# Replication Materials

## Temporal Strategies:
## Governments Alter the Pace of Legislation
## in Bicameralism Depending on Electoral Expectations

Christoph Garwe[1] / Benjamin G. Engst[2] / Yannick Stawicki[3] / Christoph Hönnige[1]
[1]Leibniz University Hannover; [2]University of Mannheim;
[3]Political Affairs Consultant, Barmer (Lower Saxony)

The scripts in the folder "TemporalStrategies_Analyses" allow to replicate all findings shown in the above-mentioned manuscript using R. The initial analyses where done using R Version 3.5.3 (2019-03-11) with RStudio on a Macintosh platform x86_64-apple-darwin15.6.0 (64-bit) running macOS Mojave 10.14.6. The following additional packages are necessary for the replications:

- MASS - Version: 7.3 - 51.1
- Stargazer - Version: 5.2.2
- foreign - Version: Version 0.8-71

If keeping the file structure unchanged (and using RStudio), then it is not necessary to set any local working-directories. All scripts are written in a way to automatically use the outlined file-structure. The general file structure is described next and afterwards we provide details on all files and folders in the Sections 1 to 3.3 below; including necessary codebooks to explain our data.

- Folder: TemporalStrategies_Analyses
    - o 1. Descriptives_Sect4-2.R
    - o 2. Figure3.R
    - o 3. Analysis_Sect5-1.R
    - o 4. Analysis_App3-2_3-3.R
    - o 5. Analysis_App3-4.R
    - o 6. Analysis_App4-1_4-2.R
    - o 7. Analysis_App4-1_4-3.R
    - o 8. Analysis_App4-1_4-4.R
    - o 9. Analysis_App5-1_5-2.R
    - o 10. Analysis_App6-1_6-2.R
    - o 11. Analysis_App7-1_7-2.R
    - o 12. Analysis_App7-3_7-4.R
    - o Folder: Data
        - LegTime20200701.csv
        - LegTimeGESTA20200701.csv
        - LegTimeState20200701.csv
        - SecChamber20200701.csv
    - o Folder: gesta
        - A. GESTA_prepare.R
        - B. GESTA_potential.R
        - GESTA.csv
        - LegTimeGESTA.csv
        - LegTimePotential.csv
        - ZA4569.dta – this dataset has to be downloaded here: https://doi.org/10.4232/1.4569
    - o Folder: Outcome
        - Files produced as outcomes are tables (in .htm) or figures (in .pdf) and saved in this folder.

## 1. Folder: TemporalStrategies_Analyses: R-Scripts

- 1. Descriptives_Sect4-2.R (with dataset: Data/LegTime20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate all findings and descriptive statistics from Section 4.2; including Figure 2 but not Figure 3 which is computed in the next script.
    - When computing Figure 2 this figure is saved in Outcome/Figure2.pdf

- 2. Figure3.R (with datasets: Data/LegTime20200701.csv; SecChamber20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate Figure 3
    - When computing Figure 3 this figure is saved in Outcome/Figure3.pdf

- 3. Analysis_Sect5-1.R (with dataset: Data/LegTime20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate all findings from Section 5.1; including Figure 4 and the respective appendices App.2.1 and App.3.1 as well as the respective first differences shown in App.2.2
    - Computing Figure 4 the two panels of this figure are saved in Outcome/ Figure4_consent.pdf and Outcome/Figure4_objection.pdf
    - Computing the regression tables the estimated coefficients are saved in Outcome/App2-1.htm and App3-1.htm; the tables have been further polished in design while being included in the appendix
    - The first differences for App.2.2 are calculated throughout the script and can be read in the script. They were copied to the table in the appendix.

- 4. Analysis_App3-2_3-3.R (with dataset: Data/LegTime20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate all findings shown in appendices App.3.2 and App.3.3 as well as the respective first differences shown in App.2.2
    - Computing the regression table, the estimated coefficients are saved in Outcome/App3-2.htm; the table has been further polished in design while being included in the appendix
    - The first differences for App.2.2 are calculated throughout the script and can be read in the script. They were copied to the table in the appendix
    - Computing the figure in App.3.3 the two panels of this figure are saved in Outcome/App3-3_consent.pdf and Outcome/App3-3_objection.pdf

