28,62; 14,04]$ ) nor the quadratic term ( $b = -11,20, SE = 9,62, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-36,36; 13,96]$ ) is significant. Since the differences with Model 3 are minimal and the quadratic term is insignificant, my hypothesis of a curvilinear association between personalism and freedom of expression seems implausible. The residual analysis of Model 5 will provide yet more evidence against the hypothesis of curvilinearity.

Model 5 adds political violence, logged population, logged GDP per capita, GDP growth, internal and international conflict and regime type as control variables. The effect of personalism changes little with the addition of the control variables ( $b = -18,11, SE = 3,14, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-25,38; -8,71]$ ), while none of the control variables is significant at  $\alpha = 0,0125$ . The control variables do seem to improve model fit together compared to Model 3 ( $\chi^2(9) = 177,73, p < 0,001$ ), but between-country variance increases raising the intra-country correlation to 0,72. The total decrease in variance compared to Model 1 is 10,71 percent, less than in Model 3 to such an extent that the model might be misspecified (Snijders & Bosker, 2012, p. 156). The year-fixed effects still contribute to model fit ( $\chi^2(54) = 718,45, p < 0,001$ ).

I estimated a model adding the rigour and impartiality of the public administration (lines 3585 to 3646 in the Appendix) to test my assumption that this would not be a meaningful mediating variable for freedom of expression. My assumption seems questionable, as the effect of personalism in this model is decreased ( $b = -11,38, SE = 3,02, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-19,23; -3,52]$ ) while the rigour and impartiality of the public administration has a strong association with freedom of expression ( $b = 10,00, SE = 1,33, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [6,52; 13,47]$ ).

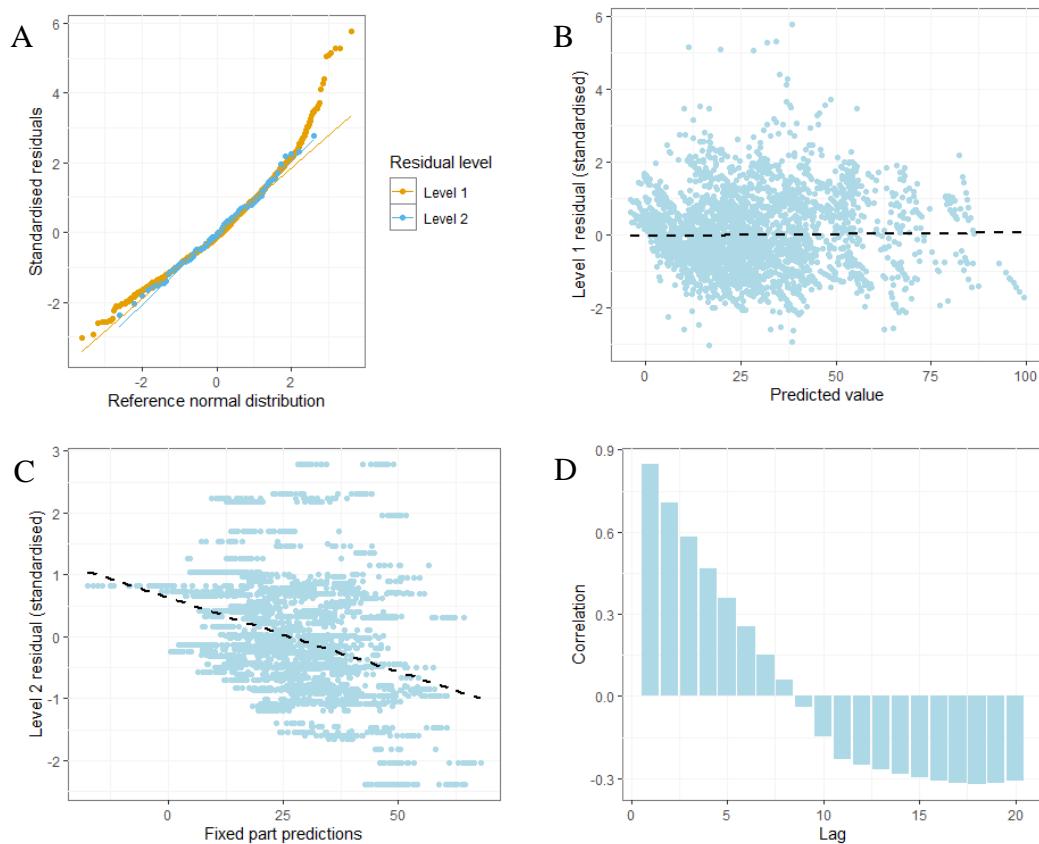
To assess the validity of Model 4, I analysed the residuals of the model. The residuals can be separated into two ‘levels’. The level 2 residuals are differences between general intercept and the country-specific intercepts, showing the distribution of the random intercept term. The level 1 residuals stem from differences between predicted values (including random effects) and observed values. The level 1 residuals are intuitively more similar to the residuals of a ‘normal’ single-level model. The diagnostic plot for the level 1 residuals shown in Panel B of Figure 5 suggest that a straight-line approximation of the relation between

freedom of expression and the predictors (including personalism) does not lead to systematic errors in my predictions. This conflicts with the hypothesis of a curvilinear association.

However, the residuals are right-skewed as shown in Panel A, which means that my assumption of normally distributed errors used to calculate confidence intervals is somewhat questionable. Panel C shows that standardised level 2 residuals are related to predicted values, which suggests that persistent differences in freedom of expression are related to one or more predictors. Panel D shows strong residual autocorrelation for the level 1 residual, which means that prediction errors for the same country in one year and subsequent years are very similar, violating the assumption of independent errors.

**Figure 5**

*QQ-plot, predicted value-standardised residual plots and autocorrelation plot for freedom of expression.*



*Note:* The standardised residuals are standardised with country-level standard

**Table 3**

*Linear random intercept model with freedom of expression as dependent variable and year-fixed effects (N = 3406, n = 109, T = 1-55).*

Variable	Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p
Intercept	33,36 (3,30)	<0,01	26,39 (2,91)	<0,01	127,16 (49,86)	0,01
Personalism	-17,03 (3,46)	<0,01	-7,29 (8,22)	0,38	-18,11 (3,14)	<0,01
Personalism <sup>2</sup>			-11,20 (9,62)	0,25		
Political Violence					0,70 (1,29)	0,59
log <sub>10</sub> (Population)					-13,46 (7,15)	0,07
ln(GDP per cap)					-0,42 (2,39)	0,86
GDP Growth					-2,39 (2,10)	0,28
Internal conflict					-2,13 (1,60)	0,19
(1 = conflict)						
International conflict					-1,72 (1,44)	0,25
(1 = conflict)						
Regime type						
Personalist (ref)						
Military					-2,64 (3,27)	0,43
Single-party					-5,86 (4,74)	0,22
Monarchy					9,98 (6,43)	0,16
Variance						
Between-country	284,46		280,89		327,97	
Within-country	133,11		132,69		125,90	
R <sub>I</sub> <sup>2</sup> <sup>b</sup>	0,18		0,19		0,11	
ICC	0,68		0,68		0,72	
LR χ <sup>2</sup> Year-fixed <sup>c</sup>	898,47	<0,01	898,49	<0,01	697,50	<0,01
LR χ <sup>2</sup> <sup>d</sup>	239,68	<0,01	12,92	<0,01	177,73	<0,01

Note: <sup>a</sup> The standard errors are country-clustered. <sup>b</sup> Proportional decrease in level 1 variance compared to Model 1. <sup>c</sup> Compares the model with year effects to an equivalent model without them. <sup>d</sup> Compares Model 3 to Model 2, Model 4 to Model 3 and Model 5 to Model 3.

### *Freedom of assembly*

As with freedom of expression, the first models are only reported in running text. Model 1 includes only the random country intercepts. Between-country variance is 0,96 and within-country variance is 0,39. Most of the variance in freedom of assembly is thus located between countries, making freedom of assembly fairly stable over time within countries (ICC = 0,71). The general mean of freedom of assembly is -0,90 (SE = 0,09, 98,75% CI [-1,14; -0,66]), as

is to be expected from Table 1. Model 2 adds year-fixed effects to the random country intercepts, which significantly improves model performance ( $\chi^2(54) = 519,49, p < 0,001$ ) although the individual comparisons between 1946 ( $b = -0,76, SE = 0,19, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-1,29; -0,24]$ ) and later years rarely point to individually significant differences. Unexplained variance is lowered by taking changes over time into account ( $R_I^2 = 0,07$ ), but the ratio of between-country to within-country variation is more or less the same ( $ICC = 0,73$ ).

Model 3 adds personalism as a continuous predictor, and this significantly improves the model fit ( $\chi^2(1) = 156,10, p < 0,001$ ) with a total variance decrease of 11,14 percent compared to Model 1. Countries at the highest level of personalism tend to have a value for freedom of assembly that is 0,67 points lower ( $SE = 0,17, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-1,12; -0,22]$ ) than that of countries at the lowest level of personalism, given the long-term mean of the country and the mean level of freedom of assembly in a year. Again, this seems like a small-to-medium-sized effect. Model 4 controls the effect of personalism for a selection of control variables in addition to a country's persistent deviation from the cross-country mean level of freedom of assembly and year-fixed effects. These control variables seem to significantly improve model fit together ( $\chi^2(9) = 248,51, p < 0,001$ ). However, none of the individual coefficients differs significantly from zero and the variance is substantially greater than that of Models 2 or 3 ( $R_I^2 = 0,02$ ). The relation between freedom of assembly and personalism is somewhat stronger in Model 4 than in Model 3 ( $b = -0,71, SE = 0,16, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-1,12; -0,30]$ ), but the difference is not statistically or substantively meaningful. Models 3 and 4 fit the hypothesised decrease in freedom of assembly with greater personalism.

As with freedom of expression, I also estimated a model including the rigour and impartiality of the public administration for freedom of assembly (See lines 3951 to 4010 in the Appendix). Again, the rigour and impartiality of the public administration has a statistically significant association with freedom of assembly ( $b = 0,42, SE = 0,06, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [0,27; 0,57]$ ) while adding that variable makes the association of personalism to freedom of assembly substantially weaker ( $b = -0,43, SE = 0,15, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-0,81; -0,05]$ ).

The most important parts of the residual analysis for Model 4 of freedom of assembly are shown in Figure 6. Panel A shows that the level 2 residuals are fairly normally distributed. The level 1 residuals have a rather stretched right tail, although the distribution is fairly close to a normal distribution otherwise. Panel B suggests that residual values still have fairly strong persistence over time. Further predicted value-residual plots of the level 1 and level 2 residuals showed the level 1 residuals to conform to the linear model fairly well while level 2 residuals have a clear downward slope.

**Table 4**

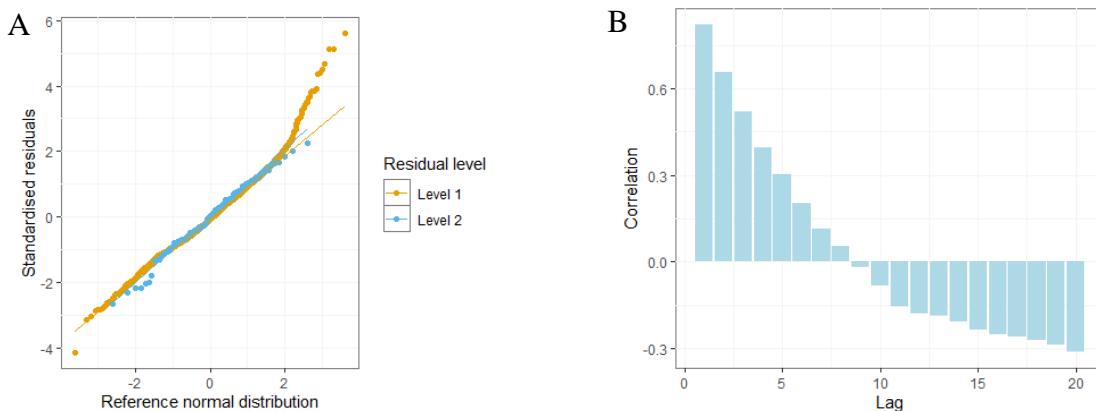
*Linear random intercept model with freedom of assembly as dependent variable and year-fixed effects (N = 3406, n = 109, T = 1-55).*

Variable	Model 3		Model 4	
	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p
Intercept	-0,54 (0,20)	0,01	4,69 (2,92)	0,11
Personalism	-0,67 (0,17)	<0,01	-0,71 (0,16)	<0,01
Political Violence			-0,12 (0,07)	0,08
$\log_{10}(\text{Population})$			-0,80 (0,41)	0,06
$\ln(\text{GDP per cap})$			0,01 (0,12)	0,94
GDP Growth			-0,08 (0,12)	0,54
Internal conflict (1 = conflict)			0,06 (0,09)	0,52
International conflict (1= conflict)			0,04 (0,10)	0,73
Regime type				
Personalist (ref)				
Military			-0,21 (0,15)	0,17
Single-party			-0,20 (0,19)	0,31
Monarchy			0,78 (0,31)	0,04
Variance				
Between-country	0,87		1,01	
Within-country	0,32		0,30	
$R_I^2$ <sup>c</sup>	0,11		0,03	
$ICC$	0,73		0,77	
$LR \chi^2$ Year-fixed <sup>b</sup>	562,54	<0,01	570,00	<0,01
$LR \chi^2$ <sup>d</sup>	156,10	<0,01	248,51	<0,01

Note: <sup>a</sup> Country-clustered standard errors. <sup>b</sup> Compares model with year effects to an equivalent model without them. <sup>c</sup> Proportional decrease in level 1 variance compared to Model 1. <sup>d</sup> Compares each model to the previous model.

**Figure 6**

*QQ-plot and predicted value-standardised residual scatterplot for freedom of assembly.*



Note: The standardised residuals are standardised with country-level standard deviations.

*Protection of life and physical integrity*

For protection of life and physical integrity, Model 1 including only random country intercepts estimates between-country variance to be 460,35 while within-country variance is 153,77. This suggests that variation in protection of life and physical integrity mostly occurs between countries ( $ICC = 0,75$ ). The general mean for protection of life and physical integrity is 35,25 ( $SE = 2,07$ , 98,75% CI [29,98; 40,52]), close to that in Table 1. While the year-fixed effects added in Model 2 significantly improve model fit ( $\chi^2(54) = 199,63, p < 0,001$ ), individual differences compared to 1947 ( $b = 39,16, SE = 4,58$ , 98,75% CI [26,72; 51,60]) are not significant. Both within-country variance (147,23) and between-country variance (452,32) are a little lower in Model 2 than in Model 1 ( $R_I^2 = 0,02$ ). These variances give an intra-class correlation of 0,75.

Model 3 shows that countries with the highest possible level of personalism have a level of protection of life and physical integrity that is 17,48 points lower on average ( $SE = 3,94$ , 98,75% CI [-27,70; -7,26]) than the level in countries with the lowest possible level of personalism, given a country's persistent influences on protection of life and physical integrity and the mean level of protection of life and physical integrity in a year across countries. This effect is somewhat small, taking into account that the estimated coefficient represents the largest difference personalism can be associated with. Model 4 introduces control variables into the specification, and these control variables together significantly contribute to improving model fit ( $\chi^2(9) = 481,15, p < 0,001$ ). The relation between personalism and protection of life and physical integrity in the Model 4 remains fairly similar to that in Model 3 ( $b = -16,96, SE = 3,47$ , 98,75% CI [-25,97; -7,95]), now controlling for the control variables as well as across-country year means and country effects. Overall, this is in line with my hypothesis that greater personalism is associated to less protection of life and physical integrity.

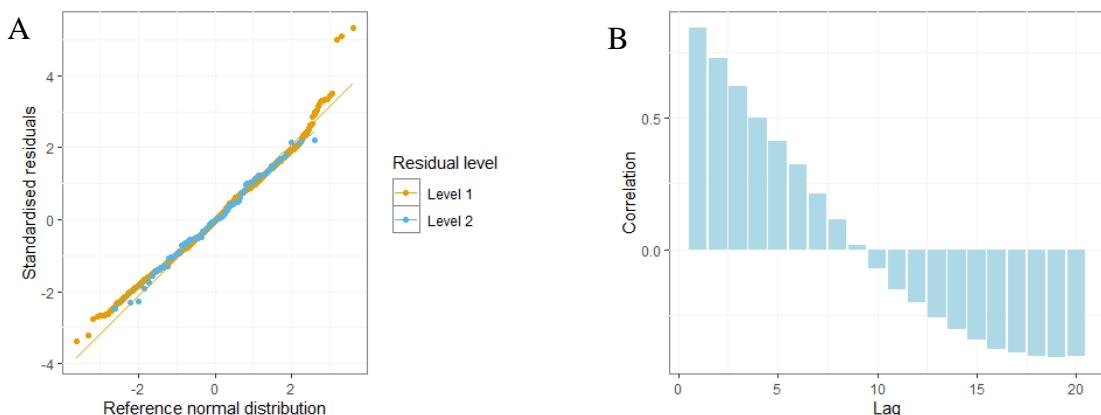
Model 5 adds the rigour and impartiality of the public administration. Greater levels of rigour and impartiality of the public administration tend to be accompanied by greater protection of life and physical integrity ( $b = 11,23, SE = 1,53$ , 98,75% CI [7,23; 15,24]) controlling for the level of personalism, the values for the control variables in the previous year, time-persistent differences between countries and the mean level of protection of life and physical integrity in a year. This is a rather large effect, as a shift from the minimum to the maximum of the range for the rigour and impartiality of the public administration (as with personalism) would amount to a shift of 74,95 points on the 100-point theoretical range in protection of life and physical integrity. The relation between personalism and protection of

life and physical integrity is almost halved ( $b = -9,33$ ,  $SE = 2,78$ , 98,75% CI [-16,54; -2,11]), suggesting that this relation runs in part through the rigour and impartiality of the public administration. Model 5 has significantly improved fit compared to Model 4 ( $\chi^2(1) = 1146,39$ ,  $p < 0,001$ ), with a decrease in total variance compared to Model 1 by 34,64 percent.

Analysing the residuals of Model 5 for protection of life and physical integrity, both the level 1 residuals and the level 2 residuals seem fairly normally distributed judging by Panel A of Figure 7. The level 1 residuals do seem to have a slight right skew. The autocorrelation plot of Panel B suggests that values within the same country remain strongly related over time. Predicted value-residual plots of the level 1 and level 2 residuals showed a fairly strong downward slope in the level 2 residuals.

**Figure 7**

*QQ-plot and autocorrelation plot for protection of life and physical integrity.*



*Note:* The standardised residuals are standardised with country-level standard deviations.

**Table 5**

*Linear random intercept model with protection of life and physical integrity as dependent variable and year-fixed effects (N = 3406, n = 109, T = 1-55).*

Variable	Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p
Intercept	45,08 (4,68)	<0,01	131,78 (45,18)	0,01	173,37 (38,53)	<0,01
Personalism	-17,48 (3,94)	<0,01	-16,96 (3,47)	<0,01	-9,33 (2,78)	<0,01
Rig. & Impart. Pub.					11,23 (1,53)	<0,01
Admin.						
Political Violence <sub>t-1</sub>			-4,36 (1,09)	<0,01	-2,44 (1,00)	0,02
log <sub>10</sub> (Population) <sub>t-1</sub>			-15,08 (6,64)	0,04	-17,13 (5,60)	0,01
ln(GDP per cap) <sub>t-1</sub>			1,27 (2,03)	0,54	-1,89 (1,73)	0,28
GDP Growth			-5,38 (2,51)	0,16	-4,02 (1,88)	0,11
Internal conflict			-1,59 (1,46)	0,26	-0,20 (1,25)	0,74
(1 = conflict) <sub>t-1</sub>						
International conflict			-1,00 (1,44)	0,29	-1,25 (1,69)	0,29
(1= conflict) <sub>t-1</sub>						
Regime type <sub>t-1</sub>						
Personalist (ref)						
Military			-1,75 (4,06)	0,67	-2,45 (3,64)	0,57
Single-party			1,75 (5,07)	0,73	0,20 (3,50)	0,93
Monarchy			18,44 (5,53)	0,01	9,74 (3,60)	0,05
Random effect						
Between-country	423,04		333,09		316,61	
Within-country	137,09		119,74		84,75	
R <sub>I</sub> <sup>2c</sup>	0,09		0,26		0,35	
ICC	0,76		0,74		0,79	
LR χ <sup>2</sup> Year-fixed <sup>b</sup>	248,25	<0,01	323,82	<0,01	320,39	<0,01
LR χ <sup>2</sup> <sup>d</sup>	243,69	<0,01	481,15	<0,01	1146,39	<0,01

Note: <sup>a</sup> Country-clustered standard errors. <sup>b</sup> Compares model with year effects to an equivalent model without them. <sup>c</sup> Proportional decrease in level 1 variance compared to Model 1.

<sup>d</sup> Compares each model to the previous model.

#### *Freedom of movement*

The first two models are once again reported in the running text only. Model 1 with only random country intercepts for freedom of movement estimates within-country variance to be 0,20 while the estimated between-country variance is 1,23 (ICC = 0,86). The between-country mean does not differ significantly from zero ( $b < 0,01$ , SE = 0,11, 98,75% CI [-0,27; 0,27]). Model 2 introduces year-fixed effects, which contribute significantly to model fit ( $\chi^2(54) = 382,52$ ,  $p < 0,001$ ) and show that the mean level of freedom of movement is

significantly higher than it was in 1946 from 1990 onwards. Model 2 has a within-group variance of 0,18 and a between-group variance of 1,22, giving an intra-country correlation of 0,87 and decreasing total variance by 2,37 percent ( $R_I^2 = 0,02$ ) compared to Model 1.

The first model reported in Table 6 is Model 3, which introduces the personalism variable. Countries with the highest level of personalism are estimated to have a level of freedom of movement that is 0,40 points lower ( $SE = 0,12, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-0,70; -0,10]$ ) than countries with the lowest possible level of personalism, given time-persistent differences between countries and across-country yearly changes in freedom of movement. This is a small-to-medium effect, taking into account the variation in freedom of movement and the fact that it compares the extremes of the personalism scale. The decrease in total variance compared to Model 1 is just 4,30 percent.

Model 4 is second in Table 6, and this model adds the lagged control variables. None of these control variables has a statistically significant relation to freedom of movement at  $\alpha = 0,0125$ . The control variables do seem to contribute to model fit together ( $\chi^2(9) = 405,26, p < 0,001$ ), but the decrease in level 1 variance compared to Model 1 is just 5,65 percent. The estimated relation of personalism to freedom of movement rises somewhat ( $b = -0,47, SE = 0,10, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-0,74; -0,20]$ ) when controlling for the control variables in addition to time-persistent differences between countries and across-country developments in a year. The negative relation between personalism and freedom of movement fits my hypothesis.

Model 5 is the final model in Table 6, adding the rigour and impartiality of the public administration to test for mediation. The total variance of this model is quite a lot lower than that of Model 1 ( $R_I^2 = 0,18$ ). Higher levels of rigour and impartiality of the public administration tend to be accompanied by greater freedom of movement ( $b = 0,34, SE = 0,06, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [0,19; 0,50]$ ) controlling for personalism, the control variables, across-country changes by year and time-persistent differences between countries. This effect is rather large and larger than that of personalism. Controlled for the rigour and impartiality of the public administration as well as time-persistent differences between countries and across-country changes by year, the effect of personalism becomes smaller and statistically indistinguishable from zero ( $b = -0,24, SE = 0,10, 98,75\% \text{ CI } [-0,49; 0,01]$ ). However, the confidence intervals for personalism in Model 4 and Model 5 still contain the point estimate of the other model, such that this change is not that meaningful.

For the residual diagnostics of freedom of movement, Panel A of Figure 8 shows that the level 1 residuals have a great deal of excess kurtosis. This means that the standard errors calculated for Model 5 (and probably the other models) are under-estimated. The level 2

residuals have a stretched lower tail, but resemble a normally distributed variable a lot more. The autocorrelation plot of Panel B suggests that values within the same country remain strongly related over time. Predicted value-residual plots of the level 1 and level 2 residuals showed a slight downward slope in the level 2 residuals.

**Table 6**

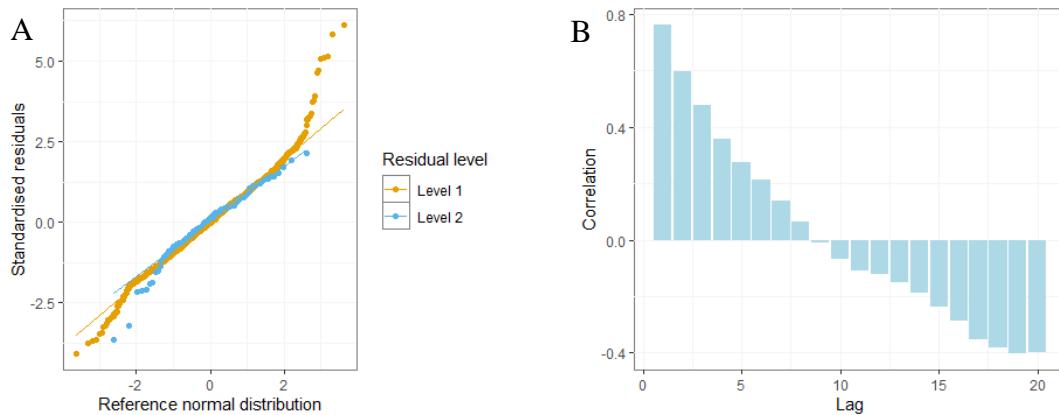
*Linear random intercept model with freedom of movement as dependent variable and year-fixed effects (N = 3251, n = 107, T = 1-54).*

Variable	Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p	b (SE) <sup>a</sup>	p
Intercept	0,06 (0,14)	0,68	1,00 (3,47)	0,77	2,37 (2,78)	0,40
Personalism	-0,40 (0,12)	<0,01	-0,47 (0,10)	<0,01	-0,24 (0,10)	0,01
Rig. & Impart. Pub.					0,34 (0,06)	<0,01
Admin.						
Political Violence			-0,10 (0,05)	0,03	-0,04 (0,04)	0,31
$\log_{10}(\text{Population})$			-0,33 (0,49)	0,50	-0,38 (0,39)	0,34
$\ln(\text{GDP per cap})$			0,19 (0,11)	0,08	0,10 (0,09)	0,27
GDP Growth			-0,11 (0,12)	0,40	-0,07 (0,09)	0,49
Internal conflict			-0,15 (0,07)	0,03	-0,11 (0,05)	0,05
(1 = conflict)						
International conflict			-0,08 (0,04)	0,09	-0,08 (0,04)	0,06
(1= conflict)						
Regime type						
Personalist (ref)						
Military			-0,26 (0,09)	0,01	-0,28 (0,09)	<0,01
Single-party			-0,37 (0,14)	0,01	-0,41 (0,12)	<0,01
Monarchy			0,24 (0,34)	0,49	-0,03 (0,19)	0,89
Random effect						
Between-country	1,20		1,20		1,05	
Within-country	0,18		0,16		0,12	
$R_I^2$ <sup>c</sup>	0,04		0,06		0,18	
$ICC$	0,87		0,88		0,89	
$LR \chi^2$ Year-fixed <sup>b</sup>	433,70	<0,01	277,68	<0,01	261,13	<0,01
$LR \chi^2$ <sup>d</sup>	99,89	<0,01	405,26	<0,01	762,32	<0,01

Note: <sup>a</sup> Country-clustered standard errors. <sup>b</sup> Compares model with year effects to an equivalent model without them. <sup>c</sup> Proportional decrease in level 1 variance compared to Model 1. <sup>d</sup> Compares each model to the previous model.

**Figure 8**

*QQ-plot and autocorrelation plot for freedom of movement.*



*Note:* The standardised residuals are standardised with country-level standard deviations.

#### *Rigour and impartiality of the public administration*

In the case of the rigour and impartiality of the public administration, Model 1 with only random country intercepts has a within-country variance of 0,33 and a between-country variance of 0,91 ( $ICC = 0,73$ ). The between-country mean level of the rigour and impartiality of the public administration is -0,60 ( $SE = 0,09$ , 98,75% CI [-0,84; -0,37]). Model 2 adds year-fixed effects, but in this case doing so does little to improve model fit ( $\chi^2(54) = 76,85$ ,  $p = 0,022$ ). Indeed, total variance in Model 2 is just 0,14 percent lower than in Model 1.

