Manifesto Project Dataset

Codebook

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Website: https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/

Version 2023a
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1 Introduction & Citation

The Manifesto Project Dataset was originally created by the Manifesto Research Group (MRG) in the late 1970s and the 1980s. The work was continued under the name Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP) at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center in the 1990s and 2000s. Since 2009 the Manifesto Research on Political Representation (MARPOR) project updates and extends the dataset. It is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and is still located at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center.

Please check our website for the latest version of the dataset and detailed information about the coding procedure (coding instructions):

`https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/`

When using the Manifesto Project Dataset, please cite:

> Lehmann, Pola / Franzmann, Simon / Burst, Tobias / Regel, Sven / Riethmüller, Felicia / Volkens, Andrea / Weßels, Bernhard / Zehnter, Lisa (2023): The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG / CMP / MARPOR). Version 2023a. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB) / Göttingen: Institut für Demokratieforschung (IfDem). https://doi.org/10.25522/manifesto.mpds.2023a

When using data originally provided with the edited volumes Mapping Policy Preferences I or II (see variable datasetorigin), please cite either of the followings books:

> Budge, Ian / Klingemann, Hans-Dieter / Volkens, Andrea / Bara, Judith with Tanenbaum, Eric / Fording, Richard C. / Hearl, Derek J. / Kim, Hee Min / McDonald, Michael / Mendez, Silvia (2001): Mapping Policy Preferences. Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments 1945-1998. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

> Klingemann, Hans-Dieter / Volkens, Andrea / Bara, Judith / Budge, Ian / McDonald, Michael (2006): Mapping Policy Preferences II. Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments in Eastern Europe, the European Union and the OECD, 1990-2003. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

When citing this document, refer to:

> Lehmann, Pola / Franzmann, Simon / Burst, Tobias / Regel, Sven / Riethmüller, Felicia / Volkens, Andrea / Weßels, Bernhard / Zehnter, Lisa (2023): The Manifesto Project Dataset - Codebook. Manifesto Project (MRG / CMP / MARPOR). Version 2023a. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB) / Göttingen: Institut für Demokratieforschung (IfDem).

2 Overview & Coverage

We code election programmes of all those parties that have won one (Australia, Japan, New Zealand, North America, South Korea, and Western Europe) or two (Central and Eastern Europe, South America) seats in the respective national elections to the lower house. In the case of a presidential election, we code election programmes of all those alliances supporting a presidential candidate who has won at least 5% of votes at the first round of the presidential election

In addition, we code manifestos of those parties that were relevant actors in the past (especially members of ruling coalitions), but which no longer meet our selection criteria due to dramatic vote losses.

In the case of coalitions, we usually code the coalition manifesto. If the coalition has not published a manifesto, we consider the manifestos of the individual parties that have been part of the coalition. In this case, we code as many individual party programmes as we can find. Detailed information about the type of document coded for each coalition can be found in the variable "progtype".

Units	Parties at national elections
Countries	67 Mostly democracies in OECD, CEE and South American countries.
Time	Mostly 1945 - 2022 Or since the first democratic election
Parties	1373 Relevant parties, i.e. those that gained at least one seat in parliament or two seats in CEE/South American countries (see also the list of covered parties on our website)
Elections	849 Parliamentary lower house elections and presidential elections
Programmes	5089 Election programmes and substitute documents/functional equivalents (see also the list of coded documents on our website)
Data Sources	Publicly available election statistics and content analysed election programmes (substitute documents)

3 Variables

3.1 Identification Variables

country	11	Sweden
	12	Norway
	13	Denmark
	14	Finland
	15	Iceland
	21	Belgium
	22	Netherlands
	23	Luxembourg
	31	France
	32	Italy
	33	Spain
	34	Greece
	35	Portugal
	41	Germany
	42	Austria
	43	Switzerland
	51	Great Britain
	52	Northern Ireland
	53	Ireland
	54	Malta
	55	Cyprus
	61	United States
	62	Canada
	63	Australia
	64	New Zealand
	71	Japan
	72	Israel
	73	Sri Lanka
	74	Turkey
	75	Albania
	76	Armenia
	77	Azerbaijan
	78	Belarus
	79	Bosnia-Herzegovina
	80	Bulgaria
	81	Croatia
	82	Czech Republic
	83	Estonia
	84	Georgia
	85	German Democratic Republic
	86	Hungary

	87	Latvia
	88	Lithuania
	89	North Macedonia
	90	Moldova
	91	Montenegro
	92	Poland
	93	Romania
	94	Russia
	95	Serbia
	96	Slovakia
	97	Slovenia
	98	Ukraine
	113	South Korea
	150	Argentina
	151	Bolivia
	152	Colombia
	153	Costa Rica
	154	Ecuador
	155	Chile
	160	Panama
	162	Uruguay
	168	Dominican Republic
	171	Mexico
	179	Peru
	180	Brazil
	181	South Africa
countryname	Name of country in English (string variable)	
oecdmember	0	No OECD member at the time of election
	10	OECD member at the time of election
eumember	0	No EU member at the time of election
	10	EU member at the time of election
	20	EU applicant at the time of election
edate	Day, month, and year of national election. In the case of multi-day elections, the last election day is reported. For elections in two-round electoral systems, e.g. France, this variable gives the day of the first round.	
date	Year and month of national election in the format YYYYMM, e.g. 201102 indicates an election in February 2011	

party

The party identification code consists of five or six digits; the first two or three digits resemble the country code and the last three digits are running numbers

partyname

Name of party in English (string variable)

partyabbrev

Original language party abbreviation

parfam

Tentative grouping of political parties and alliances into the following party families. 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 is generally not changed afterwards:

10	ECO	Ecological parties
20	LEF	Socialist or other left parties
30	SOC	Social democratic parties
40	LIB	Liberal parties
50	CHR	Christian democratic parties (in Israel also Jewish parties)
60	CON	Conservative parties
70	NAT	Nationalist and radical right parties
80	AGR	Agrarian parties
90	ETH	Ethnic and regional parties
95	SIP	Special issue parties
98	DIV	Electoral alliances of diverse origin without dominant party
999	MI	Missing information

candidatename

Name of presidential candidate (string variable)

.	not applicable (for parliamentary election that did not coincide with a presidential election)

3.2 Coding and data quality variables

coderid

Three digit code identifies coder:

100–199	MRG or CMP group member
200–799	hired amd trained coder
800–899	specifically trained coder
998	not applicable
999	missing information

manual

The Coding Instructions and the Category Scheme were adapted several times. The manual variable indicates the version of the Coding Instructions. On our website all versions of the Coding Instructions are available as well as a document that illustrates the major changes between the five different versions.

0	No manual
1	Manual version 1
2	Manual version 2
3	Manual version 3
4	Manual version 4
5	Manual version 5
998	Not applicable
999	No information whether a handbook was used or not

coderyear

Year during which codings took place

.	Missing information / not applicable (e.g. for progtype = 3 or progtype = 99)

testresult

Result of a coder's entry test as given in the Coding Instructions: test of reliability in comparison to the master copy, Krippendorff's Alpha for ordinal data:

-1.00	Systematic disagreement
0.0	Absence of reliability
+1.00	Perfect reliability
.	Not applicable (e.g. progtype = 3 or progtype = 99)

Missing for early project phase / members of the Manifesto Research Group (MRG)

testeditsim

Test of data reliability: Edit similarity measures the similarity of the code sequence in a coder's entry test (as given in coding handbook) to the master copy using the relative Levenshtein distance, and substracting it from 1 (maximum distance).

0.0	Maximum dissimilarity
+1.00	Perfect agreement
.	Not applicable (e.g. progtype = 3 or progtype = 99)

Missing for manual version 1 to 3 and early project phase / members of the Manifesto Research Group (MRG).

3.3 Electoral data variables

pervote

Percentage of votes gained by each party. In case of mixed electoral systems with a proportional and majoritarian component, pervote indicates the vote share in the proportional component. In case of an electoral coalition where programmes for all members of the coalition *and* the coalition were coded, pervote was coded MISSING if the dataset includes entries for all seat-winning members of the coalition. If the data set includes, however, only the programs of some coalition members, pervote reports the vote share gained by the alliance and pervote is set to MISSING for the coalition members. As a result, the sum of pervotes is not higher than 100%.

. Missing information coded

Not available for Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka and Belarus 1995.

voteest

0 Original figure from data source/election statistics

Indicates that the vote share expressed by pervote is taken from election results and shows the vote share the party (or party bloc) won in the election

1 Estimated

Indicates that the pervote variable is not derived by a calculation of gained votes divided by the total number of valid votes. Electoral alliances or an electoral system with regional lists can prohibit such a simple calculation. In these cases the pervote variable is often calculated based on the number of seats won by a party

presvote

Percentage of votes in presidential elections. In case of several rounds of election, the variable indicates the results from the first round.

. Missing information

Reported for all cases where a presidential election took place in the Americas.

absseat

Absolute number of seats by each party or party bloc. See remarks on pervote for electoral coalitions.

. Missing information

Missing for Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka

totseats

Total number of seats in parliament.

. Missing information

Missing for Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka

3.4 Programmatic data variables

progtype

1 Programme of a single party

As a rule, each party issues one programme for each election

2 Programme of two or more parties

In a number of countries, parties compete as programmatic coalitions by issuing joint programmes. In these cases, the joint programme were assigned to every party in the programmatic coalition.

3 Estimate

Missing election programmes were approximated on the basis of available programmes. Estimates were derived either by computing averages between two adjacent programmes or by duplicating programmatic data.

4 **Programme taken from main party of electoral coalition**

In CEE countries parties often compete as electoral coalitions in which blocs of parties receive joint votes and seats even though parties in the bloc still issue separate programmes. When the electoral coalition is dominated by one strong party, the programme of the main coalition party was used to measure positions of the 'electoral coalition' as a whole.

5 **Average of all members of an electoral coalition**

When the electoral coalition consists of equally strong parties the average of platforms from all coalition parties was used to measure positions of the electoral coalition as a whole.

6 **General programme**

Some parties did not issue separate election programmes but took part in elections with their general programmes.

8 **Party bloc programme**

Some party blocs issue joint programmes. As opposed to type 2 programmes, electoral statistics are given for the party bloc as a whole, not for the single parties comprising the bloc.

9 **Other programme type**

Other types of programmes not specified by types 1 to 8.

