

APPENDIX A: ASSESSING CAUSAL HOMOGENEITY

| <i>Case</i> | <i>Main reform in oil sector</i> | <i>NOC's dependence</i> | <i>X₁</i> | <i>Service contracts</i> | <i>X₂</i> | <i>NOC granted special status</i> | <i>X₃</i> | <i>Joined OGP during/after new policy</i> | <i>W₁</i> | <i>Joined EITI during/after new policy</i> | <i>W₂</i> |
|--|--|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---|----------------------|---|----------------------|--|----------------------|
| Argentina under Kirchner (2007–2015) | Repsol-YPF re-nationalization (2012) | Dependent | 1 | 1 | 1 | YPF granted special status | 1 | 2012 | 1 | No | 0 |
| Bolivia under Morales (2006–2018) | Hydrocarbons nationalization (2006) | Dependent | 1 | 1 | 1 | YPFB granted special status | 1 | no | 0 | No | 0 |
| Brazil under Lula (2003–2010) | Pre-salt nationalization (2006) | Dependent | 1 | 1 | 1 | Petrobras S.A. granted special status | 1 | 2011 | 1 | No | 0 |
| Colombia under Santos (2010–2018) | Continue opening and NOC privatization (2007) | Autonomous | 0 | 0 | 0 | Ecopetrol S.A. competes with private corporations | 0 | 2011 | 1 | 2014 | 1 |
| Ecuador under Correa (2007–2016) | Contracts negotiation (2010) | Dependent | 1 | 1 | 1 | Petroecuador granted special status | 1 | no | 0 | No | 0 |
| Mexico under Peña Nieto (2012–2018) | Partial opening of upstream (2013) | Dependent | 1 | 1 | 1 | Pemex granted special status | 1 | 2011 | 1 | 2017 | 1 |
| Peru under Toledo (2001–2006) | Continue opening with Camisea gas project (2001) | Autonomous | 0 | 0 | 0 | Petroperu competes with private corporations | 0 | 2011 | 1 | 2007 | 1 |
| Trinidad and Tobago under Noor Hassanali (1987–1997) | Continue opening of petroleum sector | Autonomous | 0 | 0 | 0 | Petrotrin competes with private corporations | 0 | 2013 | 1 | 2011 | 1 |
| Venezuela under Chavez (1999–2013) | Contracts renegotiation (2001) | Dependent | 1 | 1 | 1 | PdVSA granted special status | 1 | no | 0 | No | 0 |

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| <i>Case</i> | <i>Voice and accountability^a</i> | Υ_1 | <i>Regulatory quality^a</i> | Υ_2 | <i>Rule of law^a</i> | Υ_3 | $X_1^p X_2^p X_3$ | $W_1 + W_2$ | $\Upsilon_1^p \Upsilon_2^p \Upsilon_3$ | $X - W$ | $X^b W^b \Upsilon$ |
|--|---|--------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|--|---------|--------------------|
| Argentina under Kirchner (2007–2015) | +/+ | 0 | -/- | 1 | -/- | 1 | 1.000 | 0.500 | 0.667 | 0.500 | 0.750 |
| Bolivia under Morales (2006–2018) | +/- | 1 | -/- | 1 | -/- | 1 | 1.000 | 0.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Brazil under Lula (2003–2010) | +/+ | 0 | +/+ | 0 | -/- | 1 | 1.000 | 0.500 | 0.333 | 0.500 | 1.500 |
| Colombia under Santos (2010–2018) | -/- | 1 | +/+ | 0 | -/- | 1 | 0.000 | 1.000 | 0.667 | -1.000 | 0.000 |
| Ecuador under Correa (2007–2016) | -/- | 1 | -/- | 1 | -/- | 1 | 1.000 | 0.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Mexico under Peña Nieto (2012–2018) | +/+ | 0 | +/+ | 0 | -/- | 1 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 0.333 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Peru under Toledo (2001–2006) | -/+ | 0 | +/+ | 0 | -/- | 1 | 0.000 | 1.000 | 0.333 | -1.000 | -3.000 |
| Trinidad and Tobago under Noor Hassanali (1987–1997) | +/+ | 0 | +/+ | 0 | +/- | 1 | 0.000 | 1.000 | 0.333 | -1.000 | -3.000 |
| Venezuela under Chavez (1999–2013) | -/- | 1 | -/- | 1 | -/- | 1 | 1.000 | 0.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |

Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on EIA (2018), WGI (2018), OGP (2018), EITI (2018)

^aPre-reform mean/post-reform mean

^bThese countries joined the OGP or the EITI programs after 2017 (OGP 2018; EITI 2018)

