



# Global Party Survey, 2019

# Codebook

[www.GlobalPartySurvey.org](http://www.GlobalPartySurvey.org)

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# Global Party Survey, 2019

## I: TECHNICAL NOTE:

### AIMS

The Global Party Survey, 2019 (GPS) is an international expert survey directed by Pippa Norris (Harvard University). Drawing on 1,861 party and election experts, the Global Party Survey, 2019 estimates key ideological values, issue positions, and populist rhetoric for 1,052 parties in 163 countries.

The research project is designed to replicate the tried and tested methods of expert surveys, while simultaneously innovating and broadening the research agenda in several important ways.

- By expanding the geographic scope of coverage, including parties and countries in all inhabited continents, it allows users to move beyond the traditional focus on Europe.
- By incorporating continuous scaled measures of populist rhetoric, as well as ideological values, analysts can compare the degree to which all parties of whatever stripe and persuasion commonly adopt this discourse, not simply confining analysis to those designated a priori in binary categories as ‘populist’ parties.
- By including party codes used in many other related cross-national studies, the dataset facilitates easy merger for multilevel analysis, such as by comparing party positions with their institutional characteristics or with mass surveys of the electorate.
- At the same time, however, sufficient continuity is preserved with prior research measuring party positions to facilitate comparison with these established datasets. Robustness and validity tests increase confidence in the external validity of the new data.

### METHODS

Expert surveys have been widely adopted within the global scientific and policy communities and used for constructing multiple international and domestic indicators, ratings and rankings, exemplified by the World Bank Institute [Good Governance indices](#), the [Varieties of Democracy](#) project, Transparency International’s [Corruption Perception Index](#), and the [Electoral Integrity Project](#) (Cooley and Snyder 2015).

In particular, this study builds upon previous cross-national expert surveys designed to identify party ideological and issue positions. This includes research projects by Castles and Mair (1984), Huber and Inglehart in 42 societies (1995), Ray (1999), and the series of [Chapel Hill Expert Survey \(CHES\)](#) conducted every four years since 1999 (Hooghe et al 2010; Bakker et al. 2012, 2015).

### QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

The questionnaire for the Global Party Survey was administered through the Qualtrics platform. It includes 21 core items measured using ten-point continuous scales (illustrated in Figure 1 below). These were designed to identify each party’s current ideological values, their position on several issues such as immigration, nationalism and environmental protection, and their use of populist rhetoric.

As well as the core items, the GPS survey also asked questions about the expert’s nationality and citizenship, gender, age, party preferences and their self-reported L-R ideology, as well as their familiarity with each of the parties, and the degree of difficulty they experienced in completing the survey. The design sought to establish a judicious trade-off in balancing the length of the questionnaire with the likely response rate from a longer study.

The questionnaire was professionally translated and made available through an optional drop-down menu in six major world languages (English, French, German, Spanish, Russian, Mandarin).

**Figure 1: Illustrating the question design format**

Parties can be classified by their current stance on **ECONOMIC ISSUES** such as privatization, taxes, regulation, government spending, and the welfare state.

Those on the economic **LEFT** want government to play an active role in the economy. Those on the economic **RIGHT** favor a reduced role for government.

Where would you place each party on the following scale?

	0: Extreme Economic Left	1	2	3	4	x 5	x 6	7	8	9	10: Extreme Economic Right	Don't Know/Not applicable
» \${e://Field/P1Name}	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
» \${e://Field/P2Name}	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**COUNTRY COVERAGE**

The universe of countries and cross-national coverage achieved by GPS is shown in Figure 2.

**Figure 2: Country coverage**

	#	Definition and source
Total number of independent nation-states	194	Membership of the United Nations (plus Taiwan)
<b>Excluded categories</b>		
Micro-states (pop less than 100,000)	16	Andorra, Dominica, Kiribati, Liechtenstein, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Monaco, Nauru, Palau, San Marino, Seychelles, St. Lucia, St Vincent & Grenadines, St. Kitts and Nevis, Tonga, and Tuvalu.
Without de jure direct (popular) elections for the lower house of the national legislature and/or severe legal bans on parties	7	Brunei Darussalam, China, Oman, Qatar, UAE, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, and Saudi Arabia
Lack of response	8	Cape Verde, CAR, Honduras, Liberia, Niger, Senegal, South Sudan, Sri Lanka
Covered in the 2019 GPS dataset	<b>163</b>	84% of all nation-states

Source: [www.GlobalPartySurvey.org](http://www.GlobalPartySurvey.org)