Model 3 adds personalism, and this does improve model fit ( $\chi^2(1) = 199,28$ ,  $p < 0,001$ ) with the level 1 variance decreasing by 3,23 percent. The point estimate estimates the rigour and impartiality to be 0,75 lower ( $SE = 0,15$ , 98,75% CI [-1,14; -0,35]) in countries with the highest possible level of personalism as compared to the lowest possible level of personalism controlling for time-persistent differences between countries and across-country yearly changes. This is a small effect, and the estimate is rather uncertain. The year-fixed effects still do not significantly contribute to model fit ( $\chi^2(54) = 70,79$ ,  $p = 0,062$ ).

Model 4 controls the relation between personalism and the rigour and impartiality of the public administration for the same control variables used in the other models. Total variance decreases quite strongly ( $R_I^2 = 0,16$ ). The estimated relation between personalism and the rigour and impartiality of the public administration controlling for time-persistent country differences and across-country year effects as well as these control variables is somewhat smaller than that in Model 3 ( $b = -0,67$ ,  $SE = 0,15$ , 98,75% CI [-1,06; -0,28]), but due to the uncertainty of the estimate this change does not seem overly meaningful. Higher levels of political violence in the previous year are associated with lower levels of rigour and

impartiality of the public administration in this year ( $b = -0,17$ ,  $SE = 0,06$ , 98,75% CI [-0,32; -0,02]) given the level of personalism, the other control variables, time-persistent differences between countries and across-country differences over years, but once again the size of the effect is hard to determine. In this model the year-fixed effects are statistically significant ( $\chi^2(54) = 109,65$ ,  $p < 0,001$ ), but since they only first become so in this model it is questionable how much weight should be given to that.

The level 1 residuals of Model 5 of the rigour and impartiality of the public administration seem to be right-skewed, shown in Panel A of Figure 9. Although less severe, such a right-skew also seems to appear in the level 2 residuals. Panel B of Figure 9 shows the autocorrelation plot of level 1 residuals, and this suggests that residuals are still very strongly related to each other over time within a country. Predicted value-residual plots of the level 1 and level 2 residuals showed a slight downward slope in the level 2 residuals.

**Table 7**

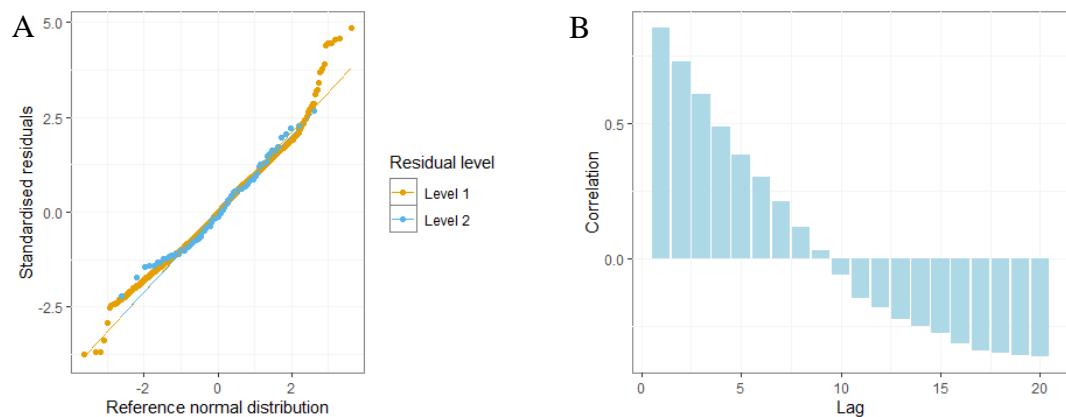
*Linear random intercept model with rigour and impartiality of the public administration as dependent variable and year-fixed effects (N = 3406, n = 109, T = 1-55).*

Variable	Model 3		Model 4	
	$b$ (SE) <sup>a</sup>	$p$	$b$ (SE) <sup>a</sup>	$p$
Intercept	-0,46 (0,16)	0,15	-2,28 (2,49)	0,36
Personalism	-0,71 (0,15)	<0,01	-0,67 (0,15)	<0,01
Political Violence			-0,17 (0,06)	0,01
$\log_{10}(\text{Population})$			-0,02 (0,33)	0,95
$\ln(\text{GDP per cap})$			0,27 (0,13)	0,06
GDP Growth			-0,12 (0,16)	0,45
Internal conflict (1 = conflict)			-0,13 (0,11)	0,27
International conflict (1= conflict)			0,02 (0,08)	0,78
Regime type				
Personalist (ref)				
Military			0,06 (0,15)	0,69
Single-party			0,14 (0,22)	0,54
Monarchy			0,77 (0,48)	0,15
Random effect				
Between-country	0,89		0,76	
Within-country	0,31		0,27	
$R_I^2$ <sup>c</sup>	0,03		0,16	
$ICC$	0,74		0,74	
$LR \chi^2$ Year-fixed <sup>b</sup>	70,79	0,06	109,65	<0,01
$LR \chi^2$ <sup>d</sup>	199,28	<0,01	429,39	<0,01

Note: <sup>a</sup> Country-clustered standard errors. <sup>b</sup> Compares model with year effects to an equivalent model without them. <sup>c</sup> Proportional decrease in level 1 variance compared to Model 1. <sup>d</sup> Compares each model to the previous model.

**Figure 9**

*QQ-plot and autocorrelation plot for rigour and impartiality of the public administration.*



*Note:* The standardised residuals are standardised with country-level standard deviations.

## Conclusion & Discussion:

Based on the results of the random intercept regressions, higher levels of personalism in a country tend to go along with somewhat lower freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, protection of life and physical integrity and freedom of movement. It might be that this is partly because higher levels of personalism in a country are associated to lesser competence of coercive institutions, but my evidence for this remains rather inconclusive. I need to reject my hypothesis of a curvilinear association between personalism and freedom of expression, but the extent to which the theory underlying the other hypotheses is corroborated is also limited. This means that my results are in line with the findings of Frantz et al. (2019) and broaden them somewhat by looking at civil liberties instead of repression.

I am not able to come to all too firm conclusions with regards to the role of the competence of coercive institutions in explaining reduced civil liberties in more personalised regimes. However, that my results at least suggest an effect does give me access to evidence for a mechanism which Frantz et al. (2019) do not give. This deepens their results, and in order to understand why personalism is associated to worse conditions for the inhabitants of a country it is important to continue looking into evidence for possible mechanisms. The result that my operationalisation of the competence of coercive institutions, the rigour and impartiality of the public administration, is related to greater civil liberties is itself in line with the predictions of, among others, Greitens (2016).

A conceptually important issue is that the operationalisation of personalism I use (Geddes et al., 2018; Wright, 2021) leans heavily on concrete actions connected with personalisation, such as the creation of a support party or purges of the military. Frantz et al. (2019) suggest that this operationalisation is at least not intrinsically connected to repression by including indicators of repression as indicators of personalism. Since I operationalise the competence of coercive institutions with a measure of rigour and impartiality of the public administration, which measures the respect of public officials for the law and unbiased administration of it (Coppedge et al., 2021a, pp. 175-176), this measure should also be distinct from personalism. The personalism measure is based on the relation between the dictator and his government, while the rigour and impartiality of the public administration operationalises the relation between the government and the general populace.

However, going beyond definitions and towards my theoretical argument, if a dictator undermines the competence of coercive institutions to allow further personalisation this suggests that a dictator that does not undermine the competence of coercive institutions might

not be able to personalise rule as much. This is not a necessary relation, but it muddles the direction of causality and means that personalism and the competence of coercive institutions might be hard to disentangle empirically. This might explain why I did not only find (weak) evidence for the mechanism where I expected to do so, but also where I did not expect it.

A conundrum in my research setup is that I test for the effect of personalism on four civil liberties that are theoretically and empirically distinct, but are sufficiently related that the effect of personalism on one might bias the estimated effect of personalism on another. At the same time, adding the other civil liberties to the model of any one of them would create the rather questionable theoretical setup of looking at the effect of personalism on a civil liberty in those situations where the other civil liberties remain unaffected by it. Since the effects of personalism are fairly similar across the civil liberties, while the relations between civil liberties are strong but not extremely so, the extreme case of some civil liberties only being related to personalism through their relation to other civil liberties seems unlikely. However, this does not solve the underlying theoretical problem. A strategy to address this problem in future is to use multivariate multilevel models (Snijders & Bosker, 2012, pp. 282-288), which explicitly incorporate the possibility of multiple related outcomes.

Another problem in my model specification is that I have not modelled the dependence of values within a country from one year to the next. The level 1 residuals still showed strong dependence over time. This means that the amount of information my data contains is far lower than my model assumes, such that my statistical tests give statistically significant results more often than is justified. Of course, this can very plausibly mean that my conclusion that personalism affects civil liberties through the competence of coercive institutions is not statistically justifiable.

Beyond implausibly assuming within-country independence over time, another statistical limitation is the fact that I have had to assume that observations in different countries are independent from each other. While such independence is not problematic for individual humans randomly sampled from a large population, for a dataset containing all autocracies for the period under study this seems rather less plausible. This is exacerbated by the fact that countries might not only be similar because they are affected by a shared environment (e.g., interference from democratic states), but autocratic countries also have an interest to interfere in the domestic affairs of each other. I have assumed that personalism and civil liberties in the various members of the Warsaw pact developed independently, for example, while the Berlin Uprising of 1953, the Prague Spring of 1968, and the revolutions of 1989 make this assumption seem rather implausible.

An interesting extension to test the mechanisms I have presented here is to operationalise the threat of an elite coup or the extent to which the dictator is able to monitor their elite. I have only been able to study the proposed effect of elite coup threat in a very indirect way that requires a lot of my assumptions to be correct. I could not empirically distinguish the ability of a dictator to monitor their elite at all. Being able to look into the role of these mechanisms in more depth would certainly enrich a study of the consequences of personalism.

That the effect that I find is rather small and very uncertain makes clear practical implications hard to draw. Assuming that the consequences for human well-being nonetheless recommend some type of intervention I can make a few suggestions. If personalism in autocratic countries is a threat to civil liberties, it seems wise for liberal democracies to promote a more dispersed power structure in autocratic countries instead of treating all forms of autocratic government as equally undesirable. Given that the competence of coercive institutions might be one mechanism through which personalism leads to less respect for civil liberties, a method for achieving the first goal that can reduce suffering in autocracies in and of itself might be to help and pressure autocracies to establish a professional government structure that is not dominated by clientelist practices and can exert soft power. However, for both these approaches the threat of perverse consequences is considerable. Keeping power from getting overly concentrated can itself disadvantage the population of a country if it leads to destabilisation of a regime and possibly civil war. And a more professional government apparatus is only beneficial to civil liberties if it uses its capacities for more restrained methods of control, instead of more rigorous ones. And insofar as professionalising government conflicts with personalisation, getting a dictator to cooperate will be very difficult.

To summarise, how much power lies in the hands of a dictator seems to have some deleterious consequences for freedoms of expression, assembly, movement and the protection of life and physical integrity. This seems to happen partly because dictators suppress the competence of their coercive institutions, but which other mechanisms are at play remains to be seen.

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## Appendix: R script

This appendix contains the R script used to run the analyses for this thesis. The script starts at the next page. The datasets used by the script are “GWF+personalism-scores.csv” which can be retrieved from <https://tinyurl.com/277vebkf>, “GWF Autocratic Regimes.xlsx”, which can be retrieved from <https://tinyurl.com/2cpwmwvt>, and “GWFtscs.txt”, which can be retrieved from <https://tinyurl.com/23krvz7a>.

The shortened URLs above are more useful for manual entry. In case they do not work or the full URL is preferred, these are:

V-Dem: [www.v-dem.net/media/datasets/Country\\_Year\\_V-Dem\\_Full\\_others\\_R\\_v11.1.zip](http://www.v-dem.net/media/datasets/Country_Year_V-Dem_Full_others_R_v11.1.zip)

Geddes et al. (2018): [www.sites.psu.edu/dictators/wp-content/uploads/sites/12570/2016/05/GWF-Autocratic-Regimes-1.2.zip](http://www.sites.psu.edu/dictators/wp-content/uploads/sites/12570/2016/05/GWF-Autocratic-Regimes-1.2.zip)

Wright (2021): [www.sites.psu.edu/wright/files/2019/11/GWF-time-vary-personalism.zip](http://www.sites.psu.edu/wright/files/2019/11/GWF-time-vary-personalism.zip)

```

1 # Author: Siebren Kooistra
2 # Date: 05-06-2022
3 # Goal: Construct a dataset on personalism and civil liberties using
4 # Geddes et al. (2014, 2018) and V-Dem (Coppedge et al., 2021) and
5 # carry out analyses on the associations between personalism and civil
6 # liberties
7
8 # Preparations: clean workspace and mount libraries.
9 rm(list = ls())
10 graphics.off()
11 gc()
12 library(DescTools)
13 library(readxl)
14 library(tidyverse)
15 library(GGally)
16 library(lmtest)
17 library(ggrepel)
18 library(mice)
19 library(naniar)
20 library(lme4)
21 library(arsenal)
22 library(plm)
23 library(clubSandwich)
24
25 # Create visual elements for later use
26 blue_light <- theme(panel.background = element_rect(fill = "white",
27                         colour = "grey50"),
28                         panel.grid.major = element_line(colour = "whitesmoke"),
29                         panel.grid.minor = element_line(colour = "whitesmoke"),
30                         legend.key = element_rect(fill = "white",
31                         colour = "grey50"))
32 lines_palette <- c("darkgreen", "blue", "lightblue", "lightblue", "red")
33
34 ##### DATASET ASSEMBLY AND DESCRIPTION #####
35 ##### Dataset assembly #####
36
37
38
39
40 # First dataset: GWF with personalism
41
42 # Load GWF autocracies dataset with personalism data and specify
43 # which variables to use
44 GWF_personalism <- read.csv("GWF+personalism-scores.csv")
45 GWF_personalism_variables_of_interest <- c("cowcode", "gwf_country", "year",
46                                         "dataID", "latent_personalism",
47                                         "paramil_pers", "sectyapp_pers",
48                                         "officepers", "partyrbtmp",
49                                         "militparty_newparty", "milnotrial",
50                                         "milmerit_pers", "partyexcom_pers")
51
52 # Define a new variable dataID to match V-Dem country-years to GWF
53 # country-years. In this case, V-Dem takes the separation of Yemen into two
54 # countries from 1918 to 1989 into account by giving the unified Yemen
55 # existing until 1918 and from 1990 a COW code of 679. Since this is more
56 # informative than the constant GWF code of 678, the GWF code is overwritten
57 # as 679 from 1990 to 2010.
58 GWF_personalism$cowcode[GWF_personalism$cowcode == 678 &
59 GWF_personalism$year %in% 1990:2010] <- 679

```

```

60
61 # Second dataset: GWF regime types
62
63 # Load the GWF regime type dataset and specify which variables to use
64 GWF_regime_type <- read.delim("GWFtscs.txt")
65 GWF_regime_type_variables_of_interest <- c("dataID", "gwf_party",
66                                         "gwf_personal", "gwf_military",
67                                         "gwf_monarch")
68
69 # Apply the same correction for South Yemen as used in the personalism
70 # dataset to the regime type dataset
71 GWF_regime_type$cowcode[GWF_regime_type$cowcode == 678 &
72                         GWF_regime_type$year %in% 1990:2010] <- 679
73
74 # Third dataset: V-Dem
75
76 # Load V-Dem datafile and specify which variables to use
77 VDem <- readRDS("V-Dem-CY-Full+Others-v11.1.rds")
78 VDem_variables_of_interest <- c("COWcode", "dataID", "v2x_clphy", "v2cltort",
79                                 "v2clkill", "v2caassemb", "v2clfmove",
80                                 "v2cldmovem", "v2cldmovew", "v2x_freeexp",
81                                 "v2mecenefm", "v2meharjrn", "v2meslfcen",
82                                 "v2xcl_disc", "v2clacfree", "e_mipopula",
83                                 "e_miinteco", "e_miinterc", "e_migdppcln",
84                                 "e_migdpgro", "v2caviol", "v2clrspct",
85                                 "v2cldiscm", "v2cldiscw", "lag_e_miinteco",
86                                 "lag_e_miinterc", "lag_e_migdppcln",
87                                 "lag_e_migdpgro", "lag_v2caviol",
88                                 "lag_e_mipopula")
89
90 # Create variables to match the three datasets
91 GWF_regime_type$dataID <- paste(GWF_regime_type$cowcode, GWF_regime_type$year)
92 GWF_personalism$dataID <- paste(GWF_personalism$cowcode, GWF_personalism$year)
93 VDem$dataID <- paste(VDem$COWcode, VDem$year)
94
95 # Lag variables
96 VDempdata <- pdata.frame(VDem, index = c("COWcode", "year"))
97 VDem$lag_e_miinteco <- plm:::lag(VDem$e_miinteco)
98 VDem$lag_e_miinterc <- plm:::lag(VDem$e_miinterc)
99 VDem$lag_e_migdppcln <- plm:::lag(VDem$e_migdppcln)
100 VDem$lag_e_migdpgro <- plm:::lag(VDem$e_migdpgro)
101 VDem$lag_v2caviol <- plm:::lag(VDem$v2caviol)
102 VDem$lag_e_mipopula <- plm:::lag(VDem$e_mipopula)
103
104 # Combine the GWF data and the V-Dem data
105
106 # Subset the part of the V-Dem dataset that is relevant for the GWF data
107 VDem_Repression <- VDem[VDem$dataID %in% GWF_personalism$dataID,
108                           c("historical_date",
109                             VDem_variables_of_interest)]
110
111 # Combine the datasets
112 autocracy_data <- cbind(GWF_personalism[order(GWF_personalism$dataID),
113                                         GWF_personalism_variables_of_interest],
114                                         GWF_regime_type[order(GWF_regime_type$dataID),
115                                         GWF_regime_type_variables_of_interest],
116                                         VDem_Repression[order(VDem_Repression$dataID),
117                                         VDem_variables_of_interest])
118

```

```

119 # Check for sorting errors.
120 TEST <- all(autocracy_data$cowcode == autocracy_data$COWcode)
121
122 # Variable operations
123 # Create a log-10 population variable
124 autocracy_data$log10pop <- log10(autocracy_data$e_mipopula * 1000)
125 autocracy_data$lag_log10pop <- log10(autocracy_data$lag_e_mipopula * 1000)
126
127 # Compute the scale variable for freedom of movement
128 autocracy_data$freedom_movement <-
129   rowMeans(autocracy_data[, c("v2clfmove", "v2cldmovem", "v2cldmovew")])
130
131 # Multiply freedom of expression and protection of life and physical integrity
132 # scales by 100 to avoid errors due to floating point arithmetic
133 autocracy_data$free_expr_x100 <- autocracy_data$v2x_freeexp * 100
134 autocracy_data$life_phys_x100 <- autocracy_data$v2x_clphy * 100
135
136 # Tidy up dataset
137 autocracy_data <- autocracy_data[, colnames(autocracy_data) %nin% c("dataID",
138                                         "COWcode")]
139
140 # Subset complete cases
141 datacomplete <- autocracy_data[complete.cases(autocracy_data),]
142
143 # Write dataset into csv file
144 write.csv(autocracy_data,
145           "autocracies_personalism_civilrights_data_S_Kooistra.csv")
146 write.csv(datacomplete,
147           "complete_cases_autocracies_personalism_civilrights_S_Kooistra.csv")
148
149 # Clean up to save memory.
150 rm(GWF_personalism, GWF_personalism_variables_of_interest,
151    GWF_regime_type, GWF_regime_type_variables_of_interest,
152    VDem, VDem_Repression, VDem_variables_of_interest,
153    datacomplete, autocracy_data) # Also remove dataframes to re-load and
154                                # remove pdata.frame properties
155 gc()
156
157 # Re-load dataframes
158 autocracy_data <-
159   read.csv("autocracies_personalism_civilrights_data_S_Kooistra.csv")
160 datacomplete <-
161   read.csv("complete_cases_autocracies_personalism_civilrights_S_Kooistra.csv")
162 ##### Personalism descriptives #####
163
164 # Item description and scale evaluation
165
166 # Military promotions
167
168 # Table and chi-square test
169 milmerit_pers_table <- table(autocracy_data$milmerit_pers, autocracy_data$year)
170 milmerit_pers_table
171 summary(milmerit_pers_table)
172
173 # Stacked barplot per year
174 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(milmerit_pers))) +
175   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
176   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion", fill = "Military promotions") +
177   scale_fill_manual(values = c("tomato", "lightblue", "darkgreen")),

```

```

178     labels = c("No forced retirement, \nno loyalty-based promotion, \nor no
179     military",
180             "Loyalty-based promotion",
181             "In-group promotion \nor forced retirement"))
182
183 #     Recode military promotion variable to dummy
184 autocracy_data$milmerit_pers_twocat <- recode(autocracy_data$milmerit_pers,
185                                         `0` = 0, `1` = 0, `2` = 1)
186
187 #     Investigate distribution of dummy
188 milmerit_pers_twocat_table <- table(autocracy_data$milmerit_pers_twocat,
189                                         autocracy_data$year)
190 milmerit_pers_twocat_table
191 summary(milmerit_pers_twocat_table)
192
193 #     Stacked barplot per year for dummy
194 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(milmerit_pers_twocat))) +
195     geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
196     labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion", fill = "Military promotions") +
197     scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
198                         labels = c("No forced retirement, \nno loyalty-based
199 promotion, \nor no military, \nor loyalty-based promotion",
200                         "In-group promotion \nor forced retirement"))
201
202 #     Military purges
203
204 #     Table and chi-square test
205 milnotrial_table <- table(autocracy_data$milnotrial, autocracy_data$year)
206 milnotrial_table
207 summary(milnotrial_table)
208 chisq.test(autocracy_data$milnotrial, autocracy_data$year)$stdres
209
210 #     Stacked barplot per year
211 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(milnotrial))) +
212     geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
213     labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion", fill = "Military purges") +
214     scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
215                         labels = c("No imprisonment or killing, \nno military, \nor
216 foreign military",
217                         "Officer imprisonment and/or killing"))
218
219 #     Support party
220
221 #     Table and chi-square test
222 militparty_newparty_table <- table(autocracy_data$militparty_newparty,
223                                         autocracy_data$year)
224 militparty_newparty_table
225 summary(militparty_newparty_table)
226 chisq.test(autocracy_data$militparty_newparty, autocracy_data$year)$stdres
227 chisq.test(autocracy_data$militparty_newparty, autocracy_data$year)$expected
228 fisher.test(autocracy_data$militparty_newparty, autocracy_data$year,
229             simulate.p.value = TRUE, B = 10000)
230
231 #     Stacked barplot per year
232 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(militparty_newparty))) +
233     geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
234     labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion", fill = "Party creation") +
235     scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
236                         labels = c("No support party created",

```

```

237                         "Support party created"))
238
239 #     Executive committee appointments
240
241 #     Table and chi-square test
242 partyexcom_pers_table <- table(autocracy_data$partyexcom_pers,
243                                     autonomy_data$year)
244 partyexcom_pers_table
245 summary(partyexcom_pers_table)
246 chisq.test(autocracy_data$partyexcom_pers, autonomy_data$year)$stdres
247
248 #     Stacked barplot per year
249 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(partyexcom_pers))) +
250   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
251   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion",
252         fill = "Party executive committee control") +
253   scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
254                      labels = c("Regime leader does not choose \nparty executive
255 committee",
256                           "Regime leader chooses \nparty executive
257 committee"))
258
259 #     Executive committee rubberstamp
260
261 #     Check coding
262 cor(autocracy_data$partyrbtmp,
263      autonomy_data[, c("latent_personalism", "paramil_pers",
264                        "sectyapp_pers", "officepers", "partyrbtmp",
265                        "militparty_newparty", "milnotrial",
266                        "milmerit_pers", "partyexcom_pers")])
267
268 #     Table and chi-square test
269 partyrbtmp_table <- table(autocracy_data$partyrbtmp,
270                             autonomy_data$year)
271 partyrbtmp_table
272 summary(partyrbtmp_table)
273
274 #     Stacked barplot per year
275 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(partyrbtmp))) +
276   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
277   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion",
278         fill = "Party executive committee independence") +
279   scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
280                      labels = c("The party executive committee \nhas some policy
281 independence \nfrom the regime leader",
282                           "The party executive committee \nis a 'rubber
283 stamp' \nor does not exist"))
284
285 #     Discretion over high office appointments
286
287 #     Table and chi-square test
288 officepers_table <- table(autocracy_data$officepers,
289                            autonomy_data$year)
290 officepers_table
291 summary(officepers_table)
292 chisq.test(autocracy_data$officepers, autonomy_data$year)$stdres
293
294 #     Stacked barplot per year
295 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(officepers))) +

```

```

296     geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
297     labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion",
298           fill = "Regime leader discretion over high office appointments") +
299     scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
300                       labels = c("Regime leader does not have discretion \nover
301 appointments to high office",
302                           "Regime leader has discretion over \nhigh office
303 appointments or appoints \nrelatives to these positions"))
304
305 # Personalised control over the security apparatus
306
307 # Table and chi-square test
308 sectyapp_pers_table <- table(autocracy_data$sectyapp_pers,
309                               autocracy_data$year)
310 sectyapp_pers_table
311 summary(sectyapp_pers_table)
312 chisq.test(autocracy_data$sectyapp_pers, autocracy_data$year)$stdres
313
314 # Stacked barplot per year
315 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(sectyapp_pers))) +
316   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
317   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion",
318         fill = "Regime leader's personal control over the security apparatus") +
319         scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
320                           labels = c("Security apparatus is not controlled \npersonally
321 by the regime leader",
322                               "Security apparatus is controlled \npersonally by
323 the regime leader"))
324
325 # Loyal paramilitary forces
326
327 # Table and chi-square test
328 paramil_pers_table <- table(autocracy_data$paramil_pers,
329                               autocracy_data$year)
330 paramil_pers_table
331 summary(paramil_pers_table)
332 chisq.test(autocracy_data$paramil_pers, autocracy_data$year)$stdres
333
334 # Stacked barplot per year
335 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(paramil_pers))) +
336   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
337   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion",
338         fill = "Creation of paramilitary forces loyal to the regime leader") +
339         scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
340                           labels = c("Regime leader does not create \nparamilitary
341 forces, \na president's guard, \nor new security forces \napparently loyal to
342 himself",
343                               "Regime leader creates \nparamilitary forces, \na
344 president's guard, \nor new security forces \napparently loyal to himself"))
345
346 # Reliability analysis
347
348 # Calculate Cronbach's Alpha by year
349 personalism_cronbachalphas <-
350   by(data = autocracy_data[, c("milmerit_pers_twocat", "milnotrial",
351                               "militparty_newparty", "partyexcom_pers",
352                               "partyrbrstmp", "officepers",
353                               "sectyapp_pers", "paramil_pers")],
354   INDICES = autocracy_data$year,

```

```

355     FUN = CronbachAlpha, cond = TRUE)
356
357 #      Create table for calculated Cronbach's Alpha
358 table_personalism_cronbachalphas <-
359   tibble(year = sort(unique(datacomplete$year)),
360         "All items" = NA,
361         "Military promotion strategies" = NA,
362         "Military purges" = NA,
363         "Support party creation" = NA,
364         "Party executive committee control" = NA,
365         "Party executive committee rubberstamp" = NA,
366         "Regime leader discretion over high office appointments" = NA,
367         "Personalised control over security apparatus" = NA,
368         "Loyal paramilitary forces" = NA
369       )
370
371 #      Fill table
372 for (y in sort(unique(autocracy_data$year))) {
373   table_personalism_cronbachalphas[table_personalism_cronbachalphas$year == y,
374                                     "All items"] <-
375     personalism_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)][["unconditional"]]]
376   table_personalism_cronbachalphas[table_personalism_cronbachalphas$year == y,
377                                     "Military promotion strategies"] <-
378     personalism_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)][["condCronbachAlpha"
379                               ]][1, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
380   table_personalism_cronbachalphas[table_personalism_cronbachalphas$year == y,
381                                     "Military purges"] <-
382     personalism_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)][["condCronbachAlpha"
383                               ]][2, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
383   table_personalism_cronbachalphas[table_personalism_cronbachalphas$year == y,
384                                     "Support party creation"] <-
385     personalism_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)][["condCronbachAlpha"
386                               ]][3, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
386   table_personalism_cronbachalphas[table_personalism_cronbachalphas$year == y,
387                                     "Party executive committee control"] <-
387     personalism_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)][["condCronbachAlpha"
388                               ]][4, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
388   table_personalism_cronbachalphas[table_personalism_cronbachalphas$year == y,
389                                     "Party executive committee rubberstamp"] <-
389     personalism_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)][["condCronbachAlpha"
390                               ]][5, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
390   table_personalism_cronbachalphas[
391     table_personalism_cronbachalphas$year == y,
392     "Regime leader discretion over high office appointments"] <-
392     personalism_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)][["condCronbachAlpha"
393                               ]][6, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
393   table_personalism_cronbachalphas[
394     table_personalism_cronbachalphas$year == y,
395     "Personalised control over security apparatus"] <-
395     personalism_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)][["condCronbachAlpha"
396                               ]][7, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
396   table_personalism_cronbachalphas[table_personalism_cronbachalphas$year == y,
397                                     "Loyal paramilitary forces"] <-
397     personalism_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)][["condCronbachAlpha"
398                               ]][8, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
398 }
399
400 #      Pivot table for use in plotting
401 longtab_personalism_cronbachalphas <-