- 5. Analysis_App3-4.R (with dataset: Data/LegTime20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate the table shown in appendix App.3.4. Computing the regression table, the estimated coefficients are saved in Outcome/App3-4.htm; the table has been further polished in design while being included in the appendix
  - The first differences for App.2.2 are calculated throughout the script and can be read in the script. They were copied to the table in the appendix

- 6. Analysis_App4-1_4-2.R (with dataset: Data/LegTime20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate all findings shown in appendices App.4.1 – Model 1a & Model 1b and App.4.2 as well as the respective first differences shown in App.2.2
    - Computing the regression table, the estimated coefficients are saved in Outcome/App4-1_Models1.htm; the table has been further polished in

design while being combined with the other models shown in App.4.1 included in the appendix

- The first differences for App.2.2 are calculated throughout the script and can be read in the script. They were copied to the table in the appendix
- Computing the figure in App.4.2 the two panels of this figure are saved in Outcome/App4-2_consent.pdf and Outcome/ App4-2_objection.pdf

- 7. Analysis_App4-1_4-3.R (with dataset: Data/LegTime20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate all findings shown in appendices App.4.1 – Model 2a & Model 2b and App.4.3 as well as the respective first differences shown in App.2.2
    - Computing the regression table, the estimated coefficients are saved in Outcome/App4-1_Models2.htm; the table has been further polished in design while being combined with the other models shown in App.4.1 included in the appendix
    - The first differences for App.2.2 are calculated throughout the script and can be read in the script. They were copied to the table in the appendix
    - Computing the figure in App.4.3 the two panels of this figure are saved in Outcome/App4-3_consent.pdf and Outcome/App4-3_objection.pdf

- 8. Analysis_App4-1_4-4.R (with dataset: Data/LegTime20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate all findings shown in appendices App.4.1 – Model 3a & Model 3b and App.4.4 as well as the respective first differences shown in App.2.2
    - Computing the regression table, the estimated coefficients are saved in Outcome/App4-1_Models3.htm; the table has been further polished in design while being combined with the other models shown in App.4.1 included in the appendix
    - The first differences for App.2.2 are calculated throughout the script and can be read in the script. They were copied to the table in the appendix
    - Computing the figure in App.4.4 the two panels of this figure are saved in Outcome/App4-4_consent.pdf and Outcome/App4-4_objection.pdf

- 9. Analysis_App5-1_5-2.R (with dataset: Data/LegTimeGESTA20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate all findings shown in Appendix 5 as well as the respective first differences shown in App.2.2
    - Computing the regression table App.5.1, the estimated coefficients are saved in Outcome/App5-1.htm; the table has been further polished in design while being included in the appendix
    - The first differences for App.2.2 are calculated throughout the script and can be read in the script. They were copied to the table in the appendix
    - Computing the figure in App.5.2 the two panels of this figure are saved in Outcome/App5-2_consent.pdf and Outcome/App5-2_objection.pdf

- 10. Analysis_App6-1_6-2.R  (with dataset: Data/LegTime20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate all findings shown in Appendix 6 as well as the respective first differences shown in App.2.2
    - Computing the regression table App.6.1, the estimated coefficients are saved in Outcome/App6-1.htm; the table has been further polished in design while being included in the appendix
    - The first differences for App.2.2 are calculated throughout the script and can be read in the script. They were copied to the table in the appendix
    - Computing the figure in App.6.2 the two panels of this figure are saved in Outcome/App6-2_consent.pdf and Outcome/App6-2_objection.pdf

- 11. Analysis_App7-1_7-2.R  (with dataset: Data/LegTimeState20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate all findings shown in appendices App.7.1 and App.7.2 as well as the respective first differences shown in App.2.2
    - Computing the regression table App.7.1, the estimated coefficients are saved in Outcome/App7-1.htm; the table has been further polished in design while being included in the appendix
    - The first differences for App.2.2 are calculated throughout the script and can be read in the script. They were copied to the table in the appendix
    - Computing the figure in App.7.2 the two panels of this figure are saved in Outcome/App7-2_consent.pdf and Outcome/App7-2_objection.pdf

- 12. Analysis_App7-3_7-4.R  (with dataset: Data/LegTime20200701.csv)
  - The script allows to replicate all findings shown in appendices App.7.3 and App.7.4.
    - Computing the regression table App.7.3, the estimated coefficients are saved in Outcome/App7-3.htm; the table has been further polished in design while being included in the appendix
    - The first differences for App.7.4 are calculated throughout the script and can be read in the script. They were copied to the table in the appendix.

