

Robert Stelzle

30.06.2022

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Introduction

Most election results data are provided by the Bundeswahlleiter. A machine-readable version of the Bundeswahlleiter's compiled data contained in the -periodically published- pdf available here (https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/service/landtagswahlen.html) was kindly provided to me. Election data outside the timeframe covered by Bundeswahlleiter's data provided to me was collected from the states' local election authorities' (Landeswahlleiter) websites. More information on parties and the continuity of parties under different labels was collected by me.

The Bundeswahlleiter's election data in many cases contains differing names for the same party. Both between states (eg. "Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands" vs. "Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands in Niedersachsen") as well as within states between elections -in many cases due to parties being renamed- ("BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, Landesverband Hamburg, Grün-Alternative Liste" vs. "BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, Landesverband Hamburg"). Efforts were made to reconcile both of these inconsistencies by adding two new, harmonized variables identifying parties (partyname_short and partyname). This harmonized party identifier also covers merging of parties. The partyname given to the resulting party (eg. "Linke", "Grüne") is given to the largest of the preceding parties contesting an election unless a smaller party joined a government following the election. The original names provided by the Bundeswahlleiter (and Landeswahlleiters in elections after June 2021) are still available (partyname_short_bundeswahlleiter and partyname_bundeswahlleiter).

Information on governments is mainly taken from replication data from Linhart, Pappi, and Schmitt (2008) which can be found online here: https://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/politik/pspi/fo rschung/daten.php. Information outside the timeframe of Linhart et al. as well as information on the names and party affiliations of the Ministerpräsidenten was collected by me, mainly from German Wikipedia.

All datasets can be accessed through the R Package bundeslaendeR. ¹ This package further includes one function -bundeslaendeR::de_states_geofacet_grid_4x4()- that is documented below. Alternatively all datasets can be downloaded in a single .zip file including all six datasets as .csv, .rds and .dta files.

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¹Calling bundeslaender::ltw_elections, bundeslaender::ltw_governments , bundeslaender::ltw_combined, bundeslaender::ltw_elections_meta, bundeslaender::link_manifestos and bundeslaender::link_coalitionagreements.

state_name_de Brandenburg Brandenburg Berlin Baden-Württemberg Berlin Baden-Württemberg BE BW BY HB HE HH NV NI NW RP SH SL SN ST TH BA WB DE1 Bayern Bavaria DE5 Bremen Bremen Hesse Hamburg Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Hamburg Mecklenburg-Vorpommern DE6 DE8 DE9 Lower-Saxony North Rhine-Westphalia Niedersachsen Nordrhein-Westfalen Rheinland-Pfalz DEB Rhineland-Palatine DEF DEC Schleswig-Holstein Saarland Schleswig-Holstein Saarland Sachsen Sachsen-Anhalt Saxony Saxony-Anhalt Thüringen Thuringia former state Baden former state Württemberg-Baden former state Württemberg-Hohenzollern ehemaliges Land Baden ehemaliges Land Württemberg-Baden ehemaliges Land Württemberg-Hohenzollern

Table 1: State-level Variables

Table 2: Structure of ltw_elections

State Variables Name, Abbreviation, NUTS1 Code			Elect Election date, Si	ion Variables ze Electorate, T	Party V Names, Abbrevia	ariables tions, severa	l IDs	Party-Election Variables Vote Count, -Share, Seat Count, -Share,			
state	nuts1		election_date	turnout		partyname_short	ches_id		party_vshare	party_seat_count	
BE	DE3		2015-09-18	0.765		Party A	001		0.45	46	
BE	DE3		2015-09-18	0.765		Party B	002		0.30	12	
BE	DE3		2015-09-18	0.765		Party C	003		0.25	18	
NI	DE9		2012-12-16	0.560		Party A	001		0.17	12	
NI	DE9		2012-12-16	0.560		Party B	002		0.33	27	
NI	DE9		2012-12-16	0.560		Party D	004		0.50	46	

ltw_elections

ltw_elections is a long-form dataset containing one row per contesting party per election. For a schematic version of ltw_elections's structure see table 2. The data can be accessed in R using bundeslaendeR::ltw_elections.

ltw_elections Variable Information

state	State Abbreviation ISO 3166-2:DE-code of the state; including BA for the former state of Baden, WH for the former state of Württemberg-Hohenzollern and WB
	for the former state of Württemberg-Baden.
nuts1	NUTS1 Code of State NUTS1 code of state. NA for former states Baden, Württemberg-Baden, Württemberg-Hohenzollern.
state_name_de	German Name of State German name of the state.