```

```

414 pivot_longer(table_personalism_cronbachalphas, 2:10, names_to = "Type",
415           values_to = "Value")
416
417 #      Plot Cronbach's Alpha by year
418 ggplot(longtab_personalism_cronbachalphas, aes(x = year, y = Value,
419                     colour = Type)) +
420   geom_line() + blue_light
421
422 #      Calculate range of yearly Cronbach's Alphas
423 range(table_personalism_cronbachalphas$"All items" )
424
425 #  Scale descriptives
426
427 #  Entire dataset
428
429 #  Draw time series for Argentina, China, Congo/Zaire, Persia/Iran, Portugal
430 #  and the Soviet Union and Russia
431 ggplot(autocracy_data[autocracy_data$cowcode %in%
432                         c(160, 710, 490, 630, 235, 365),],
433         aes(x = year, y = latent_personalism, colour = gwf_country)) +
434   geom_step() + facet_grid(rows = vars(cowcode)) + blue_light +
435   labs(x = "Year", y = "Latent personalism") +
436   scale_color_manual(name='Country', labels = vars(gwf_country),
437                       values = palette("Okabe-Ito"))
438
439 #  Heatmap of personalism distribution per year
440 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = latent_personalism,
441                                               x = year)) +
442   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.1)) + blue_light +
443   labs(y = "Latent personalism", x = "Year")
444
445 #  Calculation of country means
446 latent_personalism_full_countrymeans <- tibble(
447   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
448     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
449   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$latent_personalism,
450                         autocracy_data$cowcode,
451                         mean)
452 )
453 #  Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
454 ggplot(data = latent_personalism_full_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
455   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.1, fill = "lightblue") +
456   labs(x = "Latent personalism", y = "Count") + blue_light
457 ggplot(data = latent_personalism_full_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
458   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
459   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Latent personalism") +
460   blue_light
461
462 #  Compute summary statistics per year
463 latent_personalism_full_summary <-
464   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
465         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$latent_personalism,
466                      autocracy_data$year, mean),
467         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$latent_personalism,
468                      autocracy_data$year,
469                      quantile, prob = 0.25),
470         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$latent_personalism,
471                        autocracy_data$year, median),
472         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$latent_personalism,

```

```

473             autocracy_data$year,
474             quantile, prob = 0.75),
475     SD = tapply(autocracy_data$latent_personalism,
476                 autocracy_data$year, sd),
477     Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$latent_personalism,
478                 autocracy_data$year, FUN = Skew),
479     Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$latent_personalism,
480                         autocracy_data$year, FUN = Kurt) )
481
482 #       Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
483 latent_personalism_full_summary_longtable <-
484   pivot_longer(latent_personalism_full_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
485                 values_to = "Value")
486
487 #       Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
488 #       and standard deviation over time
489 withr::with_options(
490   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
491   print(ggplot(data = latent_personalism_full_summary_longtable[
492     latent_personalism_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
493                                         "Median", "Q3",
494                                         "SD"), ],
495     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
496     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Latent personalism"))
497 )
498
499 #       Plot skew and kurtosis over time
500 ggplot(data = latent_personalism_full_summary_longtable[
501   latent_personalism_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
502   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
503   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
504   geom_line() +
505   labs(x = "Year", y = "Latent personalism") +
506   blue_light
507
508 #       Complete cases
509
510 #       Heatmap of personalism distribution per year
511 ggplot(data = datacomplete, mapping = aes(y = latent_personalism,
512                                             x = year)) +
513   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.1)) + blue_light +
514   labs(y = "Latent personalism", x = "Year")
515
516 #       Calculation of country means
517 latent_personalism_complete_countrymeans <- tibble(
518   countrycode = unique(datacomplete$cowcode)[order(unique(
519     datacomplete$cowcode))],
520   countrymeans = tapply(datacomplete$latent_personalism, datacomplete$cowcode,
521                         mean)
522 )
523
524 #       Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
525 ggplot(data = latent_personalism_complete_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
526   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.1, fill = "lightblue") +
527   labs(x = "Latent personalism", y = "Count") + blue_light
528 ggplot(data = latent_personalism_complete_countrymeans,
529         aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
530   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
531   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Latent personalism") +

```

```

532     blue_light
533
534 #      Compute summary statistics per year
535 latent_personalism_complete_summary <-
536   tibble(year = unique(datacomplete$year)[order(unique(
537     datacomplete$year))],
538     Mean = tapply(datacomplete$latent_personalism, datacomplete$year,
539                   mean),
540     Q1 = tapply(datacomplete$latent_personalism, datacomplete$year,
541                  quantile, prob = 0.25),
542     Median = tapply(datacomplete$latent_personalism,
543                      datacomplete$year, median),
544     Q3 = tapply(datacomplete$latent_personalism,
545                   datacomplete$year,
546                   quantile, prob = 0.75),
547     SD = tapply(datacomplete$latent_personalism,
548                   datacomplete$year, sd),
549     Skew = tapply(datacomplete$latent_personalism,
550                   datacomplete$year, FUN = Skew),
551     Kurtosis = tapply(datacomplete$latent_personalism,
552                      datacomplete$year, FUN = Kurt) )
553
554 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
555 latent_personalism_complete_summary_longtable <-
556   pivot_longer(latent_personalism_complete_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
557                 values_to = "Value")
558
559 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
560 #      and standard deviation over time
561 withr::with_options(
562   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
563   print(ggplot(data = latent_personalism_complete_summary_longtable[
564     latent_personalism_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
565                               "Median", "Q3",
566                               "SD"), ],
567     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
568     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Latent personalism"))
569 )
570
571 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
572 ggplot(data = latent_personalism_complete_summary_longtable[
573   latent_personalism_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
574   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
575   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Latent personalism") + blue_light
576
577 ##### Freedom of expression descriptives #####
578
579 # Item description and scale evaluation
580
581 # Government censorship effort
582
583 # Establish observed range
584 range(autocracy_data$v2mecenefm)
585
586 # Heatmap of government censorship effort distribution per year
587 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2mecenefm, x = year)) +
588   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
589   labs(y = "Government censorship effort", x = "Year")
590

```

```

591 # Calculation of country means
592 government_censorship_countrymeans <- tibble(
593   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
594     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
595   countrymean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2mecenefm, autocracy_data$cowcode, mean)
596 )
597 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
598 ggplot(data = government_censorship_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymean)) +
599   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
600   labs(x = "Government censorship effort", y = "Count") + blue_light
601 ggplot(data = government_censorship_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymean)) +
602   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
603   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
604     y = "Government censorship effort") + blue_light
605
606 # Compute summary statistics per year
607 government_censorship_summary <-
608   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
609         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2mecenefm, autocracy_data$year, mean),
610         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2mecenefm, autocracy_data$year,
611                     quantile, prob = 0.25),
612         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2mecenefm, autocracy_data$year,
613                         median),
614         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2mecenefm, autocracy_data$year,
615                     quantile, prob = 0.75),
616         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2mecenefm, autocracy_data$year, sd),
617         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2mecenefm, autocracy_data$year,
618                         FUN = Skew),
619         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2mecenefm, autocracy_data$year,
620                         FUN = Kurt) )
621
622 # Pivot summary statistics for use in plotting
623 government_censorship_summary_longtable <-
624   pivot_longer(government_censorship_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
625                 values_to = "Value")
626
627 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
628 # and standard deviation over time
629 withr::with_options(
630   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
631   print(ggplot(data = government_censorship_summary_longtable[
632     government_censorship_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
633                                         "Median", "Q3",
634                                         "SD"), ],
635     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
636     blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Government censorship effort"))
637 )
638
639 # Plot skew and kurtosis over time
640 ggplot(data = government_censorship_summary_longtable[
641   government_censorship_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
642   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
643   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
644   labs(x = "Year", y = "Government censorship effort") + blue_light
645
646 # Harassment of journalists
647
648 # Establish observed range
649 range(autocracy_data$v2meharjrn)

```

```

650
651 #      Heatmap of personalism distribution per year
652 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2meharjrn, x = year)) +
653   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
654   labs(y = "Journalist harassment", x = "Year")
655
656 #      Calculation of country means
657 journalist_harassment_countrymeans <- tibble(
658   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
659     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
660   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meharjrn, autocracy_data$cowcode,
661                         mean)
662 )
663 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
664 ggplot(data = journalist_harassment_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
665   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
666   labs(x = "Journalist harassment", y = "Count") + blue_light
667 ggplot(data = journalist_harassment_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
668   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") +
669   geom_qq_line() +
670   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Journalist harassment") +
671   blue_light
672
673 #      Compute summary statistics per year
674 journalist_harassment_summary <-
675   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
676         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meharjrn, autocracy_data$year, mean),
677         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meharjrn, autocracy_data$year,
678                     quantile, prob = 0.25),
679         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meharjrn, autocracy_data$year, median),
680         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meharjrn, autocracy_data$year,
681                     quantile, prob = 0.75),
682         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meharjrn, autocracy_data$year, sd),
683         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meharjrn, autocracy_data$year,
684                        FUN = Skew),
685         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meharjrn, autocracy_data$year,
686                            FUN = Kurt) )
687
688 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
689 journalist_harassment_summary_longtable <-
690   pivot_longer(journalist_harassment_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
691                 values_to = "Value")
692
693 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
694 #      and standard deviation over time
695 withr::with_options(
696   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
697   print(ggplot(data = journalist_harassment_summary_longtable[
698     journalist_harassment_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
699                                         "Median", "Q3",
700                                         "SD"), ],
701     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
702     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year",
703                                     y = "Journalist harassment"))
704 )
705
706 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
707 ggplot(data = journalist_harassment_summary_longtable[
708   journalist_harassment_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%

```

```

709      c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
710      aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
711      labs(x = "Year", y = "Journalist harassment") + blue_light
712
713 # Media self-censorship
714
715 # Establish observed range
716 range(autocracy_data$v2meslfcen)
717
718 # Heatmap of media self-censorship distribution per year
719 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2meslfcen,
720                                              x = year)) +
721   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
722   labs(y = "Media self-censorship", x = "Year")
723
724 # Calculation of country means
725 media_selfcensor_countrymeans <- tibble(
726   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
727     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
728   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meslfcen, autocracy_data$cowcode,
729                         mean)
730 )
731 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
732 ggplot(data = media_selfcensor_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
733   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
734   labs(x = "Media self-censorship", y = "Count") + blue_light
735 ggplot(data = media_selfcensor_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
736   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
737   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
738         y = "Media self-censorship") + blue_light
739
740 # Compute summary statistics per year
741 media_selfcensor_summary <-
742   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
743          Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meslfcen, autocracy_data$year, mean),
744          Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meslfcen, autocracy_data$year,
745                      quantile, prob = 0.25),
746          Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meslfcen, autocracy_data$year,
747                            median),
748          Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meslfcen, autocracy_data$year,
749                      quantile, prob = 0.75),
750          SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meslfcen, autocracy_data$year, sd),
751          Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meslfcen, autocracy_data$year,
752                          FUN = Skew),
753          Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2meslfcen, autocracy_data$year,
754                             FUN = Kurt) )
755
756 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
757 media_selfcensor_summary_longtable <-
758   pivot_longer(media_selfcensor_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
759                 values_to = "Value")
760
761 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
762 # and standard deviation over time
763 withr::with_options(
764   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
765   print(ggplot(data = media_selfcensor_summary_longtable[
766     media_selfcensor_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
767                                         "Median", "Q3",

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```

768                               "SD"), ],
769   aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
770   labs(x = "Year", y = "Media self-censorship"))
771 )
772
773 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
774 ggplot(data = media_selfcensor_summary_longtable[
775   media_selfcensor_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
776   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
777   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Media self-censorship") + blue_light
778
779 #      Freedom of discussion
780
781 #      Freedom of discussion for men
782
783 #      Establish observed range
784 range(autocracy_data$v2cldiscm)
785
786 #      Heatmap of media freedom of discussion for men distribution per year
787 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2cldiscm, x = year)) +
788   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
789   labs(y = "Freedom of discussion for men", x = "Year")
790
791 #      Calculation of country means
792 free_disc_men_countrymeans <- tibble(
793   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
794     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
795   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscm, autocracy_data$cowcode,
796                         mean)
797 )
798 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
799 ggplot(data = free_disc_men_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
800   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
801   labs(x = "Freedom of discussion for men", y = "Count") + blue_light
802 ggplot(data = free_disc_men_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
803   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
804   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
805         y = "Freedom of discussion for men") + blue_light
806
807 #      Compute summary statistics per year
808 free_disc_men_summary <-
809   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
810         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscm, autocracy_data$year, mean),
811         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscm, autocracy_data$year,
812                     quantile, prob = 0.25),
813         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscm, autocracy_data$year, median),
814         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscm, autocracy_data$year,
815                     quantile, prob = 0.75),
816         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscm, autocracy_data$year, sd),
817         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscm, autocracy_data$year,
818                        FUN = Skew),
819         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscm, autocracy_data$year,
820                            FUN = Kurt) )
821
822 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
823 free_disc_men_summary_longtable <-
824   pivot_longer(free_disc_men_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
825                 values_to = "Value")
826

```

```

827 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
828 # and standard deviation over time
829 withr::with_options(
830   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
831   print(ggplot(data = free_disc_men_summary_longtable[
832     free_disc_men_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
833                                         "Median", "Q3",
834                                         "SD"), ],
835     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
836     labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of discussion for men"))
837 )
838
839 # Plot skew and kurtosis over time
840 ggplot(data = free_disc_men_summary_longtable[
841   free_disc_men_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
842   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
843   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
844   labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of discussion for men") + blue_light
845
846 # Freedom of discussion for women
847
848 # Establish observed range
849 range(autocracy_data$v2cldiscw)
850
851 # Heatmap of freedom of discussion for women distribution per year
852 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2cldiscw, x = year)) +
853   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
854   labs(y = "Freedom of discussion for women", x = "Year")
855
856 # Calculation of country means
857 free_disc_women_countrymeans <- tibble(
858   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
859     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
860   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscw,
861                         autocracy_data$cowcode,
862                         mean)
863 )
864 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
865 ggplot(data = free_disc_women_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
866   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
867   labs(x = "Freedom of discussion for women", y = "Count") + blue_light
868 ggplot(data = free_disc_women_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
869   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
870   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
871         y = "Freedom of discussion for women") + blue_light
872
873 # Compute summary statistics per year
874 free_disc_women_summary <-
875   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
876         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscw, autocracy_data$year, mean),
877         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscw, autocracy_data$year,
878                     quantile, prob = 0.25),
879         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscw, autocracy_data$year, median),
880         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscw, autocracy_data$year,
881                     quantile, prob = 0.75),
882         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscw, autocracy_data$year, sd),
883         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscw, autocracy_data$year,
884                       FUN = Skew),
885         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldiscw, autocracy_data$year,

```

```

886                         FUN = Kurt) )
887
888 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
889 free_disc_women_summary_longtable <-
890   pivot_longer(free_disc_women_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
891                 values_to = "Value")
892
893 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
894 #      and standard deviation over time
895 withr::with_options(
896   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
897   print(ggplot(data = free_disc_women_summary_longtable[
898     free_disc_women_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1", "Median",
899                                         "Q3", "SD"), ],
900       aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
901         geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year",
902                                         y = "Freedom of discussion for women"))
903 )
904
905 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
906 ggplot(data = free_disc_women_summary_longtable[
907   free_disc_women_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
908   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
909   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
910   labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of discussion for women") + blue_light
911
912 #      Sub-item intercorrelation and freedom of discussion description
913
914 #      Calculate intercorrelation by year
915 free_disc_cors <-
916   by(data = autocracy_data[, c("v2cldiscm", "v2cldiscw")],
917       INDICES = autocracy_data$year, FUN = cor)
918
919 #      Create table for correlations
920 table_free_disc_cors <- tibble(Year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
921                                 "Correlation" = NA)
922
923 #      Fill table
924 for (y in sort(unique(autocracy_data$year))) {
925   table_free_disc_cors[table_free_disc_cors$Year == y,
926                         "Correlation"] <-
927     free_disc_cors[[as.character(y)]][2,1]
928 }
929
930 #      Plot correlations by year
931 ggplot(table_free_disc_cors, aes(x = Year, y = Correlation)) +
932   geom_line(colour = "tomato") + blue_light
933
934 #      Establish range of correlations
935 range(table_free_disc_cors$"Correlation")
936
937 #      Establish observed range for scale
938 range(autocracy_data$v2xcl_disc)
939
940 #      Heatmap of freedom of discussion distribution per year
941 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2xcl_disc, x = year)) +
942   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.1)) + blue_light +
943   labs(y = "Freedom of discussion", x = "Year")
944

```

```

945 # Calculation of country means
946 free_disc_countrymeans <- tibble(
947   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
948     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
949   countrymean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2xcl_disc, autocracy_data$cowcode,
950                         mean)
951 )
952 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
953 ggplot(data = free_disc_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymean)) +
954   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.1, fill = "lightblue") +
955   labs(x = "Freedom of discussion", y = "Count") + blue_light
956 ggplot(data = free_disc_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymean)) +
957   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
958   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
959         y = "Freedom of discussion") + blue_light
960
961 # Compute scale summary statistics per year
962 free_disc_summary <-
963   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
964         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2xcl_disc, autocracy_data$year, mean),
965         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2xcl_disc, autocracy_data$year,
966                     quantile, prob = 0.25),
967         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2xcl_disc, autocracy_data$year,
968                          median),
969         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2xcl_disc, autocracy_data$year,
970                     quantile, prob = 0.75),
971         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2xcl_disc, autocracy_data$year, sd),
972         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2xcl_disc, autocracy_data$year,
973                        FUN = Skew),
974         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2xcl_disc, autocracy_data$year,
975                            FUN = Kurt) )
976
977 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
978 free_disc_summary_longtable <-
979   pivot_longer(free_disc_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
980                 values_to = "Value")
981
982 # Plot mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
983 # and standard deviation of scale over time
984 withr::with_options(
985   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
986   print(ggplot(data = free_disc_summary_longtable[
987     free_disc_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1", "Median", "Q3",
988     "SD"), ],
989     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
990     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year",
991                                     y = "Freedom of discussion"))
992 )
993
994 # Plot skew and kurtosis of scale over time
995 ggplot(data = free_disc_summary_longtable[
996   free_disc_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
997   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
998   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
999   labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of discussion") + blue_light
1000
1001
1002 # Freedom of academic and cultural expression
1003

```

```

1004 # Establish observed range
1005 range(autocracy_data$v2clacfree)
1006
1007 # Heatmap of media self-censorship distribution per year
1008 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2clacfree, x = year)) +
1009   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
1010   labs(y = "Freedom of acad. and cult. expr.", x = "Year")
1011
1012 # Calculation of country means
1013 free_acad_cult_expr_countrymeans <- tibble(
1014   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1015     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
1016   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clacfree, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1017                         mean)
1018 )
1019 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1020 ggplot(data = free_acad_cult_expr_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1021   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
1022   labs(x = "Freedom of acad. and cult. expr.", y = "Count") + blue_light
1023 ggplot(data = free_acad_cult_expr_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
1024   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1025   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
1026         y = "Freedom of acad. and cult. expr.") + blue_light
1027
1028 # Compute summary statistics per year
1029 free_acad_cult_expr_summary <-
1030   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
1031         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clacfree, autocracy_data$year, mean),
1032         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clacfree, autocracy_data$year,
1033                     quantile, prob = 0.25),
1034         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clacfree, autocracy_data$year,
1035                         median),
1036         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clacfree, autocracy_data$year,
1037                     quantile, prob = 0.75),
1038         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clacfree, autocracy_data$year, sd),
1039         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clacfree, autocracy_data$year,
1040                         FUN = Skew),
1041         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clacfree, autocracy_data$year,
1042                           FUN = Kurt) )
1042
1043
1044 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1045 free_acad_cult_expr_summary_longtable <-
1046   pivot_longer(free_acad_cult_expr_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1047                 values_to = "Value")
1048
1049 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1050 # and standard deviation over time
1051 withr::with_options(
1052   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1053   print(ggplot(data = free_acad_cult_expr_summary_longtable[
1054     free_acad_cult_expr_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
1055                                         "Median", "Q3",
1056                                         "SD"), ],
1057     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
1058     labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of acad. and cult. expr."))
1059 )
1060
1061 # Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1062 ggplot(data = free_acad_cult_expr_summary_longtable[

```

```

1063 free_acad_cult_expr_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
1064   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
1065   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
1066   labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of acad. and cult. expr.") + blue_light
1067
1068 #     Reliability analysis
1069
1070 #     Calculate Cronbach's Alpha by year
1071 free_expr_cronbachalphas <-
1072   by(data = autocracy_data[, c("v2mecenefm", "v2meharjrn", "v2meslfcen",
1073                             "v2xcl_disc", "v2clacfree")],
1074   INDICES = autocracy_data$year, FUN = CronbachAlpha, cond = TRUE)
1075
1076 #     Create table for Cronbach's Alpha values
1077 table_free_expr_cronbachalphas <-
1078   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
1079         "All items" = NA, "Government censorship effort" = NA,
1080         "Journalist harassment" = NA, "Media self-censorship" = NA,
1081         "Freedom of discussion" = NA, "Freedom of acad. and cult. expr." = NA
1082   )
1083
1084 #     Fill in table
1085 for (y in sort(unique(autocracy_data$year))) {
1086   table_free_expr_cronbachalphas[table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$year == y,
1087                                     "All items"] <-
1088     free_expr_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)]][["unconditional"]]
1089   table_free_expr_cronbachalphas[table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$year == y,
1090                                     "Government censorship effort"] <-
1091     free_expr_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)]][["condCronbachAlpha"
1092       ][1, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
1093   table_free_expr_cronbachalphas[table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$year == y,
1094                                     "Journalist harassment"] <-
1095     free_expr_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)]][["condCronbachAlpha"
1096       ][2, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
1097   table_free_expr_cronbachalphas[table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$year == y,
1098                                     "Media self-censorship"] <-
1099     free_expr_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)]][["condCronbachAlpha"
1100       ][3, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
1101   table_free_expr_cronbachalphas[table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$year == y,
1102                                     "Freedom of discussion"] <-
1103     free_expr_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)]][["condCronbachAlpha"
1104       ][4, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
1105   table_free_expr_cronbachalphas[table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$year == y,
1106                                     "Freedom of acad. and cult. expr."] <-
1107     free_expr_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)]][["condCronbachAlpha"
1108       ][5, "Cronbach Alpha"]]
1109 }
1110
1111 #     Pivot table for use in plotting
1112 longtab_free_expr_cronbachalphas <-
1113   pivot_longer(table_free_expr_cronbachalphas, 2:7, names_to = "Type",
1114                 values_to = "Value")
1115
1116 #     Plot Cronbach's Alpha by year
1117 ggplot(longtab_free_expr_cronbachalphas, aes(x = year, y = Value,
1118                                               colour = Type)) +
1119   geom_line() + blue_light
1120
1121 #     Calculate range of yearly Cronbach's Alpha

```

```

1122 range(table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$"All items")
1123 # Original scale
1124
1125 # Heatmap of freedom of expression distribution per year
1126 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2x_freexp, x = year)) +
1127   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.1)) + blue_light +
1128   labs(y = "Freedom of expression", x = "Year")
1129
1130 # Calculation of country means
1131 free_expr_unscaled_countrymeans <- tibble(
1132   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1133     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
1134   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2x_freexp, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1135                         mean)
1136 )
1137 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1138 ggplot(data = free_expr_unscaled_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1139   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.1, fill = "lightblue") +
1140   labs(x = "Freedom of expression", y = "Count") + blue_light
1141 ggplot(data = free_expr_unscaled_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
1142   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1143   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Freedom of expression") +
1144   blue_light
1145
1146 # Compute summary statistics per year
1147 free_expr_unscaled_summary <-
1148   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
1149     Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2x_freexp, autocracy_data$year, mean),
1150     Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2x_freexp, autocracy_data$year,
1151                 quantile, prob = 0.25),
1152     Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2x_freexp, autocracy_data$year,
1153                      median),
1154     Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2x_freexp, autocracy_data$year,
1155                 quantile, prob = 0.75),
1156     SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2x_freexp, autocracy_data$year, sd),
1157     Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2x_freexp, autocracy_data$year,
1158                    FUN = Skew),
1159     Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2x_freexp, autocracy_data$year,
1160                        FUN = Kurt) )
1161
1162 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1163 free_expr_unscaled_summary_longtable <-
1164   pivot_longer(free_expr_unscaled_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1165                 values_to = "Value")
1166
1167 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1168 # and standard deviation over time
1169 withr::with_options(
1170   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1171   print(ggplot(data = free_expr_unscaled_summary_longtable[
1172     free_expr_unscaled_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
1173                                               "Median", "Q3",
1174                                               "SD"), ],
1175     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
1176     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of expression"))
1177 )
1178
1179 # Plot skew and kurtosis over time

