Electoral Turnovers

This folder contains the files necessary to replicate the results of "Electoral Turnovers" by Benjamin Marx, Vincent Pons, and Vincent Rollet.

Data availability and provenance

Statement about rights

We certify that the authors of the manuscript have legitimate access to and permission to use the data used in this manuscript.

Summary of availability

All data are publicly available.

List of provided datasets

The datasets necessary for the analyses in the paper are stored in **data/1_input**. This folder contains:

- Data on national elections (in the **elections** folder), organized as follows:
  - The **AC** folder contains AC_database.dta, documenting presidential elections extracted from Adam Carr's Psephos election archive (Carr, 2003). The **AC_Leg** folder contains AC_L_database.dta, documenting parliamentary elections from the same source.
  - The **AED** folder contains AED_database.dta, documenting presidential elections extracted from the African Elections Database (Nunley**,** 2007). The **AED_Leg** folder contains AED_L_database.dta, documenting parliamentary elections from the same source.
  - The **CLEA** folder contains CLEA_extract.dta, documenting parliamentary elections (Kollman et al., 2011).
  - The **Coalitions** folder contains an Excel spreadsheet where we manually documented ex ante coalitions in parliamentary elections.
  - The **DPI** folder contains DPI2017.dta, the 2017 version of the Database of Political Institutions documenting institutional and electoral results data (Cruz et al., 2018).
  - The **EED** folder contains EED_database.dta , documenting presidential elections extracted from the European Elections Database (Norwegian Centre for Research Data, 2022). The **EED_Leg** folder contains EED_L_database.dta, documenting parliamentary elections from the same source.
  - The **Election dates** folder contains datasets documenting election dates, extracted from the following sources: Adam Carr's Psephos election archive (dates_ac.dta, from Carr, 2003), the International Foundation for Electoral Systems' Election Guide (dates_ifes.dta, from ElectionGuide, 2017), Wikipedia (dates_wikipedia_infobox.dta and dates_wikipedia.dta), and Wikidata (dates_wikidata.dta).
  - The **GLOBAL** folder contains the files GlobalElections_X.csv, where X denotes the country name, documenting parliamentary elections extracted from the Global Elections Database (Brancati, 2016).
  - The **IFES** folder contains IFES_database.dta, documenting presidential elections extracted from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems' Election Guide (ElectionGuide, 2017). The **IFES_Leg** folder contains data documenting parliamentary elections from the same source.
  - The **Indirect elections** folder contains a list of indirect elections, associated with a flag indicating whether they should be included in the regression sample or not, following rules described in the paper appendix (indirect_elections_to_include.xlsx dataset).

- The **IPU_Leg** folder contains IPU_L_database.dta, documenting parliamentary elections extracted from the Inter-parliamentary Union PARLINE database (IPU, 2017).
- The **MP** folder contains MPDataset_MPDS2018a_stata14.dta, the 2018a version of the Manifesto Project database documenting parliamentary elections (Volkens et al., 2018).
- The **Nohlen** folder contains Nohlen_database.dta, documenting presidential elections extracted from the books by Dieter Nohlen and coauthors (Nohlen et al., 1999, 2001a,b; Nohlen, 2005; Nohlen et al., 2005; Nohlen and Stöver, 2010). The **Nohlen_Leg** folder contains Nohlen_L_database.dta, documenting parliamentary elections from the same sources.
- The **PARLGOV** folder contains PARLGOV_Main.xlsx documenting parliamentary elections, extracted from the May 2018 version of the Parliaments and governments database (Döring and Manow, 2018).
- The **PDA** folder contains PDA_database.dta documenting presidential elections extracted from the Political Database of the Americas (Georgetown University, OAS, 2002). The **PDA_Leg** folder contains PDA_L_database.dta, documenting parliamentary elections from the same source.
- The **USA** folder contains USA_database.dta, documenting presidential elections extracted from the National Archives (National Archives and Records Administration, 2020).
- The **V-Dem** folder contains vdem_cd_extract.dta and vdem_cy_extract.dta, extracts of key variables of version 11.1 of the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) database, both for the country-year (cy) version of the data and the country-date (cd) version of the data, documenting political parties' characteristics (Coppedge et al., 2021, Lhürmann et al., 2020, Pemstein et al., 2018).
- The **Wikipedia** folder contains Wiki_database.dta, documenting presidential elections extracted from Wikipedia, accessed between January 2019 and July 2024. The **Wikipedia_Leg** folder contains Wiki_L_database.dta, documenting parliamentary elections from the same source.
- The **Wikipedia_links** folder contains links_pres.dta and links_parl.dta, linking candidates competing in presidential elections with their Wikipedia pages and Wikidata IDs, and parties competing in parliamentary elections with their leaders and their Wikipedia pages/Wikidata IDs. These datasets also link parties competing in presidential and parliamentary elections with their V-Party identifier and party characteristics extracted from V-Party, accessed between January 2019 and July 2024.