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state_name_en

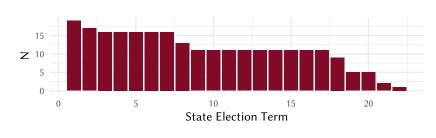
English Name of State.

English name of the state.

state_election_
term

Election Term of State

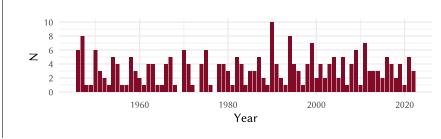
Election term in the state. Counts up from 1.



election_date

Election Date

Date of the election. ISO 8601 or R-Date format.



election_id_
bundeswahlleiter

Election ID Bundeswahlleiter

Specific election_id as denoted by the Bundeswahlleiter. Note that BA, WH and WH are named as BW and the number counts down. NA for cases taken from Landeswahlleiters (i.e. elections after ST 2021).

election_remarks_
wahlleiter

Election Remarks Bundeswahlleiter

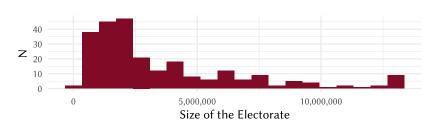
Remarks on the election as given by the Bundeswahlleiter.

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electorate

Size of the Electorate

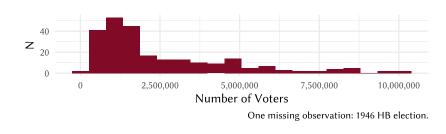
Number of eligible voters. For more totals also see the last six columns.



number_of_voters

Number of Voters

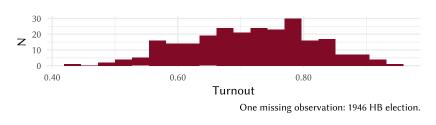
Number of voters turning out. For more totals also see the last six columns.



turnout

Turnout

Turnout. Share of eligible voters turning out.

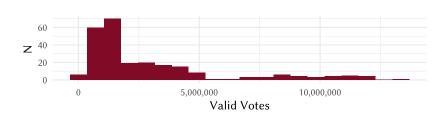


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valid_votes

Valid Votes

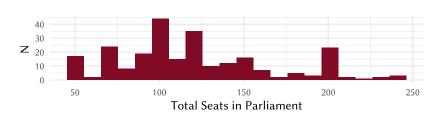
Number of valid votes. Does not have to be equal to the number of ballots cast, as sometimes a ballot contains multiple votes! For more totals also see the last six columns.



total_seats_
parliament

Total Seats in Parliament

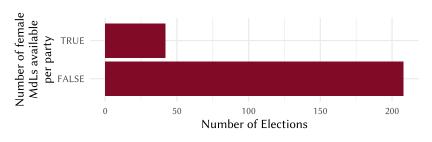
Total number of members of the newly elected Landtag.



female_party_
seats_available

Number of female MdLs available per party

Denotes whether information on the no. of female members of the Landtag per party is available for this election. Note that for parties not elected to the new Landtag party_female_mps always is marked as missing.

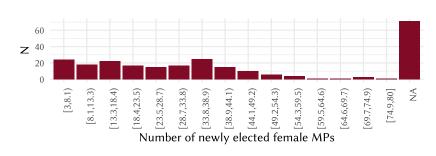


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total_female_
mps_parliament

Number of Female MPs in Parliament

Number of newly elected female MPs.



partyname_short

Abbreviated Party Name

Harmonized abbreviation of the party's name. 379 unique parties.

partyname

Party Name

Harmonized name of the party. 379 unique parties.

partyname_short_ bundeswahlleiter

Party Name Abbreviation from Bundeswahlleiter

Partyname abbreviation as documented by the Bundeswahlleiter. 467 different abbreviations.

partyname_ bundeswahlleiter

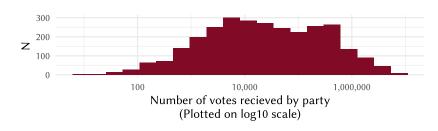
Party Name from Bundeswahlleiter

Partyname as documented by the Bundeswahlleiter. 508 different names.

party_vote_count

Party Vote Count

Number of votes recieved by the party.