```

```

1181 ggplot(data = free_expr_unscaled_summary_longtable[
1182   free_expr_unscaled_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
1183   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
1184   labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of expression") + blue_light
1185
1186
1187 # Final scale descriptives
1188
1189 # Entire dataset
1190
1191 # Heatmap of freedom of expression distribution per year
1192 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = free_expr_x100, x = year)) +
1193   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 10)) + blue_light +
1194   labs(y = "Freedom of expression", x = "Year")
1195
1196 # Calculation of country means
1197 free_expr_full_countrymeans <- tibble(
1198   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1199     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
1200   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$free_expr_x100, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1201                         mean)
1202 )
1203 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1204 ggplot(data = free_expr_full_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1205   geom_histogram(binwidth = 10, fill = "lightblue") +
1206   labs(x = "Freedom of expression", y = "Count") + blue_light
1207 ggplot(data = free_expr_full_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
1208   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1209   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Freedom of expression") +
1210   blue_light
1211
1212 # Compute summary statistics per year
1213 free_expr_full_summary <-
1214   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
1215         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$free_expr_x100, autocracy_data$year,
1216                       mean),
1217         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$free_expr_x100, autocracy_data$year,
1218                     quantile, prob = 0.25),
1219         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$free_expr_x100, autocracy_data$year,
1220                         median),
1221         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$free_expr_x100, autocracy_data$year,
1222                     quantile, prob = 0.75),
1223         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$free_expr_x100, autocracy_data$year, sd),
1224         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$free_expr_x100, autocracy_data$year,
1225                         FUN = Skew),
1226         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$free_expr_x100, autocracy_data$year,
1227                           FUN = Kurt) )
1227
1228 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1229 free_expr_full_summary_longtable <-
1230   pivot_longer(free_expr_full_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1231                 values_to = "Value")
1232
1233 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1234 # and standard deviation over time
1235 # withr::with_options(
1236 #   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1237 #   print(ggplot(data = free_expr_full_summary_longtable[
1238     free_expr_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",

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1240                                         "Median", "Q3",
1241                                         "SD"), ],
1242     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
1243     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of expression"))
1244 )
1245
1246 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1247 ggplot(data = free_expr_full_summary_longtable[
1248   free_expr_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
1249   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
1250   labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of expression") + blue_light
1251
1252 #      Complete cases
1253
1254 #      Heatmap of freedom of expression distribution per year
1255 ggplot(data = datacomplete, mapping = aes(y = free_expr_x100, x = year)) +
1256   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 10)) + blue_light +
1257   labs(y = "Freedom of expression", x = "Year")
1258
1259 #      Calculation of country means
1260 free_expr_complete_countrymeans <- tibble(
1261   countrycode = unique(datacomplete$cowcode)[order(unique(
1262     datacomplete$cowcode))],
1263   countrymeans = tapply(datacomplete$free_expr_x100,
1264                         datacomplete$cowcode, mean)
1265 )
1266
1267 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1268 ggplot(data = free_expr_complete_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1269   geom_histogram(binwidth = 10, fill = "lightblue") +
1270   labs(x = "Freedom of expression", y = "Count") + blue_light
1271 ggplot(data = free_expr_complete_countrymeans,
1272         aes(sample = countrymeans)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") +
1273   geom_qq_line() + labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
1274                         y = "Freedom of expression") + blue_light
1275
1276 #      Compute summary statistics per year
1277 free_expr_complete_summary <-
1278   tibble(year = unique(datacomplete$year)[order(unique(
1279     datacomplete$year))],
1280   Mean = tapply(datacomplete$free_expr_x100, datacomplete$year, mean),
1281   Q1 = tapply(datacomplete$free_expr_x100, datacomplete$year,
1282               quantile, prob = 0.25),
1283   Median = tapply(datacomplete$free_expr_x100, datacomplete$year, median),
1284   Q3 = tapply(datacomplete$free_expr_x100, datacomplete$year,
1285               quantile, prob = 0.75),
1286   SD = tapply(datacomplete$free_expr_x100, datacomplete$year, sd),
1287   Skew = tapply(datacomplete$free_expr_x100, datacomplete$year, FUN = Skew),
1288   Kurtosis = tapply(datacomplete$free_expr_x100, datacomplete$year,
1289                      FUN = Kurt) )
1290
1291 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1292 free_expr_complete_summary_longtable <-
1293   pivot_longer(free_expr_complete_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1294                 values_to = "Value")
1295
1296 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1297 #      and standard deviation over time
1298 withr::with_options(

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1299 list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1300 print(ggplot(data = free_expr_complete_summary_longtable[
1301   free_expr_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
1302   "Median", "Q3",
1303   "SD"), ],
1304   aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
1305   geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of expression"))
1306 )
1307
1308 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1309 ggplot(data = free_expr_complete_summary_longtable[
1310   free_expr_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
1311   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
1312   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of expression") + blue_light
1313
1314 ##### Freedom of assembly descriptives #####
1315
1316 # Entire dataset
1317
1318 # Establish observed range
1319 range(autocracy_data$v2caassemb, na.rm = TRUE)
1320
1321 # Heatmap of the orgininal freedom of assembly variable
1322 # distribution per year
1323 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2caassemb, x = year)) +
1324   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
1325   labs(y = "Freedom of assembly", x = "Year")
1326
1327 # Calculation of country means
1328 free_assemb_org_countrymeans <- tibble(
1329   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1330     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
1331   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caassemb, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1332                         mean, na.rm = TRUE)
1333 )
1334
1335 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1336 ggplot(data = free_assemb_org_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1337   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
1338   labs(x = "Freedom of assembly", y = "Count") + blue_light
1339 ggplot(data = free_assemb_org_countrymeans,
1340   aes(sample = countrymeans)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") +
1341   geom_qq_line() + labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
1342                         y = "Freedom of assembly") + blue_light
1343
1344 # Compute summary statistics per year
1345 free_assemb_org_summary <-
1346   tibble(year = unique(autocracy_data$year)[order(unique(
1347     autocracy_data$year))],
1348   Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caassemb, autocracy_data$year, mean,
1349                 na.rm = TRUE),
1350   Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caassemb, autocracy_data$year,
1351               quantile, prob = 0.25, na.rm = TRUE),
1352   Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caassemb, autocracy_data$year, median,
1353                  na.rm = TRUE),
1354   Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caassemb, autocracy_data$year,
1355               quantile, prob = 0.75, na.rm = TRUE),
1356   SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caassemb, autocracy_data$year, sd,
1357              na.rm = TRUE),

```

```

1358 Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caassemb, autocracy_data$year, FUN = Skew,
1359             na.rm = TRUE),
1360 Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caassemb, autocracy_data$year,
1361                     FUN = Kurt, na.rm = TRUE) )
1362
1363 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1364 free_assemb_org_summary_longtable <-
1365   pivot_longer(free_assemb_org_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1366                 values_to = "Value")
1367
1368 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1369 #      and standard deviation over time
1370 withr::with_options(
1371   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1372   print(ggplot(data = free_assemb_org_summary_longtable[
1373     free_assemb_org_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1", "Median",
1374                                         "Q3", "SD"), ],
1375     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
1376     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of assembly")) )
1377
1378 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1379 ggplot(data = free_assemb_org_summary_longtable[
1380   free_assemb_org_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
1381   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
1382   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of assembly") + blue_light
1383
1384 # Complete cases
1385
1386 # Heatmap of freedom of assembly distribution per year
1387 ggplot(data = datacomplete, mapping = aes(y = v2caassemb, x = year)) +
1388   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
1389   labs(y = "Freedom of assembly", x = "Year")
1390
1391 # Calculation of country means
1392 free_assemb_complete_countrymeans <- tibble(
1393   countrycode = unique(datacomplete$cowcode)[order(unique(
1394     datacomplete$cowcode))],
1395   countrymeans = tapply(datacomplete$v2caassemb, datacomplete$cowcode, mean) )
1396
1397 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1398 ggplot(data = free_assemb_complete_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1399   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
1400   labs(x = "Freedom of assembly", y = "Count") + blue_light
1401 ggplot(data = free_assemb_complete_countrymeans,
1402         aes(sample = countrymeans)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") +
1403         geom_qq_line() + labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
1404                               y = "Freedom of assembly") + blue_light
1405
1406 # Compute summary statistics per year
1407 free_assemb_complete_summary <-
1408   tibble(year = unique(datacomplete$year)[order(unique(
1409     datacomplete$year))],
1410   Mean = tapply(datacomplete$v2caassemb, datacomplete$year, mean),
1411   Q1 = tapply(datacomplete$v2caassemb, datacomplete$year,
1412               quantile, prob = 0.25),
1413   Median = tapply(datacomplete$v2caassemb, datacomplete$year, median),
1414   Q3 = tapply(datacomplete$v2caassemb, datacomplete$year,
1415               quantile, prob = 0.75),
1416   SD = tapply(datacomplete$v2caassemb, datacomplete$year, sd),

```

```

1417     Skew = tapply(datacomplete$v2caassemb, datacomplete$year, FUN = Skew),
1418     Kurtosis = tapply(datacomplete$v2caassemb, datacomplete$year, FUN = Kurt) )
1419
1420 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1421 free_assemb_complete_summary_longtable <-
1422   pivot_longer(free_assemb_complete_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1423                 values_to = "Value")
1424
1425 #  Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile and standard deviation
1426 #  over time
1427 withr::with_options(
1428   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1429   print(ggplot(data = free_assemb_complete_summary_longtable[
1430     free_assemb_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
1431                                         "Median", "Q3",
1432                                         "SD"), ],
1433     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
1434       geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of assembly"))
1435
1436 #  Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1437 ggplot(data = free_assemb_complete_summary_longtable[
1438   free_assemb_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
1439   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
1440   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of assembly") + blue_light
1441
1442 ##### Freedom of movement descriptives #####
1443
1444 # Item descriptives
1445
1446 #  Freedom of foreign movement
1447
1448 #  Establish the observed range for the variable
1449 range(autocracy_data$v2clfmove)
1450
1451 #      Heatmap of freedom of foreign movement per year
1452 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2clfmove,
1453                                               x = year)) +
1454   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
1455   labs(y = "Freedom of foreign movement", x = "Year")
1456
1457 #      Calculation of country means
1458 free_move_foreign_countrymeans <- tibble(
1459   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1460     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
1461   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clfmove, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1462                         mean) )
1463
1464 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1465 ggplot(data = free_move_foreign_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1466   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
1467   labs(x = "Freedom of foreign movement", y = "Count") + blue_light
1468 ggplot(data = free_move_foreign_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
1469   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1470   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Freedom of foreign movement") +
1471   blue_light
1472
1473 #      Compute summary statistics per year
1474 free_move_foreign_summary <-
1475   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),

```

```

1476      Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clfmove, autocracy_data$year, mean),
1477      Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clfmove, autocracy_data$year,
1478                  quantile, prob = 0.25),
1479      Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clfmove, autocracy_data$year, median),
1480      Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clfmove, autocracy_data$year,
1481                  quantile, prob = 0.75),
1482      SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clfmove, autocracy_data$year, sd),
1483      Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clfmove, autocracy_data$year,
1484                      FUN = Skew),
1485      Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clfmove, autocracy_data$year,
1486                          FUN = Kurt) )
1487
1488 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1489 free_move_foreign_summary_longtable <-
1490   pivot_longer(free_move_foreign_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1491                 values_to = "Value")
1492
1493 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1494 #      and standard deviation over time
1495 withr::with_options(
1496   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1497   print(ggplot(data = free_move_foreign_summary_longtable[
1498     free_move_foreign_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
1499                                         "Median", "Q3",
1500                                         "SD"), ],
1501     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
1502     labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of foreign movement") ) )
1503
1504 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1505 ggplot(data = free_move_foreign_summary_longtable[
1506   free_move_foreign_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
1507   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
1508   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of foreign movement") + blue_light
1509
1510 #      Freedom of domestic movement for men
1511
1512 #      Establish the observed range for the variable
1513 range(autocracy_data$v2cldmovem)
1514
1515 #      Heatmap of freedom of domestic movement for men distribution per year
1516 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2cldmovem, x = year)) +
1517   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
1518   labs(y = "Freedom of domestic movement for men", x = "Year")
1519
1520 #      Calculation of country means
1521 free_move_men_countrymeans <- tibble(
1522   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1523     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
1524   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovem, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1525                         mean)
1526 )
1527 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1528 ggplot(data = free_move_men_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1529   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
1530   labs(x = "Freedom of domestic movement for men", y = "Count") + blue_light
1531 ggplot(data = free_move_men_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
1532   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1533   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
1534         y = "Freedom of domestic movement for men") + blue_light

```

```

1535
1536 # Compute summary statistics per year
1537 free_move_men_summary <-
1538   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
1539     Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovem, autocracy_data$year, mean),
1540     Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovem, autocracy_data$year,
1541       quantile, prob = 0.25),
1542     Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovem, autocracy_data$year,
1543       median),
1544     Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovem, autocracy_data$year,
1545       quantile, prob = 0.75),
1546     SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovem, autocracy_data$year, sd),
1547     Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovem, autocracy_data$year,
1548       FUN = Skew),
1549     Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovem, autocracy_data$year,
1550       FUN = Kurt) )
1551
1552 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1553 free_move_men_summary_longtable <-
1554   pivot_longer(free_move_men_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1555     values_to = "Value")
1556
1557 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1558 # and standard deviation over time
1559 withr::with_options(
1560   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1561   print(ggplot(data = free_move_men_summary_longtable[
1562     free_move_men_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
1563       "Median", "Q3",
1564       "SD"), ],
1565     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
1566     labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of domestic movement for men"))
1567
1568 # Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1569 ggplot(data = free_move_men_summary_longtable[
1570   free_move_men_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
1571     c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
1572   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of domestic movement for men") +
1573   blue_light
1574
1575 # Freedom of domestic movement for women
1576
1577 # Establish the observed range for the variable
1578 range(autocracy_data$v2cldmovew)
1579
1580 # Heatmap of freedom of domestic movement for women distribution per year
1581 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2cldmovew, x = year)) +
1582   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
1583   labs(y = "Freedom of domestic movement for women", x = "Year")
1584
1585 # Calculation of country means
1586 free_move_women_countrymeans <- tibble(
1587   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1588     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
1589   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovew, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1590     mean) )
1591
1592 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1593 ggplot(data = free_move_women_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +

```

```

1594     geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
1595     labs(x = "Freedom of domestic movement for women", y = "Count") +
1596     blue_light
1597 ggplot(data = free_move_women_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymean)) +
1598     geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1599     labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
1600           y = "Freedom of domestic movement for women") + blue_light
1601
1602 #      Compute summary statistics per year
1603 free_move_women_summary <-
1604   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
1605          Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovew, autocracy_data$year, mean),
1606          Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovew, autocracy_data$year,
1607                      quantile, prob = 0.25),
1608          Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovew, autocracy_data$year,
1609                      median),
1610          Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovew, autocracy_data$year,
1611                      quantile, prob = 0.75),
1612          SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovew, autocracy_data$year, sd),
1613          Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovew, autocracy_data$year,
1614                      FUN = Skew),
1615          Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cldmovew, autocracy_data$year,
1616                      FUN = Kurt) )
1617
1618 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1619 free_move_women_summary_longtable <-
1620   pivot_longer(free_move_women_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1621                 values_to = "Value")
1622
1623 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1624 #      and standard deviation over time
1625 withr::with_options(
1626   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1627   print(ggplot(data = free_move_women_summary_longtable[
1628     free_move_women_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1", "Median",
1629                                         "Q3", "SD"), ],
1630     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
1631     geom_line() + blue_light +
1632     labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of domestic movement for women")) )
1633
1634 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1635 ggplot(data = free_move_women_summary_longtable[
1636   free_move_women_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
1637   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
1638   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of domestic movement for women") +
1639   blue_light
1640
1641 #      Reliability analysis
1642
1643 #      Calculate Cronbach's Alpha by year
1644 free_move_cronbachalphas <-
1645   by(data = autocracy_data[, c("v2clfmove", "v2cldmovem", "v2cldmovew")],
1646       INDICES = autocracy_data$year, FUN = CronbachAlpha, cond = TRUE,
1647       na.rm = TRUE)
1648
1649 #      Create table for yearly Cronbach's Alpha values
1650 table_free_move_cronbachalphas <-
1651   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
1652         "All items" = NA, "Freedom of foreign movement" = NA,

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1653     "Freedom of domestic movement for men" = NA,
1654     "Freedom of domestic movement for women" = NA)
1655
1656 #      Fill table
1657 for (y in sort(unique(autocracy_data$year))) {
1658   table_free_move_cronbachalphas[table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$year == y,
1659                                     "All items"] <-
1660   free_move_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)]][["unconditional"]]
1661   table_free_move_cronbachalphas[table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$year == y,
1662                                     "Freedom of foreign movement"] <-
1663   free_move_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)]][["condCronbachAlpha"
1664   ]][1, "Cronbach Alpha"]
1665   table_free_move_cronbachalphas[table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$year == y,
1666                                     "Freedom of domestic movement for men"] <-
1667   free_move_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)]][["condCronbachAlpha"
1668   ]][2, "Cronbach Alpha"]
1669   table_free_move_cronbachalphas[table_free_expr_cronbachalphas$year == y,
1670                                     "Freedom of domestic movement for women"] <-
1671   free_move_cronbachalphas[[as.character(y)]][["condCronbachAlpha"
1672   ]][3, "Cronbach Alpha"]
1673 }
1674
1675 #      Pivot table for use in plotting
1676 longtab_free_move_cronbachalphas <-
1677   pivot_longer(table_free_move_cronbachalphas, 2:5, names_to = "Type",
1678                 values_to = "Value")
1679
1680 #      Plot Cronbach's Alpha by year
1681 ggplot(longtab_free_move_cronbachalphas, aes(x = year, y = Value,
1682                                         colour = Type)) +
1683   geom_line() + blue_light
1684
1685 #      Calculate range of yearly Cronbach's Alpha values
1686 range(table_free_move_cronbachalphas$"All items")
1687
1688 #      Scale descriptives
1689
1690 #      Entire dataset
1691
1692 #      Heatmap of freedom of movement distribution per year
1693 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = freedom_movement, x = year)) +
1694   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
1695   labs(y = "Freedom of movement", x = "Year")
1696
1697 #      Calculation of country means
1698 free_move_full_countrymeans <- tibble(
1699   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1700     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
1701   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$freedom_movement, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1702                         mean)
1703 )
1704 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1705 ggplot(data = free_move_full_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1706   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
1707   labs(x = "Freedom of movement", y = "Count") + blue_light
1708 ggplot(data = free_move_full_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
1709   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1710   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Freedom of movement") +
1711   blue_light

```

```

1712
1713 # Compute summary statistics per year
1714 free_move_full_summary <-
1715   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
1716     Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$freedom_movement, autocracy_data$year,
1717       mean),
1718     Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$freedom_movement, autocracy_data$year,
1719       quantile, prob = 0.25),
1720     Median = tapply(autocracy_data$freedom_movement, autocracy_data$year,
1721       median),
1722     Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$freedom_movement, autocracy_data$year,
1723       quantile, prob = 0.75),
1724     SD = tapply(autocracy_data$freedom_movement, autocracy_data$year, sd),
1725     Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$freedom_movement, autocracy_data$year,
1726       FUN = Skew),
1727     Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$freedom_movement, autocracy_data$year,
1728       FUN = Kurt) )
1729
1730 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1731 free_move_full_summary_longtable <-
1732   pivot_longer(free_move_full_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1733                 values_to = "Value")
1734
1735 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1736 # and standard deviation over time
1737 withr::with_options(
1738   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1739   print(ggplot(data = free_move_full_summary_longtable[
1740     free_move_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
1741                                         "Median", "Q3",
1742                                         "SD"), ],
1743     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
1744     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of movement")) )
1745
1746 # Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1747 ggplot(data = free_move_full_summary_longtable[
1748   free_move_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
1749   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
1750   labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of movement") + blue_light
1751
1752 # Complete cases
1753
1754 # Heatmap of freedom of movement distribution per year
1755 ggplot(data = datacomplete, mapping = aes(y = freedom_movement, x = year)) +
1756   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
1757   labs(y = "Freedom of movement", x = "Year")
1758
1759 # Calculation of country means
1760 free_move_complete_countrymeans <- tibble(
1761   countrycode = unique(datacomplete$cwcode)[order(unique(
1762     datacomplete$cwcode))],
1763   countrymeans = tapply(datacomplete$freedom_movement, datacomplete$cwcode,
1764     mean) )
1765
1766 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1767 ggplot(data = free_move_complete_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1768   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
1769   labs(x = "Freedom of movement", y = "Count") + blue_light
1770 ggplot(data = free_move_complete_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +

```

```

1771     geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1772     labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Freedom of movement") +
1773     blue_light
1774
1775 #      Compute summary statistics per year
1776 free_move_complete_summary <-
1777   tibble(year = unique(datacomplete$year)[order(unique(
1778     datacomplete$year))],
1779     Mean = tapply(datacomplete$freedom_movement, datacomplete$year, mean),
1780     Q1 = tapply(datacomplete$freedom_movement, datacomplete$year,
1781       quantile, prob = 0.25),
1782     Median = tapply(datacomplete$freedom_movement, datacomplete$year, median),
1783     Q3 = tapply(datacomplete$freedom_movement, datacomplete$year,
1784       quantile, prob = 0.75),
1785     SD = tapply(datacomplete$freedom_movement, datacomplete$year, sd),
1786     Skew = tapply(datacomplete$freedom_movement, datacomplete$year, FUN = Skew),
1787     Kurtosis = tapply(datacomplete$freedom_movement, datacomplete$year,
1788       FUN = Kurt) )
1789
1790 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1791 free_move_complete_summary_longtable <-
1792   pivot_longer(free_move_complete_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1793                 values_to = "Value")
1794
1795 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1796 #      and standard deviation over time
1797 withr::with_options(
1798   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1799   print(ggplot(data = free_move_complete_summary_longtable[
1800     free_move_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
1801                                         "Median", "Q3",
1802                                         "SD"), ],
1803     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
1804     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of movement")) )
1805
1806 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1807 ggplot(data = free_move_complete_summary_longtable[
1808   free_move_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
1809   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
1810   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom of movement") + blue_light
1811
1812 ##### Protection of life and physical integrity descriptives #####
1813
1814 # Item descriptives
1815
1816 # Freedom from torture
1817
1818 # Establish observed range
1819 range(autocracy_data$v2cltort)
1820
1821 # Heatmap of media freedom of discussion for men distribution per year
1822 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2cltort, x = year)) +
1823   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
1824   labs(y = "Freedom from torture", x = "Year")
1825
1826 # Calculation of country means
1827 free_tort_countrymeans <- tibble(
1828   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1829     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
```

```

1830   countrymean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cltort, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1831                         mean)
1832 )
1833 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1834 ggplot(data = free_tort_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymean)) +
1835   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
1836   labs(x = "Freedom from torture", y = "Count") + blue_light
1837 ggplot(data = free_tort_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymean)) +
1838   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1839   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Freedom from torture") +
1840   blue_light
1841
1842 #      Compute summary statistics per year
1843 free_tort_summary <-
1844   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
1845         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cltort, autocracy_data$year, mean),
1846         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cltort, autocracy_data$year,
1847                     quantile, prob = 0.25),
1848         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cltort, autocracy_data$year, median),
1849         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cltort, autocracy_data$year,
1850                     quantile, prob = 0.75),
1851         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cltort, autocracy_data$year, sd),
1852         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cltort, autocracy_data$year,
1853                      FUN = Skew),
1854         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2cltort, autocracy_data$year,
1855                        FUN = Kurt) )
1856
1857 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1858 free_tort_summary_longtable <-
1859   pivot_longer(free_tort_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1860                 values_to = "Value")
1861
1862 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1863 #      and standard deviation over time
1864 withr::with_options(
1865   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1866   print(ggplot(data = free_tort_summary_longtable[
1867     free_tort_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
1868                                         "Median", "Q3",
1869                                         "SD"), ],
1870     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
1871     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom from torture")) )
1872
1873 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1874 ggplot(data = free_tort_summary_longtable[
1875   free_tort_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
1876   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
1877   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
1878   labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom from torture") + blue_light
1879
1880
1881 #  Freedom from political killings
1882
1883 #      Establish observed range
1884 range(autocracy_data$v2clkill)
1885
1886 #      Heatmap of freedom of discussion for women distribution per year
1887 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2clkill, x = year)) +
1888   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +

```

```

1889 labs(y = "Freedom from political killings", x = "Year")
1890
1891 # Calculation of country means
1892 free_kill_countrymeans <- tibble(
1893   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1894     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
1895   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clkill, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1896                         mean) )
1897 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1898 ggplot(data = free_kill_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1899   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
1900   labs(x = "Freedom from political killings", y = "Count") + blue_light
1901 ggplot(data = free_kill_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
1902   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1903   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
1904         y = "Freedom from political killings") + blue_light
1905
1906 # Compute summary statistics per year
1907 free_kill_summary <-
1908   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
1909         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clkill, autocracy_data$year, mean),
1910         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clkill, autocracy_data$year,
1911                     quantile, prob = 0.25),
1912         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clkill, autocracy_data$year, median),
1913         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clkill, autocracy_data$year,
1914                     quantile, prob = 0.75),
1915         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clkill, autocracy_data$year, sd),
1916         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clkill, autocracy_data$year,
1917                      FUN = Skew),
1918         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clkill, autocracy_data$year,
1919                      FUN = Kurt) )
1920
1921 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
1922 free_kill_summary_longtable <-
1923   pivot_longer(free_kill_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
1924                 values_to = "Value")
1925
1926 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
1927 # and standard deviation over time
1928 withr::with_options(
1929   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
1930   print(ggplot(data = free_kill_summary_longtable[
1931     free_kill_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1", "Median", "Q3",
1932                                         "SD"), ],
1933     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
1934     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year",
1935                                     y = "Freedom from political killings")) )
1936
1937 # Plot skew and kurtosis over time
1938 ggplot(data = free_kill_summary_longtable[
1939   free_kill_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
1940   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
1941   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
1942   labs(x = "Year", y = "Freedom from political killings") + blue_light
1943
1944 # Item intercorrelation
1945
1946 # Calculate correlations by year
1947 life_phys_cors <-

```

```

1948 by(data = autocracy_data[, c("v2cltort", "v2clkill")],
1949   INDICES = autocracy_data$year, FUN = cor)
1950
1951 # Create table for correlations
1952 table_life_phys_cors <-
1953   tibble(Year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)), Correlation = NA)
1954
1955 # Fill table
1956 for (y in sort(unique(autocracy_data$year))) {
1957   table_life_phys_cors[table_life_phys_cors$Year == y,
1958     "Correlation"] <- life_phys_cors[[as.character(y)]][2,1]
1959 }
1960
1961 # Plot yearly correlations
1962 ggplot(table_life_phys_cors, aes(x = Year, y = Correlation)) +
1963   geom_line(colour = "tomato") + blue_light
1964
1965 # Establish range for yearly correlations
1966 range(table_life_phys_cors$Correlation)
1967
1968 # Scale descriptives
1969
1970 # Entire dataset
1971
1972 # Establish observed range for scale
1973 range(autocracy_data$life_phys_x100)
1974
1975 # Heatmap of protection of life and physical integrity distribution per year
1976 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = life_phys_x100, x = year)) +
1977   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 10)) + blue_light +
1978   labs(y = "Protection of life and physical integrity", x = "Year")
1979
1980 # Calculation of country means
1981 full_life_phys_countrymeans <- tibble(
1982   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
1983     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
1984   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$life_phys_x100, autocracy_data$cowcode,
1985     mean)
1986 )
1987 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
1988 ggplot(data = full_life_phys_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
1989   geom_histogram(binwidth = 10, fill = "lightblue") +
1990   labs(x = "Protection of life and physical integrity", y = "Count") +
1991   blue_light
1992 ggplot(data = full_life_phys_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
1993   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
1994   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
1995     y = "Protection of life and physical integrity") + blue_light
1996
1997 # Compute scale summary statistics per year
1998 full_life_phys_summary <-
1999   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
2000     Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$life_phys_x100, autocracy_data$year,
2001       mean),
2002     Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$life_phys_x100, autocracy_data$year,
2003       quantile, prob = 0.25),
2004     Median = tapply(autocracy_data$life_phys_x100, autocracy_data$year,
2005       median),
2006     Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$life_phys_x100, autocracy_data$year,

```

```

2007      quantile, prob = 0.75),
2008      SD = tapply(autocracy_data$life_phys_x100, autocracy_data$year, sd),
2009      Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$life_phys_x100, autocracy_data$year,
2010          FUN = Skew),
2011      Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$life_phys_x100, autocracy_data$year,
2012          FUN = Kurt) )
2013
2014 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2015 full_life_phys_summary_longtable <-
2016   pivot_longer(full_life_phys_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2017     values_to = "Value")
2018
2019 #      Plot mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2020 #      and standard deviation of scale over time
2021 withr::with_options(
2022   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2023   print(ggplot(data = full_life_phys_summary_longtable[
2024     full_life_phys_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1", "Median",
2025                                         "Q3", "SD"), ],
2026     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
2027     labs(x = "Year", y = "Protection of life and physical integrity")) )
2028
2029 #      Plot skew and kurtosis of scale over time
2030 ggplot(data = full_life_phys_summary_longtable[
2031   full_life_phys_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
2032     c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
2033   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
2034   labs(x = "Year", y = "Protection of life and physical integrity") + blue_light
2035
2036 #      Complete cases
2037
2038 #      Establish observed range for scale
2039 range(datacomplete$life_phys_x100)
2040
2041 #      Heatmap of protection of life and physical integrity distribution per year
2042 ggplot(data = datacomplete, mapping = aes(y = life_phys_x100, x = year)) +
2043   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 10)) + blue_light +
2044   labs(y = "Protection of life and physical integrity", x = "Year")
2045
2046 #      Calculation of country means
2047 complete_life_phys_countrymeans <- tibble(
2048   countrycode = unique(datacomplete$cowcode)[order(unique(
2049     datacomplete$cowcode))],
2050   countrymeans = tapply(datacomplete$life_phys_x100, datacomplete$cowcode,
2051                         mean)
2052 )
2053 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2054 ggplot(data = complete_life_phys_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2055   geom_histogram(binwidth = 10, fill = "lightblue") +
2056   labs(x = "Protection of life and physical integrity", y = "Count") +
2057   blue_light
2058 ggplot(data = complete_life_phys_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
2059   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
2060   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
2061         y = "Protection of life and physical integrity") + blue_light
2062
2063 #      Compute scale summary statistics per year
2064 complete_life_phys_summary <-
2065   tibble(year = sort(unique(datacomplete$year))),