**PARTY COVERAGE**

The survey sought to gather information about the position of parliamentary political parties represented in the lower (or single) House of Parliament/Congress in each country under comparison, thereby excluding parties which only contested presidential, supranational and regional/local elections. It is challenging to identify a comprehensive, reliable and up-to-date list of political parties worldwide, however, as there is no single published electronic resource. In addition, lists can quickly become out-of-date as the names (and acronyms) of loosely institutionalized ‘flash’ parties and unstable party coalitions can shift rapidly over time. For example, in the UK the Brexit party became active in January 2019 but less than a year later, after winning no seats in the December 2019 general election, Nigel Farage announced that it is likely to be reconstituted as the Reform Party. Leadership parties, formed

as loose campaigning factions around the time of an election, but with minimal organizational structure or mass membership, are common in many developing countries. Determining a reliable list of the largest ‘party blocs’ is not easy in states like Kuwait with formal legal bans on party organizations and many independent candidates.

The project compiled a list of parliamentary parties (and their share of seat and vote) for each country running for election to the lower house of the legislature using the [IFES Election Guide](#). The list of full party names (in English) for up to ten of the largest parties (with the highest number of legislators) was automatically merged as a field into the Qualtrics questionnaire and tailored for each country. Normally the party list reflected the legislative election closest to the starting date of the survey (Nov 2019), but in some cases the list in our records was compiled from an earlier election. The date of the election used for the party list can be checked as this is specified as a variable in the survey dataset. In one or two cases, like Italy, the names of the main party coalitions on the Center-Left and Center-Right were merged into the questionnaire. In retrospect, and in future studies, it would have been preferable to disaggregate this information by including the names of the individual parties, not least because of the volatility of coalitions over successive contests. In total, the survey covers 1,052 parties worldwide.

To facilitate merging and multilevel analysis, the dataset includes party and national metadata and many standard party identification codes. This allows users to match the GPS data easily with several other party-level datasets such as [Party Facts](#) (Doring and Regel 2019), [CHES](#), the [Political Party Database](#) (Scarrow, Webb and Pogunte 2017), and [ParlGov](#). Integrated codes in the dataset also allow users to link GPS party estimates easily with other cross-national surveys of the mass electorate, including the [European Social Survey](#) and [World Values Survey](#).

The GPS dataset also included the standard country codes from the [Correlates of War](#) project. It also incorporates country-level metadata for selected variables from standard sources, using the latest year available (usually 2018), including measures of levels of democracy, regimes types, and several institutional characteristics of parties from the [Varieties of Democracy](#) project (Version 9.0), and national-level measures from the [World Bank Development Indicators](#) of economic development (per capita GDP), area, and population size.

## EXPERTS

Participation in the survey was by personal invitation only. Experts were defined as scholars of parties and elections selected for each country drawing upon the global database established since 2012 by the [Electoral Integrity Project](#), checked and verified according to several criteria. Experts were defined as political scientists (or other social scientist in a related discipline) who had demonstrated knowledge of the electoral process and parties in a particular country, such as through publications, membership of a relevant research group, or university employment. This pool was supplemented in a few smaller countries, like island states in the Caribbean, by several additional scholarly party experts suggested by respondents using the ‘snowball’ technique. Respondents were asked to identify party positions in one country reflecting their primary area of published expertise, irrespective of their nationality or institutional location. The survey included both resident (domestic) and international experts (e.g. a scholar teaching at an American university who specializes in Egyptian or Liberian politics). Two-thirds of respondents were born in their country of expertise, while three quarters are currently a citizen of that country.

One quarter of the experts in the survey were female, reflecting gender disparities in the discipline. The mean position of experts on the self-reported 10-point Left-Right ideological scale was 4.75, just below the mid-point. Overall, when asked about the difficulty or ease of completing the survey on a ten-point scale, most reported positively that it was fairly easy (Mean 7.82). Respondents were usually more familiar with the larger parties in their country of expertise, however, suggesting the need for caution when analyzing the estimates for the smaller parties.

Expert surveys have greatly expanded in use during the last decade (Cooley and Snyder 2015). Like other approaches, however, there are many sources of potential bias in the estimates they produce (Martinez I Coma and Van Ham 2015). This includes errors of judgment arising from assessments of complex multidimensional phenomenon, varied contexts for party competition under different regimes, and the depth of scholars’ expertise on the topic. One classic issue which has arisen in cross-national surveys ever since Almond and Verba’s *Civic Culture* (1963) arises from the appropriate benchmarks which people may employ in making their assessments, for example whether current party positions are judged relative to their past positions, or compared with other parties within a country, or against other societies. The external validity of the measures can be tested most effectively by comparing the GPS estimates with similar independent studies (see. Below). To test for internal validity, the GPS expert-level

dataset allows users to analyze whether estimates of party positions were systematically influenced by the background and personal characteristics of participants, such as their nationality, ideological leanings, gender, or age (Curini 2009).

