

*Scope, Range, and Extent  
of Manifesto Project Data Usage:  
A Survey of Publications in Eight High-Impact Journals*

*Handbook for Data Users and Coders  
Version 1*

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## Introduction

This Handbook presents the content analytical categories used to code publications utilizing the data of the Manifesto Project (Manifesto Research Group (MRG) 1979–1989, Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) 1989–2009, Manifesto Research on Political Representation (MARPOR) since 2009). The dataset covers all publications between the beginning of 2000 and the end of 2014 issued in the following eight journals. All eight journals have high impact and focus on political parties and party systems:

(1) American Journal of Political Science (AJPS)

(2) American Political Science Review (APSR)

(3) British Journal of Political Science (BJPS)

(4) Comparative Political Studies (CPS)

(5) European Journal of Political Research (EJPR)

(6) Electoral Studies (ES)

(7) The Journal of Politics (JP)

(8) Party Politics (PP)

For sampling the articles we followed a two-step procedure. Firstly, we conducted a key-word search in the full text and the references from all articles published in the journals on their websites. The key words we were looking for in the references were the two Mapping Policy Preferences books and the current dataset citation. In addition to that, we browsed the full text with key-words, that are project

related, such as “CMP” and “Manifesto Project”. Those two search criteria ensure that we have captured everything related to the Manifesto Project. Secondly, as not all of these articles actually make use of the data, we manually checked all articles and left only those in the sample that made use of the data.

We have systematically reviewed the usage of Manifesto Data for three main reasons. Firstly, since the beginning of the project some 40 years ago (Robertson 1976), substantive research based on our data, as well as methodological research addressing the data collection, has been growing explosively. This handbook and the accompanying data and literature reference files provide first and foremost a quick and convenient overview on existing research for new data users. Secondly, we would like to invite users of our data to add their Manifesto research outputs to this database.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, should these review data be in demand, we consider updating the current selection of journals and extending it to other journals and books.

The handbook contains several simple rules designed to help coders easily decide where to best fit information in the catalogue of variables we are working with. Apart from the identification variables (V1 to V5) we distinguish three areas of usage:

- (1) Scope of research topics, policy dimensions, and extraction methods (V6 to V17),
- (2) Range of countries, party types and families, times, and actors (V18 to V28), and
- (3) Extent of critique, validation, and reliability testing (V29 to V140).

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<sup>1</sup> <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/publications/all>

Variable ID	Variable name	ID of variable categories	Category name	Variable and category description
<b>I. Identification variables</b>				
V1	Running ID of publication in journal 1-7			key ID in endnote-file for full references
V2	Journal	1-8		1 = AJPS, 2 = APSR, 3 = BJPS, 4 = CPS, 5 = EJPS, 6 = ES, 7 = JP, 8 = PP
V3	Year of publication			Print publications
V4	Type of publication	1	mainly substantive	some of those articles may have methodological insights as well
		2	mainly methodological	some of those articles may have substantive implications; if there is any concrete area of research, code it
V5	Dataset usage	1	usage of data and aspects (see V21, V22, V29)	Aspects include party family codes, election dates, strength of parties (see V21) and modifications (V29 = 7, V 71, V72) – to be coded, otherwise see V5=2
		2	no usage of data but focus on MARPOR	if V5=2, code only v1-v5, V6+V7topic, V17 satisfaction, V29 if = 9
		3	referred to/used as background information	Rule for V5 = 2 applies
<i>All the following variables include the Zero for 'not mentioned/unspecified/does not apply'</i>				
<b>II. Scope of approach</b>				
V6	Major substantive goal	1	descriptive	
		2	hypotheses testing	
		3	theory development	Including concept development
				if applicable, also to be coded if V4 = 2 in case both 2 and 3 apply, 3 beats 2

V7	Topic of substantive research	1	party competition	General RULE NO 1: in case of doubt, code what is stated in paragraph where the data set usage is described, in the keywords, the title, the abstract, hypotheses, graphs, or figures (in that order of decision taking). General RULE NO 2: if two codes apply according to rule no 1, code the dependent variable. V7 - specific rule: always check given categories first before you invent a new one!
		2	party strategies	If strategy is mentioned under general rule 1, code 2
		3	party positioning	If competition, strategies, and positioning all play a role in the publication, the dataset usage and the key word is decisive; if all three term appear in the keywords, count the number of occurrences in the abstract; includes shifts (see V10).
		4	policy alternatives	
		5	policy agenda	
		6	party politicization	
		10	intra-party politics	
		11	party/government durability	
		12	party factions	
		13	electoral performance	Including electoral entry
		20	effects of election laws/of electoral reforms	
		21	Turnout	
		22	economic voting	Including social policy voting
		23	Electoral cycles	
		30	voter-party relationships	Including issue congruence
		31	median voter-median party/government congruence	Including median mandate; median voter's ideology
		32	cleavages/social divisions	Including mass-level polarization
		33	Gender politics and policies	Including representation of women
		40	parties and civil society	