```

```

2066      Mean = tapply(datacomplete$life_phys_x100, datacomplete$year, mean),
2067      Q1 = tapply(datacomplete$life_phys_x100, datacomplete$year,
2068                  quantile, prob = 0.25),
2069      Median = tapply(datacomplete$life_phys_x100, datacomplete$year,
2070                  median),
2071      Q3 = tapply(datacomplete$life_phys_x100, datacomplete$year,
2072                  quantile, prob = 0.75),
2073      SD = tapply(datacomplete$life_phys_x100, datacomplete$year, sd),
2074      Skew = tapply(datacomplete$life_phys_x100, datacomplete$year,
2075                  FUN = Skew),
2076      Kurtosis = tapply(datacomplete$life_phys_x100, datacomplete$year,
2077                  FUN = Kurt) )
2078
2079 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2080 complete_life_phys_summary_longtable <-
2081   pivot_longer(complete_life_phys_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2082                 values_to = "Value")
2083
2084 #      Plot mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2085 #      and standard deviation of scale over time
2086 withr::with_options(
2087   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2088   print(ggplot(data = complete_life_phys_summary_longtable[
2089     complete_life_phys_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
2090                                         "Median", "Q3",
2091                                         "SD"), ],
2092     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
2093     labs(x = "Year", y = "Protection of life and physical integrity"))
2094
2095 #      Plot skew and kurtosis of scale over time
2096 ggplot(data = complete_life_phys_summary_longtable[
2097   complete_life_phys_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
2098   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
2099   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
2100   labs(x = "Year", y = "Protection of life and physical integrity") + blue_light
2101
2102 ##### Population descriptives #####
2103
2104 # Original variable
2105
2106 #      Heatmap of population distribution per year
2107 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = e_mipopula, x = year)) +
2108   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 10000)) + blue_light +
2109   labs(y = "Population (thousands)", x = "Year")
2110 ggplot(data = autocracy_data[autocracy_data$cowcode == 710, ],
2111   mapping = aes(y = e_mipopula, x = year)) +
2112   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 10000)) + blue_light +
2113   labs(y = "Population (thousands)", x = "Year")
2114
2115 #      Calculation of country means
2116 population_countrymeans <- tibble(
2117   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
2118     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
2119   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$e_mipopula, autocracy_data$cowcode,
2120                         mean, na.rm = TRUE)
2121 )
2122 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2123 ggplot(data = population_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2124   geom_histogram(binwidth = 10000, fill = "lightblue") +

```

```

2125   labs(x = "Population (thousands)", y = "Count") + blue_light
2126 ggplot(data = population_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
2127   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
2128   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Population (thousands)") +
2129   blue_light
2130
2131 #      Compute summary statistics per year
2132 population_summary <-
2133   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
2134         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$e_mipopula, autocracy_data$year, mean,
2135                     na.rm = TRUE),
2136         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$e_mipopula, autocracy_data$year,
2137                     quantile, prob = 0.25, na.rm = TRUE),
2138         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$e_mipopula, autocracy_data$year,
2139                     median, na.rm = TRUE),
2140         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$e_mipopula, autocracy_data$year,
2141                     quantile, prob = 0.75, na.rm = TRUE),
2142         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$e_mipopula, autocracy_data$year,
2143                     sd, na.rm = TRUE),
2144         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$e_mipopula, autocracy_data$year,
2145                     FUN = Skew, na.rm = TRUE),
2146         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$e_mipopula, autocracy_data$year,
2147                     FUN = Kurt, na.rm = TRUE) )
2148
2149 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2150 population_summary_longtable <-
2151   pivot_longer(population_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2152                 values_to = "Value")
2153
2154 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2155 #      and standard deviation over time
2156 withr::with_options(
2157   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2158   print(ggplot(data = population_summary_longtable[
2159     population_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1", "Median", "Q3",
2160                                         "SD"), ],
2161     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
2162     labs(x = "Year", y = "Population (thousands)"))
2163 )
2164
2165 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2166 ggplot(data = population_summary_longtable[
2167   population_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
2168   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
2169   labs(x = "Year", y = "Population (thousands)") + blue_light
2170
2171 # Logged variable
2172
2173 # Entire dataset
2174
2175 #      Heatmap of population (log 10) distribution per year
2176 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = log10pop, x = year)) +
2177   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
2178   labs(y = "Population (log 10)", x = "Year")
2179
2180 #      Calculation of country means
2181 log_population_full_countrymeans <- tibble(
2182   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
2183     autocracy_data$cowcode))],

```

```

2184 countrymean = tapply(autocracy_data$log10pop, autocracy_data$cowcode,
2185                         mean, na.rm = TRUE)
2186 )
2187 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2188 ggplot(data = log_population_full_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2189   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
2190   labs(x = "Population (log 10)", y = "Count") + blue_light
2191 ggplot(data = log_population_full_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
2192   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
2193   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Population (log 10)") +
2194   blue_light
2195
2196 #      Compute summary statistics per year
2197 log_population_full_summary <-
2198   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
2199     Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$log10pop, autocracy_data$year, mean,
2200                 na.rm = TRUE),
2201     Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$log10pop, autocracy_data$year,
2202                 quantile, prob = 0.25, na.rm = TRUE),
2203     Median = tapply(autocracy_data$log10pop, autocracy_data$year, median,
2204                     na.rm = TRUE),
2205     Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$log10pop, autocracy_data$year,
2206                     quantile, prob = 0.75, na.rm = TRUE),
2207     SD = tapply(autocracy_data$log10pop, autocracy_data$year, sd,
2208                  na.rm = TRUE),
2209     Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$log10pop, autocracy_data$year, FUN = Skew,
2210                     na.rm = TRUE),
2211     Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$log10pop, autocracy_data$year,
2212                     FUN = Kurt, na.rm = TRUE) )
2213
2214 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2215 log_population_full_summary_longtable <-
2216   pivot_longer(log_population_full_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2217                 values_to = "Value")
2218
2219 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2220 #      and standard deviation over time
2221 withr::with_options(
2222   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2223   print(ggplot(data = log_population_full_summary_longtable[
2224     log_population_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
2225                                         "Median", "Q3",
2226                                         "SD"), ],
2227     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
2228     labs(x = "Year", y = "Population (log 10)") ) )
2229
2230 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2231 ggplot(data = log_population_full_summary_longtable[
2232   log_population_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
2233   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
2234   labs(x = "Year", y = "Population (log 10)") + blue_light
2235
2236 #      Complete cases
2237
2238 #      Heatmap of population (log 10) distribution per year
2239 ggplot(data = datacomplete, mapping = aes(y = log10pop, x = year)) +
2240   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
2241   labs(y = "Population (log 10)", x = "Year")
2242

```

```

2243 # Calculation of country means
2244 log_population_complete_countrymeans <- tibble(
2245   countrycode = unique(datacomplete$cowcode)[order(unique(
2246     datacomplete$cowcode))],
2247   countrymeans = tapply(datacomplete$log10pop, datacomplete$cowcode,
2248     mean) )
2249
2250 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2251 ggplot(data = log_population_complete_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2252   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
2253   labs(x = "Population (log 10)", y = "Count") + blue_light
2254 ggplot(data = log_population_complete_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
2255   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
2256   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Population (log 10)") +
2257   blue_light
2258
2259 # Calculate mean population level
2260 mean(tapply(10^(datacomplete$log10pop), datacomplete$cowcode, mean,
2261   na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
2262
2263 # Compute summary statistics per year
2264 log_population_complete_summary <-
2265   tibble(year = unique(datacomplete$year)[order(unique(
2266     datacomplete$year))],
2267   Mean = tapply(datacomplete$log10pop, datacomplete$year, mean),
2268   Q1 = tapply(datacomplete$log10pop, datacomplete$year,
2269     quantile, prob = 0.25),
2270   Median = tapply(datacomplete$log10pop, datacomplete$year, median),
2271   Q3 = tapply(datacomplete$log10pop, datacomplete$year,
2272     quantile, prob = 0.75),
2273   SD = tapply(datacomplete$log10pop, datacomplete$year, sd),
2274   Skew = tapply(datacomplete$log10pop, datacomplete$year, FUN = Skew),
2275   Kurtosis = tapply(datacomplete$log10pop, datacomplete$year, FUN = Kurt) )
2276
2277 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2278 log_population_complete_summary_longtable <-
2279   pivot_longer(log_population_complete_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2280                 values_to = "Value")
2281
2282 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2283 # and standard deviation over time
2284
2285 withr::with_options(
2286   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2287   print(ggplot(data = log_population_complete_summary_longtable[
2288     log_population_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
2289     "Median", "Q3",
2290     "SD"), ],
2291     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
2292     labs(x = "Year", y = "Population (log 10)")) )
2293
2294 # Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2295 ggplot(data = log_population_complete_summary_longtable[
2296   log_population_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
2297   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
2298   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Population (log 10)") + blue_light
2299
2300 ##### GDP per capita (ln) descriptives #####
2301

```

```

2302 # Entire dataset
2303
2304 #      Heatmap of GDP per capita (ln) distribution per year
2305 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = e_migdppcln, x = year)) +
2306   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
2307   labs(y = "GDP per capita (ln)", x = "Year")
2308
2309 #      Calculation of country means
2310 GDP_cap_full_countrymeans <- tibble(
2311   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
2312     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
2313   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdppcln, autocracy_data$cowcode,
2314                         mean, na.rm = TRUE) )
2315
2316 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2317 ggplot(data = GDP_cap_full_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2318   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
2319   labs(x = "GDP per capita (ln)", y = "Count") + blue_light
2320 ggplot(data = GDP_cap_full_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
2321   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
2322   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "GDP per capita (ln)") +
2323   blue_light
2324
2325 #      Compute summary statistics per year
2326 GDP_cap_full_summary <-
2327   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
2328         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdppcln, autocracy_data$year, mean,
2329                      na.rm = TRUE),
2330         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdppcln, autocracy_data$year,
2331                      quantile, prob = 0.25, na.rm = TRUE),
2332         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdppcln, autocracy_data$year,
2333                        median, na.rm = TRUE),
2334         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdppcln, autocracy_data$year,
2335                        quantile, prob = 0.75, na.rm = TRUE),
2336         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdppcln, autocracy_data$year, sd, na.rm =
2337                      TRUE),
2338         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdppcln, autocracy_data$year,
2339                        FUN = Skew, na.rm = TRUE),
2340         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdppcln, autocracy_data$year,
2341                        FUN = Kurt, na.rm = TRUE) )
2341
2342
2343 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2344 GDP_cap_full_summary_longtable <-
2345   pivot_longer(GDP_cap_full_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2346                 values_to = "Value")
2347
2348 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2349 #      and standard deviation over time
2350 withr::with_options(
2351   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2352   print(ggplot(data = GDP_cap_full_summary_longtable[
2353     GDP_cap_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1", "Median",
2354                                         "Q3", "SD"), ],
2355     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
2356     labs(x = "Year", y = "GDP per capita (ln)")) )
2357
2358 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2359 ggplot(data = GDP_cap_full_summary_longtable[
2360   GDP_cap_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],

```

```

2361   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
2362   labs(x = "Year", y = "GDP per capita (ln)") + blue_light
2363
2364 #      Complete cases
2365
2366 #      Heatmap of GDP per capita (ln) distribution per year
2367 ggplot(data = datacomplete, mapping = aes(y = e_migdppcln, x = year)) +
2368   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
2369   labs(y = "GDP per capita (ln)", x = "Year")
2370
2371 #      Calculation of country means
2372 GDP_cap_complete_countrymeans <- tibble(
2373   countrycode = unique(datacomplete$cowcode)[order(unique(
2374     datacomplete$cowcode))],
2375   countrymeans = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdppcln, datacomplete$cowcode,
2376                         mean)
2377 )
2378
2379 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2380 ggplot(data = GDP_cap_complete_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2381   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
2382   labs(x = "GDP per capita (ln)", y = "Count") + blue_light
2383 ggplot(data = GDP_cap_complete_countrymeans,
2384   aes(sample = countrymeans)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") +
2385   geom_qq_line() + labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
2386                         y = "GDP per capita (ln)") + blue_light
2387
2388 # Calculate mean country mean GDP per capita
2389 mean(tapply(exp(datacomplete$e_migdppcln), datacomplete$cowcode, mean,
2390               na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
2391
2392 #      Compute summary statistics per year
2393 GDP_cap_complete_summary <-
2394   tibble(year = unique(datacomplete$year)[order(unique(
2395     datacomplete$year))],
2396   Mean = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdppcln, datacomplete$year, mean),
2397   Q1 = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdppcln, datacomplete$year,
2398                quantile, prob = 0.25),
2399   Median = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdppcln, datacomplete$year, median),
2400   Q3 = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdppcln, datacomplete$year,
2401                quantile, prob = 0.75),
2402   SD = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdppcln, datacomplete$year, sd),
2403   Skew = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdppcln, datacomplete$year, FUN = Skew),
2404   Kurtosis = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdppcln, datacomplete$year, FUN = Kurt) )
2405
2406 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2407 GDP_cap_complete_summary_longtable <-
2408   pivot_longer(GDP_cap_complete_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2409                 values_to = "Value")
2410
2411 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2412 #      and standard deviation over time
2413
2414 withr::with_options(
2415   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2416   print(ggplot(data = GDP_cap_complete_summary_longtable[
2417     GDP_cap_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1", "Median",
2418                                         "Q3", "SD"), ],
2419     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +

```

```

2420     labs(x = "Year", y = "GDP per capita (ln)")) )
2421
2422 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2423 ggplot(data = GDP_cap_complete_summary_longtable[
2424   GDP_cap_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
2425     c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
2426   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "GDP per capita (ln)") + blue_light
2427
2428 ##### GDP growth descriptives #####
2429
2430 # Entire dataset
2431
2432 # Heatmap of GDP growth distribution per year
2433 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = e_migdpgro, x = year)) +
2434   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.01)) + blue_light +
2435   labs(y = "GDP growth", x = "Year")
2436
2437 # View outliers
2438 autocracy_data[abs(autocracy_data$e_migdpgro) > 0.5 &
2439   is.na(autocracy_data$e_migdpgro) == FALSE,
2440   c("cowcode", "year", "gwf_country", "e_migdpgro")]
2441
2442 # Calculation of country means
2443 GDP_growth_full_countrymeans <- tibble(
2444   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
2445     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
2446   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdpgro, autocracy_data$cowcode,
2447                         mean, na.rm = TRUE) )
2448
2449 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2450 ggplot(data = GDP_growth_full_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2451   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.01, fill = "lightblue") +
2452   labs(x = "GDP growth", y = "Count") + blue_light
2453 ggplot(data = GDP_growth_full_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
2454   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
2455   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "GDP growth") + blue_light
2456
2457 # Compute summary statistics per year
2458 GDP_growth_full_summary <-
2459   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
2460         Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdpgro, autocracy_data$year, mean,
2461                       na.rm = TRUE),
2462         Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdpgro, autocracy_data$year,
2463                     quantile, prob = 0.25, na.rm = TRUE),
2464         Median = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdpgro, autocracy_data$year, median,
2465                       na.rm = TRUE),
2466         Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdpgro, autocracy_data$year,
2467                     quantile, prob = 0.75, na.rm = TRUE),
2468         SD = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdpgro, autocracy_data$year, sd,
2469                      na.rm = TRUE),
2470         Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdpgro, autocracy_data$year,
2471                        FUN = Skew, na.rm = TRUE),
2472         Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$e_migdpgro, autocracy_data$year,
2473                           FUN = Kurt, na.rm = TRUE) )
2473
2474 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2475 GDP_growth_full_summary_longtable <-
2476   pivot_longer(GDP_growth_full_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2477                 values_to = "Value")

```

```

2479
2480 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile and standard deviation
2481 # over time
2482 withr::with_options(
2483   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2484   print(ggplot(data = GDP_growth_full_summary_longtable[
2485     GDP_growth_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1", "Median",
2486                                         "Q3", "SD"), ],
2487     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
2488     labs(x = "Year", y = "GDP growth"))
2489
2490 # Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2491 ggplot(data = GDP_growth_full_summary_longtable[
2492   GDP_growth_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
2493   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
2494   labs(x = "Year", y = "GDP growth") + blue_light
2495
2496 # Complete cases
2497
2498 # Heatmap of GDP growth distribution per year
2499 ggplot(data = datacomplete, mapping = aes(y = e_migdpgro, x = year)) +
2500   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.01)) + blue_light +
2501   labs(y = "GDP growth", x = "Year")
2502
2503 # See which outliers remain
2504 datacomplete[abs(datacomplete$e_migdpgro) > 0.5 &
2505               is.na(datacomplete$e_migdpgro) == FALSE,
2506               c("cowcode", "year", "gwf_country", "e_migdpgro")]
2507
2508
2509 # Calculation of country means
2510 GDP_growth_complete_countrymeans <- tibble(
2511   countrycode = unique(datacomplete$cowcode)[order(unique(
2512     datacomplete$cowcode))],
2513   countrymeans = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdpgro, datacomplete$cowcode,
2514                         mean) )
2515
2516 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2517 ggplot(data = GDP_growth_complete_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2518   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.01, fill = "lightblue") +
2519   labs(x = "GDP growth", y = "Count") + blue_light
2520 ggplot(data = GDP_growth_complete_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
2521   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
2522   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "GDP growth") + blue_light
2523
2524 # Compute summary statistics per year
2525 GDP_growth_complete_summary <-
2526   tibble(year = unique(datacomplete$year)[order(unique(
2527     datacomplete$year))],
2528   Mean = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdpgro, datacomplete$year, mean),
2529   Q1 = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdpgro, datacomplete$year,
2530                quantile, prob = 0.25),
2531   Median = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdpgro, datacomplete$year, median),
2532   Q3 = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdpgro, datacomplete$year,
2533                quantile, prob = 0.75),
2534   SD = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdpgro, datacomplete$year, sd),
2535   Skew = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdpgro, datacomplete$year, FUN = Skew),
2536   Kurtosis = tapply(datacomplete$e_migdpgro, datacomplete$year, FUN = Kurt) )
2537

```

```

2538 # Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2539 GDP_growth_complete_summary_longtable <-
2540   pivot_longer(GDP_growth_complete_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2541                 values_to = "Value")
2542
2543 # Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile and standard deviation
2544 # over time
2545 withr::with_options(
2546   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2547   print(ggplot(data = GDP_growth_complete_summary_longtable[
2548     GDP_growth_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
2549                                         "Median", "Q3",
2550                                         "SD"), ],
2551     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
2552     labs(x = "Year", y = "GDP growth"))
2553
2554 # Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2555 ggplot(data = GDP_growth_complete_summary_longtable[
2556   GDP_growth_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
2557   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
2558   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "GDP growth") + blue_light
2559
2560 ##### Regime type descriptives #####
2561
2562 # Check for coding errors in regime type
2563 table(list(autocracy_data$gwf_party, autocracy_data$gwf_personal,
2564           autocracy_data$gwf_military, autocracy_data$gwf_monarch))
2565
2566 # Create a single regime type factor
2567 autocracy_data$regime_type[autocracy_data$gwf_party == 1] <- "Single-party"
2568 autocracy_data$regime_type[autocracy_data$gwf_personal == 1] <- "Personalist"
2569 autocracy_data$regime_type[autocracy_data$gwf_military == 1] <- "Military"
2570 autocracy_data$regime_type[autocracy_data$gwf_monarch == 1] <- "Monarch"
2571 datacomplete$regime_type[datacomplete$gwf_party == 1] <- "Single-party"
2572 datacomplete$regime_type[datacomplete$gwf_personal == 1] <- "Personalist"
2573 datacomplete$regime_type[datacomplete$gwf_military == 1] <- "Military"
2574 datacomplete$regime_type[datacomplete$gwf_monarch == 1] <- "Monarch"
2575
2576 # Entire dataset
2577
2578 # Table and chi-square test
2579 full_regime_type_table <- table(autocracy_data$regime_type, autocracy_data$year)
2580 full_regime_type_table
2581 summary(full_regime_type_table)
2582 chisq.test(autocracy_data$regime_type, autocracy_data$year)$stdres
2583 chisq.test(autocracy_data$regime_type, autocracy_data$year)$expected
2584 fisher.test(autocracy_data$regime_type, autocracy_data$year,
2585             simulate.p.value = TRUE, B = 10000)
2586
2587 # Stacked barplot per year
2588 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = regime_type)) +
2589   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
2590   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion", fill = "Regime type")
2591
2592 # Complete cases
2593
2594 # Table and chi-square test
2595 complete_regime_type_table <- table(datacomplete$regime_type, datacomplete$year)
2596 complete_regime_type_table

```

```

2597 summary(complete_regime_type_table)
2598 chisq.test(datacomplete$regime_type, datacomplete$year)$expected
2599 fisher.test(datacomplete$regime_type, datacomplete$year,
2600           simulate.p.value = TRUE, B = 10000)
2601
2602 #     Stacked barplot per year
2603 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = year, fill = regime_type)) +
2604   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
2605   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion", fill = "Regime type")
2606
2607 ##### International conflict descriptives #####
2608
2609 # Entire dataset
2610
2611 # Table and chi-square test
2612 full_international_conflict_table <- table(autocracy_data$e_miinteco,
2613                                              autocracy_data$year)
2614 full_international_conflict_table
2615 chisq.test(autocracy_data$e_miinteco, autocracy_data$year)
2616 chisq.test(autocracy_data$e_miinteco, autocracy_data$year)$expected
2617 fisher.test(autocracy_data$e_miinteco, autocracy_data$year,
2618             simulate.p.value = TRUE, B = 10000)
2619
2620 # Stacked barplot per year
2621 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(e_miinteco))) +
2622   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
2623   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion", fill = "International conflict") +
2624   scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
2625                      labels = c("No international conflict",
2626                                "International conflict"))
2627
2628 # Complete cases
2629
2630 # Table and chi-square test
2631 complete_international_conflict_table <- table(datacomplete$e_miinteco,
2632                                                 datacomplete$year)
2633 complete_international_conflict_table
2634 summary(complete_international_conflict_table)
2635 chisq.test(datacomplete$e_miinteco, datacomplete$year)$expected
2636 fisher.test(datacomplete$e_miinteco, datacomplete$year,
2637             simulate.p.value = TRUE, B = 10000)
2638
2639 # Stacked barplot per year
2640 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(e_miinteco))) +
2641   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
2642   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion", fill = "International conflict") +
2643   scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
2644                      labels = c("No international conflict",
2645                                "International conflict"))
2646
2647 ##### Internal conflict descriptives #####
2648
2649 # Entire dataset
2650
2651 # Table and chi-square test
2652 full_internal_conflict_table <- table(autocracy_data$e_miinterc,
2653                                         autocracy_data$year)
2654 full_internal_conflict_table
2655 chisq.test(autocracy_data$e_miinterc, autocracy_data$year)

```

```

2656 chisq.test(autocracy_data$e_miinterc, autocracy_data$year)$expected
2657
2658 # Stacked barplot per year
2659 ggplot(autocracy_data, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(e_miinterc))) +
2660   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
2661   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion", fill = "Internal conflict") +
2662   scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
2663                      labels = c("No internal conflict",
2664                                "Internal conflict"))
2665
2666 # Complete cases
2667
2668 # Table and chi-square test
2669 complete_internal_conflict_table <- table(datacomplete$e_miinterc,
2670                                              datacomplete$year)
2671 complete_internal_conflict_table
2672 summary(complete_internal_conflict_table)
2673 chisq.test(datacomplete$e_miinterc, datacomplete$year)$expected
2674 fisher.test(autocracy_data$e_miinterc, autocracy_data$year,
2675              simulate.p.value = TRUE, B = 10000)
2676
2677 # Stacked barplot per year
2678 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = year, fill = as.factor(e_miinterc))) +
2679   geom_bar(position = "fill") + blue_light +
2680   labs(x = "Year", y = "Proportion", fill = "Internal conflict") +
2681   scale_fill_manual(values = c("lightblue", "darkgreen"),
2682                      labels = c("No internal conflict", "Internal conflict"))
2683
2684 ##### Political violence descriptives #####
2685
2686 # Entire dataset
2687
2688 # Heatmap of political violence distribution per year
2689 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2caviol, x = year)) +
2690   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
2691   labs(y = "Political violence", x = "Year")
2692
2693 # Calculation of country means
2694 political_violence_full_countrymeans <- tibble(
2695   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
2696     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
2697   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caviol, autocracy_data$cowcode,
2698                         mean, na.rm = TRUE)
2699 )
2700 # Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2701 ggplot(data = political_violence_full_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2702   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
2703   labs(x = "Political violence", y = "Count") + blue_light
2704 ggplot(data = political_violence_full_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
2705   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
2706   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Political violence") +
2707   blue_light
2708
2709 # Compute summary statistics per year
2710 political_violence_full_summary <-
2711   tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
2712          Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caviol, autocracy_data$year, mean,
2713                        na.rm = TRUE),
2714          Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caviol, autocracy_data$year,

```

```

2715     quantile, prob = 0.25, na.rm = TRUE),
2716     Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caviol, autocracy_data$year, median,
2717                       na.rm = TRUE),
2718     Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caviol, autocracy_data$year,
2719                      quantile, prob = 0.75, na.rm = TRUE),
2720     SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caviol, autocracy_data$year, sd,
2721                      na.rm = TRUE),
2722     Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caviol, autocracy_data$year, FUN = Skew,
2723                      na.rm = TRUE),
2724     Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2caviol, autocracy_data$year,
2725                      FUN = Kurt, na.rm = TRUE) )
2726
2727 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2728 political_violence_full_summary_longtable <-
2729   pivot_longer(political_violence_full_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2730                 values_to = "Value")
2731
2732 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2733 #      and standard deviation over time
2734 withr::with_options(
2735   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2736   print(ggplot(data = political_violence_full_summary_longtable[
2737     political_violence_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
2738                                         "Median", "Q3",
2739                                         "SD"), ],
2740     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) +
2741     geom_line() + blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Political violence") )
2742
2743 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2744 ggplot(data = political_violence_full_summary_longtable[
2745   political_violence_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
2746   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ],
2747   aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
2748   labs(x = "Year", y = "Political violence") + blue_light
2749
2750 #      Complete cases
2751
2752 #      Heatmap of political violence distribution per year
2753 ggplot(data = datacomplete, mapping = aes(y = v2caviol, x = year)) +
2754   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
2755   labs(y = "Political violence", x = "Year")
2756
2757 #      Calculation of country means
2758 political_violence_complete_countrymeans <- tibble(
2759   countrycode = unique(datacomplete$cowcode)[order(unique(
2760     datacomplete$cowcode))],
2761   countrymeans = tapply(datacomplete$v2caviol, datacomplete$cowcode, mean) )
2762
2763 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2764 ggplot(data = political_violence_complete_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2765   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
2766   labs(x = "Political violence", y = "Count") + blue_light
2767 ggplot(data = political_violence_complete_countrymeans,
2768         aes(sample = countrymeans)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") +
2769   geom_qq_line() + labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
2770                         y = "Political violence") + blue_light
2771
2772 #      Compute summary statistics per year
2773 political_violence_complete_summary <-

```

```

2774 tibble(year = unique(datacomplete$year)[order(unique(datacomplete$year))],
2775   Mean = tapply(datacomplete$v2caviol, datacomplete$year, mean),
2776   Q1 = tapply(datacomplete$v2caviol, datacomplete$year,
2777     quantile, prob = 0.25),
2778   Median = tapply(datacomplete$v2caviol, datacomplete$year, median),
2779   Q3 = tapply(datacomplete$v2caviol, datacomplete$year,
2780     quantile, prob = 0.75),
2781   SD = tapply(datacomplete$v2caviol, datacomplete$year, sd),
2782   Skew = tapply(datacomplete$v2caviol, datacomplete$year, FUN = Skew),
2783   Kurtosis = tapply(datacomplete$v2caviol, datacomplete$year, FUN = Kurt) )
2784
2785 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2786 political_violence_complete_summary_longtable <-
2787   pivot_longer(political_violence_complete_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2788                 values_to = "Value")
2789
2790 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2791 #      and standard deviation over time
2792 withr::with_options(
2793   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2794   print(ggplot(data = political_violence_complete_summary_longtable[
2795     political_violence_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
2796                               "Median",
2797                               "Q3", "SD"),
2798     ], aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() +
2799     blue_light + labs(x = "Year", y = "Political violence") ) )
2800
2801 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2802 ggplot(data = political_violence_complete_summary_longtable[
2803   political_violence_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
2804     c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
2805   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Political violence") + blue_light
2806
2807 ##### Rigour and impartiality public administration descriptives #####
2808
2809 # Entire dataset
2810
2811 #      Heatmap of political violence distribution per year
2812 ggplot(data = autocracy_data, mapping = aes(y = v2clrspct, x = year)) +
2813   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
2814   labs(y = "Rig. & impart. pub. admin.", x = "Year")
2815
2816 #      Calculation of country means
2817 rigour_impartiality_full_countrymeans <- tibble(
2818   countrycode = unique(autocracy_data$cowcode)[order(unique(
2819     autocracy_data$cowcode))],
2820   countrymeans = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clrspct, autocracy_data$cowcode, mean) )
2821
2822 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2823 ggplot(data = rigour_impartiality_full_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2824   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
2825   labs(x = "Rig. & impart. pub. admin.", y = "Count") + blue_light
2826 ggplot(data = rigour_impartiality_full_countrymeans, aes(sample = countrymeans)) +
2827   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
2828   labs(x = "Reference normal distribution", y = "Rig. & impartial. pub. admin.") +
2829   blue_light
2830
2831 #      Compute summary statistics per year
2832 rigour_impartiality_full_summary <-

