PGAD Release Note

The Parties' Group Appeals Dataset (PGAD) 269 party-year data points on group appeals from parties' names, manifestos, and print campaign ads (a single party in each election is the unit of observation). In total, the data cover all 69 parties that gained seats in 24 Israeli and Dutch general elections between 1977 and 2015.

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Citations:

A lot of time and effort have gone into the construction of this dataset. As such, I would be more grateful if those using the data in parts, in full, or quoting this note could please cite the source as:

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Description: The dataset covers all parties that gained seats in the 24 general elections to the Israeli Knesset and the Dutch Tweede Kamer between 1977 and 2015. Israel and the Netherlands are long-standing, stable parliamentary democracies, with nearly identical proportional representation electoral systems using a single, national-wide constituency and complex societies composed of multiple minorities. Their multi-party systems are similar in structure, with an average effective number of parties of 5.79 and 4.83, respectively.[1] Such party system fractionalization provides fertile ground for capturing group appeal variation among the 269 party observations included in the PGAD. The commonalities between these countries are particularly important because the Dutch party system is similar to those of multiple Western European countries (Stückelberger, 2019) and is used in many comparative analyses. In contrast, Israel is only occasionally included in comparative party research. Therefore, the PGAD can serve as a base for future examinations of other Western European countries while expanding available data beyond this classic setting. The PGAD uses a single party in a given election as the observation unit, providing information on group appeals from manifestos, print campaign ads, party names.

Selection of parties: The nearly 40 years-period covered in this dataset is between 1977 and 2012/2015 in the Netherlands and Israel, respectively, each containing 12 general elections. The high levels of party system fragmentation in both countries discussed above mean that a large number of parties are available for analysis, and a choice needs to be made as to which parties to include. The most straightforward way to make this choice is to take all parties that have gained representation in their respective parliaments for each general election within the dataset's time frame. This is the approach I take, with some necessary adaptations explained below, focusing on parties in the parliamentary rather than the electoral arena. It is suitable for this study for which this dataset was constructed because while group appeals are made during election campaigns, I am interested in understanding group appeals themselves and how they influence other party behavior for which parliamentary parties are more relevant than electoral parties. But there are also other ways to decide which parties to include. One such option, taken up by Stückelberger (2019), focuses on what he terms "the most important party families," which include Social Democratic, Green, Centrist, Christian Democratic,

[1] Calculated using Laakso and Taagepera (1979)'s formula:

$$N = \frac{1}{\sum s_i^2}$$

Liberal, and Radical Right parties.[2] Given the concerns I expressed above about the use of party family categories and their suitability for a comparative analysis that includes Israel, I do not restrict my analysis to parties that belong to particular party families. Other approaches either limit the analysis to parties that pass certain thresholds of votes (e.g., Ware, 1996) or follow Sartori (1976) and include only the "relevant" parties determined by a combination of coalition potential and blackmail potential. Thus, "smaller parties are counted only if their seats in parliament are needed to form coalitions, or alternatively, if they have sufficient seats to block the formation of coalitions" (Wolinetz 2006, 54). I do not follow this approach because it would invariably lead to the exclusion of parties valuable to the analysis, such as the Arab parties in Israel, and the Calvinist religious party, SGP, in the Netherlands. The inclusion of these parties in the analysis is important. By their nature as sectarian parties that "provide a clear focus of identification for specific social groups…" (Kenig et al., 2005: 35), they may be expected to make group appeals that are different from non-sectarian, aggregative, parties that seek to represent various identities (Hazan and Rahat, 2010: 109).

Having decided to include all parties that gained seats in national-level parliamentary elections (the Knesset in Israel and Tweede Kamer in the Netherlands) I relied on a combination of information available from MARPOR (Volkens et al., 2018c) and official election returns for both Israel and the Netherlands. For both countries, some adjustments were made for two main reasons: First, the MARPOR data did not include all parties that gained seats in all the relevant general elections. In these cases, I filled the gaps by assigning new codes following MARPOR's coding template (Volkens et al., 2018b). Second, there was a need to change some parties' designated codes because I disagreed with MARPOR's decision to give a party a new code. To ensure that I apply my party-codes adjustments systematically, I used Barnea and Rahat (2010) to decide whether a party is new or not. The authors argue that a party is new if it meets two criteria: (1) a new label, different from the label used in the general election before the one in question; ***and*** (2) if more than half of the party's top list of candidates did not belong to a single "old" party. Evaluating all the parties based on these criteria led to some re-coding, particularly in Israel, providing increased data continuity. After closely comparing parties' candidates lists submitted to the Central Election Commission, the following changes were made to party codes provided in MARPOR's List of Political Parties (Volkens et al., 2018c): 72092 (Ra'am-Ta'al) was recoded as 72901 (RA'AM); 72323 (HaAvoda) and 72327 (Yisrael Ahat [One Israel]) were both recoded as 72320 (HaAvoda, the

[2] For more on which parties are included in that study of group appeals, see Stückelberger (2019: 84–86).

Israeli Labour Party). Two more parties' codes: 72536 (Poalei Agudat Yisrael) and 72904 (United Arab List [1977]) were taken from older versions of the MARPOR List of Political Parties (see: Budge et al., 2001) and included in the dataset and to allow for the largest possible coverage of parties. These are the parties included in the dataset:

Political parties included in analysis of group appeals, Israel 1977-2015

Party ID	Years	English Name	Hebrew Name	Name in Hebrew	Abbreviation	No of Elections	Notes
Israel 1977-2015							
72091	2015	The Joint List	HaReshima HaMeshutefet	הרשימה המשותפת	TJL	1	Alliance of HADASH (72225), Raam (72901), Taal (72902), Balad (72903)
72222	1984-1988	Progressive List for Peace	HaReshima HaMitkademet LeShalom	הרשימה המתקדמת לשלום	PLP	2	
72223	1977	Israel for Peace	Shalom Lemaan Yisrael	מחנה של"י	SHELLI	1	
72225	1977-2013	Democratic Front for Peace and Equality – The Israeli Communist Party and Jewish and Arab Publics	HaHazit HaDemocratit LeShalom VeLeShivion – HaMiflaga HaKomonistit HaYisraelit ve-Hugei Tzibur Yehudim ve-Aravim	החזית הדמוקרטית לשלום ולשיויון – המפלגה הקומוניסטית הישראלית וחוגי ציבור יהודים וערבים	HADASH	11	In 1996 HADASH ran with Balad (72903); in 2003 ran with Taal (72902)
72310	1977-1988	Citizens' Rights Movement	HaTenua LeZhuyot HaErach	התנועה לזכויות האזרח	RATZ	4	
72311	1988	United Workers' Party	Mifleget HaPoalim HaMeuchedet	מפלגת הפועלים המאוחדת	MAPAM	1	
72312	1999-2003	One Nation	Am Ehad	עם אחד	AM	2	
72320	1977-2013	Israeli Labor Party	Mifleget HaAvoda HaYisraelit	מפלגת העבודה	HaAvoda	11	1977-1984 the dominant partner in *Alignment*, coded in MARPOR as 72320; 1988 *Alignment* merged into the *Israeli Labor Party*, coded in MARPOR as 72323; 1999 contested election as *One Israel*, coded in MARPOR as 72327; 2003-2013 contested as Labor, coded in MARPOR as 72323. Both 72323 and 72327 recoded as 72320. 2003-2006 Labor ran with Meimad
72326	1992-2015	Meretz	Meretz	מרצ	Meretz	8	

72328	2015	The Zionist Camp	HaMahane HaZioni	המחנה הציוני	TZC	1	Alliance of Labor (72320) and HaTenua (72431)
72410	1977	Progressive and Independent Liberal Party	HaMiflaga HaLiberalit HaAtzmaeet	המפלגה הליברלית העצמאית	PIL	1	
72412	1977	Democratic Movement for Change	HaTenua HaDemokratit LeShinui	התנועה הדמוקרטית לשינוי	DASH	1	
72413	1981-1988 / 1999-2003	Change / Change – The Secular Party	Shinui / Shinui – HaTenua HaHilonit	שינוי / שינוי – התנועה החילונית	SHINUI	5	1992 Merged into Meretz (72326); 1999 returned as independent party
72414	1984	Together	Yahad	יחד	YAHAD	1	
72415	1999	Center Party	Mifleget HaMerkaz	מפלגת המרכז	CP	1	
72425	1984	Courage	Ometz	אומץ	OMETZ	1	
72427	1996	The Third Way	HaDerech HaShlishit	הדרך השלישית	TTW	1	
72428	1996-2003	Israel for Immigration	Yisrael BaAliya	ישראל בעליה	IFI	3	
72430	2006-2013	Forward	Kadima	קדימה	KADIMA	3	
72431	2013	The Movement	HaTenua	התנועה	TM	1	
72440	2013-2015	There is a Future	Yesh Atid	יש עתיד	TIAF	2	
72450	2015	All of Us	Kulanu	כולנו	AofU	1	
72530	1977-2006	National Religious Party	Miflaga Datit Leumit	מפלגה דתית לאומית (מפד"ל)	MAFDAL	9	2006 ran with HaIchud HaLeumi (72624)
72531	1977-1988	Union of Israel	Agudat Yisrael	אגודת ישראל	UofI	4	
72532	1981-1984	Movement for Israel's Tradition	Tenua LeMassoret Yisrael	תנועה למסורת ישראל	TAMI	2	
72533	1984-2015	Sephardi Torah Guardians	Shomrei Torah Sephardim	שומרי תורה ספרדים	SHAS	9	
72534	1984	Heritage	Morasha	מורשה	MORASHA	1	
72535	1992-2015	Torah Judaism	Yahadut HaTora	יהדות התורה	UTJ	8	
72536	1977	Union of Israel Workers	Poalei Agudat Yisrael	פועלי אגודת ישראל	UIW	1	
72612	1981-1988	Renaissance Movement	Tenuat HaTehiya	תנועת התחיה	HATEHIYA	3	1984 ran jointly with Tzomet (72613)
72613	1988-1992	Crossroads - non-aligned movement for Zionist Renewal	HaTenua LeHithadshut Zionit VeBilti Miflagtaim	צומת	TZOMET	2	1984 ran with Tehiya (72612); 1996 ran with Likud (72613)
72614	1988	Torah Flag	Degel HaTorah	דגל התורה	DH	1	
72615	1988-1996	Homeland	Moledet	מולדת	MOLEDET	3	
72622	1977-2015	The Consolidation	HaLikud	הליכוד	LIKUD	12	1996 ran with Gesher (72973) and Tzomet (72613); 2009 ran with Ahi; 2013 ran with Yisrael Beiteinu (72625)
72623	1977	Peace to Zion	Shlomzion	שלומציון	SHLOM	1	
72624	1999-2003 2009	The National Union	HaIchud HaLeumi	האיחוד הלאומי	TIL	3	2003 ran with Yisrael Beiteinu (72625); 2006 ran with Mafdal (72530)

