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# Manifesto Project Dataset: South America

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## Codebook

manifesto-communication@wzb.eu

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

Version 2019b  
from December 17, 2019

## 1 Introduction & Citation

The Manifesto Project Dataset: South America is created by the project Manifesto Research on Political Representation (MARPOR) funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and located at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center. This dataset builds on the main Manifesto Project Dataset and is created using the same methodology. In contrast to the Manifesto Project Dataset it covers not only parliamentary elections but also presidential elections in the region of South America.

Please check our website for the newest version and more precise information about the coding procedure (coding instructions):

<https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/>

When using the Manifesto Project Dataset: South America, please cite:

Krause, Werner / Lehmann, Pola / Matthieß, Theres / Merz, Nicolas / Regel, Sven / Weßels, Bernhard (2019): The Manifesto Data Collection: South America. Manifesto Project (MARPOR). Version 2019b. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB). <https://doi.org/10.25522/manifesto.mpdssa.2019b>

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## 2 Overview & Coverage

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. For lower house elections, we code election programmes of all those parties which have won at least two seats in the respective national election.

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".

<b>Units</b>	Parties / presidential candidates at national elections
<b>Countries</b>	5 South American countries, more countries will be added with following updates
<b>Time</b>	1989-2018
<b>Parties</b>	61 relevant parties and presidential alliances - these are parties that gained at least two seats in parliament or alliances backing presidential candidates that gained 5 or more % in the first round of the presidential election. See also the list of political parties for South America on our website.
<b>Elections</b>	26 parliamentary lower house elections and presidential elections. For Argentina, the dataset covers parliamentary and presidential elections (plus the parliamentary mid-term elections in 2009 and 2013). For Bolivia, it covers parliamentary and presidential elections. For Brazil, it covers presidential elections only. For Chile, the dataset covers presidential elections and concurrent parliamentary elections.
<b>Programmes</b>	98 election programmes and substitute documents/functional equivalents. See also the list of coded documents on our website.
<b>Data Sources</b>	Publicly available election statistics and content analysed election programmes (substitute documents)

### 3 Variables

#### 3.1 Identification Variables

<b>country</b>	150	Argentina
	151	Bolivia
	155	Chile
	162	Uruguay
	180	Brazil
<b>countryname</b>	Name of country in English (string variable)	
<b>oecdmember</b>	0	no OECD member at the time of election
	10	OECD member at the time of election
<b>edate</b>	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, this variable gives the day of the first round.	
<b>date</b>	Year and month of national election in the format YYYYMM. Eg. 201102 indicates an election in February 2011.	
<b>party</b>	The party identification code consists of six digits. The first three digits repeat the country code. The last three digits are running numbers.	
<b>partyname</b>	Name of party in English (string variable).	
<b>partyabbrev</b>	Original language party abbreviation	
<b>parfam</b>	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
	60	CON Conservative parties
	70	NAT Nationalist parties
	80	AGR Agrarian parties
	90	ETH Ethnic and regional parties
	95	SIP Special issue parties
	98/00	DIV Electoral alliances of diverse origin without dominant party
	999	MI missing information

<b>candidatename</b>	Name of presidential candidate (string variable) . not applicable (for parliamentary election that did not coincide with a presidential election)
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### 3.2 Coding and data quality variables

<b>coderid</b>	Identification number of coder, three digit code: First digit: 200– hired and trained coder 799 998 not applicable 999 missing information
<b>manual</b>	The Coding Instructions and the Category Scheme were adapted several times. For the Manifesto Data Collection: South American only version 5 of the Coding Instructions was used. 5 manual version 5 998 not applicable 999 no information whether a handbook was used or not
<b>coderyear</b>	Year during which codings took place . missing information / not applicable (e.g. for progtype = 3 or progtype = 99)
<b>testresult</b>	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 / missing information)
<b>testeditsim</b>	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 subtracting it from 1 (maximum distance). 0.0 Maximum dissimilarity +1.00 Perfect agreement . Not applicable (e.g. progtype = 3 or progtype = 99)