```

```

2833 tibble(year = sort(unique(autocracy_data$year)),
2834   Mean = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clrspct, autocracy_data$year, mean),
2835   Q1 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clrspct, autocracy_data$year,
2836     quantile, prob = 0.25),
2837   Median = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clrspct, autocracy_data$year, median),
2838   Q3 = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clrspct, autocracy_data$year,
2839     quantile, prob = 0.75),
2840   SD = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clrspct, autocracy_data$year, sd),
2841   Skew = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clrspct, autocracy_data$year,
2842     FUN = Skew),
2843   Kurtosis = tapply(autocracy_data$v2clrspct, autocracy_data$year,
2844     FUN = Kurt) )
2845
2846 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2847 rigour_impartiality_full_summary_longtable <-
2848   pivot_longer(rigour_impartiality_full_summary, 2:8, names_to = "Statistic",
2849                 values_to = "Value")
2850
2851 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2852 #      and standard deviation over time
2853 withr::with_options(
2854   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2855   print(ggplot(data = rigour_impartiality_full_summary_longtable[
2856     rigour_impartiality_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in% c("Mean", "Q1",
2857                               "Median", "Q3",
2858                               "SD"), ],
2859     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
2860     labs(x = "Year", y = "Rig. & impart. pub. admin."))
2861
2862 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2863 ggplot(data = rigour_impartiality_full_summary_longtable[
2864   rigour_impartiality_full_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
2865   c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
2866   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Rig. & impart. pub. admin.") + blue_light
2867
2868 #      Complete cases
2869
2870 #      Heatmap of political violence distribution per year
2871 ggplot(data = datacomplete, mapping = aes(y = v2clrspct, x = year)) +
2872   geom_bin2d(binwidth = c(1, 0.5)) + blue_light +
2873   labs(y = "Rig. & impart. pub. admin.", x = "Year")
2874
2875 #      Calculation of country means
2876 rigour_impartiality_complete_countrymeans <- tibble(
2877   countrycode = unique(datacomplete$cowcode)[order(unique(
2878     datacomplete$cowcode))],
2879   countrymeans = tapply(datacomplete$v2clrspct, datacomplete$cowcode, mean) )
2880
2881 #      Histogram and QQ-plot of country means
2882 ggplot(data = rigour_impartiality_complete_countrymeans, aes(x = countrymeans)) +
2883   geom_histogram(binwidth = 0.5, fill = "lightblue") +
2884   labs(x = "Rig. & impart. pub. admin.", y = "Count") + blue_light
2885 ggplot(data = rigour_impartiality_complete_countrymeans,
2886   aes(sample = countrymeans)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") +
2887   geom_qq_line() + labs(x = "Reference normal distribution",
2888                         y = "Rig. & impart. pub. admin.") + blue_light
2889
2890 #      Compute summary statistics per year
2891 rigour_impartiality_complete_summary <-

```

```

2892 tibble(year = unique(datacomplete$year)[order(unique(datacomplete$year))],
2893   Mean = tapply(datacomplete$v2clrspct, datacomplete$year, mean),
2894   Q1 = tapply(datacomplete$v2clrspct, datacomplete$year,
2895     quantile, prob = 0.25),
2896   Median = tapply(datacomplete$v2clrspct, datacomplete$year, median),
2897   Q3 = tapply(datacomplete$v2clrspct, datacomplete$year,
2898     quantile, prob = 0.75),
2899   SD = tapply(datacomplete$v2clrspct, datacomplete$year, sd),
2900   Skew = tapply(datacomplete$v2clrspct, datacomplete$year, FUN = Skew),
2901   Kurtosis = tapply(datacomplete$v2clrspct, datacomplete$year, FUN = Kurt) )
2902
2903 #      Pivot summary statistics table for use in plotting
2904 rigour_impartiality_complete_summary_longtable <-
2905   pivot_longer(rigour_impartiality_complete_summary, 2:8,
2906     names_to = "Statistic", values_to = "Value")
2907
2908 #      Plot Mean, median, first quartile, third quartile
2909 #      and standard deviation over time
2910 withr::with_options(
2911   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = lines_palette),
2912   print(ggplot(data = rigour_impartiality_complete_summary_longtable[
2913     rigour_impartiality_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
2914       c("Mean", "Q1", "Median", "Q3", "SD"), ],
2915     aes(x = year, y = Value, colour = Statistic)) + geom_line() + blue_light +
2916     labs(x = "Year", y = "Rig. & impart. pub. admin."))
2917
2918 #      Plot skew and kurtosis over time
2919 ggplot(data = rigour_impartiality_complete_summary_longtable[
2920   rigour_impartiality_complete_summary_longtable$Statistic %in%
2921     c("Skew", "Kurtosis"), ], aes(x = year, y = Value, linetype = Statistic)) +
2922   geom_line() + labs(x = "Year", y = "Rig. & impart. pub. admin.") + blue_light
2923
2924 ##### Missing data analysis #####
2925
2926 # Remove variables that are uninformative during missing data analysis
2927 autocracy_data_clean <- autocracy_data[, c("cowcode", "gwf_country", "year",
2928   "latent_personalism", "regime_type",
2929   "v2x_clphy", "free_expr_x100",
2930   "e_miinteco", "e_miinterc",
2931   "e_migdppcln", "e_migdpgr", "log10pop",
2932   "v2caviol", "v2clrspct", "v2caassemb",
2933   "freedom_movement")]
2934
2935 datacomplete_clean <- datacomplete[, c("cowcode", "gwf_country", "year",
2936   "latent_personalism", "regime_type",
2937   "v2x_clphy", "free_expr_x100",
2938   "e_miinteco", "e_miinterc",
2939   "e_migdppcln", "e_migdpgr", "log10pop",
2940   "v2caviol", "v2clrspct", "v2caassemb", "freedom_movement")]
2941
2942
2943 # Tabulate the distribution of values over years and cowcodes
2944 table(autocracy_data$year)
2945 table(autocracy_data$cowcode)
2946
2947 # Single out countries observed in all years
2948 table(autocracy_data$cowcode)[table(autocracy_data$cowcode) == 65]
2949
2950 # Visualise the distribution of values over years and cowcodes

```

```

2951 ggplot(autocracy_data_clean, aes(x = year)) + geom_bar(fill = "lightblue") +
2952   labs(x = "Year", y = "Count") + blue_light
2953 ggplot(autocracy_data_clean, aes(x = as.factor(cowcode))) +
2954   geom_bar(fill = "lightblue") + labs(x = "Country code", y = "Count") +
2955   guides(x = guide_axis(angle = 90)) + blue_light
2956
2957 # Table of missing values per variable
2958 missing_value_table <- tibble(Variable =
2959   variable.names(autocracy_data_clean)[4:16],
2960   N = NA, "%N" = NA, n = NA, "%n" = NA, T_min = NA,
2961   T_max = NA)
2962
2963 for(V in variable.names(autocracy_data_clean)[4:16]) {
2964   missing_value_table[missing_value_table$Variable == V, "N"] <-
2965     nrow(autocracy_data[complete.cases(autocracy_data[, c("cowcode", "year",
2966                               V)]), ])
2967   missing_value_table[missing_value_table$Variable == V, "T_min"] <-
2968     min(table(autocracy_data$cowcode[complete.cases(autocracy_data[, V])]))
2969   missing_value_table[missing_value_table$Variable == V, "T_max"] <-
2970     max(table(autocracy_data$cowcode[complete.cases(autocracy_data[, V])]))
2971   missing_value_table[missing_value_table$Variable == V, "n"] <-
2972     length(unique(autocracy_data$cowcode[
2973       complete.cases(autocracy_data[, c("cowcode", "year", V)]))))
2974 }
2975 missing_value_table`N%` <- (missing_value_table$N / 4591) * 100
2976 missing_value_table`n%` <- (missing_value_table$n / 119) * 100
2977
2978 # Create a variable listing which variables a case misses
2979 autocracy_data_clean$which_miss <- "Missing:"
2980
2981 for (V in variable.names(autocracy_data_clean)) {
2982   autocracy_data_clean[is.na(autocracy_data_clean[, V]), "which_miss"] <-
2983     paste(autocracy_data_clean[is.na(autocracy_data_clean[, V]), "which_miss"],
2984           V, sep = " ")
2985 }
2986
2987 # Visualise missingness over countries and time
2988 ggplot(autocracy_data_clean, aes(x = year, y = as.factor(cowcode),
2989         fill = which_miss)) +
2990   labs(x = "Year", y = "Country code") +
2991   scale_fill_discrete(name = "Missing",
2992     labels = c("None", "GDP growth",
2993               "GDP growth &\nPopulation (log 10)",
2994               "GDP growth,\nPolitical violence, \nFreedom of
2995               assembly",
2996               "GDP per capita (ln)",
2997               "GDP per capita (ln) &\nGDP growth",
2998               "GDP per capita (ln),\nGDP growth, &\nPopulation
2999               (log 10)",
3000               "GDP per capita (ln),\nGDP growth,\nPolitical
3001               violence,\nFreedom of assembly",
3002               "Internal & International conflict", "GDP
3003               growth,\nInternal, & International conflict",
3004               "GDP per capita (ln),\nGDP growth,\nInternal &
3005               International conflict",
3006               "GDP per capita (ln),\nGDP growth,\nPopulation
3007               (log 10),\nInternal & International conflict",

```

```

3008           "GDP per capita (ln),\nGDP growth,\nPolitical
3009 violence,\nPopulation (log 10),\nFreedom of assembly,\nInternal & International
3010 conflict",
3011           "Population (log 10),\nInternal & International
3012 conflict",
3013           "Political violence,\nPopulation (log
3014 10),\nFreedom of assembly,\nInternal & International conflict",
3015           "Population (log 10)",
3016           "Political violence",
3017           "Political violence &\nFreedom of assembly" ) +
3018   guides(x = guide_axis(angle = 90)) + blue_light + geom_tile()
3019
3020 # Compare distributions in full dataset and subset of complete cases
3021
3022 # Summary statistics table
3023
3024 # Create table
3025 comparison_table <- tibble(Variable = rep(c("latent_personalism",
3026                               "life_phys_x100",
3027                               "free_expr_x100", "e_migdppcln",
3028                               "e_migdpgr", "v2caviol",
3029                               "v2clrspct", "log10pop",
3030                               "freedom_movement",
3031                               "v2caassemb"), each = 2),
3032 Dataset = rep(c("Full", "Complete"), times = 10),
3033 Mean = NA, SD = NA, Minimum = NA, Maximum = NA,
3034 Skew = NA, Kurt = NA, ICC = NA)
3035
3036 # Fill table
3037 for (V in c("latent_personalism", "life_phys_x100", "free_expr_x100",
3038             "e_migdppcln", "e_migdpgr", "v2caviol", "v2clrspct", "log10pop",
3039             "freedom_movement", "v2caassemb")) {
3040   comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3041                     comparison_table$Dataset == "Full", "Mean"] <-
3042     mean(tapply(autocracy_data[, V], autocracy_data$cwcode, mean,
3043                 na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
3044   comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3045                     comparison_table$Dataset == "Complete", "Mean"] <-
3046     mean(tapply(datacomplete[, V], datacomplete$cwcode, mean,
3047                 na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
3048   comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3049                     comparison_table$Dataset == "Full", "SD"] <-
3050     sd(tapply(autocracy_data[, V], autocracy_data$cwcode, mean,
3051                 na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
3052   comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3053                     comparison_table$Dataset == "Complete", "SD"] <-
3054     sd(tapply(datacomplete[, V], datacomplete$cwcode, mean,
3055                 na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
3056   comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3057                     comparison_table$Dataset == "Full", "Minimum"] <-
3058     min(tapply(autocracy_data[, V], autocracy_data$cwcode, mean,
3059                 na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
3060   comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3061                     comparison_table$Dataset == "Complete", "Minimum"] <-
3062     min(tapply(datacomplete[, V], datacomplete$cwcode, mean,
3063                 na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
3064   comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3065                     comparison_table$Dataset == "Full", "Maximum"] <-
3066     max(tapply(autocracy_data[, V], autocracy_data$cwcode, mean,

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```

3067             na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
3068 comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3069                 comparison_table$Dataset == "Complete", "Maximum"] <-
3070   max(tapply(datacomplete[, V], datacomplete$cowcode, mean,
3071               na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
3072 comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3073                 comparison_table$Dataset == "Full", "Skew"] <-
3074   Skew(tapply(autocracy_data[, V], autocracy_data$cowcode, mean,
3075               na.rm = TRUE)[is.finite(tapply(autocracy_data[, V],
3076                               autocracy_data$cowcode, mean,
3077                               na.rm = TRUE))])
3078 comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3079                 comparison_table$Dataset == "Complete", "Skew"] <-
3080   Skew(tapply(datacomplete[, V], datacomplete$cowcode, mean, na.rm = TRUE),
3081         na.rm = TRUE)
3082 # Because some country means for GDP growth are NaNs, the GDP growth
3083 # would also be NaN if these are not removed. The values are removed
3084 # using is.finite(), but doing so distorts the estimated kurtosis.
3085 comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3086                 comparison_table$Dataset == "Full", "Kurt"] <-
3087   Kurt(tapply(autocracy_data[, V], autocracy_data$cowcode, mean,
3088               na.rm = TRUE)[is.finite(tapply(autocracy_data[, V],
3089                               autocracy_data$cowcode, mean,
3090                               na.rm = TRUE))])
3091 comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3092                 comparison_table$Dataset == "Complete", "Kurt"] <-
3093   Kurt(tapply(datacomplete[, V], datacomplete$cowcode, mean,
3094               na.rm = TRUE), na.rm = TRUE)
3095 full_intercept_model <- lmer(autocracy_data[, V] ~ (1|cowcode),
3096                               data = autocracy_data)
3097 full_intercept_model_ICC_frame <-
3098   as.data.frame(VarCorr(full_intercept_model))
3099 comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3100                 comparison_table$Dataset == "Full", "ICC"] <-
3101   full_intercept_model_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
3102   (full_intercept_model_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3103     full_intercept_model_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3104 complete_intercept_model <- lmer(datacomplete[, V] ~ (1|cowcode),
3105                               data = datacomplete)
3106 complete_intercept_model_ICC_frame <-
3107   as.data.frame(VarCorr(complete_intercept_model))
3108 comparison_table[comparison_table$Variable == V &
3109                 comparison_table$Dataset == "Complete", "ICC"] <-
3110   complete_intercept_model_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
3111   (complete_intercept_model_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3112     complete_intercept_model_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3113 }
3114 ###### Bivariate analyses #####
3115 # Collect over-time country means
3116 countrymean_table <-
3117   tibble(cowcode = latent_personalism_complete_countrymeans$countrystatus,
3118           latent_personalism = latent_personalism_complete_countrymeans$countrymean,
3119           freedom_assembly = free_assembly_complete_countrymeans$countrystatus,
3120           freedom_move = free_move_complete_countrymeans$countrystatus,
3121           protection_life_phys = complete_life_phys_countrymeans$countrystatus,
3122           freedom_expression = free_expr_complete_countrymeans$countrystatus,
3123           freedom_religion = free_religion_complete_countrymeans$countrystatus,
3124           freedom_gay = free_gay_complete_countrymeans$countrystatus,
3125           freedom_lgbtq = free_lgbtq_complete_countrymeans$countrystatus)

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3126      log_population = log_population_complete_countrymeans$countrymean,
3127      log_GDP_per_cap = GDP_cap_complete_countrymeans$countrymean,
3128      GDP_growth = GDP_growth_complete_countrymeans$countrymean,
3129      rigour_impartiality = rigour_impartiality_complete_countrymeans$countrymean,
3130      political_violence = political_violence_complete_countrymeans$countrymean,
3131      personal_regime = tapply(datacomplete$gwf_personal,
3132                                datacomplete$cowcode, mean),
3133      party_regime = tapply(datacomplete$gwf_party,
3134                                datacomplete$cowcode, mean),
3135      military_regime = tapply(datacomplete$gwf_military,
3136                                datacomplete$cowcode, mean),
3137      monarch_regime = tapply(datacomplete$gwf_monarch,
3138                                datacomplete$cowcode, mean),
3139      international_conflict = tapply(datacomplete$e_miinteco,
3140                                datacomplete$cowcode, mean),
3141      internal_conflict = tapply(datacomplete$e_miinterc,
3142                                datacomplete$cowcode, mean) )
3143
3144
3145
3146 # Calculate correlations between over-time country means
3147 cor(countrymean_table[, 2:17])
3148
3149 # establish significance threshold
3150 a <- exp((2*1.96)/sqrt(109-3))
3151 (a - 1) / (a + 1)
3152
3153 # Calculate intra-class correlations with year as class
3154
3155 # Personalism
3156 personalism_ICC_model <- lmer(latent_personalism ~ (1|cowcode),
3157                                   data = datacomplete)
3158 personalism_ICC_frame <-
3159   as.data.frame(VarCorr(personalism_ICC_model))
3160 personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3161                               personalism_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3162
3163 # Freedom of movement
3164 free_move_ICC_model <- lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode),
3165                               data = datacomplete)
3166 free_move_ICC_frame <-
3167   as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_move_ICC_model))
3168 free_move_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_move_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3169                               free_move_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3170
3171 # Freedom of assembly
3172 free_assemb_ICC_model <- lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)
3173 free_assemb_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_assemb_ICC_model))
3174 free_assemb_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_assemb_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3175                               free_assemb_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3176
3177 # Freedom of expression
3178 free_expr_ICC_model <- lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)
3179 free_expr_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_expr_ICC_model))
3180 free_expr_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_expr_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3181                               free_expr_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3182
3183 # Protection of life and physical integrity
3184 life_phys_ICC_model <- lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)

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3185 life_phys_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(life_phys_ICC_model))
3186 life_phys_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (life_phys_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3187                         life_phys_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3188
3189 # Political violence
3190 political_violence_ICC_model <- lmer(v2cavio ~ (1|cowcode),
3191                                         data = datacomplete)
3192 political_violence_ICC_frame <-
3193   as.data.frame(VarCorr(political_violence_ICC_model))
3194 political_violence_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (political_violence_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3195                                         political_violence_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3196
3197 # GDP per capita
3198 GDP_cap_ICC_model <- lmer(e_migdppcln ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)
3199 GDP_cap_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(GDP_cap_ICC_model))
3200 GDP_cap_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (GDP_cap_ICC_frame[1, 4] + GDP_cap_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3201
3202 # GDP growth
3203 GDP_growth_ICC_model <- lmer(e_migdpgr ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)
3204 GDP_growth_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(GDP_growth_ICC_model))
3205 GDP_growth_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (GDP_growth_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3206                               GDP_growth_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3207
3208 # Rigour and impartiality of the public administration
3209 rig_impart_ICC_model <- lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)
3210 rig_impart_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(rig_impart_ICC_model))
3211 rig_impart_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (rig_impart_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3212                               rig_impart_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3213
3214 # Population (log 10)
3215 population_ICC_model <- lmer(log10pop ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)
3216 population_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(population_ICC_model))
3217 population_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (population_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3218                               population_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3219
3220 ##### REGRESSION MODELLING #####
3221 ##### Freedom of expression #####
3222
3223
3224
3225
3226 # Intercept-only model
3227 free_expr_intercept <- lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)
3228
3229 # Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3230 # intervals
3231 coef_test(free_expr_intercept, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3232           coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3233 conf_int(free_expr_intercept, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
3234           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3235
3236 # Retrieve variance decomposition
3237 free_expr_intercept_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_expr_intercept))
3238 free_expr_intercept_ICC_frame
3239
3240 # Calculate deviance
3241 deviance_free_expr_intercept <- deviance(lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode),
3242                                            data = datacomplete,
3243                                            REML = FALSE))

```

```

3244
3245 #      ICC
3246 free_expr_intercept_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_expr_intercept_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3247                                         free_expr_intercept_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3248
3249 # Model with year-fixed effects
3250 free_expr_yearfixed <- lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year),
3251                               data = datacomplete)
3252
3253 # Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3254 # intervals
3255 coef_test(free_expr_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3256             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3257 conf_int(free_expr_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
3258             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3259
3260 # Retrieve variance decomposition
3261 free_expr_yearfixed_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_expr_yearfixed))
3262 free_expr_yearfixed_ICC_frame
3263
3264 # Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
3265 1 - sum(free_expr_yearfixed_ICC_frame[,4])/
3266     sum(free_expr_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
3267
3268 #      ICC
3269 free_expr_yearfixed_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_expr_yearfixed_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3270                                         free_expr_yearfixed_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3271
3272 # LR-test
3273
3274 # LR-test against intercept-only model
3275 deviance_free_expr_yearfixed <- deviance(lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) +
3276                                             as.factor(year),
3277                                             data = datacomplete,
3278                                             REML = FALSE))
3279 deviance_free_expr_intercept - deviance_free_expr_yearfixed
3280 pchisq(deviance_free_expr_intercept - deviance_free_expr_yearfixed,
3281         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
3282
3283 # Model with personalism
3284 free_expr_personalism <- lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
3285                                     latent_personalism, data = datacomplete)
3286
3287 # Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3288 # intervals
3289 coef_test(free_expr_personalism, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3290             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3291 conf_int(free_expr_personalism, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
3292             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3293
3294 # Retrieve variance decomposition
3295 free_expr_personalism_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_expr_personalism))
3296 free_expr_personalism_ICC_frame
3297
3298 # Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
3299 1 - sum(free_expr_personalism_ICC_frame[,4])/
3300     sum(free_expr_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
3301
3302 #      ICC

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```

3303 free_expr_personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
3304   (free_expr_personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3305     free_expr_personalism_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3306
3307 #      Removing year-fixed effects
3308 free_expr_personalism_no_yearfixed <- lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) +
3309                                         latent_personalism,
3310                                         data = datacomplete)
3311 coef_test(free_expr_personalism_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
3312             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3313
3314 #      LR-tests
3315
3316 #      LR-test against model with year-fixed effects
3317 deviance_free_expr_personalism <- deviance(lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) +
3318                                         as.factor(year) +
3319                                         latent_personalism,
3320                                         data = datacomplete,
3321                                         REML = FALSE))
3322
3323 deviance_free_expr_yearfixed - deviance_free_expr_personalism
3324 pchisq(deviance_free_expr_yearfixed - deviance_free_expr_personalism,
3325         df = 1, lower.tail = FALSE)
3326
3327 #      LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
3328 deviance_free_expr_personalism_no_yearfixed <-
3329   deviance(lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism,
3330                 data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
3331 deviance_free_expr_personalism_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_expr_personalism
3332 pchisq(deviance_free_expr_personalism_no_yearfixed -
3333   deviance_free_expr_personalism, df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
3334
3335 #      Model with personalism and its square
3336 free_expr_personalism_squared <- lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) +
3337                                         as.factor(year) +
3338                                         poly(latent_personalism, 2,
3339                                           raw = TRUE), data = datacomplete)
3340
3341 #      Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3342 #      intervals
3343 coef_test(free_expr_personalism_squared, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3344             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3345 conf_int(free_expr_personalism_squared, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
3346             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3347
3348 #      Retrieve variance decomposition
3349 free_expr_personalism_squared_ICC_frame <-
3350   as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_expr_personalism_squared))
3351 free_expr_personalism_squared_ICC_frame
3352
3353 #      Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
3354 1 - sum(free_expr_personalism_squared_ICC_frame[,4])/
3355   sum(free_expr_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
3356
3357 #      ICC
3358 free_expr_personalism_squared_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
3359   (free_expr_personalism_squared_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3360     free_expr_personalism_squared_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3361

```

```

3362 #      LR-test
3363
3364 #      LR-test against personalism-only model
3365 deviance_free_expr_personalism_squared <-
3366   deviance(lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
3367               poly(latent_personalism, 2, raw = TRUE), data = datacomplete,
3368               REML = FALSE))
3369 deviance_free_expr_personalism - deviance_free_expr_personalism_squared
3370 pchisq(deviance_free_expr_personalism - deviance_free_expr_personalism_squared,
3371         df = 1, lower.tail = FALSE)
3372
3373 #      LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
3374 deviance_free_expr_personalism_squared_no_yearfixed <-
3375   deviance(lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + poly(latent_personalism, 2,
3376               raw = TRUE),
3377               data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
3378 deviance_free_expr_personalism_squared_no_yearfixed -
3379   deviance_free_expr_personalism_squared
3380 pchisq(deviance_free_expr_personalism_squared_no_yearfixed -
3381         deviance_free_expr_personalism_squared, df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
3382
3383 #      Compare level 1 residuals with linear and quadratic curves
3384
3385 #      Quadratic model
3386 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = latent_personalism,
3387                           y = resid(free_expr_personalism_squared))) +
3388   geom_point(colour = "darkblue") +
3389   geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
3390               linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) + blue_light +
3391   labs(x = "Personalism", y = "Level 1 residual")
3392
3393 #      Linear model
3394 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = latent_personalism,
3395                           y = resid(free_expr_personalism))) +
3396   geom_point(colour = "darkblue") +
3397   geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
3398               linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) + blue_light +
3399   labs(x = "Personalism", y = "Level 1 residual")
3400
3401 #      Model with personalism and controls
3402 free_expr_control <- lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
3403                           latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco +
3404                           lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdpcln + lag_e_migdpgro +
3405                           lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
3406                           gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete)
3407
3408 #      Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3409 #      intervals
3410 coef_test(free_expr_control, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3411            coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3412 conf_int(free_expr_control, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
3413           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3414
3415 #      Retrieve variance decomposition
3416 free_expr_control_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_expr_control))
3417 free_expr_control_ICC_frame
3418
3419 #      Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
3420 1 - sum(free_expr_control_ICC_frame[,4])/sum(free_expr_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])

```

```

3421
3422 #      ICC
3423 free_expr_control_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_expr_control_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3424                                         free_expr_control_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3425
3426 #      Removing year-fixed effects
3427 free_expr_control_no_yearfixed <- lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) +
3428                                         latent_personalism +
3429                                         lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc +
3430                                         lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr +
3431                                         lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop +
3432                                         gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
3433                                         data = datacomplete)
3434 coef_test(free_expr_control_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3435             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3436
3437 #      LR-test
3438
3439 #      LR-test against personalism-only model
3440 deviance_free_expr_control <-
3441   deviance(lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
3442               latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc +
3443               lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol +
3444               lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
3445               data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
3446 deviance_free_expr_personalism - deviance_free_expr_control
3447 pchisq(deviance_free_expr_personalism - deviance_free_expr_control,
3448         df = 9, lower.tail = FALSE)
3449
3450 #      LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
3451 deviance_free_expr_control_no_yearfixed <-
3452   deviance(lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism +
3453               lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
3454               lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
3455               gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
3456 deviance_free_expr_control_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_expr_control
3457 pchisq(deviance_free_expr_control_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_expr_control,
3458         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
3459
3460 #      Residual diagnostics
3461
3462 #      Add predicted values to dataset
3463 datacomplete$free_expr_predict <- predict(free_expr_control)
3464
3465 #      Add residuals to dataset
3466
3467 #      Calculate level 1 residuals
3468 datacomplete$free_expr_resid_level_1 <- residuals(free_expr_control)
3469
3470 #      Standardise level 1 residuals
3471 for(c in unique(datacomplete$cowcode)) {
3472   datacomplete$free_expr_country_resid_sds[datacomplete$cowcode == c] <-
3473     sd(datacomplete$free_expr_resid_level_1[datacomplete$cowcode == c])
3474 }
3475 datacomplete$free_expr_stand_resid_level_1 <-
3476   datacomplete$free_expr_resid_level_1 /
3477   datacomplete$free_expr_country_resid_sds
3478
3479 #      Calculate level 2 residuals

