Codebook

manifesto-communication @wzb.eu

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

Version 2018a from July 16, 2018

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:

Lehmann, Pola / Matthieß, Theres / Merz, Nicolas / Regel, Sven / Weßels, Bernhard (2018): The Manifesto Data Collection: South America. Manifesto Project (MAR-POR). Version 2018a. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB). https://doi.org/10.25522/manifesto.mpdssa.2018a

When citing this document, refer to:

Lehmann, Pola / Matthieß, Theres / Merz, Nicolas / Regel, Sven / Weßels, Bernhard (2018): The Manifesto Data Collection: South America - Codebook. Manifesto Project (MARPOR). Version 2018a. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).

2 Overview & Coverage

Units	Parties / presidential candidates at national elections		
Countries	4 South American countries, more countries will be added with following . updates		
Time	1989-2013		
Parties Elections	 46 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. 22 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 D bit is in the first round of the parliamentary back of the parliamentary back of the parliamentary back of the parliamentary mid-term elections in 2009 and 2013). 		
	Bolivia, it covers parliamentary and presidential elections. For Brazil, it covers presidential elections only. For Chile, the dataset covers pres- idential elections and concurrent parliamentary elections.		
Programs	78 election programs 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 pro- grams (substitute documents)		

3 Variables

3.1 Identification Variables

country	150	Argentina	
	151	Bolivia	
	155	Chile	
	180	Brazil	
countryname	Name of country in English (string variable)		
oecdmember	0	no OECD	member at the time of election
	10	OECD me	ember at the time of election
edate	Day, month, and year of national election		
date	Year and month of national election in the format YYYYMM. Eg. 201102 indicates an election in February 2011.		
party	The party identification code consists of six digits. The first three digits repeat the country code. The last three digits are running numbers.		
partyname	Names of parties in English (string variable).		
partyabbrev	Original language party abbreviations		
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:		
	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
candidatename	Name of	presidentia	l candidate (string variable)
			able (for parliamentary election that did not coincide esidential election)

3.2 Coding and data quality variables

coderid	Identification number of coder, three digit code:			
	First digit:			
	200– hired coder 799			
	998 not applicable			
	999 missing information			
manual	The Coding Instructions and the Category Scheme were adapted sev- eral 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			
coderyear	Year during which codings took place			
	. missing information / not applicable (e.g. for progtype = 3 or progtype = 99)			
testresult	Result of entry test as given in the Coding Instructions: test of re- liability in comparison to the master copy, Krippendorff's Alpha for ordinal data:			
	-1.00 very bad			
	+1.00 very good			
	. not applicable (e.g. progtype = $3 / \text{missing information}$)			
${f testeditsim}$	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 programs for all members of the coalition and the coalition were coded, pervote for the coalition program is set to zero so that the sum of pervotes is not higher than 100%. . missing information
voteest	0 original figure from data source/election statistics

	 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. estimated 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.
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.
absseat	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.
totseats	Total number of seats in parliamentmissing information

3.4 Programmatic data variables

progtype	1	Program of a single party
		As a rule, each party issues one program for each election.
	2	Program of two or more parties
		In a number of countries, parties compete as programmatic coalitions by issuing joint programs. In these cases, the joint program was assigned to each of the party of the programmatic coalition.
	3	Estimate
		For calculating median voter or median party figures, missing election programs have been estimated on the basis of available programs whenever a party obtained seats in parliament. Esti- mates were derived either by computing averages between two adjacent programs or by duplicating programmatic data.
	4	Program taken from main party of electoral coalition
		Parties sometimes compete as electoral coalitions in which blocs of parties receive joint votes and seats, but parties in the bloc still issue separate programs. When the electoral coalition is dominated by one strong party, the program of the main coali- tion party was used to measure positions of the 'electoral coali- tion' 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 program

		Some parties did not issue separate election programs but con- tested elections with their general programs.
	8	Party bloc program
		Some party blocs issue joint programs. As opposed to type 2 programs, electoral statistics are given for the party bloc as a whole, not for the single parties making up the bloc.
	9	Other type of program
		Other types of programs not specified by types 1 to 8.
	99	Missing program
		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	case whe	s with which update in which year the data was published. In ere the programmatic variables of an observation are updated eed (e.g. due to the replacement of a document), this variable eed as well.
	901	South America Dataset 2015a
	911	Update 2016b
	920	Update 2017a
	921	Update 2017b
corpusversion		s the version of the Manifesto Corpus used to calculate the analytical data in this observation.
		Missing information
		for all observations where the content analytical data is not a the Manifesto Corpus.
total	Total nu	mber of allocated codes
		Missing information