### 3.3 Electoral data variables

<b>pervote</b>	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 <i>and</i> 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
<b>voteest</b>	<b>0</b> <b>original figure from data source/election statistics</b> Indicates that the vote share indicated by pervote is taken from election results and indicates the vote share the party (or party bloc) won at the election. <b>1</b> <b>estimated</b> Indicates that the pervote variable is not simply 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 gained by a party.
<b>presvote</b>	Percentage of votes in presidential elections. In case of several rounds of election, the variable indicates the results from the first round. . missing information
<b>absseat</b>	Reported for all cases where a presidential election took place. . Absolute number of seats occupied by each party or party bloc after the election. In case of Argentina, where only parts of the seats are contested at each election, this still represents the distribution of seats in the whole legislature. . missing information
<b>totseats</b>	Total number of seats in parliament. . missing information

### 3.4 Programmatic data variables

<b>progtype</b>	<b>1</b> <b>Programme of a single party</b> As a rule, each party issues one programme for each election. <b>2</b> <b>Programme of two or more parties</b> In a number of countries, parties compete as programmatic coalitions by issuing joint programmes. In these cases, the joint programme was assigned to each of the party of the programmatic coalition. <b>3</b> <b>Estimate</b>
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	<p>For calculating median voter or median party figures, missing election programmes have been estimated on the basis of available programmes whenever a party obtained seats in parliament. Estimates were derived either by computing averages between two adjacent programmes or by duplicating programmatic data.</p>
<b>4</b>	<p><b>Programme taken from main party of electoral coalition</b></p> <p>Parties sometimes compete as electoral coalitions in which blocs of parties receive joint votes and seats, but 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.</p>
<b>5</b>	<p><b>Average of all members of an electoral coalition</b></p> <p>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.</p>
<b>6</b>	<p><b>General programme</b></p> <p>Some parties did not issue separate election programmes but contested elections with their general programmes.</p>
<b>8</b>	<p><b>Party bloc programme</b></p> <p>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 making up the bloc.</p>
<b>9</b>	<p><b>Other type of programme</b></p> <p>Other types of programmes not specified by types 1 to 8.</p>
<b>99</b>	<p><b>Missing programme</b></p> <p>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.</p>
<b>datasetorigin</b>	<p>Indicates with which update in which year the data was published. 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.</p> <p>901 South America Dataset 2015a            911 Update 2016b            920 Update 2017a            921 Update 2017b            930 Update 2018a            931 Update 2018b            940 Update 2019a            941 Update 2019b</p>
<b>corpusversion</b>	<p>Indicates the version of the Manifesto Corpus used to calculate the content analytical data in this observation.</p> <p>. Missing information</p>

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<b>total</b>	Missing for all observations where the content analytical data is not based on the Manifesto Corpus.     Total number of allocated codes   . Missing information
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### 3.5 Content Analytical Data

	<p>The dataset contains one set of content analytical variables (per101-per706). 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.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The three digit variables (per101–per706): are the main categories of the coding scheme.</li> <li>• 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 foresee that these new categories are used instead of the respective main categories. The Manifest Project Dataset: South America only contains data coded on the basis of version 5. Therefore, we do not report the main categories in this dataset for the categories that have been replaced by the new categories. Instead we report the share for each of the new categories replacing the main category.</li> </ul> <p>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.</p>
<b>peruncod</b>	<p>Percentage of (quasi-)sentences coded as 000 (No meaningful category applies).</p> <p>.</p>
<i>Categories</i>	
<b>Data Entries</b> <b>per101 – per706</b>	<p>Percentages of seventy-six categories grouped into seven major policy areas. Because of the different length of documents, the number of (quasi-)sentences in each category is standardised taking the total number of (quasi-) sentences in the respective documents as a base. In the data set each of these categories is a variable that represents the percentage.</p> <p>.</p>
<i>Domain 1: External Relations</i>	
<b>per101</b>	<p><b>Foreign Special Relationships: Positive</b></p> <p>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.</p>
<b>per102</b>	<p><b>Foreign Special Relationships: Negative</b></p> <p>Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship.</p>

