Democratizing Democracy Indices:

Towards a More Inclusive Measurement

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Abstract

Several large, international institutes and think tanks, like Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), International IDEA, and Freedom House, among others, focus on measuring and tracking government regime types and political environments, primarily through measuring democracies. Yet for all of their sophistication and massive datasets, there are misalignments between democracy scores and human rights for groups that are marginalized in many countries. It is not uncommon for a nation to have a moderate to high democracy rating while a portion of its population experiences a lack of, or attacks on, their basic rights and security. This thesis displays those cleavages and argues for the expansion of democracy indices to better reflect the experiences of the entire populace in democracy measurement, focusing on the LGBTIQ community as a means of argument. Using V-Dem as a jumping off point, I propose four dimensions which include the expansion of V-Dem indicators and the Egalitarian Democracy Index, V-Dem country expert survey development, the standardization of social, health, and crime data, and updates to public opinion polling. These refinements, along with the inclusion of local LGBTIQ activists and scholars through all stages of the process, will make democracy indices more comprehensive and reflective of LGBTIQ lived experiences.

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Abbreviations and Glossary

LGBTIQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, and Queer
SGM	Sexual and Gender Minorities
SOGIESC	Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity or Expression and Variations in Sex Characteristics
TGNC	Transgender and Gender Non-Conforming
V-Dem	Varieties of Democracy Institute
EDI	Egalitarian Democracy Index; V-Dem uses 'EDI' to signify their *Electoral* Democracy Index, but for the purposes of this paper, EDI is used as an abbreviation for their *Egalitarian* Democracy Index
FHI	Freedom House Index
FIW	Freedom in the World, Freedom Houses' yearly report
GSoD	Global State of Democracy, International IDEA's index
GSoDFR	Global State of Democracy Fundamental Rights index, one of five
IDEA	The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, or International IDEA
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit
EIUDI	Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index
CSO	Civil Society Organization
Marginalization	"Marginalization can be understood as persistent inequality and adversity resulting from discrimination, social stigma and stereotypes" (NDI 2020).
Hate Crime	"Crimes that are motivated by hate include words or actions intended to harm or intimidate an individual because of his or her perceived membership in or association with a particular group" (Craig & Waldo 1996, p. 113 IN Green et al 2001: 481). Additionally hate crimes may be intended to harm or intimidate an individual or group.

A note from the author: As there is no agreed upon standard, I have chosen to use the the acronym LGBTIQ with full recognition that it does not encapsulate the experiences of the entire SOGIESC community and acknowledge that there are cultural variations. Further, I have chosen to use the longer "groups that are marginalized" as opposed to "marginalized groups" as the latter implies that marginalization is part of the group identity while the formal implies that marginalization is something happening to the group due to power imbalances that are out of their control, and is therefore more accurate.

1. Introduction

Several large, international institutes and think tanks, like Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), International IDEA, and Freedom House, among others, focus on measuring and tracking government regime types and political environments, primarily through measuring democracies. However, their definitions of democracy vary greatly. This lack of a consensus is nothing new and has existed for nearly as long as the concept of democracy. With today's big data and fast access, many of the democracy rating systems have become quite sophisticated. The problem lies not in what they do measure, but what they don't. While mainstream democracy measurement schemes have become quite complex, there is still a glaring lack of inclusion of communities that tend to be globally and locally marginalized. Without the full picture of the populace it is nigh impossible to clearly measure democracy. The purpose of this paper is not to criticize democracy indices, rather it is an argument for their expansion. While contemporary democracy rating systems are very robust, they may still fail to capture the realities of groups that are marginalized. The western-centric bias of many contemporary conceptions of democracy that measurements are based on do not account for large factions of people around the world who tend to be marginalized by their societies. It is not uncommon for a regime with a moderate to high democracy rating to have human rights violations and/or lack basic rights for all people within its borders (for example, the United States and Brazil). Moreover, the notion of democracy has become so important at the global level that many autocrats, populists, and fascists have used democratic institutions, such as elections and legislatures, to legitimize their regimes (Burnell 2006; Dahl 1989: 3; Kendall-Taylor & Frantz 2014). Further, it is these and other elements of democracy that allow autocratizing/autocratic governments to maintain moderate or even relatively high scores in many democracy measurements while simultaneously chipping away at civil liberties. This has the potential to be mitigated by expanding democracy indices to include a measure of the rights and wellbeing of groups who are frequently targeted by these regimes.

As autocrats have adapted characteristics of democracy to legitimize their regimes, so too must political scientists revise democracy indices to be more reflexive and adaptive to the current challenges and contexts. Currently, democracy indices are either too broad to include individual rights or the individual rights that are considered within the indices are not inclusive of a plethora of individual experiences. If entire swaths if the population are excluded from civil rights indicators,

then the index cannot be accurate. Most democracy indices are constructed from a western, globally-privileged perspective that, intentionally or not, overlooks experiences and existence of groups that are marginalized. As Anne Phillips explains, "Our societies are not homogenous: they are structured around systemic inequalities and recurrent exclusions. We exist not just as abstract citizens, but also as members of variously privileged or disadvantaged groups" (Phillips 1993: 101). While all groups who are marginalized need to be accounted for in democracy measurement, for the sake of argument I will focus primarily on just one, the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer (LGBTIQ) community.

1.1 What is Democracy?

Political scientists can agree that there is no one definition of democracy, indeed there are endless debates on how to define democracy, but power by the people or "'people power' is the root meaning that provides the inspirational source of most understandings of democracy" (Alexander & Welzel 2011: 271). As entire books are dedicated to exploring the meaning of democracy, that will not be attempted here. Yet it is still vital to provide a framework within which this paper will operate. Democracy is used herein to denote a sovereign nation, region, or community elected by, responsive to, and accountable to the populace, who have freedom, equality, and equity in the social, political, legal and economic realms. This definition is decidedly normative and intentionally broad, with some of the finer points to be addressed throughout the paper, yet still pays homage to the greek origins of demos/people and kratos/power or rule. Ultimately democracy is as much a way of life as it is a system of governance. As Dahl says, "democracy is both an ideal and an attainable actuality" (1989: 6).

1.2 Aim and Purpose

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that there is an area of weakness within democracy indices preventing accurate measurement, to propose a refinement of existing indicators and survey questions for more comprehensive measures of democracy, and to examine the potential for enhancing the democratization of the the process that takes into account the experiences and perspectives of LGBTIQ individuals. The nature of this project is conceptual and intended to contribute to quantitative research within democracy studies; specifically to expand the capture of

equality and rights within democracy measurement schemes. The purpose is not to redefine democracy but to allow for a path towards more equality and representation within democracy indices. Further, I am not scrutinizing the consistency or reliability between different democracy indices, others have done that (see, for example, Boese 2019; Högström 2013a, 2013b; Niño-Zarazúa et al 2020), rather I'm arguing for the expansion of democracy indices to include people that are marginalized and not currently captured in democracy indices. For the purposes of this paper, I am focusing on LGBTIQ communities to provide examples, as broad inclusion of all marginalized groups is too heterogenous to succinctly consider. Ultimately, the goal of this research is to contribute to the ongoing effort to improve the accuracy of democracy indices, and to promote greater equality and representation for all members of society. In order to do so, the following research questions will guide this thesis: How can democracy indices become more 'democratic'? What LGBTIQ-centered indicators could allow for more comprehensive democracy measurement?

1.3 Why Expand Democracy Indices?

Social Scientists have been creating schemes to rate and compare modern democracies and other systems of governance since at least the middle of the previous century (Högström 2013a, 2013b; Neubauer 1967; Therkildsen 2020). Democracy studies allow insight into the processes of democratization (the transition towards a democratic regime), democracy consolidation (firming up democratic institutions and practices), and autocratization (the transition towards an autocracy). This insight is crucial to determine what factors can best aid in democratization and consolidation as well as to deter the factors that aid in autocratization. Democracy is seen as the "universal benchmark for human rights protection; it provides an environment for the protection and effective realization of human rights" (OHCHR 2022). High level democracies tend to be correlated with less human rights abuses (Davenport & Armstrong 2004; De Mesquita et al 2004). Likewise, as democracy retreats, civil liberties and human rights are curtailed (Davenport 1999). Tracking human rights are essential to democracy studies. Further, most contemporary conceptions of democracy include equality and human rights as an aspect (Dahl 1989: 311-312; Phillips 1993: 95; Beetham 2000; Sigman & Lindberg 2015: 2-3; EIU 2021: 66-67). Indeed, "human rights [must] constitute an intrinsic part of democracy, because the guarantee of basic freedoms is a necessary condition for the people's voice to be effective in public affairs, and for popular control over government to be secured" (Beetham 2000: 93).

Most democracy indices include measures of equality, rights, and quality of life. V-Dem classifies civil liberties (in their Social Group Equality in respect for Civil Liberties indicator, a subcomponent of the Egalitarian Democracy Index) to, "include access to justice, private property rights, freedom of movement, and freedom from forced labor" (Coppedge et al 2022: 180). Freedom House has 15 civil liberty indicators, of which 4 are classified as 'Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights' (Freedom House 2022b). International IDEA's GSoD has a Fundamental Rights Index which includes access to justice, civil liberties (freedoms of expression, association and assembly, religion, movement, and personal integrity and security), social rights and equality (basic welfare, social group equality, and gender equality) (IDEA 2022a, 2022b: 3). The EIU's Democracy Index consists of five categories, with one that focuses on civil liberties that, "include freedom of speech, expression and of the press; freedom of religion; freedom of assembly and association; and the right to due judicial process" (EIU 2021: 66-67) and a mandate that "guarantees of individual human rights and the rights of minorities" (ibid) are essential in a democracy. Even the most basic economic measures like the right to private property and land ownership, or civil liberties like the freedom of assembly are a way to gauge whether people can live a good life and participate in governing processes (EIU 2022: 17). But LGBTIQ people face high rates of stigma, discrimination, and violence around the world that prevent participation and significantly impairs their quality of life. Brazil's largest LGBTIQ rights organization, Grupo Gay da Bahia, reports there's an "occurrence in our country of a violent death, homicide or suicide, every 29 hours" (de Oliveira & Mott 2022: 15). A 2017 study found that in the US, sexual and gender minorities (SGM) are more than four times as likely to be victims of violence than the rest of the population (Flores et al 2017). While most democracy indices take rights and equality into account, in practice it is typically of the most narrow definition as none of the major democracy indices focus on the experiences, rights, and quality of life of LGBTIQ people.

There is a cleavage between the democracy 'scores' and the experiences of many groups who tend to be marginalized. There are a plethora of countries around the world that have broad LGBTIQ legal rights in place (at least on paper), yet in many instances they are not enforced or are willfully disregarded altogether. This may be due to a change in regime (and their opposing ideologies), perhaps legal protections are added as a way to seek international legitimacy with no intention or infrastructure to enforce which is known as 'pink washing' (Lind & Keating 2013: 520), or SGM rights and equality simply are not a priority or politically advantageous for the regime. Even nations with the highest democracy scores have serious issues with human rights abuses and/or systemic

oppression and marginalization. As high-level democracies have been linked with strong human rights (Davenport 1999: 106), and Europe has the highest ranked democracies in the world, there should exist a high degree of equality and quality of life. Yet a 2020 survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) found that nearly half or more than half of the respondents always or often avoid holding hands with their same-sex partner for fear of assault, threats, or harassment (FRA 2020a, see Figure 1 below). The state is failing their democratic missive to protect rights and freedoms and provide a basic level of security if queer couples do not even feel safe with something as simple as walking down the street holding hands.

Figure 1: FRA 2020a - Avoidance of same-sex hand holding in public for fear of assault, threats or harassment?
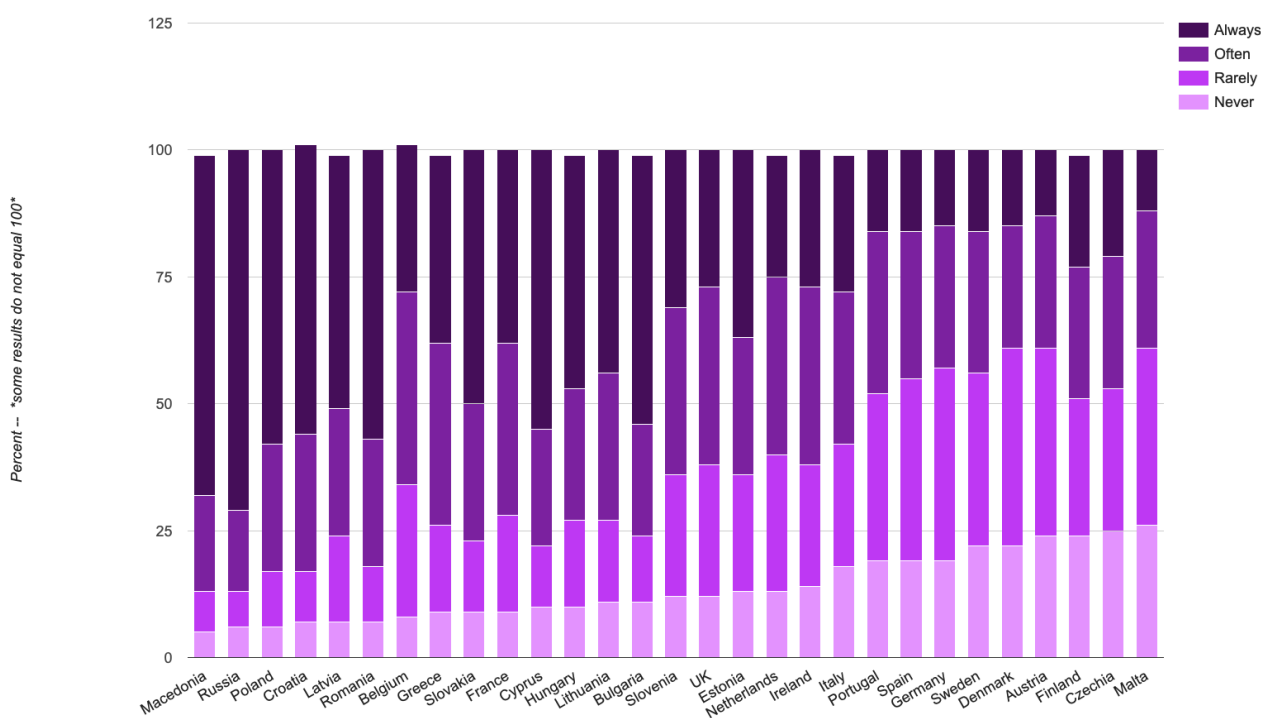
By examining some of the countries with the highest scores on V-Dem's Egalitarian Democracy Index (EDI), Freedom House's Freedom in the World (FIW) index, International IDEA's Global State of Democracy (GSoD) Index, specifically their Fundamental Rights index (GSoDFR), and The Economist Intelligence Unit's (EIU) Democracy Index (EIUDI), (see Appendix 5 Tables 1 and 2) one can find a host of inconsistencies between a country's score and their record on human rights, civil rights, and lived experiences of groups that are marginalized. If Indigenous rights and treatment were properly reflected in Norway, Chile, Sweden, Argentina, Finland, Peru, New Zealand, the United States, Fiji, Brazil, Australia, Canada, Taiwan, and Ecuador the ratings may be

quite different (Amnesty International 2022). Likewise, if the poor quality of refugees', asylum-seekers', and migrants' rights and access were considered in the United States, Denmark, Estonia, Switzerland, Australia, Serbia, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Estonia, Portugal, Cyprus, Brazil, Switzerland, South Korea, Japan, Peru, France, Slovenia, Spain, Belgium, Botswana, Czech Republic, Finland, Ireland, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Slovakia, the United Kingdom, Romania, and Trinidad and Tobago the scores would likely decrease. In Costa Rica, Poland, Argentina, and South Korea, women's rights are not fully considered in notions of civil rights as abortion is absolutely or virtually illegal. Similarly there are restrictions on access or other barriers to abortion care in Germany, Uruguay, Austria, Spain, the United Kingdom, Ecuador, Chile, Ireland, Italy, and the United States. State violence from federal security forces and/or police occur in the United States, Spain, Austria, South Africa, Serbia, Argentina, Cyprus, Belgium, Chile, Israel, and Namibia. In every one of these countries listed in Appendix 5 Table 1, LGBTIQ rights and security are threatened to some degree as it is a universal phenomenon; not a single country exists in which LGBTIQ people have full equality and human rights in place. Further, in 6 of these countries, all of which have Freedom House's "Free" designation, queer sex is illegal. Yet each one of the aforementioned countries is considered to be a high-rated democracy or have a high level of freedom, these democracies aren't democracies for everyone.

There are further inconsistencies between democracy indices' scores of highly rated countries and the experiences of SGM (see Appendix 5 Tables 1 and 2) For instance, Equaldex (2022) creates an LGBTIQ Equality Index based on legal rights and available polling data. While there are many methodological issues that will be addressed in chapter two, it is one of the only large-scale attempts to measure SGM equality on a global scale. Yet when comparing Equaldex scores with various democracy indices, some interesting patterns emerge. Several countries, such as Belgium, Italy (Figure 2), Finland (Figure 3), and the United States (US) (Figure 4), have somewhat consists scores while other countries, such as Tanzania, Mexico (Figure1), Poland, Jamaica (Figure 3), Brazil, Uganda, and Malaysia (Figure 4), have rather varied results (ibid; EIU 2022; Coppedge et al 2022; IDEA 2022b; Freedom House 2022b; also see Appendix 5 Table 2). These become even more incongruent on a comparative level and when quality of life factors are considered. Ghana, rightly, has a low Equaldex score of 21; queer sex is outlawed and its parliament is considering an extreme anti-LGBTIQ bill (proposed in 2021) that would criminalize *being* a SGM with up to five years in prison, outlaw "promoting" LGBTIQ identities which could incur up to ten years in prison, seemingly give the government power to impose "corrective" surgery on intersex children, and

obligates the reporting LGBTIQ people (Akinwotu 2022). Yet they have a FIW score of 80, and

EIUDI of 72, a GSODFR of 63, and an EDI of 50.

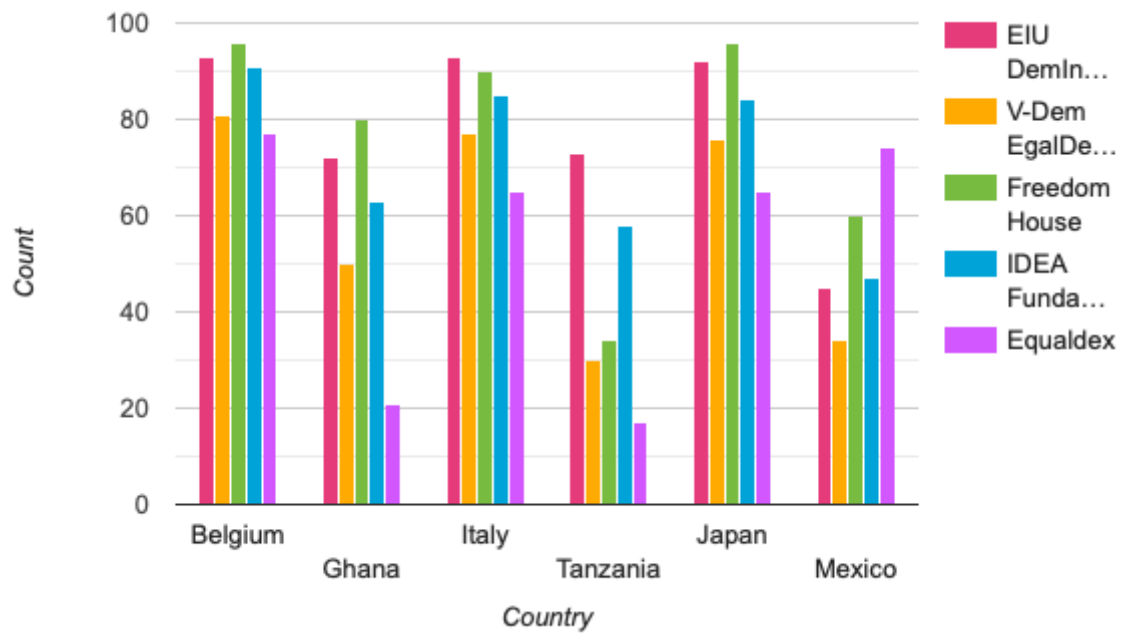*Figure 2: Belgium, Ghana, Italy, Tanzania, Japan, and Mexico Index Scores (Appendix 1 Table 2)*

Figure 3: Argentina, Poland, Jamaica, Botswana, and Finland Index Scores (Appendix 1 Table 2
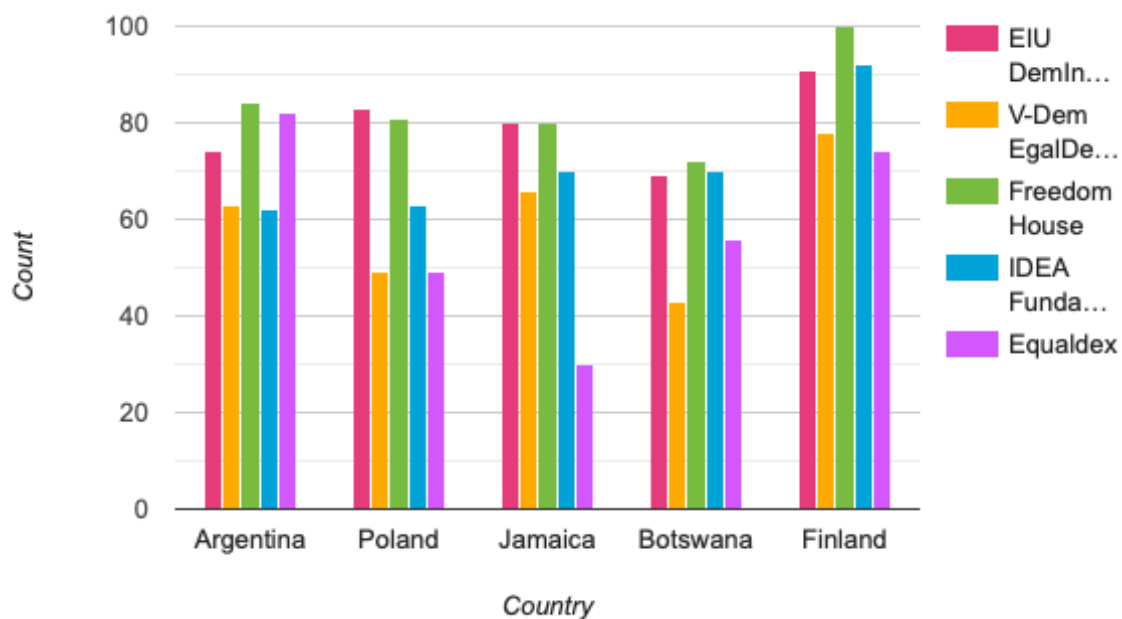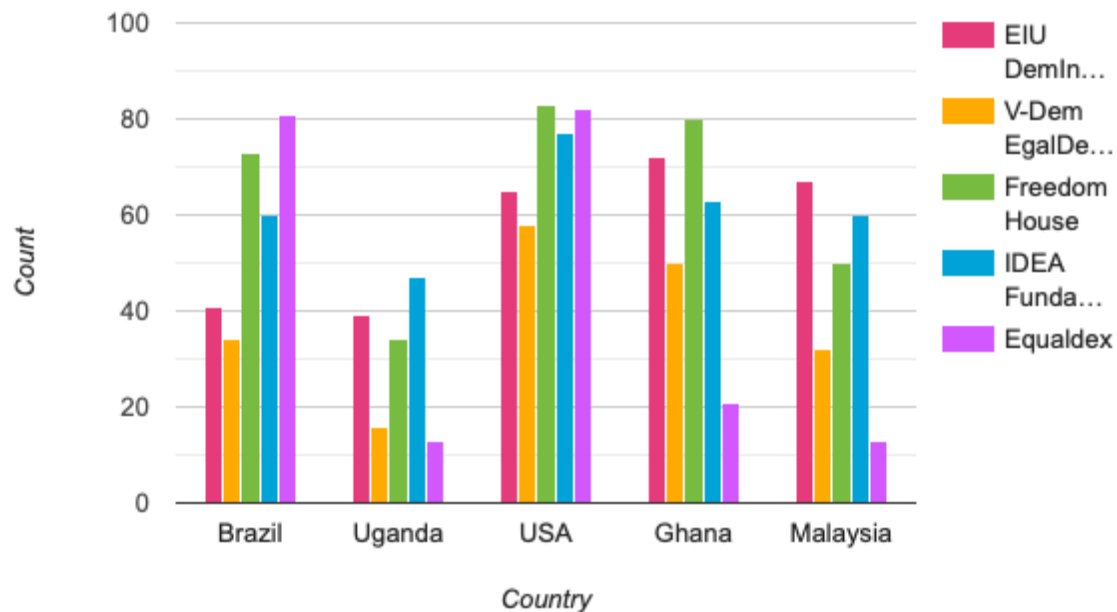

Figure 4: Brazil, Uganda, USA, Ghana, and Malaysia Index Scores (Appendix 1 Table 2)

Likewise, Jamaica also has a FIW of 80 along with an EIUDI of 80, while the GSoDFR is 70 and the EDI is 66, even though Jamaica is notoriously dangerous for LGBTIQ people (Bloom 2019; Rainbow Railroad 2022; Smith 2017; J-FLAG et al 2016; HDT 2022). Queer sex is still outlawed in Jamaica, violent attacks and sexual assaults are not uncommon, and police violence and inaction are the norm. Confusingly, Belgium, Ireland, Luxembourg, and Finland have lower Equaldex scores, at 77, 73, 78, and 74 respectively, than Brazil, at 81, which has the same score as Sweden with consistently high democracy scores. Brazil's high Equaldex is a prime example of heavy reliance on legal rights to gauge quality of life. On paper, Brazil has some of the best LGBTIQ legal rights in the world, yet in reality it has the highest proportion of reported murder rates of LGBTIQ people; "[m]ore than half of the murders of LGBT [people] in the world occur in Brazil." (Wareham 2020 in de Oliveira et 2020: 13, author's translation). Yet Brazil has a FIW of 73, a GSoDFR of 60, an EDI of 34, and an EIUDI of 41. Japan, on the other hand, has relatively poor legal rights and high stigma for SGM which is somewhat reflected in their Equaldex score of 65 (Tamagawa 2018), yet they have some of the highest democracy index scores with an EIUDI of 92, EDI of 76, FIW of 96, and GSoDFR of 84. Alternatively, Botswana has seen significant improvement of LGBTIQ legal rights such as a high court ruling ordering gender marker changes on government documents and the decriminalization of queer sex, as well as a reduction in stigma, and improvement in opinion polls on SGM over the past few years (Afrobarometer 2022; ILGA 2022b; Kenyon 202). This progress is in spite of setbacks in other areas of democratic measure which may have tempered the somewhat flat or declining democracy scores.