3.5 Content Analytical Data

	The dataset contains one set of content analytical variables (per101-706). 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 with underscore (per103_1-703_2): are new categories introduced with version 5 of the coding instruc- tions. 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.
	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.
peruncod	Percentage of (quasi-)sentences coded as 000 (No meaningful category applies).
	·
Categories	
Data Entries per101 – per706	Percentages of seventy-six categories grouped into seven major pol- icy 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.
Domain 1: Externa	l 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_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 or- ganisations 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.			
per104	Military: Positive			
	The importance of external security and defence. May include state- ments 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
1	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 spe- cific countries other than those coded in 101. May also include refer- ences 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 Par- liament.
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	2:	Freedom	and	Democracy
----------	----	---------	-----	-----------

per201_1	Freedom Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom in the mani- festo 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 mani- festo country. Calls for reducing or withholding democratic rights from all or certain groups of people. Calls for the introduction or maintain- ing 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 par- ticular in contrast to direct democracy. This includes the protection of representative institutions and actors against direct democratic ele- ments.
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.
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 ar- eas.		
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_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 gov- ernment 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 il- luminating 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. <i>Note: Specific policy positions overrule all subcategories of 305! If</i> <i>there is no specific policy position, however, these subcategories may</i> <i>apply.</i>

Domain 4: Economy

per401	Free Market Economy
per401	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 gov- ernment. 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
10.0	Zealand up to 1981, and for Sweden up to 1988.
per406	Protectionism: Positive Favourable mentions of extending or maintaining the protection of in- ternal markets (by the manifesto or other countries). Measures may include:
	• Tariffs;
	• Quota restrictions;
	• Export subsidies.
per407	Protectionism: Negative
pc1401	1 Iotectionism. Negative
	Support for the concept of free trade and open markets. Call for abol- ishing all means of market protection (in the manifesto or any other country).
per408	Support for the concept of free trade and open markets. Call for abol- ishing all means of market protection (in the manifesto or any other
-	 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). 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
per408	 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). 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.
-	 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). 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
per408	 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). 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. Keynesian Demand Management Favourable mentions of demand side oriented economic policies (assistance to consumers rather than businesses). Particularly includes
per408	 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). 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. Keynesian Demand Management Favourable mentions of demand side oriented economic policies (assistance to consumers rather than businesses). Particularly includes increase private demand through
per408	 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). 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. 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;
per408	 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). 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. 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.
per408	 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). 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. 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;
per408	 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). 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. 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.

per410	Economic Growth: Positive
b 01 11 0	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).

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.

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

per501	Environmental Protection
	General policies in favour of protecting the environment, fighting cli- mate 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 <i>goal</i> 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 ex- ample, government funding of:
	• Health care
	• Child care
	• Elder care and pensions
	• Social housing
	Note: This category excludes education.
$\mathbf{per505}$	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_1National 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 nega- tive 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 quo- tas; 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 state- ments regarding immigrants already in the manifesto country, please see 607_1.
per603	Traditional Morality: Positive
	Favourable mentions of traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:
	• Prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and un- seemly 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_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 sec- tions 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 reli- gious, linguistic heritages within the country including special educa- tional 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 bureau- cratic 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.

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 un- employed 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_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 agri- culture 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.

per704	Middle Class and Professional Groups
	General favourable references to the middle class. Specifically, state- ments 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 inter- est 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).

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. The procedure is slightly adjusted to version 5 of the coding instructions.
	$\begin{array}{l} (\text{per104} + \text{per201}_1 + \text{per201}_2 + \text{per203} + \text{per305}_1 + \text{per305}_2 \\ + \text{per305}_3 + \text{per305}_4 + \text{per305}_5 + \text{per305}_6 + \text{per401} + \\ \text{per402} + \text{per407} + \text{per414} + \text{per505} + \text{per601}_1 + \text{per601}_2 + \\ \text{per603} + \text{per605}_1 + \text{per605}_2 + \text{per606}_1 + \text{per606}_2) \\ - (\text{per103}_1 + \text{per103}_2 + \text{per105} + \text{per106} + \text{per107} + \text{per202}_1 + \\ \text{per202}_3 + \text{per202}_4 + \text{per403} + \text{per404} + \text{per406} + \text{per412} + \\ \text{per413} + \text{per504} + \text{per506} + \text{per701}) \end{array}$
	. 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)