## 2. Folder: Data

The data folder includes the following four datasets whose codebooks are provided below:

- LegTime20200701.csv
  - This dataset is the general dataset used to estimate most models necessary to simulate the different quantities of interest.
- LegTimeGESTA20200701.csv
  - This dataset is computed from the GESTA dataset and used to estimate the models and to simulate the different quantities of interest in Appendix 5.
- LegTimeState20200701.csv
  - This dataset is computed only accounting for periods with upcoming state elections. The dataset is used to estimate the models and to simulate the different quantities of interest in appendices App.7.1 and App.7.2.
- SecChamber20200701.csv
  - This dataset lists all votes the federal government fully secures in the second chamber on a given date. Thus, these are the votes of state governments composed fully of the parties also in the federal government.

## 2.1 Codebook: LegTime20200701.csv

| Variable | docno |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The official number of the bill (*Drucksachennummer*) as assigned by the German *Bundestag* (Germany's first chamber). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| Standardized format with the first two digits indicating the legislative period, followed by a "/" and then followed by a continuous count for all the documents considered by the *Bundestag* in the legislative period. | |

| Variable | lp |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates the legislative period when a bill was considered. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 14   14th legislative period | |
| 15   15th legislative period | |
| 16   16th legislative period | |
| 17   17th legislative period | |

| Variable | date_bt_ini |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when a bill was introduced to the *Bundestag* by the federal government or the legislative majority of the federal government in the *Bundestag*. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) | |

| Variable | date_com_as |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when a bill was referred to a respective leading committee in the *Bundestag*; mostly happens during the first reading in the *Bundestag*. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) | |

| Variable | date_com_ini |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when the leading committee considered the bill for the first time; inferred from when the committee took action on a bill for the first time after the referral. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) | |

| Variable | date_com_out |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when the leading committee reported on the bill back to the parliamentary floor; inferred from the date on the committee's report (*Beschlussempfehlung*). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) | |

| Variable | date_bt_out |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when the final vote on the parliamentary floor of the *Bundestag* occurred; inferred from the third reading in the *Bundestag*. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) | |

| Variable | phase1 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The length of the *initiation phase* measured as the number of days between data_com_as and date_bt_ini (see Section 4.2 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| count | |

| Variable | phase2 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The length of the *pre-committee phase* measured as the number of days between data_com_ini and date_com_as (see Section 4.2 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| count | |

| Variable | phase3 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The length of the *intra-committee phase* measured as the number of days between data_com_out and date_com_ini (see Section 4.2 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| count | |

| Variable | phase4 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The length of the *termination phase* measured as the number of days between data_bt_out and date_com_out (see Section 4.2 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| count | |

| **Variable** | phase_total |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Is the *legislative length in the first chamber* measured as the number of days between data_bt_out and date_bt_ini (see Section 4.2.1 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics**<br>    count | |

| **Variable** | completed |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether a bill that was passed in the *Bundestag* eventually became law or did not pass through the remaining legislative process. |
| **Characteristics**<br>0    Bill did not became law<br>1    Bill eventually became law | |

| **Variable** | zustimmg |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether a bill is an objection or a consent bill. In some proceedings, the bill type was contested according to the documentation of the *Bundestag*. Bills contested are coded as consent bills because the federal government had to fear that the bill could become a consent bill. |
| **Characteristics**<br>0    Objection bill (*Bundesrat* has only a suspensive veto; asymmetric bicameralism)<br>1    Consent bill (*Bundesrat* has an absolute veto; symmetric bicameralism) | |

| **Variable** | election |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates bills that were introduced (data_bt_ini) 90 days (or less) prior to a federal election. The date for the federal election (*Tag der Wahl*) at the end of every legislative period was taken from the official data handbook published online by the German *Bundestag* and edited by Schindler: https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/196080/805ecd29a2deeb3050390aa4100200ef/Kapitel_01_02_Tag_der_Wahl_zum_Bundestag-data.pdf). |
| **Characteristics**<br>0    Not introduced prior to a federal election<br>1    Introduced prior to a federal election | |

| **Variable** | leadingcom |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The area of expertise of the leading committee that a bill was referred to in the *Bundestag*. The areas of expertise were defined and aggregated based on committees' names. (Please Note: The non-continuous numbering is of no concern as leadingcom was introduced as an indicator variable in the regressions taking values of 0 and 1 only with "Transportation, Building and Housing" as reference category). |

