Description of the Manifesto Data Set Full Dataset¹

Units	Parliamentary parties at national elections		
Number of countries	55		
Number of parties	916		
Number of elections	629		
Time period covered	Various free and competitive elections between 1920 and 2012		
Number of cases	3636		
Number of variables	 identification variables data quality variables electoral data variables programmatic data variables programmatic dimensions 		
Data Sources	Publicly available election statistics and content analysed election programs (or its nearest equivalents; see documentation) <i>Identification Variables:</i>		
Country	11Sweden12Norway13Denmark14Finland15Iceland21Belgium22Netherlands23Luxembourg31France32Italy33Spain34Greece		

¹ 2013-07-22

- 35 Portugal
- 41 Germany
- 42 Austria
- 43 Switzerland
- 51 Great Britain
- 52 Northern Ireland
- 53 Ireland
- 54 Malta
- 55 Cyprus
- 61 United States
- 62 Canada
- 63 Australia
- 64 New Zealand
- 71 Japan
- 72 Israel
- 73 Sri Lanka
- 74 Turkey
- 75 Albania
- 76 Armenia
- 77 Azerbaijan
- 78 Belarus
- 79 Bosnia-Herzegovinian
- 80 Bulgaria
- 81 Croatia
- 82 Czech Republic
- 83 Estonia
- 84 Georgia
- 85 German Democratic Republic (N/A > 1990)
- 86 Hungary
- 87 Latvia
- 88 Lithuania
- 89 Macedonia
- 90 Moldova
- 91 Montenegro
- 92 Poland
- 93 Romania
- 94 Russia
- 95 Serbia

	96	Slovakia	
	97	Slovenia	
	98	Ukraine	
	113	South Kore	20
	171	Mexico	
Countryname	Name	of country ii	n English (string variable)
OECDmember	0	no OECD r	nember
	10	OECD mer	nber
EUmember	0	no EU mer	mber at the time of election
	10	EU membe	er at the time of election
	20	EU applica	nt at the time of election
Edate	Day, month, and year of national election (DD.MM.YY)		
Date	Year and month of national election		
Party	three	digits repeat	cation code consists of six digits. The first t the country code. The third, fourth, and ning numbers.
Partyname			names of parties in original language and n English (string variable)
Parfam	Tentat	ive groupinន្	g of political parties and alliances into the
	follow	ing party far	nilies :
	10	ECO	Ecology parties
	20	COM	Communist parties
	30	SOC	Social democratic parties
	40	LIB	Liberal parties
	50 60	CHR CON	Christian democratic parties
	70	NAT	Conservative parties Nationalist parties
	80	AGR	Agrarian parties
	90	ETH	Ethnic and regional parties
	95	SIP	Special issue parties
	98/00	DIV	Electoral alliances of divers origin
			without dominant party
	999	MI	Missing information
	Data q	uality varia	bles:

CoderID	Identification number of coder, three digit code: First digit: 1 = MRG/CMP group member 2 = hired coder 8 = specifically trained coder 999 = missing information
Manual	Codings based on manual version 0 (no manual), 1, 2, 3 or 4
	999 no information whether a handbook was used or not
Coderyear	Year during which codings took place
	999 missing information
Test result	 Result of entry test as given in coding handbook: test of reliability in comparison to the master copy, Krippendorff's Alpha for ordinal data: -1.00 very bad +1.00 very good 999 no handbook during first phase of codings/ no test by MRG member.
	Electoral data variables:
Pervote	 Percentage of votes gained by each party; in CEE countries also percentage of votes gained by parties or party blocs; for mixed electoral systems with a proportional and a majoritarian component votes for proportional component, only; no votes available Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, Belarus 1995 and Montenegro 1990
Voteest	 0 original figure from data source As a rule, election statistics present votes and seats for each party in parliament. However, in CEE countries electoral coalitions are quite frequent so that votes and seats are available for blocs of parties, only. 1 estimated In OECD countries, blocs of parties are less frequent and seats are given for each single party in the electoral coalition. In these cases, votes for parties in electoral coalitions have been estimated on the basis of the distribution of seats between them.