99 **Missing programme**

In cases where it was impossible to find a manifesto from the respective party or in cases where content-analytical data from this party is still missing, but will be added soon.

datasetorigin

Indicates whether the observation was published with the books Mapping Policy Preferences I or II or as one of the updates since 2009. In case where the programmatic variables of an observation are updated or replaced (e.g. due to the replacement of a document), this variable is updated as well

10	MPPI
20	MPPII
30	Update 2009
40	Update 2010
41	Update 2010b
50	Update 2011a
51	Update 2011b
60	Update 2012a
61	Update 2012b
70	Update 2013a
71	Update 2013b
80	Update 2014a
81	Update 2014b
90	Update 2015a

	110 Update 2016a 111 Update 2016b 120 Update 2017a 121 Update 2017b 130 Update 2018a 131 Update 2018b 140 Update 2019a 141 Update 2019b 150 Update 2020a 151 Update 2020b 160 Update 2021a 170 Update 2022a 180 Update 2023a
corpusversion	Indicates the version of the Manifesto Corpus used to calculate the content analytical data in this observation. . Missing information Missing for all observations where the content analytical data is not based on the Manifesto Corpus.
total	Total number of allocated codes Missing information coded: . Missing information Information missing for Norway 1989

3.5 Content Analytical Data

The dataset contains three sets of content analytical variables (per101-per706; per1011-per7062; per103_1-per703_2). All of these variables indicate the share of quasi-sentences in the respective category calculated as a fraction of the overall number of allocated codes per document

- The three digit variables (per101–per706) are the main categories of the coding scheme
- The four digit variables (per1011-per7062) are sub-categories mostly addressing issues in transitional democracies in (mostly) Central and Eastern European countries. However, they were introduced in version one of the coding instructions and were gradually abandoned in most of the countries as the issues could also be coded into the three digit main categories. Currently, the share of these categories is not included in the main categories. If analysts use observations from CEE countries for which the CEE codes were used and want to compare them to manifestos without CEE codes then they should aggregate such CEE codes into the main categories.
- The four digit variables with underscore (per103_1-per703_2) are new categories introduced with version 5 of the coding instructions. The first three digits indicate the main category to which they are related. The new coding instructions tell users to utilise these new subcategories rather than the respective main categories. Currently, the new categories are aggregated into the main categories to ensure over-time comparability of the main categories. The only exception to this aggregation are categories 202_2, 605_2 and 703_2, which have to be added to the uncoded sentences, as such issues were not covered in the handbook 4 category scheme. For this reason these sentences were previously coded as 000. So, scholars interested in long-time series can simply continue to use the existing main categories (per101-per706, including e.g. the rile) as they did in the past and ignore the new categories. Scholars interested in the new categories should be aware that the respective main categories of the new subcategories are aggregates of the new categories (i.e. if one uses the main categories together with the new subcategories the per-variables will likely add up to more than 100%).

For more information on the different version of the coding instructions and coding schemes, please consult our website where one can find all versions of the coding instructions and a document that highlights the most important changes between them.

peruncod

For all documents previous to version 5 of the Coding Instructions: Percentage of quasi-sentences coded with the code 000 (No meaningful category applies)

Missing coded:

. Missing data

Missing information for most documents of Sweden 1949-1982 and Norway 1945-1989

For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions: this category is calculated as the sum of 000 codes, per202_2, per605_2, and per703_2 to ensure comparability with older data. When working exclusively with data from version 5 of the Coding Instructions, it might make sense to calculate a new peruncod variable: peruncod_v5 = peruncod - (per202_2 + per605_2 + per703_2)

Main Categories: per101 – per706

Domain 1: External Relations

per101 **Foreign Special Relationships: Positive**

Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; the need for co-operation with and/or aid to such countries.

per102 **Foreign Special Relationships: Negative**

Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship.

per103 **Anti-Imperialism**

Negative references to imperial behaviour and/or negative references to one state exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states. May also include:

- Negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire;
- Favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies;
- Favourable mentions of de-colonisation.

For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is calculated as the sum of per103_1, and per103_2.

per104 **Military: Positive**

The importance of external security and defence. May include statements concerning:

- The need to maintain or increase military expenditure;
- The need to secure adequate manpower in the military;
- The need to modernise armed forces and improve military strength;
- The need for rearmament and self-defence;
- The need to keep military treaty obligations.

per105 **Military: Negative**

Negative references to the military or use of military power to solve conflicts. References to the 'evils of war'. May include references to:

- Decreasing military expenditures;
- Disarmament;
- Reduced or abolished conscription.

per106 **Peace**

Any declaration of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises – absent reference to the military. May include:

- Peace as a general goal;
- Desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries;
- Ending wars in order to establish peace.

per107 **Internationalism: Positive**

Need for international co-operation, including co-operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101. May also include references to the:

- Need for aid to developing countries;
- Need for world planning of resources;
- Support for global governance;
- Need for international courts;
- Support for UN or other international organisations.

per108 **European Community/Union: Positive**

Favourable mentions of European Community/Union in general. May include the:

- Desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member);
- Desirability of expanding the European Community/Union;
- Desirability of increasing the ECs/EUs competences;
- Desirability of expanding the competences of the European Parliament.

per109 **Internationalism: Negative**

Negative references to international co-operation. Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty with regard to the manifesto country's foreign policy, isolation and/or unilateralism as opposed to internationalism.

per110 **European Community/Union: Negative**

Negative references to the European Community/Union. May include:

- Opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities;
- Opposition to the net-contribution of the manifesto country to the EU budget.