**Characteristics**

1   Transportation, Building and Housing
    [Ausschuss für Verkehr, Bau und Wohnungswesen]
    [Ausschuss für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung]

2   Labor, Health and Social Affairs
    [Ausschuss für Arbeit und Sozialordnung]
    [Ausschuss für Gesundheit]
    [Ausschuss für Gesundheit und Soziale Sicherung]
    [Ausschuss für Arbeit und Soziales]

3   Internal Affairs
    [Innenausschuss]
    [Ausschuss für Angelegenheiten der neuen Länder]

5   Finance
    [Haushaltsausschuss]
    [Finanzausschuss]
    [Sonderausschuss Maßstäbegesetz/Finanzausgleichsgesetz]

6   Agriculture and Food
    [Ausschuss für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Forsten]
    [Ausschuss für Verbraucherschutz, Ernährung und Landwirtschaft]
    [Ausschuss für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Verbraucherschutz]

7   Environmental Affairs
    [Ausschuss für Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit]

8   Foreign Affairs and Defense
    [Auswärtiger Ausschuss]
    [Verteidigungsausschuss]
    [Ausschuss für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung]
    [Ausschuss für die Angelegenheiten der Europäischen Union]
    [Ausschuss für Menschenrechte und humanitäre Hilfe]

10  Education, Culture and Family Affairs
    [Ausschuss für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend]
    [Ausschuss für Kultur und Medien]
    [Ausschuss für Bildung, Forschung und Technikfolgenabschätzung]
    [Sportausschuss]

12  Economics
    [Ausschuss für Wirtschaft und Technologie]
    [Ausschuss für Tourismus]
    [Ausschuss für Wirtschaft und Arbeit]

13  Legal Affairs
    [Rechtsausschuss]

| Variable | compresOpp |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the leading committee concerned with a bill in the *Bundestag* was chaired by a member of an opposition party and not by a member of one of the governing parties. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | Not chaired by a member of the opposition (but by a member of the governing parties) |
| 1 | Chaired by a member of the opposition |

| Variable | potLoss_emp |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to lose enough votes to lose the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_emp" the government looked the average number of days a bill took during the respective legislative period into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 and Appendix 4 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | No loss of the majority in the second chamber possible |
| 1 | Potential loss of the majority in the second chamber possible |

| Variable | potGain_emp |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to gain enough votes to gain the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_emp" the government looked the average number of days a bill took during the respective legislative period into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 and Appendix 4 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | No gain of the majority in the second chamber possible |
| 1 | Potential gain of the majority in the second chamber possible |

| Variable | potLoss_same90 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to lose enough votes to lose the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_same90" the government looked 90 days into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 in the manuscript for further information). |

| **Characteristics** | |
|---|---|
| 0 | No loss of the majority in the second chamber possible |
| 1 | Potential loss of the majority in the second chamber possible |

| Variable | potGain_same90 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to gain enough votes to gain the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_same90" the government looked 90 days into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 in the manuscript for further information). |

| **Characteristics** | |
|---|---|
| 0 | No gain of the majority in the second chamber possible |
| 1 | Potential gain of the majority in the second chamber possible |

| Variable | potLoss_past |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to lose enough votes to lose the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_past" the government looked the average number of days a bill took during the previous legislative period into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 and Appendix 4 in the manuscript). |

| **Characteristics** | |
|---|---|
| 0 | No loss of the majority in the second chamber possible |
| 1 | Potential loss of the majority in the second chamber possible |

| Variable | potGain_past |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to gain enough votes to gain the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_past" the government looked the average number of days a bill took during the previous legislative period into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 and Appendix 4 in the manuscript). |

**Characteristics**

0   No gain of the majority in the second chamber possible
1   Potential gain of the majority in the second chamber possible

| Variable | potLoss_com |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to lose enough votes to lose the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_com" the government looked the average number of days a bill took during the respective legislative period in the respective area of expertise (leadingcom) into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 and Appendix 4 in the manuscript). |

**Characteristics**

0   No loss of the majority in the second chamber possible
1   Potential loss of the majority in the second chamber possible

| Variable | potGain_com |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to gain enough votes to gain the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_com" the government looked the average number of days a bill took during the respective legislative period in the respective area of expertise (leadingcom) into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 and Appendix 4 in the manuscript). |