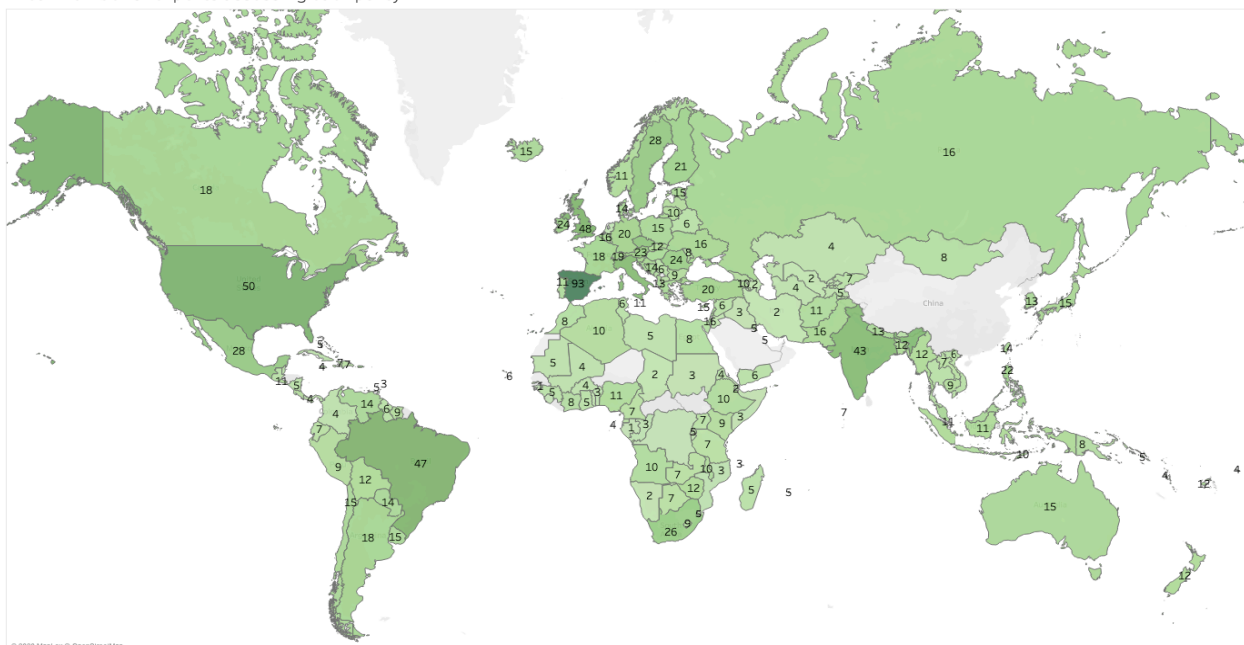
Personalized survey invitations were distributed by email to experts, and responses collected online, through the Qualtrics platform. Fieldwork was conducted for one month, with an initial personal invitation to individual experts followed by two reminders, from 19 November to 20 December 2019.

### RESPONSE RATE

Responses were received from 1,891 experts in total, representing an overall response rate of 23%. On average, each country included replies from around a dozen experts, but the numbers varied a great deal. The world map in Figure 3 below shows the average number of experts assessing each party in each country.

**Figure 3: Response rate by country**

Mean number of experts assessing each party





Finally, analysts may decide to aggregate across country cases, for example if they want to compare across world regions or party families.

### ROBUSTNESS TESTS

Does the data provide reliable and valid measures of party ideological values, issue positions and populist rhetoric? Expert surveys supplement several alternative approaches to identifying party positions, each with potential strengths and weaknesses (Laver 2001).

One traditional older approach has used the concept of ‘**party families**’, such as ‘Communist’, ‘Social Democratic’, ‘Greens’ and ‘Liberal’ parties, and sought to identify the characteristics of groups of parties sharing similar nomenclatures and transnational organizational links (Mair 2001). This method is limited, however, for example parties and leaders never acknowledge populism as a common label or shared identity. Moreover, each family may involve parties with shared names but diverse ideological values. Core principles and policies may also prove far from stable over time. For example, in the UK the center-left values of the Labour party under Tony Blair were transformed and shifted radically leftwards by Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership.

