**Patterns of affective polarization in the democratic world: Comparing the polarized feelings towards parties and leaders**

**Codebook for PAP\_LAP\_dataset.dta**

**Country** - Country name

**Countrycode** - Numerical code for country

**Year** - Year of election

**Year\_0** - Year election recoded, so that the earliest year in the database (1996) equals 0 (the latest year in the dataset, 2019, thus, equals 23).

**VoterAPI\_Party** - Reiljan’s (2020)[[1]](#footnote-1) weighted affective polarization index calculated with party like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) dataset. In-party is determined by vote choice variable.

**VoterAPI\_Leader** - Reiljan’s (2020) weighted affective polarization index calculated with party leader like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset. In-party (leader) is determined by vote choice variable.

**Leader\_Party\_APIratio\_voters** – VoterAPI\_Leader divided by VoterAPI\_Party (VoterAPI\_Leader/ VoterAPI\_Party). Ratio values above 1 indicate that leader affective polarization (LAP) is higher than party affective polarization (PAP), whereas values below 1 signify the opposite.

**PartisanAPI\_Party** - Reiljan’s (2020) weighted affective polarization index calculated with party like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset. In-party is determined by partisan identification variable.

**PartisanAPI\_Leader** - Reiljan’s (2020) weighted affective polarization index calculated with party leader like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset. In-party (leader) is determined by partisan identification variable.

**Leader\_Party\_APIratio\_partisans** - PartisanAPI\_Leader divided by PartisanAPI\_Party (PartisanAPI\_Leader/PartisanAPI\_Party).

**Average\_inparty\_voter** – Average weighted in-party evaluation calculated with party like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset. In-party is determined by vote choice variable.

**Average\_outparty\_voter** - Average weighted out-party (i.e. all parties that are not identified as the in-party based on vote choice) evaluation calculated with party like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset.

**Average\_inleader\_voter** - Average weighted in-party leader evaluation calculated with party leader like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset. In-party (leader) is determined by vote choice variable.

**Average\_outleader\_voter** - Average weighted out-party leader (i.e. all leaders that are not the leaders of the party identified as the in-party based on vote choice) evaluation calculated with party leader like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset.

**Average\_inparty\_partisans** - Average weighted in-party evaluation calculated with party like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset. In-party is determined by partisan identification variable.

**Average\_outparty\_partisans** - Average weighted out-party (i.e. all parties that are not identified as the in-party based on partisan identification) evaluation calculated with party like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset.

**Average\_inleader\_partisans** - Average weighted in-party leader evaluation calculated with party leader like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset. In-party (leader) is determined by determined by partisan identification variable.

**Average\_outleader\_partisans** - Average weighted out-party leader (i.e. all leaders that are not the leaders of the party identified as the in-party based on partisan identification) evaluation calculated with party leader like-dislike evaluations and party vote shares from the CSES dataset.

**LR\_Polarization\_perceived** - Dalton’s (2008)[[2]](#footnote-2) weighted ideological left-right polarization index, which is based on the public perceptions of parties’ left-right placements and the size (vote share in the preceding election) of the parties. Data for calculations is obtained from the CSES dataset.

**PID\_noleaners** - The share of respondents in the CSES survey that report being close to one political party as compared to others. CSES survey includes also a follow-up question for those who did not respond that they feel close to any party, asking whether they feel at least a little closer to one party than the others. This variables counts as partisans only those who answered affirmatively already to the first question, thus, excluding the so-called „partisan leaners“. Variable is rescaled to run from 0 (no partisans) to 1 (100% of partisans).

**PID\_strength** – Indicator of strength of partisanship, measured by a question in the CSES dataset that asks those who have indicated that they feel closer to one party as compared to others whether they feel very close, somewhat close or not very close to that party. The variable indicates the average value of the aforementioned 3-point scale and ranges from 0 (very weak partisanship) to 2.

**EffectiveN\_electoral** - Effective number of electoral parties as calculated by Laakso and Taagepera (1979)[[3]](#footnote-3), which provides for the adjusted (by relative strength) number of parties in the party system.

**Presidentialsystem** - A dummy variable capturing presidential systems or semipresidential systems where the president’s office is clearly the most dominant. Such systems are coded as 1.

**Gov\_effectiveness\_0\_5** - The Government Effectiveness indicator from the World Bank’s Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) dataset.[[4]](#footnote-4) The index is recoded from the original -2.5-to-2.5 scale to range from 0 to 5, with 5 indicating the highest government effectiveness.

**Region** – Variable specifying the geographical region of the country. Categories are:

Africa

Central Eastern Europe (CEE)

Latin American (L-Am)

North America (N-Am)

Northwestern Europe (NWE)

Oceania

Southern Europe (SE)

Southeast Asia (SE-Asia)

**Polityscore** – Country’s democracy rating according to Polity V dataset.

**Age\_of\_democracy** - The age of democracy is determined by the democracy rating (Polityscore) and regime durability variables in Polity V dataset.[[5]](#footnote-5) Variable indicates the number of years that the country has been under democratic rule.

**Ageofdemocracy\_5step** - An ordinal variable derived from the Age\_of\_democracy variable. Values:

0 – does not qualify as a full democracy;

1 – age of democracy between 0 and 25 years;

2 – age of democracy between 25 and 50 years;

3 – age of democracy between 50 and 75 years;

4 – age of democracy 75+ years.

**Latestelection** – A dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the given election is the most recent election in the sample from respective country.

**Last2elections** – A dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the given election is among the two most recent elections in the sample from respective country.

**Secondaryelection** – A dummy variable capturing the priority of the election. Takes the value 1 in case the highest office in the country is not at stake in respective election (e.g. parliamentary upper chamber election or parliamentary election in a country with a presidential system).

**Finalmodel** – A dummy variable indicating whether the case was included in the figures and models presented in the article (value 1). Some cases were excluded due to missing values on certain independent variables or because the elections included in the CSES dataset were secondary election.

1. Reiljan, A. (2020). ‘Fear and loathing across party lines’(also) in Europe: Affective polarisation in European party systems. European journal of political research, 59(2), 376-396. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Dalton, R. J. (2008). The quantity and the quality of party systems: Party system polarization, its measurement, and its consequences. Comparative political studies, 41(7), 899-920. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Laakso, M., & Taagepera, R. (1979). “Effective” number of parties: a measure with application to West Europe. Comparative political studies, 12(1), 3-27. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Available at https://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/ [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Available at https://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html [↑](#footnote-ref-5)