Voting for Votes:

Opposition Parties' Legislative Activity and Electoral Outcomes

Or Tuttnauer and Simone Wegmann

~ Codebook ~

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1. Introduction

This is the codebook for "Voting for Votes: Opposition Parties' Legislative Activity and Electoral Outcomes," published in *American Political Science Review* by Or Tuttnauer and Simone Wegmann.

Description of the data is found in the main manuscript, especially Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the main variables are in Tables A.1 and A.2 in the online appendix. Instructions for replication are in the readme.txt file found in the publication's dataset on Harvard's Dataverse.

For further questions, please contact Or Tuttnauer at or.tuttnauer@mzes.uni-mannheim.de.

2. List and description of variables

The replication materials contain five datasets, the variables in four of them are listed below. The fifth is the original CSES IMD file, which may also be downloaded directly from the CSES website: https://cses.org/data-download/download-data-documentation/ (free registration required).

TW_votelevel_data.dta

Name	Description	Range	Source
vote_id	Parliamentary vote ID	-1000 - 99999	Authors
party	Party name / initials		Authors
date	Vote date	1994-09-16 - 2015-10-20	Authors
cabinet_party	Cabinet party (1); Opposition party (0)	0; 1	ParlGov.org
cab_position	Cabinet position on vote (no. of votes for, minus no. of	-1 (against) – 1 (for)	Authors

	votes against, divided by all votes)		
party_position	Party position on vote (no. of votes for, minus no. of votes against, divided by all votes)	-1 (against) – 1 (for)	Authors
country	Country name		Authors
vote_unique	Unique vote indicator – once for each vote ID	0; 1	Authors
country_unique	Unique country indicator- once for each country	0; 1	Authors
min_year	Earliest year of data in country	1994 - 2012	Authors
max_year	Most recent year of data in country	2011 - 2015	Authors
election_count	Number of elections in country	1 - 5	Authors
vote_count	Number of parliamentary votes in country	899 - 28236	Authors
partyvote_count	Number of party-votes in country	2865 - 89332	Authors
partyterm_count	Number of party-terms in country	3 - 31	Authors

TW_partyterm_data.dta

Name	**Description**	**Range**	**Source**
cabinet_id	Cabinet ID	15 - 1146	ParlGov.org

start_date	Cabinet starting date	1994-06-26 - 2014-09-22	ParlGov.org
left_right	Party placement on a 0-10 left-right scale (by expert surveys)	0.0 - 9.8	ParlGov.org
vote_share	Party vote-share in outgoing election	0.0034 - 0.364	ParlGov.org
next_voteshare	Party vote-share in incoming election	0.0 – 0.4151	ParlGov.org
cabinet_size	Aggregate coalition size in parliament	0.2913 - 0.7833	Authors
oversized	Oversized coalition Yes (1); No (0). Oversized status is defined as including a coalition partner that its omission will not change the majority status of the coalition.	0; 1	Authors
ideo_gap	Distance on 0-10 left-right scale between party and coalition (size-weighted) mean	0.0066 - 0.677	Authors
party_size	Party seat share	0.003 - 0.397	Authors
country	Country name		Authors
minority_cab	Minority cabinet Yes (1); No (0)	0; 1	Authors
enps	Effective number of parties in parliament	2.118 - 7.843	Authors

enps_cab	Effective number of parties in coalition	1.0 - 4.607	Authors
frequency	Vote frequency per day	0.1324 - 6.591	Authors
early_election	Early election Yes (1); No (0)	0; 1	Authors
gdpgrowth	GDP per capita growth	-5.3824 - 7.7534	World Bank Institute
inflation	Inflation rate	-0.99 - 10.927	World Bank Institute
unemployment	Unemployment rate	4.271 - 22.057	World Bank Institute
conflict_rate	Conflict rate	0.0047 - 0.908	Authors
proportional	Proportional electoral formula Yes (1); No (0)	0; 1	Authors
openness	Open structure of competition Yes (1); No (0), drawing on the concept by Mair 1996.	0; 1	Authors
federal	Federation Yes (1); No (0)	0; 1	Authors
ppop	Policy-making power of opposition	0.4262 - 0.8524	Wegmann 2020
full_record	Full electronic record of parliamentary votes Yes (1); No (0)	0; 1	Authors
govexp	Government experience (% of cabinets participated)	0 - 1	Authors
country_id	Country ID		Authors
bi_govexp	Government experience	0; 1	Authors

	Yes (1); No (0)		
cee	Central and Eastern Europe Yes (1); No (0)	0; 1	Authors
demo_age	Age of democracy (logged)	2.0794 - 4.745	Authors