Perhaps the most common systematic method to identify where parties stand on policy issues has involved extracting data from hand and automatic **textual coding of party platforms**, exemplified by the long-standing [Comparative Manifesto Project](#) (Budge 2000; Budge et al 2001; Klingemann et al 2006; Benoit and Laver 2007; Krouwel and Elrinkhof 2014). This data has proved invaluable for comparing many programmatic parties in Western Europe. But the approach is arguably of more limited use in elections where parties are poorly institutionalized. Collective party platforms and manifesto documents may not function as important guides to policy positions in countries with presidential executives and clientelist party campaigns.

A related body of newer research has employed the techniques of **discourse analysis** to compare the rhetoric used in selected leadership speeches to categorize populist leaders both over time and also across countries (Hawkins 2009; Bonikowski and Gidron 2016; Hawkins et al. 2019a, 2019b). Unfortunately, this approach has usually focused on populist rhetoric in isolation from systematic analysis of the rhetoric used by other types of parties and leaders. For cross-national analysis, both textual coding and discourse analysis raise challenges of linguistic comparability.

Other common research methods in party research involves **national and cross-national surveys**. These may or may not be based on probabilistic samples. This includes surveys monitoring the attitudes and values of party members and supporters (van Haute and Gauja 2015), surveys of party elites like the [Comparative Candidate Survey](#), and legislators in national and European parliaments (Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Katz and Wessels 1999; Schmitt and Thomassen 1999; Bailer 2014). Election studies and opinion surveys also commonly monitor public perceptions of party issue positions.

Within-country studies like [DW-Nominate](#) compare party positions over time from **roll call analysis** of legislative behavior (Poole and Rosenhal 2001; Carroll and Poole 2014).

Alternative datasets facilitate triangulation across independent studies, providing independent cross-validation health checks of the reliability and robustness of the estimates. For example, the CHES expert estimates of party positions have been compared with data from party manifestos, surveys of MPs, and other expert surveys (Bakker et al. 2012; Hooghe et al., 2010; Marks et al., 2007; Netjes and Binnema, 2007; Steenbergen and Marks, 2007; Whitefield et al., 2007).

To replicate this approach, where datasets covered the same political parties and countries the GPS estimates were merged with comparable indices in four datasets: [CHES-2017](#), the [Parliaments and Government](#) (ParlGov) database, the [Comparative Manifesto Project](#), and [Popu-List](#).

Party estimates can be expected to vary from each other for various reasons, not least that studies use different time-periods, question wordings, and research designs to generate their data. Parties are far from static in their issue positions and ideological values, whether responding to leadership turnover, the shifting saliency of issues on the policy agenda, changes in their electoral fortunes, or new patterns of party competition.

Nevertheless, where the same parties can be compared, the four replication tests confirm the external validity and robustness of the GPS estimates on several key indicators.

**(i) Ideological values and issue positions in CHES-2017**

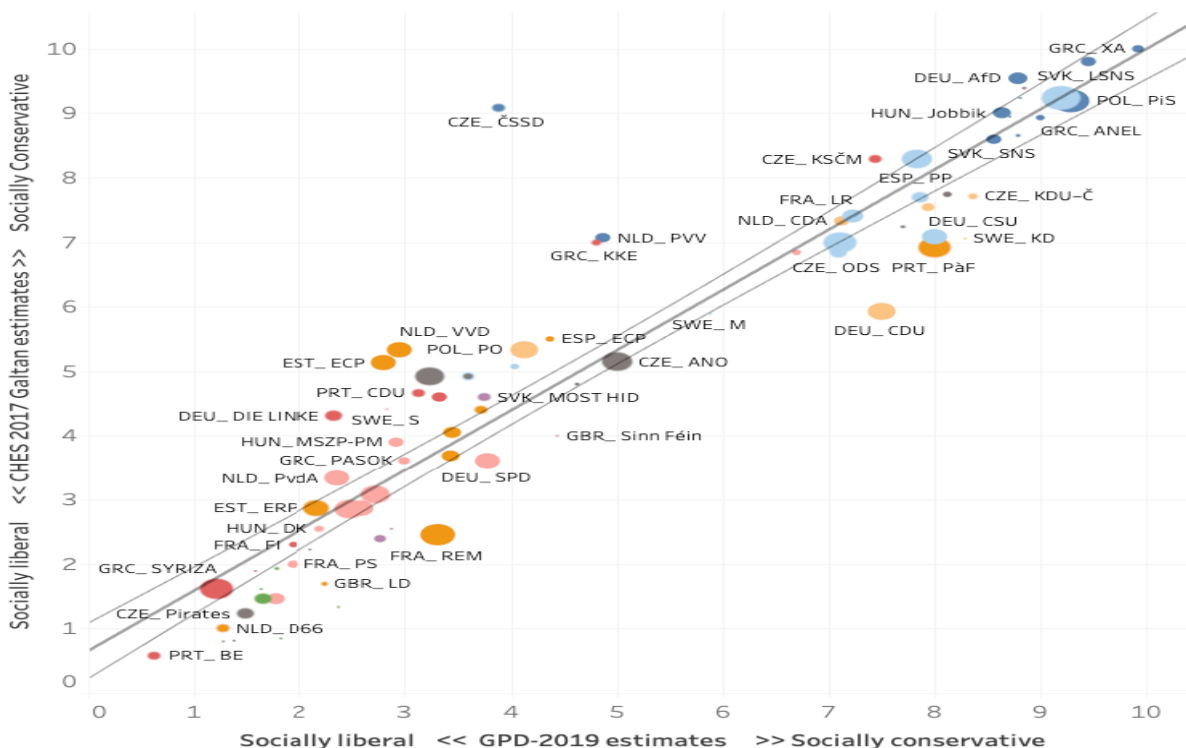
The GPS-2019 and the CHES-2017 datasets contain seven identical (or functionally-equivalent) items designed to measure ideological values and issue positions. The results of the estimates show remarkably strong and significant correlations in 84 European parties contained in both studies (See Figures 4 and 5). Despite differences in the timing, selection of experts, and fieldwork methods, in fact both studies arrived at very similar estimates in these cases.