	41	social movements/protest events	
	42	partisan legitimacy	
	43	Political action	By parties and interest group/unions
	50	media analysis	
	60	party-legislation relation	
	61	legislators' voting behavior	
	70	coalition politics	
	71	no-confidence movements	
	72	party government positions	
	76	fulfilment of pledges	
	77	legislation	
	78	treaty ratification (also with regard to the EU)	
	80	EU affairs	EU politics, policy and polity, includes Europeanization
	81	globalization	
	82	decentralization/ regionalization/ devolution	
	90	agenda-setting	
	91	policy making	for policy making/decision taking in general
	92	expenditures/budgets	for all expenditure/budget categories in comparison
	93	policy outputs	for policy outputs in comparison
	94	political economy	including economic performance; financial markets
	95	welfare-state policies	Including redistribution
	96	pension policies	95 to 100: special policy areas receive a separate code
	97	childcare policies	
	98	environmental policies	
	99	immigration policies	
	100	tax policies	
	101	defense policies	
	102	labor policies	
	103	dissolution theories	
	104	bureaucratic delegation	

		105	gender and party leadership	
		106	corruption	
		107	climate	
		108	styles of representation	
		110	Party system polarization	
		999	several topics	
V8	Type of preference	1	party preferences	See rule no 1, V7
		2	policy preference	
		3	(issue, policy, party) positions	
		4	saliencies/emphasis	
		5	saliencies and positions	
		6	Ideologies	
		7	valence issues	
		8	Topics	
		9	programmatic heterogeneity/homogeneity	including programmatic cohesion
		10	policy domains and areas	
		11	agendas	
		12	Pledges, promises	
V9	Distances between parties' preferences measured?	1	Yes	includes alternatives, variances, ranges, polarization of party systems, and diversity between parties and gov't parties
V10	Change in preferences measured?	1	shifts/movements	only if actual measures are given
		2	moving averages	only if actual measures are given
V11	Multi-dimensionality		number of dimensions	if more than three dimensions, note the first three mentioned
			99 divers/many	Multi-dimensionality such as portfolios, policy areas, categories of legislation, etc.
V12	Policy dimension 1	1	left-right	
		2	economic	

		3	environmental issues	
		10	socio-economic	
		11	social justice	Social policies
		12	welfare	Includes redistribution; welfare and education
		13	labor issues	
		14	education	
		15	Spending and taxation	
		20	progressive-conservative/GAL-TAN, societal	
		21	religious cleavage	
		30	multiculturalism	
		31	immigration	
		32	ethnic/ ethnic minority issues	
		40	center-periphery cleavage	including decentralization
		41	European integration, Europeanization	
		42	defense, external security	
		43	Foreign policy	
		44	Culture	
		50	constitutionalism	
		51	Corruption	
		52	extreme right issues	
		60	inclusiveness of parliamentary representation	
		61	Corporatism	
		99	diverse	More than one topic
V13	Policy dimension 2			see V12
V14	Policy dimension 3			see V12; if more than 3 dimensions are analyzed, take the order in which they are mentioned.
V15	Extraction method	1	RILE	Laver/Budge (1992); Powell (2009); rescaling 1-100
		2	deductive classification; fixed across cases	
		3	Logit scaling	(Lowe et. Al. 2011)
		4	Kaiser/Franzmann (2006)	



		5	Factor analysis: principal components	
		6	factor analysis: vanilla	Gabel und Huber (2000)
		7	MDS – multidimensional scaling	
		8	RILE + deductive classification	
V16	Number of variables			Only variables taken from MARPOR (not the authors' variables)
V17	Satisfaction with data	1	does work for the topic	Explicit commendation; no weakness mentioned; no critique;
		2	does not work for the topic	includes 2 cases in which another dataset was chosen over MARPOR due to some advantage; this also includes 2 cases in which the disadvantage is that MARPOR does not include voter data
				only concerning MARPOR data usage
III. Range of approach				
A. Actors:				
V18	Type of actor	1	Parties	See rule no 1
		2	party coalitions	
		3	party governments	
		4	median party	
		5	median voter	
		6	median voters and median parties	Including district medians and the MP's party (SMD)
		7	parliamentarians/legislators	
		8	median legislator	
		9	party systems	Electoral and parliamentary
		10	EP party groups	
		11	EU member states	
		12	EU Commission	
		13	parties and governments	
		14	government and opposition	
		15	EU MEPs	
		16	Voters and governments	
		17	Executive and legislative	
		18	Parties and party systems	
V19	Party type	1	clientele parties	Including the comparison to programmatic parties