```

```

3480 free_expr_resid_level_2 <- as.data.frame(ranef(free_expr_control))
3481 free_expr_resid_level_2$cowcode <-
3482   as.numeric(levels(free_expr_resid_level_2$grp))[free_expr_resid_level_2$grp]
3483
3484 #      Standardise level 2 residuals
3485 free_expr_resid_level_2$free_expr_stand_resid_level_2 <-
3486   free_expr_resid_level_2$condval /
3487   free_expr_control_ICC_frame$sdcor[1]
3488
3489 #      Add level 2 residuals to dataset
3490 datacomplete <- left_join(datacomplete,
3491   free_expr_resid_level_2[, c("cowcode", "condval",
3492                             "free_expr_stand_resid_level_2")],
3493   by = c("cowcode"))
3494 datacomplete <- rename(datacomplete, free_expr_resid_level_2 = condval)
3495
3496 #      Autocorrelation
3497
3498 #      Create dataframe with just the residuals
3499 free_expr_resid_pdata <-
3500   pdata.frame(datacomplete[, c("year", "cowcode", "free_expr_resid_level_1")],
3501               index = c("cowcode", "year"))
3502 #      Create lagged residuals
3503 for (j in 1:20) {
3504   # Create the name of the lagged variable
3505   var <- paste("free_expr_lag", j ,"_resid_level_1", sep = "")
3506   # Generate the lagged variable via plm's implementation of "lag"
3507   free_expr_resid_pdata[, var] <-
3508     plm::lag(free_expr_resid_pdata$free_expr_resid_level_1, k= j)
3509 }
3510
3511 #      Calculate correlations between present values and lags
3512 autocors_free_expr_resid_level_1 <-
3513   cor(free_expr_resid_pdata$free_expr_resid_level_1,
3514       free_expr_resid_pdata[, 4:ncol(free_expr_resid_pdata)],
3515       use = "complete.obs")
3516
3517 #      Reshape the correlations into a more workable format
3518 autocors_free_expr_resid_level_1 <-
3519   tibble(Lag = 1:20, Correlation = t(autocors_free_expr_resid_level_1))
3520
3521 #      Create an autocorrelation plot
3522 ggplot(data = autocors_free_expr_resid_level_1, aes(x = Lag, y = Correlation)) +
3523   geom_col(fill = "lightblue") + blue_light
3524
3525 #      Linearity
3526
3527 #      Plot predicted values against level 1 residuals
3528 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = free_expr_predict,
3529                     y = free_expr_stand_resid_level_1)) +
3530   geom_point(colour = "lightblue") +
3531   geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
3532               linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) + blue_light +
3533   labs(x = "Predicted value", y = "Level 1 residual (standardised)")
3534
3535 #      Plot predicted values from fixed effects against level 2 residuals
3536 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = free_expr_predict - free_expr_resid_level_2,
3537                     y = free_expr_stand_resid_level_2)) +
3538   geom_point(colour = "lightblue") +

```

```

3539   geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
3540                 linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) + blue_light +
3541   labs(x = "Fixed part predictions", y = "Level 2 residual (standardised)")
3542
3543 #      Normality
3544
3545 #      Assign residual levels to the residuals for combination
3546 rbind_resids_level_2 <-
3547   rename(free_expr_resid_level_2[, c("cowcode",
3548                                     "free_expr_stand_resid_level_2")],
3549         resid = free_expr_stand_resid_level_2)
3550 rbind_resids_level_2$level <- "Level 2"
3551 rbind_resids_level_1 <-
3552   rename(datacomplete[, c("cowcode", "free_expr_stand_resid_level_1")],
3553         resid = free_expr_stand_resid_level_1)
3554 rbind_resids_level_1$level <- "Level 1"
3555
3556 #      Create long dataset of all residuals
3557 free_expr_resids <- rbind(rbind_resids_level_1, rbind_resids_level_2)
3558 rm(list = c("rbind_resids_level_1", "rbind_resids_level_2"))
3559
3560 #      Plot residuals in dual QQ-plot
3561 withr::with_options(
3562   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = c("#E69F00", "#56B4E9", "#009E73", "#F0E442",
3563                     "#0072B2", "#D55E00", "#CC79A7")),
3564   print(ggplot(data = free_expr_resids, aes(sample = resid,
3565             colour = as.factor(level))) +
3566     geom_qq() + geom_qq_line() + blue_light +
3567     scale_colour_discrete(name = "Residual level") +
3568     labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
3569           x = "Reference normal distribution")) )
3570
3571 #      Plot residuals in single QQ-plots
3572
3573 #      Level 1
3574 ggplot(data = free_expr_resids[free_expr_resids$level == "Level 1", ],
3575       aes(sample = resid)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
3576       blue_light + labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
3577                         x = "Reference normal distribution")
3578
3579 #      Level 2
3580 ggplot(data = free_expr_resids[free_expr_resids$level == "Level 2", ],
3581       aes(sample = resid)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
3582       blue_light + labs(y = "Standardised residuals", x = "Reference normal
3583 distribution")
3584
3585 #      Model with rigour and impartiality of the public administration
3586 free_expr_rig_impart <- lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
3587                               latent_personalism + v2clrspct + lag_e_miinteco +
3588                               lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
3589                               lag_e_migdpgr0 + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop +
3590                               gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
3591                               data = datacomplete)
3592
3593 #      Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3594 #      intervals
3595 coef_test(free_expr_rig_impart, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3596            coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3597 conf_int(free_expr_rig_impart, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,

```

```

3598     test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3599
3600 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
3601 free_expr_rig_impart_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_expr_rig_impart))
3602 free_expr_rig_impart_ICC_frame
3603
3604 #     Removing year-fixed effects
3605 free_expr_rig_impart_no_yearfixed <- lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) +
3606                                         latent_personalism + v2clrspct +
3607                                         lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc +
3608                                         lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr +
3609                                         lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop +
3610                                         gwf_monarch + gwf_military +
3611                                         gwf_party, data = datacomplete)
3612 coef_test(free_expr_rig_impart_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
3613             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3614
3615 #     LR-test and ICC
3616
3617 #     LR-test against personalism-only model
3618 deviance_free_expr_rig_impart <- deviance(lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) +
3619                                         as.factor(year) +
3620                                         latent_personalism +
3621                                         v2clrspct + lag_e_miinteco +
3622                                         lag_e_miinterc +
3623                                         lag_e_migdppcln +
3624                                         lag_e_migdpgr +
3625                                         lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop +
3626                                         gwf_monarch + gwf_military +
3627                                         gwf_party,
3628                                         data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
3629 deviance_free_expr_control - deviance_free_expr_rig_impart
3630 pchisq(deviance_free_expr_control - deviance_free_expr_rig_impart,
3631         df = 9, lower.tail = FALSE)
3632
3633 #     LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
3634 deviance_free_expr_rig_impart_no_yearfixed <-
3635     deviance(lmer(free_expr_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + v2clrspct +
3636                 lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
3637                 lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
3638                 gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
3639 deviance_free_expr_rig_impart_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_expr_rig_impart
3640 pchisq(deviance_free_expr_rig_impart_no_yearfixed -
3641         deviance_free_expr_rig_impart, df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
3642
3643 #     ICC
3644 free_expr_rig_impart_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_expr_rig_impart_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3645                                         free_expr_rig_impart_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3646
3647 ##### Freedom of assembly #####
3648
3649 # Intercept-only model
3650 free_assemb_intercept <- lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)
3651
3652 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3653 #     intervals
3654 coef_test(free_assemb_intercept, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3655             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3656 conf_int(free_assemb_intercept, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,

```

```

3657     test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3658
3659 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
3660 free_assemb_intercept_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_assemb_intercept))
3661 free_assemb_intercept_ICC_frame
3662
3663 #     Calculate deviance
3664 deviance_free_assemb_intercept <- deviance(lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode),
3665                                         data = datacomplete,
3666                                         REML = FALSE))
3667
3668 #     ICC
3669 free_assemb_intercept_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
3670   (free_assemb_intercept_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3671     free_assemb_intercept_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3672
3673 #     Model with year-fixed effects
3674 free_assemb_yearfixed <- lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year),
3675                                   data = datacomplete)
3676
3677 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3678 #     intervals
3679 coef_test(free_assemb_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3680            coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3681 conf_int(free_assemb_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
3682            test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3683
3684 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
3685 free_assemb_yearfixed_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_assemb_yearfixed))
3686 free_assemb_yearfixed_ICC_frame
3687
3688 #     Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
3689 1 - sum(free_assemb_yearfixed_ICC_frame[,4])/
3690   sum(free_assemb_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
3691
3692 #     ICC
3693 free_assemb_yearfixed_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
3694   (free_assemb_yearfixed_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3695     free_assemb_yearfixed_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3696
3697 #     LR-test
3698
3699 #     LR-test against intercept-only model
3700 deviance_free_assemb_yearfixed <- deviance(lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) +
3701                                         as.factor(year),
3702                                         data = datacomplete,
3703                                         REML = FALSE))
3704 deviance_free_assemb_intercept - deviance_free_assemb_yearfixed
3705 pchisq(deviance_free_assemb_intercept - deviance_free_assemb_yearfixed,
3706         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
3707
3708 #     Model with personalism
3709 free_assemb_personalism <- lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
3710                                     latent_personalism, data = datacomplete)
3711
3712 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3713 #     intervals
3714 coef_test(free_assemb_personalism, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3715            coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)

```

```

3716 conf_int(free_assemb_personalism, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
3717     test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3718
3719 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
3720 free_assemb_personalism_ICC_frame <-
3721   as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_assemb_personalism))
3722 free_assemb_personalism_ICC_frame
3723
3724 #     Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
3725 1 - sum(free_assemb_personalism_ICC_frame[,4])/
3726   sum(free_assemb_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
3727
3728 #     ICC
3729 free_assemb_personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
3730   (free_assemb_personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3731     free_assemb_personalism_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3732
3733 #     Removing year-fixed effects
3734 free_assemb_rig_personalism_no_yearfixed <- lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) +
3735                                         latent_personalism,
3736                                         data = datacomplete)
3737 coef_test(free_assemb_rig_personalism_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
3738             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3739
3740 #     LR-test
3741
3742 #     LR-test against model with year-fixed effects
3743 deviance_free_assemb_personalism <- deviance(lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) +
3744                                         as.factor(year) +
3745                                         latent_personalism,
3746                                         data = datacomplete,
3747                                         REML = FALSE))
3748
3749 deviance_free_assemb_yearfixed - deviance_free_assemb_personalism
3750 pchisq(deviance_free_assemb_yearfixed - deviance_free_assemb_personalism,
3751         df = 1, lower.tail = FALSE)
3752
3753 #     LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
3754 deviance_free_assemb_personalism_no_yearfixed <-
3755   deviance(lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism,
3756                 data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
3757 deviance_free_assemb_personalism_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_assemb_personalism
3758 pchisq(deviance_free_assemb_personalism_no_yearfixed -
3759         deviance_free_assemb_personalism,
3760         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
3761
3762 #     Model with personalism and controls
3763 free_assemb_control <- lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
3764   latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco +
3765   lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
3766   lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop +
3767   gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
3768   data = datacomplete)
3769
3770 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3771 #     intervals
3772 coef_test(free_assemb_control, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3773             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3774 conf_int(free_assemb_control, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,

```

```

3775      test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3776
3777 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
3778 free_assemb_control_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_assemb_control))
3779 free_assemb_control_ICC_frame
3780
3781 #     Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
3782 1 - sum(free_assemb_control_ICC_frame[,4])/
3783   sum(free_assemb_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
3784
3785 #     ICC
3786 free_assemb_control_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_assemb_control_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3787                                         free_assemb_control_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3788
3789 #     Removing year-fixed effects
3790 free_assemb_control_no_yearfixed <-
3791   lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco +
3792         lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol +
3793         lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
3794         data = datacomplete)
3795 coef_test(free_assemb_control_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
3796            test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3797
3798 #     LR-test
3799
3800 #     LR-test against personalism-only model
3801 deviance_free_assemb_control <-
3802   deviance(lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
3803             latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc +
3804             lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol +
3805             lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
3806             data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
3807 deviance_free_assemb_personalism - deviance_free_assemb_control
3808 pchisq(deviance_free_assemb_personalism - deviance_free_assemb_control,
3809        df = 9, lower.tail = FALSE)
3810
3811 #     LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
3812 deviance_free_assemb_control_no_yearfixed <-
3813   deviance(lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism +
3814                 lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
3815                 lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
3816                 gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
3817 deviance_free_assemb_control_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_assemb_control
3818 pchisq(deviance_free_assemb_control_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_assemb_control,
3819        df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
3820
3821 #     Residual diagnostics
3822
3823 #     Add predicted values to dataset
3824 datacomplete$free_assemb_predict <- predict(free_assemb_control)
3825
3826 #     Add residuals to dataset
3827
3828 #     Calculate level 1 residuals
3829 datacomplete$free_assemb_resid_level_1 <- residuals(free_assemb_control)
3830
3831 #     Standardise level 1 residuals
3832 for(c in unique(datacomplete$cowcode)) {
3833   datacomplete$free_assemb_country_resid_sds[datacomplete$cowcode == c] <-

```

```

3834     sd(datacomplete$free_assemb_resid_level_1[datacomplete$cowcode == c])
3835 }
3836 datacomplete$free_assemb_stand_resid_level_1 <-
3837   datacomplete$free_assemb_resid_level_1 /
3838   datacomplete$free_assemb_country_resid_sds
3839
3840 #      Calculate level 2 residuals
3841 free_assemb_resid_level_2 <- as.data.frame(ranef(free_assemb_control))
3842 free_assemb_resid_level_2$cowcode <-
3843   as.numeric(levels(free_assemb_resid_level_2$grp))[free_assemb_resid_level_2$grp]
3844
3845 #      Standardise level 2 residuals
3846 free_assemb_resid_level_2$free_assemb_stand_resid_level_2 <-
3847   free_assemb_resid_level_2$condval / free_assemb_control_ICC_frame$sdcor[1]
3848
3849 #      Add level 2 residuals to dataset
3850 datacomplete <-
3851   left_join(datacomplete,
3852     free_assemb_resid_level_2[, c("cowcode", "condval",
3853                               "free_assemb_stand_resid_level_2")],
3854     by = c("cowcode"))
3855 datacomplete <- rename(datacomplete, free_assemb_resid_level_2 = condval)
3856
3857 #      Autocorrelation
3858
3859 #      Create dataframe with just the residuals
3860 free_assemb_resid_pdata <-
3861   pdata.frame(datacomplete[, c("year", "cowcode", "free_assemb_resid_level_1")],
3862                 index = c("cowcode", "year"))
3863 #      Create lagged residuals
3864 for (j in 1:20) {
3865   # Create the name of the lagged variable
3866   var <- paste("free_assemb_lag", j ,"_resid_level_1", sep = "")
3867   # Generate the lagged variable via plm's implementation of "lag"
3868   free_assemb_resid_pdata[, var] <-
3869     plm::lag(free_assemb_resid_pdata$free_assemb_resid_level_1, k= j)
3870 }
3871
3872 #      Calculate correlations between present values and lags
3873 autocors_free_assemb_resid_level_1 <-
3874   cor(free_assemb_resid_pdata$free_assemb_resid_level_1,
3875       free_assemb_resid_pdata[, 4:ncol(free_assemb_resid_pdata)],
3876       use = "complete.obs")
3877
3878 #      Reshape the correlations into a more workable format
3879 autocors_free_assemb_resid_level_1 <-
3880   tibble(Lag = 1:20, Correlation = t(autocors_free_assemb_resid_level_1))
3881
3882 #      Create an autocorrelation plot
3883 ggplot(data = autocors_free_assemb_resid_level_1,
3884         aes(x = Lag, y = Correlation)) + geom_col(fill = "lightblue") +
3885         blue_light
3886
3887 #      Linearity
3888
3889 #      Plot predicted values against level 1 residuals
3890 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = free_assemb_predict,
3891                         y = free_assemb_stand_resid_level_1)) +

```

```

3893     geom_point(colour = "lightblue") +
3894     geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
3895                 linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) +
3896     blue_light + labs(x = "Predicted value",
3897                         y = "Level 1 residual (standardised)")
3898
3899 #      Plot values predicted by fixed part against level 2 residuals
3900 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = free_assemb_predict - free_assemb_resid_level_2,
3901                     y = free_assemb_stand_resid_level_2)) +
3902     geom_point(colour = "lightblue") +
3903     geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
3904                 linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) +
3905     blue_light + labs(x = "Fixed part predictions",
3906                         y = "Level 2 residual (standardised)")
3907
3908 #      Normality
3909
3910 #      Assign residual levels to the residuals for combination
3911 rbind_resids_level_2 <-
3912   rename(free_assemb_resid_level_2[, c("cowcode",
3913                                         "free_assemb_stand_resid_level_2")],
3914         resid = free_assemb_stand_resid_level_2)
3915 rbind_resids_level_2$level <- "Level 2"
3916 rbind_resids_level_1 <-
3917   rename(datacomplete[, c("cowcode", "free_assemb_stand_resid_level_1")],
3918           resid = free_assemb_stand_resid_level_1)
3919 rbind_resids_level_1$level <- "Level 1"
3920
3921 #      Create long dataset of all residuals
3922 free_assemb_resids <- rbind(rbind_resids_level_1, rbind_resids_level_2)
3923 rm(list = c("rbind_resids_level_1", "rbind_resids_level_2"))
3924
3925 #      Plot residuals in dual QQ-plot
3926 withr::with_options(
3927   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = c("#E69F00", "#56B4E9", "#009E73", "#F0E442",
3928                                              "#0072B2", "#D55E00", "#CC79A7")),
3929   print(ggplot(data = free_assemb_resids, aes(sample = resid,
3930                                     colour = as.factor(level))) +
3931     geom_qq() + geom_qq_line() + blue_light +
3932     scale_colour_discrete(name = "Residual level") +
3933     labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
3934          x = "Reference normal distribution"))
3935 )
3936
3937 #      Plot residuals in single QQ-plots
3938
3939 #      Level 1
3940 ggplot(data = free_assemb_resids[free_assemb_resids$level == "Level 1", ],
3941         aes(sample = resid)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
3942         blue_light + labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
3943                           x = "Reference normal distribution")
3944
3945 #      Level 2
3946 ggplot(data = free_assemb_resids[free_assemb_resids$level == "Level 2", ],
3947         aes(sample = resid)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
3948         blue_light + labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
3949                           x = "Reference normal distribution")
3950
3951 # Model with rigour and impartiality of the public administration

```

```

3952 free_assemb_rig_impart <-
3953   lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) + latent_personalism +
3954     v2clrspct + lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
3955     lag_e_migdpgro + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
3956     gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete)
3957
3958 #      Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
3959 #      intervals
3960 coef_test(free_assemb_rig_impart, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
3961           coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3962 conf_int(free_assemb_rig_impart, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
3963           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3964
3965 #      Retrieve variance decomposition
3966 free_assemb_rig_impart_ICC_frame <-
3967   as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_assemb_rig_impart))
3968 free_assemb_rig_impart_ICC_frame
3969
3970 #      Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
3971 1 - sum(free_assemb_rig_impart_ICC_frame[,4])/
3972   sum(free_assemb_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
3973
3974 #      ICC
3975 free_assemb_rig_impart_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
3976   (free_assemb_rig_impart_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
3977     free_assemb_rig_impart_ICC_frame[2, 4])
3978
3979 #      Removing year-fixed effects
3980 free_assemb_rig_impart_no_yearfixed <-
3981   lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + v2clrspct +
3982     lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgro +
3983     lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
3984     data = datacomplete)
3985 coef_test(free_assemb_rig_impart_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
3986           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
3987
3988 #      LR-test
3989
3990 #      LR-test against model with controls
3991 deviance_free_assemb_rig_impart <-
3992   deviance(lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
3993     latent_personalism + v2clrspct + lag_e_miinteco +
3994     lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgro +
3995     lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military +
3996     gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
3997 deviance_free_assemb_control - deviance_free_assemb_rig_impart
3998 pchisq(deviance_free_assemb_control - deviance_free_assemb_rig_impart,
3999         df = 9, lower.tail = FALSE)
4000
4001 #      LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
4002 deviance_free_assemb_rig_impart_no_yearfixed <-
4003   deviance(lmer(v2caassemb ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + v2clrspct +
4004     lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
4005     lag_e_migdpgro + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
4006     gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4007 deviance_free_assemb_rig_impart_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_assemb_rig_impart
4008 pchisq(deviance_free_assemb_rig_impart_no_yearfixed -
4009         deviance_free_assemb_rig_impart, df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4010

```

```

4011 ##### Protection of life and physical integrity #####
4012
4013 # Intercept-only model
4014 life_phys_intercept <- lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)
4015
4016 # Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4017 # intervals
4018 coef_test(life_phys_intercept, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4019             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4020 conf_int(life_phys_intercept, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4021             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4022
4023 # Retrieve variance decomposition
4024 life_phys_intercept_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(life_phys_intercept))
4025 life_phys_intercept_ICC_frame
4026
4027 # Calculate deviance
4028 deviance_life_phys_intercept <- deviance(lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode),
4029                                         data = datacomplete,
4030                                         REML = FALSE))
4031
4032 # ICC
4033 life_phys_intercept_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (life_phys_intercept_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4034                                         life_phys_intercept_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4035
4036 # Model with year-fixed effects
4037 life_phys_yearfixed <- lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year),
4038                               data = datacomplete)
4039
4040 # Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4041 # intervals
4042 coef_test(life_phys_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4043             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4044 conf_int(life_phys_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4045             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4046
4047 # Retrieve variance decomposition and REML criterion
4048 life_phys_yearfixed_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(life_phys_yearfixed))
4049 life_phys_yearfixed_ICC_frame
4050
4051 # Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4052 1 - sum(life_phys_yearfixed_ICC_frame[,4])/
4053   sum(life_phys_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
4054
4055 # ICC
4056 life_phys_yearfixed_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (life_phys_yearfixed_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4057                                         life_phys_yearfixed_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4058
4059 # LR-test and ICC
4060
4061 # LR-test against intercept-only model
4062 deviance_life_phys_yearfixed <- deviance(lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) +
4063                                         as.factor(year),
4064                                         data = datacomplete,
4065                                         REML = FALSE))
4066 deviance_life_phys_intercept - deviance_life_phys_yearfixed
4067 pchisq(deviance_life_phys_intercept - deviance_life_phys_yearfixed,
4068         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4069

```

```

4070 # Model with personalism
4071 life_phys_personalism <- lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
4072                               latent_personalism, data = datacomplete)
4073
4074 # Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4075 # intervals
4076 coef_test(life_phys_personalism, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4077            coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4078 conf_int(life_phys_personalism, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4079            test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4080
4081 # Retrieve variance decomposition
4082 life_phys_personalism_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(life_phys_personalism))
4083 life_phys_personalism_ICC_frame
4084
4085 # Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4086 1 - sum(life_phys_personalism_ICC_frame[,4])/
4087   sum(life_phys_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
4088
4089 # ICC
4090 life_phys_personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
4091   (life_phys_personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4092     life_phys_personalism_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4093
4094 # Removing year-fixed effects
4095 life_phys_rig_personalism_no_yearfixed <-
4096   lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism, data = datacomplete)
4097 coef_test(life_phys_rig_personalism_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
4098            test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4099
4100 # LR-test
4101
4102 # LR-test against model with year-fixed effects
4103 deviance_life_phys_personalism <-
4104   deviance(lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
4105              latent_personalism, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4106
4107 deviance_life_phys_yearfixed - deviance_life_phys_personalism
4108 pchisq(deviance_life_phys_yearfixed - deviance_life_phys_personalism,
4109         df = 1, lower.tail = FALSE)
4110
4111 # LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
4112 deviance_life_phys_personalism_no_yearfixed <-
4113   deviance(lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism,
4114                 data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4115 deviance_life_phys_personalism_no_yearfixed - deviance_life_phys_personalism
4116 pchisq(deviance_life_phys_personalism_no_yearfixed -
4117           deviance_life_phys_personalism, df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4118
4119 # Model with personalism and controls
4120 life_phys_control <-
4121   lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) + latent_personalism +
4122         lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgro +
4123         lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4124         data = datacomplete)
4125
4126 # Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4127 # intervals
4128 coef_test(life_phys_control, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",

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4129      coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4130 conf_int(life_phys_control, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4131           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4132
4133 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
4134 life_phys_control_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(life_phys_control))
4135 life_phys_control_ICC_frame
4136
4137 #     Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4138 1 - sum(life_phys_control_ICC_frame[,4])/ sum(life_phys_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
4139
4140 #     ICC
4141 life_phys_control_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (life_phys_control_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4142                                         life_phys_control_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4143
4144 #     Removing year-fixed effects
4145 life_phys_rig_control_no_yearfixed <-
4146   lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco +
4147         lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol +
4148         lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4149         data = datacomplete)
4150 coef_test(life_phys_rig_control_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
4151             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4152
4153 #     LR-test
4154
4155 #     LR-test against personalism-only model
4156 deviance_life_phys_control <-
4157   deviance(lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
4158                 latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc +
4159                 lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol +
4160                 lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4161                 data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4162 deviance_life_phys_personalism - deviance_life_phys_control
4163 pchisq(deviance_life_phys_personalism - deviance_life_phys_control,
4164         df = 9, lower.tail = FALSE)
4165
4166 #     LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
4167 deviance_life_phys_control_no_yearfixed <-
4168   deviance(lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism +
4169                 lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
4170                 lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
4171                 gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4172 deviance_life_phys_control_no_yearfixed - deviance_life_phys_control
4173 pchisq(deviance_life_phys_control_no_yearfixed - deviance_life_phys_control,
4174         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4175
4176 # Previous model with rigour and impartiality of the public administration
4177 life_phys_rig_impart <-
4178   lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) + latent_personalism +
4179         v2clrspct + lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
4180         lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
4181         gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete)
4182
4183 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4184 #     intervals
4185 coef_test(life_phys_rig_impart, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4186             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4187 conf_int(life_phys_rig_impart, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,

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4188      test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4189
4190 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
4191 life_phys_rig_impart_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(life_phys_rig_impart))
4192 life_phys_rig_impart_ICC_frame
4193
4194 #     Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4195 1 - sum(life_phys_rig_impart_ICC_frame[,4])/
4196   sum(life_phys_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
4197
4198 #     ICC
4199 life_phys_rig_impart_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (life_phys_rig_impart_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4200                               life_phys_rig_impart_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4201
4202 #     Removing year-fixed effects
4203 life_phys_rig_impart_no_yearfixed <-
4204   lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + v2clrspct +
4205         lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr +
4206         lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4207         data = datacomplete)
4208 coef_test(life_phys_rig_impart_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
4209            test = "Satterthwaite",
4210            coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4211
4212 #     LR-test
4213
4214 #     LR-test against model without rigour and impartiality
4215 #       of the public administration
4216 deviance_life_phys_rig_impart <-
4217   deviance(lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
4218             latent_personalism + v2clrspct + lag_e_miinteco +
4219             lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr +
4220             lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military +
4221             gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4222 deviance_life_phys_control - deviance_life_phys_rig_impart
4223 pchisq(deviance_life_phys_control - deviance_life_phys_rig_impart,
4224        df = 1, lower.tail = FALSE)
4225
4226 #     LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
4227 deviance_life_phys_rig_impart_no_yearfixed <-
4228   deviance(lmer(life_phys_x100 ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + v2clrspct +
4229             lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
4230             lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
4231             gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4232 deviance_life_phys_rig_impart_no_yearfixed - deviance_life_phys_rig_impart
4233 pchisq(deviance_life_phys_rig_impart_no_yearfixed -
4234           deviance_life_phys_rig_impart, df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4235
4236 #     Residual diagnostics
4237
4238 #     Add predicted values to dataset
4239 datacomplete$life_phys_predict <- predict(life_phys_rig_impart)
4240
4241 #     Add residuals to dataset
4242
4243 #     Calculate level 1 residuals
4244 datacomplete$life_phys_resid_level_1 <- residuals(life_phys_rig_impart)
4245
4246 #     Standardise level 1 residuals

```

```

4247 for(c in unique(datacomplete$cowcode)) {
4248   datacomplete$life_phys_country_resid_sds[datacomplete$cowcode == c] <-
4249     sd(datacomplete$life_phys_resid_level_1[datacomplete$cowcode == c])
4250 }
4251 datacomplete$life_phys_stand_resid_level_1 <-
4252   datacomplete$life_phys_resid_level_1 /
4253   datacomplete$life_phys_country_resid_sds
4254
4255 #      Calculate level 2 residuals
4256 life_phys_resid_level_2 <- as.data.frame(ranef(life_phys_rig_impart))
4257 life_phys_resid_level_2$cowcode <-
4258   as.numeric(levels(life_phys_resid_level_2$grp))[life_phys_resid_level_2$grp]
4259
4260 #      Standardise level 2 residuals
4261 life_phys_resid_level_2$life_phys_stand_resid_level_2 <-
4262   life_phys_resid_level_2$condval / life_phys_rig_impart_ICC_frame$sdcor[1]
4263
4264 #      Add level 2 residuals to dataset
4265 datacomplete <-
4266   left_join(datacomplete,
4267     life_phys_resid_level_2[, c("cowcode", "condval",
4268                               "life_phys_stand_resid_level_2")],
4269     by = c("cowcode"))
4270 datacomplete <- rename(datacomplete, life_phys_resid_level_2 = condval)
4271
4272 #      Autocorrelation
4273
4274 #      Create dataframe with just the residuals
4275 life_phys_resid_pdata <-
4276   pdata.frame(datacomplete[, c("year", "cowcode", "life_phys_resid_level_1")],
4277               index = c("cowcode", "year"))
4278 #      Create lagged residuals
4279 for (j in 1:20) {
4280   # Create the name of the lagged variable
4281   var <- paste("life_phys_lag", j ,"_resid_level_1", sep = "")
4282   # Generate the lagged variable via plm's implementation of "lag"
4283   life_phys_resid_pdata[, var] <-
4284     plm::lag(life_phys_resid_pdata$life_phys_resid_level_1, k= j)
4285 }
4286
4287 #      Calculate correlations between present values and lags
4288 autocors_life_phys_resid_level_1 <-
4289   cor(life_phys_resid_pdata$life_phys_resid_level_1,
4290     life_phys_resid_pdata[, 4:ncol(life_phys_resid_pdata)],
4291     use = "complete.obs")
4292
4293 #      Reshape the correlations into a more workable format
4294 autocors_life_phys_resid_level_1 <-
4295   tibble(Lag = 1:20, Correlation = t(autocors_life_phys_resid_level_1))
4296
4297 #      Create an autocorrelation plot
4298 ggplot(data = autocors_life_phys_resid_level_1, aes(x = Lag, y = Correlation)) +
4299   geom_col(fill = "lightblue") + blue_light
4300
4301 #      Linearity
4302
4303 #      Plot predicted values against level 1 residuals
4304 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = life_phys_predict,
4305           y = life_phys_stand_resid_level_1)) +