**Figure 4: Correlations between the GPS-2019 and CHES-2017 estimates, 84 parties**

	R	Sig
V4 Values: The party is left (0) or right (10) on economic issues	0.848	0.000
V5 Saliency: The importance of economic issues	0.822	0.000
V6 Values: The party is liberal (0) or conservative (10) in their social values (Galtan)	0.939	0.000
V7: Saliency: The importance of social values	0.788	0.000
V10 Issues: Party favors liberal (0) or restrictive (10) immigration policies	0.936	0.000
V15 Issues: Party favors (0) or opposes (10) ethnic minority rights	0.885	0.000
V19 Rhetoric: The people should decide important issues (0) or leaders should decide (10)	0.598	0.000

**Figure 5: Robustness tests for GPS and CHES estimates, 84 parties**

Correlations of the GPS-2019 and CHES-2017 estimates



Note: Q: "Parties can also be classified by their current social values. Those with LIBERAL values favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, on abortion rights, same-sex marriage, and democratic participation. Those with CONSERVATIVE values reject these ideas in favor of order, tradition and stability, believing that government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues. Where would you place each party on the following scale?"

Sources: [www.GlobalPartySurvey.org](http://www.GlobalPartySurvey.org) CHES-2017

**(ii) Ideological estimates in ParlGov**

As an additional check, 192 parties in the GPS study were compared with data in the Parliaments and Government (ParGov) project. The position of political parties on a ten-point left-right scale was estimated by ParlGov by combining data from previous expert surveys conducted by Castles/Mair 1983, Huber/Inglehart 1995, Benoit/Laver 2006, and CHES 2010. The GPS estimates of the left-right economic position of parties was strongly correlated with

the ParlGov left-right estimates ( $R=0.739^{***}$ ). Similarly, ParlGov's 10-point value scale for the position of parties on the 'libertarian/authoritarian' dimension was strongly related to the GPS's estimate on this dimension ( $R=0.828^{***}$ ).

