

HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN 19 COUNTRIES, 1870–1939

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1. INTRODUCTION

There are easily available time-series cross-sectional data on the partisan composition and ideological orientation of governments in the post-Second World War period (see, for instance Swank 2006 and Armingeon et al. 2009), but there are no such datasets for the pre-Second World War period. The idea behind the dataset presented here is to use the political orientation of heads of government (chancellors, presidents, or prime ministers) as a proxy for the ideological orientation of governments in the period from 1870 to 1939.

The starting date, 1870, is chosen since the political systems of many of the countries in our sample underwent transformative changes around that time (for example, the Second Reform Act was implemented in Britain, Denmark lost much of its territory to Prussia, the French Third Republic was established, Germany and Italy were unified, the Tokugawa Shogunate ended in Japan, the Representation Reform was implemented in Sweden, and the Civil War ended in the United States).

If you find any errors in the data or if you have suggestions on how to categorize the ideological orientation of particular heads of government, or their parties, we would be very grateful if you let us know. Please contact Johannes Lindvall at johannes.lindvall@svet.lu.se.

Ben Ansell and Henry Thomson contributed the coding of Spain.

2. RECOMMENDED CITATIONS

Scholars who wish to use the data compiled here in their own work are kindly asked to include the following two references:

- (1) Ansell, Ben, and Johannes Lindvall. 2013. “The Political Origins of Primary Education Systems: Ideology, Institutions, and Inter-denominational Conflict in an Age of Nation-Building.” Accepted for publication in *American Political Science Review*.
- (2) Lindvall, Johannes, and Alvina Erman. 2013. “Heads of Government in 19 Countries, 1870–1939.” Version 1.0. Department of Political Science, Lund University.

3. COUNTRY COVERAGE

The dataset includes the following countries: Australia (only 1901–1939), Austria (only 1918–1938), Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland (only 1918–1939), France, Germany, Ireland (only 1919–1939), Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

4. VARIABLES AND CODING PROCEDURES

There are three variables in the dataset: `country` is the name of the country under observation (as listed in section 3), `year` is the year under observation (1870, 1871 ... 1939), and `ideology` is a categorical variable that identifies the ideological orientation of the incumbent head of government (when the head of government changed during a particular year, we base the categorization on the ideological orientation of the head of government that was in office for the largest part of that year). The six ideological categories are: (0) conservative or monarchist, (1) liberal, centrist, republican, social liberal, or agrarian, (2) social democratic or socialist, (3) Catholic or Christian democratic, (4) fascist, and (5) non-party affiliated (including caretaker governments).

The coding proceeded as follows. First, the incumbent heads of government and the parties they were affiliated with (or their ideological orientation) were identified using a range of different sources (see Table 1 for the most important ones). We then categorized the ideological orientation of each of these heads of government.

All parties represented in Swank (2006), which is itself based on Castles and Mair 1984, or predecessors of those parties, were categorized accordingly, translating the categorization used by Swank and Castles and Mair into the coding scheme used here.

In some cases (Australia, Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands), post-war liberal parties are coded in some datasets as “right.” Taking into consideration that the paper for which our data were compiled is concerned with education policies before the Second World War, we coded those parties as liberal parties rather than conservative. The same goes for the Liberal Party in New Zealand, which is coded as liberal in order to differentiate it from the more conservative Reform Party (notwithstanding the fact that the Liberal Party is a predecessor of the conservative United Party, which is the result of a merger between Reform Party and Liberal Party). The Sinn Féin in Ireland is coded as conservative since the early Sinn Féin can be considered a predecessor of Fianna Fáil, which is coded as conservative by Swank (2006).