<b>per103_1</b>	<p><b>Anti-Imperialism: State Centred Anti-Imperialism</b></p> <p>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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire;</li><li>• Favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies;</li><li>• Favourable mentions of de-colonisation.</li></ul>
<b>per103_2</b>	<p><b>Anti-Imperialism: Foreign Financial Influence</b></p> <p>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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Statements against the World Bank, IMF etc.;</li><li>• Statements against the Washington Consensus;</li><li>• Statements against foreign debt circumscribing state actions.</li></ul>
<b>per104</b>	<p><b>Military: Positive</b></p> <p>The importance of external security and defence. May include statements concerning:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The need to maintain or increase military expenditure;</li><li>• The need to secure adequate manpower in the military;</li><li>• The need to modernise armed forces and improve military strength;</li><li>• The need for rearmament and self-defence;</li><li>• The need to keep military treaty obligations.</li></ul>
<b>per105</b>	<p><b>Military: Negative</b></p> <p>Negative references to the military or use of military power to solve conflicts. References to the ‘evils of war’. May include references to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Decreasing military expenditures;</li><li>• Disarmament;</li><li>• Reduced or abolished conscription.</li></ul>

per106	<p><b>Peace</b></p> <p>Any declaration of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises – absent reference to the military. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace as a general goal;</li> <li>• Desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries;</li> <li>• Ending wars in order to establish peace.</li> </ul>
per107	<p><b>Internationalism: Positive</b></p> <p>Need for international co-operation, including co-operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101. May also include references to the:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Need for aid to developing countries;</li> <li>• Need for world planning of resources;</li> <li>• Support for global governance;</li> <li>• Need for international courts;</li> <li>• Support for UN or other international organisations.</li> </ul>
per108	<p><b>European Community/Union: Positive</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of European Community/Union in general. May include the:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member);</li> <li>• Desirability of expanding the European Community/Union;</li> <li>• Desirability of increasing the ECs/EUs competences;</li> <li>• Desirability of expanding the competences of the European Parliament.</li> </ul>
per109	<p><b>Internationalism: Negative</b></p> <p>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.</p>
per110	<p><b>European Community/Union: Negative</b></p> <p>Negative references to the European Community/Union. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities;</li> <li>• Opposition to the net-contribution of the manifesto country to the EU budget.</li> </ul>

*Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy*

per201_1	<p><b>Freedom</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom in the manifesto and other countries. May include mentions of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Freedom from state coercion in the political and economic spheres;</li> <li>• Freedom from bureaucratic control;</li> <li>• The idea of individualism</li> </ul>
per201_2	<p><b>Human Rights</b></p> <p>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.</p>
per202_1	<p><b>Democracy General: Positive</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of democracy as the “only game in town”. General support for the manifesto country’s democracy. May also include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Democracy as method or goal in national, international or other organisations (e.g. labour unions, political parties etc.);</li> <li>• The need for the involvement of all citizens in political decision-making;</li> <li>• Support for parts of democratic regimes (rule of law, division of powers, independence of courts etc.).</li> </ul>
per202_2	<p><b>Democracy General: Negative</b></p> <p>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.</p>
per202_3	<p><b>Representative Democracy: Positive</b></p> <p>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.</p>
per202_4	<p><b>Direct Democracy: Positive</b></p> <p>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.</p>
per203	<p><b>Constitutionalism: Positive</b></p> <p>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.</p>
per204	<p><b>Constitutionalism: Negative</b></p> <p>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.</p>