**(iii) Ideological estimates from the Comparative Manifesto Project**

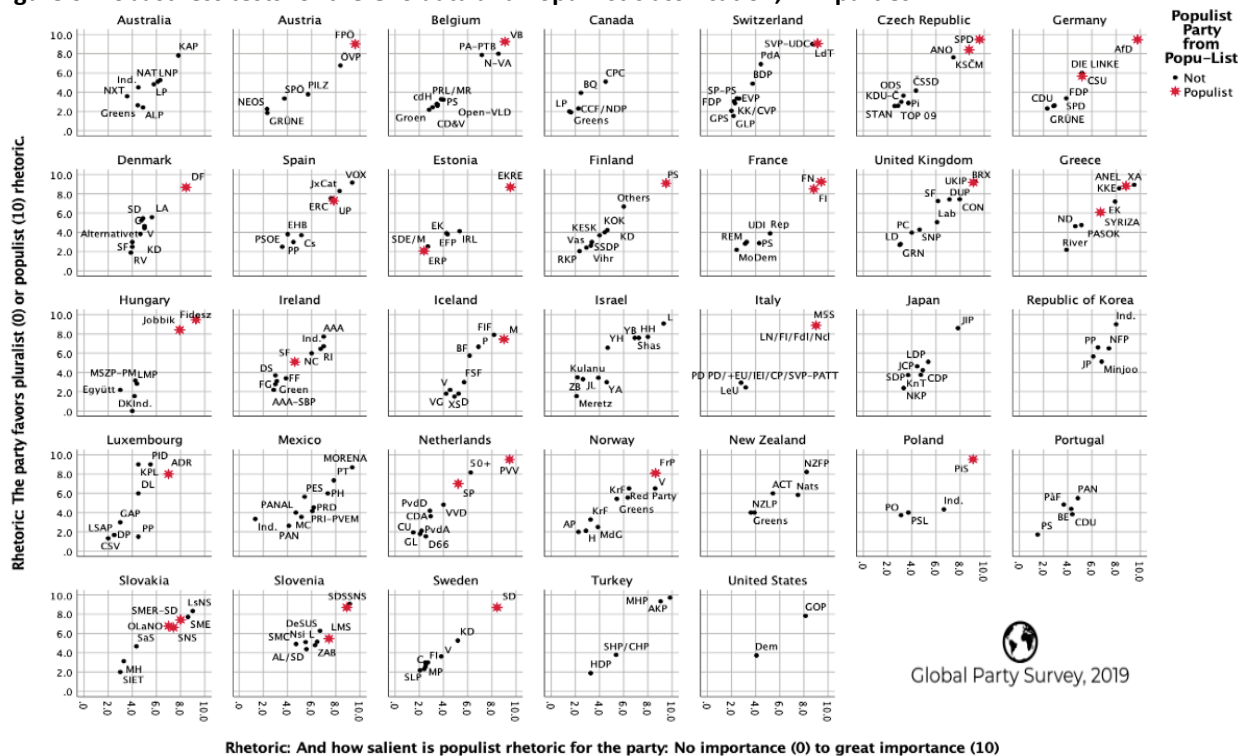
The GPS measure of Left-Right economic values was also compared with the Comparative Manifestoes Project Left-Right ideological party position, based on textual analysis of the salience of issues in 157 party platforms. The CMP data was averaged for parliamentary elections from 2014-19. The results of the comparison showed a significant and moderately strong correlation between these estimates ( $R=.569^{**}$ ) although there was a weaker fit than from the expert survey comparisons. This could be due to the difference in measures, or the lag in time periods.

**(iv) Populist estimates from Roojin et al Popu-List**

The Popu-List project offers an overview of 127 parties in Europe which have achieved at least 2% of the vote in a national parliamentary election since 1998. These parties were categorized (0/1) using simple (0/1) binary codes into the four dimensions of populist, far right, far left, and Eurosceptic (Rooduijn et al 2019). The classification was reviewed by 30 scholars.

The results of comparing two of the GPS scaled measures of populist rhetoric with the Popu-List categorization of populist parties demonstrates the similarities of the estimates. It should be noted that Popu-List only covered Europe, not other countries in the GPS dataset.

**Figure 6: Robustness tests for the GPS data and Popu-List classification, 127 parties**



**Notes:** "We seek to understand the type of rhetoric commonly used by each party, such as in their leadership speeches, rallies, press releases, party platforms, and campaign communications. Vertical Axis: Parties can be classified by their current use of POPULIST OR PLURALIST rhetoric. POPULIST language typically challenges the legitimacy of established political institutions and emphasizes that the will of the people should prevail. By contrast, PLURALIST rhetoric rejects these ideas, believing that elected leaders should govern, constrained by minority rights, bargaining and compromise, as well as checks and balances on executive power. Where would you place each party on the following 0-10 scales? And how important is populist rhetoric for each of these parties?" Parties in RED are identified as populist by the Popu-List project.

Source: <https://popu-list.org/>, [www.GlobalPartySurvey.org](http://www.GlobalPartySurvey.org)

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The survey was directed by Pippa Norris at Harvard and Sydney Universities and it was funded by the Australian Research Council Laureate award as part of the [Electoral Integrity Project](#). The EIP expert database has been compiled since 2012 by a team of research assistants led by several survey managers, including Max Grömping, Ferran Martinez I Coma, Alessandro Nai, Richard Frank, and Thomas Wynter. The GPS survey was administered by Laura Welty at the University of Sydney.

The research design and questionnaire was developed in conjunction with colleagues at the [Chapel Hill Expert Survey](#) (CHES), Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks and Ryan Bakker, the team conducting a similar survey in Europe and Latin America.