APPENDIX B: COLLECTED EVIDENCE FROM THE VENEZUELAN CASE

| <i>Expected empirical observations</i> | <i>Evidence found</i> | <i>Sources</i> |
|---|--|--|
| Explicit claims in government's program (PT1) | Discourse Chávez as a candidate (final discourse before elections in 1998) Discourse Chávez Inauguration Act February 1999 Press article on Chávez claiming PDVSA is a State within the State Report "Plena Soberanía Petrolera. Al pueblo lo que es del pueblo" Discourse of Chávez calling for a new Constitution Decree to recall a referendum to form a National Assembly Text of the Referendum to validate a new constitutional project published in March and voted in April 1999 Elections for a Constituent Assembly in July 1999 A new Constitution sanctioned in 1999 A press article's recount on the Constitutional project A project to reform the Constitution in 2007. Full discourse of Chávez before the National Assembly | Ministerio de Planificación y Desarrollo (MPPP) (2001, 2007) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4p_tDYgFRAY&t=861s "El fin de un Estado dentro del Estado" La Nación, El Mundo. December 9, 1998. Available at: https://www.lanacion.com.ar/120904-el-fin-de-un-estado-dentro-del-estado Ministry of Communication and Information, October 2004, p. 5. Available at: http://www.minci.gob.ve/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2013/01/folletosoberaniapetrolera.pdf https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4p_tDYgFRAY Decree No. 3, Official Gazette No. 36634, February 2, 1999 Official Gazette No. 36669, March 25, 1999 Official bulletin by the Electoral Council available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5vHUqTFvEjs Official Gazette No. 36860, December 30, 1999 "Así fue la Constituyente de 1999 en seis claves" by Ivis León. Efecto Cocuyo, May 5, 2017. Available at: http://efectococuyo.com/politica/asi-fue-la-constituyente-de-1999-en-seis-claves/ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ITnNXbwIYL4 |

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| <i>Expected empirical observations</i> | <i>Evidence found</i> | <i>Sources</i> |
|---|--|--|
| Press article on the new socialist project presented by Chávez | | <p>“Presidente presentó Proyecto Nacional Simón Bolívar—Primer Plan Socialista” Agencia Bolivariana de Noticias in Aporrea. September 30, 2007. Available at: https://www.aporrea.org/actualidad/n102287.html</p> |
| Chávez discourse defining the ‘5 engines’ of the National Project Simon Bolívar towards socialism | | <p>Full discourse: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TyPdKhorEYyc</p> |
| Press article on Chávez new socialist project | | <p>“Venezuela ‘hacia el socialismo’” by Carlos Chirino, BBC Mundo, January 9, 2007. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/spanish/latin_america/newsid_6245000/6245591.stm</p> |
| Explicit claims by government in development model (PT3) | The Alternative Bolivarian Agenda (AAB) | <p>Ediciones Correo del Orinoco, February 2014. Available at: http://www.mimici.gob.ve/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Libro-Rojo-11-2-14-fs-web.pdf</p> |
| | The General Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development Plan for the Nation 2001–2007 and 2007–2013 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of Planning, September 2001. Available at: http://www.mppp.gob.ve/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Plan-de-la-Naci%C3%B3n-2001-2007.pdf |
| Explicit claims by government in State apparatus design (PT4) | The Alternative Bolivarian Agenda (AAB) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of Planning, September 2007. Available at: http://www.mppp.gob.ve/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Plan-de-la-Naci%C3%B3n-2007-2013.pdf |
| | Press article on the dismantling of the Congress and the Legislative | <p>Ediciones Correo del Orinoco, February 2014. Available at: http://www.mimici.gob.ve/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Libro-Rojo-11-2-14-fs-web.pdf</p> |
| The General Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development Plan for the Nation 2001–2007 | | <p>“La Asamblea del Presidente Chávez asume el poder político absoluto en Venezuela”, El País, Javier Moreno. Caracas, August 4 1999. Available at: https://elpais.com/diario/1999/08/04/internacional/933717602_850215.html</p> <p>Ministry of Planning, September 2001. Page 126. Available at: http://www.mppp.gob.ve/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Plan-de-la-Naci%C3%B3n-2001-2007.pdf</p> |