72625	1999 2006-2009 2015	Israel is Our Home	Yisrael Beiteinu	ישראל ביתנו	YB	4	2003 ran with the National Union (72624); 2013 ran with Likud (72621)
72701	2009-2015	The Jewish Home	HaBait HaYehudi	הבית היהודי	TJH	3	merger of Mafdal (72530) and others not in CMP
72901	1988-2013	United Arab List	HaReshima HaAravit HaMeuchedet	הרשימה הערבית המאוחדת	RAAM	8	1988-1992 ran as Mada, The Arab Democratic Party; 1996 ran as Mada-Raam; 2006 ran with Taal (72902), coded by CMP as 72092.
72903	1999-2013	National Democratic Assembly	Brit Leumit Demokratit	ברית לאומית דמוקרטית	BALAD	5	1996 ran with HADASH (72225)
72904	1977	Joint Arab List	HaReshima HaAravit HaMeshutefet	הרשימה הערבית המשותפת	UAL	1	
72951	2006	Age	Age – Israel's Pensioners for the Knesset	גיל – גמלאי ישראל לכנסת	GIL	1	
72952	1977	Development and Peace	Pituach VeShalom	פיתוח ושלום	DP	1	
72991	1981	Movement for National Renewal	Tenua LeHithadshut Mamlachtit	תנועה להתחדשות ממלכתית	TELEM	1	

The Netherlands 1977-2012

22110	1989-2012	Green Left	GroenLinks	GL	8
22210	1977-1982	Communist Party of the Netherlands	Communistische Partij can Nederland	CPN	3
22220	1994-2012	Socialist Party	Socialistische Partij	SP	7
22230	1977-1986	Pacifist Socialist Party	Pacifistisch-Socialistische Partij	PSP	4
22310	1977-1986	Radical Political Party	Politieke Partij Radicalen	PPR	4
22320	1977-2012	Labour Party	Partij van de Arbeid	PvdA	12
22330	1977-2012	Democrats'66	Democraten'66	D66	12
22420	1977-2012	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	VVD	12
22430	2002	Livable Netherlands	Leefbaar Nederland	LN	1
22521	1977-2012	Christian Democratic Appeal	Christen-Democratisch Appèl	CDA	12
22524	1977	Democratic Socialists'70	Democratisch Socialisten'70	DS70	1
22526	2002-2012	Christian Union	ChristenUnie	CU	5
22527	1977-1998	Reformed Political League	Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond	GPV	7
22528	1981-1998	Reformatory Political Federation	Reformatorische Politieke Federatie	RPF	6
22710	1982	Center Party	Centrumpartij	CP	1
22711	1989-1994	Centre Democrats	Centrumdemocraten	CD	2
22720	2002-2003	List Pim Fortuyn	Lijst Pim Fortuyn	LPF	2
22722	2006-2012	Party of Freedom	Partij voor de Vrijheid	PVV	3
22810	1977	Farmers' Party	Boerenpartij	BP	1
22951	2006-2012	Party for the Animals	Partij voor de Dieren	PvdD	3
22952	1977-2012	Reformed Political Party	Staatskundig Gereformeerde Partij	SGP	12
22953	2012	50Plus	50Plus	50PLUS	1
22954	1994	General Elderly Alliance	Algemeen Ouderenverbond	AOV	1
22955	1994	Union 55+	Unie 55+	Unie55	1
22996	1982	Evangelical People's Party	Evangelische Volkspartij	EVP	1

Source: MARPOR (Volkens et al., 2018c); The Israel Democracy Institute (*Israel Democracy Institute*, 2020); the Knesset (*The Knesset*, 2019); The Electoral Council (KIESRAAD) (*KIESRAAD*, 2020).

Sources: "Election campaigns are a central feature in the life of political parties, and certainly since the onset of representative democracy, a party's raison d'être," says Farrell (2006: 122).

It is during these election campaigns that parties concentrate most on communicating to voters their representational claims. These communications are transmitted to voters in various ways, including manifestos, televised, print, and nowadays, online campaign ads, political rallies, public speeches, press releases, televised and print interviews, and more. While each of these communication channels is valuable for analyzing parties' appeals, I limit my analysis to election manifestos and print campaign ads. Since the study of group appeals is only in its early stages, no dataset is available yet to facilitate analysis, requiring significant efforts to code primary sources in Israel and the Netherlands to construct a new dataset. Thus, press releases are not included primarily because of the limited resources available for the study for which this dataset was constructed and despite their potential contribution to the analysis. Beyond these practical considerations, the desire to do a cross-national and longitudinal analysis meant leaving out online and TV ads and other "live" events such as rallies and campaign speeches.

Manifestos: Election manifestos are a natural source to use to examine parties' appeals to voters. Drafted by parties themselves, manifestos are authoritative statements of party preferences. Traditionally, scholars have looked at the content of manifestos for parties' policies, either focusing on the emphasis put on various policy areas or, at times, on specific policy promises to be implemented if the party won office (Vassallo and Wilcox, 2006; Volkens et al., 2009). But, beyond the highly informative nature of their content (in most cases), manifestos are also useful because first, they are a direct communication from parties, not filtered through interpretations or editing as news reportings (televised and/or print) inevitably are (see for example, Kriesi et al., 2012). Second, parties traditionally publish election manifestos before each general election in a single document representing the party as a whole. This document encompasses whatever compromises were reached between intra-party factions (Vassallo and Wilcox, 2006), making it the most comprehensive and representative of parties' appeals. This "comprehensive nature of party manifestos is particularly important, as it… provide[s] a very inclusive view of the diversity of [social] group categories" to which parties appeal *(Stückelberger, 2019: 88)*.

While there are numerous advantages to using manifestos, including the practical matter of data availability thanks to the prominent MARPOR dataset (Volkens et al., 2018a), a frequent objection is that they are not very useful because the voters do not read them (Thau, 2019). However, Heinisch and Werner (2019: 6) argue that "there is no systematic empirical evidence for this general assertion," citing several studies that speak to voters' exposure to manifestos (Fernandez-Vazquez, 2014; Helbling and Tresch, 2011; Merz, 2017). More importantly,

conceptualizing group appeals as representational claims stresses the *claim to represent*, making manifestos an excellent source to examine who it is exactly that parties themselves say they represent.

Most of the manifestos used in this dataset were obtained from the MARPOR repositories, except for instances where a manifesto was not available and therefore obtained from other sources, either during archival work in Israel and the Netherlands or from private collections.[3] Thus, the data for manifestos constitute the whole (available) data rather than a sample. That said, not all manifestos are created equal. While it is customary for parties to publish written manifestos before each general election, not all parties do so, with a notable case being the Israeli party LIKUD in 2013. Only partial manifestos are available in some cases, either because full-length documents were never published or because they were not preserved. For some parties, efforts to obtain a manifesto, full-length or partial, were unsuccessful, reducing the number of parties for which manifesto data are available. As the table below shows, 120 Dutch party manifestos are analyzed, of which 112 are full-length while eight are only partial manifestos. For two parties, CPN (Communist Party of the Netherlands) in 1977; and PSP (Pacifist Socialist Party) in 1982, no manifesto was available. For Israel, a total of 129 manifestos are analyzed, of which about half are full-length (69) and the rest are partial (60). In addition to the missing manifesto for LIKUD in 2013, 17 more were not available for the following parties: SHAS (1992, 2003, 2015); UTJ (2006, 2009, 2015), RAAM (1988-2006, 2013), BALAD (1999, 2006, 2009) and UAL (1977). While the 18 missing manifestos in Israel constitute a significantly larger share of the total (12.3 per cent) than in the Netherlands (1.6 per cent), the larger overall number of manifestos in Israel compensates for that. The large share of partial manifestos in Israel is the reality of the available material and beyond the control of the study for which this dataset was constructed. This served as one of the primary motivations for including print campaign ads as the second source of data.

[3] I thank Gideon Rahat for supporting this project and allowing me to sift through his private collection of Israeli parties' election manifestos.

Manifestos included in analysis for the Netherlands and Israel by election year

	Netherlands				Israel			
Date	Full	Partial	Missing	*total*	Full	Partial	Missing	*total*
1977	9	1	1	11	3	9	1	13
1981	10			10	5	5		10
1982	10	1	1	12				
1984					8	6		14
1986	9			9				
1988					8	6	1	15
1989	9			9				
1992					4	4	2	10
1994	11	1		12				
1996					7	3	1	11
1998	9			9				
1999					6	7	2	15
2002	10			10				
2003	4	5		9	5	7	1	13
2006	10			10	6	3	3	12
2009					6	4	2	12
2010	10			10				
2012	11			11				
2013					7	2	3	12
2015					4	4	2	10
Total	112	8	2	***122***	69	60	18	***147***

Print campaign advertisements: Despite the advantages of using manifestos and irrespective of whether voters indeed read them, it is common to think that voters are more likely to encounter campaign ads than the manifestos themselves. As manifestos serve as the thematic basis for parties' other campaign material (Klingemann et al., 1994), incorporating this second source of data will provide a more robust analysis of group appeals, thus increasing our understanding of them. One obvious advantage of using print over broadcasted ads is the ability to analyze group appeals across an extended period. Second, like manifestos, print ads are produced by the parties themselves, constituting a direct, unfiltered communication to the voters. Including many ad types (posters, flyers, pamphlets, leaflets, stickers, and ads placed in newspapers) facilitates a broader overview of parties' group appeals. Thus, while posters and stickers might primarily feature images and party slogans (though these too, if the party so chooses, may contain a group appeal), ads published in newspapers, leaflets, pamphlets, and flyers will have well-crafted and concise messages.

