
Manifesto Project Dataset

Manifesto Party Family Handbook ¹

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This handbook describes the main characteristics of party families. It serves as a basis for categorizing parties in the Manifesto Project Dataset.

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The Manifesto Project groups parties and political alliances into party families. The party families are approximations and merely serve as an orientation for Manifesto Project data users. The party family assignment is kept constant for all entries of one party, i.e. a party cannot belong to different party families at different points in time. In most cases the party family is kept stable at the value a party was originally assigned too, only in rare cases where a party drastically changes its positions, is the assignment re-assessed and if needed changed. If that is done the change is applied to the party at all observations in the Manifesto Project Dataset²

The party family categories³ were developed based on the original countries included in the Manifesto Project Dataset, i.e. mostly European countries, plus USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Turkey, and Israel. It has since then included other OECD countries from Asia, as well as Latin American countries and South Africa and attempted to account for some variations in categories since then.

Different kinds of information can disclose a party's party family. Mair and Mudde⁴ describe four approaches that can guide researchers in determining a party's party family association: origin and sociology, international federations and transnational groupings, policy and ideology, and party name. To assign the party family code in the Manifesto Projects Dataset all these aspects are considered to get a rather robust grasp of the party family the respective party belongs to. Specifically, the following steps are taken to categorize each party:

1. Check whether the party is member of an international party association or a European party group, that gives information about the party's ideology.
2. Check their origin, i.e. is the party a splinter, merger of another party/parties whose party family is known (sometimes, but rather seldom, there are also splits that go in line with a new ideology).
3. Check their name, this can give a very first, intuitive understanding of a party's roots in a party family, however it can also be very misleading, therefore this information can only be considered in connection with the other approaches.
4. Determine their ideology according to the party's programmatic profile.

The central programmatic ideas of the respective party families are indicated in the following list.⁵

²An example is the Austrian FPÖ (42420), which was coded as liberal at the time of its foundation, but as this party is now clearly nationalist, the party family coding has been adapted.

³Based on von Beyme, K. (1984:23-24). *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. Aldershot: Gower. and Budge, I. & Klingemann, H. (2013:51). Using the Manifesto Estimates to Refine Party Family Placements. In *Mapping Policy Preferences from Texts III: Statistical Solutions for Manifesto Analyst* (Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara, Ian Budge, Michael D. McDonald, Hans-Dieter Klingemann). (pp. 49-65). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁴Mair, P., & Mudde, C., (1998:214-215). The Party Family and its Study. *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 211-229. doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.1.1.211

⁵Please note that the mentioned conditions are neither exclusive nor sufficient. They represent rather general guidelines for the programmatic classification of a party.

10 ECO Ecological parties⁶

Central points of the party's profile

- environmental protection
- principle of subsidiarity / regionalism (e.g. Grassroots democracy)
- peace / anti-war

Detailed explanation

- more references than other party families to environmental protection;
- emphasis on welfare state expansion;
- creation of a sustainable society rooted in environmentalism, social justice and grassroots democracy, subsidiarity principle whereby power/responsibility is exercised on the smallest unit and delegated upwards only when necessary;
- regionalism, relation to grassroots democracy as it favours a federal system instead of a unitary state with a strong central government;
- participatory democracy and minority politics: aim to represent minorities – not related to ideas of regional autonomy for the minorities;
- nonviolence: conviction that there is no need for hurting people, animals or the environment in order to attain one's goals;
- international cooperation and dialogue instead of military intervention and war;
- orientation towards post-materialism.

20 LEF Socialist and other left parties⁷

Central points of the party's profile

- anti-capitalism / planned economy and state intervention in the economy
- anti-imperialism
- strong support of trade unions and the working class
- Communist or Socialist ideology
- social equality

Detailed explanation

- adherence to communist or socialist ideologies; welfare state expansion, anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism, planned economy, nationalization and collective ownership, redistribution, state intervention in the economy, policies in favour of trade unions and the working class, full social and economic equality, critique of economic elites;

⁶For more information about characteristics of ecological parties, see for instance. Muller-Rommel, F., & Poguntke, T. (Ed.) (2002). *Green Parties in National Governments* (1st ed.). London: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9781315039169; or Kitschelt, H. (1989). *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press or van Haute, E. (Ed.). (2016). *Green Parties in Europe* (1st ed.).doi: Routledge.10.4324/9781315585932

⁷For more information about characteristics of socialist and left parties, see for instance March, L. (2011). *Radical Left Parties in Europe*. Abingdon: Routledge; or Fagerholm, A. (2017). What Is Left for the Radical Left? A Comparative Examination of the Policies of Radical Left Parties in Western Europe before and after 1989. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 25 (1): 16–40. doi:10.1080/14782804.2016.1148592; or Kitschelt, H. (1994). *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511622014. For a differentiation of socialist and social democratic parties, see Chapter 6: The Socialist discourse: Political semantics and party strategy.(pp.224-279)

- emphasis on environmental protection;
- priority of collective decision making over individual liberty;
- at times critique of “liberal” democracy but importance of democracy is stressed
- belief in cultural libertarianism.