Many researchers have linked either increasing legal rights, representation in the government, or more favorable polling of LGBTIQ people in democracies with better quality of life, but taken individually these are misleading (Encarnación 2014; Lax & Phillips 2009; McCarthy 2022; HDT 2022; Reynolds 2013). For example, if you look only at polling in the US on the validity of marriage equality over the last two and a half decades (see Figure 5 below), one may mistakenly believe that there is a very high quality of life for SGM. While many of the democracy indices have indeed reflected a decrease in scores for the US since Trump's election in 2016, they still may not align with the barrage of attacks on LGBTIQ people nor the variations in intensity different subgroups face. There has been an exponential increase in legislation proposed across the states which threatens the fundamental rights and human dignity of transgender people, and most disturbingly a recent explosion in laws targeting transgender children (see Figure 6 below and Appendix 5 Table 3). Legislation targeting LGBTIQ people in general, while still dangerous, has

remained steady the last four years, but legislation specifically threatening transgender rights has increased 3.5 times over the span of four years, and in addition, legislation specifically targeting transgender children has increased from 10 bills in 2018 to 114 bills in 2021, a more than 10 fold increase. Violent hate crimes against SGM have also steadily increased in available data over the last decade (FBI 2022).

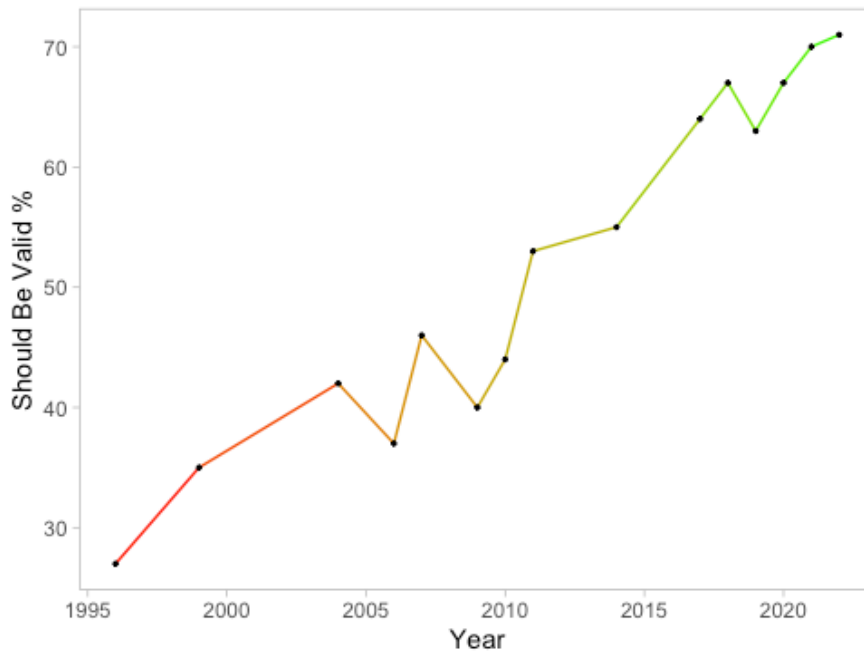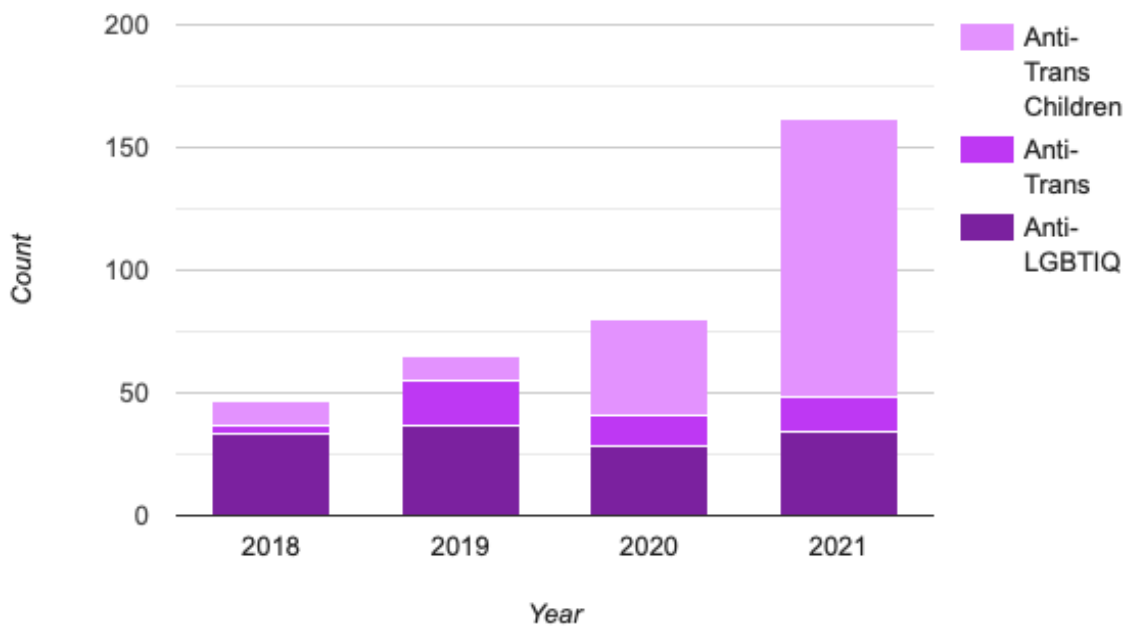*Figure 5: Gallup 2022 - Marriages Between Same-Sex Couple Should be Valid*

Figure 6: ACLU 2022 - Anti-LGBT and Anti-Transgender Legislation in the US

Further, while polling generically about 'LGBT,' 'gay' people, or even 'homosexuality' has seen public opinions trending up for the past two to three decades, opinion polls on transgender people (in both the US and the rest of the world) are at odds (Gallup 2022; Luhur et al 2019, see Appendix 5 Tables 4-7). In the US, 51% of respondents believe it is morally wrong to 'change one's gender,' 51% believe transgender people should be forced to use the bathroom of the gender assigned at birth, 62% think transgender athletes should play on a sports team that corresponds with the gender assigned at birth (Gallup 2022), and 41% are worried about exposing children to transgender people (Luhur et al 2019). Conversely, 57% of respondents in the US believe being transgender is a 'natural occurrence,' and 51% want "the country to do more to support and protect transgender people" (ibid). Yet a 2022 Pew survey found that support for confirming a gender different from the one assigned at birth has been declining over the last six years (PRC 2022, see Appendix 5 Table 8). Tracking the quality of wellbeing for LGBTIQ people is complex and cannot be gauged by only one or two metrics which can be contradictory. Multiple indicators must be assessed, refined, and/or expanded to gain a greater picture.

This leads to examination of the well-known SGM data poverty issue (Medina & Mahowald 2022; Badgett & Sell 2018; WB 2022; Poore 2016; KFBUS 2016; Smith 2017). The problem with the lack of data on LGBTIQ people is twofold; 1, it makes arguing for data collection difficult if there are no data to show discrepancies in experiences which reinforces the problem, and 2, it demonstrates the lack of power inherent in a lack of data, for without data SGM can continue to be made invisible or marginalized. For example, a human rights commissioner in The Philippines was asked for funding to gather data on violence against queer people, he responded that he could not commit resources to investigating, "without receiving prevalence data" (Umbac in Poore 2016: 19). A lack of data begets a lack of data. In fact, "a persistent lack of routine data collection… is still a substantial roadblock for policymakers, researchers, service providers, and advocates seeking to improve the health and well-being of LGBTQI+ people" (Medina & Mahowald 2022). Data can be wielded to identify needs, understand demographics, direct funding, to advocate for policy recommendations, and craft legislation, "and to evaluate the effectiveness of policies to address disparities and promote more equitable outcomes" (ibid). Most importantly, data allows a better understanding of how a democracy is functioning; if it is leaving communities behind or is truly ruled by people power.

1.4 Conclusion

Democracy indices have become a prevalent force in contemporary democracy studies. Yet even with their massive data sets, they still fail to reflect the experiences of LGBTIQ people. Even with the sparse data that is available, many different comparisons are made to illustrate the disconnect between democracy indices and the quality of life of those in sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and variation in sexual characteristics (SOGIESC) communities. The aim of this research is to identify these weaknesses and propose ways to improve their accuracy and comprehensiveness, with a focus on including the multi-faceted experiences and perspectives of LGBTIQ people, by proposing the refinement of existing and development of new indicators and survey questions that better capture SGM human rights and experiences. The overarching goal is to improve the accuracy of democracy indices and promote greater equality and representation for all members of society.

2. Democracy Index Literature & History

Efforts to measure democracy have developed concurrently with the modern evolution of political science as a formal discipline. Over the last half century, democracy indices have become more sophisticated by building on previous measurement schemes, more methodological rigorousness, access to statistical software, and the advent of the big data era. In the last 4 decades, several large democracy measurement approaches have emerged that allow for deeper insight into political processes and changes occurring throughout the world such as Freedom House, The Economist Intelligence Unit's (EIU) Democracy Index, International IDEA, and V-Dem. While there are a plethora of other indices, these four will be examined in this chapter after a historical overview.

2.1 History

Dahl (1956) was ahead of the curve by proposing polyarchy as a way to conceptually define and measure democracy. Yet as his focus was theoretical, it will be explored further in chapter three. Therefore one of the early, well-known, contemporary attempts to measure democracies occurred in 1959 when Lipset wrote an article outlining and analyzing what qualified a stable and unstable democracy as well as a stable and unstable dictatorship (Bollen & Jackman 1989; Lipset 1959; Högström 2013a; Therkildsen 2020). He looked at 48 countries in Europe, Latin American, and

what he dubs 'English-speaking countries' (Lipset 1959: 73). His focus was not to create an empirical measurement of democracy or political systems in general, rather to create definitive parameters with which to gauge whether a country is politically democratic or undemocratic (intentionally avoiding many social aspects of democracy) (Bollen & Jackman 1989; Lipset 1959; Högström 2013a; Therkildsen 2020). Further, Lipset was unconcerned with "the precise dividing line between" more and less democratic (Lipset 1959: 73). As he states: "[i]ndividual deviations from a particular aspect of democracy are not too important, as long as the definitions unambiguously cover the great majority of nations which are located as democratic or undemocratic" (ibid: 73). His primary interest was using the aspects of a nation, such as education and economic development, to 'score' their level of democratic development (ibid: 72; Cutright 1963: 254; Jackman 1973: 612). While there are problematic aspects of this rating system, such as uneven geographic application, minimalist democracy definition, lack of theoretical grounding, a small sample, an odd sample selection process, subjective valuation, and little nuance due to binary variables, it nonetheless may have sparked the debate which still exists today on how best to evaluate systems of government and whether democracy should be the barometer (Högström 2013a; Therkildsen 2020).

The following decade, Cutright (1963) developed what he called the Index of Political Development (Bollen & Jackman 1989: 612-613; Högström 2013a: 202). In many ways this rating system was a reaction to the criticisms Cutright had of Lipset's model, which were both methodological and conceptual. Cutright's index included 77 countries across the span of 1940 to 1960. The Index of Political Development measures where a country falls on a scale from low to high political development based on the concept that "a politically developed nation has more complex and specialized national political institutions than a less politically developed nation" (Cutright 1963: 255). While improvements were made such as being grounded in theory, using a continuous scale, and expansion into rating separate branches of the government, there were still many questionable aspects of the index such as exclusion of African nations, dismissal of inter-rater reliability, and the failure to include variables important to areas of democracy assessment, most notably social issues such as voter participation, freedom of the press, and electoral transition of power (Cutright 1963; Högström 2013a: 202; Jackman 1973: 612-613). There were also methodological concerns such as those enumerated by Neubauer (1967); namely that Cutright's assumption of linearity between socio-economic development and political development is false due to measurement issues which bring to light a lack of correlation, as well of lack of variation within the subgroup of 'more

democratic/over-developed.' While Cutright's aim was to distinguish his index from that of Lipset's they are conceptually very similar. Both indices focus on how to identify and maintain a democracy, primarily through a socio-economic perspective and the rating of political institutions (Neubauer 1967:1002; Therkildsen 2020: 5). Neubauer (1967), however, was able to build an index more firmly grounded in theory, based on Dahl (1956) and Downs (1957). His index focused on 4 democratic electoral and social characteristics; the percentage of eligible voters (proportionally), the 'equality of representation' (votes weighted equally and reflected in the representation), equality in access to information (freedom of the press and quality of the news), and electoral competition (Neubauer 1967: 1004-1006; Jackman 1973: 612-613). While Neubauer's more developed conception of democracy was vital in the evolution of democracy measurements, the index was hindered by a small sample size of just 23 'democratic' countries as well as data scarcity.

In the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, attempts of measuring democracy shifted in focus towards expanding the theoretical basis of democracy as well as becoming more complex (Högström 2013a: 202-203; Neubauer 1967:1002; Therkildsen 2020: 5-6). There was also increased attention towards, and debate around, democracy measurement. In 1973, Jackman published a paper evaluating Lipset, Cutright, and Neubauer's indices and designed a model he called the Index of Democratic Development evaluating 60 'noncommunist countries' (Jackman 1973). Like Neubauer, Jackman also uses Dahl and Downs for his theoretical basis. His four variables were also intentionally similar to Neubauer's; voter participation, party competitiveness, free elections, and freedom of the press. However, in order to test the previous indices he also analyzes a relationship with an economic variable thereby falling into the same pattern of testing the relationship between democracy and economic performance. Freedom House's first report emerged in 1973 but will be covered in depth later in this chapter (ibid; Freedom House 2022, Högström 2013b; Marshall 2020). The popular Polity dataset, introduced in 1975, is one of the oldest, large-scale attempts to classify governments around the globe (Polity 2021; Marshall & Gurr 2020; Boese 2019: 99). It was also one of the most commonly used democracy indices data sets for research, likely due to its vast temporal span (currently, 1800-2018) and high number of included countries at 195. The data set consists of both democracy and autocracy indices, as well as an index of the both. The democracy index's components, which have been criticized as minimalist, are: competitiveness of political participation, the openness of the executive recruitment process, constraints placed on the chief executive, the competitiveness of political participation, and the competitiveness of executive recruitment (Marshall & Gurr 2020; Boese 2019: 99, 101; Goertz 2006). Further, while they include

"civil liberties to all citizens in their daily lives" (Marshall & Gurr 2020: 14-15) as a factor in their conception of democracy, it fails to be operationalized in any meaningful way. While one of the indicators covers political participation, it lacks the ability to track individual interactions with democratic processes as well as democracy's influence on individuals. Another of the stand out indices from this era was Kenneth Bollen's (1979, 1980) Measurement for Political Democracy (POLDEM) (Jackman 1973; Högström 2013a, 2013b: 202-203). This index used 6 indicators; freedom of the press, group opposition, and government sanctions are classified as political liberties and fair elections, executive selection, and legislative selection classified as popular sovereignty (Bollen 1979: 580).

Democracy indices in the 1990s and 2000s were much more prolific but, while many are of note, won't be reviewed in depth. Finnish political scientist Tatu Vanhanen released the Index of Democratization (ID) in 1990 which measures competition and participation and stands out for its simplicity when most others were becoming more complex (Högström 2013b; Janda 1992). The ACLP index, named so for its authors' initials, first surfaced in 1996 and is of note due to its 'focus on contestation' and a structural conception of democracy (Högström 2013a). Another index named after its authors' initials is the BLM which was published in 2005. It focuses on five dimensions of democracy, and is unique in its centering of Central American politics (Högström 2013b). The Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI) was first released in 2006 and has a more economic and structural tilt to its democracy index but with a smaller country sample (BTI 2022; Møller & Skaaning 2021). A smaller index worth noting is the Everyday Democracy Index (EDI) designed by Skidmore and Bound released in 2008. While small in scale and exclusive to just 25 European countries, it does have a unique design created to explore the, "culture in which democratic values and practices shape not just the formal sphere of politics, but the informal spheres of everyday life: families, communities, workplaces, and schools and other public services" (Skidmore & Bound 2008: 10). This takes shape in the form of 21 indicators in six themes: electoral and procedural democracy, activism and civic participation, aspiration and deliberation, family democracy, workplace democracy, and democratic public services. The distinct absence of government institutions and explicit focus on social circumstances, makes this an exception in the field. In 2018, the University of Würzburg in Germany, a newcomer to the democracy indices scene, released its Democracy Matrix which measures 3 dimensions and 5 institutions of democracy (Lauth & Schlenkrich 2020a, 2020b). They use V-Dem's dataset in a 15 field matrix they've designed. While

both intriguing and innovative, it lacks a thick definition of civil and political rights in its conception.

There are also several organizations that produce LGBTIQ legal rights indices. While they fall outside of the democratic index realm, they are nevertheless an important resource for tracking LGBTIQ legal standing. One such index frequently used index is Equaldex (2022); a collaborative resource based on LGBTIQ legal rights and, in some cases, available public opinion polling to create a score for each country around the world. While it is massive in size and quite robust, it also presents a problem when used as an indicator for LGBGIQ quality of life. Equaldex creates scores for each country based of the amount and the quality of legislation and regulations that include and protect LGBTIQ people. Yet, as exhibited before, this can lead to false impressions of a high quality of life as legal rights do not translate to wellbeing and security and, conversely, the scores could be artificially lower due to cultural and legal differences. The Human Dignity Trust is a legal organization fighting against laws that target LGBTIQ people and have resources on legal rights around the world. The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association (ILGA) has five regional organizations under the ILGA World umbrella which are "Pan Africa ILGA, ILGA Asia, ILGA-Europe, ILGA Latin America and the Caribbean,… ILGA North America and the Caribbean, and ILGA Oceania" (ILGA 2022b). ILGA World and each regional organization relies yearly reports tracking human rights for LGBTIQ people. The Franklin and Marshall (F&M) Global Barometers consist of two separate barometers that track 'gay' rights and transgender rights (Dicklitch-Nelson et al 2019). Using data from ILGA, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and others, they use 5 dimensions (de jure protections, de facto protections, LGBT rights advocacy, socio-economic rights, and societal persecution) to grade 204 countries from A to F (based on a 1-100 percent scale). These barometers have the potential to be one of the better resources currently available due to the separation of barometers which allows for more precise, identity-specific scoring. While they are very thorough, have a temporal advantage of yearly data since 1981, and are more methodologically sound than popular rating systems such as Equaldex, they still suffer from a few methodological issues and western bias in conception. For example, an entire dimension is devoted to the existence of LGBTIQ rights organizations and pride events which are not a universal phenomenon and have an unfair, negative scoring effect on many countries, the individual indicators in each dimension are binary, leaving no room for nuance, and the data sources for some indicators lack transparency. Further, since not intended as a democracy-specific indicator, it is not theoretically grounded.

While also not a democracy measurement scheme, United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Bank (WB) released *A Set of Proposed Indicators for the LGBTI Inclusion Index* in 2018 (Badgett & Sell 2018). The proposal lists 51 indicators that are organized by area of life: political participation, education, health, personal security and violence, and economic well-being. Since the release of the proposed indicators, they have initiated a pilot program (using just 21 indictors) to test viability and availability of data in 8 countries: Angola, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Georgia, Guyana, New Zealand, Pakistan, and Vietnam. This is perhaps the most thorough attempt to include and measure LGBTIQ experiences. It is thoughtfully constructed in both its scope and the conscious choices to consult various groups (primarily civil society organizations) for input on the process and indicators. Even with the help of LGBTIQ people and CSOs, it is still western-centric. For example, it is heavily focused on legal, economic (about 1/5th of the indicators) and structural aspects (only five indicators are outside of the government or other institutions), which limits the proportion of information on individual experiences included. Further, as it is still in the pilot phase, there a lot of methodological unknowns; how are the scores tabulated (individually and in total), are they weighted equally, et cetera. Beyond this and most importantly, it is a first step by two renowned international organizations to gather and include more data on LGBTIQ people. It is symbolic in legitimizing the value and need for more thorough and inclusive data. While this index has the potential to provide new and vital information about the experiences of SOGIESC-identified people as well contribute to standardization of data collection, it could still go further in its conception with a stronger focus on non-institutional indicators and more input from local LGBTIQ activists to prevent western bias.

2.2 Current Major Democracy Indices

Four major democracy indices, Freedom House's Freedom in the World (FIW), The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index (EIUDI), International IDEA's Global State of Democracy (GSoD), and Variety of Democracy (V-Dem), are reviewed to highlight the strengths and weaknesses. As indices continue to evolve they become more and more influential not just within the social sciences but in the public, political, and civil society spheres, where they may sway opinions and impact budgets and policy.

2.2.1 Freedom House

Freedom House is a non-governmental organization (NGO) founded in 1941 and based in the United States (Freedom House 2022a). They released their first 'Freedom in the World" report in 1973, placing it among the oldest democracy rating systems. They stand out as one of the few organizations that actively advocates for issues and policies and commits to working around the globe in an effort to spread freedom and democracy. Their stated focus is on freedom in political and civil rights with their scoring resulting in three categories; Free, Partly Free, or Not Free, with data covering 209 countries and territories from 1972 to 2021 (ibid). The coding process begins with a set of 27 checklist questions (in 13 categories) based on the framework originated by their founder Raymond Gastil. Each of the 27 questions is scored from 0 to 4 (with 0 being the least free and 4 being the most free). The sum of the scores are calculated and fit to one of two tables, each with seven rating categories (based on the questions' theme of either political or civil freedoms). After the the themed scores are tabulated, they are averaged together to form a final freedom score from 1 to 7; with Free falling between 1 and 2.5, Partly Free between 3 and 5, and Not Free between 5 and 7.