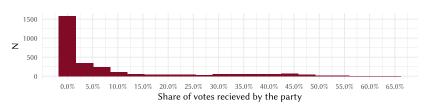


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party_vshare

Party Vote Share

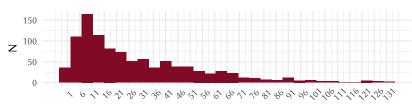
Share of votes recieved by the party.



party_seat_count

Party Seat Count

Number of seats recieved by the party.

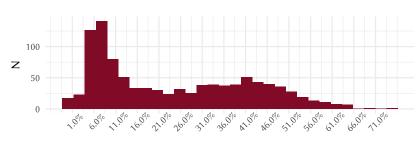


Number of seats recieved by the party (1026 parties without seats not plotted)

party_sshare

Party Seat Share

Share of seats recieved by the party.



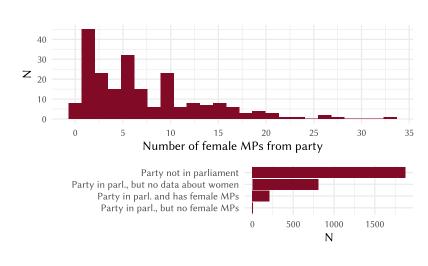
Share of seats recieved by the party (1026 parties without seats not plotted)

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party_female_mps

Number of female MPs from party

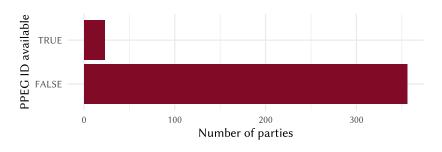
Number of female MPs elected for the party. Note that for parties not elected to the new Landtag party_female_mps always is marked as missing.



ppeg_id

PPEG ID

If available, party id of the party in the PPEG database (PPEG 2022). These party IDs are chiefly based on party IDs from Mackie and Rose (1991).

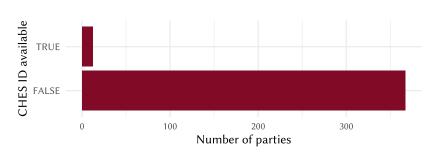


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ches_id

CHES ID

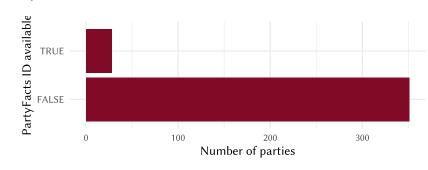
If available, ID of the party in the Chapel-Hill Expert Survey (Jolly et al. 2022).



partyfacts_id

PartyFacts ID

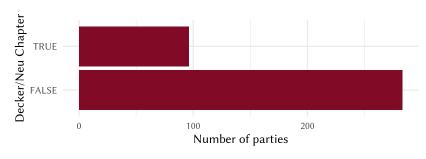
If available, ID of the party in the partyfacts database (Döring and Regel 2019).



decker_neu

Chapter Parteienhandbuch

Denotes, wether the Handbuch der deutschen Parteien (3. ed.) by Decker and Neu (Decker and Neu 2018) has a chapter on the party.



url_info

URL with additional info on the party

URL to information on the party on the web. Can contain multiple URLs!

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<pre>party_remarks_ stelzle</pre>	Party remarks Stelzle Remarks on the party by me.
party_remarks_ bundeswahlleiter	Party remarks Bundeswahlleiter Remarks on the party as listed by the Bundeswahlleiter.
gueltige_stimm -zettel_hh_hb	Gültige Stimmzettel HH and HB Messy totals.
gesamtstimmen_by	Gesamtstimmen BY Messy totals.
ausgefallene_ stimmen_be	Ausgefallene Stimmen BE Messy totals.
abgegebene_ stimmen_hh	Abgegebene Stimmen HH Messy totals.
ungueltige_ stimmen_except_ hh_hb	Ungültige Stimmen except in HH and HB Messy totals.
ungueltige_ stimmzettel_hh_hb	Ungültige Stimmzettel in HH and HB Messy totals.