Please note: This party family serves as a repository for all left-wing parties that do not fall into the Social democratic category. Not every party in the Socialist party family must therefore follow Marxist philosophy

30 SOC Social democratic parties⁸

Central points of the party's profile

- welfare state expansion
- mixed economy (rejection of an unregulated market and a centrally planned economy), social market economy
- redistribution through economic growth
- representative democracy

Detailed explanation

- great variety of social democratic parties ranging from those inclined to communist or socialist ideology, to those following a reformist stance, to those parties associated with neoliberal Third Way positions;
- generally, social democratic parties have (partially) abandoned Marxist ideology and now occupy the centre-left of the political spectrum;
- welfare state expansion is traditionally one of their policy priorities;
- traditionally importance of workers' rights and labour standards, idea of prosperity through work, with safety net, equal access to education;
- social democrats favour a mixed economy, rejecting both an unregulated market and centrally planned economy;
- the idea of a regulated economy and fair welfare distribution is common: opposition to the negative effects of capitalism such as inequality and poverty (yet here, too, exist differences among social democratic parties as some prefer more neoliberal market systems);
- culturally liberal policies, combination of liberalism and socialism, personal freedom and material egalitarianism.

⁸For more information about characteristics of social democratic parties, see for instance Rennwald, L. (2020). *Social Democratic Parties and the Working Class*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-46239-0 On social democratic economic positions, see Kenworthy, L. (2020). *Social Democratic Capitalism*. Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oso/9780190064112.001.0001 or Notermans, T. (2000). *Money, Markets, and the State: Social Democratic Economic Policies since 1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511521607

40 LIB Liberal parties⁹

Central points of the party's profile

- political and civil liberties
- free market / minimal state regulation
- neoliberal or neoclassical economic theory

Detailed explanation

- liberal democratic values, emphasis on democracy as a political system based on the ideas of free and fair elections, political and civil liberties, freedom of religion, but also secularism, human rights;
- individual freedom, personal choice and privacy: minimal state control over the individual and private matters (e.g. right to abortion, euthanasia, LGBT rights, data security, low taxes);
- most parties favour a market economy with minimal state regulation and champion free trade (they adhere to neoclassical economic theory – "laissez faire");
- in support of a strong and decentralized European Union, and in favour of international cooperation;
- right-wing economic stances and centre-left cultural positioning (this can vary between countries).

50 CHR Christian democratic parties¹⁰

Central points of the party's profile

- Christian values (e.g. high value of the family)
- regulated market economy
- support of social policies

Detailed explanation

- Christian democratic parties combine Christian (traditionally Catholic) values (e.g. traditional gender roles, rejection of abortion, solidarity) and modern democratic ideas; religious identity but belief in secularization;
- traditionally for welfare state expansion and social policies, state has a regulating function in the economy to assist those who cannot help themselves; capitalist elements of economic growth, private property, and initiative but some degree of regulation, social market economy, support of trade unions; critical of capitalist effects on environment and society (traditionally rejecting both communism and capitalism);
- traditionally seen as centre-right (in Europe).

⁹For more information about characteristics of liberal parties, see for instance Close, C. & van Haute, E. (Eds.) (2019). *Liberal Parties in Europe* (1st ed.). Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781351245500; or Kirchner, E. (Ed.) (1988). *Liberal Parties in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511521843

¹⁰For more information about characteristics of Christian democratic parties, see for instance Kalyvas, S. N. (2018). *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. doi:10.7591/9781501731419; or Hanley, D. (1994). *Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective*. New York: Pinter; or Mainwaring, S. & Scully, T. R. (Eds.) (2003). *Christian Democracy in Latin America: Electoral Competition and Regime Conflicts*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

60 CON Conservative parties¹¹*Central points of the party's profile*

- conservatism and opposition to modernism ("keep things as they are")
- free market economy

Detailed explanation

- general principle is to keep status quo, traditions or even return to how things were, importance of customs and institutions;
- on the other hand orientation of economic policies towards neoclassical theory and support of the free market, importance of private property;
- traditionally embedded in the idea of royalism and in favour of a strong state with regard to law & order;
- societal inequality is rarely perceived as problematic, importance of hierarchy, social order, based on the principle of competition and performance;
- historically right-wing, nowadays more affiliated with the centre-right of the political spectrum (although this can vary between countries).