**Characteristics**

0   No gain of the majority in the second chamber possible
1   Potential gain of the majority in the second chamber possible

## 2.2 Codebook: LegTimeGESTA20200701.csv

The GESTA dataset is available with the German Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences:

- Burkhart, Simone (2008): „Deutsche Bundesgesetzgebung 1972 – 2005." *GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA4569* Datafile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.4569

To replicate our study with the help of the GESTA dataset we pre-processed the dataset and reduced it to bills and variables of interest to us. In order to document how we prepared the dataset see our information below in Section 3 on the gesta folder.

| Variable | lp |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates the legislative period when a bill was considered. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 8 | 8th legislative period |
| 9 | 9th legislative period |
| 10 | 10th legislative period |
| 11 | 11th legislative period |
| 12 | 12th legislative period |
| 13 | 13th legislative period |
| 14 | 14th legislative period |
| 15 | 15th legislative period |

| Variable | date_bt_ini |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when a bill was introduced to the *Bundestag*; from the variable *deinbt* in GESTA. (Note: In two cases no *deinbt* was given and we omitted those two cases.) |
| **Characteristics** | |
| | The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) |

| Variable | date_bt_out |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date the *Bundestag* passes the first resolution; from the variable *dbbt1* in GESTA. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| | The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) |

| Variable | phase_total |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Is the *legislative length in the first chamber* measured as the number of days between data_bt_out (GESTA: dbbt1) and date_bt_ini (GESTA: deinbt). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| | count |

| Variable | zustimmg |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether a bill is an objection or a consent bill; from the variable *zudich* in GESTA. |

**Characteristics**

0 Objection bill (*Bundesrat* has only a suspensive veto; asymmetric bicameralism)

1 Consent bill (*Bundesrat* has an absolute veto; symmetric bicameralism)

| Variable | leadingcom |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The area of expertise that a bill addresses in based on the political area, taken from the variable *bereich* in GESTA. The areas of expertise were aggregated based on the political areas to match our coding of leadingcom (which we took from the leading committees' names) as closely as possible. (Please Note: The non-continuous numbering is of no concern as leadingcom was introduced as an indicator variable in the regressions taking values of 0 and 1 only with "Transportation, Building and Housing" as reference category). |

**Characteristics**

1 Transportation, Building and Housing
[Post]
[Raumordnung, Bauwesen, Städtebau]
[Verkehr]
[Verkehr, Post- und Fernmeldewesen]

2 Labor, Health and Social Affairs
[Arbeit und Soziales]
[Gesundheit]
[Jugend, Familie, Gesundheit]
[Wirtschaft und Arbeit]
[Gesundheit und Soziale Sicherung]

14 Internal Affairs
[Angelegenheiten der neuen Länder]
[Deutsche Einheit]
[Innerdeutsche Beziehungen]
[Inneres]

9 Finance
[Finanzen]

7 Agriculture and Food
[Landwirtschaft und Ernährung (Verbraucherschutz seit der LP 15)]

21 Environmental Affairs
[Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit]

3 Foreign Affairs and Defense
[Auswärtiges]
[Verteidigung]
[Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung]

|   | [Völkerrechtliche Vereinbarungen] |
|---|---|
| 4 | Education, Culture and Family Affairs |
|   | [Bildung und Forschung] |
|   | [Bildung und Wissenschaft] |
|   | [Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jungend] |
|   | [Forschung und Technologie] |
|   | [Frauen und Jugend] |
|   | [Kultur] |
|   | [Schutz des ungeborenen Lebens] |
| 25 | Economics |
|   | [Wirtschaft] |
| 16 | Legal Affairs |
|   | [Justiz] |

| **Variable** | completed |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether a bill that was passed in the *Bundestag* eventually became law; from the variable *verk* in GESTA. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | Bill did not became law |
| 1 | Bill eventually became law |

| **Variable** | nummer |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The continues ID assigned to a law in the GESTA dataset. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| count | |

| **Variable** | election |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates bills that were introduced (data_bt_ini) 90 days (or less) prior to a federal election. The date for the federal election (*Tag der Wahl*) at the end of every legislative period was taken from the official data handbook published online by the German *Bundestag* and edited by Schindler: https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/196080/805ecd29a2deeb305 0390aa4100200ef/Kapitel_01_02_Tag_der_Wahl_zum_Bundestag-data.pdf). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | Not introduced prior to a federal election |
| 1 | Introduced prior to a federal election |