Ads included in the analysis for the Netherlands and Israel

	Netherlands	**Israel**
Total number of ads	750	2022
Number of parties	121	145
Mean per party	6.2	13.95
Min per party	1	1
Max per party	11	38
Mean per election	62.5	168.5

In total, 2772 ads are analyzed in this dataset, 750 from Dutch parties and 2022 from Israeli parties. The data cover all parties across the 12 general elections except for the Dutch CD (Centre Democrats) in 1989, and the Israeli DP (Development and Peace) and UAL (United Arab Party) in 1977. Unlike manifestos, these ads constitute a sample of the materials. The disparity in the overall number of ads between the two countries results from material availability in the respective archives from which ads were obtained, and limited resources to employ a research assistant to collect and code Dutch materials. I did not experience a similar problem of limited resources when collecting materials in Israel because I am a native Hebrew speaker. The help of a research assistant was needed only for ads in Arabic and Amharic (more on this later). A complete description of the ads analyzed in this dataset appear below. The overall collection of print campaign material from Israel is very big, and a selection needed to be made in order to deal with the workload. Thus, with an eye on future applications of these data, of all the ads that use Hebrew, up to ten ads were randomly selected for coding so that the data contain both ads that use Hebrew only and ads that use Hebrew and other languages as well. In addition, all ads that use only languages other than Hebrew were also coded, increasing the overall number of coded ads. In the Netherlands up to ten ads were collected and coded due to limited resources

Number of print campaign ads included in analysis, Israel 1977-2015

Election		1977	1981	1984	1988	1992	1996	1999	2003	2006	2009	2013	2015	total
Parties														
72091	JL												21	21
72222	PLP			11	23									34
72223	SHELLI	13												13
72225	HADASH	10	18	10	20	18	8	26	13	15	9	9		156
72310	RATZ	1	11	12	24									48
72311	MAPAM				24									24
72312	AM							15	14					29
72320	HaAvoda	10	31	33	37	32	12	28	11	13	14	13		234
72326	Meretz					28	38	24	27	16	12	13	14	172
72328	TZC												15	15
72410	PIL	7												7
72412	DASH	10												10
72413	SHINUI		10	16	11			10	12					59
72414	YAHAD			19										19
72415	CP							20						20
72425	OMETZ			10										10
72427	TTW						17							17
72428	IFI						11	14	16					41
72430	KADIMA									23	14	2		39
72431	TM											11		11
72440	TIAF											10	22	32
72450	AofU												15	15
72530	MAFDAL	10	10	13	15	17	19	11	13	14				122
72531	UofI	10	12	22	12									56
72532	TAMI		10	10										20
72533	SHAS			10	10	13	6	8	10	11	10	10	10	98
72534	MORASHA			11										11
72535	UTJ					17	13	15	13	10	12	10	11	101
72536	UIW	9												9
72612	HATEHIYA		14	11	11									36
72613	TZOMET				11	10								21
72614	DH				14									14
72615	MOLEDET				11	12	14							37

72622	LIKUD	10	20	18	29	21	20	15	10	16	11	17	13	200
72623	SHLOM	4												4
72624	TIL							17	19		14			50
72625	YB							23		25	15		15	78
72701	TJH										11	12	12	35
72901	RAAM				4	6	6	12	2	2	3	3		38
72902	Taal													0
72903	BALAD							17	8	16	3	5		49
72951	GIL									5				5
72990	DP	.												0
72991	TELEM		12											12
72993	UAL	.												0
	total	94	148	206	256	174	164	255	168	166	128	115	148	2022

Note: primary materials collected from the archives of the National Library in Jerusalem, Israel.

Number of print campaign ads included in analysis, the Netherlands 1977-2012

Election		**1977**	**1981**	**1982**	**1986**	**1989**	**1994**	**1998**	**2002**	**2003**	**2006**	**2010**	**2012**	***Total***
Parties														
22110	GL					10	10	9	10	3	11	10	8	71
22210	CPN	6	10	3										19
22220	SP						10	8	5	8	5	10	8	54
22230	PSP	4	10	9	10									33
22310	PPR	9	10	3	10									32
22320	PvdA	10	10	7	10	5	4	9	10	9	10	10	10	104
22330	D66	7	5	4	6	3	3	10	6	5	10	10	10	79
22420	VVD	6	6	3	8	5	6	3	5	3	10	10	10	75
22430	LN								9					9
22521	CDA	5	10	5	8	6	5	9	9	5	10	9	7	88
22524	DS70	8							3	3	4	2		20
22526	CU												3	3
22527	GPV	4	5	1	6	4	5	10						35
22528	RPF		4	2	2	3	5	9						25
22710	CP			4										4
22711	CD					-	2							2
22720	LPF								2	4				6

22722	PVV										1	2	2	5
22951	PvdD										4	4	3	11
22952	SGP	2	4	2	3	4	5	2	7	3	10	7	10	59
22953	50PLUS												3	3
22954	AOV						4							4
22955	Unie55						3							3
22990	EVP			5										5
22991	BP	2												2
	Total	63	74	48	63	40	62	69	66	43	75	74	74	751

Note: primary materials collected from The Documentation Center for Dutch Political Parties (DNPP), University of Groningen (documentatiecentrum nederlandse politieke partijen; rijksuniversiteit groningen).

Total number of ads by language in each country

Israel		**The Netherlands**	
Language	**Number of Ads**	**Language**	**Number of Ads**
Hebrew	1201	Dutch	747
and English	31	and Arabic	1
and Arabic	42	and Surinam	1
and French	4	and Turkish	1
and Spanish	1		
and Russian	101		
and Amharic	14		
English	64		
Arabic	356		
French	3		
Spanish	13		
Russian	167		
Yiddish	1		
Amharic	22		
Romanian	1		
Hungarian	1		

Party name: Manifestos and print campaign ads are excellent sources for information on parties' explicit support statements for particular social groups. Still, I also include parties' names in the analysis, as they are the easiest and most direct way for parties to appeals to voters. It is ubiquitous in parties' communications and is the only form of group-based appeal that follows voters to the voting booth as it appears on the ballot paper. The inclusion of parties' names is inspired by Chandra's work on ethnic parties (2004, 2011). As she argues: "the name of a party can convey information about whether it is associated with… some group. If it includes some ethnic group in its name, we can read this as one way of declaring explicitly that it champions the interests of an ethnic category…" (Chandra, 2011: 159). While Chandra focuses solely on the behavior of this specific type of party, using a party's name to appeal to groups is one of several forms of group-based appeals that should not a priori be restricted by party type. It is also reasonable to claim that other non-ethnic parties might use their names to appeal to a social group. Of the 25 Dutch parties, 11 (44 per cent) mention a social group in their name while 14 (56 per cent) do not. In Israel, 17 parties, or 34.7 per cent, mention a social group in their names while 32, or 65.3 per cent do not. Three parties in Israel, HaAvoda (Labor), Am Ehad (One Nation), and SHINUI (Change), are particularly interesting cases. All three changed their official, full, names at one point such that they appear in the data as both having included a group in their name (1977-1981, 1992-2013; 1999; 2003, respectively) and having not included a group in their name (1984-1988; 2003; 1981-1988, respectively). Two more Israeli parties, TAMI (Movement for Israel's Tradition) and IFI (Israel for Immigration), allude to social groups in their names. However, since these mentions are not explicit, they were not considered counted as such.

Parties that mention a social group in their name

	Israel			**Netherlands**	
Abbreviation	**English Name**	**Hebrew Name**	**Abbreviation**	**English Name**	**Dutch Name**
HADASH	Democratic Front for Peace and Equality – The Israeli Communist Party and Jewish and Arab Publics	החזית הדמוקרטית לשלום ולשיוויון – המפלגה הקומוניסטית וחוגי ציבור הישראלית יהודים וערבים	PvdA	Labour Party	Partij van de Arbeid
MAPAM	United Workers' Party	מפלגת הפועלים המאוחדת	CDA	Christian Democratic Appeal	Christen-Democratisch Appèl
AM[a]	One Nation	עם אחד	CU	Christian Union	ChristenUnie
HaAvoda[b]	Israeli Labor Party	מפלגת העבודה	GPV	Reformed Political League	Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond
SHINUI[c]	Change	שינוי	RPF	Reformatory Political Federation	Reformatorische Politieke Federatie

MAFDAL	National Religious Party	מפלגה דתית לאומית (מפד"ל))	SGP	Reformed Political 12 Party	Staatskundig Gereformeerde Partij
UofI	Union of Israel	אגודת ישראל	50PLUS	50Plus	50Plus
SHAS	Sephardi Torah Guardians	שומרי תורה ספרדים	AOV	General Elderly Alliance	Algemeen Ouderenverbond
UTJ	Torah Judaism	יהדות התורה	Unie55	Union 55+	Unie 55+
UIW	Union of Israel Workers	פועלי אגודת ישראל	EVP	Evangelical People's Party	Evangelische Volkspartij
DH	Torah Flag	דגל התורה	BP	Farmers' Party	Boerenpartij
TJH	The Jewish Home	הבית היהודי			
RAAM	United Arab List	הרשימה הערבית המאוחדת			
GIL	Age – Israel's Pensioners for the Knesset	גיל – גמלאי ישראל לכנסת			
UAL	Joint Arab List	הרשימה הערבית המשותפת			

[a] Am Ehad changed its name between 1999 and 2003 so that in 2003 its full name no longer included "the workers' and pensioners' party".
[b] HaAvoda (Labor), which ran as *Alignment* between 1977-1988, did not include a reference to labor in its full name in 1984-1988, but did include one in all other elections.
[c] SHINUI changed its name between the 1981-1988 to 1999-2003 period so that in the latter period its full was SHINUI – the secular movement.

Source: MARPOR (Volkens et al., 2018c); The Electoral Council (KIESRAAD) (*KIESRAAD*, 2020); The Israel Democracy Institute (*Israel Democracy Institute*, 2020); and the Knesset (*The Knesset*, 2019).

Content analysis and Coding process

To construct the dataset, manifestos and print campaign ads were hand-coded for textual information. In campaign ads, especially posters, not all possible information is extracted from the material, as images or figures are not coded. The primary reason for excluding these from the coding is that I focus solely on group appeals as *explicit statements* rather than other possible forms of group-based appeals such as the use of images or symbols (Dolinsky, 2021). I developed the content analysis to produce a comprehensive yet straightforward coding scheme that would allow for the processing of many documents. As with other aspects of my approach to group appeals, the content analysis is inspired by Chandra's (2011) work on ethnic parties. It is centered on simplified *thematic* content analysis (Pennings et al., 2006) that measures the incidences of group mention. This approach contrasts with the *relational*, core sentence approach, taken by both Thau (2018, 2019) and Stückelberger (2019), which measures the relationship between concepts within the text.