Several methodological problems have been identified with Freedom House's rating system, chief among them is the lack of theoretical framework in their conceptions of democracy, other than Gastil's undefined notion of freedom (Boese 2019:102; Freedom House 2022b; Munck 2009: 33). In more recent years, they've stated that their concept of freedom reportedly derives from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While they avoid their lack of democracy conception with a focus on 'freedom,' and not democracy, they still continue to use their index to measure democracy in their reports (Csaky 2022; Repucci & Slipowitz 2021, 2022). Without a clear definition or democratic theoretical framework, abstruse disaggregate data, and lack of concrete coder guidance, the coders' ratings have faced subjectivity critique (Munck 2009: 77-78; Freedom House 2022b). Here another problem arises, "due to the high number of possible ways of obtaining a certain score rating" (Boese 2019: 103-104), there can exist a vast array of distinct political and civil rights scenarios in many countries, raising consistency questions. Additionally, the changes made to their methodology over time have not been applied retroactively, resulting in dubious historical data comparisons (Munck 2009:10). Finally, the FHI has been accused of ideological and political bias in favor of allies of the US. In fact a study confirmed the existence of bias in the

Freedom House scores, especially in the data from the 1980s and 1990s (Steiner 2016). Yet, whether the bias exists by methodological error or intentionally is not determined.

In terms of the inclusion of human rights and quality of life, Freedom House has a 'Methodology question" that's asks, "Do various segments of the population (including ethnic, racial, religious, gender, LGBT+, and other relevant groups) have full political rights and electoral opportunities?" (Freedom House 2022b: 7), yet none of the subcategories include LGBTIQ rights. Further, as previously noted, they include 6 countries in their list of "free" countries in which queer sex is illegal and several others with extremely poor records on SOCIESC rights. While they have no *primary* indicators that center LGBTIQ experiences, there is a question about the rights and opportunities of "various segments of the population" that specifically includes 'LGBT+' people, among others in the Political Pluralism and Participation section (Freedom House 2022b). However, the degree to which it influences the subcategory is unknown.

2.2.2 The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index and Gapminder

The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) launched its first Democracy Index report in 2006 (EIU 2022: 67), making them one of the newer indices. Their democracy rating system covers just 165 countries and territories, and is based on 60 indicators categorized into five indices (on a scale from 0 to 10): electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation, and political culture (ibid: 66). These indices output a score that determine which of four regime types a country falls into: Full Democracy, Flawed Democracy, Hybrid Regime, Authoritarian Regime. The civil liberties index is comprised of 17 indicators, of which none specify LGBTIQ people. However, they do measure the "degree to which citizens are treated equally under the law," the "extent to which citizens enjoy personal freedoms," and the "proportion of the population that think basic human rights are well-protected," (EIU 2022: 78) which could or could not include SOGIESC identities depending on the source of the indicator, which is not always provided, but includes the World Values Survey. Further, the expert coding selection and process in not transparent (Hernández 2022). As with many of the older democracy indices, the EIUDI suffers from a economic tilt (as is to be expected as it is the 'sister' organization to The Economist).

The impetus for the creation of their democracy index is that, at the time of creation, they argued there were no existing indices that included factors beyond political freedoms and civil liberties

(EIU 2022: 66). The aim was to select categories that work "interrelated and form a coherent conceptual whole" (ibid). Yet, with just 60 data points, the index is conceptually thin. Their indicator coding has also raised questions, as they are a mix of dichotomous and trichotomous (Hernández 2022). Interestingly, the EIU does not make the indicator level data publicly available, rather Gapminder publishes the aggregate data (Gapminder 2022; Mas Elias 2022). Additionally, the index's methodological quality and validity have been criticized due to poor operationalization (Mas Elias 2022; Hernández 2022).

2.2.3 International IDEA

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, or International IDEA (IDEA), was launched in 1995, coming off the heels of a democratic wave and political turbulence around the globe, with a mission to "advance democracy worldwide, as a universal human aspiration and an enabler of sustainable development, through support to the building, strengthening and safeguarding of democratic political institutions and processes at all levels." (IDEA 2022). The organization is comprised of governing member states in all regions of the world working cooperatively in research, policy recommendations, and democracy-promotion. IDEA's mandate is to support the building and strengthening of democratic institutions and processes, including through the provision of technical assistance and the development of tools and resources for electoral and democracy-related activities. Their first foray into democracy rating came with their Global State of Democracy (GSoD) Indices in 2017. They track 116 indicators (80 of which come from the V-Dem) covering 29 aspects of democracy which fall into five categories in 173 countries between 1975 and 2021. Yet they stand out for refusing to create one single 'democracy score,' rather they measure five aspects of democracy: representative government, fundamental rights, checks on government, impartial administrations, and participatory engagement. They assert that the "Global State of Democracy Indices differ from other measurements of democracy because they are rooted in International IDEA's broad understanding of democracy as popular control over public decision-making and political equality" (IDEA 2022).

The fundamental rights component in their GSoD index consists of three subcomponents; access to justice, civil liberties, and social rights and equality. In fact they are the only major index that specifies 'social rights and equality.' This subcomponent includes social group equality, basic welfare, and gender equality. Additionally the civil liberties component consists of five

subcomponents, one of which is personal integrity and security. Unfortunately none of their indicators specify LGBTIQ people in their descriptions of social groups. The GSoD index has several disadvantages; 1) as they are a composite index they collect no data of their own so are unable to produce unique findings, 2) their reliance on external data sources prevents them from effectively assessing the rights and participation of groups that are marginalized, and 3) they are limited by a temporal span of just 46 years (while other indices have four times that) (IDEA 2022; Beetham et al 2008).

2.2.4 Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem)

The Varieties of Democracy Insititite's (V-Dem) indices are the most robust and ambitious in the sea of democracy data sets. V-Dem consists of dozens of academic scholars at universities around the globe, but is headquartered at University of Gothenburg in Sweden. The institute began releasing its vast data sets in 2014, currently with more than 450 indicators covering 179 countries from 1789 to 2021 from over 30 million data points (Coppedge et al 2022a; Boese 2019; Boese et al 2022). This enormous data set allows V-Dem to predict regimes in 'trouble' and track patterns of democratization and autocratizaton over time and employ five different variations of democracy indices. Excluding the commonly included civil liberties of democracy like freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press/media, indicators have been created that allow V-Dem that track equanimity based on political group, social group, socio-economic group, civil rights, access, social factors that allow the fulfillment of full rights, and to a small degree gender. This displays that the equality, rights, fairness, and even quality of life are necessary factors in a properly functioning democracy. (Coppedge et al 2022a; Boese et al 2022; EIU 2022: 25)).

Yet out of over 400 indicators, there is not one *primary* indicator that tracks rights for indigenous people, LGBTIQ people, immigrants, and several other groups that are commonly marginalized (Coppedge et al 2022a). In fact even the indicators that include gender are limited in scope (for example, gender equality may include access to justice or private property rights, but not bodily autonomy; access to contraceptives; the right to divorce; legal protection from rape and sexual assault; legal protection from domestic abuse; et cetera). Further, when 'social groups' are considered in V-Dem's rights-based indicators, their definition of social groups explicitly excludes sexual orientation and gender identity (ibid: 212). However, V-Dem is the only data set that includes

an indicator which tracks political power based on sexual orientation. In fact, this indicator has been included since the first data set was released.

V-Dem not only in agreement with many of the arguments in the thesis, they have in fact an established Egalitarian Democracy Index (EDI) (Coppedge et al 2022a; Sigman & Lindberg 2015). The working paper that explains the conceptualization behind the EDI and mine are very similar (Sigman & Lindberg 2015). In fact, they state that a democratic state should, "achieve equal protection of rights and freedoms" for everyone (ibid: 6). While the EDI is thoughtfully considered and assembled, it doesn't go far enough its construction. Communities that tend to be marginalized must be included to determine whether "the rights and freedoms are applied equally across the population" (ibid: 10). The current EDI does not include variables that gauge the civil liberties or human security of LGBTIQ people, indigenous people, ethnic, racial or religious minorities, or people who have disabilities. For the purposes of this paper, I am focusing on LGBTIQ communities' inclusion, yet my arguments can, and should, be equally applied to other groups who are marginalized.

2.3 V-Dem as the Basis for the Expansion of Democracy Indices

V-Dem stands out amongst the many democracy indices, beyond having the most robust dataset, for creating five different main democracy indices and dozens of secondary indices, which highlights their commitment to understanding the multitudes of democracy conceptions (Coppedge et al 2022b: 4; Boese 2019:96). V-Dem is employed as a jumping off point in order to highlight how the proposed expansion could be achieved. The Egalitarian Democracy Index's component indicators as well as other rights- and wellbeing-based indicators will be the focus. V-Dem's description of the index is both an argument for its use in this thesis and an argument for its expansion:

> "The egalitarian principle of democracy holds that material and immaterial inequalities inhibit the exercise of formal rights and liberties, and diminish the ability of citizens from all social groups to participate. Egalitarian democracy is achieved when 1) rights and freedoms of individuals are protected equally across all social groups; 2) resources are distributed equally across all social groups; and 3) access to power is equally distributed by gender, socioeconomic class and social group" (Sigman et al 2015: 22).

V-Dem's Egalitarian Democracy Index consists of 1) the Egalitarian Component Index and 2) the Electoral Democracy Index (the interpretation of polyarchy) (see Appendix 3). Of note are the

Equal Protection Index, the Equal Access Index, and the Freedom of Expression Index. The Egalitarian Democracy Index's concept of 'equal protection' purports to ensure, "that the state grants and protects rights and freedoms evenly across social groups" (Sigman & Lindberg 2015: 4).

2.4 Summary

Modern democracy indices began to emerge in the middle of the last century and quickly evolved into sophisticated and complex means of measuring and comparing the performance of different countries or regions in terms of their democratic practices. However, V-Dem stands out for its ambitious and massive dataset as well as it's many iterations of democracy indices. For these reasons, along with its Egalitarian Democracy Index, V-Dem will be the starting point to explore the expansion and refinement of democracy indices.

3. Theoretical Framework

Many mainstream democracy measurement schemes are grounded, or at least informed by, traditional democracy theory. Yet critical democracy theories exist because there are flaws with the mainstream conceptions of democracy. In this chapter I argue that the theories used to create democracy measurements also support the inclusion of groups that are marginalized, even with the historical blind spots for including groups outside of those in power. Below is an overview of the democratic theories commonly used to ground democracy indices as well the feminist, queer, security, and decolonial theoretical frameworks which allow for perspectives outside of the hegemonic, western narrative of democracy which affects the design of existing democracy measurement schemes.

3.1 Democracy Theory

While a deep dive into the history of democratic theories goes back many centuries, it is social scientists from the last seven decades whose work has been the basis of the democracy measurement schemes popular today. The most commonly referred to theorist, and the tie that binds the various democracy measurement schemes, is Robert A. Dahl (1956, 1989, 1998, 2006). His conception of polyarchy is oftentimes the standard upon which other theories are compared and

upon which many democracy measurements schemes are based. Polyarchy consists of four characteristic groups that center voting equality and fairness, ability to include proposals and have information on what is to be voted on, competitive elections and the results are upheld, and voting allows some control of the elected officials (Dahl 1956: 84) (see Appendix 1). Dahl (1989) went on to explain 7 institutions that must be present in a polyarchy: elected officials control the government, free and fair elections, inclusive suffrage, the right to run for elected office, freedom of expression, access to alternative information (from independent news sources, not the government), and associational autonomy (Dahl 1989: 221).

Dahl acknowledges that these components are normative and some are unlikely to be achieved, yet important to enumerate in order to 'maximize political equality' (1956: 64, 71, 83-84, 86, 130). Dahl even begins to operationalize these components as well as reflect on methodological issues that may arise in the measurement process (ibid: 84-86, 1989: 222-224). The polyarchy design is quite minimal yet the focus on and around elections illicits a simple problem: every member cannot participate in elections if they are disenfranchised formally or informally and/or forced to live on the margins of society. Political equality cannot be accomplished if communities are prevented from participating, either intentionally or unintentionally (1956, 1989: 175). Groups who are marginalized are more likely to be disenfranchised and/or face additional hurdles to voting which may manifest in economic hurdles, targeted legal barriers, or physical threats of intimidation and violence. The exclusion of people from the democratic process violates what Dahl considers to be an essential aspect of democracy (1989: 175-176).

Polyarchy prioritizes social variables over constitutional checks and balances (Dahl 1956: 82-83) in contrast to what Dahl dubs Madisonian theory, of which the principle idea is to gauge stable governmental checks and balances. This style, while not explicitly referred to in conceptions of democracy measure, is reflected in indices measuring government structures; legislatures, judiciary, and executive. Many democracy indices use a combination of normative social (polyarchy) and structural government measures. Even in Madisonian theory, there is an explicit justification for the expansion of contemporary concepts of democracy and measurement. Dahl draws a hypothesis from Madison's work, which focused heavily on preventing minority and majority tyranny, that states: "If unrestrained by external checks, any given individual or group of individuals will tyrannize over others" (ibid: 6) wherein tyranny he defines as "every severe deprivation of a natural right" (ibid: 6, 23). Groups that are marginalized fit this definition of being 'tyrannized.' If there is

tyranny, the system of 'external checks' is not working and therefore the 'compromise of power' between the majority and minorities is broken and therefore is not a properly functioning democracy (ibid: 4). While the rights Madison was referring to were likely land-owning rights that applied to a small segment of the population, his argument still holds in today's context.

Dahl more thoroughly explores the idea of equality within democracy in his later work examining the democratic process (1989). He posits that the concept of 'intrinsic equality', which has long been considered a quality of democracy, must be more clearly defined to overcome its two weaknesses; undefined human interests which in turn translates to ambiguous limits of inequality (ibid: 95-96). If human interests are clearly enumerated as, "claims to maximum feasible freedom, personal development, and opportunities to satisfy urgent political concerns" (ibid: 96) then it melds better with the democratic process. Further, if the 'presumption of personal authority', wherein each individual knows what 'policy' is in their best interests (ibid: 99-101, 105). When these two concepts are combined, Dahl posits that they make a strong enough foundation to support the 'strong principle of equality' which allows for the acceptance of, "the democratic process as a requirement for making binding decisions" (ibid: 105). Moreover, in his discussion of effective participation on the democratic process, Dahl states that there must be an 'adequate' and 'equal opportunity' to participate (ibid: 109). In other words, there must be a high degree social equality to ensure the ability to participate. Using this framework, it's clear that all members of the populace must be able to be involved in the political process in a democracy. Therefore, on the most basic level they must have the freedom and personal safety to do so. (2006). While Dahl acknowledges that there are social and systemic issues that affect political equality (1956: 81, 176), he took the opportunity in the introduction to the 2006 reprint to emphasize that these factors were not stressed enough in the original text. His more recent work aims to rectify that and goes further to explore fundamental rights and inequalities within a democracy (1989, 2006).

3.2 Critical Theoretical Frameworks

Feminist, Queer, and Decolonial theory sprung from the necessity to include perspectives that are blatantly absent from mainstream theory. Hegemonic academic power structures dominate and dictate democracy theory from a very specific worldview that prioritizes and reinforces their power

and privilege. This necessitates the use lenses inside and outside of the mainstream to examine democracy indices' expansion.

3.2.1 Feminist Theoretical Framework

While traditional concepts of democracy can be interpreted in a contemporary context to include groups that are marginalized, this can be problematic as it does not examine democracy conceptions in a holistic way, rather adding groups who have been excluded into a framework that failed to include and consider them initially. There's a hesitation to source and include data on LGBTIQ people as there are so many variables that are difficult to account for and there is no historical data to compare to (yet). But this will continue to be the case until the process begins, and it has to start somewhere. With time, the hope is that the data becomes even more inclusive and representative. There is ease and simplicity in maintaining the status quo, regardless of who it harms. The needs of groups not in power tend to be seen as a burden. Anne Phillips (1993) explains that there is:

> "a unitary conception of human needs and concerns, and this serves to marginalize those groups who may differ from the dominant norm. The needs of women then appear as a 'special case' (though women make up half the population); ethnic differences are subsumed under 'the problem of ethnic minorities' (as if ethnicity is only a characteristic of minority - deviant - groups); the pauperization of pensioners is treated as juts one of many pressure group preoccupations (though most of us will eventually be old). The dominance of a norm is so powerful that it obscures the startling fact that most people lie outside its boundaries" (Phillips 1993: 95).

Phillips' statement could very well include any other group that may be forced to live on the margins, including LGBTIQ folks. Feminist theory demands the inclusion of groups that are marginalized, particularly those marginalized by gender as are LGBTIQ people. Taking the experiences of groups who are marginalized into account is not going above and beyond the standard definition of democracy, it is finally taking the full definition of democracy into account. The traditional means for quantifying democracy must be reevaluated and even created anew. If many marginalized groups' experiences cannot be captured under the current democracy indices, then new indices must be developed.

Traditional democratic theory does not consider or reflect queer perspectives, experiences, security, and wellbeing. The default, standard 'citizen' situated in democratic theory is a white western, cisgender, heterosexual man (Phillips 1993: 56, 62; O'Brien 1981; Dryzek et al 2006: 221). While many include equality in conceptions of democracy, it is usually as argument for inclusion in the political process (Dahl 1956, 1989, 2006; Phillips 1991, 1993). Many conceptions of political equality miss the mark as equal access to voting alone cannot ensure political equality (Phillips 1993: 95). Even Dahl speaks to the political, social, and economic systemic inequalities (1989: 114-115) that hinder participation and prevent political equality, yet he does not delve into the reproduction of unequal power structures. Phillips (1993) explains, "Democracy implies equality but, when superimposed on an unequal society, it allows some people to count more than others" (91). However, basic data on the needs and experiences of LGBTIQ people must be gathered for the power inherent in data to be utilized in tearing down these structural inequalities.

3.2.2 Queer Theoretical Framework

While feminist theory has, especially in the last 3 decades, included intersecting and varied perspectives, queer theory has been overt and intentional in its intersectionality (Liljeström 2019; Love 2011; Philips 1993: 90). Queer theory is concerned with the ways in which dominant norms and expectations around gender and sexuality shape and constrain individual and collective identities. It recognizes the importance of understanding the ways in which systems of power and oppression intersect and overlap, and the need to consider the experiences of communities that are marginalized and oppressed in shaping our understanding of the world. Moreover, as most of the general populace assumes they have the correct definition of democracy and that everyone else shares that same interpretation, there is, while expected a lack of consensus. Research within queer theory squarely fits in this axis, and can be thought of as "any form of research positioned within conceptual frameworks that highlight the instability of taken-for-granted meanings and resulting power relations" (Brown & Nash 2016: 4). In order to examine power relations and systems of oppression, basic data on LGBTIQ quality of life must be gathered and analyzed.

Queer theory tends to be used in more qualitative contexts due to criticisms of quantitative methodology. For example, there is a potentially problematic nature in how counting and generalizing data cannot support the variety in queer communities (Brown & Nash 2016: 11-12). Further, there has been a tendency to gather data from the more privileged 'queer' groups that do

not represent the entirety of queer culture. This data is gathered, then used to advocate, craft policy, make regulations, pass laws, and allocate funding. If it were not vital, there would not be attempts to prevent differentiation in data collection. For example, the Trump administration made calculated decisions to remove questions on gender identity and sexual orientation from the 2020 census and a Health and Human Services (HHS) survey as well as expunging existing data and research from government websites (Skiles 2017). Preventing data collection is one of many ways in which communities are silenced and made invisible. Data is power, so from a queer theoretical perspective, collecting data that includes and is representative of the vast queer experiences IS challenging dominant power structures and therefore falls under the umbrella of queer theory (Brown & Nash 2010: 11-12; Liljeström 2019: 27-29; Miller 2022). It also reinforces the importance of a cooperative process of creating indicators and demands a participatory process. Further, queer theory tends to be highly critical of efforts towards gatekeeping. Intentional or not, democracy measurement schemes have decided which groups are important, whose lives and security matter, and who is and is not relevant to the legitimacy and viability of a democracy. While likely not malicious, this is very much a form of gatekeeping that must be dismantled.

Daniel D. Miller (2022) argues for the concept of the of the physical body as a metaphor for the 'body politic.' He creates a parallel between queer, specifically transgender, bodies and the corresponding queer body politic (which is fluid and must change)(ibid: 33). This allows him to theorize the concept of queer democracy and subsequently argue that all democracies are queer democracies. He begins explaining the normative morphology of a body by highlighting the discourse around a 'proper' body where 'proper' is used in a normative manner to convey how or what the body should be or do (ibid: 13-14). He goes on to use a plethora of arguments from authors within queer studies to substantiate his arguments. For instance, he describes Žižek's central motifs of social-as-body/body politic as a "morphologically normative social body, the health of which is a function of unity or harmony… that is threatened if its members are out of place, failing to play their social roles" (Žižek 1989: 126 IN Miller 2022: 26). In somewhat of a contradictory manner, this could be interpreted as queer people playing a role of the threat to the 'body' or as the the 'body' failing acknowledge and care for the 'health' of one of its extremities. He also highlights Sullivan's (2006: 553) work which describes how transgender and gender non-conforming (TGNC) bodies can be seen as a sort of outlier which challenges, or even endangers, a society's normative body morphology. In the same way, any attempt to 'disrupt or threaten' the body politic can provoke "dysphoric responses in an effort to maintain it" (Sullivan 2006: 560). These types of responses can

be seen in the world today where people freely fall in line with populist and/or fascist rhetoric as a response to a perceived security threat towards the body politic. Ironically it is not the 'disruptions' that are the threat to democracy but the 'normative body's' response to those perceived threats (Miller 2022: 76). In other words, people and groups that fall outside of the dominant, socially agreed upon norm can be seen as threats to the norm. This is further evidence that there is power in inclusion, in knowledge, and in data.

3.2.3 Human Security Framework

Democracy and security are intimately linked. Democracy erosion threatens the stability of its institutions along with the rights of its citizens. Often the protection of journalistic freedom as well as checks and balances are threatened while voter suppression tactics and election fraud may concurrently be normalized. Both civil and human rights may start to deteriorate and, in fact, attacks on the rights and security of those who are marginalized are exceptionally common (Freedom House 2022c 1,7,8,17; IDEA 2022b: 2, 21, 26, 31). Security and rights for all is a primary foundation needed to achieve equality in a democracy. Two strains of human security framework are utilized in the development of indicators herein. The Welsh School (or Aberystwyth) emphasizes individual liberation and advocates for a normative view of security (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2014: 29; Bellamy & Williams 2007: 7 in Hynek & Chandler 2013). In particular, the Welsh School "questions the primacy of state security and instead seeks to ascertain the conditions for achieving individual security from broader threats such as poverty, political oppression, and environmental degradation, as well as violence and conflict" (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams 2010: 10). Indeed, the goal of this viewpoint is prioritizing individual emancipation while challenging traditional state-centered national security policies of 'power and order' and military strength. But 'power and order,' Booth (1991) argues, comes from stability which is achieved by individual emancipation (security). Booth defines emancipation as the, "freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from those physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do" (Booth 1991: 319). Therefore the emancipation of all people is key to security for all. For a democracy to be stable and secure, the individuals in the populace must emancipated .