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy

per201 **Freedom and Human Rights**

Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom and civil rights in the manifesto and other countries. May include mentions of:

- The right to the freedom of speech, press, assembly etc.;
- Freedom from state coercion in the political and economic spheres;
- Freedom from bureaucratic control;
- The idea of individualism.

For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is calculated as the sum of per201_1, and per201_2.

per202 **Democracy**

Favourable mentions of democracy as the "only game in town". General support for the manifesto country's democracy. May also include:

- Democracy as method or goal in national, international or other organisations (e.g. labour unions, political parties etc.);
- The need for the involvement of all citizens in political decision-making;
- Support for either direct or representative democracy;
- Support for parts of democratic regimes (rule of law, division of powers, independence of courts etc.).

For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is calculated as the sum of per202_1, per202_3, and per202_4.

per203 **Constitutionalism: Positive**

Support for maintaining the status quo of the constitution. Support for specific aspects of the manifesto country's constitution. The use of constitutionalism as an argument for any policy.

per204 **Constitutionalism: Negative**

Opposition to the entirety or specific aspects of the manifesto country's constitution. Calls for constitutional amendments or changes. May include calls to abolish or rewrite the current constitution.

Domain 3: Political System

per301	**Decentralization** Support for federalism or decentralisation of political and/or economic power. May include: • Favourable mentions of the territorial subsidiary principle; • More autonomy for any sub-national level in policy making and/or economics, including municipalities; • Support for the continuation and importance of local and regional customs and symbols and/or deference to local expertise; • Favourable mentions of special consideration for sub-national areas.
per302	**Centralisation** General opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels. Support for unitary government and for more centralisation in political and administrative procedures.
per303	**Governmental and Administrative Efficiency** Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration and/or the general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more efficient. May include: • Restructuring the civil service; • Cutting down on the civil service; • Improving bureaucratic procedures. *Note: Specific policy positions overrule this category! If there is no specific policy position, however, this category applies.*
per304	**Political Corruption** Need to eliminate political corruption and associated abuses of political and/or bureaucratic power. Need to abolish clientelist structures and practices.
per305	**Political Authority** References to the manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence. Also includes favourable mentions of the desirability of a strong and/or stable government in general. *For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is calculated as the sum of per305_1, per305_2, per305_3, per305_4, per305_5, and per305_6.*

Domain 4: Economy

per401 **Free Market Economy**

Favourable mentions of the free market and free market capitalism as an economic model. May include favourable references to:

- Laissez-faire economy;
- Superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems;
- Private property rights;
- Personal enterprise and initiative;
- Need for unhampered individual enterprises.

per402 **Incentives: Positive**

Favourable mentions of supply side oriented economic policies (assistance to businesses rather than consumers). May include:

- Financial and other incentives such as subsidies, tax breaks etc.;
- Wage and tax policies to induce enterprise;
- Encouragement to start enterprises.

per403 **Market Regulation**

Support for policies designed to create a fair and open economic market. May include:

- Calls for increased consumer protection;
- Increasing economic competition by preventing monopolies and other actions disrupting the functioning of the market;
- Defence of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses;
- Social market economy.

per404 **Economic Planning**

Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning by the government. May be:

- Policy plans, strategies, policy patterns etc.;
- Of a consultative or indicative nature.

per405 **Corporatism/Mixed Economy**

Favourable mentions of cooperation of government, employers, and trade unions simultaneously. The collaboration of employers and employee organisations in overall economic planning supervised by the state.
Note: This category was not used for Austria up to 1979, for New Zealand up to 1981, and for Sweden up to 1988.

per406 **Protectionism: Positive**

Favourable mentions of extending or maintaining the protection of internal markets (by the manifesto or other countries). Measures may include:

- Tariffs;
- Quota restrictions;
- Export subsidies.

per407 **Protectionism: Negative**

Support for the concept of free trade and open markets. Call for abolishing all means of market protection (in the manifesto or any other country).

per408 **Economic Goals**

Broad and general economic goals that are not mentioned in relation to any other category. General economic statements that fail to include any specific goal.
Note: Specific policy positions overrule this category! If there is no specific policy position, however, this category applies.

per409 **Keynesian Demand Management**

Favourable mentions of demand side oriented economic policies (assistance to consumers rather than businesses). Particularly includes increase private demand through

- Increasing public demand;
- Increasing social expenditures.

May also include:

- Stabilisation in the face of depression;
- Government stimulus plans in the face of economic crises.

per410 **Economic Growth: Positive**

The paradigm of economic growth. Includes:

- General need to encourage or facilitate greater production;
- Need for the government to take measures to aid economic growth.

per411 **Technology and Infrastructure: Positive**

Importance of modernisation of industry and updated methods of transport and communication. May include:

- Importance of science and technological developments in industry;
- Need for training and research within the economy (This does not imply education in general (see category 506);
- Calls for public spending on infrastructure such as roads and bridges;
- Support for public spending on technological infrastructure (e.g.: broadband internet, etc.).

per412 **Controlled Economy**

Support for direct government control of economy. May include, for instance:

- Control over prices;
- Introduction of minimum wages.

per413 **Nationalisation**

Favourable mentions of government ownership of industries, either partial or complete; calls for keeping nationalised industries in state hand or nationalising currently private industries. May also include favourable mentions of government ownership of land.