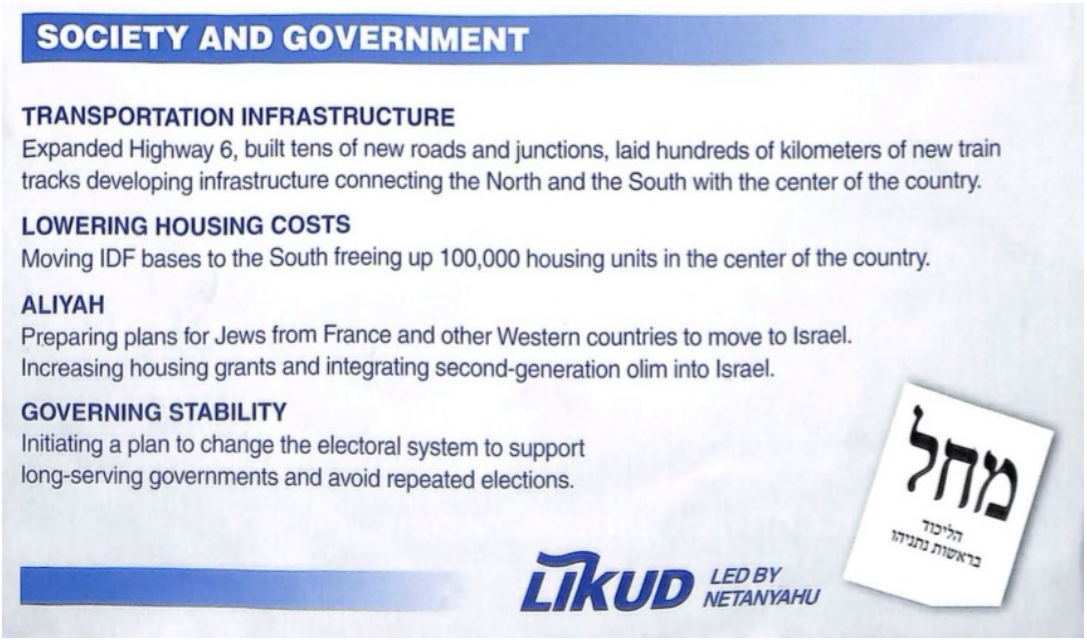
Unitizing: The central question guiding the coding process was which demographic groups are mentioned in parties' election materials? Each textual part of the manifesto body was examined and coded, excluding chapter and section headings, statistics, table of content, and introductory remarks.

Each campaign ad was coded in its entirety, including all textual parts except for statistical information (charts, tables, etc.) and the images and symbols featured in the ads. Rather than use a core sentence or a quasi-sentence approach, both manifestos and each campaign ad were read as a single unit, coding for the three following instances of explicitly stated support of a social group:

(1) Explicit supportive mentions of social group(s)

Example 1: An excerpt from LIKUD's partial 2015 manifesto:

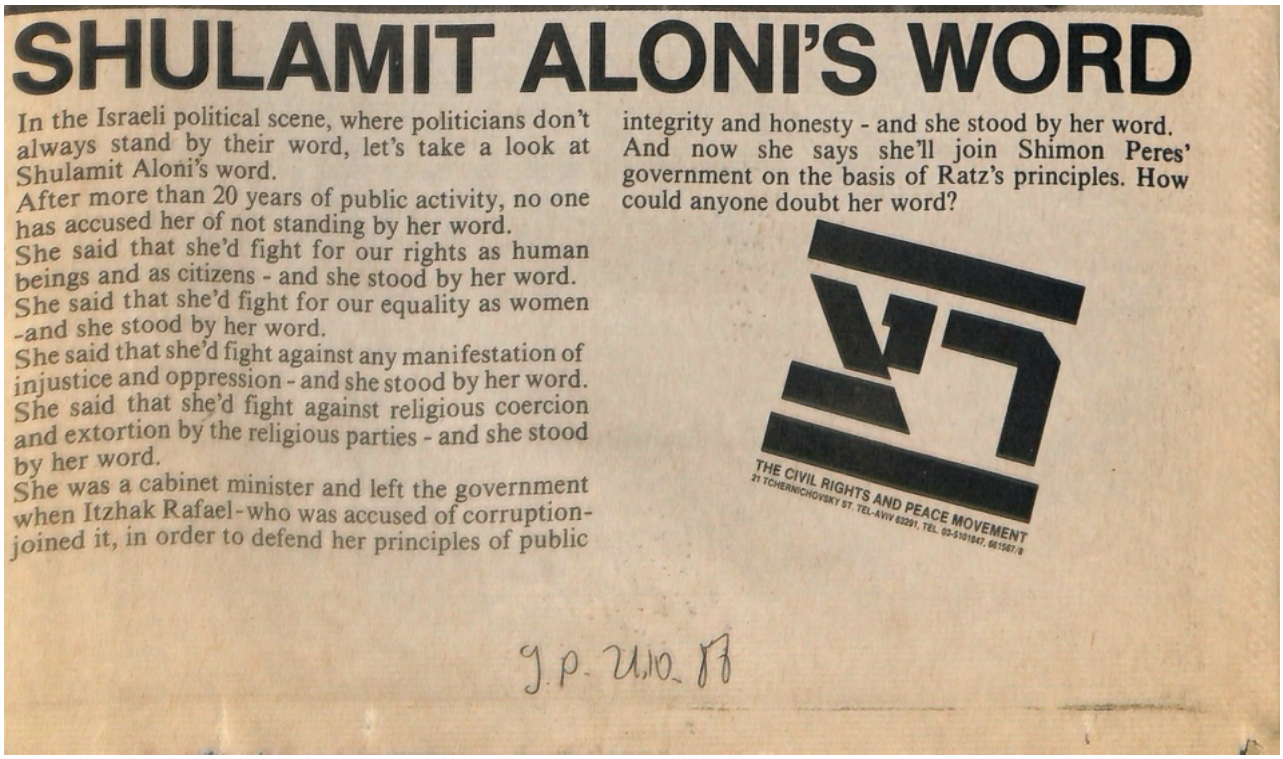
Source: primary materials collected from the National Library archives in Jerusalem, Israel.



In *Example 1*, supportive mentions of two social groups were coded: Jews from France and oilm (immigrants).

Example 2: a newspaper ad by RATZ (Citizens' Rights Movement), 1988:

Source: primary materials collected from the National Library archives in Jerusalem, Israel.



SHULAMIT ALONI'S WORD

In the Israeli political scene, where politicians don't always stand by their word, let's take a look at Shulamit Aloni's word.
After more than 20 years of public activity, no one has accused her of not standing by her word.
She said that she'd fight for our rights as human beings and as citizens - and she stood by her word.
She said that she'd fight for our equality as women -and she stood by her word.
She said that she'd fight against any manifestation of injustice and oppression - and she stood by her word.
She said that she'd fight against religious coercion and extortion by the religious parties - and she stood by her word.
She was a cabinet minister and left the government when Itzhak Rafael-who was accused of corruption-joined it, in order to defend her principles of public integrity and honesty - and she stood by her word.
And now she says she'll join Shimon Peres' government on the basis of Ratz's principles. How could anyone doubt her word?

THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND PEACE MOVEMENT
21 TCHERNICHOVSKY ST. TEL-AVIV 62291, TEL. 03-5101847, 05-1587/8

J.P. 21.10.88

In *Example 2*, a supportive mention of women was coded: "She said that she'd fight for our equality as ***women***-and she stood by her word."

The original ad, see here below, also featured a photograph of Shulamit Aloni. It was cut here to save space and because the image itself was not coded

SHULAMIT ALONI'S WORD

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She was a cabinet minister and left the government when Itzhak Rafael-who was accused of corruption-joined it, in order to defend her principles of public integrity and honesty - and she stood by her word.
And now she says she'll join Shimon Peres' government on the basis of Ratz's principles. How could anyone doubt her word?

THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND PEACE MOVEMENT

J.P. 21.10.88

(2) Explicitly stated all-encompassing supportive mentions of social group(s), e.g., "we are the party of the workers"; "we are an immigrants' party."

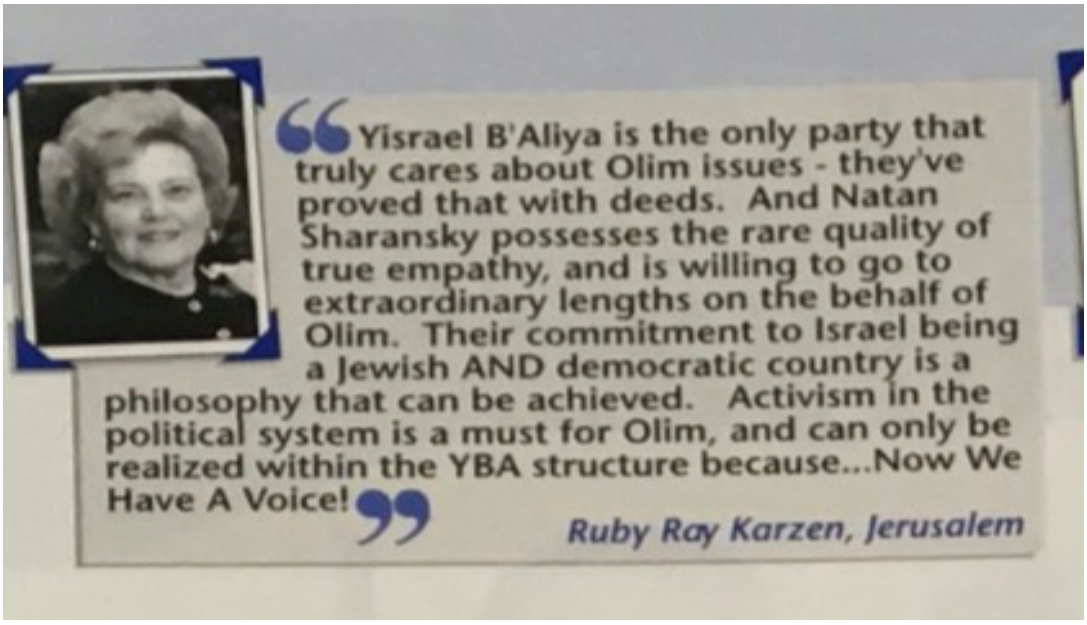
***Example 3**:* a newspaper ad by HADASH (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality – The Israeli Communist Party and Jewish and Arab Publics), 1984:

Source: primary materials collected from the National Library archives in Jerusalem, Israel.