TW_conflict_data_for_cses.dta

Name	**Description**	**Range**	**Source**
conflict_rate	Conflict rate	0.0047 - 0.908	Authors
vote_share	Party vote-share in outgoing election	0.0034 - 0.364	ParlGov.org
ideo_gap	Distance on 0-10 left-right scale between party and coalition (size-weighted) mean	0.0066 - 0.6772	Authors
party_id	Party ID	2 - 2262	ParlGov.org
year	Election year	1995 - 2017	Authors
cses_id	CSES-compatible party ID	1240001 - 8260006	CSES / Authors

TW_survey_data.dta

Name	**Description**	**Range**	**Source**
id	Respondent-specific ID		CSES (originally IMD1005)
age	Respondent age	17 - 97	CSES (originally IMD2001_1)
education	Respondent education level: 0 – none	0 - 4	CSES (originally IMD2003)

	1 – primary / lower secondary 2 – higher secondary 3 – post-secondary 4 - university		
like_party	Respondent's sympathy for party on a 0-10 like-dislike scale	0 - 10	CSES (originally IMD3008_A-IMD3008_I)
male	Respondent's sex (0 = female; 1 = male)	0; 1	CSES (originally IMD2002)
party_id	Party ID	94 - 1556	ParlGov.org
conflict_rate	Conflict rate	0.0047 - 0.9082	Authors
vote_share	Party vote-share in outgoing election	0.063 - 0.364	ParlGov.org
ideo_gap	Distance on 0-10 left-right scale between party and coalition (size-weighted) mean	0.0066 - 0.6759	Authors
perceived_dist	Respondent's perceived distance from party on 0-10 left-right scale	0 - 5	CSES, computed from IMD3006 and IMD3007_A-IMD3007_I
perceived_extreme	Perceived extremism of party (measured as absolute distance from 5 on 0-10 left-right scale)	0 - 5	CSES, computed from IMD3007_A-IMD3007_I

expert_extreme	Expert's assessment of extremism of party (measured as absolute distance from 5 on 0-10 left-right scale)	0 - 5	CSES, computed from IMD5012_A-IMD5012_I
perceived_ideogap	Perceived distance between party and mean of cabinet parties	0 – 10	CSES, computed from IMD3007_A-IMD3007_I
past_vote_for_party	Respondent voted for party in previous elections	0 ; 1	CSES, computed from IMD3004_LH_PL and IMD3004_LH_DC
country_id	Country ID		Authors
confXvote	Interaction term – conflict rate * vote share	0.004 – 0.2633	Authors
confXideo	Interaction term – conflict rate * party-government distance	0.0016 – 0.5494	Authors
party_unique	Unique party indicator – once per party in survey round	0 ; 1	Authors
respondent_unique	Unique respondent indicator – once per respondent	0 ; 1	Authors

3. Exact wording of survey items

The following includes only questions used in our analysis. All items can be found on the CSES website:

https://cses.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/cses_imd_codebook_part2_variables.txt

IMD3008_ likeability rating of parties A-I on a 0-10 scale: “"I'd like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so. The first party is [PARTY]."

IMD3006 Respondents' self-placement on a 0-10 left-right scale: "In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?" (in modules 1 & 2) *or* "Where would you place yourself on this scale?" (in modules 3 & 4).

IMD3007_ Placement of Parties A-I on a 0-10 left-right scale: "Now, using the same scale, where would you place [Party A-F]?" (module 1); "In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place [PARTY A] on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right? (modules 2-4).

4. Sources for parliamentary voting data

Canada: obtained through https://openparliament.ca/ (downloaded October 2015).

Czech Republic: scraped from the parliament website: http://www.psp.cz/ (February 2019).

Germany: Sieberer, Ulrich, Thomas Saalfeld, Tamaki Ohmura, Henning Bergmann, and Stefanie Bailer. 2020. “Roll-Call Votes in the German Bundestag: A New Dataset, 1949–2013.” *British Journal of Political Science* 50(3):1137-1145.

Spain: scraped from the parliament website: https://www.congreso.es (March 2016).

Finland: Pajala, Antii and Aleks Jakulin, A. (2012). *Plenary Votes in the Finnish Parliament during 1991-2010* [computer file]. FSD2117, version 2.0 (2012-05-16). Tampere: Finnish Social Science Data Archive [distributor].

United Kingdom: obtained through http://www.publicwhip.org.uk/ (downloaded March 2015).

Israel: scraped from the parliament website: https://main.knesset.gov.il/ (October 2014).

Lithuania: scraped and sent by Lukas Pukelis (September 2018).

Poland: scraped from the parliament website: http://orka.sejm.gov.pl (November 2018).

Sweden: obtained from the parliament website: https://www.riksdagen.se/ (downloaded August 2018 – February 2019).