		2	cartel parties	
		3	catch-all parties	
		4	populist parties	
		5	niche parties	
		6	mainstream parties	
		7	luxury parties	
		8	big parties	
		9	redistributive parties	
		99	diverse	
V20	Party families	1	green-alternative parties	
		2	communist parties	
		3	social democratic parties	
		4	liberal parties	
		5	religious	
		6	conservative	
		7	extreme right-wing	
		8	regional	
		9	special issue	
		10	anti-European	
		11	ethnic minority	
		99	party families in comparison	
<i>B. Texts:</i>				
V21	Party program dataset	1	party preference data used	
		2	party family codes used, only	
		3	election dates used, only	
		4	strengths of parties used, only	
		5	Lengths of programs used, only	
V22	Government declaration data	1	government declaration data used	
<i>C. Countries:</i>				
V23	Number of countries		1-55	Consider only countries that are included in the MARPOR

	covered			dataset
V24	Region covered			To be coded for cross- as well as for single country analysis
		1	Western Europe	
		2	Central and Eastern Europe	
		3	Western and Central and Eastern Europe	
		4	EU	Independent of the accession date
		5	OECD members	Advanced industrialized democracies
		6	All countries in the dataset	Almost all, more than OECD
<i>D. Times:</i>				
V25	First year/election covered			
V26	Last year/election covered			
V27	Number of years			
V28	Number of elections			
IV. Extent of approach				
V29	Major methodological goal	1	reliability testing of MARPOR	1-9 specified in V29-V140
		2	validation of MARPOR	includes descriptions of the methodological approach (visual validity)
		3	cross-validation	
		4	triangulation	Triangulation can be used also in cases, when the term is not explicitly mentioned, but more than one approach is used for the estimating preferences
		5	introduction/use of an alternative method	
		6	transfer of MARPOR to other text type	Means that the classification scheme is used for another text type without much difference in the categories
		7	modification of MARPOR	Means that the approach is taken, but the classification scheme may be quite different
		8	match/merging of MARPOR to other dataset	to be used if V4=1; when V4=2, other entries for V29 may also be important
		9	critique of MARPOR	

Attention: the variables listed below under (1) to (9) are the ones which occur most often for (1) to (9).  
 However, any combination is possible, for example: Cross-validation is mostly done across basic approaches, but can also be applied across estimates based on MARPOR.  
 In addition, the variables listed under (1) to (9) are not exclusive. All items occurring in a publication are coded.  
 Therefore, the lists (1) to (9) are mostly a systematic overview.

If V29 =(1) Type of reliability testing:

V30	Intra-coder reliability			
V31	Inter-coder reliability			
V32	Hausman/Gulikson/McDonald measurement			
V33	Variance model			
V34	Regression model			
V35	Sensitivity analysis			

If V29 = (2 or 3) Type of Validation: see also V102 to v132

V40	Visual inspection	1	face validity	
		2	fits historical record	
		3	plausible results	
		4	fits with other policy measures	
		5	result as theoretically expected	
V41	Construct and conceptual validity			
V42	Convergent validity			
V43	Rank order Rho			
V44	CCA canonical correlation coefficients			
V45	MTMM multitrait-multimethod)			Campbell/Fiske 1959
V46	External validation			

<i>If V29 = (3, 4 or 5) cross-validation/ triangulation/ alternative method:</i>				
V50	Expert judgments			
V51	Wordscore		V51+V52 = one variable = automated approaches	
V52	Wordfish			
V53	Crowd-coding			
V54	Public opinion surveys			
V55	MP-data			
V56	MEP-data			
V57	Content analysis other than MARPOR			
V58	Media data			
V59	Elite data			
<i>If V29 = (6) text type:</i>				
V60	European programs			
V61	Regional programs			
V62	Investiture debates			
V63	Speeches of the throne			
V64	Motions in party congresses			
V65	Budget speech			
<i>If V29 = (7) type of modification:</i>				
V70	Specifications for other levels of decision taking			
V71	Specifications of (different) specific policy issues			