*Domain 3: Political System*

<b>per301</b>	<p><b>Decentralization</b></p> <p>Support for federalism or decentralisation of political and/or economic power. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Favourable mentions of the territorial subsidiary principle;</li> <li>• More autonomy for any sub-national level in policy making and/or economics, including municipalities;</li> <li>• Support for the continuation and importance of local and regional customs and symbols and/or deference to local expertise;</li> <li>• Favourable mentions of special consideration for sub-national areas.</li> </ul>
<b>per302</b>	<p><b>Centralisation</b></p> <p>General opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels. Support for unitary government and for more centralisation in political and administrative procedures.</p>
<b>per303</b>	<p><b>Governmental and Administrative Efficiency</b></p> <p>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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Restructuring the civil service;</li> <li>• Cutting down on the civil service;</li> <li>• Improving bureaucratic procedures.</li> </ul> <p><i>Note: Specific policy positions overrule this category! If there is no specific policy position, however, this category applies.</i></p>
<b>per304</b>	<p><b>Political Corruption</b></p> <p>Need to eliminate political corruption and associated abuses of political and/or bureaucratic power. Need to abolish clientelist structures and practices.</p>
<b>per305_1</b>	<p><b>Political Authority: Party Competence</b></p> <p>References to the manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence.</p>
<b>per305_2</b>	<p><b>Political Authority: Personal Competence</b></p> <p>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.</p>
<b>per305_3</b>	<p><b>Political Authority: Strong government</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of the desirability of a strong and/or stable government in general.</p>
<b>per305_4</b>	<p><b>Transition: Pre-Democratic Elites: Positive</b></p> <p>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.</p>

<b>per305_5</b>	<p><b>Transition: Pre-Democratic Elites: Negative</b></p> <p>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.</p>
<b>per305_6</b>	<p><b>Transition: Rehabilitation and Compensation</b></p> <p>References to civic rehabilitation of politically persecuted people in the authoritarian era; references to juridical compensation concerning authoritarian expropriations; moral compensation.</p> <p><i>Note: Specific policy positions overrule all subcategories of 305! If there is no specific policy position, however, these subcategories may apply.</i></p>

*Domain 4: Economy*

<b>per401</b>	<p><b>Free Market Economy</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of the free market and free market capitalism as an economic model. May include favourable references to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Laissez-faire economy;</li> <li>• Superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems;</li> <li>• Private property rights;</li> <li>• Personal enterprise and initiative;</li> <li>• Need for unhampered individual enterprises.</li> </ul>
<b>per402</b>	<p><b>Incentives: Positive</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of supply side oriented economic policies (assistance to businesses rather than consumers). May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial and other incentives such as subsidies, tax breaks etc.;</li> <li>• Wage and tax policies to induce enterprise;</li> <li>• Encouragement to start enterprises.</li> </ul>
<b>per403</b>	<p><b>Market Regulation</b></p> <p>Support for policies designed to create a fair and open economic market. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Calls for increased consumer protection;</li> <li>• Increasing economic competition by preventing monopolies and other actions disrupting the functioning of the market;</li> <li>• Defence of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses;</li> <li>• Social market economy.</li> </ul>

per404	<p><b>Economic Planning</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning by the government. May be:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policy plans, strategies, policy patterns etc.;</li> <li>• Of a consultative or indicative nature.</li> </ul>
per405	<p><b>Corporatism/Mixed Economy</b></p> <p>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.</p> <p><i>Note: This category was not used for Austria up to 1979, for New Zealand up to 1981, and for Sweden up to 1988.</i></p>
per406	<p><b>Protectionism: Positive</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of extending or maintaining the protection of internal markets (by the manifesto or other countries). Measures may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tariffs;</li> <li>• Quota restrictions;</li> <li>• Export subsidies.</li> </ul>
per407	<p><b>Protectionism: Negative</b></p> <p>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).</p>
per408	<p><b>Economic Goals</b></p> <p>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.</p> <p><i>Note: Specific policy positions overrule this category! If there is no specific policy position, however, this category applies.</i></p>
per409	<p><b>Keynesian Demand Management</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of demand side oriented economic policies (assistance to consumers rather than businesses). Particularly includes increase private demand through</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasing public demand;</li> <li>• Increasing social expenditures.</li> </ul> <p>May also include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stabilisation in the face of depression;</li> <li>• Government stimulus plans in the face of economic crises.</li> </ul>