While the normative, emancipatory concept is where Feminist Security studies and The Welsh School overlap, the primary distinction in the feminist approach is the focus on autonomy to emancipate one's own self rather than emancipation from the state or other organizations (Basu

2013: 456). Feminist security studies consists of many different, interrelated perspectives (Wibben 2011: 591 in Basu 2013: 455; Hansen 2000; Steger 2019). Beyond examining the ways in which gender shapes and is shaped by issues of security and conflict, it challenges dominant (male-centric) understandings of security studies. It also focuses on power structures by prioritizing a range of voices, perspectives, and lived experiences (Basu 2013). Further, it conceives a broader definition of security, "as the diminution of all forms of violence, including physical, structural and ecological" (1997:625 in Basu 2013: 456). In other words, the lack of rights, and especially the targeted oppression, via discriminations and violence, of LGBTIQ people is a security threat both for individuals and wider society, and why measuring security is necessary. These conditions of insecurity can lead to a range of negative consequences up to and including political instability. The fundamental human rights of groups that are marginalized must be protected in order to create more just, inclusive, and stable societies, which in turn, are better able to maintain peace and security.

Both the Welsh School and Feminist Security frameworks stress the importance of stability and security of all individuals as the cornerstone of greater societal security and stability. Their shared critique of systemic oppressive power is the basis for conceiving personal security and wellbeing in conceptions of democracy. Moreover, their emphasis on the emancipatory aspect of security, specifically Feminist security's focus on self emancipation, lends to the need to include members of groups that are marginalized in the re-evaluation, formation, and creation of more inclusive measurements of democracy. Sylvester (2013) explains the importance of understanding local knowledges from activist and local groups who best know their communities. A wide variety of SGM must be included in the design of survey questions and data collections methods.

Though Amartya Sen is an economist and development theorist, his work is often cited by Human Security scholars. He has been an advocate for democracy as both a way to ensure participation in the political process which gives them control over their circumstances and as a vehicle for greater wellbeing (1999). In fact Sen views democracy as a key element of human freedom and wellbeing, and essential for creating the conditions for a more just and equitable society (ibid: 152). So while not a strictly security studies-based philosophy, his ideas overlap with the concepts of freedom, social justice, emancipation, and wellbeing centered in the Welsh School and Feminist Security studies. Sen does not provide a single, definitive definition of well-being, but rather he approaches the concept in a nuanced and multi-dimensional way. He views well-being as being comprised of a variety of different elements, including both material and non-material factors (ibid: 70-71). He

argues that wellbeing should be understood in terms of the "capabilities" that individuals have to lead the lives they value and pursue their goals and interests (ibid: 18). This includes not just access to basic necessities such as food, shelter, and health care, but also the ability to participate in social and political life, to express oneself freely, and to develop and use one's talents and abilities (ibid: 53, 70-71, 159). Sen also emphasizes the importance of equality and social justice in promoting wellbeing. He argues that wellbeing is not just a matter of personal satisfaction or individual happiness, but rather it is also a social and collective concern. In order for people to thrive and lead fulfilling lives, in this case LGBTIQ people, it is necessary to create the conditions for equal opportunity and the elimination of discrimination and inequality. Therefore a healthy democracy must ensure the wellbeing of its members, in order to do so measures of wellbeing must be determined.

3.2.4 Decolonial Framework

There has been a theoretical discursive tension in this paper that, up to this point, has gone unacknowledged. The arguments to expand democracy indices have been grounded in western-centric conceptions of democracy while simultaneously employing criticisms of the western-centric nature of these conceptions. While feminist theory certainly includes intersectional perspectives from around the world, a decolonial framework is necessary to move beyond eurocentric lenses of critique. Yet here is where decolonial and queer theory overlap; the western constructs of gender/democracy/governance must be re-assessed and reconstructed through the lens of all people. Decolonial theory is distinct in its focus on challenging and dismantling the systems of oppression, inequality, and violence that were perpetuated by colonialism (and continue to be reproduced). As a framework it aids in examining the plethora of global cultural, social, political, economic, and historical differences of people living in formerly colonized nations, containing the majority of the world's population, that are many times failed to be considered (Koelble & Lipoma 2008; Smith 2021). Mainstream conceptions of democracy focus solely on the experiences and circumstances with which the Western democracies developed, but these circumstances do not exist in other parts of the world, in many instances specifically due to colonization. It is impossible to escape the aftershocks of colonialism as well as the cultural differences which affect local conceptions of community, needs, rights, and democracy. Therefore a representative conception, and by extension a measure of democracy, must account for these variations. This type of dissection and resection of

democracy can only happen when a broad ranges of voices are included in the process (Gomes Pereira 2019).

Moreover, decolonial theory is of particular importance to investigate LGBTIQ security and wellbeing because it helps shed light on the ways in which colonialism has shaped and influenced attitudes towards gender and sexuality. The legacy of colonial era laws and policies that stigmatize and criminalize SGM still plague vast parts of the globe. Colonialism is responsible for these policies, and decolonial theory can provide a framework for understanding how to challenge and dismantle them. In fact, 67% of the countries that have legislation banning queer sex were colonized by the British Empire (Fergusson in Bloom 2019). In other words, two thirds of the the anti-queer sex laws are remnants of British colonization and very much a vestige of western puritanical influence. Further, it is likely that queer relationships existed and were tolerated or even normalized pre-colonization (Alimi 2015). Western-centric conceptions of democracy are doubly problematic; not only do they have a limited global perspective but there is a glaring lack of accountability for inequalities in political, social, and human rights, many of which are directly or indirectly linked to colonialism.

A decolonial framework is also vital to view cultural and social variations that need to be understood and included in re-evaluations by western purveyors of democracy measurement (Gomes Pereira 2019). For example, Koelble & Lipoma (2008) articulate the emphasis on individualism in western democracy that is blindly assumed to exist throughout the world. Yet in many areas, the collective community's needs are prioritized to the exclusion of individual needs. These cultural differences are apparent how different regions approach their own emancipation. For example, activists in post-colonized and non-western nations around the world have stressed the differences in priorities. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America and the Caribbean, activists have vocally opposed the western insistence on the prioritization of marriage equality (Faber 2018; Corrales 2014; AFY 2016; KBFUS 2016) which shores up individual and family security for LGBTIQ people, but does not equate to the prioritization of collective needs in other regions. LGBTIQ freedom and security may look different in non-western parts of the world. Western notions of individual legal rights do not translate to equality around the world and further buttresses the need to involve queer voices in order to understand different conceptions of democracy, security, equality, and freedom and to make the process more democratic (Koelble & Lipoma 2008: 22). Further, as Donnelly explains:

"There is also an unfortunate tendency to shoehorn all important social goods into a human rights framework, implicitly treating internationally recognized human rights as a one-size-fits-all solution for all social and political problems. This can choke creative thinking about the meaning of and strategies for realizing social justice or human emancipation. As the hegemony of human rights insinuates itself more deeply in more and more places, we need to be especially sensitive to an inappropriate imperialism of (human) rights" (Donnelly 2006: 616-617).

The specific needs and priorities of LGBTIQ communities around the globe must be evaluated and subsumed into the process of expanding existing and creating new democracy indices. Decolonial theory provides the impetus to insist on the inclusion of diverse voices and ensure that the conception and measurement of democracy is representative.

3.3 Summary

Traditional democratic theory and practice often excludes the perspectives and experiences of groups that are marginalized. These conceptions do not adequately consider the experiences, perspectives, and needs of LGBTIQ people, and therefore fail to truly represent the ideals of democracy. In order to more fully understand and practice democracy, it is necessary to reevaluate the methods of quantifying democracy in order to better capture the experiences of SGM. Critical theoretical frameworks can help challenge these traditional conceptions and create more inclusive and equitable democracy measurement schemes. The experiences and perspectives of marginalized groups should be considered in understanding and measuring democracy, as well as understanding cultural and social variations, namely quality of of life, in conceptions of democracy.

4. Methodology

This thesis explores the discontinuity between democracy indices and the human rights of groups that are marginalized, more specifically LGBTIQ people. I map several large democracy indices and explore their theoretical bases. Further, I have gathered available data to compare the security and wellbeing of SGM to their respective country's democracy score. This is a conceptual project

by nature and is intended to contribute to the field of democracy studies by identifying ways to promote greater equality and representation within democracy indices. As with any social group, the LGBTIQ community is quite heterogenous, yet it is feasible to make an accurate approximation that represents the quality of life for the majority of this diverse community, where many live at the intersection of several identities that are marginalized.

4.1 Methodological Considerations for Indicator Creation

There is a need to add more nuanced data to democracy indices so they are more comprehensive and inclusive of certain groups that tend to be left behind. As V-Dem has the most ambitious democracy measurement system and indeed already has the structure to integrate more inclusive indictors, it will be used as the starting point. Taking into account the data poverty hurdle, I propose expanding and refining V-Dem's Egalitarian Democracy Index, other social groups-centered indicators, and beginning the steps towards standardizing social, health, and crimes statistics as well as public opinion polling (more in chapter five). First and foremost, in line Queer and Decolonial frameworks, there must be a participatory aspect throughout the entire process, with local LGBTIQ experts consulting and aiding in each phase. There are also several governmental agencies and LGBTIQ rights organizations around the world that are already collecting crucial data, who can aid in standardization, lend their methodological experience, or share their regional expertise. Some prime examples are NGOs like Grupo Gay da Bahia in Brazil or the Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice (UHAI) based in Kenya, "Africa's first indigenous, activist-led fund supporting sexual and gender minorities and sex workers in their efforts to achieve equality, dignity and justice" (KBFUS 2016).

In order to 'democratize' democracy indices, varied SGM perspectives must be considered in broader processes of conceptualization, measurement, and aggregation as well as more specific processes such as the design of surveys and their distribution, the security protocols for privacy respondents, the selection of experts, and coding guidelines in order stymie coder bias (Munck 2009: 35-37; Medina & Mahowald 2022; Boese 2019: 97). This also necessitates an element of experimentation as the exact steps will be determined throughout the course of development and different communities in different areas face different obstacles to equality. Once created, it is important to validate the new democracy indicators by comparing to other measures of democracy and by testing its predictive validity. This can help to ensure that the indicators are a reliable and

accurate measure of democracy. Many issues of reliability and validity are the result of having a patchwork of data and inconsistent methodology and, as such, will be alleviated with survey standardization and indicator expansion. Further aspects of reliability and validity are discussed in chapter five.

The disparity between rights and quality of life captured by democracy indices and the actual rights and quality of life of SGM was examined in previous research where LGBTIQ murder rates over a ten year period in Latin America were employed as a negative measure of human rights and quality of life and analyzed with V-Dem's Egalitarian Democracy Index (Baxter 2020). The study found a low to moderate Pearson correlation coefficient of .3842 between the EDI and LGBTIQ murder rates in the sampled countries in Latin America (ibid: 14). However, this relationship is much weaker when compared to the higher Pearson correlation coefficient of .6274 between general murder rates and the EDI which indicates a stronger correlation. Further, LGBT murder rates and EDI had a, "low r-squared of 0.1476 coupled with a low p-value [of 0.0001212, which] means that even though the relationship is statistically significant, there still remains a substantial proportion of the shared variability in the two measures that is unexplained" (Baxter 2020: 14). When similar analysis based on this previous research was performed with Gallup polling data, the results were inconclusive. In 2021 Gallup polled people in 43 countries around the world and asked if where they live is a good place for 'gay and lesbian people' (McCarthy 2022). Bivariate analysis was used to evaluate the Gallup Poll from 2021 and the corresponding year's EDI. While there is a moderate, positive correlation between the poll and EDI, it only explains 30.1% of the variation with more than two thirds unexplained (see Appendix 5, Output 1). However, the low Durbin-Watson of 1.14 violates the assumption of no correlation between residuals. This can cause the variables to incorrectly be significantly correlated. Again, it is important to note that just one metric of quality of life is not enough to assess quality of life, yet a systemic argument cannot be made without empirical data. All of which points to the urgent need for more data to take account of all of the entire populace and formulate a more inclusive democracy measure.

4.2 Limitations

Each type of data source presents it's own particular set of limitations and difficulties to manage. Those difficulties are exacerbated when the target sample groups may be living on the margins and when they exist at the intersection of multiple identities that are oppressed. There may be additional

intractability for data retrieval in extremely queerphobic regions which can cause further safety and visibility issues. In surveys, finding a representative sample is the most difficult aspect. There may be physical, geographical, or even legal barriers that prevent reaching participants. For example, in any survey process there will likely be an urban bias because it an be more difficult to contact people living in more rural or remote locations. Additionally, there will be an age bias; it is unethical to survey teenagers under 16, 17, or 18 and children without their parent or guardian's consent. This is compounded with the reality that in many places it is not safe to be 'out' to your family or that there may be no parent or guardian to consent as LGBTIQ kids make up a disproportionate rate of houseless children (Fraser et al 2019).

There are several difficult hurdles in regards to reporting crime statistics. Exempting lack of data, under-reporting is the biggest hindrance to collecting data on hate crimes and violence (Green et al 2001: 492-493; Hertz 2011). Even in countries, like Germany, where there is relatively high social acceptance and legal protections for LGBTIQ people, the police and advocacy groups agree that "up to 90% of cases go unreported" (Hänel 2022). Social stigma, mistrust of the police, state violence, potential for retaliation, fear of outing oneself, and personal safety are just some of the reasons LGBTIQ people do not report crimes (ibid; J-FLAG et al 2016). As previously noted, there can be visibility issues generally due to issues of safety, yet even within the LGBTIQ community there may be further visibility issues by individual identities. For example, the majority of nations around the world lack state-based LGBTIQ data collection leaving it up to CSOs to track incidents of crime by tips, police reports, and news reports. This can cause further underreporting as many times police and media deadname and misgender transgender people in their reports, in many cases intentionally obfuscating information (and making state violence tracking very difficult). There is also intersex and bisexual erasure in data collecting. For instance, bisexual women have disproportionately high rates of domestic violence committed against them, yet heteronormative patriarchy assumes a bisexual woman is heterosexual if her partner presents as male, therefore her sexual orientation is erased in police reports. Further, cultural and language variations in conceptions of identities may prevent accurate reporting for some subgroups in SOGIESC communities. Additionally, this can all be complicated by varying definitions of legal terms from country to country. There is also the possibility of unintentional data redundancy when gathered without the aid of the state.

While there is some temporal data that exists in limited parameters, many times the data is problematic due to antiquated phrasings. Many researchers use the same wording that was employed 10 or more years ago, in an effort to maintain consistency, but which may exclude entire swaths of the LGBTIQ population. For example, questions from the European Social Survey (ESS) ask a series of questions about gays and lesbians, which quite clearly excludes, bisexuals, transgender people, intersex people, and other SOGIESC groups (ESS 2022). The wording from these surveys has not changed since the questions were first included in round 6 in 2012 and many other researchers have employed the exact wording from these questions in their surveys to provide a point of comparison. While it could be argued that LGBTIQ people are all "othered" so opinions on bisexual, transgender people, intersex people, and other SOGIE identities can be extrapolated from question's about 'gay and lesbian people,' this is extremely problematic. While there are some issues that affect all SOGIE people, many issues are exclusive to certain groups and these individual identities experience varying amounts of discrimination or even privilege depending on their intersecting identities. For example, in the UK, LGBTIQ people are generally seen in a more favorable light than they were a decade ago (IPSOS 2022). Yet even though positive public opinions on transgender people have decreased slightly since 2018, they have experienced high rates of discursive violence with disproportionately increased hysteria over the "dangers" that transgender people pose within media coverage and from political mouthpieces (Stone 2022) .

In addition to underreporting, not all cities or municipalities may participate in data collection. In the US, nineteen percent of law enforcement agencies did not participate in the 2020 FBI hate crimes data collection program (FBI 2022). This creates a triple barrier, of sorts. People tend to underreport crimes, law enforcement may obfuscate attempted crimes reporting or fail to properly classify the category, and not all law enforcement agencies participate when there is a federal data collection program. There are many obstacles to data collection and:

> "the negligence of the police and the carelessness of journalists in recording accurately the basic information indispensable for identifying murdered LGBT people, is an aspect of the cultural homotransphobia that stains our society, in addition to making a deeper and more complete analysis of these violent deaths difficult." (de Oliveira in de Oliveira & Mott 2022: 3-4, *author's translation*).

There are also methodological issues with inconsistencies in existing data. In the US, for example, the FBI has been collecting hate crime data under the category of "sexual orientation" since 1996, but only added a category for "gender identity" in 2013 (FBI 2022) which affects the number of

crimes reported and the ability to compare historically. Germany's police, on the other hand, began collecting hate crime data on "sexual orientation" in 2001 then added the category of "gender/ sexual identity" in 2020 (OSCE 2022).

There are limitations to representativeness in all data. As previously noted, it is hard to gather data on and from people who may be living on the margins and at the intersection of multiple oppressed identities. Even in opinion polling, which usually targets the wider populace and not the group in question, there are issues of regional representativeness. Many 'global' reports on LGBTIQ issues fail to include entire continents or in a disproportionately small number (for example, see Luhor et al 2019 and Pew 2020). Lastly, there are limitations due to my world view as a white, western, queer person as I do not have the same lived experiences as other queer people in the rest of the world. This further illustrates the importance of including a wide variety of perspectives and input.

4.3 Operationalization

Including SOGIESC identities in democracy indices is not as simple as adding LGBTIQ people and stirring. SGM face a plethora of unique obstacles to equality and security. These must be identified and quantified to be included in indices. As there is no consensus on a single definition of democracy, different definitions can lead to different understandings of what constitutes a democratic country. Some definitions focus on the formal institutions of democracy, such as free and fair elections, the rule of law, and the protection of civil liberties, while other definitions focus on more substantive aspects of democracy, such as political participation and accountability. Once again, as discussed in chapter one, I employ a decidedly normative definition of democracy as: a sovereign nation, region, or community elected by, responsive to, and accountable to the populace, who have freedom, equality, and equity in the social, political, legal and economic realms. Beyond the conception of democracy, actual observable and measurable characteristics of democracy must be identified. In order to do that, abstract concepts must become concrete measures that can be captured and used to compare countries.

4.3.1 Quality of life

Measures of the quality of life of LGBTIQ people are necessary to determine their ability to live freely and participate in society, which is a hallmark of democracy. This is taken for granted with

privileged/dominant groups as it is the norm, yet every nation has groups that are oppressed. These groups may have so many obstacles and disadvantages that examining traditional measures of democracy, such as political rights, cannot capture their experiences. If these commonly used measures are not working, then the current ones must be refines and new ones must be developed. One way to gauge the obstacles to inclusion and participation, is to track quality of life. In order to examine measures of quality of life, the unique needs and experiences of LGBTIQ must be taken into account. Inserting LGBTIQ people into existing indicators that measure equality between the binary sexes does not work. For example, V-Dem has over a dozen and a half individual indictors that center women or gender distinguished as female. While some of these indicators that measure quality of life could be adapted to LGBTIQ people, such as freedom of domestic movement, many cannot or would not be relevant, such as property rights. While there may be some overlap in the ways women and LGBTIQ people face discrimination, by and large there are separate political, cultural, and social differences. Therefore, indicators that can be used to gauge quality of life must also be distinct. In order to define these indicators, quality of life must first be defined. Although Sen (1999: 69) uses quality of life and wellbeing interchangeably, I distinguish the two while still using his overall framework as well as feminist, queer, security, and decolonial theoretical frameworks. Quality of life is to be measured in two secondary dimensions; wellbeing and security. Wellbeing is a concept that has many facets but in a relationship with democracy it should focus on the ability to live one's life fully; to be free of the same social, cultural, political, and perhaps even economic constraints as the rest of society. LGBTIQ people face higher levels of stigma and discrimination, so these must be measured and mitigated to ensure equality. Wellbeing can be operationalized, through the frameworks of feminist, queer, decolonial, and security theories, by tracking the ways in which society (especially political, cultural, religious institutions) hinders full participation by SGM. These can be collected primarily through survey data and some publicly collected data and opinion polls. They should focus on LGBTIQ health statistics, family life, social life, public discourse (political, religious, media, entertainment rhetoric, for example), privacy, autonomy, community, and human rights. Security, on the other hand, must include freedom from oppression (political, social, and religious), violence, and threats in the vein of the Welsh School and Feminist security studies. Physical security is only the foundation, emotional, social, economic, and lastly legal security must also be accounted for. These can be collected through survey data, some publicly collected data, and public polling. They should focus on public and private safety (freedom from all types of violence and intimidation), poverty, homelessness, justice, as well as freedom of discussion and association.

4.5 Summary

There is a need to improve democracy indices by making them more inclusive and comprehensive, particularly of the LGBTIQ community. One way to do this is to expand and refine the V-Dem's Egalitarian Democracy Index from V-Dem and ensure a participatory process. This can include consulting with local LGBTIQ experts and working with governmental agencies and LGBTIQ rights organizations already collecting data. To ensure the reliability and accuracy of these new democracy indicators, it is necessary to validate them by comparing them to other measures of democracy and testing their predictive validity. There may be challenges in collecting data, such as finding representative samples and dealing with underreporting of crimes, but standardizing data collection and working with local experts can help to address these issues. It is also important to consider the complexities and conflicts that may arise in attempting to gauge democracy and the multifaceted experiences of SGM.

5. LGBTIQ Indicators

Many local and international organizations and academics have called for more data on LGBTIQ lived realities, yet not enough has been done to accomplish this (Medina & Mahowald 2022; Badgett & Sell 2018; WB 2022; Poore 2016). The proposed indicators that follow are separated in groups by data type. Each group would require different data sources and have distinct obstacles. These different types of data are important to overcome the shortcomings of the reliance on one data type (Skaaning 2018). The starting point is V-Dem's Egalitarian Democracy Index (EDI) which consists of 1) the Egalitarian Component Index and 2) the Electoral Democracy Index (the interpretation of polyarchy) (see Appendix 3). Sub-indices of note are the Equal Protection Index, the Equal Access Index, and the Freedom of Expression Index. The EDI could easily be expanded into a 'thick' version (perhaps in addition to the existing version) which includes LGBTIQ (and perhaps other groups that are marginalized). Further, many individual indicators can be helpful to researchers focusing on minority groups in a democratic context. Most importantly, to make democracy indices more democratic, LGBTIQ people must be involved in the process. Queer activists, politicians, and scholars, among others, from around the globe must have input in the process and design to make sure that cultural, social, and political variations are taken into account

within the scope of feminist, queer, and decolonial theoretical frameworks. Finally, security frameworks inform the decision to prioritize public and private security over legal security as well as the emphasis on wellbeing.

5.1 Country Expert Surveys

There exists a dire need for updated survey questions that will provide more detailed and representative data over time. An infrastructure already exists at V-Dem, in the form of yearly surveys, to collect more inclusive data. Existing surveys by country experts could be adapted to gather a wider range of data. In Appendix 8 (5. A.), there is a sample of existing V-Dem indicators which can be modified to include LGBTIQ quality of life (as well as other groups that are marginalized). Further, several new perception-based questions have been proposed. Interestingly, V-Dem has one existing indicator that centers LGBTIQ people that has been included since the first data drop. It measures political "power distributed by sexual orientation" yet is not included in the EDI sub-index where political power distributed by "socioeconomic position," "by social group", and "by gender" (binary gender) are included. The "power distributed by sexual orientation" indicator could easily be included in the EDI along with new indicators suggested below. Perhaps variations of the EDI could be created; a minimal index (as it is currently designed) and an expanded, 'thick' index that includes indicators centering communities that are marginalized. This version would give a richer picture of a nation's civil rights landscape. There are two other indicators that include LGBTIQ people along with other groups (SGM are included as a political group in one indicator on engagement in political associations and as a one of many groups that may targeted for online harassment in the other indicator). Further, their existing indicators that specify 'social groups' should be expanded to include sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and variations in sex characteristics (SOGIESC). Additionally, V-Dem has an indicator on political violence that could be duplicated to focus on LGBTIQ people and/or other groups that are marginalized.