Presvote	Percentage of votes in presidential elections; for USA only, 998 for all other countries
Absseat	Absolute number of seats held by each party or party bloc; 999 not available for Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka
Totseats	Total number of seats in parliament; 999 not available for Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka
	Programmatic data variables:
Progtype	 Program of a single party As a rule, each party issues one program for each election. 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. 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. Estimates were derived either by computing averages between two adjacent programs or by duplicating programmatic data (see Appendix IV for details).
	 4 Program taken from main party of electoral coalition Especially in CEE countries, parties often 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 coalition party was used to measure positions of the 'electoral coalition' as a whole. 5 Average of all members of an electoral coalition When the electoral coalition consists of equally strong parties, the average of platforms from all coalition parties was used to measure positions of the electoral coalition parties

5

whole.

6 General program

Some parties did not issue separate election programs but contested 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 programmes not specified by types 1 to 8 (see Appendix IV for details).

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

Data Entries per 101 – per 706 Datasets that include the observation

- 10 MPPI
- 20 MPPII
- 30 Update 2009
- 40 Update 2010
- 41 Update 2010b
- 50 Update 2011a
- 51 Update 2011b
- 60 Update 2012a
- 61 Update 2012b
- 70 Update 2013a
- 100 MPPI+MPPII

Percentages of fifty-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.

Domain 1: External Relations

Foreign Special Relationships: Positive

per101

Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the

	manifesto country has a special relationship. For example, in the British case: former colonies; in the German case: East Germany; in the Swedish case: the rest of Scandinavia; the need for cooperation 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; otherwise as 101, but negative.
per103	Anti-Imperialism: Positive
	Negative references to exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states; negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire; favourable mentions of decolonisation; favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies; negative references to the imperial behaviour of the manifesto and/or other countries.
per104	Military: Positive
	Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; modernising armed forces and improvement in military strength; rearmament and self-defence; need to keep military treaty obligations; need to secure adequate manpower in the military; importance external security.
per105	Military: Negative
	Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament; "evils of war"; promises to reduce conscription, otherwise as 104, but negative.
per106	Peace: Positive
	Peace as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises; desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries.
per107	Internationalism: Positive
	Need for international cooperation; cooperation with specific countries other than those coded in 101; need for aid to developing countries; need for world planning of

	resources; need for international courts; support for any international goal or world state; support for UN.
per108	European Community/Union: Positive
	Favourable mentions of European Community/Union in general; desirability of expanding the European Community/Union and/or of increasing its competence; desirability of expanding the competences of the European Parliament; desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member).
per109	Internationalism: Negative
	Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty as opposed to internationalism; otherwise as 107, but negative.
per110	European Community/Union: Negative
	Hostile mentions of the European Community/Union; opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities; opposition to the net-contribution of the manifesto country to the EU budget; otherwise as 108, but negative.
	Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy
per201	Freedom and Human Rights
	Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom and civil rights; freedom from bureaucratic control; freedom of speech; freedom from coercion in the political and economic spheres; individualism in the manifesto country and in other countries.
per202	Democracy
	Favourable mentions of democracy as a method or goal in national and other organisations; involvement of all citizens in decision-making, as well as generalised support for the manifesto country's democracy.
per203	Constitutionalism: Positive
	Support for specific aspects of the constitution; use of

constitutionalism as an argument for policy as well as general approval of the constitutional way of doing things.
Constitutionalism: Negative
Opposition to the constitution in general or to specific aspects; otherwise as 203, but negative.
Domain 3: Political System
Decentralisation
Support for federalism or devolution; more regional autonomy for policy or economy; support for keeping up local and regional customs and symbols; favourable mentions of special consideration for local areas; deference to local expertise; favourable mentions of the territorial subsidiary principle.
Centralisation
Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels; support for more centralisation in political and administrative procedures; otherwise as 301, but negative.
Governmental and Administrative Efficiency
Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration; cutting down civil service; improving governmental procedures; general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more effective.
Political Corruption
Need to eliminate corruption, and associated abuse, in political and public life.
Political Authority
Favourable mentions of strong government, including government stability; manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence.