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1tw governments

This section of the codebook only concerns variables specific to the ltw_governments dataset. For further variables please refer to the ltw elections section.

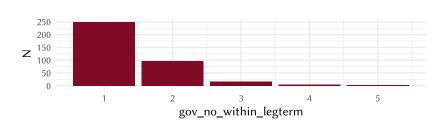
ltw_governments is a long-form dataset containing information on governments in the German
states. Each row contains information on one state government. The data can be accessed in R
using bundeslaendeR::ltw_governments.

ltw_governments Variable Information

gov_no_within_ legterm

Number of cabinet within legislative term

Number of cabinet within legislative term (e.g. First/Second/Third/... cabinet in the 1990-1994 legislative term of state X).



gov_id

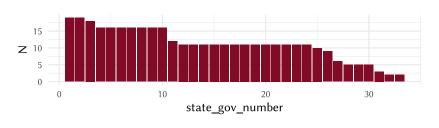
Government ID

Unique ID of government. Taken from Linhart et al. However, this ID is not counting up within state by time. In cases where Governments were missing from Linhart et al. before the timeframe covered by Linhart et al. (eg. in Berlin) these earlyer governments have a higher ID than later cabinets contained in Linhart et al. data.

state_gov_number

Number of government in state.

Number of government in state.

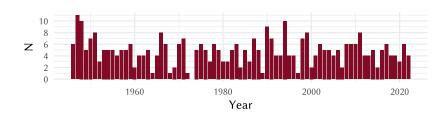


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gov_start_date

Government Starting Date

Starting date of the government. ISO 8601 or R-Date format.



gov_source

Government Source

Source of the information on the government. Either Linhart et al. or the URL of the German Wikipedia Page containing information on the cabinet.

gov_remarks_
stelzle

Governments remarks Stelzle

My remarks on governments.

minister_president

Name of minister president

Name of minister president.

mp_party

Minister President's Party

Party of the minister president. partyname_short format used. Note: There is a single cabinet with an independent minister president: Heinrich Welsch's caretaker government in the Saarland (at the time not yet a member of the FRG) in 1955.

gov_parties

Names of Government Parties

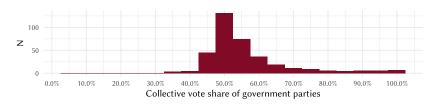
String containing the names (partyname_short format) of all government parties separated by ' \sim '. The MP's party first, followed by other government parties in the order of their seatshare.

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gov_vshare

Government Vote Share

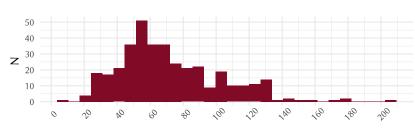
Collective vote share of government parties.



gov_seat_count

Government Seat Count

Collective number of seats of government parties.

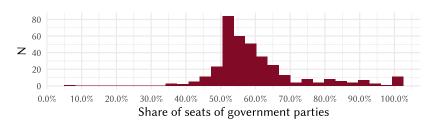


Collective number of seats of government parties

gov_sshare

Government Seat Share

Share of seats of government parties.



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gov_tog

Type of Government

Type of Government:

- Single Party Majority
- Oversized Coalition
- Minimal Winning Coalition
- Single Party Minority
- Multi Party Majority
- · Caretaker.

Note that this classification is done automatically based on the number of seats of each governing party *at the beginning of the legislative term*. MPs defecting between parties and thus potentially changing the majority status of governments can thus not be incorporated!

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1tw combined

This section of the codebook only concerns variables specific to the ltw_combined dataset. For further variables please refer to the sections on ltw_elections and ltw_governments.

ltw_combined is a long-form dataset containing both election results as well as linked information
on governments in the German states. Each row contains information on one party during the
time in office of one cabinet. For a schematic version of ltw_combined's structure see table 3. The
data can be accessed in R using bundeslaendeR::ltw_combined.

ltw_combined Variable Information

gov_party

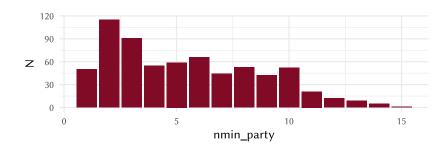
Government Party

Boolean wether the party was a cabinet party. Note: There is a single cabinet where no party is marked as part of the cabinet: Heinrich Welsch's caretaker government in the Saarland (at the time not yet a member of the FRG) in 1955.

nmin_party

Number of Ministers of Party

Number of ministers of party. Note that the number of party-independent ministers is not collected. Thus, the sum of the number of ministers of all government parties can not reliably be understood as the size of the cabinet.



is_mp_party

Is MP Party?

