

Inter-Branch Crises in Latin America (ICLA) Dataset, 1985-2008
Codebook
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The ICLA dataset defines an inter-branch crisis as an episode in which one branch of government challenges the composition of another branch of government.¹ Such crises can simply involve the survival in office of pivotal political actors (i.e., the president) or, more abstractly, may refer to changing the median voter in the court or the legislature.

To capture these sorts of high stakes events systematically, I employ the following criteria:

- Selection Rule 1: Executives, Legislatures and Courts
- Selection Rule 2: Presidents and Multi-Member Bodies
- Selection Rule 3: Institutional Composition is at Stake
- Selection Rule 4: Initiation not Resolution
- Selection Rule 5: Number of Targets Equals the Number of Crises
- Selection Rule 6: Single versus Sequential Crises
- Selection Rule 7: Duration, Democracy, and Time in Power

The first three rules specify which actors and actions matter. Because I am ultimately interested in explaining the emergence of inter-branch crises, not their particular resolution, the fourth rule clarifies that inter-branch crises are determined by the institutional actors' threats and actions, not by any particular outcome. Thus, I include all attempts by one branch to remove another that fail as well as those that succeed. The fifth and sixth rules clarify how individual crises are counted. Although certainly other selection rules could reasonably be developed, here my goal is to devise and implement consistently a protocol that transforms what are often highly complex episodes into discrete observations. As such, the number of crises coded follows both the number of targeted branches, and, in the case of multiple attempts, their timing, target, and nature. Finally, the seventh rule further delimits the types of administrations and the duration of the crisis. For a description of these criteria, see Chapter 2 of *Institutions on the Edge: Inter-branch Crises in Latin America* (Helmke, forthcoming).

To construct the *ICLA* dataset, I began by drawing on the *Latin American Weekly Reports* (multiple years), a news publication that offers weekly coverage of political events across the region. Using the seven selection rules described above, a team of research assistants from the University of Rochester and I read through

¹ The description of the ICLA dataset contained in the codebook is based on Chapter 2 from *Institutions on the Edge: Inter-branch Crises in Latin America* (Helmke, forthcoming).

each and every *Latin American Weekly Report* published between 1985 and 2008 to systematically identify presidential crises, legislative crises, and judicial crises launched by either the president or the legislature.

To transform these qualitative accounts into quantitative data, I then grouped all articles related to each crisis and created individual case histories containing a variety of information, such as which administration was in power, the start date of the crisis, which branch initiated the conflict and which branch was targeted, the specific type of threat involved, and the outcome of the crisis. My coding for each crisis was then checked using a variety of other primary country-specific sources, including Spanish language national newspapers, interviews with political actors and country experts, as well as numerous relevant secondary sources.

The *ICLA* dataset covers eighteen Latin American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela) from 1985 to 2008. The total number of observations in the dataset is 1,896. The main unit of analysis is the ordered inter-branch dyad for each administration-year. Here, the ordered inter-branch dyad simply refers to the following four main Aggressor-Target combinations described above. Because my ultimate aim is to explain why crises emerge or not, the dataset also contains all “non-cases” for each unit of analysis in which an inter-branch crisis did not occur.

INTER-BRANCH CRISIS VARIABLES

Admin

Administration name.

Admincode

First three letters of the country, and a number given to the administration. Administration 1 begins in 1985. A new administration begins if the executive is re-elected, or replaced.

Year

Year of the administration.

Adminstartmnth

Month that the administration began.

Adminstartyear

Year that the administration began.

Adminendmnth

Month that the administration is supposed to have ended.

Adminendyear

Year that the administration is supposed to have ended.

Actualendmnth, Actualendyear

Month and year that the administration ended, which may be different in the event of a crisis.

Dyad

String variable with Aggressor-Target combinations.