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| <i>Expected empirical observations</i> | <i>Evidence found</i> | <i>Sources</i> |
|---|--|--|
| Change in the policy area planning (PA1) | Brochures and official news of the Oil Sovereignty Plan by the Ministry of Communication and Information, PDVSA and the Ministry of Energy and Petroleum | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of Communication and Information: http://minci.gob.ve/2013/03/politica-petrolera-de-la-revolucion-garantiza-inversion-social/ Brochure: http://www.minci.gob.ve/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2013/01/folleto soberania petrolera.pdf PDVSA: http://www.pdvs.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8010:plan-siembra-petrolera-cumplio-diez-anos&catid=10&Itemid=589&lang=es Ministry of Energy: http://www.mpetrominve.com/secciones6715.html |
| | PDVSA's news on Oil Sovereignty Plan | “PDVSA consolida Política de Plena Soberanía Petrolera” PDVSA, April 30, 2009. Available at: http://www.pdvs.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3325:7484&catid=10&Itemid=589&lang=es |
| | The development plan for the nation for 2001–2007 | Ministry of Planning, September 2001. Available at: http://www.mppp.gob.ve/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Plan-de-la-Naci%C3%B3n-2001-2007.pdf |
| | The development plan for the nation for 2007–2013 | Presidency of the Republic, 2007: https://www.mppeuct.gob.ve/el-ministerio/politicas/leyes-y-planes/proyecto-nacional-simon-bolivar-primer-plan-socialista-pps |
| | Constitutional provisions | Articles 5, 11, 302, 303 |
| | Organic Law of Gaseous Hydrocarbons Regulation of the Gaseous Hydrocarbons Law | Official Gazette No. 36793, September 23, 1999 Official Gazette Ext. 5471, June 5, 2000 |
| | Organic Law of Hydrocarbons Presidential Decree 5200 | Official Gazette No. 37323 Decree 1510, November 13, 2001 Official Gazette No. 38632, February 26, 2007 |

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| <i>Expected empirical observations</i> | <i>Evidence found</i> | <i>Sources</i> |
|---|--|---|
| Law that reserves all goods and assets related to primary activities in the oil industry to the State | Press articles on the nationalization of the oil industry in Venezuela | Official Gazette No. 39173, May 7, 2009 “Farewell to the apertura petrolera” <i>The Economist</i> , April 5, 2006. Available at: https://www.economist.com/node/6767727 “Tal día como hoy, en 2007, Venezuela recupera la Faja Petrolífera del Orinoco” Noticias del Ministerio del Poder Popular del Petróleo, May 1, 2016. Available at: http://www.mpetromin.gob.ve/portalmenpet/noticias.php?option=view&idNot=3929 |
| Change in the policy area budget allocation (PA3) | Constitutional provisions Organic Law of Hydrocarbons Organic Law of Gaseous Hydrocarbons Income tax law Law over extraordinary prices from hydrocarbons in international markets Project for the National Budget Law and Special Indebtedness Law for fiscal year 2013 | Articles 5, 311 Articles 20, 48 Article 44 Articles 11 and 53 literal b. Official Gazette No. 37323, Decree No. 5.557, November 13, 2001 Official Gazette No. 38910, April 15, 2008. Reformed by Official Gazette Ext. No. 6.022, April 18, 2011, later reformed by Presidential Decree No. 8.807 in Official Gazette No. 39871, February 27, 2012 Ministry of Planning and Finance. October 2012. Page 14 |
| Change in the policy area administration (PA4) | Press article on the new roles of PDVSA | “Una OPEP fortalecida tras la Declaración de Caracas” <i>informativos</i> .net, September 29, 2000. Available at: http://informativos.net/panorama-mundial/una-opec-fortalecida-tras-la-declaracion-de-caracas_19793.aspx “Venezuela gears up for historic OPEC summit” <i>CNN.com</i> , September 25, 2000. Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2000/WORLD/americas/09/25/opec.summit/index.html |

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| Expected empirical observations | Evidence found | Sources |
|---|---|---|
| Change in the cross-sectorial planning (PBI) | Press articles on Chávez' changes to PDVSA's Directory Board | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Alvaro Silva Calderón será nuevo ministro de Energía y Minas de Venezuela”, <i>Analítica</i>, December 28, 2000. Available at: http://www.analitica.com/actualidad/actualidad-nacional/alvaro-silva-calderon-sera-nuevo-ministro-de-energia-y-minas-de-venezuela/ • “Pdvsas's Giusti resigns following elections” <i>Oil and Gas Journal</i>, January 4, 1999. Available at: https://www.ogj.com/articles/print/volume-97/issue-1/in-this-issue/general-interest/pdvsas39s-giusti-resigns-following-elections.html • “Mandini's sudden resignation leaves few surprised by move” <i>The Wall Street Journal</i>, August 31, 1999. Available at: https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB936061143736100853 • Radio show in which Chávez designated Guaiçapuro Lameda as the new president of PDVSA. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VlzZOV2WjVk |
| Merging in the cross-sectorial planning (PBI) | Merging the direction of PDVSA with the Ministry of Energy Legal reforms to the BCV Presidential Decree No. 8.163 | Decree No. 3264, Official Gazette No. 38082, December 8, 2004 All reforms of the BCV's legal framework are available at: http://www.bcv.org.ve/blanksite/c3/legislacion.asp Official Gazette Ext. No. 6.022, April 18, 2011, later reformed by Presidential Decree No. 8.807 in Official Gazette No. 39871, February 27, 2012. |
| Redefinition of the role of the Ministry of Information and Communication | Redefinition of the role of the Ministry of Information and Communication | Official Gazette No. 37562, November 4, 2002 Article 21 |