If V29 = (8) match/merging of MARPOR data with:				for 80-89: 0 – no merging 1 – national 2 – EU 3 – international 4 – local/regional 5 – national and regional 6 – national and EU
V80	Voter data			individual level data, including citizens
V81	Electoral data			Because data on votes and seats at the national level are included in the MARPOR dataset, this category applies to national data such as the disproportionality of the electoral system; to EU data such as membership in the EU
V82	Media data			
V83	Coalition and government data			Includes portfolio distribution among the coalition parties, information on ministries, and elected offices
V84	Socio-economic data			i.e. GDP
V85	Public policies/outputs			
V86	Legislation			includes proposals, ratifications
V87	Expenditures			
V88	Party data			Including leadership
V89	Presidential data			Including heads of state in parliamentary systems
V90	contextual data			Institutional variables such as bicameralism, decentralization;
V91	Tax data			
V92	Legislature			Data on parliamentarians
V93	Market data			Stock markets
V94	Experts' data			
If V29 =(9) Key aspects of critique on four levels of comparison: Including weaknesses of program-based approach				1 = critique, 2 = validation (mostly by MARPOR members)
<u>(1) across estimates based on MARPOR data:</u>				
V101	RILE			
V102	Left-right measure			

	other than RILE			
V103	Uncertainty measure	1	Missing	
			alternatives suggested:	ATTENTION to change in logic for V104-107: 1 = alternative is criticized 2 = alternative is suggested
V104	Bootstrapping			Benoit et al.
V105	Weight by length			length of manifesto
V106	Bayesian approach			
V107	Logit ratio			Lowe et. al 2011
			MARPOR measures:	
V108	Residuals			of time-series models
V109	4 % shift			
V110	Category selection			i.e. the difficulty to validly select categories for scaling
<b>(2) across text-based approaches:</b>				
V111	Proxy documents			See suggested solutions: V107
V112	Short documents			See suggested solutions: V107
V113	Missing countries			Presidential systems; developing countries
V114	Unitizing			
V115	Classification			i.e. the coding scheme
V116	Relative salience/saliency approach			
V117	Content of programs			Random/stochastic character
V118	Centrism bias			
V119	One value per period			Ignores all changes during legislative periods
<b>(3) across basic approaches: MARPOR compared to expert judgments, surveys</b>				
V121	Volatile versus stable positions			Over-time comparison
<b>(4) across estimates to model the representative process:</b>				

V131	Measurement of median voters			Including the median voter-median party relation
V132	Measurement of government position			e.g. partisan veto player distance
V133	Measurement of median parties			
V134	Measurement of median faction's position			
V140	Summary of critique	0	none mentioned	
		1	some drawbacks	
		2	complaints/ more critical than positive remarks	
V141	MARPOR membership	0	no membership of the working group	
		1	membership of the working group	including the authors of MPP1
V142	Noteworthy solutions			



### *List of basic project books:*

- Budge, Ian/Robertson, David/Hearl, Derek (eds.) (1987): *Ideology, Strategy and Party Change. Spatial Analysis of Post-War Election Programmes in 19 Democracies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, reprinted in paperback in 2008.
- Budge, Ian/Klingemann, Hans-Dieter/Volkens, Andrea/Bara, Judith/Tanenbaum, Eric with 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, including CD-ROM with MRG/CMP data for 25 countries 1945–1998.
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter/Hofferbert, Richard I./Budge, Ian with Keman, Hans/Pétry, Francois/Bergman, Torbjorn/Strøm, Kaare (1994): *Parties, Policies, and Democracy*, Boulder: Westview Press.
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter/Volkens, Andrea/Bara, Judith/Budge, Ian/Macdonald, Michael (2006): *Mapping Policy Preference II: Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments in Eastern Europe, the European Union and the OECD, 1990–2003*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, including CD-ROM with MRG/CMP data for 51 countries 1990 to 2003.
- Laver, Michael/Budge, Ian (eds.) (1992): *Party Policy and Coalition Government*, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Robertson, David (1976): *A Theory of Party Competition*, London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Robertson, David (1976): *A Theory of Party Competition*, London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Volkens, Andrea/Bara, Judith/Budge, Ian/McDonald, Michael D./Klingemann, Hans-Dieter (eds.) (2013): *Mapping Policy Preferences from Texts III. Statistical Solutions for Manifesto Analysts*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.