

Codebook

Original Replication Data, Allen Hicken and Heather Stoll, 2013, “Are All Presidents Created Equal?”, *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (3)

NOTES:

- Missing data is coded “NA” throughout.
- For Models 1-5 reported in the main paper (e.g., in Tables 1 and 2), of the variables with multiple operationalizations in this data set (i.e., proximity, effective number of presidential candidates, regime type and presidential powers), the versions used to estimate these models are “prox1b”, “enpres1y”, “regime3a”, and “prespowers2”, respectively. The other versions of the variables are used in the sensitivity analyses reported in the supplemental paper, which may or may not be referenced in the main paper.
- Each worksheet in the Excel file contains the data set used to estimate the referenced model(s). For example, the first worksheet contains the data for Models 1, 5 and 6.
- For the versions of Models 1-4 estimated using Golder’s (2006) replication data set, which are reported in the supplemental paper, see Golder (2006) for this data.

country: Country. Note that “Germany” combines pre-WWII unified Germany, West Germany, and post-1990 re-unified Germany.

year: Year of election; if multiple elections held in same year, either immediately preceding or following year used instead in that order of preference depending upon availability (for compatibility with STATA’s `tsset` command). Source: derived from “*year_actual*”.

year_actual: Actual year of election from various sources.

ENP_avg: The average effective number of electoral parties in the districts; our calculations from various sources, particularly the CLEA.

ENP_nat: The effective number of electoral parties (national/aggregate); our calculations from various sources, particularly the CLEA.

D: The difference score, calculated as the difference between variables “*ENP_nat*” and “*ENP_avg*”.

presidential: Categorical variable coded “Presidential” if popularly (directly) elected chief executive (“president”), who is elected separately from the legislature, exists as part of political regime at time of election and “Non-Presidential” otherwise. All regimes with presidents elected by the legislature (indirectly elected) are coded “Non-Presidential”. Note that regimes with popular elections for an electoral college (as distinct from a legislature) that selects a president, e.g. the United States, are viewed as presidential and coded “Presidential”. Finally, if a constitution establishes a president (as per the prior definition), but either the provision was suspended and the legislative election preceded the end of the suspension by two years or more (as in Austria 1945 and Finland 1945), or if the legislative election simply preceded the first presidential election by more than two years, the country is coded as non-presidential at the time of the election (as in

Burkina Faso 1970 and Finland 1919-1923). Similarly, if a constitution established a popularly-elected president but (democratic) presidential elections were never held, the country-election is coded as non-presidential. Our coding based on the Database of Political Institutions (2004); Golder (2005); and various outside sources (such as Wikipedia, U.S. State Department Background Notes, etc.).

regime3a: A categorical variable for the political regime, coded “Presidential” for presidential; “Mixed” for either president-parliamentary or premier- (semi-) presidential; and “Parliamentary” for parliamentary. Largely an update of Golder’s (2005) “institution” variable, extending the variable outside of the set of cases for which it is available. However, also a limited re-coding of this variable: we strictly adhere to Shugart and Carey’s (1992) definitions of the various regime types. For example, Golder codes Indonesia in 1999 as presidential, yet the president was not directly (popularly) elected, contra Shugart and Carey’s definition of a presidential regime; we conversely code it as “Parliamentary”. Note that the rare “assembly independent” type of regime identified by Shugart and Carey, where the president is indirectly elected by the legislature, is lumped together with parliamentary regimes under our coding schema, contrary to Golder who often codes such regimes as “Mixed”. We break with his schema because we believe that the crucial dividing line between mixed regimes and both parliamentary and assembly independent regimes is the latter’s lack of a popularly elected president. Note that we follow the same rules as for the “presidentialism” variable regarding suspended constitutional provisions, etc.

regime3b: A variant of “regime3a” that codes regimes whose classification is debated in the literature as the more extreme type, i.e. as parliamentary instead of mixed.

regime3c: An ordinal variant of “regime3a” that codes parliamentary regimes as “0”; mixed regimes as “1” and presidential regimes as “2”.

prespowers1a: Index of presidential powers in year of country-election incremented by 1 so that non-presidential regimes are coded “0”. Source as given in variable “coding”.

coding1: Source of presidential powers data of variable “prespowers”. 0 denotes extrapolation of existing coding; 1 denotes Shugart and Carey (1992); 2 denotes Hellman and Tucker (1998); and 3 denotes our own coding of the case. Countries without popularly elected chief executives coded NA.

prespowers1b: Variant of “prespowers1a” that substitutes Metcalf’s (2000) codings for those used to construct the prior variable.