- Data on outcomes (in the **outcomes** folder), organized as follows:
  - The **pwt** folder contains pwt90.dta documenting macroeconomic variables, extracted from the version 9.0 of the Penn World Table database (Feenstra et al., 2015).
  - The **imf** folder contains IFS_timeSeries.csv, the International Financial Statistics (IFS) dataset of the IMF (IMF, 2021).
  - The **ilo** folder contains UNE_2EAP_SEX_AGE_RT_A.dta, ILO data documenting unemployment (ILO, 2022).
  - The **wb** folder contains trade_wb.dta, an extract of the NE.IMP.GNFS.ZS (imports of goods and services as a share of GDP) and NE.EXP.GNFS.ZS (exports of goods and services as a share of GDP) variables of the World Bank's World Development Indicators (World Bank, 2010, 2023).
  - The **hdi** folder contains education_index.csv, hdi.csv, income_index.csv and life_exp_index.csv, measures of the UNDP's Human Development Index (UNDP, 2024).
  - The **other** folder contains a dataset of other outcome variables (additional_outcomes.dta) extracted from the following sources (the source of each variable is stored in its associated notes):
    - Abiad et al. (2010), providing information on financial liberalization measures.
    - Acemoglu et al. (2019), providing information on democracy.
    - Boix et al. (2018), providing information on democracy.

- Bolt et al. (2018), providing GPD data.
- Carlin et al. (2020), providing information on executive approval.
- CEPII (Fouquin et al., 2016), providing information on bilateral trade.
- Cheibub et al. (2010), providing information on democracy.
- Correlates of War project (Sarkees and Wayman, 2010; Palmer et al., 2015), providing information on wars and conflict intensity levels.
- Elkins et al. (2021), providing information on constitutional events.
- Feenstra et al. (2015), providing information on GDP, capital, consumption and productivity growth.
- Fraser institute (2022), providing information on economic freedom measures.
- Freedom House (2018), providing information on democracy measures.
- Furceri et al. (2019), providing information on corruption.
- Garriga (2016), providing information on central banks independence.
- Global Financial Data (GFD, 2022), providing information on central banks' policy rates.
- Gygli et al. (2019), providing information on globalization indexes.
- International Country Risk Guide (PRS Group, 2021), providing information on country risk.
- International Peace Research Institute (Gleditsch et al., 2002; Pettersson et al., 2021; Pettersson, 2021), providing information on wars.
- OECD (2019, 2020), providing information on exchange rates and unemployment.
- Our World in Data (2013, 2016a, 2016b, 2017), providing information on government expenditures by item.
- Polity IV (Marshall et al., 2012), providing information on political competitiveness and executive constraints.
- Powell and Thyne (2011), providing information on global instances of coups from 1950 to 2010.
- UN (2022), providing information on oil trade.
- UNDP (2024), providing information on human development.
- UNICEF (2019), providing information on infant mortality.
- V-Dem (Coppedge et al., 2021), providing information on democracy, corruption and accountability.
- V-Parties (Lhürmann et al., 2020, Pemstein et al., 2018), providing information on head of state and head of government characteristics.
- Wacziarg and Welch (2008), providing information on trade liberalization measures.
- World Bank (2010), providing information on GDP, inflation, trade, life expectancy, homicide rate, hospital beds per capita, undernourishment, inequality, poverty, political stability, corruption, government effectiveness, regulations, taxes and growth crude price, downloaded via Stata's wbopendata package on January 30, 2022.
- World Inequality Databse (WID, 2023), providing information on inequality measures.
- WTO (2023), providing goods and services trade statistics.