```

```

4306     geom_point(colour = "lightblue") +
4307     geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
4308                 linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) + blue_light +
4309     labs(x = "Predicted value", y = "Level 1 residual (standardised)")
4310
4311 #      Plot values predicted by fixed part against level 2 residuals
4312 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = life_phys_predict - life_phys_resid_level_2,
4313                           y = life_phys_stand_resid_level_2)) +
4314     geom_point(colour = "lightblue") +
4315     geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
4316                 linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) + blue_light +
4317     labs(x = "Fixed part predictions", y = "Level 2 residual (standardised)")
4318
4319 #      Normality
4320
4321 #      Assign residual levels to the residuals for combination
4322 rbind_resids_level_2 <-
4323   rename(life_phys_resid_level_2[, c("cowcode",
4324                                   "life_phys_stand_resid_level_2")],
4325          resid = life_phys_stand_resid_level_2)
4326 rbind_resids_level_2$level <- "Level 2"
4327 rbind_resids_level_1 <-
4328   rename(datacomplete[, c("cowcode", "life_phys_stand_resid_level_1")],
4329          resid = life_phys_stand_resid_level_1)
4330 rbind_resids_level_1$level <- "Level 1"
4331
4332 #      Create long dataset of all residuals
4333 life_phys_resids <- rbind(rbind_resids_level_1, rbind_resids_level_2)
4334 rm(list = c("rbind_resids_level_1", "rbind_resids_level_2"))
4335
4336 #      Plot residuals in dual QQ-plot
4337 withr::with_options(
4338   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = c("#E69F00", "#56B4E9", "#009E73", "#F0E442",
4339         "#0072B2", "#D55E00", "#CC79A7")),
4340   print(ggplot(data = life_phys_resids,
4341                 aes(sample = resid, colour = as.factor(level))) + geom_qq() +
4342     geom_qq_line() + blue_light +
4343     scale_colour_discrete(name = "Residual level") +
4344     labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
4345           x = "Reference normal distribution")) )
4346
4347 #      Plot residuals in single QQ-plots
4348
4349 #      Level 1
4350 ggplot(data = life_phys_resids[life_phys_resids$level == "Level 1", ],
4351           aes(sample = resid)) +
4352   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() + blue_light +
4353   labs(y = "Standardised residuals", x = "Reference normal distribution")
4354
4355 #      Level 2
4356 ggplot(data = life_phys_resids[life_phys_resids$level == "Level 2", ],
4357           aes(sample = resid)) +
4358   geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() + blue_light +
4359   labs(y = "Standardised residuals", x = "Reference normal distribution")
4360
4361 ##### Freedom of movement #####
4362
4363 #  Intercept-only model
4364 free_move_intercept <- lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)

```

```

4365
4366 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4367 #     intervals
4368 coef_test(free_move_intercept, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4369             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4370 conf_int(free_move_intercept, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4371             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4372
4373 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
4374 free_move_intercept_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_move_intercept))
4375 free_move_intercept_ICC_frame
4376
4377 #     ICC
4378 free_move_intercept_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_move_intercept_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4379                                     free_move_intercept_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4380
4381 #     Calculate deviance
4382 deviance_free_move_intercept <- deviance(lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode),
4383                                              data = datacomplete,
4384                                              REML = FALSE))
4385
4386 #     Model with year-fixed effects
4387 free_move_yearfixed <- lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year),
4388                               data = datacomplete)
4389
4390 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4391 #     intervals
4392 coef_test(free_move_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4393             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4394 conf_int(free_move_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4395             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4396
4397 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
4398 free_move_yearfixed_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_move_yearfixed))
4399 free_move_yearfixed_ICC_frame
4400
4401 #     Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4402 1 - sum(free_move_yearfixed_ICC_frame[,4])/
4403     sum(free_move_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
4404
4405 #     ICC
4406 free_move_yearfixed_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_move_yearfixed_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4407                                         free_move_yearfixed_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4408
4409 #     LR-test
4410
4411 #     LR-test against intercept-only model
4412 deviance_free_move_yearfixed <-
4413     deviance(lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year),
4414                 data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4415 deviance_free_move_intercept - deviance_free_move_yearfixed
4416 pchisq(deviance_free_move_intercept - deviance_free_move_yearfixed,
4417         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4418
4419 #     Model with personalism
4420 free_move_personalism <- lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
4421                             latent_personalism, data = datacomplete)
4422
4423 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence

```

```

4424 #     intervals
4425 coef_test(free_move_personalism, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4426             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4427 conf_int(free_move_personalism, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4428             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4429
4430 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
4431 free_move_personalism_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_move_personalism))
4432 free_move_personalism_ICC_frame
4433
4434 #     Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4435 1 - sum(free_move_personalism_ICC_frame[,4])/
4436     sum(free_move_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
4437
4438 #     ICC
4439 free_move_personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
4440     (free_move_personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4441      free_move_personalism_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4442
4443 #     Removing year-fixed effects
4444 free_move_rig_personalism_no_yearfixed <-
4445     lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism, data = datacomplete)
4446 coef_test(free_move_rig_personalism_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
4447             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4448
4449 #     LR-test
4450
4451 #     LR-test against model with year-fixed effects
4452 deviance_free_move_personalism <-
4453     deviance(lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
4454                 latent_personalism, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4455
4456 deviance_free_move_yearfixed - deviance_free_move_personalism
4457 pchisq(deviance_free_move_yearfixed - deviance_free_move_personalism,
4458         df = 1, lower.tail = FALSE)
4459
4460 #     LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
4461 deviance_free_move_personalism_no_yearfixed <-
4462     deviance(lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism,
4463                 data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4464 deviance_free_move_personalism_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_move_personalism
4465 pchisq(deviance_free_move_personalism_no_yearfixed -
4466         deviance_free_move_personalism,
4467         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4468
4469 #     Model with personalism and controls
4470 free_move_control <-
4471     lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) + latent_personalism +
4472             lag_e_minteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr +
4473             lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4474             data = datacomplete)
4475
4476 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4477 #     intervals
4478 coef_test(free_move_control, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4479             coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4480 conf_int(free_move_control, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4481             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4482

```

```

4483 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
4484 free_move_control_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_move_control))
4485 free_move_control_ICC_frame
4486
4487 #     Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4488 1 - sum(free_move_control_ICC_frame[,4])/sum(free_move_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
4489
4490 #     ICC
4491 free_move_control_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_move_control_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4492                               free_move_control_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4493
4494 #     Removing year-fixed effects
4495 free_move_rig_control_no_yearfixed <-
4496   lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco +
4497         lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol +
4498         lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4499         data = datacomplete)
4500 coef_test(free_move_rig_control_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
4501           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4502
4503 #     LR-test
4504
4505 #     LR-test against personalism-only model
4506 deviance_free_move_control <-
4507   deviance(lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
4508                 latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc +
4509                 lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol +
4510                 lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4511                 data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4512 deviance_free_move_personalism - deviance_free_move_control
4513 pchisq(deviance_free_move_personalism - deviance_free_move_control,
4514         df = 9, lower.tail = FALSE)
4515
4516 #     LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
4517 deviance_free_move_control_no_yearfixed <-
4518   deviance(lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism +
4519                 lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
4520                 lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
4521                 gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4522 deviance_free_move_control_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_move_control
4523 pchisq(deviance_free_move_control_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_move_control,
4524         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4525
4526 #     Previous model with rigour and impartiality of the public administration
4527 free_move_rig_impart <-
4528   lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) + latent_personalism +
4529         v2clrspct + lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
4530         lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
4531         gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete)
4532
4533 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4534 #     intervals
4535 coef_test(free_move_rig_impart, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4536           coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4537 conf_int(free_move_rig_impart, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4538           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4539
4540 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
4541 free_move_rig_impart_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(free_move_rig_impart))

```

```

4542 free_move_rig_impart_ICC_frame
4543
4544 #      Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4545 1 - sum(free_move_rig_impart_ICC_frame[,4])/
4546   sum(free_move_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
4547
4548 #      ICC
4549 free_move_rig_impart_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (free_move_rig_impart_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4550                           free_move_rig_impart_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4551
4552 #      Removing year-fixed effects
4553 free_move_rig_impart_no_yearfixed <-
4554   lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + v2clrspct +
4555         lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr +
4556         lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4557         data = datacomplete)
4558 coef_test(free_move_rig_impart_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
4559             test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4560
4561 #      LR-test
4562
4563 #      LR-test against model without rigour and impartiality
4564 #          of the public administration
4565 deviance_free_move_rig_impart <-
4566   deviance(lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
4567                 latent_personalism + v2clrspct + lag_e_miinteco +
4568                 lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr +
4569                 lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military +
4570                 gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4571 deviance_free_move_control - deviance_free_move_rig_impart
4572 pchisq(deviance_free_move_control - deviance_free_move_rig_impart,
4573         df = 1, lower.tail = FALSE)
4574
4575 #      LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
4576 deviance_free_move_rig_impart_no_yearfixed <-
4577   deviance(lmer(freedom_movement ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism +
4578                 v2clrspct + lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc +
4579                 lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol +
4580                 lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4581                 data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4582 deviance_free_move_rig_impart_no_yearfixed - deviance_free_move_rig_impart
4583 pchisq(deviance_free_move_rig_impart_no_yearfixed -
4584         deviance_free_move_rig_impart, df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4585
4586 #      Residual diagnostics
4587
4588 #      Add predicted values to dataset
4589 datacomplete$free_move_predict <- predict(free_move_rig_impart)
4590
4591 #      Add residuals to dataset
4592
4593 #      Calculate level 1 residuals
4594 datacomplete$free_move_resid_level_1 <- residuals(free_move_rig_impart)
4595
4596 #      Standardise level 1 residuals
4597 for(c in unique(datacomplete$cowcode)) {
4598   datacomplete$free_move_country_resid_sds[datacomplete$cowcode == c] <-
4599     sd(datacomplete$free_move_resid_level_1[datacomplete$cowcode == c])
4600 }

```

```

4601 datacomplete$free_move_stand_resid_level_1 <-
4602   datacomplete$free_move_resid_level_1 /
4603   datacomplete$free_move_country_resid_sds
4604
4605 #      Calculate level 2 residuals
4606 free_move_resid_level_2 <- as.data.frame(ranef(free_move_rig_impart))
4607 free_move_resid_level_2$cowcode <-
4608   as.numeric(levels(free_move_resid_level_2$grp))[free_move_resid_level_2$grp]
4609
4610 #      Standardise level 2 residuals
4611 free_move_resid_level_2$free_move_stand_resid_level_2 <-
4612   free_move_resid_level_2$condval / free_move_rig_impart_ICC_frame$sdcor[1]
4613
4614 #      Add level 2 residuals to dataset
4615 datacomplete <-
4616   left_join(datacomplete,
4617     free_move_resid_level_2[, c("cowcode", "condval",
4618                               "free_move_stand_resid_level_2")],
4619     by = c("cowcode"))
4620 datacomplete <- rename(datacomplete, free_move_resid_level_2 = condval)
4621
4622 #      Autocorrelation
4623
4624 #      Create dataframe with just the residuals
4625 free_move_resid_pdata <-
4626   pdata.frame(datacomplete[, c("year", "cowcode", "free_move_resid_level_1")],
4627                 index = c("cowcode", "year"))
4628 #      Create lagged residuals
4629 for (j in 1:20) {
4630   # Create the name of the lagged variable
4631   var <- paste("free_move_lag", j ,"_resid_level_1", sep = "")
4632   # Generate the lagged variable via plm's implementation of "lag"
4633   free_move_resid_pdata[, var] <-
4634     plm:::lag(free_move_resid_pdata$free_move_resid_level_1, k= j)
4635 }
4636
4637 #      Calculate correlations between present values and lags
4638 autocors_free_move_resid_level_1 <-
4639   cor(free_move_resid_pdata$free_move_resid_level_1,
4640     free_move_resid_pdata[, 4:ncol(free_move_resid_pdata)],
4641     use = "complete.obs")
4642
4643 #      Reshape the correlations into a more workable format
4644 autocors_free_move_resid_level_1 <-
4645   tibble(Lag = 1:20, Correlation = t(autocors_free_move_resid_level_1))
4646
4647 #      Create an autocorrelation plot
4648 ggplot(data = autocors_free_move_resid_level_1, aes(x = Lag, y = Correlation)) +
4649   geom_col(fill = "lightblue") + blue_light
4650
4651 #      Linearity
4652
4653 #      Plot predicted values against level 1 residuals
4654 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = free_move_predict,
4655           y = free_move_stand_resid_level_1)) +
4656   geom_point(colour = "lightblue") +
4657   geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
4658               linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) + blue_light +
4659   labs(x = "Predicted value", y = "Level 1 residual (standardised)")

```

```

4660
4661 #      Plot fixed part predictions against level 2 residuals
4662 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = free_move_predict - free_move_resid_level_2,
4663             y = free_move_stand_resid_level_2)) +
4664   geom_point(colour = "lightblue") +
4665   geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
4666               linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) + blue_light +
4667   labs(x = "Fixed part predictions", y = "Level 2 residual (standardised)") 
4668
4669 #      Normality
4670
4671 #      Assign residual levels to the residuals for combination
4672 rbind_resids_level_2 <-
4673   rename(free_move_resid_level_2[, c("cowcode",
4674                               "free_move_stand_resid_level_2")],
4675         resid = free_move_stand_resid_level_2)
4676 rbind_resids_level_2$level <- "Level 2"
4677 rbind_resids_level_1 <-
4678   rename(datacomplete[, c("cowcode", "free_move_stand_resid_level_1")],
4679         resid = free_move_stand_resid_level_1)
4680 rbind_resids_level_1$level <- "Level 1"
4681
4682 #      Create long dataset of all residuals
4683 free_move_resids <- rbind(rbind_resids_level_1, rbind_resids_level_2)
4684 rm(list = c("rbind_resids_level_1", "rbind_resids_level_2"))
4685
4686 #      Plot residuals in dual QQ-plot
4687 withr::with_options(
4688   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = c("#E69F00", "#56B4E9", "#009E73", "#F0E442",
4689           "#0072B2", "#D55E00", "#CC79A7")),
4690   print(ggplot(data = free_move_resids, aes(sample = resid,
4691                     colour = as.factor(level))) +
4692     geom_qq() + geom_qq_line() + blue_light +
4693     scale_colour_discrete(name = "Residual level") +
4694     labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
4695           x = "Reference normal distribution")) )
4696
4697 #      Plot residuals in single QQ-plots
4698 #      Level 1
4699 ggplot(data = free_move_resids[free_move_resids$level == "Level 1", ],
4700         aes(sample = resid)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
4701         blue_light + labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
4702                           x = "Reference normal distribution")
4703
4704 #      Level 2
4705 ggplot(data = free_move_resids[free_move_resids$level == "Level 2", ],
4706         aes(sample = resid)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") + geom_qq_line() +
4707         blue_light + labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
4708                           x = "Reference normal distribution")
4709
4710 ##### Rigour and impartiality of the public administration #####
4711
4712 #  Random intercept-only model
4713 rig_impart_intercept <- lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode), data = datacomplete)
4714
4715 #  Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4716 #  intervals
4717 coef_test(rig_impart_intercept, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4718           coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)

```

```

4719 conf_int(rig_impart_intercept, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4720           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4721
4722 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
4723 rig_impart_intercept_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(rig_impart_intercept))
4724 rig_impart_intercept_ICC_frame
4725
4726 #     ICC
4727 rig_impart_intercept_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (rig_impart_intercept_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4728                                         rig_impart_intercept_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4729
4730 #     Calculate deviance
4731 deviance_rig_impart_intercept <- deviance(lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode),
4732                                              data = datacomplete,
4733                                              REML = FALSE))
4734
4735 #     Model with time-fixed effects
4736 rig_impart_yearfixed <- lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year),
4737                                 data = datacomplete)
4738
4739 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4740 #     intervals
4741 coef_test(rig_impart_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4742            coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4743 conf_int(rig_impart_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4744           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4745
4746 #     Retrieve variance decomposition
4747 rig_impart_yearfixed_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(rig_impart_yearfixed))
4748 rig_impart_yearfixed_ICC_frame
4749
4750 #     Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4751 1 - sum(rig_impart_yearfixed_ICC_frame[,4])/
4752   sum(rig_impart_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
4753
4754 #     ICC
4755 rig_impart_yearfixed_ICC_frame[1, 4] / (rig_impart_yearfixed_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4756                                         rig_impart_yearfixed_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4757
4758 #     LR-test against intercept-only model
4759 deviance_rig_impart_yearfixed <-
4760   deviance(lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year), data = datacomplete,
4761                  REML = FALSE))
4762 deviance_rig_impart_intercept - deviance_rig_impart_yearfixed
4763 pchisq(deviance_rig_impart_intercept - deviance_rig_impart_yearfixed,
4764         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4765
4766 #     Model with personalism
4767 rig_impart_personalism <- lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) +
4768                                     latent_personalism, data = datacomplete)
4769
4770 #     Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4771 #     intervals
4772 coef_test(rig_impart_personalism, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4773            coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4774 conf_int(rig_impart_personalism, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4775           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4776
4777 #     Retrieve variance decomposition

```

```

4778 rig_impart_personalism_ICC_frame <-
4779   as.data.frame(VarCorr(rig_impart_personalism))
4780 rig_impart_personalism_ICC_frame
4781
4782 #      Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4783 1 - sum(rig_impart_personalism_ICC_frame[,4])/
4784   sum(rig_impart_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])
4785
4786 #      ICC
4787 rig_impart_personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
4788   (rig_impart_personalism_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4789     rig_impart_personalism_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4790
4791 #      Removing year-fixed effects
4792 rig_impart_personalism_no_yearfixed <-
4793   lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism, data = datacomplete)
4794 coef_test(rig_impart_personalism_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2",
4795           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4796
4797 #      LR-test
4798
4799 #      LR-test against year-fixed effects model
4800 deviance_rig_impart_personalism <-
4801   deviance(lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) + latent_personalism,
4802             data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4803 deviance_rig_impart_yearfixed - deviance_rig_impart_personalism
4804 pchisq(deviance_rig_impart_intercept - deviance_rig_impart_personalism,
4805         df = 1, lower.tail = FALSE)
4806
4807 #      LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
4808 deviance_rig_impart_personalism_no_yearfixed <-
4809   deviance(lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism,
4810             data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4811 deviance_rig_impart_personalism_no_yearfixed - deviance_rig_impart_personalism
4812 pchisq(deviance_rig_impart_personalism_no_yearfixed -
4813         deviance_rig_impart_personalism,
4814         df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4815
4816 #      Model with personalism and controls
4817 rig_impart_control <-
4818   lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) + latent_personalism +
4819     lag_e_minteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr +
4820     lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4821   data = datacomplete)
4822
4823 #      Calculate clustered standard errors, t-values, p-values and confidence
4824 #      intervals
4825 coef_test(rig_impart_control, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4826           coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4827 conf_int(rig_impart_control, vcov = "CR2", level = 0.9875,
4828           test = "Satterthwaite", coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4829
4830 #      Retrieve variance decomposition
4831 rig_impart_control_ICC_frame <- as.data.frame(VarCorr(rig_impart_control))
4832 rig_impart_control_ICC_frame
4833
4834 #      Calculate R-squared compared to intercept-only model
4835 1 - sum(rig_impart_control_ICC_frame[,4])/
4836   sum(rig_impart_intercept_ICC_frame[,4])

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4837
4838 #      ICC
4839 rig_impart_control_ICC_frame[1, 4] /
4840   (rig_impart_control_ICC_frame[1, 4] +
4841     rig_impart_control_ICC_frame[2, 4])
4842
4843 #      Removing year-fixed effects
4844 rig_impart_control_no_yearfixed <-
4845   lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco +
4846         lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol +
4847         lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military + gwf_party,
4848         data = datacomplete)
4849 coef_test(rig_impart_control_no_yearfixed, vcov = "CR2", test = "Satterthwaite",
4850            coefs = "All", p_values = TRUE)
4851
4852 #      LR-test
4853
4854 #      LR-test against model without regime type controls
4855 deviance_rig_impart_control <-
4856   deviance(lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode) + as.factor(year) + latent_personalism +
4857                 lag_e_miinteco + lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln +
4858                 lag_e_migdpgr + lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch +
4859                 gwf_military + gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4860 deviance_rig_impart_personalism - deviance_rig_impart_control
4861 pchisq(deviance_rig_impart_personalism - deviance_rig_impart_control,
4862        df = 9, lower.tail = FALSE)
4863
4864 #      LR-test against model without year-fixed effects
4865 deviance_rig_impart_control_no_yearfixed <-
4866   deviance(lmer(v2clrspct ~ (1|cowcode) + latent_personalism + lag_e_miinteco +
4867                 lag_e_miinterc + lag_e_migdppcln + lag_e_migdpgr +
4868                 lag_v2caviol + lag_log10pop + gwf_monarch + gwf_military +
4869                 gwf_party, data = datacomplete, REML = FALSE))
4870 deviance_rig_impart_control_no_yearfixed - deviance_rig_impart_control
4871 pchisq(deviance_rig_impart_control_no_yearfixed - deviance_rig_impart_control,
4872        df = 54, lower.tail = FALSE)
4873
4874 #      Residual diagnostics
4875
4876 #      Add predicted values to dataset
4877 datacomplete$rig_impart_predict <- predict(rig_impart_control)
4878
4879 #      Add residuals to dataset
4880
4881 #      Calculate level 1 residuals
4882 datacomplete$rig_impart_resid_level_1 <- residuals(rig_impart_control)
4883
4884 #      Standardise level 1 residuals
4885 for(c in unique(datacomplete$cowcode)) {
4886   datacomplete$rig_impart_country_resid_sds[datacomplete$cowcode == c] <-
4887     sd(datacomplete$rig_impart_resid_level_1[datacomplete$cowcode == c])
4888 }
4889 datacomplete$rig_impart_stand_resid_level_1 <-
4890   datacomplete$rig_impart_resid_level_1 /
4891   datacomplete$rig_impart_country_resid_sds
4892
4893 #      Calculate level 2 residuals
4894 rig_impart_resid_level_2 <- as.data.frame(ranef(rig_impart_control))
4895 rig_impart_resid_level_2$cowcode <-

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4896 as.numeric(levels(rig_impart_resid_level_2$grp))[rig_impart_resid_level_2$grp]
4897
4898 #      Standardise level 2 residuals
4899 rig_impart_resid_level_2$rig_impart_stand_resid_level_2 <-
4900   rig_impart_resid_level_2$condval / rig_impart_control_ICC_frame$sdcor[1]
4901
4902 #      Add level 2 residuals to dataset
4903 datacomplete <-
4904   left_join(datacomplete,
4905     rig_impart_resid_level_2[, c("cowcode", "condval",
4906                               "rig_impart_stand_resid_level_2")],
4907     by = c("cowcode"))
4908 datacomplete <- rename(datacomplete, rig_impart_resid_level_2 = condval)
4909
4910 #      Autocorrelation
4911
4912 #      Create dataframe with just the residuals
4913 rig_impart_resid_pdata <-
4914   pdata.frame(datacomplete[, c("year", "cowcode", "rig_impart_resid_level_1")],
4915                 index = c("cowcode", "year"))
4916 #      Create lagged residuals
4917 for (j in 1:20) {
4918   # Create the name of the lagged variable
4919   var <- paste("rig_impart_lag", j ,"_resid_level_1", sep = "")
4920   # Generate the lagged variable via plm's implementation of "lag"
4921   rig_impart_resid_pdata[, var] <-
4922     plm:::lag(rig_impart_resid_pdata$rig_impart_resid_level_1, k= j)
4923 }
4924
4925 #      Calculate correlations between present values and lags
4926 autocors_rig_impart_resid_level_1 <-
4927   cor(rig_impart_resid_pdata$rig_impart_resid_level_1,
4928     rig_impart_resid_pdata[, 4:ncol(rig_impart_resid_pdata)],
4929     use = "complete.obs")
4930
4931 #      Reshape the correlations into a more workable format
4932 autocors_rig_impart_resid_level_1 <-
4933   tibble(Lag = 1:20, Correlation = t(autocors_rig_impart_resid_level_1))
4934
4935 #      Create an autocorrelation plot
4936 ggplot(data = autocors_rig_impart_resid_level_1, aes(x = Lag,
4937                                         y = Correlation)) +
4938   geom_col(fill = "lightblue") + blue_light
4939
4940 #      Linearity
4941
4942 #      Plot predicted values against level 1 residuals
4943 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = rig_impart_predict,
4944                           y = rig_impart_stand_resid_level_1)) +
4945   geom_point(colour = "lightblue") +
4946   geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",
4947               linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) + blue_light +
4948   labs(x = "Predicted value", y = "Level 1 residual (standardised)")
4949
4950 #      Plot fixed part predictions against level 2 residuals
4951 ggplot(datacomplete, aes(x = rig_impart_predict - rig_impart_resid_level_2,
4952                           y = rig_impart_stand_resid_level_2)) +
4953   geom_point(colour = "lightblue") +
4954   geom_smooth(method = lm, formula = y ~ x, colour = "black",

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4955      linetype = "dashed", se = FALSE) + blue_light +
4956      labs(x = "Fixed part predictions", y = "Level 2 residual (standardised)")
4957
4958 #      Normality
4959
4960 #      Assign residual levels to the residuals for combination
4961 rbind_resids_level_2 <-
4962   rename(rig_impart_resid_level_2[, c("cowcode",
4963                                     "rig_impart_stand_resid_level_2")],
4964         resid = rig_impart_stand_resid_level_2)
4965 rbind_resids_level_2$level <- "Level 2"
4966 rbind_resids_level_1 <-
4967   rename(datacomplete[, c("cowcode", "rig_impart_stand_resid_level_1")],
4968         resid = rig_impart_stand_resid_level_1)
4969 rbind_resids_level_1$level <- "Level 1"
4970
4971 #      Create long dataset of all residuals
4972 rig_impart_resids <- rbind(rbind_resids_level_1, rbind_resids_level_2)
4973 rm(list = c("rbind_resids_level_1", "rbind_resids_level_2"))
4974
4975 #      Plot residuals in dual QQ-plot
4976 withr::with_options(
4977   list(ggplot2.discrete.colour = c("#E69F00", "#56B4E9", "#009E73", "#F0E442",
4978           "#0072B2", "#D55E00", "#CC79A7")),
4979   print(ggplot(data = rig_impart_resids, aes(sample = resid,
4980                     colour = as.factor(level))) +
4981     geom_qq() + geom_qq_line() + blue_light +
4982     scale_colour_discrete(name = "Residual level") +
4983     labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
4984           x = "Reference normal distribution")) )
4985
4986 #      Plot residuals in single QQ-plots
4987
4988 #      Level 1
4989 ggplot(data = rig_impart_resids[rig_impart_resids$level == "Level 1", ],
4990         aes(sample = resid)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") +
4991         geom_qq_line() + blue_light + labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
4992                                             x = "Reference normal distribution")
4993
4994 #      Level 2
4995 ggplot(data = rig_impart_resids[rig_impart_resids$level == "Level 2", ],
4996         aes(sample = resid)) + geom_qq(colour = "lightblue") +
4997         geom_qq_line() + blue_light + labs(y = "Standardised residuals",
4998                                             x = "Reference normal distribution")

```