per410	<p><b>Economic Growth: Positive</b></p> <p>The paradigm of economic growth. Includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General need to encourage or facilitate greater production;</li> <li>• Need for the government to take measures to aid economic growth.</li> </ul>
per411	<p><b>Technology and Infrastructure: Positive</b></p> <p>Importance of modernisation of industry and updated methods of transport and communication. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Importance of science and technological developments in industry;</li> <li>• Need for training and research within the economy (This does not imply education in general (see category 506);</li> <li>• Calls for public spending on infrastructure such as roads and bridges;</li> <li>• Support for public spending on technological infrastructure (e.g.: broadband internet, etc.).</li> </ul>
per412	<p><b>Controlled Economy</b></p> <p>Support for direct government control of economy. May include, for instance:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Control over prices;</li> <li>• Introduction of minimum wages.</li> </ul>
per413	<p><b>Nationalisation</b></p> <p>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.</p>
per414	<p><b>Economic Orthodoxy</b></p> <p>Need for economically healthy government policy making. May include calls for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reduction of budget deficits;</li> <li>• Retrenchment in crisis;</li> <li>• Thrift and savings in the face of economic hardship;</li> <li>• Support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system;</li> <li>• Support for strong currency.</li> </ul>
per415	<p><b>Marxist Analysis</b></p> <p>Positive references to Marxist-Leninist ideology and specific use of Marxist-Leninist terminology by the manifesto party (typically but not necessary by communist parties).</p>



per416_1	<p><b>Anti-Growth Economy: Positive</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics. Rejection of the idea that growth is good.</p>
per416_2	<p><b>Sustainability: Positive</b></p> <p>Call for sustainable economic development. Opposition to growth that causes environmental or societal harm.</p>

*Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life*

per501	<p><b>Environmental Protection</b></p> <p>General policies in favour of protecting the environment, fighting climate change, and other “green” policies. For instance:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General preservation of natural resources;</li> <li>• Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.;</li> <li>• Protection of national parks;</li> <li>• Animal rights.</li> </ul> <p>May include a great variance of policies that have the unified <i>goal</i> of environmental protection.</p>
per502	<p><b>Culture: Positive</b></p> <p>Need for state funding of cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The need to fund museums, art galleries, libraries etc.;</li> <li>• The need to encourage cultural mass media and worthwhile leisure activities, such as public sport clubs.</li> </ul>
per503	<p><b>Equality: Positive</b></p> <p>Concept of social justice and the need for fair treatment of all people. This may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Special protection for underprivileged social groups;</li> <li>• Removal of class barriers;</li> <li>• Need for fair distribution of resources;</li> <li>• The end of discrimination (e.g. racial or sexual discrimination).</li> </ul>

per504	<p><b>Welfare State Expansion</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any public social service or social security scheme. This includes, for example, government funding of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Health care</li> <li>• Child care</li> <li>• Elder care and pensions</li> <li>• Social housing</li> </ul> <p><i>Note: This category excludes education.</i></p>
per505	<p><b>Welfare State Limitation</b></p> <p>Limiting state expenditures on social services or social security. Favourable mentions of the social subsidiary principle (i.e. private care before state care);</p>
per506	<p><b>Education Expansion</b></p> <p>Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels.</p> <p><i>Note: This excludes technical training which is coded under 411.</i></p>
per507	<p><b>Education Limitation</b></p> <p>Limiting state expenditure on education. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The introduction or expansion of study fees at all educational levels</li> <li>• Increasing the number of private schools.</li> </ul>