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Nationalization of CANTV

- “Gobierno nacional dio primer paso hacia nacionalización de Cantv” Ministerio del poder popular para Educación Universitaria, Ciencia y Tecnología. February 12, 2007. Available at: <http://www.cantv.com.ve/seccion.asp?pid=1&sid=1651&no tid=2649>

- Chronological description of the nationalization process in the Introductory section of the Annual Report of CANTV prepared for 2007. Available at: http://www.cantv.com.ve/Portales/Cantv/data/CANTV_InformeAnual_%202007.pdf

Change in the cross-sectorial regulation (PB2)

Legal reforms to the FIEM
Legal reforms to the FEM

www.bcv.org.ve/fiem/fiem.htm

<http://www.bcv.org.ve/fiem/fiem.asp>

Also Official Gazettes No. 38670 of April 25, 2007 and No. 38846 (via enabling law) of January 9, 2008 available at: <http://spgo.in>

imprentanacional.gob.ve/cgi-win/be_alex.cgi?nombrebd=spgo.in

“Chávez quiere el dinero del Banco Central.” by Michaela Romani,

[AmericaEconomica.com](http://www.AmericaEconomica.com), January 2, 2003. Available at: <http://www.AmericaEconomica.com/numeros4/246/reportajes/miki246.htm>

“Tras un millardito de dólares” Ismael E. Medina, El Tiempo.

November 17, 2003. Available at: <http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1007913>

“Lo tuyo es puro teatro” Teodoro Petkoff. Tal Cual. January 4, 2004. Available at: <http://talcualdigital.com/index.php/2004/01/09/lo-tuyo-es-puro-teatro-por-teodoro-petkoff/>

Official Gazette No. 38232, July 20, 2005

“Chávez alabó aprobación en primera discusión a reforma de Ley del BCV” by Analítica, June 23, 2005. Available at: <http://www.analitica.com/actualidad/nacional/chavez-alabo-aprobacion-en-primera-discusion-a-reforma-de-ley-del-bcv/>

Reform of the BCV in 2005

Press article on reform of the BCV legal framework

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|---|---|
| Creation of FONDEN | Official Gazette No. 38261, August 30, 2005, Presidential Decree No. 3854 |
| Press article on the creation of FONDEN | “Chávez: Comencé pidiendo un millardito y ahora son seis”. La voce d’Italia, July 21, 2005. Available at: https://voce.com.ve/2005/07/21/26343/chavez-%C2%ABcomence-pidiendo-un-millardito-y-ahora-son-seis%C2%BB/ |
| Exchange Agreement No. 9 | Official Gazette No. 38318, November 21, 2005 |
| Press articles on massive dismissals of PDVSA’s labor force | “El Ministro de Energía ratifica el despido masivo de Pdvsa por secundar huelga general” EFE, June 17, 2003. El Día.es Available at: http://eldia.es/venezuela/2003-06-17/1-ministro-Energia-ratifica-despido-masivo-Pdvsa-secundar-huelga-general.htm |
| Press articles on the reforms of PDVSA’s statutes | “Chávez hace reformas en PDVSA y ordena incorporar a dos ministros en la junta directiva”. Notimérica, May 26 (no year). See: http://www.notimerica.com/politica/noticia-venezuela-chavez-hace-reformas-pdvsa-ordena-incorporar-dos-ministros-junta-directiva-20110526212640.html |
| Presidential Decree No. 3.299 to reform the Statutes of PDVSA | “Reforma de estatutos de PDVSA lista para revisión”. Aporrea, November 26th 2004. See: https://www.aporrea.org/actualidad/n53096.html |
| Merging the direction of PDVSA with the Ministry of Energy | Official Gazette No. 38081, December 7, 2004 |
| Presidential Decree No. 3.264 Naming Rafael Ramírez as President of PDVSA | Statutes of PDVSA: http://www.pdvsa.com/images/pdf/marcolegal/estatutos_de_pdvsa.pdf |
| Presidential Decree No. 1.880 Naming Rafael Ramírez as Ministry of Energy | Decree No. 3264, Official Gazette No. 38082, December 8, 2004 |
| | Official Gazette No. 38070, November 22, 2004 |
| | Republished in Official Gazette No. 38081, December 7, 2004 |
| | Official Gazette No. 37486, July 17, 2002 |