5.2 New Surveys

The most important component, and the most difficult, is designing and disseminating surveys specifically for the LGBTIQ community. This is a large undertaking and would occur in phases over approximately two to three years. The surveys would be made up of two components; a survey

for LGBTIQ-specific country experts and a survey for the wider SGM community in each country. The first step is to find a broad range of LGBTIQ people to consult on the surveys. This could be done in conjunction with members or leaders of international SGM advocacy organizations, academics in queer and decolonial studies, regional and national activists, and the like. A wide range of experiences and identities need to be taken into account to ensure that the new survey will be as inclusive and democratic as possible, which could happen in the form of regional symposiums. While the survey and new indicators are being designed by the country consultants consultants, I propose concurrently asking the consultants, country experts, international LGBTIQ advocacy organizations, and V-Dem country managers or researchers to identify a pool of country-specific LGBTIQ 'experts.' They may be, for example, members of or leaders in national or local LGBTIQ advocacy organizations, activists, out and visible members of the wider community, small or local organizations that focus on LGBTIQ health, financial and housing aid, legal support, organizing, and youth groups. Those working in activism, as service providers, or in some other capacity one-on-one with the wider LGBTIQ community, tend to work with the most vulnerable within the community and therefore have a richer understanding of every day life (especially social, political, and legal obstacles) and experiences. They should have knowledge of (from working with or even researching) a wide range of SGM experiences in their respective country. In the meantime, these LGBTIQ country experts would advise on the best methods of reaching a representational number of people with SOGIESC identities in their respective countries, in conjunction with advocacy groups, as well as consult on individual surveys which would be released the following year. It is important to reiterate that the contributors to be identified should not be from elite international civil society organizations, but from local or regional organizations and associations, or independent actors. The intent is to have at least five LGBTIQ country experts similar to existing V-Dem country experts. These country experts would receive the LGBTIQ 'country expert' survey in the upcoming year's round (see Apendix 8: 5.B.).

There are many logistical and practical obstacles to address along the way. However, V-Dem was selected as a starting point in part because there is already a massive infrastructure of contributors in place in every country. This component of the proposal is particularly difficult as it must be the most flexible and reflexive. Utilizing feminist, queer, and decolonial frameworks, creating a survey of value relies on the collaborative input of LGBTIQ people from around the world; how they conceive what indicators are needed, and what questions beget those indicators. While I can, and do, suggest a first draft using several V-Dem indicators as a basis, I cannot expect to understand the

myriad of different lived experiences of SGM around the world. The process required to gather variable contributions portends a long-term project, perhaps 2-5 years. While V-Dem does not currently use representational surveys (Skaaning 2018: 107), adding this data type will provide a richer understanding of LGBTIQ quality of life.

A proposed starting point, consisting primarily of experience-based survey questions, can be found in Appendix 8 (5. C.). There are some steps that can be taken with the LGBTIQ country experts and consultants to expedite and smooth out the process. Each survey should include a glossary/index of terms with definitions to try to overcome different cultural understandings or differences (Delacoura 2014; Skaaning 2018: 112). Further, to gain a broad understanding of security, quality of life, and freedom, western conceptions of labor and productivity as a measure should likely be excluded. It is commonly deemed important, by advocacy groups and even governmental organizations, to use rates of unemployment (Badgett & Sell 2018) and level of education to gauge wellbeing, but these may not be pertinent or have cultural relevance for many regions or states. Further, it is important to allow disaggregation of the data by SOGIESC identity so specific patterns and needs can be identified. However, in conjunction with the country experts, it is important to determine if self-identification (plus definitions/glossary), or general questions about SOGIESC characteristics, are more appropriate. Further, mechanisms to protect privacy are of utmost importance and protocols may need to vary by country or region.

In addition to including local LGBTIQ people to help democratize the process, they are also crucial in helping to minimize measurement error and improving validity and reliability (Medina & Mahowald 2022). LGBTIQ country consultants can help ensure that the language is culturally relevant and/or aid in creating a country-specific glossary. Further, they must contribute to designing privacy protocols to protect the identities of survey takers. These steps may allow respondents to more accurately answer questions and feel more comfortable discussing potentially sensitive (or even dangerous) topics related to their SOGISC identity. LGBTIQ country consultants may also advise on the best method of disseminating surveys to ensure the most representative sample.

5.3 Social, Crime, and Violence Statistics

In cooperation with governments, CSO groups, or universities, standardizing variables and tracking general statistics on violence should be a priority. Even simple notions such as the definition of a hate crime vary wildly or are undefined in many places. There is also the need to begin to normalize collecting SOGIESC demographic data in national surveys as these tend to have a large number of respondents. Yet considering the number of governments hostile to LGBTIQ people, there will likely be more partnerships with non-governmental associations. Brazil's Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB) should be used as a model for CSO data collection in such countries. GGB have been collecting data on violence against LGBTIQ people and releasing yearly reports since 1980 and have historical data back to 1963 (de Oliveira & Mott 2022:16, 22). They've had decades to improve their collection methodology and are a reliable resource often used in national and international agencies' analysis and reports (ibid: 16). They track death by murder and suicide through a combination of tips, news article, and social media combined with confirmations through police reports, local officials, and with family and friends of the victims. They also track demographic details other than SOGIESC identity, when possible, such as race, national origin, profession, and age. Grupo Gay da Bahia has perhaps the most comprehensive set of set collected by a non-governmental agency. The areas to begin to standardize and build partnerships for collection are: hate crimes (general, violent), violent crimes/assault, domestic violence, sexual assault and rape, murder, death by suicide, state/police violence, harassment, and homelessness, among others.

Additionally, governments, CSO groups, universities, country experts, and/or V-Dem's country experts and interns should track proposed legislation and policies that target SGM. While, many organizations track expanding legal rights, I propose that the opposite is more valuable to gauge quality of life. When a new regulation, policy, or piece of legislation is proposed, it stirs up anti-LGBTIQ rhetoric (by design). It is then amplified by politicians, pundits, media, and many times cultural or religious leaders (Corrales 2014; KFBUS 2016). This tactic not only blames LGBTIQ people for societal woes, in conventional populist fashion, it also has an 'othering' effect. This 'othering' dehumanizes people with SOGIESC identities and implies a sub-human status not worthy of basic rights and human dignity. It opens up a debate to their humanity and even the right to exist which increases the likelihood of targeted violence (Kalmoe 2014; KFBUS 2016). All of these factors create heightened threats to wellbeing and security.

5.4 Public Opinion Polling

In order to gain a clear picture, representative data is necessary when viewed though traditional democracy and critical theoretical lenses. There is a vast amount of available public opinion polling in many countries around the globe that query the acceptance of LGBTIQ people as family, neighbors, or about marriage equality and other legal rights. These polls can be excellent sources to gauge public acceptance of LGBTIQ people which may have a significant impact on the community's quality of life. A wide range of polling around the world already exists, and many times over the span of several years to provide a temporal perspective. While public opinion surveys can lend insight into societal views of SGM, problems exist here as well. Polling today commonly asks people if they would like or dislike having a "homosexual" as a neighbor, for example as the Afro Barometer survey does (2022). Many countries have extremely high rates (80% +) of "dislike" and "somewhat dislike" which seems particularly damning. But is it? There are other factors that are ignored in these types of surveys. For example, disliking a group does not translate to open hostility. This dislike could exist in a country that has a strong cultural sense of "minding your own business" so LGBTIQ people are relatively safe. Further, as explained below, there are many questionable surveys in existence. Therefore it is again important to combine public opinion polling with other components to creating a more holistic index in addition to designing new more reliable survey questions. Lastly, 'homosexual' is not an inclusive term and completely dismisses the rest of SOGIESC experiences.

Almost all current global polls have very problematic and antiquated language and/or formats. In most cases, the survey question will only say 'homosexual.' In English, this is not a commonly used term, and in a fact has a clinical connotation which has the effect of 'othering' gay people and making them sound different, scary, or sick. Even when more appropriate language like 'gay and lesbian' is used, it completely dismisses the rest of the LGBTIQ community. There is no mention of bisexuals, transgender people, or intersex people. While it may be necessary to have separate questions for transgender and intersex people (which don't or rarely actually exist), this still doesn't explain the exclusion of bisexuals. Even seemingly innocuous terms like 'individual' can have an othering effect as it disassociates the 'individual' from the humanity of 'people' (which should be used instead). Further the structures of many survey questions are highly problematic. For example, the World Values Survey (WVS), one of the largest global sources of social and political data, has,

at best, questionable survey question structure (Haerpfer 2022a, 2022b). The context in which they inquire about opinions on 'homosexuality' are loaded and biased. One survey question, in the "ethical values and norms" section states: "Please tell me for each of the following actions whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between" (ibid 2022b: 14). Some of the other prompts included with 'homosexuality' are "…Stealing property, Cheating on taxes,… For a man to beat his wife, Parents beating children, Violence against other people, Terrorism as a political, ideological or religious mean,… Violence against other people,… Political violence, Death penalty" (ibid: 14). When you include 'homosexuality,' which is already 'othered' by the chosen terminology, in a list with violent crimes that are objectively wrong, what kind of results should be expected? Likewise the IPSOS (Luhur et al 2019) survey on transgender people has many dehumanizing prompts such as: "… They should be allowed to conceive or give birth to children (if, biologically capable to do so),…They have a form of mental illness, They are committing a sin,… They have a form of physical disability" among others (Luhur et al 2019). These types of questions imply that transgender people's existence and basic human rights are up for debate. It is unimaginable that a survey would ask if Europeans should be allowed to give birth, or if they have a form of mental illness. The same commonsense guidelines must apply to all people. Poorly designed and biased surveys yield bad data. There is a dire need to standardize polling on LGBTIQ people and public opinion polling questions should be minimal and conservative. Minorities aren't polled to determine if majorities should have basic human rights and dignity (or even the right to exist at all), therefore majority groups should not be asked about the humanity of minority groups. See Appendix 8 (5.D.) for a selection of some of the existing polling questions and the regions they are administered and some potential polling questions.

5.5 Indicators to Avoid

The lack of available data has led many researchers to rely on the existence of SGM-specific legal rights within a country to gauge the wellbeing of SOGIESC communities. In fact, some have found a correlation between high democracy scores and increased legal rights for LGBTIQ people (Encarnación 2014; HDT 2022). It seems logical to conclude that the more legal rights people have, the better quality of life they have, but legal rights as an indicator of SGM quality of life is a false friend as it is not representative of actual lived experiences or cultural differentiations (Malta et al 2019: 12; Skaaning 2018: 108; Baxter 2020). In fact, "progressive legislation is not sufficient to advance SGM quality of life. In a social, cultural and political scenario of entrenched prejudice,

discrimination and rampant violence, SGM-related legislation is frequently not enforced or even observed... Although the legislation exists (in some countries), the cultural and social environment is unwelcoming and constantly dangerous for SGM…" (Malta et al 2019: 12). Relying on a high level of legal rights distorts not only where these rights fail to be used in practice or enforced, but also falsely inflates the level of equality in high-rated countries.

High scoring nations are still far from achieving equality, wellbeing, and security for LGBTIQ people. Indeed, more legal rights do not necessarily translate to a better quality of life or higher level of human security (ibid; Encarnación 2014; Freedom House 2022b; Skaaning 2018: 108; Baxter 2020). There are a host of countries that have excellent LGBTIQ legal rights on paper, yet the actual living situation is dire. As highlighted in chapter one, Brazil has federal non-discrimination legislation based on sexual orientation and gender identity, marriage equality, adoption equality, legal gender confirmation surgery (paid for by the state's healthcare system), procedures to change names to match one's gender with no proof of hormone treatment or surgery necessary (a common requirement elsewhere), a ban on conversion therapy, and the world's largest pride parade in São Paulo. In fact, Brazil has some of the most progressive laws that concern LGBTIQ people in the world. Unfortunately these rights are largely unenforced and therefore cannot ensure security and the political rights that a democracy should afford. Brazil is extremely dangerous for SGM and has the highest LGBTIQ murder rate in the world (Wareham 2020 in de Oliveira et 2020: 13). While important to not solely rely on legal rights as a barometer for wellbeing, they are not completely useless and in fact can work well in conjunction with other dimensions. Further, some legal rights may be more telling than others, such as bans/illegality of sex assignment surgery on intersex children. Most importantly, the tendency to focus on one dimension of LGBTIQ lived experiences is not a good measure of quality a life. Many aspects must be assessed and aggregated for a more holistic picture.

5.6 Summary

There is a need for more data on the lived experiences of LGBTIQ individuals, and organizations such as V-Dem have the infrastructure and resources to begin gathering and analyzing this data. In order to do this, V-Dem's Egalitarian Democracy Index (EDI) should be expanded to include indicators on LGBTIQ people (and other marginalized groups), and existing surveys by country experts should be adapted to gather more inclusive data. Moreover, in addition to the expanded

indicators and existing country experts survey, two additional surveys should be created; one for LGBTIQ specific country experts, and one for the wider SGM community in each country. Additionally, in cooperation with governments, CSO groups, or universities, standardizing variables and normalizing tracking general statistics (particularly on health and violence) on LGBTIQ people should be a priority. Further, public polling (even with its limitations) may be able to bolster the overall data to be aggregated for a better picture of quality of life. Finally, it is vital for LGBTIQ activists, politicians, scholars, and members of local and regional groups to be involved in every step of the process.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

All major democracy indices include an aspect of rights and equality in their measurements. Despite this, it is evident that LGBTIQ experiences are not adequately captured. Even with the limited data and samples currently available, it is clear that the rights and security of LGBTIQ people, and many other groups that are marginalized, are not reflected in mainstream democracy indices. As highlighted in chapter one, an analysis of various democracy indices, including the Egalitarian Democracy Index (EDI) from V-Dem, the Freedom in the World (FIW) index from Freedom House, the Global State of Democracy (GSoD) Index's Fundamental Rights index (GSoDFR) from International IDEA, and the Democracy Index from The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIUDI), reveals inconsistencies between a country's ranking and its performance in terms of human rights, quality of life, and the experiences of LGBTIQ people. However, it is feasible to incorporate SGM-centered indicators into existing democracy measurement schemes in order to make them more representative of diverse groups. In order to democratize democracy indices, there must be strong participatory and emancipatory aspects prescribed in critical democracy frameworks, especially queer and decolonial frameworks. In order to make democracy indices more democratic, LGBTIQ communities, activists, and organizations around the globe must actively participate in the process; from conceptions of democracy indicators and development of new data retrieval design, to advising on privacy protocols. This ensures that critical democratic frameworks are incorporated to hinder western bias and bolster emancipatory power of data. Further, it allows the 'democratizing' of the conception of democracy. Conventional conceptions were made by those with global power; in this case, white, western, likely cisgender, heterosexual men were the default 'standard man' who

had access to education and a platform to be heard (Phillips 1993: 56, 62; O'Brien 1981). Those who fall outside of this group were rarely considered, and many times did not have the right to vote, much less participate in governing the state. Democracy indices, while much more sophisticated today, are still based on the same traditional democracy theories that the early indices were based on. Even as the indices have evolved methodologically, they have not evolved theoretically to the same degree. Inclusive and reflexive theoretical frameworks have since been introduced, but have yet to be incorporated into the big democracy indices leaving behind entire portions of the populace that these new theories and ideas might include.

Beyond the argument of equality for the ability to participate, and regardless of ability or even desire to participate in governing, all people should have equal rights, freedoms, and protections in a democracy. Equality is and should be a defining characteristic of democracy, separate even from the democratic process. While participation is a vital part of democracy, it isn't a prerequisite to human dignity. Further, one can hope that equality and rights will lead to fuller democratic participation but that cannot be the only motivation. "Democracy cannot continue to proceed on the assumption of an undifferentiated humanity, or the complacent assertion that voices are equally weighted by their equal right to participate in the vote" (Phillips 1993: 116). Democracy is an ideal, a way of life, not just a process (Dahl 1989) or a set of institutions (Lipset 1959; Cutright 1963).

In order to propose a more comprehensive democracy measurement, LGBTIQ-centered indicators must be enumerated. V-Dem's robust framework and vast network of scholars and country experts makes them an ideal candidate on which to base an expansion. The Egalitarian Democracy Index is an excellent starting point as it already considers civil liberties. I propose refining and expanding the existing indicators in the EDI along with a multi-step plan to retrieve new data to allow for a more comprehensive and nuanced democracy measurement scheme. Additionally, all V-Dem indicators that have a gender or social group element should be expanded in order to increase general knowledge and research capabilities. Further, the process of standardizing social, health, and crime statistics and public opinion polling must begin and include the input of local LGBTIQ experts to decide what their needs are and what ways best reflect their experiences. It is important for democracy indices to be responsive to diverse SOGIESC groups, rather than just dominant groups. From a queer theoretical perspective, collecting data that is representative of the diverse experiences within the SGM community can be seen as a form of resistance against dominant power structures. Obtaining and analyzing this data allows for a greater understanding and visibility

of the experiences and needs of the LGBTIQ community, which can challenge and disrupt the dominant narrative and power dynamics. Yet data is also powerful; it is used to inform policy, regulation, and law-making, as well as the allocation of funding. This path to an LGBTIQ-inclusive democracy index will allow for the advocacy of rights and a high quality of life. Ignoring the wellbeing and security of SGM, as viewed through Welsh School and Feminist security frameworks, is a threat to the stability and security of society at large. Ultimately, the inclusion of more nuanced, multifaceted LGBTIQ-centered indicators, can lead to a more comprehensive understanding of democracy and make predictions more rich. While the focus in this thesis is on the LGBTIQ community, similar types indicator refinements can and should be developed for all groups that are marginalized by society (indigenous peoples, women, racial/ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, et cetera). Future or concurrent expansions of democracy indices should be prioritized to allow for a more comprehensive democracy measure. A richer, more precise data set allows for more nuance in analysis which is vital to resist democratic erosion and ensure democracy consolidation.

Word Count: 19,560

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8. Appendix

1. Qualities of Dahl's Polyarchy

During the voting period:

1. Every member of the organization performs the acts we assume to constitute an expression of preference among the scheduled alternatives, e.g., voting.

2. In tabulating these expressions (votes), the weight assigned to the choice of each individual is identical.

3. The alternative with the greatest number of votes is declared the winning choice.

During the prevoting period:

4. Any member who perceives a set of alternatives, at least one of which he regards as preferable to any of the alternatives presently scheduled, can insert his preferred alternatives) among those scheduled for voting.

5. All individuals possess identical information about the alternatives.

During the postvoting period:

6. Alternatives (leaders or policies) with the greatest number of votes displace any alternatives (leaders or policies) with fewer votes.

7. The orders of elected officials are executed.

During the interelection stage:

8.1 Either all interelection decisions are subordinate or executory to those arrived at during the election stage, i.e., elections are in a sense controlling

8.2 Or new decisions during the interelection period are governed by the preceding seven conditions, operating, however, under rather different institutional circumstances

8.3 Or both (Dahl 1956: 84).

Dahl further explains polyarchy requires 7 institutions must be present:

1. Elected officials. Control over government decisions about policy is constitutionally vested in elected officials.

2. Free and fair elections. Elected officials are chosen in frequent and fairly conducted elections in which coercion is comparatively uncommon.

3. Inclusive suffrage. Practically all adults have the right to vote in the election of officials.

4. Right to run for office. Practically all adults have the right to run for elective offices in the government, though age limits may be higher for holding office than for the suffrage.

5. Freedom of expression. Citizens have a right to express themselves without the danger of severe punishment on political matters broadly defined, including criticism of officials, the government, the regime, the socioeconomic order, and the prevailing ideology.

6. Alternative information. Citizens have a right to seek out alternative sources of information. Moreover, alternative sources of information exist and are protected by laws.

7. Associational autonomy. To achieve their various rights, including those listed above, citizens also have a right to form relatively independent associations or organizations, including independent political parties and interest groups. (Dahl 1989: 221)

2. Data Sources

A) US SSM Opinion Polling 1996-2022:
Gallup (2022). *LGBT Rights*, GALLUP (online). Available: https://news.gallup.com/poll/1651/gay-lesbian-rights.aspx. Accessed: 2022 July 18.
[A. USA: Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages? (%)]

B) US Queer Sex Opinion Polling 2001-2022:
Ibid (Gallup)
[B. US: Regardless of whether or not you think it should be legal, for each one, please tell me whether you personally believe that in general it is morally acceptable or morally wrong. How about gay or lesbian relations?]

C) US L/G Acceptance 2001-2020
Ibid (Gallup)
[C. (Asked of those dissatisfied with acceptance of gays and lesbians in U.S.) Would you like to see gays and lesbians be more widely accepted in this nation, less widely accepted, or is the acceptance of gays and lesbians in this nation today about right? (%)]

D) Global opinions on acceptance of gays:
Pew (2020). *The Global Divide on Homosexuality Persists*, Pew Research Center (Online). Available: https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/06/25/global-divide-on-homosexuality-persists/. Accessed: 2022 July 19.
[D.Percent who say homosexuality should be accepted by society (pew polling 2019)]

E) US Trans Rights Opinion Polling:
Gallup (2022). *LGBT Rights*, GALLUP (online). Available: https://news.gallup.com/poll/1651/gay-lesbian-rights.aspx. Accessed: 2022 July 18.
[Part 1: May 3-18, 2021 - Regardless of whether or not you think it should be legal, for each one, please tell me whether you personally believe that in general it is morally acceptable or morally wrong. How about -- Changing one's gender?
Part 2: May 3-11, 2021 - Do you think transgender athletes -- [ROTATED: should be able to play on sports teams that match their current gender identity (or) should only be allowed to play on sports teams that match their birth gender]?
Part 3: In terms of policies governing public restrooms, do you think these policies should -- [ROTATED: require transgender individuals to use the restroom that corresponds with their birth gender (or should these policies) allow transgender individuals to use the restroom that corresponds with their gender identity]? (%)]

F) 'Global' Trans Option Polling
Luhur, Winston; Brown, Taylor N.T. & Flores, Andrew R. (2019). *Public Opinion of Transgender Rights in the United States: 2017 IPSOS International Survey Series*, Williams Institute (Online). Available: https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2018-01/ipsos_report-transgender_global_data-2018.pdf. Accessed: 2022 July 18.
[F. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement below about people who dress and live as on sex even though they were born another. Callbacks:

1. They should be protected from discrimination
2. They should be allowed to have surgery so their body matches their identity
3. They should be allowed to conceive forgive birth to children (if, biologically capable to do so)
4. They should be allowed to marry a person of their birth sex
5. They should be allowed to serve in the military
6. They should be allowed to adopt children
7. They should be allowed to use the restroom of the sex they identify with

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement below about people who dress and live as on sex even though they were born another.

8. People who dress and live as one sex even though they were born another are brave
9. They are a natural occurrence
10. They have a form of mental illness
11. They are committing a sin
12. They have unique spiritual gifts
13. They have a form of physical disability
14. They are violating traditions of my culture

Responses: Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Don't know]

G) Afrobarometer (2022). *Online data analysis*, Afrobarometer (Online). Available: https://www.afrobarometer.org/online-data-analysis/. Accessed: 2022 July 21.

[G. For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care? (%) Homosexuals. Responses: 1) Would like (somewhat or strongly) or would not care & 2) Would dislike (somewhat or strongly)]

1. Round 8 2019/2021   Correlation r = -0.049
2. Round 7   2016/2018   Correlation r = -0.067
3. Round 6   2014/2015   Correlation r = -0.041

H) European Social Survey (2022). European Social Survey Data Portal, European Social Survey. Available: https://ess-search.nsd.no/. Accessed: 2022 December 9.

[H. Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish. Responses: 1) Agree strongly, 2) Agree, 3) Neither agree nor disagree, 4) Disagree, 5) Disagree strongly, 6) Refused, 7) Don't know]

Rounds 6,7,8,9,10

I) McCarthy, Justin (2022) Is the World Better for Gay People Than It Was 10 Years Ago? IN Gallup (2022). *LGBT Rights*, GALLUP (online). Available: https://news.gallup.com/poll/393602/world-better-gay-people-years-ago.aspx. Accessed: 2022, October 10.

[I. Is the city or area where you live a good place or not a good place to live for gay and lesbian people? Polled 2021]

J) Haerpfer, C., Inglehart, R., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E. & Puranen B. (2022): World Values Survey Wave 7 (2017-2022) Cross-National Data-Set. Version: 4.0.0. World Values Survey Association. Available: https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp. Accessed: 2022 December 9.