Orddyad

Numeric variable coding Aggressor-Target combinations:

- 1 Exec-Leg
- 2 Leg-Exec
- 3 Exec-Court
- 5 Leg-Court

Country

String variable with name of country

CCode

Code assigned to country (1-18)

- 1 Argentina
- 2 Bolivia
- 3 Brazil
- 4 Chile
- 5 Colombia
- 6 Costa Rica
- 7 Dominican Republic
- 8 Ecuador
- 9 El Salvador
- 10 Guatemala
- 11 Honduras
- 12 Mexico
- 13 Nicaragua
- 14 Panama
- 15 Paraguay
- 16 Peru
- 17 Uruguay
- 18 Venezuela

StartMnth, StartYear

This is the month and year when the inter-branch crisis began according to: 1) either the date that storyline first begins in the Latin American Weekly Report, 2) or, if different from the date of the article, I use the specific information from the source. For all non-cases, the month is generated randomly.

EndMnth, EndYear

For the end date: 1) I use the month and year that the person was removed; 2) if the mandate was shortened well in advance of the administration leaving power (e.g., Balaguer and Sarney), I use the month and year that the crisis was resolved and 3) for threats not carried out, we use the last date of the story in the Latin American Weekly Report referring to the threat. Note that some of the precipitating factors that lead the Congress to act against the President may occur earlier, such as in Samper's case in which the scandals began several months before the Congressional investigation, or in Lula's case where corruption scandals also preceded the official Congressional investigation. Using information from the Latin American Weekly Report, I therefore make the best guess available for when Congress becomes involved. All End Dates are only filled in where possible for crises; they are not generated for non-crises.

Resolution

- 0= non-cases
- 1= legislature attacks executive and executive removed
- 2= legislature attacks executive and legislature dissolved
- 3= legislature attacks executive and executive remains
- 4= legislature attacks court and court removed
- 5= legislature attacks court in court survives
- 6= executive attacks legislature and legislature disbanded
- 7= executive attacks legislature and executive removed
- 8= executive attacks legislature and legislature remains
- 9= executive attacks court and court packing/impeached
- 11= executive attacks court and court survives.

Presattacked (referred to as **Presidential Crises** in the book)

Dummy variable indicating whether there was a presidential crisis (1) or not (0). This is based on the **Resolution**, such that resolutions of 1, 2, or 3 are coded as presidential crises.

Legattacked2 (referred to as **Legislative Crises** in the book)

Dummy variable indicating whether there was a legislative crisis (1) or not (0). This is based on the **Resolution**, such that resolutions of 6, 7, or 8 are coded as legislative crises.

Courtattacked (referred to as **Judicial Crises** in the book)

Dummy variable indicating whether there was a judicial crisis initiated by the executive (1) or not (0). This is based on the **Resolution**, such that resolutions of 9 or 11 are coded as executive-judicial crises.

Courtattackrefined (referred to as **Legislative Court Attacks** in the book)
Dummy variable indicating whether there was a judicial crisis initiated by the legislative opposition (1) or not (0). This is based on the **Resolution**, such that resolutions of 4 or 5 are coded as legislative-judicial crises.

PRESIDENTIAL VARIABLES

A_and_T_tot-Pres (referred to as **Presidential Power** in the book)

Numeric variable indicating the aggregate score of formal or de jure presidential powers. (Source: Aleman and Tsebelis (2005), who base their score on the following types of institutional power):

- 1) Exclusive introduction of Financial Bills
- 2) Default Rule for Budget Bill
- 3) Limits on Amendments to Budget Bill
- 4) Compel Attention to Urgent Bills
- 5) Unilateral Call to Special Sessions
- 6) Participation in Plenary Debates
- 7) Override for Block Veto
- 8) Scope of Counter-Proposal
- 9) Default After Counter-Proposal
- 10) Delegated
- 11) Constitutional
- 12) Referendum

Minpres (referred to as **Minority President** in the book)

Dummy variable that indicates whether a president does not have a majority of seats in the Lower House ($\text{minpres}=1$), or does have a majority ($\text{minpres}=0$). This information was gathered from the following sources:

- Database of Political Institutions, hosted by the World Bank.
- Political Database of the Americas, hosted by Georgetown University.
- Election Results Archive, hosted by Binghamton University.
- PARLINE Data on National Parliaments, hosted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Min_power (referred to as **Minority x Power** in the book)

This variable is an interaction of **A_and_T_tot-Pres** and **Minpres**.