	Domain 4: Economy
per401	Free Enterprise
	Favourable mentions of free enterprise capitalism; superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems; favourable mentions of private property rights, personal enterprise and initiative; need for unhampered individual enterprises.
per402	Incentives
	Need for wage and tax policies to induce enterprise; encouragement to start enterprises; need for financial and other incentives such as subsidies.
per403	Market Regulation
	Need for regulations designed to make private enterprises work better; actions against monopolies and trusts, and in defence of consumer and small business; encouraging economic competition; social market economy.
per404	Economic Planning
	Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning of a consultative or indicative nature, need for government to create such a plan.
per405	Corporatism
	Favourable mentions of the need for the collaboration of employers and trade union organisations in overall economic planning and direction through the medium of tripartite bodies of government, employers, and trade unions. This category was not used for Austria up to 1979, for New Zealand up to 1981, and for Sweden up to 1988.
per406	Protectionism: Positive
	Favourable mentions of extension or maintenance of tariffs to protect internal markets; other domestic economic protectionism such as quota restrictions.
per407	Protectionism: Negative
	Support for the concept of free trade; otherwise as 406, but

	negative.
per408	Economic Goals
	Statements of intent to pursue any economic goals not covered by other categories in domain 4. This category is created to catch an overall interest of parties in economics and, therefore, covers a variety of economic goals.
per409	Keynesian Demand Management
	Demand-oriented economic policy; economic policy devoted to the reduction of depressions and/or to increase private demand through increasing public demand and/or through increasing social expenditures.
per410	Productivity
	Need to encourage or facilitate greater production; need to take measures to aid this; appeal for greater production and importance of productivity to the economy; increasing foreign trade; the paradigm of growth.
per411	Technology and Infrastructure
	Importance of modernisation of industry and methods of transport and communication; importance of science and technological developments in industry; need for training and research. This does not imply education in general (see category 506). This also covers public spending on infrastructure such as streets and harbours.
per412	Controlled Economy
	General need for direct government control of economy; control over prices, wages, rents, etc; state intervention into the economic system.
per413	Nationalisation
	Favourable mentions of government ownership, partial or complete, including government ownership of land.
per414	Economic Orthodoxy
	Need for traditional economic orthodoxy, e.g. reduction of

budget deficits, retrenchment in crisis, thrift and savings; support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system; support for strong currency.

per415

per501

per502

Marxist Analysis

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

per416 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive

Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics and steady state economy; sustainable development. This category was not used for Austria 1945-1979, for Australia, Japan and the United States up to 1980; for Belgium, Ireland, The Netherlands and New Zealand up to 1981; for Italy and Britain up to 1983; for Denmark, Luxembourg and Israel up to 1984; for Canada, France and Sweden up to 1988; and for Norway up to 1989. Test codings, however, have shown that parties before the beginning of the 1990s hardly ever advocated anti-growth policies.

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

Environmental Protection

Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.; general preservation of natural resources against selfish interests; proper use of national parks; soil banks, etc; environmental improvement.

Culture

Need to provide cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport; need to spend money on museums, art galleries etc.; need to encourage worthwhile leisure activities and cultural mass media.

per503	Social Justice
	Concept of equality; need for fair treatment of all people; special protection for underprivileged; need for fair distribution of resources; removal of class barriers; end of discrimination such as racial or sexual discrimination, etc.
per504	Welfare State Expansion
	Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any social service or social security scheme; support for social services such as health service or social housing. Note: This category excludes education.
per505	Welfare State Limitation
	Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; otherwise as 504, but negative.
per506	Education Expansion
	Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels. This excludes technical training which is coded under 411.
per507	Education Limitation
	Limiting expenditure on education; otherwise as 506, but negative.
	Domain 6: Fabric of Society
per601	National Way of Life: Positive
	Appeals to patriotism and/or nationalism; suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion; support for established national ideas.
per602	National Way of Life: Negative
	Against patriotism and/or nationalism; opposition to the existing national state; otherwise as 601, but negative.
per603	Traditional Morality: Positive
	Favourable mentions of traditional moral values; prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour; maintenance and stability of family;

	religion.
per604	Traditional Morality: Negative
	Opposition to traditional moral values; support for divorce, abortion etc.; otherwise as 603, but negative.
per605	Law and Order
	Enforcement of all laws; actions against crime; support and resources for police; tougher attitudes in courts; importance of internal security.
per606	Social Harmony
	Appeal for national effort and solidarity; need for society to see itself as united; appeal for public spiritedness; decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis; support for the public interest; favourable mention of the civil society (Note: This category neither captures what your country can do for you nor what you can do for your country, but what you can do for your fellow citizens.).
per607	Multiculturalism: Positive
	Cultural diversity, communalism, cultural plurality and pillarisation; preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages within the country including special educational provisions.
per608	Multiculturalism: Negative
	Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration; otherwise as 607, but negative.
	Domain 7: Social Groups
per701	Labour Groups: Positive
	Favourable references to labour groups, working class, unemployed; support for trade unions; good treatment of manual and other employees.