| <i>Expected empirical observations</i> | <i>Evidence found</i> | <i>Sources</i> |
|---|--|--|
| Change in the cross-sectorial budget allocation (PB3) | New fiscal law, the LOAFSP. New law for the BCV in 2001 BANDES | Official Gazette No. 37029, September 5, 2000 Official Gazette No. 37296, October 23, 2001 Official Gazette No. 37194, May 10, 2001 and No. 37228, June 27, 2001 |
| Change in the cross-sectorial administration (PB4) | Creation of CADIVI Presidential Decree No. 2.302 Presidential Decree No. 3.128 to create the Ministry of State for Financing Development Presidential Decree No. 5.384 to create the Central Planning Commission Chávez' discourse on PDVSA's meritocracy | Official Gazette No. 37625, February 5, 2003 Official Gazette No. 38027 September 21 2004 Official Gazette Ext. No. 5841, June 22, 2007. Later reformed in January 28, 2011, Official Gazette No. 39604, Decree No. 8.006 Alo Presidente No. 101, April 7, 2002. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VCf2aPMJq8 |
| Traces in the incumbent's statements (PC1) | Press articles on Chávez public dismissal of PDVSA's top managers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Venezuela's Chávez fires 7 PDVSA exec rebel leaders" ICIS, April 8, 2002. Available at: https://www.icis.com/resources/news/2002/04/08/160702/venezuela-s-chavez-fires-7-pdvsa-exec-rebel-leaders/ • "Muchas gracias por sus servicios", dijo Chávez al anunciar siete despidos de la nómina mayor de PDVSA" <i>Analítica</i>, April 7, 2002. Available at: http://www.analitica.com/actualidad/actualidad-nacional/muchas-gracias-por-sus-servicios-dijo-chavez-al-anunciar-siete-despidos-de-la-nomina-mayor-de-pdvsa • "El Ministro de Energía ratifica el despido masivo de Pdvsa por secundar huelga general" <i>EFE</i>, June 17, 2003. <i>El Día.es</i> Available at: http://eldia.es/venezuela/2003-06-17/1-ministro-energia-ratifica-despido-masivo-Pdvsa-secundar-huelga-general-htm/ |

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Chávez' reaction on strikes

“Chávez militarizará Petróleos de Venezuela si prosigue la revuelta de sus trabajadores” Luis Prados, El País, March 19, 2002. Available at: https://elpais.com/diario/2002/03/19/internacional/1016492403_850215.html

Chávez' comments on the national strike announcement: Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pK21JGHUEhg>

Press article on Chávez militarization of Caracas before the strike

“Chávez ordenó militarización de Caracas” AFP, El Universo, October 9, 2002. Available at: <https://www.eluniverso.com/2002/10/09/0001/14/D3CA2A5BDE54B39A81A5EAB2C00D2B7.html>

Chávez discourse on the strike of December 2002

Alo Presidente No. 132. December 22, 2002. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4hg-dooXH8M>

Interview with Chávez by Jorge Gestoso on CNN, December 13, 2002

Full transcription by Aporrea. Available at: <https://www.aporrea.org/actualidad/a1456.html>

Chávez' discourse on controlling the strike of December 2002

Alo Presidente No. 138, February 9, 2003. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Ymmjqlbftwc&t=10s>

Chávez' speech before the National Assembly about prompting a crisis in PDVSA.

Speech available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DhKxPNmewA0>

Traces in the legislative process (PC2)

Chávez creates 8 new security zones to prohibit demonstrations
Ministry of Defense creates regulation for the security zones

Presidential Decrees No. 1.968 through 1.975. Official Gazette No. 37.530, September 18, 2002
Official Gazette Ext. 5.603, September 19, 2002

Reform of the National Security Law
Press article on the new security zones

Official Gazette No. 37.594, December 18, 2002

“El derecho a marchar a Miraflores” Intro Rodriguez, Provea. October 28, 2016. Available at: <https://www.derechos.org/ve/opinion/el-derecho-de-marchar-a-miraflores>