Is the governments minister president from this party? Note: There is a single cabinet where the minister president is not part of any party: Heinrich Welsch's caretaker government in the Saarland (at the time not yet a member of the FRG) in 1955.

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										of ltw_combin							
Name,		Variables Election Variables Abbreviation, Election date, Size FS1 Code Electorate, Turnout,		Party Variables Names, Abbreviations, several IDs several IDs			Party-Election Variables Vote Count, -Share, Seat Count, -Share,			Government Variables Inauguration date, PM Name, gov. numbering, gov_id,			Government-Party Variables Status in government, number of party ministers,				
state	nuts1		election_date	turnout		partyname_short	ches_id		party_vshare	party_seat_count		gov_start_date	minister_president		gov_party	nmin_party	
BE	DE3		2015-09-18	0.765		Party A	001		0.45	46		2015-10-07	Mustermann, Max		TRUE	7	
BE	DE3		2015-09-18	0.765		Party B	002		0.30	12		2015-10-07	Mustermann, Max		TRUE	4	
BE	DE3		2015-09-18	0.765		Party C	003		0.25	18		2015-10-07	Mustermann, Max		FALSE	NA	
BE	DE3		2015-09-18	0.765		Party A	001		0.45	46		2017-02-28	Mustermann, Max		TRUE	11	
BE	DE3		2015-09-18	0.765		Party B	002		0.30	12		2017-02-28	Mustermann, Max		FALSE	NA	
BE	DE3		2015-09-18	0.765		Party C	003		0.25	18	• • • •	2017-02-28	Mustermann, Max		FALSE	NA	
NI	DE9		2012-12-16	0.560		Party A	001		0.17	12		2013-01-07	Musterfrau, Erika		FALSE	NA	
NI	DE9		2012-12-16	0.560		Party B	002		0.33	27		2013-01-07	Musterfrau, Erika		FALSE	NA	
NT	DF9		2012-12-16	0.560		Party D	994		0 50	46		2013-01-07	Musterfrau. Erika		TRUE	13	

ltw elections meta

This section of the codebook only concerns variables specific to the ltw_elections_meta dataset. For further variables please refer to the sections on ltw elections.

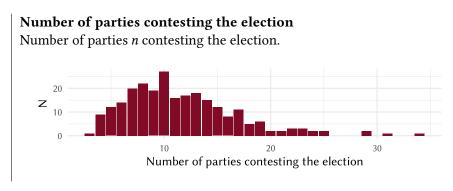
ltw_elections_meta is a long-format dataset containing meta information on election results. Each row contains information on one election. The data can be accessed in R using bundeslaendeR::ltw_elections_meta.

For a discussion of the various measures quantifying party system properties see Niedermayer (2013). For descriptions of the various measures of electoral disproportionality see Karpov (2008).

ltw_elections_meta Variable Information

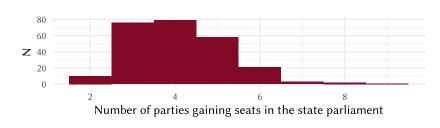
Unless specified otherwise, in the following section v_i refers to party i's vote share, s_i to party i's seat share and n refers to the number of parties contesting a given election.

number parties



number_parties_
parliament

Number of parties gaining seats in the state parliamentNumber of parties gaining seats in the state parliament.