[1.Homosexual couples are as good parents as other couples. Responses: Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree, Don't know, No answer, Missing.

2. On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors? Homosexuals. Responses: Yes, No.

3. Ethical Values and Norms: Please tell me for each of the following actions whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card. Responses: Never Justifiable to Always Justifiable on scale of 1 to 10. Homosexuality.]

K) Dicklitch-Nelson, Susan, Indira Rahman, and Scottie Thompson Buckland. 2022. F&M Global Barometers Annual Report: LGBT Human Rights in 204 Countries and Regions, 2019. Lancaster, PA: Franklin & Marshall College. Available: https://www.fandmglobalbarometers.org/annual-reports/

L) Vinh, Dany & Menh, Vuthisokunna (2015). *Opinions, Attitudes and Behavior toward the LGBT Population in Cambodia*, TNS & RoCK (online). Available: https://www.academia.edu/21493512/TNS_Research_Report_on_Opinions_Attitudes_and_Behavior_toward_the_LGBT_Population_in_Cambodia. Accessed: 2022 December 26.

M) Mathews, M., Lim, L. and Selvarajan, S. (2019) *IPS Working Papers No. 34 (May 2019): Religion, Morality and Conservatism in Singapore*, Institute of Policy Studies. Available: https://lkyspp.nus.edu.sg/docs/default-source/ips/ips-working-paper-34---religion-morality-and-conservatism-in-singapore.pdf. Accessed: 2022 November 26.
N) LAPOP (2022). Americas Barometer, Vanderbilt Univeristy. Available: https://public.tableau.com/app/profile/lapop.central/viz/LAPOPV3_2/Combination?publish=yes. Accessed: 2022 November 26.

O) ACLU (2022). *Legislation affecting LGBTQ rights across the country*, ACLU (online). Available: https://www.aclu.org/legislation-affecting-lgbtq-rights-across-country. Accessed: 2022 February 12.
*Note on Data collection from ACLU:

When collecting data for legislation proposed in the US by year, there will be some bills that were

introduced in one year, then counted again in the next year because it was still, for example, in

committee for review. This decision to count 'duplicate' bills is due to the overall purpose of the

data, which is to represent how many bills per year are active. Their existence in more than one

year, is therefore not relevant. However, in cases where different versions of the same bill exist in

the house and senate of a state, it was counted as one bill. In 2020 and 2021, categorizing the

legislation by indicator was very straightforward as the negative legislation was much more overt.

For example, legislation that restricted access to healthcare for transgender children, like Arizona's

SB 1138 which was signed into law in March of 2022 (ACLU 2022), was unequivocally intended to

diminish civil rights and to punish a community that legislators deem "other." In 2019 and 2018,

many bills were written with the intention of appearing to expand civil rights while actually doing

the inverse. For example, Florida's SB 430 (ibid) that was filed in may of 2019 is written under the

guise of expanding existing anti-discrimination laws to include the classes of "sexual orientation"

and "gender identity" yet, in addition, it vastly expands "religious exemptions." These exemptions

would usurp any anti-discrimination protections in order to allow discrimination in the name of "religious freedom." While bills like these might be seen as being mixed in terms of positive or negative effects on LGBTQ people, they have been coded as negative due to the fact that the potential and intended effects are by and large negative towards SGM communities.

3. V-Dem Egalitarian Democracy Index Components

A. Egalitarian Democracy Index (D) (v2x_egaldem)

Question: To what extent is the ideal of egalitarian democracy achieved?
Clarification: The egalitarian principle of democracy holds that material and immaterial inequalities inhibit the exercise of formal rights and liberties, and diminish the ability of citizens from all social groups to participate. Egalitarian democracy is achieved when 1 rights and freedoms of individuals are protected equally across all social groups; and 2 resources are distributed equally across all social groups; 3 groups and individuals enjoy equal access to power. To make it a measure of egalitarian democracy, the index also takes the level of electoral democracy into account.

Scale: Interval, from low to high (0-1).
Source(s): v2x_egal v2x_polyarchy
Aggregation: The index is aggregated using this formula:
$$v2x\_egaldem = .25 * v2x\_polyarchy^{1.585} + .25 * v2x\_egal + .5 * v2x\_polyarchy^{1.585} * v2x\_egal$$

Citation: Sigman et al. 2015 Working Paper Series 22; Coppedge et al. 2015, V-Dem Working Paper Series 2015:6; Coppedge et al 2022a: 45
Years: 1900-2021

B. Egalitarian Component Index (D) (v2x_egal)

Question: To what extent is the egalitarian principle achieved?
Clarification: The egalitarian principle of democracy holds that material and immaterial inequalities inhibit the exercise of formal rights and liberties, and diminish the ability of citizens from all social groups to participate. Egalitarian democracy is achieved when 1 rights and freedoms of individuals are protected equally across all social groups; 2 resources are distributed equally across all social groups; and 3 access to power is equally distributed by gender, socioeconomic class and social group.

Scale: Interval, from low to high (0-1).

Source(s): v2xeg_eqprotec v2xeg_eqaccess v2xeg_eqdr

Data release: 1-12. Release 1-4 used a dierent, preliminary aggregation formula, 5-8 modified aggregation formula including v2xeg_eqaccess.

Aggregation: This index is formed by averaging the following indices: equal protection index (v2xeg_eqprotec), equal access index (v2xeg_eqaccess) and equal distribution of resources (v2xeg_eqdr).

Citation: Sigman et al. 2015: Working Paper 22; Coppedge et al. 2015, V-Dem Working Paper Series 2015:6; Coppedge et al 2022a: 55

Years: 1900-2021

C. Electoral Democracy Index (D) (v2x_polyarchy)

Question: To what extent is the ideal of electoral democracy in its fullest sense achieved?

Clarification: The electoral principle of democracy seeks to embody the core value of making rulers responsive to citizens, achieved through electoral competition for the electorate's approval under circumstances when suffrage is extensive; political and civil society organizations can operate freely; elections are clean and not marred by fraud or systematic irregularities; and elections affect the composition of the chief executive of the country. In between elections, there is freedom of expression and an independent media capable of presenting alternative views on matters of political relevance. In the V-Dem conceptual scheme, electoral democracy is understood as an essential element of any other conception of representative democracy — liberal, participatory, deliberative, egalitarian, or some other.

Scale: Interval, from low to high (0-1).

Source(s): v2x_freexp_altinf v2x_frassoc_thick v2x_suffr v2xel_frefair v2x_elecoff

Aggregation: The index is formed by taking the average of, on the one hand, the weighted average of the indices measuring freedom of association thick (v2x_frassoc_thick), clean elections (v2xel_frefair), freedom of expression (v2x_freexp_altinf), elected officials (v2x_elecoff), and suffrage (v2x_suffr) and, on the other, the five-way multiplicative interaction between those indices. This is half way between a straight average and strict multiplication, meaning the average of the two. It is thus a compromise between the two most well known aggregation formulas in the

literature, both allowing partial "compensation" in one sub-component for lack of polyarchy in the others, but also punishing countries not strong in one sub-component according to the "weakest link" argument. The aggregation is done at the level of Dahl's sub- components with the one exception of the non-electoral component. The index is aggregated using this formula:

v2x_polyarchy = .5 * MPI + .5 * API

= .5 * (v2x_elecoff * v2xel_frefair * v2x_frassoc_thick * v2x_suffr * v2x_freexp_altinf)

+ .5 * ((1/8) * *v2x_elecoff* + (1/4) * *v2xel_frefair* + (1/4) * v2x_frassoc_thick + (1/8) * v2x_suffr

(1/4) * *v2x_freexp_altinf*)

Citation: Teorell et al. 2019; Coppedge et al 2022a

Years: 1789-2021

D. Egalitarian Component Index Aggregated

i. Equal protection index:

Social class equality in respect for civil liberties, Social group equality in respect for civil liberties (see a. below), Weaker civil liberties population (see b. below)

ii. Equal access index

Power distributed by gender, Power distributed by socioeconomic position, Power distributed by social group

iii. Equal distribution of resources index

Particularistic or public goods, Means-tested vs. universalistic welfare policies, Educational equality, Health equality

a.) Social group equality in respect for civil liberties (C) (v2clsocgrp)

Question: Do all social groups, as distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region, or caste, enjoy the same level of civil liberties, or are some groups generally in a more favorable position?

Clarification: Here, civil liberties are understood to include access to justice, private property rights, freedom of movement, and freedom from forced labor.

Responses:

0: Members of some social groups enjoy much fewer civil liberties than the general population.

1: Members of some social groups enjoy substantially fewer civil liberties than the general population.

2: Members of some social groups enjoy moderately fewer civil liberties than the general population.

3: Members of some social groups enjoy slightly fewer civil liberties than the general population. 4: Members of all salient social groups enjoy the same level of civil liberties.

Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.

Cross-coder aggregation: Bayesian item response theory measurement model (see *V-Dem Methodology*).

V-Dem Egalitarian Democracy Index: Top 15	V-Dem Liberal Democracy Index: Top 15	Freedom House: Free	Freedom House: Free	Freedom House: Free	Freedom House: Free	Economist Democracy Index: Full Democracies	International IDEA: High Performing Democracies
Norway	Sweden	Australia	Brazil	Antigua & Barbuda	St Kitts and Nevis	Australia	Canada
Denmark	Denmark	Canada	Argentina	Croatia	The Bahamas	Canada	United States
Luxembourg	Norway	Uruguay	Guyana	Estonia	Solomon Islands	Uruguay	Australia
Germany	Costa Rica	Denmark	Suriname	United States	Vanuatu	Denmark	New Zealand
Switzerland	New Zealand	Austria	Mongolia	Poland	Timor-Leste	Austria	Norway
Italy	Estonia	The Netherlands	Ghana	Czech Republic	Mauritius	The Netherlands	Sweden
Belgium	Switzerland	Germany	Namibia	Slovenia	Cyprus	Germany	Finland
Japan	Finland	South Korea	South Africa	Ecuador	Israel	South Korea	Iceland
Taiwan	Germany	Iceland	Botswana	Peru	Samoa	Iceland	Denmark
Netherlands	Ireland	Taiwan	Portugal	Grenada	Fiji	Taiwan	Germany
Sweden	Belgium	New Zealand	Spain	Belize	Greece	New Zealand	France
Austria	Portugal	Norway	France	Dominica	Panama	Norway	United Kingdom
Finland	The Netherlands	Sweden	Belgium	St Lucia		Sweden	Ireland
Cyprus	Australia	Finland	Lithuania	Cabo Verde		Finland	The Netherlands
Czech Republic	Luxembourg	Ireland	Latvia	Slovakia		Ireland	Belgium
		Costa Rica	Romania	Jamaica		Costa Rica	Austria
		Switzerland	Bulgaria	Barbados		Switzerland	
		Britain (United Kingdom)	St Vincent and the Grenadines	Trinidad and Tobago		Britain (United Kingdom)	

Citation: Pemstein *et al.* 2022: Working Paper 21; *Coppedge 2022a*

Years: 1789-2021

b.) Weaker civil liberties population (C) (v2clsnlpct)

Question: What percentage (%) of the total population of the country lives in the areas where government officials' respect for civil liberties is significantly *weaker* than the country average?

Responses: Percent.

Scale: Interval.

Citation: Coppedge et al 2022a: 182

Years: 1900-2021

E. Electoral Democracy Index Aggregated

i.   Expanded freedom of expression index:

Government censorship effort - media; Government censorship effort – Internet; Harassment of journalists; Media self- censorship; Media bias; Print/broadcast media critical; Print/broadcast media perspectives; Freedom of discussion for men; Freedom of discussion for women (see a. below); Freedom of academic and cultural expression

ii.   Freedom of association index

iii.   Share of population with suffrage

iv.   Clean elections index

v.   Elected officials index

a.) Freedom of discussion for women

Question: Are women able to openly discuss political issues in private homes and in public spaces?

Clarification: This indicator specifies the extent to which women are able to engage in private discussions, particularly on political issues, in private homes and public spaces (restaurants, public transportation, sports events, work etc.) without fear of harassment by other members of the polity or the public authorities. We are interested in restrictions by the government and its agents but also cultural restrictions or customary laws that are enforced by other members of the polity, sometimes in informal ways.

This question does not ask you to assess the relative freedom of men and women. Thus, it is possible to assign the lowest possible score to a country even if men and women enjoy equal — and extremely low — rights to freedom of discussion.

Responses:

0: Not respected. Hardly any freedom of expression exists for women. Women are subject to immediate and harsh intervention and harassment for expression of political opinion.

1: Weakly respected. Expressions of political opinions by women are frequently exposed to intervention and harassment.

2: Somewhat respected. Expressions of political opinions by women are occasionally exposed to intervention and harassment.

3: Mostly respected. There are minor restraints on the freedom of expression in the private sphere, predominantly limited to a few isolated cases or only linked to soft sanctions. But as a rule there is no intervention or harassment if women make political statements.

4: Fully respected. Freedom of speech by women in their homes and in public spaces is not restricted.

Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.

Citation: Pemstein *et al.* (2022: Working Paper 21); Coppedge et al 2022a: 183-184)

4. Tables and Graphs

Table 1: Top Democracies

V-Dem Egalitarian Democracy Index: Top 15	V-Dem Liberal Democracy Index: Top 15	Freedom House: Free	Freedom House: Free	Freedom House: Free	Freedom House: Free	Economist Democracy Index: Full Democracies	International IDEA: High Performing Democracies
Norway	Sweden	Australia	Brazil	Antigua & Barbuda	St Kitts and Nevis	Australia	Canada
Denmark	Denmark	Canada	Argentina	Croatia	The Bahamas	Canada	United States
Luxembourg	Norway	Uruguay	Guyana	Estonia	Solomon Islands	Uruguay	Australia
Germany	Costa Rica	Denmark	Suriname	United States	Vanuatu	Denmark	New Zealand
Switzerland	New Zealand	Austria	Mongolia	Poland	Timor-Leste	Austria	Norway
Italy	Estonia	The Netherlands	Ghana	Czech Republic	Mauritius	The Netherlands	Sweden
Belgium	Switzerland	Germany	Namibia	Slovenia	Cyprus	Germany	Finland
Japan	Finland	South Korea	South Africa	Ecuador	Israel	South Korea	Iceland
Taiwan	Germany	Iceland	Botswana	Peru	Samoa	Iceland	Denmark
Netherlands	Ireland	Taiwan	Portugal	Grenada	Fiji	Taiwan	Germany
Sweden	Belgium	New Zealand	Spain	Belize	Greece	New Zealand	France
Austria	Portugal	Norway	France	Dominica	Panama	Norway	United Kingdom
Finland	The Netherlands	Sweden	Belgium	St Lucia		Sweden	Ireland
Cyprus	Australia	Finland	Lithuania	Cabo Verde		Finland	The Netherlands
Czech Republic	Luxembourg	Ireland	Latvia	Slovakia		Ireland	Belgium
		Costa Rica	Romania	Jamaica		Costa Rica	Austria
		Switzerland	Bulgaria	Barbados		Switzerland	
		Britain (United Kingdom)	St Vincent and the Grenadines	Trinidad and Tobago		Britain (United Kingdom)	

Sources: EIU 2022; Coppedge et al 2022; Freedom House 2022b; IDEA 2022b

Table 2: Top Democracies' Index Scores

Country	EIU Democracy Index	V-Dem Egalitarian Democracy Index	Freedom House	IDEA Fundamental Rights	Equaldex Equality Index
Belgium	0.93	0.81	96	.91	77
Costa Rica	(0.89)	0.80	91	.83	72
Denmark	0.97	0.87	97	.99	86
Estonia	(0.89)	0.79	94	.82	59
Finland	(0.91)	0.78	100	.92	74
Germany	0.94	0.80	94	.95	84
Ireland	0.89	0.79	97	.86	73
Italy	0.93	0.78	90	.85	65
Japan	0.92	0.76	96	.84	65
Luxembourg	0.94	0.82	97	.90	78
Netherlands	0.91	0.78	97	.85	85
New Zealand	(0.89)	0.79	99	.84	78
Norway	0.97	0.86	100	.84	86
Portugal	0.85	0.76	95	.75	69
Sweden	(0.91)	0.83	100	.88	81
Switzerland	0.94	0.82	96	.91	80
Taiwan	0.92	0.74	94	.81	66
Afghanistan	0.25	0.08	10	.31	1
Argentina	0.74	0.63	84	.62	82
Barbados	0.83	0.66	95		32
Bolivia	0.63	0.42	66	.52	58
Botswana	0.69	0.43	72	.70	56
Brazil	0.41	0.34	73	.60	81
Ghana	0.72	0.50	80	.63	21
Guyana	0.69	0.40	73	.60	27
Iran	0.55	0.17	14	.41	6
Jamaica	0.80	0.66	80	.70	30
Malaysia	0.67	0.32	50	.60	13
Mauritius	0.74	0.46	86	.63	60
Mexico	0.45	0.34	60	.47	74

Nigeria	0.46	0.27	43	.55	10
Pakistan	0.29	0.15	37	.43	34
Poland	0.83	0.49	81	.63	49
Slovenia	0.79	0.56	90	.75	66
Tanzania	0.73	0.3	34	.58	17
Uganda	0.39	0.16	34	.47	13
USA	0.65	0.58	83	.77	82
Vietnam	0.62	0.21	19	.44	52

Sources: EIU 2022; Coppedge et al 2022; Freedom House 2022b; IDEA 2022b; Equaldex 2022

Table 3: Anti-LGBTIQ Legislation in the US

Proposed Law Target	2018	2019	2020	2021
Anti LGBT General	19	21	4	14
Anti Trans Youth	10	10	39	114
Anti Trans	4	18	13	14
Religion Exempt General	14	13	17	10
Religion Exempt Healthcare	0	3	7	10
Total Negative	47	65	80	162
Total Positive	31	53	39	40

Source: ACLU 2022

Table 4: US Poll - Is it Morally Acceptable or Morally Wrong… [to Change] One's Gender?

opinion	morally_acceptable	morally_wrong	depends	not_moral_issue	no_opinion
Regardless of whether or not you think it should be legal, for each one, please tell me whether you personally believe that in general it is morally acceptable or morally wrong. How about -- Changing one's gender?	46 %	51 %	2 %		

Source: Gallup 2022

Table 5: US Poll - Should Transgender Athlete be able to Play on Sports Teams that Match Their Gender Identity?

opinion	current_gender_identity	only_birth_gender	no_opinion
Do you think transgender athletes -- [ROTATED: should be able to play on sports teams that match their current gender identity (or) should only be allowed to play on sports teams that match their birth gender]?	34 %	62 %	4 %

Source: Gallup 2022

Table 6: [Should] Policies Require Transgender Individuals to use the Restroom that Corresponds with Their Birth Bender/Gender Identity?

date	birth_gender	gender_identity	no_opinion
May 15-30, 2019	51 %	44 %	5 %
May 3-7, 2017	48 %	45 %	7 %

Source: Gallup 2022

Table 7: Transgender Global Poll

opinion	Argentina	Australia	Belgium	Canada	France	Germany	Great Britain	Hungary	Italy	Japan	Poland	Serbia	South Korea	Spain	Sweden	United States
They are a natural occurrence	54 %	55 %	48 %	54 %	52 %	60,0 %	57 %	44 %	45 %	48 %	57 %	49 %	48 %	74 %	67 %	57 %
They have a form of mental illness	13 %	23 %	17 %	24 %	13 %	19 %	16 %	43 %	11 %	17 %	41 %	44 %	25 %	9 %	22 %	32 %
They have a form of physical disability	12 %	17 %	20,0 %	14 %	24 %	16 %	8 %	24 %	10,0 %	17 %	36 %	30,0 %	33 %	8 %	21 %	17 %
They are committing a sin	13 %	17 %	11 %	19 %	8 %	10,0 %	8 %	12 %	11 %	3 %	21 %	27 %	13 %	8 %	18 %	32 %
I want our country to do more to support and protect transgender people	67 %	58 %	55 %	59 %	52 %	60,0 %	59 %	41 %	59 %	41 %	39 %	48 %	44 %	70,0 %	58 %	51 %
I worry about exposing children to transgender people	40,0 %	32 %	23 %	28 %	22 %	16 %	25 %	42 %	24 %	15 %	36 %	50,0 %	39 %	19 %	26 %	41 %
They are violating the traditions of my culture	18 %	26 %	17 %	25 %	14 %	16 %	19 %	24 %	18 %	9 %	22 %	30,0 %	23 %	12 %	24 %	36 %

Source: Luhur, Winston; Brown, Taylor N.T. & Flores, Andrew R. (2019). *Public Opinion of Transgender Rights in the United States: 2017 IPSOS International Survey Series*, Williams Institute (Online). Available: https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2018-01/ipsos_report-transgender_global_data-2018.pdf. Accessed: 2022 July 18.

Table 8: US Transgender Poll - Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?

Date	Whether someone is a man or a woman is determined by the sex they were assigned at birth	Someone can be a man or a woman even if that is different from the sex they were assigned at birth	No answer
May 16-22, 2022	60 %	38 %	1 %
June 14-24, 2021	56 %	41 %	3 %
September 14-28, 2017	54 %	44 %	2 %

Source: PRC 2022

Output 1: Gallup Global Poll - Is where you live a good place for LGBT, Yes & Egalitarian Democracy Index
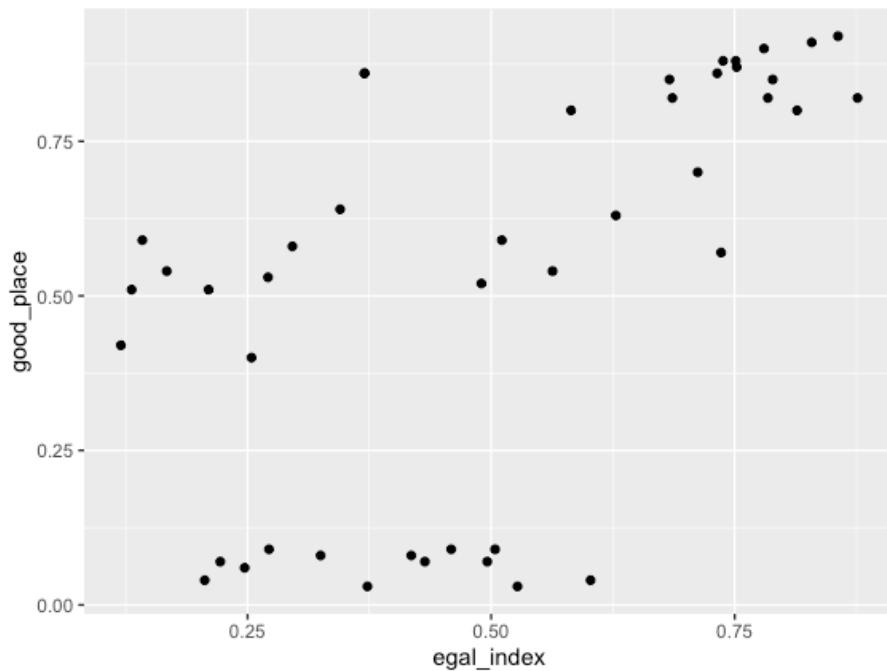
cor 0.5707216

Call:
lm(formula = good_place ~ egal_index, data = gallup_goodplace)

Residuals:
    Min   1Q Median   3Q   Max
-0.5598 -0.2411 0.0772 0.1880 0.4474

Coefficients:
            Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept) 0.11403   0.09874   1.155   0.255
egal_index   0.80689   0.17914   4.504 5.23e-05 ***

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 0.2727 on 42 degrees of freedom
Multiple R-squared: 0.3257,   Adjusted R-squared: 0.3097
F-statistic: 20.29 on 1 and 42 DF, p-value: 5.229e-05

Durbin-Watson test
data: model
DW = 1.1399, p-value = 0.0007633

5. LGBTIQ Indicators

A. Country Experts

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing-Expanded	Sources
Likelihood of threat or discriminations	How likely is SOGIESC status to cause/affect the threat of or discrimination in:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently. 4: Often.		New	Same format as V-Dem, could be added to existing survey
	a) housing				
	b) education opportunities				
	c) being out or 'visibly' LGBTIQ+		Is openly LGBTIQ+ or appears/presents in a way outside of cultural gender norms		
	d) police/state violence		"police, security forces, prison offcials, or other agents of the state (including paramilitary groups)" (Pemstein et al 2022; Coppedge et al 2022)		
	e) public assault				
	f) public verbal harassment				
	g) cultural or religious views		Socially or culturally held beliefs or norms in the community/society		
	h) media rhetoric		Print, internet, or tv media		
	i) political rhetoric		Political leaders		
	j) religious rhetoric		Religious leaders		

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing-Expanded	Sources
Social divisiveness	For LGBTIQ+ people, what is frequency of:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently, somewhat common. 4: Often, common.		New	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey
	a) family or community rejection		Reject, disassociate, disown, or force out of family home		
	b) politicians using anti-LGBTIQ+ hate speech				
	c) cultural or religious leaders using anti-LGBTIQ+ hate speech				
	d) proposed legislation at a national level negatively targeting LGBTIQ+ rights				
	e) proposed legislation or policy on a regional level negatively targeting LGBTIQ+ rights, combined		Combination of all regions, total		
	f) proposed legislation or policy on a local level negatively targeting LGBTIQ+ rights, combined		Combination of all local areas, total		
	g) homelessness				
	h) poverty				
	i) being forced to leave or quit school				
Are LGBTIQ people in your country safe from threats and violence?		Scale: Ordinal. Responses: 0. Not at all safe, there is near constant danger. 1: Rarely safe, there are often threats. 2: Mostly safe, threats are occasional. 3: Frequently safe, threats are rare. 4: Always safe, threats are virtually non-existent.		New	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey.