per414 **Economic Orthodoxy**

Need for economically healthy government policy making. May include calls for:

- Reduction of budget deficits;
- Retrenchment in crisis;
- Thrift and savings in the face of economic hardship;
- Support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system;
- Support for strong currency.

per415 **Marxist Analysis**

Positive references to Marxist-Leninist ideology and specific use of Marxist-Leninist terminology by the manifesto party (typically but not necessary by communist parties).
Note: This category was not used for Austria 1945-1979, for Australia, Japan and the United States up to 1980; for Belgium, Ireland, The Netherlands and New Zealand up to 1981; for Italy and Britain up to 1983; for Denmark, Luxembourg and Israel up to 1984; for Canada, France and Sweden up to 1988.

per416 **Anti-Growth Economy: Positive**

Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics. Rejection of the idea that all growth is good growth. Opposition to growth that causes environmental or societal harm. Call for sustainable economic development. *For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is calculated as the sum of per416_1, and per416_2.*
Note: This category was not used for Austria 1945-1979, for Australia, Japan and the United States up to 1980; for Belgium, Ireland, The Netherlands and New Zealand up to 1981; for Italy and Britain up to 1983; for Denmark, Luxembourg and Israel up to 1984; for Canada, France and Sweden up to 1988; and for Norway up to 1989. Test codings, however, have shown that parties before the beginning of the 1990s hardly ever advocated anti-growth policies.

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

per501 **Environmental Protection**

General policies in favour of protecting the environment, fighting climate change, and other "green" policies. For instance:

- General preservation of natural resources;
- Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.;
- Protection of national parks;
- Animal rights.

May include a great variance of policies that have the unified *goal* of environmental protection.

per502 **Culture: Positive**

Need for state funding of cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport. May include:

- The need to fund museums, art galleries, libraries etc.;
- The need to encourage cultural mass media and worthwhile leisure activities, such as public sport clubs.

per503 **Equality: Positive**

Concept of social justice and the need for fair treatment of all people. This may include:

- Special protection for underprivileged social groups;
- Removal of class barriers;
- Need for fair distribution of resources;
- The end of discrimination (e.g. racial or sexual discrimination).

per504 **Welfare State Expansion**

Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any public social service or social security scheme. This includes, for example, government funding of:

- Health care
- Child care
- Elder care and pensions
- Social housing

Note: This category excludes education.

per505 **Welfare State Limitation**

Limiting state expenditures on social services or social security. Favourable mentions of the social subsidiary principle (i.e. private care before state care);

per506 **Education Expansion**

Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels. *Note: This excludes technical training which is coded under 411.*

per507 **Education Limitation**

Limiting state expenditure on education. May include:

- The introduction or expansion of study fees at all educational levels
- Increasing the number of private schools.

Domain 6: Fabric of Society

per601 **National Way of Life: Positive**

Favourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation, history, and general appeals. May include:

- Support for established national ideas;
- General appeals to pride of citizenship;
- Appeals to patriotism;
- Appeals to nationalism;
- Suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion.

For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is calculated as the sum of per601_1, and per601_2.

per602 **National Way of Life: Negative**

Unfavourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation and history. May include:

- Opposition to patriotism;
- Opposition to nationalism;
- Opposition to the existing national state, national pride, and national ideas.

For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is calculated as the sum of per602_1, and per602_2.

per603 **Traditional Morality: Positive**

Favourable mentions of traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:

- Prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour;
- Maintenance and stability of the traditional family as a value;
- Support for the role of religious institutions in state and society.

per604 **Traditional Morality: Negative**

Opposition to traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:

- Support for divorce, abortion etc.;
- General support for modern family composition;
- Calls for the separation of church and state.

per605 **Law and Order: Positive**

Favourable mentions of strict law enforcement, and tougher actions against domestic crime. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto country's law code. May include:

- Increasing support and resources for the police;
- Tougher attitudes in courts;
- Importance of internal security.

For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is equal with per605_1.

per606 **Civic Mindedness: Positive**

Appeals for national solidarity and the need for society to see itself as united. Calls for solidarity with and help for fellow people, familiar and unfamiliar. May include:

- Favourable mention of the civil society;
- Decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis;
- Appeal for public spiritedness;
- Support for the public interest.

For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is calculated as the sum of per606_1, and per606_2.

per607 **Multiculturalism: Positive**

Favourable mentions of cultural diversity and cultural plurality within domestic societies. May include the preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages within the country including special educational provisions.
For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is calculated as the sum of per607_1, per607_2, and per607_3.

per608 **Multiculturalism: Negative**

The enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration. Appeals for cultural homogeneity in society.
For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is calculated as the sum of per608_1, per608_2, and per608_3.

Domain 7: Social Groups

Note: Specific policy positions overrule this domain (except 703)! If there is no specific policy position, however, these categories apply.

per701 **Labour Groups: Positive**

Favourable references to all labour groups, the working class, and unemployed workers in general. Support for trade unions and calls for the good treatment of all employees, including:

- More jobs;
- Good working conditions;
- Fair wages;
- Pension provisions etc.

per702 **Labour Groups: Negative**

Negative references to labour groups and trade unions. May focus specifically on the danger of unions 'abusing power'.

per703 **Agriculture and Farmers: Positive**

Specific policies in favour of agriculture and farmers. Includes all types of agriculture and farming practises. Only statements that have agriculture as the key goal should be included in this category.
For all documents that have been coded with version 5 of the Coding Instructions this category is equal with per703_1.

per704 **Middle Class and Professional Groups**

General favourable references to the middle class. Specifically, statements may include references to:

- Professional groups, (e.g.: doctors or lawyers);
- White collar groups, (e.g.: bankers or office employees),
- Service sector groups (e.g.: IT industry employees);
- Old and/or new middle class.