Chávez commands the army to take over PDVSA's facilities

Presidential Decree No. 2.172, Official Gazette Ext. 5.612, December 8, 2002

| <i>Expected empirical observations</i> | <i>Evidence found</i> | <i>Sources</i> |
|--|--|--|
| | Press article on Chávez calling the army to control PDVSA | “EEUU pide ahora un referendun en Venezuela para salir de la crisis” El País, December 16, 2002. Available at: https://elpais.com/internacional/2002/12/16/actualidad/1039993202_850215.html |
| | Chávez instructs oil tankers to shift back to ports | Presidential Decree No. 2.214, Official Gazette Ext. 5.621, December 21, 2002 |
| | Press article on the mass firings of PDVSA | “PDVSA: Despedidos piden ayuda” by Aldo Rodríguez Villouta, BBC Mundo, February 10, 2003. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/spanish/latin_america/newsid_2746000/2746967.stm |
| | Press article on PDVSA’s justification to fire oil workers | “PDVSA ratificó que despidos masivos son legales y justificados” La Nación, June 13, 2003. Available at: https://www.nacion.com/economia/pdvsa-ratifico-que-despidos-masivos-son-legales-y-justificados/ED6IY3QGORDZ7MZWNWRLOAOVI/story/ILO_Case_No._2249_Report_337_Vol._LXXXVIII,_2005_Series_B,No._2,_para._1478_in_Human_Rights_Watch_2008 |
| | ILO determines the legitimacy of strikes of December 2002 | “Venezuela: violento desalojo” BBC Mundo, September 26, 2003. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/spanish/latin_america/newsid_3141000/3141254.stm |
| | Press articles on evictions from PDVSA’s housing units | “Los Semerucos, un día para toda la vida” by Daniel Guzmán. El Ejemplar, October 2003. Available at: http://www.11abril.com/index/especiales/1os_semerucos.pdf |
| Traces in the budget execution (PC3) | The creation of Misiones as a redistributive domestic strategy | Chávez’ discourse admitting to the strategic use of Misiones. Article by Armando Durán, El Nacional, May 9, 2011 in Zamora R. 2012, 64–45. |
| | Press articles on the Misiones of Chávez | “Trasfondo: las misiones de Chávez” by Steffen Leidell, Proyecto Latinoamerica, DW, November 27, 2006. Available at: https://www.dw.com/es/trasfondo-las-misiones-de-ch%C3%A1vez/a-2248701 “Misiones sociales destacan como legado de Hugo Chávez en Venezuela”, telesur, June 4, 2014. Available at: https://www.telesurtv.net/news/Misiones-sociales-destacan-como-legado-de-Hugo-Chavez-en-Venezuela-20140604-0057.html |

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| <i>Expected empirical observations</i> | <i>Evidence found</i> | <i>Sources</i> |
|--|---|---|
| Traces in the local community administration (PC4) | <p>Press article on the foreign policy of Chávez based on the use of oil rents</p> <p>Sentence of the InterAmerican Court of Human Rights in the case of the use of the Tascón List for political discrimination</p> <p>Press articles on the Tascón List</p> | <p>“Las dos etapas de la política exterior de Chávez” by Edmundo González Urrutia, Nueva Sociedad, September–October 2006. Available at: http://nuso.org/articulo/las-dos-etapas-de-la-politica-exterior-de-chavez/</p> <p>Available at: http://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/serie_348_esp.pdf</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “La CIDH falló a favor de las víctimas de la lista Tascón” El Nacional, May 30, 2018. Available at: http://www.el-nacional.com/noticias/politica/cidh-fallo-favor-las-victimas-lista-tascon_237897 • “La Lista Tascón y la persecución política: a propósito de la sentencia de la Corte Interamericana” by José Ignacio Hernández. Prodavinci, June 4, 2018. Available at: https://prodavinci.com/la-lista-tascon-y-la-persecucion-politica-a-proposito-de-la-sentencia-de-la-corte-interamericana/ |
| Limited access to the information system (PO1) | <p>Law of the Department of Protection of Citizens’ Rights</p> <p>Organic Law of the Public Ministry</p> | <p>Article 79</p> <p>Official Gazette No. 37995, August 5, 2004</p> <p>Article 120</p> <p>Official Gazette No. 38647, March 19, 2007.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ProAcceso Report 2012. Available at: http://proacceso.org.ve/biblioteca/informe/acceso-a-la-informacion-publica-en-venezuela-censura-impunidad-y-opacidad/ • Study by Transparencia Venezuela in 2014: Es Legal pero Injusto. Available at: https://transparencia.org.ve/es-legal-pero-injusto/ |
| Organic Law of Hydrocarbons | Article 14 | |

(continued)

Organic Law of Social Responsibility on Radio and Television (RESORTE)
Reform to the Organic Law of Social Responsibility on Radio and Television (RESORTE)

Official Gazette No. 38081, December 7, 2004

Article 27

Official Gazette No. 39579, December 22, 2010. Reprinted in Official Gazette No. 39610, February 7, 2011. Available at: <http://www.leyresorte.gob.ve/ley-resorte/>

The criminalization of journalism and legal actions against journalists

- Report by the Institute of Press and Society in Memorial de Agravios, 2017. Available at: <https://transparencia.org.ve/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Memorial-de-Agravios-2016.pdf>
- 2012 Report by Espacio Público. Available at: <http://espaciopublico.org/informe-2012-situacion-del-derecho-a-la-libertad-de-expresion-e-informacion/#:WY-UIMgh0Wq>

Radio stations closed by the request of the Executive

“Muchas instituciones, un solo jefe” SupremaInjusticia, chapter “Separación de poderes y derechos humanos en Venezuela” Francisco Martínez Montero 2017. págs 64–81. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Muchas-instrucciones-un-jefe-TV-web-2017.pdf>

Authorities of the National Commission of Telecommunications, members of the political party of the government

“Muchas instituciones, un solo jefe” SupremaInjusticia, chapter “La Libertad exige desmontar el lenguaje oficial” Maruja Dagnino 2017. págs 96–109. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Muchas-instrucciones-un-jefe-TV-web-2017.pdf>