*Domain 6: Fabric of Society*

per601_1	<p><b>National Way of Life General: Positive</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation, history, and general appeals. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support for established national ideas;</li> <li>• General appeals to pride of citizenship;</li> <li>• Appeals to patriotism;</li> <li>• Appeals to nationalism;</li> <li>• Suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion.</li> </ul>
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per601_2	<p><b>National Way of Life: Immigration: Negative</b></p> <p>Statement advocating the restriction of the process of immigration, i.e. accepting new immigrants. Might include statements regarding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Immigration being a threat to national character of the manifesto country;</li> <li>• ‘the boat is full’ argument;</li> <li>• The introduction of migration quotas, including restricting immigration from specific countries or regions etc.</li> </ul> <p><i>Only concerned with the possibility of new immigrants. For negative statements regarding immigrants already in the manifesto country, please see 608_1.</i></p>
per602_1	<p><b>National Way of Life General: Negative</b></p> <p>Unfavourable mentions of the manifesto country’s nation and history. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opposition to patriotism;</li> <li>• Opposition to nationalism;</li> <li>• Opposition to the existing national state, national pride, and national ideas.</li> </ul>
per602_2	<p><b>National Way of Life: Immigration: Positive</b></p> <p>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. <i>Only concerned with the possibility of new immigrants. For positive statements regarding immigrants already in the manifesto country, please see 607_1.</i></p>
per603	<p><b>Traditional Morality: Positive</b></p> <p>Favourable mentions of traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour;</li> <li>• Maintenance and stability of the traditional family as a value;</li> <li>• Support for the role of religious institutions in state and society.</li> </ul>
per604	<p><b>Traditional Morality: Negative</b></p> <p>Opposition to traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support for divorce, abortion etc.;</li> <li>• General support for modern family composition;</li> <li>• Calls for the separation of church and state.</li> </ul>

per605_1	<p><b>Law and Order: Positive</b></p> <p>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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasing support and resources for the police;</li> <li>• Tougher attitudes in courts;</li> <li>• Importance of internal security.</li> </ul>
per605_2	<p><b>Law and Order: Negative</b></p> <p>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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Less resources for police;</li> <li>• Reducing penalties;</li> <li>• Calls for abolishing the death penalty;</li> <li>• Decriminalisation of drugs, prostitution etc.</li> </ul>
per606_1	<p><b>Civic Mindedness General: Positive</b></p> <p>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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Favourable mention of the civil society and volunteering;</li> <li>• Decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis;</li> <li>• Appeal for public spiritedness;</li> <li>• Support for the public interest.</li> </ul>
per606_2	<p><b>Civic Mindedness: Bottom-Up Activism</b></p> <p>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.</p>
per607_1	<p><b>Multiculturalism General: Positive</b></p> <p>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.</p>
per607_2	<p><b>Multiculturalism: Immigrants Diversity</b></p> <p>Statements favouring the idea that immigrants keep their cultural traits; voluntary integration; state providing opportunities to integrate.</p> <p><i>Only concerned with immigrants already in the manifesto country. For positive statements regarding the possibility of new immigrants, please see 602_2.</i></p>

per607_3	<p><b>Multiculturalism: Indigenous rights: Positive</b>  Calls for the protection of indigenous people, strengthening their rights, may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protection of their lands;</li> <li>• Introduction of special provisions in the democratic or bureaucratic process;</li> <li>• Compensation for past grief.</li> </ul>
per608_1	<p><b>Multiculturalism General: Negative</b>  The enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration. Appeals for cultural homogeneity in society.</p>
per608_2	<p><b>Multiculturalism: Immigrants Assimilation</b>  Calls for immigrants that are in the country to adopt the manifesto country's culture and fully assimilate. Reinforce integration.  <i>Only concerned with immigrants already in the manifesto country. For negative statements regarding the possibility of new immigrants, please see 601_2</i></p>
per608_3	<p><b>Multiculturalism: Indigenous rights: Negative</b>  Rejection of idea of special protection for indigenous people.</p>