In *Example 3*, "HADASH The only Jewish-Arab list that had stood the test [;] The bridge to peace with the Arab Palestinian people" was coded as an all-encompassing supportive statement for two social groups: **Jews** and **Arabs**. The mention of the group "Arab Palestinian people" was not coded because they are not Israeli citizens.

(3) Explicitly mentioned social group(s) as those whose interests are important or more important than any other group

Example 4*:* an excerpt from a pamphlet by IFI (Israel for Immigrants), 2003:



Source: primary materials collected from the National Library archives in Jerusalem, Israel.

In *Example 4*, "Yisrael B'Aliya is the only party that truly cares about Olim issues – they've proved that with deeds. And Natan Sharansky possesses the rare quality of true empathy and is willing to go to extraordinary lengths on the behalf of Olim" was the explicit mention of olim (immigrants) as those whose interests are important or more important than any other group. The entire pamphlet is seen here:

"Yisrael B'Aliya is the only party that truly cares about Olim issues - they've proved that with deeds. And Natan Sharansky possesses the rare quality of true empathy, and is willing to go to extraordinary lengths on the behalf of Olim. Their commitment to Israel being a Jewish AND democratic country is a philosophy that can be achieved. Activism in the political system is a must for Olim, and can only be realized within the YBA structure because...Now We Have A Voice!" Ruby Ray Karzen, Jerusalem

"Zionism doesn't end with the act of making aliya. It is a journey that requires leadership, activism and a willingness to stand up to naysayers of every quarter, with a better plan towards a brighter future for our children. In Yisrael B'Aliya, I have finally found a party that shares this vision and has a proven track record in the Knesset to show for it. That is why I am lending my voice to YBA." Aaron Weil, Ra'anana

"As a religious Zionist, I am deeply concerned about the poor religious-secular relations here. Natan Sharansky is the rare leader who has earned the respect and admiration of both religious and secular Israelis, and can bring unity to the Jewish people. That's why I will vote for Yisrael B'Aliya." Russell I. Rothstein, Rehovot

"In the 1980's I demonstrated for Sharansky's release. Natan and Yuli are true heroes of our nation, but more than that, they are two of the only leaders in Israel with integrity - who go to prison before entering the Knesset, not after! They, and the other leaders of Yisrael B'Aliya, are the only people in the Knesset whom I can truly trust. And they have an Anglo in a realistic place on the list." Shmuel Blitz, Hashmonaim

Why vote for Yisrael B'Aliya instead of a "larger" party?

The next Prime Minister of Israel will be Ariel Sharon. This is almost certain. And we believe this is good for Israel. But whether the Likud receives 28 or 36 or 40 seats is irrelevant to its position as the dominant party in the next Knesset. The Likud does not need your vote; your ballot will elect the #29, #37 or #41 on the Likud list - most probably someone you've never heard of, who will never represent you or be accountable to you in the Knesset.

Your vote for Yisrael B'Aliya will ensure that US-raised Eli Kazhdan, the number 5 candidate on our slate, will be your voice in the Knesset, and that YBA will have a much greater impact - on our ability to pursue our agenda (your agenda), and on our influence in the government we sit in.

Yet the issues are even more important than the numbers. Yisrael B'Aliya is a party of the National Camp, and in fact has been more outspoken on certain issues of security than many of those, including the Likud, who claim to be "strong on security." Who has consistently demanded not giving a single shekel or dime to the Palestinian Terrorist Authority, and not even talking with Dictator Arafat since he started this war? **Sharansky**. Who has invested more in construction in existing towns in Yesha (NIS 140 million in the last year alone) than ANY housing minister in the past ten years? **Sharansky**.

Who called for "rolling back Oslo" after the horrific attack in Hebron by re-taking all of Hebron with civilian as well as military control, to send a clear message to the Palestinian people that all the concessions they've won until now through negotiation, subterfuge and violence are reversible? Not Mofaz. Not Livnat. Not Bibi. Not even Elon or Eitam. **Sharansky**. And yet not because he's 'right-wing'. Because he's stood up to dictators before, and knows a thing or two about standing your ground when you're in the Right.

If you feel strongly that certain issues should be government policy and/or law—such as amending the tax law, or electoral reform, or pursuing pragmatic solutions to our internal religious and cultural clashes—then note how other parties have behaved and voted in the past few years, and compare. Other parties are not concerned with these issues.

Yisrael B'Aliya worked hard to amend the tax law in-of immigrants' pensions and other passive income; Yisrael B'Aliya advocates direct elections of the Knesset and the Prime Minister, and raising the electoral threshold; Yisrael B'Aliya works to find halachically-acceptable but democratic alternatives to the crises tearing the fabric of our country apart. And if these issues pale in comparison to the ethical concerns raised recently, note that one party stands out from the rest in its record of integrity: Yisrael B'Aliya.

Voting to strengthen a Zionist leader like Natan Sharansky (with vision, and integrity, and a commitment to a Jewish AND democratic State of Israel) and a party which believes in real accountability of elected leaders to their constituency, will bring these and other issues to the Cabinet table with greater chance of success than adding one more seat to a "larger" party.

But isn't Yisrael B'Aliya a one-issue party?

Quite the opposite in fact. As a party with thousands of Russian and English-speaking Israelis, as well as no small number of native-born Israelis, Yisrael B'Aliya has a platform that is nearly unequaled in its depth and breadth. Yisrael B'Aliya proposes and implements - practical solutions to issues ranging from national concerns of security, education, electoral reform and religion and state, to more narrow subjects like tax reform and immigrant rights.

Because of its nation-wide network of active local chapters, new issues are constantly being brought up to the leaders of the party from grassroot constituents in what is perhaps the best example of what true representative democracy could one day provide for all Israelis.

Due to the uniquely rich history of democratic involvement and political activism in the former countries of Israel's English-speaking community, the Anglos play a leading role not only in helping to set Yisrael B'Aliya's national agenda, but in providing a crucial role model for other party members in just how many issues a small party can actually address within the realm of participatory democracy.

What does Yisrael B'Aliya stand for?

Highlights of the Yisrael B'Aliya Platform:

1. **Israel as a Magnet**: As the national home of the Jewish people, Israel must again become a magnet attracting Jews from free countries while continuing to provide refuge for Jews in distress.
2. **Religion and State**: Our **democratic** and **Jewish** values are both vital for our survival; **pragmatic solutions** must be based on the flexibility inherent in Jewish tradition and on a respect for individual rights.
3. **Strategic Security**: The government of Israel must **safeguard the security** of its citizens; the PA's "autonomy for **terror**" must be **eradicated**; any future peace process must link political and economic concessions to the development of an Arab society that upholds **human rights**, and encourages **democratization** and transparency, and only when Palestinian society is open and democratic can we then enter into negotiations. **Jerusalem** is, and will remain, the undivided capital of Israel and the Jewish people; natural growth of Israeli communities throughout Israel must be supported, in accordance with Israeli and international law. Israel's *hasbara* must be centralized and professionalized.
4. **Economics**: A free economy, led by privatization of State-owned enterprises and the removal of regressive taxes like VAT that afflict the weak in society, must be our goal. The poverty line for social benefits should be raised, and social gaps in society closed. Immigrants must not be taxed on their passive incomes and pensions held abroad and earned before their arrival.
5. **Electoral Reform**: Government must operate on the principles of **direct representation, transparency** and **accountability**. The Prime Minister and at least 50% of the Knesset must be **elected directly**; the electoral threshold for the Knesset must be raised from 1.5% to 5%. Western norms of behavior for public figures must be enforced.
6. **Education**: Universal access to high-quality education, greater investment in teachers and schools, and a national guideline for teaching Judaism and civics is needed, to insure our ability to compete in world markets as well as to raise an informed citizenry. A core curriculum of Jewish studies should be taught in all Jewish schools - in Israel and the Diaspora.
7. **Israel and the Diaspora**: The State of Israel is the center of communal life for the Jewish people; Israel should be involved in strengthening Jewish communities worldwide, while the Diaspora should be a true **partner** with Israeli Jewry in decisions affecting the Jewish identity of the State.
8. **Sundays Off**: Introducing Sunday as a non-working day will immeasurably enhance the quality of life of Israel's citizens, as well as serve to resolve many of the points of strife between the observant and the secular sectors of Israeli society, and will improve productivity.

What has Yisrael B'Aliya done for me?

Yisrael B'Aliya has accomplished a great deal in only six years of serving in the Knesset and in three governments. Among the achievements directly attributable to YBA ministers and MKs are:

- Influencing the US administration, under President George W. Bush, to adopt Natan Sharansky's call for reform and **democratization** of the **Palestinian Authority**.
- Instigating and leading Israel's largest-ever public **demonstration**, for **Jerusalem** as our eternal capital, in 2001.
- Successfully leading the effort to **amend the new tax reform law**, to remove taxes on overseas pensions and passive income.
- Reinstating child **benefits for immigrant reservists** who served less than a full initial draft period.
- Instituting "Tochnit Sharansky" **benefits** for **apartment-purchasers**, especially in Jerusalem.
- Expanding the "**absorption basket**" to provide services and support for Olim from **Western** countries.
- Initiating the creation of the "**Ne'eman Commission**," streamlining conversion procedure for new olim and not allowing the 'Who's a Jew' argument to create a fatal schism between the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform.
- Instigating and passing legislation requiring **pricing information** displayed in stores.
- More **investment in construction** in **Judea and Samaria** for natural growth than any other housing minister in a decade—without incurring protest from the US.
- Initiating **Jewish identity courses** in the Soviet Union for **prospective immigrants**—and forcefully demanding that the **Jewish agency change its policy** of "searching out" non-Jewish immigrants and encouraging their Aliya.
- **Empowering** a million-strong community of Olim by giving them a VOICE in the Knesset and on the municipal council level—with 35 deputy mayors and over 100 council members in 2002.