70 NAT Nationalist and radical right parties¹²*Central points of the party's profile*

- prioritisation of national interest
- cultural conservatism
- anti-immigration
- anti-globalization / Euro-scepticism, defence of national sovereignty
- right-wing populism

Detailed explanation

- this category covers a spectrum of nationalist parties up to parties adhering to fascist ideologies
- major significance of national interest:
 - interventionism;
 - national (cultural) conservatism: support of a homogenic cultural and ethnic identity (keep the tradition), anti-immigration, xenophobia;
 - euro-scepticism or anti-globalization (not necessarily), importance of national sovereignty;
 - social conservatism, meaning support of the traditional way of life such as traditional family structure, limiting immigration;

¹¹For more information about characteristics of conservative parties, see for instance Andreasson, S. (2014). Conservatism. In Geoghegan, V. & Wilford, R. (2014). *Political Ideology: An Introduction* (pp. 48-70). Fourth Edition. New York: Routledge; or Miliopoulos, L. (2012). Die konservative Parteienfamilie im Kontext der europäischen Integration. In Jun, U. & Höhne, B. (Eds.) (2012). *Parteienfamilien*. (pp. 130-154). Berlin & Toronto: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

¹²For more information about characteristics of nationalist parties, see for instance Gómez-Reino, M. (2018). The Populist Nationalist Party Family and the European Cleavage. In *Nationalisms in the European Arena. Palgrave Studies in European Political Sociology*. (pp. 63-85) Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-65951-0_3 For more information about characteristics of radical right parties, see for instance Mudde, C. (2007). *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511492037; or Carter, E. (2005). *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure? Manchester: Manchester University*. doi:10.7765/9781847794420.00007

- despite social conservatism, nationalists and radical right parties prefer different economic systems: some support planned economies, some mixed-economies, others the free-market idea;
- belief in authoritarianism, a structured society, enforcement of law and order;
- these parties are often associated with right-wing populism;
- radical right parties often reject democratic principles and norms and human equality.

Note: This party family does not concern ethnic parties advancing ,nationalist' politics in support of an ethnic group or regional territory. In this case, please refer to 90 ETH ethnic and regional parties.

80 AGR Agrarian parties¹³

Central points of the party's profile

- support of the agricultural sector
- representation of the interests of farmers or rural populations

Detailed explanation

- emphasis of specific issues related to agrarian ways of life and the needs for acknowledgment, support of and investment into these areas;
- historically focus on territorial politics, emphasis of local (and national) political power, local values and interests (as distinct from centre), opposition to central administration;
- often problematize market prices of agricultural goods and stress the difficult conditions that small agricultural producers and farm owners face in the age of globalization and free market economy;
- related euro-scepticism may be present due to the free flow of goods and common agricultural policy, but some agrarian parties also have a pro-EU outlook, emphasising farmers' benefits.

90 ETH Ethnic and regional parties¹⁴

Central points of the party's profile

- focused on certain ethnic groups or specific territorial regions within the country
- decentralization / federalism to complete regional independence

Detailed explanation

- focus on a certain ethnic group or territorial region within a country;
- sometimes these parties stand solely for the rights of a particular group whereas other times they call for partial or full independence of specific regions;
- federalism and decentralization are often on the agenda;
- it is difficult to identify a unifying political or economic ideology because ethnic and regional parties differ within and across countries.

¹³For more information about characteristics of agrarian parties, see for instance Hloušek, V. & Kopeček, L. (2010). The Agrarian Parties: Remembrance of Things Past. In *Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties: East-Central and Western Europe Compared*. (pp 87-104). Burlington, VT: Routledge; or Batory, A. & Sitter, N. (2004). Cleavages, Competition and Coalition-Building: Agrarian parties and the European question in Western and East Central Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 43: 523-546. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2004.00164.x

¹⁴For more information about characteristics of ethnic and regional parties, see for instance Kanchan, C. (2011). What is an ethnic party? *Party Politics*. 17(2):151-169. doi:10.1177/1354068810391153; or De Winter, L. & Tursan, H. (Eds.) (1998). *Regionalist Parties in Western Europe*. London. Routledge.

95 SIP Special issue parties¹⁵*Central points of the party's profile*

- focused on one specific issue (large variance of the kind of issue is possible, e.g. animal rights, pensioners, digital democracy)
- very narrow further programmatic agendas

Detailed explanation

- special issue parties generally emerge from advocating one specific topic and have little else on their agenda (e.g. freedom of speech, digital democracy);
- they can also focus on a minority group (e.g. focus on women, pensioners or youth; but not on ethnic groups);
- includes only parties that have no distinct political ideology (in contrast to radical left-wing, green, right-wing etc. parties).

98 DIV Electoral alliances of diverse origin without dominant party

This code applies when all other categories fail. It is used for electoral alliances or coalitions that subsume a wide range of parties adhering to various ideologies, without a dominant party.

999 MI Missing information

This code applies when there is no information on the party, alliance or coalition available.

¹⁵For more information about characteristics of Special Issue parties, see for instance Mudde, C. (1999). The single-issue party thesis: Extreme right parties and the immigration issue. *West European Politics*. 22:3, 182-197, doi:10.1080/01402389908425321