The study also benefitted from several other scholars of parties and elections who were consulted about the early draft questionnaire and who generously offered invaluable suggestions for improvement, including Mark Franklin, David Farrell, Ioannis Andreadis, Tim Bale, and Susan Scarrow. Social media debate about the estimates from data visualization scatterplots also proved very helpful for scrutinizing the face-validity of the results in particular countries and parties, such as the Netherlands, US, Italy, and Mexico. The research could not have been completed without the time and effort which all the experts invested in completing the survey – and everyone's participation is greatly appreciated.

## DATASETS

More details and visualizations of some of the initial findings are available from [www.GlobalPartySurvey.org](http://www.GlobalPartySurvey.org).

In spring 2020, the GPS-2019 dataset will be available from: <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/PEI>

Datasets will be made available in Excel, SPSS and Stata formats at the levels of experts (GPS-2019-EXPERTS), and parties (GPS-2019-PARTIES).

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-- 10 Jan 2020

<b>I: COUNTRY AND PARTY CODINGS</b>		
CPARTY	ISO+ full party name in English (String text)	E.g. AFG_Islamic Society
ID_CPARTY	ISO+ full party name (unique GPS numeric code for each party)	1 to 1051
CPARTYABB	ISO+ party acronym	E.g. AFG_Jamiat
ISO	Standard national code (ISO 3166-1) <a href="https://www.iso.org/standard/63545.html">https://www.iso.org/standard/63545.html</a>	3-letter code E.g. AFG
COUNTRY	Country name	E.g. Afghanistan
PARTYNAME	Party name in English	E.g. Islamic Society
PARTYABB	Party acronym	E.G. Jamiat
EXPERTS#	Number of expert responses per country in the GPS survey	1 to 93
<b>II: GENERAL QUESTIONS</b>		
V1 FAMILIARITY	Q2.1 We start with a few general questions. First, how FAMILIAR are you with each of the following parties? Please indicate using the following scale.	0. Not very familiar 10. Very familiar 99. DK/MISSING
V2 PARTY UNITY	Q2.2 How far are the following parties generally UNITED OR DIVIDED in their current policy positions? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. Very divided 10. Very united 99.DK/NA/MISSING
V3 PROGRAM	Q2.3 In their party manifestos and election platforms, how far do the following parties present detailed plans and specific policies, or else offer more general slogans and vague promises? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. Very detailed plans and specific policies 10. Very general slogans and vague promises 99. DK/NA/MISSING
<b>III: IDEOLOGICAL VALUES</b>		
V4 ECONOMIC LEFT-RIGHT	Q3.1 Parties can be classified by their current stance on ECONOMIC ISSUES such as privatization, taxes, regulation, government spending, and the welfare state. Those on the economic LEFT want government to play an active role in the economy. Those on the economic RIGHT favor a reduced role for government. Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. Extreme economic left 10. Extreme economic right 99. DK/NA/MISSING  [+In CHES 2-17 and 2019 LRECON]
V5 L-R SALIENCY	Q3.2 And how IMPORTANT are economic issues for each of the following parties? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. No importance 10. Great importance 99. DK/NA/MISSING [+In CHES LRECON_SALIENCY]

V6 SOCIAL LIBERALISM-CONSERVATISM	Q3.3 Parties can also be classified by their current social values. Those with LIBERAL values favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, on abortion rights, same-sex marriage, and democratic participation. Those with CONSERVATIVE values reject these ideas in favor of order, tradition and stability, believing that government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues. Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. Very liberal 10. Very conservative 99. DK/NA/MISSING  [+In CHES 2017 and 2019 GALTAN]
V7 SOCIAL VALUES SALIENCY	Q3.4 And how IMPORTANT are liberal/conservative social values for each of the following parties? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. No importance 10. Great importance 99. DK/NA/MISSING [+In CHES 2017 and 2019 GALTAN_SALIENCY]
V8 POPULIST RHETORIC	Q3.5 Parties can also be classified by their current use of POPULIST OR PLURALIST rhetoric. POPULIST language typically challenges the legitimacy of established political institutions and emphasizes that the will of the people should prevail. By contrast, PLURALIST rhetoric rejects these ideas, believing that elected leaders should govern, constrained by minority rights, bargaining and compromise, as well as checks and balances on executive power. Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. Strongly favors pluralist rhetoric 10. Strongly favors populist rhetoric 99.DK/NA/MISSING
V9 POPULIST SALIENCY	Q3.6 And how IMPORTANT is populist rhetoric currently for each of the following parties? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. No importance 10. Great importance 99.DK/NA/MISSING
<b>IV: POLICY ISSUES</b>		
V10 IMMIGRATION	Q4.1 Turning now to party positions on specific political issues, where do parties currently stand on IMMIGRATION? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. Strongly favors liberal immigration policies 10. Strongly favors restrictive immigration policies 99.DK/NA/MISSING [+In CHES 2017 and 2019 IMMIGRATE_POLICY]
V11 SPENDING V. TAX	Q4.2 Next, where do parties currently stand on PUBLIC SPENDING versus TAXATION? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0 Strongly favors increased public spending 10 Strongly favors reduced taxation 99.DK/NA/MISSING
V12 ENVIRONMENT	Q4.3 Next, where do parties currently stand on the issue of ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0 Strongly favors environmental protection 10 Strongly opposes environmental protection 99.DK/NA/MISSING [+In CHES 2019]