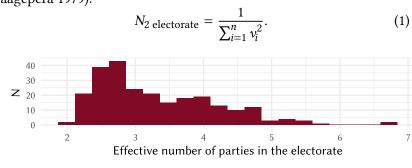


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fragmentation_enep

Effective number of parties in the electorate

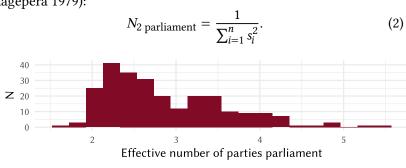
Effective number of parties in the electorate $N_{\rm 2\; electorate}$ (Laakso and Taagepera 1979):



fragmentation_enpp

Effective number of parties in parliament

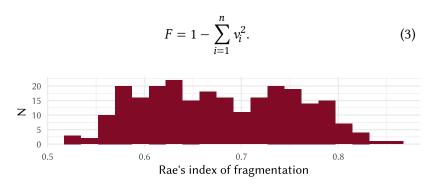
Effective number of parties in parliament $N_{\rm 2\;parliament}$ (Laakso and Taagepera 1979):



fragmentation rae

Rae's index of fragmentation

Rae's index of fragmentation (Rae 1968):



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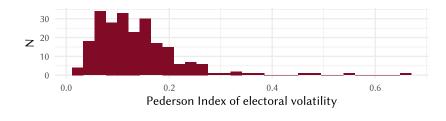
volatility_pedersen

Pederson Index of electoral volatility

Pederson Index of electoral volatility (Pedersen 1979):

$$V_t = \sum_{i=1}^{n_t \wedge n_{t-1}} |v_{i,t} - v_{i,t-1}|. \tag{4}$$

If a party did not contest an election t or t-1 it's voteshare for the respective election v_t or v_{t-1} is 0. Attention: These figures probably slightly overestimate the real extent of electoral volatility, as party splits/mergers are not considered: If parties A (7% at t-1) and B (4% at t-1) contest election t-1 separately but merge before contesting election t and gaining 15% under the label of party A, they really only contribute |(7% + 4%) - 15%| = 4% to the calculation of the Pedersen Index. Here, they would contribute |7% - 15%| + |4% - 0%| = 12% to the calculation as the merger is not properly accounted for.



All of the disproportionality measures presented here, their calculation and properties are presented and discussed in Karpov (2008). The distributions of these measures are presented in figure 1 below.

disprop_
max_deviation

Maximum deviation index of electoral disproportionality

Maximum deviation index of electoral disproportionality:

$$MD = \max_{i=\overline{1,n}} |s_i - v_i|. \tag{5}$$

disprop_rae

Rae's index of electoral disproportionality

Rae's index of electoral disproportionality (Rae 1971):

$$I_{\text{Rae}} = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^{n} |s_i - v_i|.$$
 (6)

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disprop_
loosmore_hanby

Loosemore-Hanby index of electoral disproportionality

Loosemore-Hanby index of electoral disproportionality (Loosemore and Hanby 1971):

$$I_{\rm LH} = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^{n} |s_i - v_i|. \tag{7}$$

disprop_grofman

Grofman index of electoral disproportionality

Grofman index of electoral disproportionality:

$$I_{\rm G} = \frac{1}{N_{\rm 2 \ electorate}} \sum_{i=1}^{n} |s_i - v_i|. \tag{8}$$

disprop_lijphart

Lijphart index of electoral disproportionality

Lijphart index of electoral disproportionality:

$$I_{\rm L} = \frac{|s_i - v_i| + |s_i - v_i|}{2} \tag{9}$$

where only the two largest parties are considered.

disprop_gallagher

Gallagher index of electoral disproportionality

Gallagher index of electoral disproportionality / least squares index (Lsq):

$$Lsq = \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^{n} (s_i - v_i)}.$$
 (10)

disprop monroe

Monroe index of electoral disproportionality

Monroe index of electoral disproportionality:

$$I_{\text{Monroe}} = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} (s_i - v_i)^2}{1 + \sum_{i=1}^{n} v_i^2}}.$$
 (11)

disprop_gatev

Gatev index of electoral disproportionality

Gatev index of electoral disproportionality:

$$I_{\text{Gatev}} = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} (s_i - v_i)^2}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} (s_i^2 + v_i^2)}}$$
(12)

disprop_ryabtsev

Ryabtsev index of electoral disproportionality

Ryabtsev index of electoral disproportionality:

$$I_{\text{Ryabtsev}} = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} (s_i - v_i)^2}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} (s_i + v_i)^2}}.$$
 (13)

disprop_szalai

Szalai index of electoral disproportionality

Szalai index of electoral disproportionality:

$$I_{\text{Szalai}} = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} \left(\frac{s_i - v_i}{s_i + v_i}\right)^2}{n}}.$$
 (14)

disprop_
szalai_weighted

Weighted Szalai index of electoral disproportionality

Weighted Szalai index of electoral disproportionality:

$$\tilde{I}_{\text{Szalai}} = \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{(s_i - v_i)^2}{s_i + v_i}}.$$
 (15)

disprop_
aleskerov_platonov

Aleskerov-Platonov index of electoral disproportionality

Aleskerov-Platonov index of electoral disproportionality:

$$R = \frac{1}{k} \sum_{i=1}^{k} \frac{s_i}{v_i}$$
 (16)

where only overrepresented parties are considered.

disprop_dhondt

D'Hondt index of electoral disproportionality

D'Hondt index of electoral disproportionality:

$$H = \max_{i = \overline{1,n}} \frac{s_i}{v_i}.$$
 (17)

disprop_sainte_lague

Sainte-Lague index of electoral disproportionality

Sainte-Lague index of electoral disproportionality:

$$SL = \sum_{i=1}^{n} v_i \left(\frac{s_i}{v_i} - 1\right)^2. \tag{18}$$

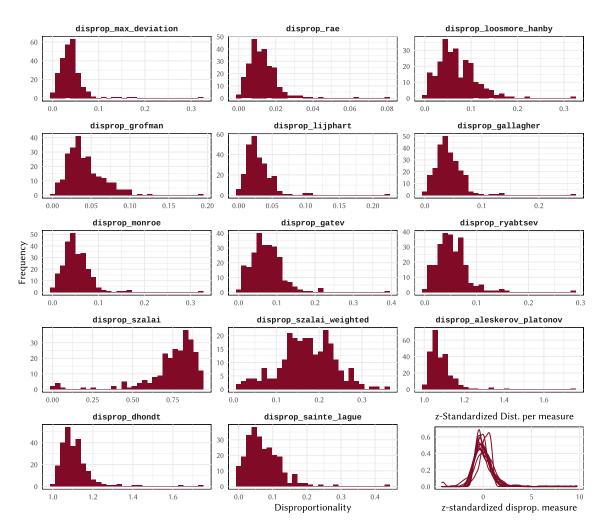


Figure 1: Distribution of Disproportionality Measures

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link manifestos and link coalitionagreements

link_manifestos and link_coalitionagreements provide easy links of bundeslaendeR data with party manifestos and coalition agreements made available from polidoc.net - The Political Documents Archive (Benoit, Bräuninger, and Debus 2009; Gross and Debus 2018; Pappi and Seher 2014, 2009; for the codebook see Bräuninger et al. 2018). While file names from polidoc.net follow a naming pattern (partyID.stateID.year.1.number of party manifesto for election), the provided links make joining the data easier.

Note that polidoc.net provides a manifesto for the Neue Liberale in the HB 2015 election (41441.005.2015.1.1). Since the party withdrew it's candidacy before the election and is thus not included in the election results in ltw_elections, the manifesto id is not included in link manifestos.

Note that polidoc.net provides a coalition agreement between the SPD and the Greens following the 2008 HE election (41001.006.2008.1.1). Since this potential coalition under leadership of SPD politician Andrea Ypsilanti never came to be due to several SPD MPs opposing the red-green minority cabinet being externally supported by Die Linke the coalition agreement can't be matched with a government in ltw_combined and is thus not included.

Linking-Variables Information

The variables state, election_date, and partyname_short can be used in order to link manifestos to the bundeslaendeR data.

state	State Abbreviation ISO 3166-2:DE-code of the state.
election_date	Election Date Date of the election. ISO 8601 or R-Date format.
partyname_short	Abbreviated Party Name Harmonized abbreviation of the party's name. 379 unique parties.

The variable gov_id can be used in order to link manifestos to the bundeslaendeR data.