prespowers2: Index of presidential powers in year of country-election incremented by 1 so that non-presidential regimes are coded “0”. Differs from variable “prespowers” in that we substitute our values for those taken from other sources such as Shugart and Carey (1992) if we disagreed with the other’s coding of the case.

coding2: A dummy variable coded 1 denoting cases for which we ourselves did not code the presidential powers appearing in “prespowers2”, i.e. cases for which we took index values from other scholars, as indicated by “prespowers1a” and “coding1”.

coding3: A dummy variable coded 1 denoting cases for which the presidential powers appearing in “prespowers2” are extrapolations, i.e. where we carried our or another scholars’ coding either forward or backward in time.

prespowers2a: Variant of “prespowers2” that does not increment the presidential powers index by 1.

prespowers2b: Variant of “prespowers2” that codes the case as having an incremented index value of “0” (i.e., as non-presidential) if a preceding presidential election had not yet been held (i.e., if variable “enpres1y” is equal to 0). An example is Finland 1948.

enpres1y: The effective number of presidential candidates in the concurrent (with concurrent defined as being held in the same year, not only on the same day) or preceding presidential election. For country-elections in a presidential regime (see variable “presidential”) without a preceding presidential election (e.g., Finland 1948), coded 0. For non-presidential regimes, coded 0. Our updating/extension of Golder’s (2005) variable “enpres” using various sources.

enpres1yf: A version of “enpres1y” that, instead of coding country-elections in a presidential regime without a preceding presidential election as 0, uses the subsequent presidential election.

prox1b: The temporal proximity of presidential and legislative elections as per Amorim Neto and Cox (1997). A continuous metric ranging from 0 for both legislative elections held at the presidential midterm and countries without popularly elected presidents to 1 for legislative elections held concurrently (i.e., in the same year as) presidential elections. Following Golder

(2005), proximity is calculated as follows: $2 \left| \frac{L_t - P_{t-1}}{P_{t+1} - P_{t-1}} - 1/2 \right|$, where L_t is the year of the

legislative election; P_{t-1} is the year of the previous presidential election; and P_{t+1} is the year of the following presidential election. However, also coded 0 for country-elections in a presidential regime without a preceding presidential election (i.e., “presidential” equal to “Presidential” and “enpres1y” equal to 0; an example is Finland 1948). Our calculations based on our collection of dates of the legislative election, the previous presidential election and the following presidential election from various sources.

prox1bf: A version of variable “prox1b” that does not assign a coding of 0 to country-elections in a presidential regime without a preceding presidential election (i.e., “presidential” equal to “Presidential” and “enpres1y” equal to 0; an example is Finland 1948).

prox2: A dummy variable for concurrent (i.e., held in the same year) elections; legislative elections held non-concurrently with presidential elections are coded 0. As with the other proximity variables, countries without popularly elected presidents are also coded 0. Our calculations based on our collection of dates of the legislative election, the previous presidential election and the following presidential election from various sources.

bicameral2: Categorical variable coded “Bicameral” for years where country’s legislature had a second, upper chamber that had a separate source of origin from the lower house (e.g., cannot be simply lower house members as in Norway, but can be appointees as in UK) and “Unicameral” otherwise. Our recoding as well as extension/updating of the variable “S/S+H” from the

Database of Political Institutions (2004) [with this variable coded “Bicameral” if “S/S+H” is coded NA] outside of the limited set of cases for which it is available.

avemag2: Average magnitude in lowest electoral tier. Our updating/extension of Golder’s (2005) variable “avemag” based on various sources, particularly the CLEA.

uppertier: Percentage of seats distributed in upper (not lowest) electoral tiers. Source: Golder (2005), variable “uppertier”.

fused2: Dummy variable coded 1 for country-elections held under a fused legislative and presidential electoral system and 0 otherwise. Our updating/extension of Golder’s (2005) variable “fusedvote” based on various sources.

districts2: Number of lower tier electoral districts. Our updating/extension of Golder’s (2005) variable “districts” based on various sources, particularly the CLEA.

region2: Categorical variable for the region of the country in which the election is held. There are eight regions: “Advanced Industrial”; “Latin America” (Latin and South America); “Eastern Europe”; “Asia”; “Middle East and North Africa”; “Africa” (Sub-Saharan Africa); and “Other” (Pacific and Caribbean Islands). Note that there are no countries in this data set in the “Middle East and North Africa” region.

population: Population in 2006.

advind: Dummy variable, based on “region2”, that is coded “1” if the country in which the election is held is advanced industrial at the time of the election and “0” otherwise. Specifically, a country-election is coded as advanced industrial if the country is coded as “Advanced Industrial” in “region2” and the election is held after 1945.