per702	Labour Groups: Negative
	Abuse of power of trade unions; otherwise as 701, but negative.
per703	Farmers
	Support for agriculture and farmers; any policy aimed specifically at benefiting these.
per704	Middle Class and Professional Groups
	Favourable references to middle class, professional groups, such as physicians or lawyers; old and new middle class.
per705	Underprivileged Minority Groups
	Favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms, e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants, etc.
per706	Non-economic Demographic Groups
	Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to women, old people, young people, linguistic groups, etc; special interest groups of all kinds.
Data Entries	Subcategories used for CEE countries. For comparisons
Per1011 – per7062	between OECD and CEE countries, subcategories can be aggregated into one of the 56 standard categories used in all countries.
per1011	Russia/USSR/CIS: Positive
	Favourable mentions of Russia, the USSR, the CMEA bloc or the Community of Independent States.
per 1012	Western States: Positive
	Favourable mentions of Western states, including the USA and Germany.
per1013	Eastern European Countries: Positive
	Favourable mentions of Eastern European countries in general.

per1014	Baltic States: Positive
per1014	
	Favourable mentions of the Baltic states, including other states bordering the Baltic Sea.
per1015	Nordic Council: Positive
	Favourable mentions of the Nordic Council.
per1016	SFR Yugoslavia: Positive
	Favourable mentions of countries formerly belonging to SFR Yugoslavia including special relationships with Montenegro, Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.
per1021	Russia/USSR/CIS: Negative
	Negative mentions of Russia, the USSR or the Community of Independent States.
per1022	Western States: Negative
	Negative mentions of Western states, including the USA and Germany.
per1023	East European Countries: Negative
	Negative mentions of Eastern European countries in general.
per1024	Baltic States: Negative
	Negative references to the Baltic states.
per1025	Nordic Council: Negative
	Negative references to the Nordic Council.
per1026	SFR Yugoslavia: Negative
	Negative mentions of countries formerly belonging to SFR Yugoslavia including negative references to Montenegro, Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.
per1031	Russian Army: Negative
	Need to withdraw the Russian army from the territory of the manifesto country; need to receive reparations for the damage caused by the Russian army or other Soviet institutions.

per1032	Independence: Positive
	Favourable mentions of the independence and sovereignty of the manifesto country.
per1033	Rights of Nations: Positive
	Favourable mentions of freedom, rights and interests of nations.
per2021	Transition to Democracy
	General references to the transition process of one-party states to pluralist democracy.
per2022	Restrictive Citizenship: Positive
	Favourable mentions of restrictions in citizenship; restrictions in enfranchisement with respect to (ethnic) groups.
per2023	Lax Citizenship: Positive
	Favourable mentions of lax citizenship and election laws; no or few restrictions in enfranchisement.
per2031	Presidential Regime: Positive
	Support for current presidential regime; statements in favour of a powerful presidency.
per2032	Republic: Positive
	Support for the republican form of government as opposed to monarchy.
per2033	Checks and Balances: Positive
	Support for checks and balances and separation of powers, and specifically for limiting the powers of the presidency by increasing legislative/judicial powers, or transferring some executive powers to the legislature or judiciary.