Now We Have A Voice www.aliya.org.il

It is important to emphasize that these three different instances— explicit supportive mentions of social group(s); explicitly stated all-encompassing supportive mentions of social group(s); and explicitly mentioning a social group(s) interest as important or more important than others'—were coded in a mutually exclusive way. The different social groups that appeared in each document (manifestos or campaign ads) were only coded as one of the three possible instances of explicit support statements. Thus, the social group Olim (Immigrants) mentioned in IFI's 2003 advertisement discussed above and coded as a mention of a social group whose interests are important or more important than any other group was not also coded as either explicit supportive mention or an all-encompassing supportive mention. Also, all mentions of a given group were only coded once per document (if they appear) rather than with the frequency of times it appears in the text. While this undoubtedly diminishes the breadth of information available for analysis, the scope of the study for which this dataset was constructed did not permit a sentence-by-sentence approach to coding, resulting in each manifesto and each ad being treated as a single unit of text. To further ensure no imbalance of treatment between manifestos and ads, the coding of ads was done in two stages: first, each ad was coded separately. Second, these individual ads' codes were assembled to produce a coding for that party's overall print campaign ads in each election.

Groups: To decide which social groups to code for, I made a preliminary list based on commonly used demographic characteristics (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender) and amended it as the coding progressed by adding social group categories as they appear in the materials. The result is a list based on what parties actually said in their materials. Composing the list of groups based these elements also means that the size of groups in the population is not considered, despite the potential information such data might provide, for three main justifications. First, I follow previous studies in the guidance for choice of groups which does not include their size in the population (see both Thau (2019) and Stückelberger (2019)). Second, the size of the groups is not relevant for my core argument—I do not stipulate that parties appeal to groups based on their size in the population. Finally, even if such information were relevant either for group selection in the data collection phase or for the analysis of appeals, it would be immensely difficult to obtain accurate estimates for all the included groups. Such challenges would significantly limit the scope of available data, adversely affecting the study for which this dataset was constructed.

In total, 37 social group categories are included in the analysis, which are then divided into five larger categories explained below after a few necessary clarifications. First, not all of the 37 social group categories are relevant for both countries. For example, Dutch parties do not reference the different denominations of Judaism, nor do Israeli parties reference the various denominations of Christianity. Second, several of the social group categories are, in fact, collapsed categories of terms

with the same meaning. For example, the category *Unemployed* includes "unemployed," "those without a job," and "those not employed." Other examples of similarly collapsed categories are *Pensioners*, *LGBTQ*, and *Students*, as was appropriate in each country. Religious, ethnic, and immigrant groups might have also been collapsed from the start but were not. Their would-be components were deemed necessary as separate categories and appear so in parties' materials. Religious groups were kept divided by denomination (except for Muslims since such a separation did not appear in the material). This includes an overall category for Christians[4] as well as a division by denominations[5] and an overall category for Jews as a Religious Group[6] with a sub-division of denomination (Modern Religious Jews – Kippa Sruga; Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews) and ethnic origin within the Ultra-Orthodox Religious Community into Ashkenazim and Sephardim.[7] The case of Ashkenazi Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews is the only group category for which I assume, rather than read directly from the text, that the party is appealing to it. I take this liberty because the Ultra-Orthodox religious communities in Israel are strongly separated in almost all aspects of life, with parties that are intrinsically attached to Rabbinical establishments, which themselves are distinguished by these ethnic divides (Hazan, 1999).

Similarly, ethnic groups were also kept separate to accommodate both party references and country-specific differences. The category for Jews was further divided into ethnic (Israel) and religious groups (Netherlands). The category of "Religious Jews" was not a substitute for "Jews as a religious group" because it is of a specific denomination of religious Jews rather than a general category. To account for immigration origin, a distinction was made between *Immigrants* in general (a group category that appears in both countries and is easily generalizable) and immigrant groups such as, for example, *Russians, Religious, Sephardic,* and *Turkish*. This separation is particularly important for the analysis of Israeli parties because the country has experienced large waves of immigration that created specific social group categories. To maintain consistency of coding, the same approach was applied to Dutch parties' appeals. Note also that since the category of "Immigrants in general" is included under the umbrella category of "Identity politics," following Stückelberger (2019), the other immigrant categories were also placed under "Identity politics" despite containing an "ethnic" element like "Ethiopian Immigrants" and "Russian Immigrants." This was done also following the content of parties' materials with appeals made to such groups emphasizing their immigrant status, as opposed

[4] Primarily used in Israel where a denominational distinction does not appear in any of the party materials.
[5] Particularly relevant in the Netherlands where parties make appeals to different Christian denominations.
[6] Used in the Netherlands.
[7] Particularly relevant in Israel.

to appeals to “Ethiopians” or “Russians” or “Arabs”, which constitute a clearer appeal to Ethnic groups.

Third, this list of groups differs from both Thau’s (2019) and Stückelberger’s (2019). The former focuses on the 20 most frequently targeted group categories (reduced from an original list of 97 group categories). In comparison, the latter uses an extensive list (110 social group categories), which were subsequently collapsed into 18. In both studies, I found some group categories too vague and difficult to code consistently like “Local People” and “The Nation.” The latter example also did not fall under a stricter understanding of socio-demographic group categories, similar to my assessment of categories such as “Patients,” “Businesses,” and “Families.” This is not to say that my approach is necessarily better than theirs, but as with many aspects of empirical research, scholars must make hard choices about what to focus on in accordance with the aims of their study. Note that two social group categories, “Young people,” and “Business owners”/”Employers,” are not included in my analysis. The former was left out because different parties used different terms that might be understood to refer to “Young People” but the category did not appear in a coherent enough way and I decided to minimize coding confusion. The latter was omitted from the dataset by mistake, which I discovered too late in the process to be remedied. Future evolutions of this dataset will be able to fix this issue, but it was outside the limitations of the study for which the dataset was constructed to address this. The complete list of categories is found below.

Social group categories included in analysis

	Word in English	**Word in Hebrew**	**Word in Dutch**
1	Arab(s)	ערבים	
2	Worker(s)	עובד(ים), פועל(ים)	Arbeiders, Werkers, Werknemers
3	Modern Religious Jews (Kippa Sruga)	דתיים, חובשי כיפה, מסורתיים, כיפה סרוגה	
4	Ashkenazi Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	חרדים, בני תורה, פרום	
5	Sephardic Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	חרדים ספרדים, חרדים מעדות המזרח	
6	Russian Immigrants	רוסים, עולים מרוסיה, עולים מברה״מ, עולים מחבר העמים	
7	Secular Jews	חילונים, יהודים חילונים	
8	Immigrants	מהגרים, עולים, עולים חדשים	Immigranten, vluchtelingen, gastarbeiders, migranten, vreemdelingen, allochtonen
9	Pensioners	פנסיונרים, גמלאים, קשישים, אזרחים ותיקים	gepensioneerden, ouderen, 65-plussers, AOW’ers, bejaarden
10	Women	נשים, אישה	Vrouwen
11	Farmers	חקלאים, מושבניקים, קיבוצניקים	boeren, argariërs, tuinbouwers
12	Cherkes	צ׳רקסים	
13	Druze	דרוזים	
14	Sephardim /Oriental Jews	ספרדים, עדות המזרח, מזרחיים	
15	Bedouin	בדואים	

16	Ethiopian Immigrants	אתיופים	
17	Religious Immigrants	עולים דתיים, עולים חובשי כיפה	
18	Sephardic Immigrants	עולים ספרדים, עולים מארצות ספרד, עולים מארצות ערב	
19	LGBTQ	הומואים, לסביות, להט״ב	homo's, lesbo's, flikkers, potten, LGBT'ers, LGBTQ'ers, LHBT'ers, homofielen
20	French Immigrants / Jews from France	עולים מצרפת	
21a	Jews as Ethnic Group	יהודים	
21b	Jews as a religious group		joden
22	Ashkenazim	אשכנזים	
23	Men	גברים, איש	mannen
24	Disabled People/Invalid(s)/ Handicap	נכים	gehandicapten
25	Students	סטודנטים	studenten, studerenden, scholieren
26	Muslims	מוסלמים	moslims
27	Christian	נוצרים	Christenen, christelijk
28	Reformed		gereformeerden, reformatorisch
29	Unemployed	מובטלים, מחוסרי עבודה, בלתי מועסקים	werklozen, uitkeringsgerechtigden, arbeidsongeschikten
30	Surinams		surinamers
31	Dutch Caribbean		antillianen
32	(South) Moluccans		molukkers, zuid-molukkers
33	Turkish Immigrants		turkse immigranten, turken
34	Moroccan Immigrants		marokkaanse immigranten, marokkanen
35	Evangelical		evangelisten, evangeliërs
36	Catholic		katholieken

Larger group categories: I chose to collapse the 37 individual groups into five larger categories: Economic (ECO), Identity Politics (IP), Religious (REL), Ethnic (ETH), and Life Cycle (LC), as shown:

Collapsing of individual group categories

Collapsed category	**Individual group category**
Economic	Worker(s) Farmers Unemployed
Ethnic	Arab(s) Cherkes Druze Sephardim Bedouin Ashkenazim Jews as Ethnic Group Surinams Dutch Caribbean (South) Moluccans
Identity Politics	Russian Immigrants Immigrants (general category) Women Ethiopian Immigrants

	Religious Immigrants Sephardic Immigrants LGBTQ French Immigrants Men Disabled People Turkish Immigrants Moroccan Immigrants
Life Cycle	Pensioners Students
Religion	Modern Religious Jews (Kippa Sruga) Ashkenazi Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews Sephardic Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews Secular Jews Jews as a religious group Muslims Christian Reformed Evangelical Catholic

The relatively early stage at which the study of group appeals is means that the literature provides few guidelines for collapsing group categories. Thau (2019), who focuses on economic groups, makes the distinction between "economic" and "non-economic" groups, which are also sometimes called "old" or "traditional" groups versus "new" groups. The former refers to classic cleavages at the heart of the European party system (Duverger, 1954; Kirchheimer, 1966; Lipset and Rokkan, 1967). The latter refers to historically marginalized groups like women, ethnic minorities, pensioners, LGBT, and immigrant minorities (Caramani et al., 2014; Celis et al., 2016; Phillips, 1999; Stückelberger, 2019). Theoretically, the study for which this dataset was constructed does not center on questions of decline, or lack thereof, of appeals to economic groups. A focus on economics restricts the scope of comparative analysis. It is therefore not necessary to create a dichotomy between "economic" and "non-economic" groups. In addition, such a dichotomous approach casts parties' appeals to all other group categories in the shadow of economic groups.