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing-Expanded	Sources
Are people in your country from groups that are marginalized safe from threats and violence?		Scale: Ordinal. Responses: 0. Not at all safe, there is near constant danger. 1: Rarely safe, there are often threats. 2: Mostly safe, threats are occasional. 3: Frequently safe, threats are rare. 4: Always safe, threats are virtually non-existent.		New	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey.
Are LGBTIQ people in your country able to fully participate in their communities and society at large?		Scale: Ordinal. Responses: 0. Not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Mostly.. 3: Frequently. 4: Always.		New	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey.
Are people that are marginalized in your country able to fully participate in their communities and society at large?		Scale: Ordinal. Responses: 0. Not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Mostly.. 3: Frequently. 4: Always.		New	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey.
Local LGBTIQ+ experts	Could you identify several national or local experts in LGBTIQ+ rights; it could be, for example, out activists, out politicians, leaders to member of LGBTIQ+-focused advocacy or service groups	N/A		New	For V-dem survey but open ended
Suffrage restricted for groups that are marginalized	Are [groups that marginalized] eligible to vote in national elections? (Brackets by author; Coppedge 2022a: 59; Paxton et al 2003, 2008; Reif GVED)	"*Scale*: Ordinal. *Responses*: 0: No… suffrage [for groups that marginalized]. No [groups that marginalized] are allowed to vote, but some or all [other groups] vote. 1: Restricted… suffrage [for groups that marginalized]. Some [groups that marginalized] are allowed to vote, and face more or different restrictions than [other groups] 2: Universal… suffrage. All [groups that marginalized] are allowed to vote." (ibid)	Female restricted suffrage already exists, I propose adding an additional indicator for groups that are marginalized. In the clarification, explicitly list out groups that may potentially be marginalized. "*Clarification*: If there are no (direct) national elections, observations are not coded (missing)." (Ibid) [Groups that are marginalized could be "distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region,… caste", sexual orientation, or gender identity]	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing-Expanded	Sources
Suffrage for groups that are marginalized	What is the approximate percentage of enfranchised… adults [from groups that marginalized] older than the minimal voting age?;(Brackets by author; Coppedge 2022a: 61-62)	"*Scale*: Interval. *Responses*: Percent." (ibid)	Female and male suffrage already exists, I propose adding an additional indicator for groups that are marginalized. In the clarification, explicitly list out groups that may potentially be marginalized. "*Clarification*: This variable, in contrast to [percentage of population with suffrage], covers *de facto* enfranchised adults and not *de jure*. For example, the scores reflect whether an electoral regime was interrupted or not. If an electoral regime is interrupted (see [electoral regime index]), [suffrage for groups that are marginalized] is zero while [Percentage of population with suffrage] may still be 100. [Groups that are marginalized could be "distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region,… caste", sexual orientation, or gender identity]" (ibid) [Groups that are marginalized could be "distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region,… caste", sexual orientation, or gender identity]	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey
Executive - Government related indictors (multiple), various HOS LGBTIQ+, from marginalized group; HOG LGBTIQ+, from marginalized group Coppedge et al 2022a: 124, 133)	Is the head of state [LGBTIQ+?]; Is the head of state a member of a group that is marginalized?; Is the head of government [LGBTIQ+]? Is the head of government [a member of a group that is marginalized]?	*Scale*: Dichotomous *Responses*: 0: No 1= Yes	"*Clarification*: If the head of state/head of government is a collective body, [respond based on] the person executing the most effective power over this body, or, if no such person exists, answer if any persons in the body are [LGBTIQ+/a member of a marginalized group]." (ibid) [Groups that are marginalized could be "distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region,… caste", sexual orientation, or gender identity]	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing-Expanded	Sources
Government - Lower chamber (multiple) legislators LGBTIQ+, from groups that are marginalized (Coppedge et al 2022a: 159)	What percentage (%) of the lower (or unicameral) chamber of the legislature is [LGBTIQ+]?; What percentage (%) of the lower (or unicameral) chamber of the legislature is [from a groups that is marginalized]?	"*Scale*: Interval. *Responses*: Percent." (ibid)		Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey
Freedom from forced labor for groups that are marginalized	Are adult[s in groups that are marginalized] free from servitude and other kinds of forced labor? (Brackets by author; Coppedge 2022: 177-178; Pemstein et al 2022: 21)	"*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: [S]ervitude or other kinds of forced labor [for groups that are marginalized] is widespread and accepted (perhaps even organized) by the state. 1: [S]ervitude or other kinds of forced labor [for groups that are marginalized] is substantial. Although officially opposed by the public authorities, the state is unwilling or unable to effectively contain the practice. 2: [S]ervitude or other kinds of forced labor [for groups that are marginalized] exists but is not widespread and usually actively opposed by public authorities, or only tolerated in some particular areas or among particular social groups. 3: [S]ervitude or other kinds of forced labor [for groups that are marginalized] is infrequent and only found in the criminal underground. It is actively and sincerely opposed by the public authorities. 4: [S]ervitude or other kinds of forced labor [for groups that are marginalized] is virtually non-existent." (ibid)	Freedom from forced labor for and for women already exist, I propose adding an additional indicator for groups that are marginalized. In the clarification, explicitly list out groups that may potentially be marginalized. "*Clarification*: Involuntary servitude occurs when an adult is unable to quit a job [they] desire to leave — not by reason of economic necessity but rather by reason of employer's coercion. This includes labor camps but not work or service which forms part of normal civic obligations such as conscription or employment in command economies. This question does not ask you to assess the *relative* freedom of [different groups] from forced labor. Thus, a country in which [different groups] suffer the same conditions of servitude might be coded a (0) for [groups that are marginlaized], even though there is equality across the [different groups]." [Groups that are marginalized could be "distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region,… caste", sexual orientation, or gender identity] (ibid)	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing-Expanded	Sources
Access to justice for groups that are marginalized (multiple)	Do [groups that are marginalized] enjoy equal, secure, and effective access to justice?; Do [LGBTIQ+ people] enjoy equal, secure, and effective access to justice? (Brackets by author; Coppedge 2022: 179; Pemstein et al 2022: 21)	"*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Secure and effective access to justice for [groups that are marginalized/ LGBTIQ+ people] is non-existent. 1: Secure and effective access to justice for [groups that are marginalized/ LGBTIQ+ people] is usually not established or widely respected. 2: Secure and effective access to justice for [groups that are marginalized/LGBTIQ+ people] is inconsistently observed. Minor problems characterize most cases or occur rather unevenly across different parts of the country. 3: Secure and effective access to justice for [groups that are marginalized/ LGBTIQ+ people] is usually observed. 4: Secure and effective access to justice for [groups that are marginalized/ LGBTIQ+ people] is almost always observed." (ibid)	Access to justice for men and Access to justice for women already exist, I propose adding Access to justice for groups that are marginalized and Access to justice for LGBTIQ+ people. In the clarification, explicitly list out groups that may potentially be marginalized. "*Clarification:* This question specifies the extent to which [groups that are marginalized/LGBTIQ+ people] can bring cases before the courts without risk to their personal safety, trials are fair, and [they] have effective ability to seek redress if public authorities violate their rights, including the rights to counsel, defense, and appeal" [Groups that are marginalized could be "distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region,… caste", sexual orientation, or gender identity] (ibid)	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey
Social group equality in respect for civlil liberties	Do all social groups, as distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region,… caste, [sexual orientation, or gender identity], enjoy the same level of civil liberties, or are some groups generally in a more favorable position? (Brackets by author; Coppedge 2022: 180-181; Pemstien et 2022:21)	"*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Members of some social groups enjoy much fewer civil liberties than the general population. 1: Members of some social groups enjoy substantially fewer civil liberties than the general population. 2: Members of some social groups enjoy moderately fewer civil liberties than the general population. 3: Members of some social groups enjoy slightly fewer civil liberties than the general population. 4: Members of all salient social groups enjoy the same level of civil liberties." (ibid)	Social group equality in respect for civlil liberties already exists, I propose including 'sexual orientation and gender identity' in clarification "*Clarification*: Here, civil liberties are understood to include access to justice, private property rights, freedom of movement, and freedom from forced labor" (ibid) [Social groups may be distinguished by gender, language, ethnicity, religion, race, region, caste, sexual orientation, or gender identity]	Revised	Same format as V-Dem, update existing survey question

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing-Expanded	Sources
Freedom of discussion for groups that are marginalized	Are [groups that are marginalized] able to openly discuss political issues in private homes and in public spaces? (Brackets by author; Coppedge et al 2022: 183-184; Pemstein et al 2022: 21)	"*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Not respected. Hardly any freedom of expression exists for [groups that are marginalized]. [Groups that are marginalized] are subject to immediate and harsh intervention and harassment for expression of political opinion. 1: Weakly respected. Expressions of political opinions by [groups that are marginalized] are frequently exposed to intervention and harassment. 2: Somewhat respected. Expressions of political opinions by [groups that are marginalized] are occasionally exposed to intervention and harassment. 3: Mostly respected. There are minor restraints on the freedom of expression in the private sphere, predominantly limited to a few isolated cases or only linked to soft sanctions. But as a rule there is no intervention or harassment if [groups that are marginalized] make political statements. 4: Fully respected. Freedom of speech by [groups that are marginalized] in their homes and in public spaces is not restricted." (ibid)	Freedom of discussion for men and for women already exist, I propose adding an additional indicator for groups that are marginalized. In the clarification, explicitly list out groups that may potentially be marginalized. "*Clarification*: This indicator specifies the extent to which [groups that are marginalized] are able to engage in private discussions, particularly on political issues, in private homes and public spaces (restaurants, public transportation, sports events, work etc.) without fear of harassment by other members of the polity or the public authorities. We are interested in restrictions by the government and its agents but also cultural restrictions or customary laws that are enforced by other members of the polity, sometimes in informal ways. [Groups that are marginalized could be "distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region,… caste", sexual orientation, or gender identity] This question does not ask you to assess the relative freedom of men, women, [and groups that are marginalized]. Thus, it is possible to assign the lowest possible score to a country even if [all groups] enjoy equal — and extremely low — rights to freedom of discussion. (ibid)	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey question theme

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing-Expanded	Sources
Freedom of domestic movement for groups that are marginalized	Do [groups that are marginalized] enjoy freedom of movement within the country? (Brackets by author; Coppedge et al 2022a: 186)	"*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Virtually no [groups that are marginalized] enjoy full freedom of movement (*e.g.*, North Korea or Afghanistan under the Taliban). 1: Some [groups that are marginalized] enjoy full freedom of movement, but most do not (*e.g.*, Apartheid South Africa). 2: Most [groups that are marginalized] enjoy some freedom of movement but a sizeable minority does not. Alternatively all [groups that are marginalized] enjoy partial freedom of movement. 3: Most [groups that are marginalized] enjoy full freedom of movement but a small minority does not. 4: Virtually all [groups that are marginalized] enjoy full freedom of movement." (ibid)	Freedom of domestic movement for men and for women already exist. I propose adding an indicators for groups that are marginalized. In the clarification, explicitly list out groups that may potentially be marginalized. "*Clarification*: This indicator specifies the extent to which all [groups that are marginalized] are able to move freely, in daytime and nighttime, in public thoroughfares, across regions within a country, and to establish permanent residency where they wish. Note that restrictions in movement might be imposed by the state and/ or by informal norms and practices. Such restrictions sometimes fall on rural residents, on specific social groups, or on dissidents. This question does not ask you to assess the *relative* freedom of men, women, [and groups that are marginalized]. Thus, it is possible to assign the lowest possible score to a country even if men, women, [and groups that are marginalized] enjoy equal — and extremely low — freedom of movement. Do *not* consider restrictions in movement that are placed on ordinary (non-political) criminals. Do not consider restrictions in movement that result from crime or unrest. [Groups that are marginalized could be "distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region,… caste", sexual orientation, or gender identity]" (ibid)	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey question theme

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing- Expanded	Sources
Property rights for group that are marginalized	Do [groups that are marginalized] enjoy the right to private property? (Brackets by author; Coppedge et al 2022a: 188; Pemstein et al 2022: 21)	"*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Virtually no [groups that are marginalized] enjoy private property rights of any kind. 1: Some [groups that are marginalized] enjoy some private property rights, but most have none. 2: Many [groups that are marginalized] enjoy many private property rights, but a smaller proportion enjoys few or none. 3: More than half of [groups that are marginalized] enjoy most private property rights, yet a smaller share of [groups that are marginalized] have much more restricted rights. 4: Most [groups that are marginalized] enjoy most private property rights but a small minority does not. 5: Virtually all [groups that are marginalized] enjoy all, or almost all property rights." (ibid)	Property rights for men and for women already exist, I propose adding an additional indicator for groups that are marginalized. In the clarification, explicitly list out groups that may potentially be marginalized. "*Clarification*: Private property includes the right to acquire, possess, inherit, and sell private property, including land. Limits on property rights may come from the state (which may legally limit rights or fail to enforce them); customary laws and practices; or religious or social norms. This question concerns the right to private property, not actual ownership of property. This question does not ask you to assess the *relative* rights of [different groups]. Thus, it is possible to assign the lowest possible score to a country even if [different groups] enjoy equal — and very minimal — property rights." (ibid) Members of groups could include, but are not limited to, persons who are indigenous, LGBTIQ+, of a minority religion, ethnicity, or race, lives with a disability	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey question theme

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing-Expanded	Sources
CSO participation by groups that are marginalized	Are [groups that are marginalized] prevented from participating in civil society organizations (CSOs)? (Brackets by author; Coppedge et al 2022a: 198; Bernhard et al 2015: 13)	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Almost always. 1: Frequently. 2: About half the time. 3: Rarely. 4: Almost never. (ibid)	CSO women's participation already exists, I propose adding an additional indicator for groups that are marginalized. In the clarification, explicitly list out groups that may potentially be marginalized. "*Clarification*: Please pay attention to both (A) whether [groups that are marginalized] are prevented from participating in civil society organizations (CSOs) because of their [identity/social group] and (B) whether CSOs pursuing [groups that are marginalized]'s interests are prevented from taking part in associational life." (ibid) Groups that are marginalized could be religious, racial, or ethnic minorities, out LGBTIQ+, have a disability, or from a marginalized region.	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey theme
Journalists from groups that are marginalized	Please estimate the percentage (%) of journalists in the print and broadcast media who are [from groups that are marginalized]. (Brackets by author, Coppedge 2022: 204)	*Scale*: Interval *Response*: Percent	Female journalist already exists, I propose adding an additional indicator for groups that are marginalized. In the clarification, explicitly list out groups that may potentially be marginalized. Groups that are marginalized could be religious, racial, or ethnic minorities, out LGBTIQ+, have a disability, or from a marginalized region.	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, add to existing survey question theme

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	New, Revised, Existing-Expanded	Sources
Exclusion by social groups (Coppedge et al 2022a: 221-223) Access to public services by social group; Access to state jobs by social groups; Access to state business opportunities by social group;	Are basic public services, such as order and security, primary education, clean water, and healthcare, distributed equally across social groups?; Are state jobs equally open to qualified individuals regardless of social group?; Are state business opportunities equally available to qualified individuals or firms regardless of social group? (ibid)	"*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model" (ibid) *Responses*: unchanged, see Coppedge et al 2022a: 221-223)	Three indicators in the theme 'exclusion by social group' already exist. However, these indicators currently specifically exclude "identities grounded in sexual orientation, gender identity…" (Coppedge et al 2022a: 212). This should be revised to include SGM *or* create a new section of similar questions that specify "groups that are marginalized" If the latter, in the clarification, explicitly list out groups that may potentially be marginalized. Groups that are marginalized could be religious, racial, or ethnic minorities, out LGBTIQ+, have a disability, or from a marginalized region. *Clarification*: unchanged with added expansion of groups, see Coppedge et al 2022a: 221-223)	Existing - expanded	Same format as V-Dem, expand definition of social groups or create additional subsection on groups that are marginalized

B. *New Surveys LGBTIQ Experts*

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	Type
Likelihood of threat or discriminations	In your community, how often do SOGIESC identities *cause* threats of or discrimination in:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/Not at all. 1: Sometimes, but rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently, most of the time. 4: Often/Regularly.	Beginning of survey will specify that all question are in regards to how your SOGIESC identity affects your life or your community's lives. All questions refer t experiences within the last 12 months.	New
	a) housing			
	b) education opportunities			
	c) being out or 'visibly' LGBTIQ+		Being out; openly LGBTIQ+ or appear/present in a manner outside of cultural, gender norms	
	d) police/state violence		"police, security forces, prison offcials, or other agents of the state (including paramilitary groups)" (Pemstein et al 2022; Coppedge et al 2022)	
	e) public assault			
	f) public verbal harassment			
	g) cultural or religious views		Socially or culturally held beliefs or norms in the community/society	
	h) media rhetoric		Print, internet, or tv media	
	i) political rhetoric		Political leaders	
	j) religious rhetoric		Religious leaders	
Occurrences of social divisiveness	How often is the occurrence of:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/not at all. 1: Sometimes, but rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently, most of the time. 4: Often/Regularly.		New
	a) politicians using anti-LGBTIQ+ hate speech			
	b) cultural or religious leaders using anti-LGBTIQ+ hate speech			
	c) local community leaders using anti-LGBTIQ+ hate speech			

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	Type
	d) proposed legislation negatively targeting LGBTIQ+ rights			
	e) proposed legislation or policy on a regional level negatively targeting LGBTIQ+ rights, combined		Combination of all regions, total	
	f) proposed legislation or policy on a local level negatively targeting LGBTIQ+ rights, combined		Combination of all local areas, total	
Estimates of prevalence	What percentage of LGBTIQ+ people experience:	*Scale: Interval.* *Responses: Percent.*		
	a) poverty			
	b) homelessness/are houseless			
Family/Social experiences	How often do people experience:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/not at all. 1: Sometimes, but rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently, most of the time. 4: Often/Regularly.		New
	a) family member rejection because of SOGIESC identity		Reject, disassociate, disown, or force out of family home	
	b) friend or acquaintance rejection because of SOGIESC identity		Reject or disassociate	
	c) family member acceptance/support of SOGIESC identity			
	d) cisgender/heterosexual friend acceptance/support of SOGIESC identity			
Experience of violence	How often are those with SOGIESC identities exposed to:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently. 4: Often/Regularly.		New
	a) physical violence - public			
	b) domestic violence			

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	Type
	c) threats or verbal abuse - public			
	d) threats or verbal abuse - online			
	e) vandalism			
	f) sexual assault or rape			
Are LGBTIQ people in your country safe from public threats and violence?		Scale: Ordinal. 0. Not at all safe, there is near constant danger. 1: Rarely safe, there are often threats. 2: Mostly safe, threats are occasional. 3: Frequently safe, threats are rare. 4: Always safe, threats are virtually non-existent.		New
Are LGBTIQ people in your country able to fully participate in their communities and society at large?		Scale: Ordinal. Responses: 0. Not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Mostly.. 3: Frequently. 4: Always.		New
Safety - avoiding danger	To avoid danger, how often do those with SOGIESC identities avoid:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently. 4: Often/Regularly.		New
	a) walking alone at nighttime			
	b) public gatherings or large crowds			
	c) certain neighborhoods, areas, or regions			
Transgender autonomy	Do transgender people have bodily autonomy?	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: No, not at all. 1: Some, but limited. 2: Some do, but there are structural/economic barriers for all. 3: Most do, but some there are structural/economic barriers for some. 4: Yes, full autonomy.		New

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	Type
Intersex autonomy	Do intersex people have bodily autonomy?	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: No, not at all. 1: Some, but limited. 2: Some do, but there are structural/economic barriers for all. 3: Most do, but some there are structural/economic barriers for some. 4: Yes, full autonomy.		New
LGBTIQ+ security and quality of life	Do LGBTIQ+ people in your country have a high quality of life?	*Scale:* Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 1: Some LGBTIQ+ people have a high quality of life, but most do not. 2: Most LGBTIQ+ people have a high quality of life but a sizeable minority does not. Alternatively all LGBTIQ+ enjoy partial a moderate quality of life. 3: Most LGBTIQ+ people have a high quality of life but a small minority does not. 4: Virtually all LGBTIQ+ people have a high quality of life.		New
Government	Does government address LGBTIQ+ community needs?	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently. 4: Often/Regularly.		New
V-Dem: Suffrage for LGBTIQ+ (percent)	What is the approximate percentage of enfranchised [LGBTIQ+] adults older than the minimal voting age? (Brackets by author; Coppedge 2022a: 61-62)	"*Scale*: Interval. *Responses*: Percent." (ibid)	"*Clarification*: This variable, in contrast to [percentage of population with suffrage], covers *de facto* enfranchised adults and not *de jure*. For example, the scores reflect whether an electoral regime was interrupted or not. If an electoral regime is interrupted, suffrage for [LGBTIQ+ people] is zero while [Percentage of population with suffrage] may still be 100.	V-Dem

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	Type
V-Dem: Access to justice for groups that are marginalized	Do [LGBTIQ+ people] enjoy equal, secure, and effective access to justice? (Brackets by author; Coppedge 2022: 179; Pemstein et al 2022: 21)	"*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Secure and effective access to justice for [LGBTIQ+ people] is non-existent. 1: Secure and effective access to justice for [LGBTIQ+ people] is usually not established or widely respected. 2: Secure and effective access to justice for [LGBTIQ+ people] is inconsistently observed. Minor problems characterize most cases or occur rather unevenly across different parts of the country. 3: Secure and effective access to justice for [LGBTIQ+ people] is usually observed. 4: Secure and effective access to justice for [LGBTIQ+ people] is always observed." (ibid)	"*Clarification:* This question specifies the extent to which [groups that are marginalized/LGBTIQ+ people] can bring cases before the courts without risk to their personal safety, trials are fair, and [they] have effective ability to seek redress if public authorities violate their rights, including the rights to counsel, defense, and appeal" (ibid)	V-Dem
V-Dem: Social group equality in respect for civlil liberties	Do all social groups, as distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region,… caste, [sexual orientation, or gender identity], enjoy the same level of civil liberties, or are some groups generally in a more favorable position? (Brackets by author; Coppedge 2022: 180-181; Pemstien et 2022:21)	"*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Members of some social groups enjoy much fewer civil liberties than the general population. 1: Members of some social groups enjoy substantially fewer civil liberties than the general population. 2: Members of some social groups enjoy moderately fewer civil liberties than the general population. 3: Members of some social groups enjoy slightly fewer civil liberties than the general population. 4: Members of all salient social groups enjoy the same level of civil liberties." (ibid)	"*Clarification*: Here, civil liberties are understood to include access to justice, private property rights, freedom of movement, and freedom from forced labor" (ibid) [Social groups may be distinguished by language, ethnicity, religion, race, region, caste, sexual orientation, or gender identity]	V-Dem