per2041	Monarchy: Positive
	Support for a monarchy, including conceptions of constitutional monarchy.
per3011	Republican Powers: Positive
	Favourable mentions of stronger republican powers.
per3051	Public Situation: Negative
	Negative references to the situation in public life after the founding elections.
per3052	Communist: Positive
	Co-operation with former authorities/communists in the transition period; pro-communist involvement in the transition process; and 'let sleeping dogs lie' in dealing with the nomenclature.
per3053	Communist: Negative
	Against communist involvement in democratic government; weeding out the collaborators from governmental service; need for political coalition except communist parties.
per3054	Rehabilitation and Compensation: Positive
	References to civic rehabilitation of politically persecuted people in the communist era; references to juridical compensation concerning communist expropriations; moral compensation.
per3055	Political Coalitions: Positive
	Positive references to the need of broader political coalition; need for co-operation at the political level; necessity of collaboration among all political forces.
per4011	Privatisation: Positive
	Favourable references to privatisation.
per4012	Control of Economy: Negative
	Negative references to the general need for direct governmental control of the economy.

per4013	Property-Restitution: Positive
	Favourable references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners.
per4014	Privatisation Vouchers: Positive
	Favourable references to privatisation vouchers.
per4121	Social Ownership: Positive
	Favourable references to the creation or preservation of co- operative or non-state social ownership within a market economy.
per4122	Mixed Economy: Positive
	Favourable references to mixed ownership within a market economy.
per4123	Publicly-Owned Industry: Positive
	Positive references to the concept of publicly-owned industries.
per4124	Socialist Property: Positive
	Positive references to socialist property, including public and co-operative property; negative references to privatisation.
per4131	Property-Restitution: Negative
	Negative references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners.
per4132	Privatisation: Negative
	Negative references to the privatisation system; need to change the privatisation system.
per5021	Private-Public Mix in Culture: Positive
	Necessity of private provisions due to economic constraints; private funding in addition to public activity.
per5031	Private-Public Mix in Social Justice: Positive
	Necessity of private initiatives due to economic constraints.

per5041	Private-Public Mix in Welfare: Positive
	Necessity of private welfare provisions due to economic constraints; desirability of competition in welfare service provisions; private funding in addition to public activity.
per5061	Private-Public Mix in Education: Positive
	Necessity of private education due to economic constraints; desirability of competition in education.
per6011	The Karabakh Issue: Positive
	Positive references to the unity of Karabakh and Armenia or the recognition of the independent Republic of Karabakh; rendering assistance to Karabakh.
per6012	Rebuilding the USSR: Positive
	Favourable mentions of the reunification of all republics and nations living on the former territory of the USSR into a new common (democratic) state or into a common economic space whereby the new union would be the guarantor of the manifesto country's sovereignty; negative references to the dissolution of the USSR and the respective treaties.
per6013	National Security: Positive
	Support for or need to maintain national security in all spheres of social life; policies devoted to this goal.
per6014	Cyprus Issue
	All references concerning the division of Cyprus in a Greek and a Turkish part.
per6061	General Crisis
	Identification of a general crisis in the country.
per6071	Cultural Autonomy: Positive
	Favourable mentions of cultural autonomy.
per6072	Multiculturalism pro Roma: Positive
	Favourable mentions of cultural autonomy of Roma.
per6081	Multiculturalism pro Roma: Negative

	Negative mentions of cultural autonomy of Roma.	
per7051	Minorities Inland: Positive	
	References to manifesto country minorities in foreign countries; positive references to manifesto country minorities.	
per7052	Minorities Abroad: Positive	
	References to ethnic minorities living in the manifesto country such as Latvians living in Estonia.	
per7061	War Participants: Positive	
	Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to people taking part in the war on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia.	
per7062	Refugees: Positive	
	Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to people who left their homes because of the war (for instance, on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia) or were forcibly displaced.	
Peruncod	 Percentage of uncoded (quasi-) sentences Missing information: 11 Sweden 1948-1982 = 99,99 12 Norway 1945-1989 = 99,99 	
Total	Total number of quasi-sentences Missing information: 12 Norway in 1989 = 9999	
	Programmatic dimensions:	
Rile	Right-left position of party as given in Michael Laver/Ian Budge (eds.): Party Policy and Government Coalitions, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: The MacMillan Press 1992:	
	(per104 + per201 + per203 + per305 + per401 + per402 + per407 + per414 + per505 + per601 + per603 + per605 + per606) - (per103 + per105 + per106 + per107 + per403 + per404 + per406 + per412 + per413 + per504 + per506 + per701 + per202).	
Planeco	per403 + per404 + per412.	

Markeco	per401 + per414.
Welfare	per503 + per504.
Intpeace	per102 + per105 + per106.