The media is restricted from accessing the Parliament

“CNP: Dejen entrar a la prensa” by Colegio Nacional de Periodistas, February 18, 2009. Available at: <http://cnpcarcas.org/2009/02/noticias/cnp-dejen-entrar-a-la-prensa/>

(continued)

Limited respect of the due process by State agencies (PO2)

Press articles on declarations of the President of the Supreme Court advocating for the annulment of the separation of powers and adhering to the political project of the Executive

- “Presidente del TSJ dice que ‘la división de poderes debilita al Estado’ y pide reformarlo” Noticias 24, December 5, 2009. Available at: <http://www.noticias24.com/actualidad/noticia/124782/presidenta-del-tsj-dice-que-la-division-de-poderes-debilita-al-estado-y-pide-reformarlo/>
- “Luisa Estela Morales: La división de poderes debilita al Estado”. El Nacional. December 5, 2009. Available at: <http://archive.li/m2ooR>
- “Poder Judicial supeditado a la política de Estado que conduce al socialismo” www.economiavenezolana.com, February 7, 2011. Available at: <http://www.castwebsite.com/poder-judicial-supeditado-a-la-politica-de-estado-que-conduce-al-socialismo.html>
- Suprema injusticia. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/2017/02/17/los-7-pecados-capitales-del-tsj/>
- Report by the Observatorio Venezolano de la Justicia: “La responsabilidad del Poder Judicial en el desmantelamiento del derecho de petición y el acceso a la información pública” 2017 Report “Tightening the Grip” by Human Rights Watch <https://www.hrw.org/report/2012/07/17/tightening-grip/concentration-and-abuse-power-chavez-venezuela#page>
- Report by Coalición ProAcceso 2015. Available at: <https://transparencia.org.ve/proyecto/en-venezuela-no-se-cumple-el-derecho-de-acceso-a-la-informacion/>
- Report by Un Estado de Derecho, 2014, Suprema Injusticia. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/2017/02/17/los-7-pecados-capitales-del-tsj/>
- Section “Juicio al TSJ” of the Suprema Injusticia Platform. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/juicio-al-tsj/>

| <i>Expected empirical observations</i> | <i>Evidence found</i> | <i>Sources</i> |
|--|---|---|
| | Organic Law of the Supreme Court Reform to the Organic Law of the Supreme Court | Official Gazette No. 37942, May 20, 2004 Official Gazette No. 39522, October 22, 2010. |
| | Venezuela's rank in the Rule of Law Index 2017-2018 | World Justice Project. Available at: http://data.worldjusticeproject.org/#groups/VEN |
| Limited financial assessments by the government (PO3) | Open Budget. Venezuela Survey 2008 | https://www.internationalbudget.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/cs_venezuela.pdf |
| | Open Budget. Venezuela Survey 2010 | https://www.internationalbudget.org/wp-content/uploads/OBI2012-VenezuelaCS-English.pdf |
| | Open Budget. Venezuela Survey 2012 | https://www.internationalbudget.org/wp-content/uploads/OBS2015-CS-Venezuela-English.pdf |
| | Open Budget Venezuela Survey 2015 | https://www.internationalbudget.org/wp-content/uploads/venezuela-open-budget-survey-2017-summary-english.pdf |
| | Open Budget Venezuela Survey 2017 | https://www.internationalbudget.org/open-budget-survey-results-by-country/country-info/?country=ve |
| Limited autonomy by balance and control agencies (PO4) | Military officers in the public administration | Cases of Diosdado Cabello, Jesse Chacón, Pedro Carreño, Alejandro Andrade, Rafael Isea and Rodolfo Marco Torres |

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Press articles on nepotism in Chávez?
government

- “El sobrino favorito de Cilia Flores: El hombre detrás del Tesoro” by Armando.Info. El Pitazo, Rumrunes, November 22, 2015. Available at: <http://runrun.es/nacional/venezuela-2/236650/el-sobrino-favorito-de-cilia-flores-el-hombre-detras-del-tesoro.html>
 - “Los Chávez en su feudo” Francisco Peregril, El País. November 23, 2008. Available at: https://elpais.com/diario/2008/11/23/domingo/1227415953_850215.html
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 - “Este es el perfil de José David Cabello, nuevo ministro para las industrias (+infografía)” Noticias 24, March 27 (no year). Available at: <http://www.noticias24.com/venezuela/noticia/230881/este-es-el-perfil-de-jose-david-cabello-nuevo-ministro-para-las-industrias/>
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INDEX¹

A

Accountability, 1–13, 53, 54, 59–63,
67, 74, 76–92, 106, 109,
115–117, 119–121, 124–129,
133–166, 171–177, 179–181
Analyticism, 12, 22, 25, 26, 43,
52
Authority, 9, 21, 32, 38, 39, 41, 44,
65, 70, 76, 82, 87, 92, 115, 125,
127–129, 140, 142, 148, 156,
159, 172, 181