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications	Type
V-Dem: Freedom of discussion for groups that are marginalized	Are [LGBTIQ+ people] able to openly discuss political issues in private homes and in public spaces? (Brackets by author; Coppedge et al 2022: 183-184; Pemstein et al 2022: 21)	"*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Not respected. Hardly any freedom of expression exists for [LGBTIQ+ people]. [LGBTIQ+ people] are subject to immediate and harsh intervention and harassment for expression of political opinion. 1: Weakly respected. Expressions of political opinions by [LGBTIQ+ people] are frequently exposed to intervention and harassment. 2: Somewhat respected. Expressions of political opinions by [LGBTIQ+ people] are occasionally exposed to intervention and harassment. 3: Mostly respected. There are minor restraints on the freedom of expression in the private sphere, predominantly limited to a few isolated cases or only linked to soft sanctions. But as a rule there is no intervention or harassment if [LGBTIQ+ people] make political statements. 4: Fully respected. Freedom of speech by [LGBTIQ+ people] in their homes and in public spaces is not restricted." (ibid)	"*Clarification*: This indicator specifies the extent to which [LGBTIQ+ people] are able to engage in private discussions, particularly on political issues, in private homes and public spaces (restaurants, public transportation, sports events, work etc.) without fear of harassment by other members of the polity or the public authorities. We are interested in restrictions by the government and its agents but also cultural restrictions or customary laws that are enforced by other members of the polity, sometimes in informal ways. This question does not ask you to assess the relative freedom of [different groups]. Thus, it is possible to assign the lowest possible score to a country even if [all groups] enjoy equal — and extremely low — rights to freedom of discussion. (ibid)	V-Dem
V-Dem: Freedom of domestic movement for groups that are marginalized	Do [LGBTIQ+ people] enjoy freedom of movement within the country? (Brackets by author; Coppedge et al 2022a: 186)	Existing - expanded. "*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Virtually no [LGBTIQ+ people] enjoy full freedom of movement (*e.g.*, North Korea or Afghanistan under the Taliban). 1: Some [LGBTIQ+ people] enjoy full freedom of movement, but most do not (*e.g.*, Apartheid South Africa). 2: Most [LGBTIQ+ people] enjoy some freedom of movement but a sizeable minority does not. Alternatively all [LGBTIQ+ people] enjoy partial freedom of movement. 3: Most [LGBTIQ+ people] enjoy full freedom of movement but a small minority does not. 4: Virtually all [LGBTIQ+ people] enjoy full freedom of movement." (ibid)	"*Clarification*: This indicator specifies the extent to which all [LGBTIQ+ people] are able to move freely, in daytime and nighttime, in public thoroughfares, across regions within a country, and to establish permanent residency where they wish. Note that restrictions in movement might be imposed by the state and/or by informal norms and practices. Such restrictions sometimes fall on rural residents, on specific social groups, or on dissidents. This question does not ask you to assess the *relative* freedom of [all groups]. Thus, it is possible to assign the lowest possible score to a country even if [all groups] enjoy equal — and extremely low — freedom of movement. Do *not* consider restrictions in movement that are placed on ordinary (non-political) criminals. Do not consider restrictions in movement that result from crime or unrest." (ibid)	V-Dem

C. New Surveys for LGBTIQ Individuals

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications
Potential starting point; collaboration with local LGBTIQ activists and scholars needed			Beginning of survey will specify that all question are in regards to how your SOGIESC identity affects your life or your community's lives. All questions refer to experiences within the last 12 months.
Identity	What is your current gender?		
	a) female		
	b) male		
	c) non-binary		
	d) gender queer or gender fluid		
	e) I use a different term (please specify)		Open ended cell for response
	f) don't know		
	g) prefer not to answer		
Identity	Which identities describe you:	Scale: Binary, dummy	Select all that apply. Adjustments will need to be made to fit cultural differences country to country.
	a) lesbian		
	b) gay		
	c) bisexual, pansexual, or omnisexual		
	d) straight		Not gay, lesbian, or bisexual
	e) transgender		
	f) intersex		
	g) queer undefined		
	h) asexual		
	i) I use a different term (please specify)		Open ended cell for response
	j) don't know		
	k) prefer not to answer		
Age	What is your age:	Scale: Ratio	Open ended cell for response

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications
Out status	Are you:	Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. Responses: 0: No, not at all. 1: To only one of them. 2: To only to those very close to me or who I trust. 3: Yes, to many but not all. 4: Yes, I'm completely out.	
	a) out to your family		
	b) out to your friends		
	c) out at work		
	d) out in your community		
Likelihood of threat or discriminations	In your community, how often does your SOGIESC identity *cause* threats of or discrimination in:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/Not at all. 1: Sometimes, but rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently, most of the time. 4: Often/Regularly.	
	a) housing		
	b) education opportunities		
	c) being out or 'visibly' LGBTIQ+		Being out; openly LGBTIQ+ or appear/ present in a manner outside of cultural, gender norms
	d) police/state violence		"police, security forces, prison offcials, or other agents of the state (including paramilitary groups)" (Pemstein et al 2022; Coppedge et al 2022)
	e) public assault		
	f) public verbal harassment		
	g) cultural or religious views		Socially or culturally held beliefs or norms in the community/society
	h) media rhetoric		Print, internet, or tv media
	i) political rhetoric		Political leaders
	j) religious rhetoric		Religious leaders
	k) entertainment rhetoric		TV series and talk shows, film, radio, et cetera
Occurrences of social divisiveness	How often is the occurrence of:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/not at all. 1: Sometimes, but rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently, most of the time. 4: Often/Regularly.	
	a) politicians using anti-LGBTIQ+ hate speech		

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications
	b) cultural or religious leaders using anti-LGBTIQ+ hate speech		
	c) local community leaders using anti-LGBTIQ+ hate speech		
	d) proposed legislation negatively targeting LGBTIQ+ rights		
	e) proposed legislation or policy on a regional level negatively targeting LGBTIQ+ rights, combined		Combination of all regions, total
	f) proposed legislation or policy on a local level negatively targeting LGBTIQ+ rights, combined		Combination of all local areas, total
Likelihood of threat or discrimination	In your community, how often are SOGIESC identities the cause threats of or discrimination in:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/Not at all. 1: Sometimes, but rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently, most of the time. 4: Often/Regularly.	Beginning of survey should specify that all question are in regards to how your SOGIESC identity affects your life or your community's lives. All questions refer t experiences within the last 12 months.
Family/Social experiences	Have you ever experienced:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/not at all. 1: Sometimes, but rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently, most of the time. 4: Often/Regularly.	
	a) family member rejection because of SOGIESC identity?		Reject, disassociate, disown, or force out of family home
	b) friend or acquaintance rejection because of SOGIESC identity?		Reject or disassociate
	c) a family member threatening or physically harming you?		
	d) family member acceptance/support of SOGIESC identity		
	e) cisgender/heterosexual friend acceptance/support of SOGIESC identity?		
	f) being forced to leave/avoid/quit school because of your SOGIESC identity?		
	g) being forced to move to a new location/city/town for safety?		

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications
	h) being forced to leave a job because of your SOGIESC identity?		Fired, felt pressure to quit, quit for fear of harassment
Safety	Do you feel safe from public threats, harassment, and violence, on a daily basis?	Scale: Ordinal. 0. Not at all safe, there is near constant danger. 1: Rarely safe, there are often threats. 2: Mostly safe, threats are occasional. 3: Frequently safe, threats are rare. 4: Always safe, threats are virtually non-existent.	
Safety, online	How safe do you feel from online threats or harassment?	Scale: Ordinal. 0. Not at all safe, there are near constant threats or harassment. 1: Rarely safe, there are often threats. 2: Mostly safe, threats are occasional. 3: Frequently safe, threats are rare. 4: Always safe, threats and harassment are virtually non-existent.	
Experiences of violence	In the last 12 months, have you experienced:	Scale: Dichotomous. Response: Yes, No.	
	a) slurs, verbal threats, intimidation, or harassment in public		
	b) physical assault in public		
	c) domestic violence		
	d) sexual assault or rape		
	e) police or state security abuse/violence		
	If you answered yes to any of the above, did you report it to the police or other authorities? Please specify	Scale: Dichotomous. Response: Yes, No.	
	a) slurs, verbal threats, intimidation, or harassment in public		
	b) physical assault in public		
	c) domestic violence		
	d) sexual assault or rape		
	e) police or state security abuse/violence		Was it reported to a rights advocacy group or service provider?

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications
Safety - avoiding danger	In the last 12 months, have you avoided any of the following for fear of danger because of your LGBTIQ identity:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Occasionally. 3: Frequently. 4: Always.	
	a) walking alone at nighttime		
	b) public gatherings or large crowds		
	c) certain neighborhoods, areas, or regions		
	d) holding hands with a partner in public		
Safety- circumstances	In the last 12 months, have you been in a situation in which you were afraid:	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/not at all. 1: Once or twice. 2: A few times. 3: Frequently, most of the time. 4: Often/Regularly.	
	a) that your physical safety was threatened in a public place		
	b) that your physical safety was threatened at your home		
	c) that your physical safety was threatened at someone's else's home		
Safety - Health	In the last 12 months, have you been afraid to seek physical or mental healthcare for fear or being discriminated against, outed, or some other reason related to your LGBTIQ identity?	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: Never/not at all. 1: Once or twice. 2: A few times. 3: Frequently, most of the time. 4: Always.	
Social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	In your country, do LGBTIQ people enjoy the same freedoms as everyone else?	Scale: Ordinal. Responses: 0. Not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Mostly. 3: Frequently. 4: Always.	
Social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	In your country, do LGBTIQ people enjoy the same access to justice as everyone else?	Scale: Ordinal. Responses: 0. Not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Mostly. 3: Frequently. 4: Always.	

Name	Question	Scale	Clarifications
Transgender autonomy	Do transgender people have bodily autonomy?	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: No, not at all. 1: Some, but limited. 2: Some do, but there are structural/economic barriers for all. 3: Most do, but some there are structural/economic barriers for some. 4: Yes, full autonomy.	
Intersex autonomy	Do intersex people have bodily autonomy?	*Scale*: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. *Responses*: 0: No, not at all. 1: Some, but limited. 2: Some do, but there are structural/economic barriers for all. 3: Most do, but some there are structural/economic barriers for some. 4: Yes, full autonomy.	
Future	What urgently needs to be addressed in order to achieve your personal security and wellbeing?	Open-ended.	What are the hurdles to security and wellbeing? Issues? Social? Political? Etc.
Future	What urgently needs to be addressed in order to achieve security and wellbeing for your community?	Open-ended.	May not be different than personal needs

D. Public Opinion Polling

Region	Purpose	Name	Question	Scale	Type	Source	Limitations	Clarifications/ Notes
Africa	Gauge social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	Afrobarometer: Homosexuals as neighbors	For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care? Homosexuals.	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) Strongly dislike, 2) Somewhat dislike 3) Would not care, 4) Somewhat like, 5) Strongly like, 6) Refused, 7) Don't know	Existing	Afrobarometer	Language needs to be updated; 'homosexuals' is a clinical term and is 'othering'	Strike from this question and add to positive list; other neighbors that aren't majority criminal such as people from another religion, people from another ethnicity, etc. Update language; LGBTIQ people
Global (limited)	Social views on LGBTIQ people	WVS: Attitudes towards homosexuality	Homosexual couples are as good parents as other couples.	Responses: 1) Agree Strongly, 2) Agree, 3) Neither 4) Agree nor Disagree, 5) Disagree, 6) Strongly Disagree, 7) Don't know, 8) No answer, 9) Missing	Existing	World values Survey (Haerpfer et al 2022)	Limited countries included, limited in scope to only 'homosexuals,' Language needs to be updated; 'homosexuals' is a clinical term and is 'othering'	Update to "same gender couples"
		WVS: Attitudes towards homosexuality	On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors? Homosexuals.	Responses: Yes, No	Existing	World values Survey (Haerpfer et al 2022)	Limited countries included, limited in scope to only 'homosexuals,' Language needs to be updated; 'homosexuals' is a clinical term and is 'othering'	Strike from this question and add to positive list; other neighbors that aren't majority criminal such as people from another religion, people from another ethnicity, etc. Update language; LGBTIQ people
		WVS: Attitudes towards homosexuality	Please tell me for each of the following actions whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between	Scale (1 - 10): 1) Never Justifiable ... 2,3,4,5,6,7,8, 9... 10)Always Justifiable	Existing	World values Survey (Haerpfer et al 2022)	Limited countries included, limited in scope to only 'homosexuals,' Language needs to be updated; 'homosexuals' is a clinical term and is 'othering'	Should strike from survey, people's existence shouldn't be up for debate

Region	Purpose	Name	Question	Scale	Type	Source	Limitations	Clarifications/ Notes
Global (limited)	Social views on LGBTIQ people	Pew: Attitudes towards homosexuality	Percent who say homosexuality should be accepted by society	Scale: Interval. Responses: Percent	Existing	Pew 2020	Limited countries included, limited in language to only 'homosexuals,' Language needs to be updated; 'homosexuals' is a clinical term and is 'othering'	Polling: 2002, 2007, 2011, 2013, 2019
Europe	Gauge social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	ESS: Attitudes towards homosexuality (freehms)	Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish.	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) Agree strongly, 2) Agree, 3) Neither agree nor disagree, 4) Disagree, 5) Disagree strongly, 6) Refused, 7) Don't know	Existing	European Social Survey (Kuyper 2016)	Limited by scope of question to 'gay and lesbian'	Could continue to be used if updated to include all SGM
		ESS: Attitudes on gay adoption (hmsacld)	Gay male and lesbian couples should have the same rights to adopt children as straight couples.	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) Agree strongly, 2) Agree, 3) Neither agree nor disagree, 4) Disagree, 5) Disagree strongly, 6) Refused, 7) Don't know	Existing	European Social Survey (Kuyper 2016)	Limited by scope of question to 'gay and lesbian'	Change language to "same gender couples"
		ESS: Attitudes towards homosexuality (freehms)	If a close family member was a gay man or a lesbian, I would feel ashamed.	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) Agree strongly, 2) Agree, 3) Neither agree nor disagree, 4) Disagree, 5) Disagree strongly, 6) Refused, 7) Don't know	Existing	European Social Survey (Kuyper 2016)	Limited by scope of question to 'gay and lesbian', problematic language	Reverse to positive; "I would feel proud"

Region	Purpose	Name	Question	Scale	Type	Source	Limitations	Clarifications/ Notes
US	Gauge social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	Gallup: Attitudes towards 'same sex couples'	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?	Scale: Interval. Responses: Percent	Existing	Gallup 2022	Limited by scope of question to 'same sex couples', not all data is open access, problematic language	Polling 1996-2022; strike "traditional marriage"
US	Gauge social acceptance of transgender people	Pew: Views on Gender Identity and Transgender Issues	Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?	Scale: Dichotomous Response: 1) Whether someone is a man or woman is determined by the sex they were assigned at birth. 2) Someone can be a man or woman even if that is different from the sex they were assigned at birth. 3) No answer.	Existing	PRC 2022	Problematic formulation	Strike from survey. Transgender humanity is not up for debate.
			How much has each of the following influenced your views about whether someone's gender can be different from the sex they were assigned at birth?	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) A great deal. 2) A fair amount. 3) Some. 4) A little. 5) Not at all. 6) No answer.	Existing	PRC 2022		Excellent survey question. Add similar question for LGB people.
			1. What you've learned from science.					
			2. Your religious views					
			3. What you've read or heard on the news					
			4. What you've heard or read on social media					
			5. Knowing someone who is transgender					

Region	Purpose	Name	Question	Scale	Type	Source	Limitations	Clarifications/ Notes
		Pew: Views on Gender Identity and Transgender Issues	How much discrimination do you think there is against transgender people today?	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) A great deal. 2) A fair amount. 3) Some. 4) A little. 5) Not at all. 6) No answer.	Existing	PRC 2022		Add similar question for LGB people.
		Pew: Views on Gender Identity and Transgender Issues	How accepting do you think our society is of people who are transgender?	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) Extremely accepting. 2) Very accepting. 3) Somewhat accepting. 4) A little accepting. 5) Not at all accepting. 6) Not sure. 7) No answer.	Existing	PRC 2022		Add similar question for LGB people.
		Pew: Views on Gender Identity and Transgender Issues	Do you personally know anyone who is transgender?	Scale: Dichotomous Response: 1) Yes. 2) No. 3) No answer.	Existing	PRC 2022		Add similar question for LGB people.
		Pew: Views on Gender Identity and Transgender Issues	Thinking about a person who transitions to a gender that is different from the sex they were assigned at birth and starts using a new name...	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) Extremely important. 2) Very important. 3) Somewhat important. 4) A little important. 5) Not at all important. 6) Should not be done. 7) No answer.	Existing	PRC 2022	Problematic	Likely strike from survey or perhaps reword to ask "what they think of people who do not…"
			In general, how important do you think it is that others refer to that person by their new name?					
			In general, how important do you think it is that others refer to that person by their new pronouns?					

Region	Purpose	Name	Question	Scale	Type	Source	Limitations	Clarifications/ Notes
		Pew: Views on Gender Identity and Transgender Issues	Some people don't identify as a man or a woman. Instead, they may describe themselves as not having a gender or describe their gender using terms such as "nonbinary" or "gender fluid." How much have you heard about people not identifying as a man or a woman?	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) A lot. 2) A little. 3)Nothing at all. 4) No answer.	Existing	PRC 2022		
		Pew: Views on Gender Identity and Transgender Issues	Do you personally know anyone who does not identify as a man or a woman?	Scale: Dichotomous Response: 1) Yes. 2) No. 3) No answer.	Existing	PRC 2022		
		Pew: Views on Gender Identity and Transgender Issues	Various questions on legal and policy issues		Existing	PRC 2022	Specific to US, not generalizable globally; problematic.	Strike from survey. Transgender humanity is not up for debate.
Global (limited)	Gauge social acceptance of transgender people	IPSOS: attitudes towards transgender people	Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement below about people who dress and live as on sex even though they were born another.	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) Strongly agree, 2) Somewhat agree, 3) Somewhat disagree, 4) Strongly disagree 5) Don't know	Existing	IPSOS (Luhur et al 2019)	Limited by number of countries included; problematic language/ formulation of questions	Update language; "transgender people"
			1. They should be protected from discrimination					
			2. They should be allowed to have surgery so their body matches their identity					

Region	Purpose	Name	Question	Scale	Type	Source	Limitations	Clarifications/ Notes
			3. They should be allowed to conceive forgive birth to children (if, biologically capable to do so)					
			4. They should be allowed to marry a person of their birth sex					
			5. They should be allowed to serve in the military					
			6. They should be allowed to adopt children					
			7. They should be allowed to use the restroom of the sex they identify with					
Global (limited)	Gauge social acceptance of transgender people	IPSOS: attitudes towards transgender people	Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement below about people who dress and live as on sex even though they were born another.	Scale: Ordinal Responses: 1) Strongly agree, 2) Somewhat agree, 3) Somewhat disagree, 4) Strongly disagree 5) Don't know	Existing	IPSOS (Luhur et al 2019)	Limited by number of countries included; problematic language/ formulation of questions	Update language; "transgender people"
			1. People who dress and live as one sex even though they were born another are brave					
			2. They are a natural occurrence					
			3. They have a form of mental illness					This should be struck from survey
			4. They are committing a sin					This should be struck from survey

Region	Purpose	Name	Question	Scale	Type	Source	Limitations	Clarifications/ Notes
			5. They have unique spiritual gifts					
			6. They have form of physical disability					This should be struck from survey
			7. They are violating traditions of my culture					This should be struck from survey
Asia - Cambodia	Gauge social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	Opinions, Attitudes and Behavior Toward LGBT Population	70+ questions that are LGBTIQ specific	Multiple/ Various	Existing	Vinh &Menh (2015) TNS Cambodia		
Asia - Singapore	Gauge social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	Opinions, Attitudes and Behavior Toward LGBT Population	Sexual relations between two adults of the same sex	Scale: ordinal. Responses: 0. Always wrong. 1. Almost always wrong 2. Only sometimes wrong 3. Not wrong most of th time 4. Not wrong at all	Existing	Matthews et al 2019	Problematic formulation	Large survey including questions on LGBTIQ people. Language should be updated so as nnot to influence respondents.
			Adoption of a child by a gay couple	Scale: ordinal. Responses: 0. Always wrong. 1. Almost always wrong 2. Only sometimes wrong 3. Not wrong most of th time 4. Not wrong at all				

Region	Purpose	Name	Question	Scale	Type	Source	Limitations	Clarifications/ Notes
			A gay couple having a child through surrogacy/ artificial reproductive techniques	Scale: ordinal. Responses: 0. Always wrong. 1. Almost always wrong 2. Only sometimes wrong 3. Not wrong most of th time 4. Not wrong at all				
			Gay marriage	Scale: ordinal. Responses: 0. Always wrong. 1. Almost always wrong 2. Only sometimes wrong 3. Not wrong most of th time 4. Not wrong at all				
Latin America	Gauge social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	Americas Barometer	Approval of same sex couples' right to marry	Scale: ordinal. Responses: 1. Strongly disapprove. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. Strongly approve.	Existing	LAPOP 2022		
			Approval of homosexual's right to run for office	Scale: ordinal. Responses: 1. Strongly disapprove. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. Strongly approve.	Existing	LAPOP 2022	Limiting language	Update to "LGBTIQ people"

Region	Purpose	Name	Question	Scale	Type	Source	Limitations	Clarifications/ Notes
Potential new Polling Questions								
Global	Gauge social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	LGBTIQ freedom	In your country, do LGBTIQ people enjoy the same rights and freedoms as everyone else?	Scale: Ordinal. Responses: 0. Not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Mostly. 3: Frequently. 4: Always.	New	Potential: WVS, Pew, Gallup, Afrobarometer, Asiabarometer, other large polling entities		
Global	Gauge social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	LGBTIQ access to justice	In your country, do LGBTIQ people enjoy the same access to justice as everyone else?	Scale: Ordinal. Responses: 0. Not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Mostly. 3: Frequently. 4: Always.	New	Potential: WVS, Pew, Gallup, Afrobarometer, Asiabarometer, other large polling entities		
Global	Gauge social acceptance of LGBTIQ people	LGBTIQ security	In your country, do LGBTIQ people enjoy the same level protection from state violence?	Scale: Ordinal. Responses: 0. Not at all. 1: Rarely. 2: Mostly. 3: Frequently. 4: Always.	New	Potential: WVS, Pew, Gallup, Afrobarometer, Asiabarometer, other large polling entities		If all people are under threat of state violence, the answer would still be 3 or 4.
Global	Gauge bias against certain social groups	Social have equal rights	Do you agree that all social groups (which could be distinguished by race, age, ethnicity, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, religion, disability) have the same rights?	Scale: Dichotomous Response: 1) Yes, agree. 1) No, do not agree	New	Potential: WVS, Pew, Gallup, Afrobarometer, Asiabarometer, other large polling entities		To help gauge pre-existing bias

Region	Purpose	Name	Question	Scale	Type	Source	Limitations	Clarifications/ Notes
Global	Gauge bias against certain social groups	Social groups with less equality	In your country, are there social groups that should not have the same rights as the rest? If so who?	Open-ended (unprompted)	New	Potential : WVS, Pew, Gallup, Afrobaro meter, Asiabaro meter, other large polling entities		Coded later based on most common answers