Note: This is not an economical category but refers to the social group(s).

per705 **Underprivileged Minority Groups**

Very general favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms (e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants, indigenous). Only includes favourable statements that cannot be classified in other categories (e.g. 503, 504, 604, 607 etc.)

per706 **Non-economic Demographic Groups**

General favourable mentions of demographically defined special interest groups of all kinds. They may include:

- Women;
- University students;
- Old, young, or middle aged people.

Might include references to assistance to these groups, but only if these do not fall under other categories (e.g. 503 or 504).

Sub-Categories (mostly for Central and Eastern European countries)

Data Entries per1011 – per7062

per1011 **Russia/USSR/CIS: Positive**

Favourable mentions of Russia, the USSR, the CMEA bloc or the Community of Independent States.

per1012 **Western States: Positive**

Favourable mentions of Western states, including the USA and Germany.

per1013 **Eastern European Countries: Positive**

Favourable mentions of Eastern European countries in general.

per1014	**Baltic States: Positive** Favourable mentions of the Baltic states, including other states bordering the Baltic Sea.
per1015	**Nordic Council: Positive** Favourable mentions of the Nordic Council.
per1016	**SFR Yugoslavia: Positive** Favourable mentions of countries formerly belonging to SFR Yugoslavia including special relationships with Montenegro, Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.
per1021	**Russia/USSR/CIS: Negative** Negative mentions of Russia, the USSR or the Community of Independent States.
per1022	**Western States: Negative** Negative mentions of Western states, including the USA and Germany.
per1023	**East European Countries: Negative** Negative mentions of Eastern European countries in general.
per1024	**Baltic States: Negative** Negative references to the Baltic states.
per1025	**Nordic Council: Negative** Negative references to the Nordic Council.
per1026	**SFR Yugoslavia: Negative** Negative mentions of countries formerly belonging to SFR Yugoslavia including negative references to Montenegro, Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.
per1031	**Russian Army: Negative** Need to withdraw the Russian army from the territory of the manifesto country; need to receive reparations for the damage caused by the Russian army or other Soviet institutions.
per1032	**Independence: Positive** Favourable mentions of the independence and sovereignty of the manifesto country.
per1033	**Rights of Nations: Positive** Favourable mentions of freedom, rights and interests of nations.
per2021	**Transition to Democracy** General references to the transition process of one-party states to pluralist democracy.
per2022	**Restrictive Citizenship: Positive** Favourable mentions of restrictions in citizenship; restrictions in enfranchisement with respect to (ethnic) groups.
per2023	**Lax Citizenship: Positive** Favourable mentions of lax citizenship and election laws; no or few restrictions in enfranchisement.
per2031	**Presidential Regime: Positive** Support for current presidential regime; statements in favour of a powerful presidency.
per2032	**Republic: Positive** Support for the republican form of government as opposed to monarchy.

per2033	**Checks and Balances: Positive** Support for checks and balances and separation of powers, and specifically for limiting the powers of the presidency by increasing legislative/judicial powers, or transferring some executive powers to the legislature or judiciary.
per2041	**Monarchy: Positive** Support for a monarchy, including conceptions of constitutional monarchy.
per3011	**Republican Powers: Positive** Favourable mentions of stronger republican powers.
per3051	**Public Situation: Negative** Negative references to the situation in public life after the founding elections.
per3052	**Communist: Positive** Co-operation with former authorities/communists in the transition period; pro-communist involvement in the transition process; and 'let sleeping dogs lie' in dealing with the nomenclature.
per3053	**Communist: Negative** Against communist involvement in democratic government; weeding out the collaborators from governmental service; need for political coalition except communist parties.
per3054	**Rehabilitation and Compensation: Positive** References to civic rehabilitation of politically persecuted people in the communist era; references to juridical compensation concerning communist expropriations; moral compensation.
per3055	**Political Coalitions: Positive** Positive references to the need of broader political coalition; need for co-operation at the political level; necessity of collaboration among all political forces.
per4011	**Privatisation: Positive** Favourable references to privatisation.
per4012	**Control of Economy: Negative** Negative references to the general need for direct governmental control of the economy.
per4013	**Property-Restitution: Positive** Favourable references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners.
per4014	**Privatisation Vouchers: Positive** Favourable references to privatisation vouchers.
per4121	**Social Ownership: Positive** Favourable references to the creation or preservation of co-operative or non-state social ownership within a market economy.
per4122	**Mixed Economy: Positive** Favourable references to mixed ownership within a market economy.
per4123	**Publicly-Owned Industry: Positive** Positive references to the concept of publicly-owned industries.