As seen below only three groups fall under the Economic-groups category: Workers, Farmers, and Unemployed. The same table also shows that this dichotomous collapsing would mean that of all appeals, about 18 per cent (642 appeals) were made to economic groups, while nearly 80 per cent were made to non-economic groups. But it tells us nothing about the 34 other group categories that are "non-economic," missing significant aspects of parties' appeals. Stückelberger's (2019: 61) collapsing into three categories—Economic, Identity Politics, and Life Cycle—goes some way to alleviate the problem. However, his resultant categorization still collapses too much and even eliminates some important group categories like Disabled People that, according to him, do not fit into any of the three categories (Stückelberger, 2019: 133).

I expand Stückelberger's categorization into five rather than three groups, making some adjustments to the groups included in them. The ECON category includes groups based on occupation. The Religious category includes, as discussed above, the three major religions and their relevant denominations. Together, these two categories are part of the classic representative relationships, traced back to the formation of mass parties based on class and denomination (Duverger, 1954; Kirchheimer, 1966; Lipset and Rokkan, 1967). The IP category includes Women, LGBTQ, Disabled People, Men, and the different immigrant categories. These groups are meaningful because they play a central role in the "new" politics of recognition which emphasizes the importance of representing identity groups, with the nature and quality of democracy being judged on the inclusiveness of representation (Caramani et al., 2014; Celis et al., 2016; Fraser, 1997; Phillips, 1995, 1999). While religious groups might have been collapsed into the category of Identity Politics, I chose to keep them as a separate category (REL). I did this because, despite the predominance of attention to class as *the* classic cleavage structuring politics, mass parties' representation was also focused on denominational groups (Duverger, 1954; Kirchheimer, 1966; LaPalombara and Weiner, 1966). More recently, some scholars have also found that religion remains an important element of representative politics (e.g., Domke and Coe, 2008; Tilley, 2014). I also chose to keep the various ethnic groups (ETH) as a separate category rather than subsume it under the IP category because of their relative importance in the data, especially so, as I explained above, in the case of the Israeli parties. The last of the five collapsed categories is LC, in which I include Pensioners and Students. As argued by Stückelberger (2019: 63), the group Pensioners is distinguished from other groups because it "refer[s] to a segment of the human life cycle." The inclusion of Students in the LC category, on the other hand, requires some explanation. In Stückelberger's (2019) study, Students are categorized as an economic group based on voting pattern arguments (60-61) and therefore on an understanding of the term as a reference to a person's attained education level. In these arguments, the "new cultural conflict does not mainly divide occupational groups but rather educational groups: with the highly educated voting for the left, and the lower educated voting for the radical right" (Stückelberger, 2019: 61). In doing so, however, no reference is made to people who are presently students. Given that my definition of social appeals is based on socio-demographic characteristics, it makes more sense to understand the term Students as people who belong to the demographic category of Students rather than to those who in their past have attained a higher-education degree.

Reliability: Three human coders, including myself, were responsible for coding all manifestos and print campaign ads. In addition, the help of a fourth coder was enlisted, as I explain below, to test the reliability of the Dutch coding. I coded all materials in Hebrew and English. With the help of a

translator, I also coded the materials in Russian and all other languages used in Israeli materials except for those in Arabic, which were coded by a graduate student research assistant who is a native Arabic speaker. Russian is my mother-tongue but for lack of use, I am not fluent in it. I was assisted therefore by a native-Russian speaker to verify that I did not misread the material. Text in other languages excluding Arabic was run through a translation software and verified with respective native speakers. The same graduate student also assisted in the collection of the materials at the Israeli archive.

The Dutch materials were coded by a second research assistant, a native Dutch speaker. I am a fluent English speaker and developed the codebook over several months in English. The two research assistants, brought onto the project after I completed two rounds of coding to test the codebook (on a sample of ads not included in the dataset), are fluent English speakers. All coders had continued access to the codebook and samples of coding (in Hebrew and English), and the two research assistants made suggestions for additional social group categories, which are included in the final version. I trained the two other coders, one remotely (the Dutch coder, for reasons of necessity) and the other in person (during my fieldwork in Israel). As the Dutch coder's training was done remotely, we were in frequent contact during the process for regular updates and to answer any questions that arose during the coding. The same level of communication was maintained with the coder in Israel.

To ensure intercoder reliability, two coding tests were done. The first tested the reliability of coding between the Israeli research assistant and me. The second tested the coding's reliability between the Dutch research assistant and the fourth coder, also a Dutch native speaker. While it is preferable that coding reliability tests are conducted only for those who code the bulk of the material, unfortunately I do not speak Dutch, and thus the help of a native Dutch speaker was needed to ensure reliability. The fourth coder, a native Dutch speaker was trained by me to the same level as the main Dutch coder, except that their actual coding work was limited to the materials used for the reliability test.

Intercoder reliability was measured for the three possible instances of group appeals: explicit supportive mentions of social group(s); explicitly stated all-encompassing supportive mentions of social group(s); and explicitly mentioning a social group(s) interest as important or more important than others'. Using the standard measure of Krippendorff's alpha, the average score was 0.76 for the Israeli material, with 89 per cent agreement, and 0.74 for the Dutch material, with 86 per cent agreement (see: Lacy et al., 2015; Lombard et al., 2002). By conventional standards, Krippendorff's alpha should preferably be 0.8 or above, with a minimum of 0.67 (Lacy et al., 2015). The scores here are reasonably close to 0.8 and can be taken to indicate that the coding was done to a satisfactory level of accuracy. Other reliability coefficients, Cohen's kappa and Scott's pi, produce similar results.

The Codebook

- **Units**: Parties at national elections
- **Countries**: Israel and the Netherlands
- **Time**: 1977-2015
- **Parties**: 269
- **Elections**: 12 in each country
- **Materials**: Manifestos and print election campaign materials: posters, flyers, pamphlets, leaflets, stickers, newspaper ads.
- **Data and Material Sources**: MARPOR Corpus (*Manifesto Project*, 2018); MARPOR dataset (Volkens et al., 2018b); Archives of National Library in Jerusalem, Israel; the Harvard Judaica Collection (*Harvard Library*, 2018), the Israel Democracy Institute (*Israel Democracy Institute*, 2020), the Knesset (*The Knesset*, 2019); the documentatiecentrum nederlandse politieke paryijen, in Groningen, the Netherlands; and The Electoral Council (KIESRAAD) (*KIESRAAD*, 2020).

Variable	Explanation	Codes
country	Two-digit country code based on MARPOR codebook.	22 Netherlands 72 Israel
countryname	Name of country in English	
edate	Day, month, and year of national election as d/m/year	
date	Year and month of national election as YYYYMM	
party	Six-digit party identification codes based on MARPOR coding	
partyname	Party name in English	
ogpartyname	Party name in original language (transliterated)	
partyabbrev	Abbreviated party name	
parfam	Grouping of political parties into party families according to the MARPOR codebook. "The Variable is constant over time and does not account for possible changes of party family. The variable is assigned when a party is included in the data set for the first time and it generally not changed afterwards" (Volkens et al., 2018b). In addition to these, some parties not included in the CMP dataset were	10 ECO Ecological parties 20 LEF Socialist or other left 30 SOC Social democratic 40 LIB Liberal parties 50 CHR Christian democratic 60 CON Conservative 70 NAT Nationalist 80 AGR Agrarian 90 ETH Ethnic and regional 95 SIP Special issue 96 SMK Single MK 97 SPL Split parties

	grouped by the author into new "families."	98 DIV Electoral alliance of diverse origin without a dominant party 99 NIC Parties in MARPOR
pervote	Percent of votes won in general election	Continuous variable
legislativeseats	Number of seats won in general election	Continuous variable
perseats	Percent of seats won in general election	Continuous variable
totseats	Total number of parliamentary seats	Continuous variable
rile	Parties' placement on Left-Right economic scale, taken from MARPOR. See Volkens et al., 2018b for full details	Continuous variable
docid	Manifesto identification code	99 = missing
doctype	Type of manifesto used	1 = full 2 = partial . = missing

Group Appeals

Party Name

Variable	Explanation	Codes
parnamgtot	Total number of groups mentioned in party's name	Count variable
parnamgw1	Group mentioned: Arab(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw2	Group mentioned: Worker(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw3	Group mentioned: Modern Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw4	Group mentioned: Ashkenazi Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw5	Group mentioned: Sephardic Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw6	Group mentioned: Russian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw7	Group mentioned: Secular Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw8	Group mentioned: Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw9	Group mentioned: Pensioners	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw10	Group mentioned: Women	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw11	Group mentioned: Farmers	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw12	Group mentioned: Cherkes	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw13	Group mentioned: Druze	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw14	Group mentioned: Sephardim /Oriental Jews	0 = no 1 = yes

parnamgw15	Group mentioned: Bedouin	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw16	Group mentioned: Ethiopian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw17	Group mentioned: Modern Religious Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw18	Group mentioned: Sephardic Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw19	Group mentioned: LGBTQ	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw20	Group mentioned: French Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw21	Group mentioned: Jews as ethnic group	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw22	Group mentioned: Jews as religious group	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw23	Group mentioned: Ashkenazim	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw24	Group mentioned: Men	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw25	Group mentioned: Disabled People / Invalid(s)/ Handicap	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw26	Group mentioned: Students	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw27	Group mentioned: Muslims	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw28	Group mentioned: Christian	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw29	Group mentioned: Reformed	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw30	Group mentioned: Unemployed	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw31	Group mentioned: Surinams	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw32	Group mentioned: Dutch Caribbean	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw33	Group mentioned: (South) Moluccans	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw34	Group mentioned: Turkish Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw35	Group mentioned: Moroccan Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw36	Group mentioned: Evangelical	0 = no 1 = yes
parnamgw37	Group mentioned: Catholic	0 = no 1 = yes