In some nineteenth-century cases – notably France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia – political competition revolved around loose factions rather than organized political parties. In these cases, we relied on historical material – such as Lowell (1896a,b), McHale (1983), Bundestag (2006), Clausen and Gabrielsen (1941), Westrin (1917), and Högsta (2000) – in order to identify the linkages between earlier political factions and later political parties, or to define the ideological orientation of particular individuals. In the case of Imperial Germany, since the link between the Chancellor and the political factions in the *Reichstag* was so weak and the influence of

TABLE 1. Sources

Source	Countries and Periods
von Beyme (1970)	Belgium, Denmark (1901–1939), Finland, France (information on party affiliation/ideology for some years in nineteenth century from Wikipedia), Germany (1919–1939), Italy (1870–1916), the Netherlands, Norway (1884–1939), Sweden (1905–1939), and the United Kingdom
Lindner and Schultze (2005a,b)	Canada and the United States
rulers.org (accessed August 2011)	Australia, Austria, Ireland, Italy (1917–1939), Japan (1885–1939), New Zealand, and Norway (1870–1883)
Högsta (2000)	Sweden (1870–1904)
Linz, Jerez, and Corzo (2001)	Spain (1874–1939)
Clausen and Gabrielsen (1941)	Denmark (1870–1900) (information on party affiliation or ideology from Wikipedia)
Wikipedia (accessed in August 2011)	Japan (1870–1884)

political parties so limited, we coded all Chancellors as non-party affiliated. The same goes for Japan, due to the Emperor’s political standing after the Meiji restoration. In a few cases, the classification relies on personal communication with scholars familiar with the countries in question.

5. IDEOLOGICAL CATEGORIZATIONS BY COUNTRY

For information on the coding of parties by country, see table 2.

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TABLE 2. Coding of Parties and Ideological Tendencies

Country	Parties
Australia	Conservative or monarchist: Protectionist, Commonwealth Liberal, Nationalist, United Australia. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Free Trade. Social democratic or socialist: Labor.
Austria	Social democratic or socialist: Social Democratic Worker's Party. Catholic or Christian democratic: Catholic Social Party. Fascist or national socialist: Fatherland's Front.
Belgium	Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Liberal. Social democratic or socialist: Socialist. Catholic or Christian democratic: Catholic.
Canada	Conservative or monarchist: Conservative (also Liberal Conservative), Unionist Party, National Liberal and Conservative Party. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Liberal.
Denmark	Conservative or monarchist: Conservative. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Liberal, Social Liberal. Social democratic or socialist: Social Democratic.
Finland	Conservative or monarchist: Finnish, National Coalition. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: National Progressive, Agrarian League. Social democratic or socialist: Social Democratic.
France	Conservative or monarchist: Monarchist factions, some post-World-War-I republicans. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Radical Socialist Party, pre-World-War-I Republicans, Democratic Alliance. Social democratic or socialist: French Section of the Worker's International.
Germany	Social democratic or socialist: Social Democratic. Catholic or Christian democratic: Center. Fascist or national socialist: National Socialists.
Ireland	Conservative or monarchist: Sinn Féin, Cumann na nGaedhael, Fianna Fáil.
Italy	Conservative or monarchist: Historical Right (political faction). Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Historical Left (political faction). Fascist or national socialist: National Fascist Party.
Japan	All coded as non-party affiliated.
The Netherlands	Conservative or monarchist: Conservative, Anti-Revolutionary, Christian Historical Union. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Liberal. Catholic or Christian democratic: Roman-Catholic State Party.
New Zealand	Conservative or monarchist: Reform, United. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Liberal. Social democratic or socialist: Labour.
Norway	Conservative or monarchist: Conservative. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Liberal, Liberal Left, Agrarian. Social democratic or socialist: Labour.
Spain	Conservative or monarchist: Conservative. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Liberal. Social democratic or socialist: Socialists (Second Republic only).
Sweden	Conservative or monarchist: Protectionist Majority, Conservative, Junker. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Liberal Coalition, Liberal. Social democratic or socialist: Social Democratic.
United Kingdom	Conservative or monarchist: Conservative. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Liberal. Social democratic or socialist: Labour, National Labour.
United States	Conservative or monarchist: Republican. Liberal, republican, social liberal, or agrarian: Democratic.