per4124	**Socialist Property: Positive** Positive references to socialist property, including public and co-operative property; negative references to privatisation.
per4131	**Property-Restitution: Negative** Negative references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners.
per4132	**Privatisation: Negative** Negative references to the privatisation system; need to change the privatisation system.
per5021	**Private-Public Mix in Culture: Positive** Necessity of private provisions due to economic constraints; private funding in addition to public activity.
per5031	**Private-Public Mix in Social Justice: Positive** Necessity of private initiatives due to economic constraints.
per5041	**Private-Public Mix in Welfare: Positive** Necessity of private welfare provisions due to economic constraints; desirability of competition in welfare service provisions; private funding in addition to public activity.
per5061	**Private-Public Mix in Education: Positive** Necessity of private education due to economic constraints; desirability of competition in education.
per6011	**The Karabakh Issue: Positive** Positive references to the unity of Karabakh and Armenia or the recognition of the independent Republic of Karabakh; rendering assistance to Karabakh.
per6012	**Rebuilding the USSR: Positive** Favourable mentions of the reunification of all republics and nations living on the former territory of the USSR into a new common (democratic) state or into a common economic space whereby the new union would be the guarantor of the manifesto country's sovereignty; negative references to the dissolution of the USSR and the respective treaties.
per6013	**National Security: Positive** Support for or need to maintain national security in all spheres of social life; policies devoted to this goal.
per6014	**Cyprus Issue** All references concerning the division of Cyprus in a Greek and a Turkish part.
per6061	**General Crisis** Identification of a general crisis in the country.
per6071	**Cultural Autonomy: Positive** Favourable mentions of cultural autonomy.
per6072	**Multiculturalism pro Roma: Positive** Favourable mentions of cultural autonomy of Roma.
per6081	**Multiculturalism pro Roma: Negative** Negative mentions of cultural autonomy of Roma.
per7051	**Minorities Inland: Positive** References to manifesto country minorities in foreign countries; positive references to manifesto country minorities.

per7052 **Minorities Abroad: Positive**

References to ethnic minorities living in the manifesto country such as Latvians living in Estonia.

per7061 **War Participants: Positive**

Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to people taking part in the war on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia.

per7062 **Refugees: Positive**

Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to people who left their homes because of the war (for instance, on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia) or were forcibly displaced.

Sub-Categories (introduced with version 5 of the Coding Instructions)

Data Entries per103_1 – per703_2

Subcategories (Type 2) used since version 5 of the Coding Instructions. All of these subcategories are aggregated to their main category in the dataset. The only exception to this rule are categories: 202_2, 605_2 and 703_2 which are aggregated to the 000 / peruncod category.

per103_1 **Anti-Imperialism: State Centred Anti-Imperialism**

Negative references to imperial behaviour and/or negative references to one state exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states. May also include:

- Negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire;
- Favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies;
- Favourable mentions of de-colonisation.

per103_2 **Anti-Imperialism: Foreign Financial Influence**

Negative references and statements against international financial organisations or states using monetary means to assert strong influence over the manifesto country or other states. May include:

- Statements against the World Bank, IMF etc.;
- Statements against the Washington Consensus;
- Statements against foreign debt circumscribing state actions.

per201_1 **Freedom**

Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom in the manifesto and other countries. May include mentions of:

- Freedom from state coercion in the political and economic spheres;
- Freedom from bureaucratic control;
- The idea of individualism

per201_2 **Human Rights**

Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights in the manifesto and other countries, including the right to freedom of speech, press, assembly etc.; supportive refugee policies.

per202_1 **Democracy General: Positive**

Favourable mentions of democracy as the "only game in town". General support for the manifesto country's democracy. May also include:

- Democracy as method or goal in national, international or other organisations (e.g. labour unions, political parties etc.);
- The need for the involvement of all citizens in political decision-making;
- Support for parts of democratic regimes (rule of law, division of powers, independence of courts etc.).

per202_2 **Democracy General: Negative**

Statements against the idea of democracy, in general or in the manifesto country. Calls for reducing or withholding democratic rights from all or certain groups of people. Calls for the introduction or maintaining of a non-democratic regime, e.g. monarchy or rule of the military.

per202_3 **Representative Democracy: Positive**

Favourable mentions of the system of representative democracy, in particular in contrast to direct democracy. This includes the protection of representative institutions and actors against direct democratic elements.

per202_4 **Direct Democracy: Positive**

Favourable mentions of the system of direct democracy, in particular in contrast to representative democracy. This includes the call for the introduction and/or extension of referenda, participatory budgets and other forms of direct democracy.

per305_1 **Political Authority: Party Competence**

References to the manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence.

per305_2 **Political Authority: Personal Competence**

Reference to the presidential candidate's or party leader's personal competence to govern and/or other candidate's or leader's lack of such competence.

per305_3 **Political Authority: Strong government**

Favourable mentions of the desirability of a strong and/or stable government in general.

per305_4 **Transition: Pre-Democratic Elites: Positive**

Co-operation with pre-democratic authorities in the transition period; amnesty for former, non-Democratic elites; and 'let sleeping dogs lie' in dealing with the nomenclature of the former, non-Democratic regime.

per305_5 **Transition: Pre-Democratic Elites: Negative**

Against pre-democratic elite's involvement in democratic government; weeding out the collaborators of former, non-Democratic regime from governmental service; for truth commissions and other institutions illuminating recent history.