- Other input databases are stored in the **other** folder:
  - The **regions** folder contains a mapping between countries and world regions, derived from the UN classification of countries (regions.dta). It also indicates OECD membership.
  - The **ccp** folder contains an extract of the key variables of version 2.0 of the Comparative Constitutions Project's Characteristics of National Constitutions database (Elkins et al., 2021).
  - The **regimes** folder contains information on a subset of regimes for which data wasn't found in V-Dem (manual_regime_types.xlsx and manual_regime.xlsx).
  - The **leaders** folder contains data on country leaders and their parties:
    - *leaders_nohlen.dta*, *leaders_wikidata.dta*, and *leaders_wikipedia.dta* store data (collected from the Nohlen and coauthors books, Wikidata, and Wikipedia, respectively)

on the leaders that were leading each country (either as a head of state or head of government) during each year.
    - *name_harmonization.xlsx* is used to harmonize the spellings of leaders across data sources.
    - *party_affiliations.xlsx* is a dataset that associates national leaders with their Wikipedia pages, Wikidata IDs, as well as information extracted from Wikidata regarding their affiliations to political parties.
    - *party_dates.xlsx* is an extraction from Wikidata of the inception and dissolution dates of parties that leaders in *party_affiliations.xlsx* are affiliated with.
    - *elected_leaders_manual.xlsx* documents for a set of elections which leaders in the executive branch (if any) were appointed following the election.
  - The **maps** folder contains a shapefile to build World maps.
- In the **manual_matches** folder, we store various files in which we manually coded variables related to election outcomes.
  - In the **presidential** folder, we store the following spreadsheets related to presidential elections:
    - In *incumbents.xlsx*, we manually define incumbent leaders and parties when they could not be defined automatically.
    - *representative_incumbency_fuzzy_match.xlsx* stores the output of a fuzzy match of incumbent leaders/parties with candidates in presidential elections. This fuzzy match was performed using the fuzzywuzzy package in Python. Incorrect matches are adjusted in *representative_incumbency_manual_match.xlsx*. In some cases, we manually define the representative of the incumbency in *representative_incumbency_manual.xlsx*.
    - In *no_runvar.xlsx*, we document for each election for which a running variable could not be defined why this is the case.
    - *executive_turnovers.xlsx* assigns presidential elections with a treatment variable indicating whether the election lead to a turnover in the executive branch, automatically computed by comparing the leader/party in power before/after the election. Cases in which the "electoral turnover" and "executive turnover" treatment variables do not coincide are checked in *executive_turnovers_checks.xlsx*.
  - In the **parliamentary** folder, we store the following spreadsheets allowing us to measure electoral turnovers following parliamentary elections:
    - In *manual_incumbent_parties.xlsx*, we manually define incumbent parties when they could not be defined automatically.
    - *representative_incumbency_fuzzy_match.xlsx* stores the output of a fuzzy match of incumbent parties with parties running in parliamentary elections. This fuzzy match was performed using the fuzzywuzzy package in Python. Incorrect matches are adjusted in *representative_incumbency_manual_match.xlsx*. In some cases, we manually define the representative of the incumbency in *representative_incumbency_manual.xlsx*.
    - In *no_runvar.xlsx*, we document for each election for which a running variable could not be defined why this is the case.
    - In *no_seats.xlsx*, we document elections in which the incumbent party ran but did not win seats.
    - In *nonpartisans.xlsx*, we document cases in which the election was "nonpartisan" (e.g., because political parties were banned), and manually define the representative of the incumbency and of the opposition in cases where one of the top two "parties" was a group of independents.
  - In the **parliamentary_alt** folder, we store the following spreadsheets allowing us to measure turnovers in the executive branch following parliamentary elections:
    - In *manual_incumbent_party.xlsx*, we manually define an incumbent party when we could not define one automatically.

- In *manual_party_after.xlsx*, we manually define a party in power after the election when we could not define one automatically.
- In *fuzzy_match_runvar.xlsx*, we store the output of a fuzzy match of incumbent parties with parties running in parliamentary elections. Incorrect matches are adjusted in *manual_match_runvar.xlsx*.
- *fuzzy_match_treatment.xlsx* assigns parliamentary elections with a treatment variable indicating whether the election led to a turnover in the executive branch. This variable is automatically computed by comparing the leader/party in power before/after the election. Adjustments to this treatment variable are made in *manual_match_treatment.xlsx*.
- In *no_run_and_treatment_var.xlsx*, we document for each election for which a running variable or a treatment variable (turnover in the executive branch) could not be defined why this is the case.
- In *no_seats.xlsx*, we document elections in which the incumbent party ran but did not win seats.
- In *nonpartisans.xlsx*, we manually define the representative of the incumbency and of the opposition in cases where one of the top two "parties" was a group of independents.