| Variable | potLoss_same90 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to lose enough votes to lose the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_same90" the government looked 90 days into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 in the manuscript for further information). |

| **Characteristics** | |
|---|---|
| 0 | No loss of the majority in the second chamber possible |
| 1 | Potential loss of the majority in the second chamber possible |

| Variable | potGain_same90 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to gain enough votes to gain the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_same90" the government looked 90 days into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 in the manuscript for further information). |

| **Characteristics** | |
|---|---|
| 0 | No gain of the majority in the second chamber possible |
| 1 | Potential gain of the majority in the second chamber possible |

## 2.3 Codebook: LegTimeState20200701.csv

| Variable | docno |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The official number of the bill (*Drucksachennummer*) as assigned by the German *Bundestag* (Germany's first chamber). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| Standardized format with the first two digits indicating the legislative period, followed by a "/" and then followed by a continuous count for all the documents considered by the *Bundestag* in the legislative period. | |

| Variable | lp |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates the legislative period when a bill was considered. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 14    14th legislative period | |
| 15    15th legislative period | |
| 16    16th legislative period | |
| 17    17th legislative period | |

| Variable | date_bt_ini |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when a bill was introduced to the *Bundestag* by the federal government or the legislative majority of the federal government in the *Bundestag*. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) | |

| Variable | date_com_as |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when a bill was referred to a respective leading committee in the *Bundestag*; mostly happens during the first reading in the *Bundestag*. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) | |

| Variable | date_com_ini |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when the leading committee considered the bill for the first time; inferred from when the committee took action on a bill for the first time after the referral. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) | |

| Variable | date_com_out |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when the leading committee reported on the bill back to the parliamentary floor; inferred from the date on the committee's report (*Beschlussempfehlung*). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| | The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) |

| Variable | date_bt_out |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when the final vote on the parliamentary floor of the *Bundestag* occurred; inferred from the third reading in the *Bundestag*. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| | The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) |

| Variable | phase1 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The length of the *initiation phase* measured as the number of days between data_com_as and date_bt_ini (see Section 4.2 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| | count |

| Variable | phase2 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The length of the *pre-committee phase* measured as the number of days between data_com_ini and date_com_as (see Section 4.2 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| | count |

| Variable | phase3 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The length of the *intra-committee phase* measured as the number of days between data_com_out and date_com_ini (see Section 4.2 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| | count |

| Variable | phase4 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The length of the *termination phase* measured as the number of days between data_bt_out and date_com_out (see Section 4.2 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| | count |

| Variable | phase_total |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Is the *legislative length in the first chamber* measured as the number of days between data_bt_out and date_bt_ini (see Section 4.2.1 in the manuscript). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| count | |

| Variable | completed |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether a bill that was passed in the *Bundestag* eventually became law or did not pass through the remaining legislative process. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 Bill did not became law | |
| 1 Bill eventually became law | |

| Variable | zustimmg |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether a bill is an objection or a consent bill. In some proceedings, the bill type was contested according to the documentation of the *Bundestag*. Bills contested are coded as consent bills because the federal government had to fear that the bill could become a consent bill. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 Objection bill (*Bundesrat* has only a suspensive veto; asymmetric bicameralism) | |
| 1 Consent bill (*Bundesrat* has an absolute veto; symmetric bicameralism) | |

| Variable | election |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates bills that were introduced (data_bt_ini) 90 days (or less) prior to a federal election. The date for the federal election (*Tag der Wahl*) at the end of every legislative period was taken from the official data handbook published online by the German *Bundestag* and edited by Schindler: https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/196080/805ecd29a2deeb305 0390aa4100200ef/Kapitel_01_02_Tag_der_Wahl_zum_Bundestag- data.pdf). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 Not introduced prior to a federal election | |
| 1 Introduced prior to a federal election | |

| Variable | leadingcom |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The area of expertise of the leading committee that a bill was referred to in the *Bundestag*. The areas of expertise were defined and aggregated based on committees' names. (Please Note: The non-continuous numbering is of no concern as leadingcom was introduced as an indicator variable in the regressions taking values of 0 and 1 only with "Transportation, Building and Housing" as reference category). |