*Domain 7: Social Groups*

	<p><i>Note: Specific policy positions overrule this domain (except 703)! If there is no specific policy position, however, these categories apply.</i></p>
per701	<p><b>Labour Groups: Positive</b>  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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More jobs;</li> <li>• Good working conditions;</li> <li>• Fair wages;</li> <li>• Pension provisions etc.</li> </ul>
per702	<p><b>Labour Groups: Negative</b>  Negative references to labour groups and trade unions. May focus specifically on the danger of unions 'abusing power'.</p>
per703_1	<p><b>Agriculture and Farmers: Positive</b>  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.</p>
per703_2	<p><b>Agriculture and Farmers: Negative</b>  Rejection of policies favouring agriculture and farmers. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cap or abolish subsidies;</li> <li>• Reject special welfare provisions for farmers.</li> </ul>

<b>per704</b>	<p><b>Middle Class and Professional Groups</b></p> <p>General favourable references to the middle class. Specifically, statements may include references to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Professional groups, (e.g.: doctors or lawyers);</li> <li>• White collar groups, (e.g.: bankers or office employees),</li> <li>• Service sector groups (e.g.: IT industry employees);</li> <li>• Old and/or new middle class.</li> </ul> <p><i>Note: This is not an economical category but refers to the social group(s).</i></p>
<b>per705</b>	<p><b>Underprivileged Minority Groups</b></p> <p>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.)</p>
<b>per706</b>	<p><b>Non-economic Demographic Groups</b></p> <p>General favourable mentions of demographically defined special interest groups of all kinds. They may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women;</li> <li>• University students;</li> <li>• Old, young, or middle aged people.</li> </ul> <p>Might include references to assistance to these groups, but only if these do not fall under other categories (e.g. 503 or 504).</p>

### 3.6 Programmatic dimensions

<b>rile</b>	<p>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. The procedure is slightly adjusted to version 5 of the coding instructions.</p> $  \begin{aligned}  & (\text{per104} + \text{per201\_1} + \text{per201\_2} + \text{per203} + \text{per305\_1} + \text{per305\_2} \\  & + \text{per305\_3} + \text{per305\_4} + \text{per305\_5} + \text{per305\_6} + \text{per401} + \\  & \text{per402} + \text{per407} + \text{per414} + \text{per505} + \text{per601\_1} + \text{per601\_2} + \\  & \text{per603} + \text{per605\_1} + \text{per605\_2} + \text{per606\_1} + \text{per606\_2}) \\  & - (\text{per103\_1} + \text{per103\_2} + \text{per105} + \text{per106} + \text{per107} + \text{per202\_1} + \\  & \text{per202\_3} + \text{per202\_4} + \text{per403} + \text{per404} + \text{per406} + \text{per412} + \\  & \text{per413} + \text{per504} + \text{per506} + \text{per701})  \end{aligned}  $ <p>. missing information (eg. if progtype = 99)</p>
<b>planeco</b>	<p><math>\text{per403} + \text{per404} + \text{per412}</math></p> <p>. missing information / not applicable (eg. if progtype = 99)</p>
<b>markeco</b>	<p><math>\text{per401} + \text{per414}</math></p> <p>. missing information / not applicable (eg. if progtype = 99)</p>
<b>welfare</b>	<p><math>\text{per503} + \text{per504}</math></p> <p>. missing information / not applicable (eg. if progtype = 99)</p>
<b>intpeace</b>	<p><math>\text{per102} + \text{per105} + \text{per106}</math></p>

| . missing information / not applicable (eg. if progtype = 99)

### 3.7 Dataset variables

<b>datasetversion</b>	indicates the dataset version (a constant)
<b>id_perm</b>	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)