Computational requirements

Software requirements

The do-files in this replication package were run using StataSE 18.0, using the following packages:

- binscatter;
- coefplot;
- colrspace;
- lpdensity;
- palettes;
- rdbwselect;
- rddensity;
- rdperm;
- rdplot;
- rdrandinf;
- rdrobust;
- rdsensitivity;
- rdwinselect;
- reghdfe;
- spmap;
- sxpos;
- texsave;
- winsor2.

We provide in the **do/ado** folder the ado files of these packages. They are imported by the master do-file, 0_main.do.

Controlled randomness

Appendix Table C.8, Appendix Table E.5, and Appendix Figure F.1 include some random components. To ensure the perfect replicability of Appendix Table E.5 and Appendix Figure F.1, we set seeds for the pseudorandom number generator.

We produce Appendix Table C.8 using the rdperm package of Canay and Kamat (2017). This test, which relies on a large number of random permutations, cannot be perfectly replicated because of its

random component. Setting a seed for the pseudorandom number generator before running the command and unambiguously sorting the dataset does not lead to perfectly consistent replication. To minimize the variation in estimates from one run of the replication package to the next, we use a very high number of permutations (50,000) when performing this test.

Memory, runtime, and storage requirements
The replication package requires approximately 4 hours to execute on a standard 2022 desktop machine, requires about 1 GB of disk storage and 1 GB of RAM.

Organization of the replication package

The package contains three folders, **data**, **do**, and **output**. The **do** folder contains the do-files that clean the data used in the paper, build regression datasets, and run the analysis. It also contains a master do-file to execute all components of the analysis.

The **data** folder is organized as follows:
- **1_input** contains the various databases that are used to build the datasets that we use for our analysis.
- **2_intermediary** contains intermediary datasets produced by the do-files in the **do** folder.
- **3_cleaned** contains the main datasets built for this paper, described in further detail below.
- **4_regdata** contains the datasets that are used in the analysis.

The **do** folder is organized as follows:
- *1_xxx.do* files clean the input data to construct our main datasets, stored in **data/3_cleaned**.
- *2_xxx.do* files build the regression datasets, stored in **data/4_regdata**.
- *3_xxx.do* files reproduce the results of the paper, stored in the **output** folder.

Below, we provide more information about the most important files in the replication package.

Key datasets built
In the **data/3_cleaned** folder, we store the main datasets built in this project:
- *presidential_elections.dta* is our consolidated dataset of presidential elections.
- *parliamentary_elections.dta* is our consolidated dataset of parliamentary elections.
- *regimes.dta* contains a list of regimes and their characteristics.
- *outcomes.dta* is a database of country-level outcomes.
- *turnovers_presidential.dta* associates presidential elections with running variables (the margin of victory of the challenger) and treatment variables (whether there was a turnover or not).
- *turnovers_parliamentary_electoral.dta* associates parliamentary elections with running and treatment variables for electoral turnovers.
- *turnovers_parliamentary_executive.dta* associates parliamentary elections with running and treatment variables for turnovers in the executive branch.

Regression datasets
In the **data/4_regdata** folder, we store the regression datasets used in our analysis. Our main regression dataset is *regdata.dta*, which includes one observation per election. In the **dynamics** folder, we store the regression dataset we use in our estimation of dynamic effects. In the **robustness** folder, we store alternative versions of our main regression dataset, used for robustness analyses:

- In *regdata_X_post_years.dta*, outcome variables are built using years +1 to +X after the election, instead of the +1 to +4 used in our baseline specification. In *regdata_with_year_0.dta,* outcome variables are built using years 0 to +4 after the election.
- In *regdata_winsor_1_99.dta*, we build dependent variables after winsorizing the most volatile outcomes at the 1st and 99th percentiles, instead of the 3rd and 97th percentiles used in our baseline specification. In *regdata_winsor_5_95.dta*, we winsorize outcomes at the 5th and 95th percentiles.
- In *regdata_with_inconsequential.dta*, we include in the estimation dataset inconsequential elections, which are excluded from our main estimation dataset.

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