TermYear

This variable is created by subtracting the administration start year from the current year (that is, from the variable "Year").

Presparty

This is a string variable that records the party of the president. Party names were obtained using the Debs-Helmke dataset (2010) as well as World Bank data. Missing information was filled in using Wikipedia. Note that where a president switched

parties or a party changed its name over time, the party for that year was used.

Ageofpresparty

The current year (that is, the variable “Year”) minus the year that the president’s party was founded, which is taken from the Debs-Helmke data. This gives the “current” age of the president’s party.

PROTESTS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Data taken from each **Latinobarometer Dataset** between 1995-2007 (Note that not all countries enter the survey in 1995, and that 1999 is not available for all countries.).

APRES=percent with a lot of confidence in president

BPRES=percent with some confidence in president

CPRES=percent with a little confidence in president

DPRES=percent with no confidence in president

APRESLAG=percent with a lot of confidence in president in previous year

BPRESLAG=percent with some confidence in president in previous year

CPRESLAG=percent with a little confidence in president in previous year

DPRESLAG=percent with no confidence in president in previous year

APRESPLUS=percent with a lot of confidence in president in next year

BPRESPLUS=percent with some confidence in president in next year

CPRESPLUS=percent with a little confidence in president in next year

DPRESPLUS=percent with no confidence in president in next year

All same then with ALEG, etc for confidence in legislature

All same with AJUD, etc. for confidence in judiciary.

Antigovdemonst_banks (referred to as **Protests** in the book)

Count variable, measuring the number of anti-government protests per country per year, taken from Banks (2005).

ECONOMIC VARIABLES

Gdp_wdi

GDP per capita (in million USD), taken from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators database.

Growth_wdi

GDP per capita growth rate, taken from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators database.

Inflation_wdi

Annual inflation rate, taken from the World Bank's World Development Indicators database.

Unemployment_wdi

Annual rate of unemployment, taken from the World Bank's World Development Indicators database.

ADDITIONAL VARIABLES CONSTRUCTED IN .DO FILES**Regime_instability** (referred to as **Regime Transitions** in the book)

Taken from Przeworski et al (2000) to measure number of regime changes for a country.

New_SM (referred to as **Presidential Power_SM** in the book)

Taken from Shughart and Mainwaring (1997) to measure constitutional presidential power.

Financial_neg05 (referred to as **Financial Legislation** in the book)

Taken from Negretto (2013) to measure presidential powers.

Shaping_neg05 (referred to as **Shaping Bills** in the book)

Taken from Negretto (2013) to measure presidential powers.

Reactive_neg05 (referred to as **Reactive Power** in the book)

Taken from Negretto (2013) to measure presidential powers.

Proactive_neg05 (referred to as **Proactive Power** in the book)

Taken from Negretto (2013) to measure presidential powers.

Riskpres (referred to as **Shield** in the book)

Alternative measurement of minority status for presidents, based on information from Pérez-Liñán (2007).

Negretto (referred to as **Minority Situation** in the book)

Taken from Negretto (2006) to measure ideological position in conjunction with minority status.

Scandal (referred to as **Scandals** in the book)

Taken from Hochstetler (2006) to measure the presence of scandals in a country.

Ppop (referred to as **Presidential Popularity** in the book)

Calculated from the public opinion variables listed above.

Histofattacks (referred to as **Predecessors** in the book)

The number of previous administrations that suffered a presidential crisis in a country.

Avgloss_dummy (referred to as **Past Seat Loss** in the book)

Dummy variable indicating whether the average seat loss for past administrations in that country is positive (1) or negative (0).

Ppop_change_lag (referred to as **Past Popularity_Gain** in the book)

Variable measuring the change in the previous president's popularity during his/her tenure.

Partyage (referred to as **Party Age** in the book)

Log of **ageofpresparty**.