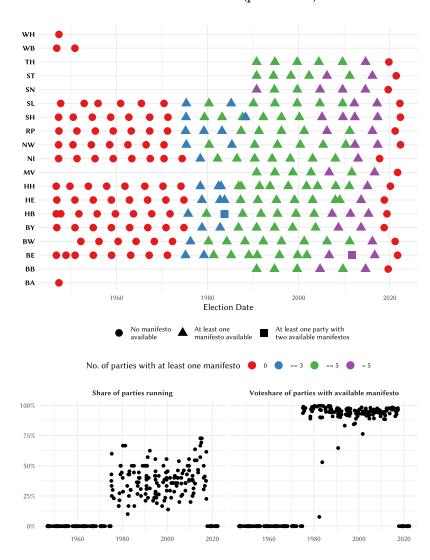
gov_id	Government ID
	Unique ID of government. Taken from Linhart et al. However, this ID is
	not counting up within state by time. In cases where Governments were
	missing from Linhart et al. before the timeframe covered by Linhart et
	al. (eg. in Berlin) these earlyer governments have a higher ID than later
	cabinets contained in Linhart et al. data.

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polidoc_filename
and
polidoc_filename_2
in link_manifestos

Polidoc File Name of Party Manifesto

File name of state party manifesto (or 2nd manifesto if available) available in The Political Documents Archive (polidoc.net).

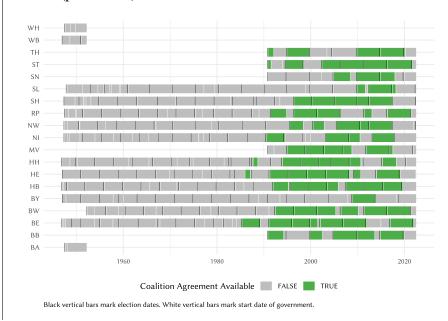


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polidoc_filename
in link_
coalitionagreements

Polidoc File Name of Coalition Agreement

File name of coalition agreement available in The Political Documents Archive (polidoc.net).



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de_states_grid_4x4()

de_states_grid_4x4() exports a data frame containing state IDs, German and English state names and approximate state locations on a 4x4 grid. The exported data frame can be used to approximately plot state-facets in their approximate locations using the ggplot2 extension geofacet (Hafen and Schloerke 2020).

Please find a comparison of state locations and the grid layout as well as some example code below.

Example Code:

```
library(bundeslaendeR)
library(tidyverse)
library(geofacet)
turnout_plot <-</pre>
ltw_elections %>%
  select(state, election_date, turnout) %>%
  distinct() %>%
  filter(!(state %in% c("WB", "BA", "WH"))) %>%
  filter(!is.na(turnout)) %>%
  ggplot(aes(x = election_date, y = turnout)) +
    geom_line(col = "#810a26", size = 1.2) +
    facet_geo(grid = de_states_geofacet_grid_4x4(linebreak = T),
              facets = ~state, label = "name") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1),
                       labels = scales::percent) +
    theme(strip.text = element_text(face = "bold")) +
    labs(x = NULL, y = "Turnout")
```

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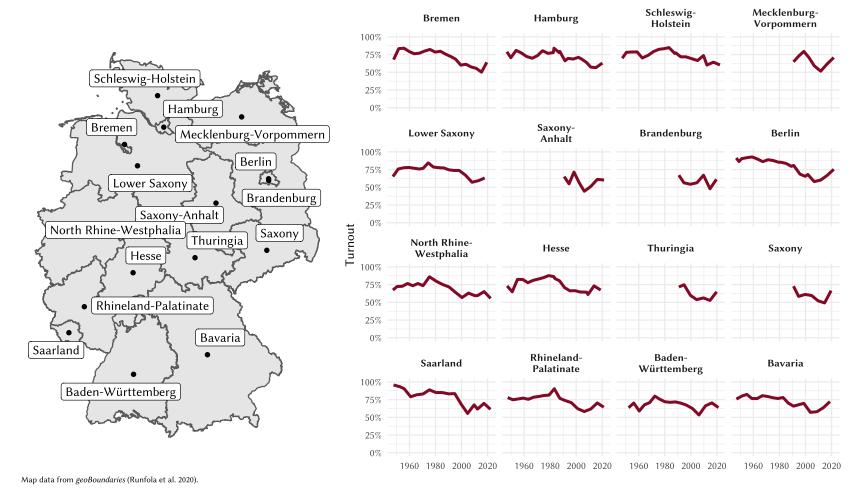


Figure 2: Comparison of state location and grid layout

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