**Characteristics**

1   Transportation, Building and Housing
    [Ausschuss für Verkehr, Bau und Wohnungswesen]
    [Ausschuss für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung]

2   Labor, Health and Social Affairs
    [Ausschuss für Arbeit und Sozialordnung]
    [Ausschuss für Gesundheit]
    [Ausschuss für Gesundheit und Soziale Sicherung]
    [Ausschuss für Arbeit und Soziales]

3   Internal Affairs
    [Innenausschuss]
    [Ausschuss für Angelegenheiten der neuen Länder]

5   Finance
    [Haushaltsausschuss]
    [Finanzausschuss]
    [Sonderausschuss Maßstäbegesetz/Finanzausgleichsgesetz]

6   Agriculture and Food
    [Ausschuss für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Forsten]
    [Ausschuss für Verbraucherschutz, Ernährung und Landwirtschaft]
    [Ausschuss für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Verbraucherschutz]

7   Environmental Affairs
    [Ausschuss für Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit]

8   Foreign Affairs and Defense
    [Auswärtiger Ausschuss]
    [Verteidigungsausschuss]
    [Ausschuss für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung]
    [Ausschuss für die Angelegenheiten der Europäischen Union]
    [Ausschuss für Menschenrechte und humanitäre Hilfe]

10  Education, Culture and Family Affairs
    [Ausschuss für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend]
    [Ausschuss für Kultur und Medien]
    [Ausschuss für Bildung, Forschung und Technikfolgenabschätzung]
    [Sportausschuss]

12  Economics
    [Ausschuss für Wirtschaft und Technologie]
    [Ausschuss für Tourismus]

|  | [Ausschuss für Wirtschaft und Arbeit] |
| --- | --- |
| 13 | Legal Affairs |
|  | [Rechtsausschuss] |

| **Variable** | compresOpp |
| --- | --- |
| **Description** | Indicates whether the leading committee concerned with a bill in the *Bundestag* was chaired by a member of an opposition party and not by a member of one of the governing parties. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | Not chaired by a member of the opposition (but by a member of the governing parties) |
| 1 | Chaired by a member of the opposition |

| **Variable** | potLoss_same90 |
| --- | --- |
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to lose enough votes to lose the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_same90" the government looked 90 days into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 in the manuscript for further information). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | No loss of the majority in the second chamber possible |
| 1 | Potential loss of the majority in the second chamber possible |

| **Variable** | potGain_same90 |
| --- | --- |
| **Description** | Indicates whether the bill was introduced in the first chamber (*Bundestag*) at a time when the federal government could expect to gain enough votes to gain the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). To build this expectation the federal government looks in the future when introducing a bill (data_bt_ini). In the case of the variable "_same90" the government looked 90 days into the future (see also Section 4.2.2 in the manuscript for further information). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | No gain of the majority in the second chamber possible |
| 1 | Potential gain of the majority in the second chamber possible |

## 2.4 Codebook: SecChamber20200701.csv

| **Variable** | date |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Continuous date of every day from Dec. 20th, 1990 to Dec. 31, 2017. |
| **Characteristics** | |

The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day)

| **Variable** | R |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The number of votes assigned to state governments in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*) that are composed of parties equal to the governing parties on the federal level (so called *Regierungs-Lager*). The majority threshold in the *Bundesrat* is 35 votes. |
| **Characteristics** | |

count

### 3. Folder: gesta

The scripts and data in this folder can be used to replicate the dataset "Data/ LegTimeGESTA20200701.csv", which we used to replicate our study with the GESTA dataset (see also Appendix 6). To replicate the dataset the following scripts, the original GESTA dataset:

- Burkhart, Simone (2008): „Deutsche Bundesgesetzgebung 1972 – 2005." *GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA4569* Datafile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.4569

and the data included in the folder "gesta" are necessary:

### 3.1 Folder: gesta - R-Scripts

- A. GESTA_prepare.R (with original GESTA dataset: ZA4569.dta)
    - ○ The script outlines how we subsetted the GESTA dataset and how we computed variables that match the variables from our original dataset as close as possible
    - ○ The script will allow to compute the dataset "GESTA.csv" included in the gesta folder.
- B. GESTA_potential.R (with datasets: gesta/ GESTA.csv; LegTimePotential.csv)
    - ○ The script uses the data computed in the previous step and a dataset that summarizes the potential of state elections to lead to a decisive change in the second chamber in the eyes of the federal government implying either a potential loss or potential gain or neither a gain nor a loss. This way the variables potential loss and potential gain are added to the Gesta data and will result in the dataset "LegTimeGESTA.csv" Note: Running the loops starting in row 58 takes may take a moment.
    - ○ The "LegTimeGESTA.csv" can be used to replicate the findings in Appendix 5. However, to make all replications easier we included the "LegTimeGESTA.csv" already in "Data/LegTimeGESTA20200701.csv" Thus, to check whether the replication worked we simply compare in script "B. GESTA_potential.R" that the computed datasets "LegTimeGESTA.csv" and "Data/LegTimeGESTA2020 0701.csv" are exactly identical.

### 3.2 Folder: gesta - Datasets

- "GESTA.csv" is a dataset that is created when using Script "A. GESTA_prepare.R" on the original gesta dataset. The dataset "GESTA.csv" includes the subset of variable necessary to replicate our study except for the two variables "potLoss_same90" and "potLoss_gain90." This is why the codebook from Section 2.2 (above) applies to the variables (excluding "potLoss_same90" and "potLoss_gain90").
- "LegTimeGESTA.csv" " is a dataset that is created when using Script "B. GESTA_potential.R" and this adds "potLoss_same90" and "potLoss_gain90" to "GESTA.csv." This is why the codebook from Section 2.2 (above) applies to the variables (including "potLoss_same90" and "potLoss_gain90").
- "LegTimePotential.csv" is a dataset that summarizes for each state election or combination over a number of elections (maximum 8) the potential of these elections to lead to a potential gain, loss or neither.

### 3.3 Folder: gesta - Codebook: LegTimePotential.csv

| Variable | Date |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The date when a state election was held. State elections shape the composition of the second chamber. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| The date follows the format: YYYY-MM-DD (Year-Month-Day) | |

| Variable | Land |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The (German) name of the state that held a state election. |
| **Characteristics** | |

Baden-Wuerttemberg

Bayern

Berlin

Brandenburg

Bremen

Hamburg

Hessen

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern

Niedersachsen

Nordrhein-Westfalen

Rheinland-Pfalz

Saarland

Sachsen

Sachsen-Anhalt

Schleswig-Holstein

Thueringen

| Variable | Votes |
|---|---|
| **Description** | The number of votes in the *Bundesrat* assigned to a state. |
| **Characteristics** | |

3    Votes

4    Votes

5    Votes

6    Votes

| Variable | R.Lager |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether a respective state at a point of an election was composed of parties equal to the governing parties on the federal level (so called *Regierungs-Lager*). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | On election date state was not composed of the same parties as the federal government |
| 1 | On election date state was composed of the same parties as the federal government |

| Variable | potR1.1 & potR1.2 to potR8.256 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates every potential vote share the federal government might hold following one or multiple state elections. German states have between 3 and 6 votes in the *Bundesrat*. According to their political affiliation (variable *R.Lager*), they can either reduce the federal government's vote share (if *R.Lager*=1) or add to the federal government's vote share (if *R.Lager*=0). Moreover, state elections can cause two hypothetical outcomes. They can either change the composition of the *Bundesrat* if the state government changes or not change the composition if the current state government stays in office. These are indicated by the numbers following the dots (.1 and .2). With more state elections being considered and more elections happening in the same time frame, this grows by powers of two for 8 elections to 256 outcome options. The numbers before the dots indicate how many state elections are accounted for. |
| **Characteristics** | |
| | Counts (of the vote share related to the parties in the federal government) |

| Variable | potGain1 - potGain8 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the federal government at the time could gain enough votes according to the state elections (whether it was 1, 2, 3 or up to the 8 elections in a row) to gain the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | No potential gain of the majority in the second chamber possible due to state election |
| 1 | Potential gain of the majority in the second chamber possible due to state election |

| Variable | potLoss1 - potLoss8 |
|---|---|
| **Description** | Indicates whether the federal government at the time could lose enough votes according to the state elections (whether it was 1, 2, 3 or up to the 8 elections in a row) to lose the majority in the second chamber (*Bundesrat*). |
| **Characteristics** | |
| 0 | No potential loss of the majority in the second chamber possible due to state election |
| 1 | Potential loss of the majority in the second chamber possible due to state election |