per305_6 **Transition: Rehabilitation and Compensation**

References to civic rehabilitation of politically persecuted people in the authoritarian era; references to juridical compensation concerning authoritarian expropriations; moral compensation.
Note: Specific policy positions overrule all subcategories of 305! If there is no specific policy position, however, these subcategories may apply.

per416_1 **Anti-Growth Economy: Positive**

Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics. Rejection of the idea that growth is good.

per416_2 **Sustainability: Positive**

Call for sustainable economic development. Opposition to growth that causes environmental or societal harm.

per601_1 **National Way of Life General: Positive**

Favourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation, history, and general appeals. May include:

- Support for established national ideas;
- General appeals to pride of citizenship;
- Appeals to patriotism;
- Appeals to nationalism;
- Suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion.

per601_2 **National Way of Life: Immigration: Negative**

Statement advocating the restriction of the process of immigration, i.e. accepting new immigrants. Might include statements regarding:

- Immigration being a threat to national character of the manifesto country;
- 'the boat is full' argument;
- The introduction of migration quotas, including restricting immigration from specific countries or regions etc.

Only concerned with the possibility of new immigrants. For negative statements regarding immigrants already in the manifesto country, please see 608_1.

per602_1 **National Way of Life General: Negative**

Unfavourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation and history. May include:

- Opposition to patriotism;
- Opposition to nationalism;
- Opposition to the existing national state, national pride, and national ideas.

per602_2 **National Way of Life: Immigration: Positive**

Statements favouring new immigrants; against restrictions and quotas; rejection of the 'boat is full' argument. Includes allowing new immigrants for the benefit of the manifesto country's economy. *Only concerned with the possibility of new immigrants. For positive statements regarding immigrants already in the manifesto country, please see 607_1.*

per605_1 **Law and Order: Positive**

Favourable mentions of strict law enforcement, and tougher actions against domestic crime. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto country's law code. May include:

- Increasing support and resources for the police;
- Tougher attitudes in courts;
- Importance of internal security.

per605_2 **Law and Order: Negative**

Favourable mentions of less law enforcement or rejection of plans for stronger law enforcement. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto country's law code. May include:

- Less resources for police;
- Reducing penalties;
- Calls for abolishing the death penalty;
- Decriminalisation of drugs, prostitution etc.

per606_1 **Civic Mindedness General: Positive**

General appeals for national solidarity and the need for society to see itself as united. Calls for solidarity with and help for fellow people, familiar and unfamiliar. May include:

- Favourable mention of the civil society and volunteering;
- Decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis;
- Appeal for public spiritedness;
- Support for the public interest.

per606_2 **Civic Mindedness: Bottom-Up Activism**

Appeals to grassroots movements of social change; banding all sections of society together to overcome common adversity and hardship; appeals to the people as a united actor.

per607_1 **Multiculturalism General: Positive**

Favourable mentions of cultural diversity and cultural plurality within domestic societies. May include the preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages within the country including special educational provisions.

per607_2 **Multiculturalism: Immigrants Diversity**

Statements favouring the idea that immigrants keep their cultural traits; voluntary integration; state providing opportunities to integrate.
Only concerned with immigrants already in the manifesto country. For positive statements regarding the possibility of new immigrants, please see 602_2.

per607_3 **Multiculturalism: Indigenous rights: Positive**

Calls for the protection of indigenous people, strengthening their rights, may include:

- Protection of their lands;
- Introduction of special provisions in the democratic or bureaucratic process;
- Compensation for past grief.

per608_1 **Multiculturalism General: Negative**

The enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration. Appeals for cultural homogeneity in society.

per608_2 **Multiculturalism: Immigrants Assimilation**

Calls for immigrants that are in the country to adopt the manifesto country's culture and fully assimilate. Reinforce integration.
Only concerned with immigrants already in the manifesto country. For negative statements regarding the possibility of new immigrants, please see 601_2

per608_3 **Multiculturalism: Indigenous rights: Negative**

Rejection of idea of special protection for indigenous people.

per703_1 **Agriculture and Farmers: Positive**

Specific policies in favour of agriculture and farmers. Includes all types of agriculture and farming practises. Only statements that have agriculture as the key goal should be included in this category.

per703_2 **Agriculture and Farmers: Negative**

Rejection of policies favouring agriculture and farmers. May include:

- Cap or abolish subsidies;
- Reject special welfare provisions for farmers.

3.6 Programmatic dimensions

rile Right-left position of party as given in Michael Laver/Ian Budge (eds.): Party Policy and Government Coalitions, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: The MacMillan Press 1992:

(per104 + per201 + per203 + per305 + per401 + per402 + per407 + per414 + per505 + per601 + per603 + per605 + per606)
- (per103 + per105 + per106 + per107 + per403 + per404 + per406 + per412 + per413 + per504 + per506 + per701 + per202).

. Missing information (eg. if progtype = 99)

planeco	per403 + per404 + per412
	. Missing information / not applicable (eg. if progtype = 99)
markeco	per401 + per414
	. Missing information / not applicable (eg. if progtype = 99)
welfare	per503 + per504
	. Missing information / not applicable (eg. if progtype = 99)
intpeace	per102 + per105 + per106
	. Missing information / not applicable (eg. if progtype = 99)

3.7 Dataset variables

datasetversion	indicates the dataset version (a constant)
id_perm	a 6-digit random character string and that permanently identifies the same observations between different dataset versions (even if eg. the party id of an observation is changed/corrected)