B

Bayes, 68
Brazil, 2, 3, 12, 74, 84, 89–91, 93,
99–101, 103–108, 110, 117,
122, 124, 125, 129, 174–180
Budget, 85, 114, 119, 124, 125, 136,
155–156, 161, 162

C

Causal mechanism, 4, 9–13, 25, 42,
51, 53–64, 72–74, 76, 91, 117,
127, 129, 135, 164, 172–175,
180, 181
Causality, 5, 7, 11, 26, 28, 52–57,
52n1, 60, 61, 63, 78, 133, 172
Comparative policy analysis, 19, 43,
173
Coordination, 77, 79, 80, 91,
118–120, 128, 135, 147, 151,
172, 174, 175, 177–178, 181
Corruption, 2, 7, 110, 116, 118, 120,
124–127, 135, 153, 178–180

E

Ecuador, 1–3, 12, 74, 84, 89–91, 93,
99–101, 103, 104, 106–108,
110, 112, 129, 175–180

¹Note: Page numbers followed by ‘n’ refer to notes.

Energy, 41, 85, 99, 108, 109, 112,
113, 116–119, 121, 122, 128,
141, 142, 153, 158, 171, 177
Extractivism, 101–106, 174, 175

G

Gas, 1, 2, 4, 6, 84–87, 89, 91, 107,
114, 117, 118, 120–122, 129,
137, 139, 142, 144, 164, 165,
180
Governance, 7, 9, 20, 21, 37, 39,
42, 61, 80, 85–88, 116, 117,
120, 121, 135, 136, 146–152,
156, 165, 171, 172, 176–178,
181
Government, 1, 19, 53, 99, 133, 171

I

Implementation, 5n4, 6, 10, 19, 22,
28, 29, 32, 34–40, 42, 58, 63,
67, 73, 74, 77, 79, 82, 91, 115,
135, 136, 151–157, 161, 165,
174, 178, 181
Institutional change, 9, 19, 20, 74,
136, 146–152, 175, 177, 181

L

Latin America, 1, 3, 5n3, 8, 12, 84,
99, 155

M

Methodology, 12, 20–26, 43, 44, 52,
54, 82, 173
Mexico, 2, 3, 12, 74, 85, 89–91, 93,
99–101, 103, 104, 106–108,
110, 117–121, 128, 174–180
Multi-methods, 55, 61, 72, 73, 172

N

Nationalism, 1–4, 6, 8–10, 12, 53, 54,
59, 60, 63, 70, 74, 76–78,
80–82, 85–86, 88, 90–92,
99–129, 133–166, 171, 173–181
Neo-positivism, 12, 22, 23, 43, 52
Nodality, 9, 21, 38, 39, 65, 70, 76,
82, 92, 127, 128, 172, 181

O

Oil, 1, 41, 54, 99, 133, 152
Organization, 9, 12–13, 21, 29, 34,
38, 39, 42, 56, 65, 70, 76, 82,
87, 89, 92, 104, 106, 113, 115,
116, 118, 120, 121, 125,
127–129, 136–138, 144–146,
157, 172, 175, 179, 181

P

Planning, 32, 65, 67, 85, 112, 114,
127, 136, 137, 145, 151–152
Policy analysis, 4–6, 30–32
Policy design, 4, 5n4, 9, 10, 12, 13,
19–44, 64–67, 156, 165, 174,
175, 178–181
Policy formulation, 22, 32, 38–40, 63,
157–164, 172, 177, 179–181
Policy instruments, 9–11, 19–22, 28,
32, 36–42, 44, 64–67, 76, 92,
110, 175, 181
Policy mix, 21, 39, 65, 70, 127, 128,
172, 174
Policy outcome, 4, 10, 13, 19, 22, 28,
31, 37, 39, 40, 51, 53, 63–67,
73, 74, 79, 80, 84, 90, 129,
157–164, 172, 179–180
Process tracing, 9, 10n6, 25, 38, 53,
56–61, 56n2, 63, 67, 72, 76–91,
134, 173, 174, 181

R

Realism, 12, 25, 26, 43, 51–53

Reflexivism, 12, 22, 26, 52

Resource curse, 6, 8, 9, 103, 133,
134, 171–172, 174

T

Transparency, 80, 81, 86–90, 92, 102,
110, 115–117, 119–121, 124,
125, 127, 129, 133, 136,
161–162, 165, 175–178, 180,
181

Treasure, 9, 21, 38, 39, 65, 70, 70n3,
76, 82, 92, 127–129, 149, 155,
172, 181

V

Venezuela, 1–3, 6, 12, 13, 74, 84,
89–92, 99–113, 127, 129, 134,
137–139, 141, 148, 159, 160,
162, 174–179