Manifestos

Variable	Explanation	Codes
mangtot	Total number of social groups in supportive mentions	Count variable
mangw1	Group mentioned: Arab(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw2	Group mentioned: Worker(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw3	Group mentioned: Modern Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw4	Group mentioned: Ashkenazi Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw5	Group mentioned: Sephardic Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw6	Group mentioned: Russian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw7	Group mentioned: Secular Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw8	Group mentioned: Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw9	Group mentioned: Pensioners	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw10	Group mentioned: Women	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw11	Group mentioned: Farmers	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw12	Group mentioned: Cherkes	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw13	Group mentioned: Druze	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw14	Group mentioned: Sephardim /Oriental Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw15	Group mentioned: Bedouin	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw16	Group mentioned: Ethiopian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw17	Group mentioned: Religious Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw18	Group mentioned: Sephardic Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw19	Group mentioned: LGBTQ	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw20	Group mentioned: French Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw21	Group mentioned: Jews as ethnic group	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw22	Group mentioned: Jews as religious group	0 = no 1 = yes

mangw23	Group mentioned: Ashkenazim	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw24	Group mentioned: Men	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw25	Group mentioned: Disabled People / Invalid(s)/ Handicap	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw26	Group mentioned: Students	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw27	Group mentioned: Muslims	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw28	Group mentioned: Christian	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw29	Group mentioned: Reformed	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw30	Group mentioned: Unemployed	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw31	Group mentioned: Surinams	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw32	Group mentioned: Dutch Caribbean	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw33	Group mentioned: (South) Moluccans	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw34	Group mentioned: Turkish Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw35	Group mentioned: Moroccan Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw36	Group mentioned: Evangelical	0 = no 1 = yes
mangw37	Group mentioned: Catholic	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomtot	total number of social groups mentioned in all-encompassing supportive mentions [‘we are the party of workers!; ‘we are the party of pensioners’]	Count variable
mangencomw1	Group mentioned: Arab(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw2	Group mentioned: Worker(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw3	Group mentioned: Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw4	Group mentioned: Ashkenazi Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw5	Group mentioned: Sephardic Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw6	Group mentioned: Russian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw7	Group mentioned: Secular Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw8	Group mentioned: Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes

mangencomw9	Group mentioned: Pensioners	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw10	Group mentioned: Women	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw11	Group mentioned: Farmers	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw12	Group mentioned: Cherkes	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw13	Group mentioned: Druze	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw14	Group mentioned: Sephardim /Oriental Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw15	Group mentioned: Bedouin	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw16	Group mentioned: Ethiopian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw17	Group mentioned: Religious Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw18	Group mentioned: Sephardic Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw19	Group mentioned: LGBTQ	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw20	Group mentioned: French Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw21	Group mentioned: Jews as ethnic group	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw22	Group mentioned: Jews as religious group	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw23	Group mentioned: Ashkenazim	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw24	Group mentioned: Men	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw25	Group mentioned: Disabled People / Invalid(s)/ Handicap	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw26	Group mentioned: Students	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw27	Group mentioned: Muslims	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw28	Group mentioned: Christian	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw29	Group mentioned: Reformed	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw30	Group mentioned: Unemployed	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw31	Group mentioned: Surinams	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw32	Group mentioned: Dutch Caribbean	0 = no 1 = yes

mangencomw33	Group mentioned: (South) Moluccans	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw34	Group mentioned: Turkish Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw35	Group mentioned: Moroccan Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw36	Group mentioned: Evangelical	0 = no 1 = yes
mangencomw37	Group mentioned: Catholic	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimptot	total number of social groups whose interests are mentioned as important or more important than those of other groups	Count variable
mangimpw1	Group mentioned: Arab(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw2	Group mentioned: Worker(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw3	Group mentioned: Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw4	Group mentioned: Ashkenazi Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw5	Group mentioned: Sephardic Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw6	Group mentioned: Russian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw7	Group mentioned: Secular Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw8	Group mentioned: Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw9	Group mentioned: Pensioners	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw10	Group mentioned: Women	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw11	Group mentioned: Farmers	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw12	Group mentioned: Cherkes	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw13	Group mentioned: Druze	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw14	Group mentioned: Sephardim /Oriental Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw15	Group mentioned: Bedouin	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw16	Group mentioned: Ethiopian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw17	Group mentioned: Religious Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw18	Group mentioned: Sephardic Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes

mangimpw19	Group mentioned: LGBTQ	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw20	Group mentioned: French Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw21	Group mentioned: Jews as ethnic group	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw22	Group mentioned: Jews as religious group	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw23	Group mentioned: Ashkenazim	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw24	Group mentioned: Men	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw25	Group mentioned: Disabled People / Invalid(s)/ Handicap	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw26	Group mentioned: Students	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw27	Group mentioned: Muslims	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw28	Group mentioned: Christian	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw29	Group mentioned: Reformed	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw30	Group mentioned: Unemployed	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw31	Group mentioned: Surinams	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw32	Group mentioned: Dutch Caribbean	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw33	Group mentioned: (South) Moluccans	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw34	Group mentioned: Turkish Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw35	Group mentioned: Moroccan Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw36	Group mentioned: Evangelical	0 = no 1 = yes
mangimpw37	Group mentioned: Catholic	0 = no 1 = yes

Print campaign advertisements

Variable	**Explanation**	**Codes**
cmatgtot	Total number of social groups in supportive mentions	Count variable
cmatgw1	Group mentioned: Arab(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw2	Group mentioned: Worker(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw3	Group mentioned: Modern Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes

cmatgw4	Group mentioned: Ashkenazi Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw5	Group mentioned: Sephardic Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw6	Group mentioned: Russian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw7	Group mentioned: Secular Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw8	Group mentioned: Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw9	Group mentioned: Pensioners	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw10	Group mentioned: Women	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw11	Group mentioned: Farmers	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw12	Group mentioned: Cherkes	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw13	Group mentioned: Druze	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw14	Group mentioned: Sephardim /Oriental Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw15	Group mentioned: Bedouin	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw16	Group mentioned: Ethiopian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw17	Group mentioned: Religious Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw18	Group mentioned: Sephardic Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw19	Group mentioned: LGBTQ	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw20	Group mentioned: French Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw21	Group mentioned: Jews as Ethnic Group	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw22	Group mentioned: Jews as religious group	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw23	Group mentioned: Ashkenazim	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw24	Group mentioned: Men	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw25	Group mentioned: Disabled People / Invalid(s)/ Handicap	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw26	Group mentioned: Students	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw27	Group mentioned: Muslims	0 = no 1 = yes

cmatgw28	Group mentioned: Christian	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw29	Group mentioned: Reformed	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw30	Group mentioned: Unemployed	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw31	Group mentioned: Surinams	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw32	Group mentioned: Dutch Caribbean	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw33	Group mentioned: (South) Moluccans	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw34	Group mentioned: Turkish Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw35	Group mentioned: Moroccan Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw36	Group mentioned: Evangelical	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgw37	Group mentioned: Catholic	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomtot	total number of social groups mentioned in all-encompassing supportive mentions [‘we are the party of workers!; ‘we are the party of pensioners’]	Count variable
cmatgencomw1	Group mentioned: Arab(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw2	Group mentioned: Worker(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw3	Group mentioned: Modern Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw4	Group mentioned: Ashkenazi Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw5	Group mentioned: Sephardic Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw6	Group mentioned: Russian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw7	Group mentioned: Secular Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw8	Group mentioned: Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw9	Group mentioned: Pensioners	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw10	Group mentioned: Women	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw11	Group mentioned: Farmers	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw12	Group mentioned: Cherkes	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw13	Group mentioned: Druze	0 = no 1 = yes

cmatgencomw14	Group mentioned: Sephardim /Oriental Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw15	Group mentioned: Bedouin	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw16	Group mentioned: Ethiopian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw17	Group mentioned: Religious Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw18	Group mentioned: Sephardic Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw19	Group mentioned: LGBTQ	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw20	Group mentioned: French Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw21	Group mentioned: Jews as ethnic group	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw22	Group mentioned: Jews as religious group	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw23	Group mentioned: Ashkenazim	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw24	Group mentioned: Men	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw25	Group mentioned: Disabled People / Invalid(s)/ Handicap	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw26	Group mentioned: Students	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw27	Group mentioned: Muslims	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw28	Group mentioned: Christian	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw29	Group mentioned: Reformed	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw30	Group mentioned: Unemployed	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw31	Group mentioned: Surinams	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw32	Group mentioned: Dutch Caribbean	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw33	Group mentioned: (South) Moluccans	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw34	Group mentioned: Turkish Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw35	Group mentioned: Moroccan Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw36	Group mentioned: Evangelical	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgencomw37	Group mentioned: Catholic	0 = no 1 = yes

cmatgimptot	total number of social groups whose interests are mentioned as important or more important than those of other groups	Count variable
cmatgimpw1	Group mentioned: Arab(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw2	Group mentioned: Worker(s)	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw3	Group mentioned: Modern Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw4	Group mentioned: Ashkenazi Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw5	Group mentioned: Sephardic Ultra-Orthodox Religious Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw6	Group mentioned: Russian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw7	Group mentioned: Secular Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw8	Group mentioned: Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw9	Group mentioned: Pensioners	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw10	Group mentioned: Women	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw11	Group mentioned: Farmers	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw12	Group mentioned: Cherkes	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw13	Group mentioned: Druze	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw14	Group mentioned: Sephardim /Oriental Jews	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw15	Group mentioned: Bedouin	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw16	Group mentioned: Ethiopian Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw17	Group mentioned: Religious Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw18	Group mentioned: Sephardic Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw19	Group mentioned: LGBTQ	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw20	Group mentioned: French Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw21	Group mentioned: Jews as ethnic group	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw22	Group mentioned: Jews as religious group	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw23	Group mentioned: Ashkenazim	0 = no 1 = yes

cmatgimpw24	Group mentioned: Men	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw25	Group mentioned: Disabled People / Invalid(s)/ Handicap	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw26	Group mentioned: Students	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw27	Group mentioned: Muslims	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw28	Group mentioned: Christian	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw29	Group mentioned: Reformed	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw30	Group mentioned: Unemployed	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw31	Group mentioned: Surinams	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw32	Group mentioned: Dutch Caribbean	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw33	Group mentioned: (South) Moluccans	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw34	Group mentioned: Turkish Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw35	Group mentioned: Moroccan Immigrants	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw36	Group mentioned: Evangelical	0 = no 1 = yes
cmatgimpw37	Group mentioned: Catholic	0 = no 1 = yes

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