V13 NATIONALISM	Q4.4 Next, where do parties currently stand on NATIONALISM VERSUS MULTILATERALISM. Those favoring MULTILATERALISM seek to respect international treaties, engage with United Nations agencies, and collaborate with regional organizations like the EU, OAS, AU, ASEAN, and OSCE. Those favoring NATIONALISM reject these ideas. Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0 Strongly favors nationalism 10 Strongly favors multilateralism 99.DK/NA/MISSING
V14 WOMEN'S RIGHTS	Q4.5 And where so parties currently stand on WOMEN'S RIGHTS? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0 Strongly favors women's rights 10 Strongly opposes women's rights 99.DK/NA/MISSING
V15 ETHNIC MINORITY RIGHTS	Q4.6 Next, where do parties currently stand on ETHNIC MINORITY RIGHTS? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0 Strongly favors ethnic minority rights 10 Strongly opposes ethnic minority rights 99.DK/NA/MISSING [+In CHES 2019]
V16 LIBERAL DEMOCRACY	Q4.7 Next, where do parties currently stand on LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC principles, norms and practices? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0: Strongly respects liberal democratic, principles, norms and practices 10: Strongly undermines liberal democratic principles, norms and practices 99.DK/NA/MISSING
V17 CLIENTALISM	Q4.8 Next, on clientelism, where do parties currently stand on DISTRIBUTING PUBLIC GOODS, like material benefits, subsidies, construction projects, and jobs. Do they favor giving universally to all citizens or else primarily to their own supporters? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0.Strongly favors universal distribution to all citizens 10.Strongly favors distribution mainly to their own supporters 99.DK/NA/MISSING
<b>V: POPULIST RHETORIC</b>		
V18 WILL OF THE PEOPLE	Q5.1 Next we seek to understand the type of rhetoric commonly used by each party, such as in their leadership speeches, rallies, press releases, party platforms, and campaign communications. Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. Strongly emphasizes that politicians should follow the will of the people 10. Strongly emphasizes that politicians should lead public opinion 99.DK/NA/MISSING



V19 PEOPLE SHOULD DECIDE	Q5.2 How would you characterize the rhetoric commonly used by various parties on whether the people or leaders should decide important issues? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0. Strongly emphasizes that ordinary people should decide important issues 10. Strongly emphasizes that leaders should decide important issues 99.DK/NA/MISSING [+In CHES 2017 and 2019 PEOPLE_VS_ELITE]
V20 POLITICIANS CORRUPT	Q5.3 How would you characterize the rhetoric commonly used by various parties on whether most politicians are honest or corrupt? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0 Strongly emphasizes that most politicians are honest and trustworthy 10. Strongly emphasizes that most politicians are dishonest and corrupt 99.DK/NA/MISSING
V21 STRONGMAN RULE	Q5.4 How would you characterize the rhetoric commonly used by various parties towards checks and balances on executive power? Where would you place each party on the following scale?	0 Strongly <b>favours</b> checks and balances on executive power 10. Strongly <b>opposes</b> checks and balances on executive power 99.DK/NA/MISSING
<b>VI: PERSONAL BACKGROUND OF THE EXPERTS</b>		
YOB	Q6.1 Finally, we would like to ask you a few questions about your personal background. What is your year of birth?	Year (1941, 1942... etc, 1992) 9999.DK/NA/MISSING
GENDER	Q6.2 What is your gender?	0 Female 1 Male 9 Other or prefer not to answer 99.DK/NA/MISSING
BORN	Q6.3 Were you born in (the name of the country of expertise)	0 No 1 Yes 99.DK/NA/MISSING
CITIZEN	Q6.4 Are you currently a citizen of (the name of the country of expertise)	0 No 1 Yes 99.DK/NA/MISSING
PARTYSUPPORT	Q6.5 If you were able to participate in the last national election in (the name of the country of expertise), which political party, if any, did you generally support?	Party name selected from the list 99.DK/NA/MISSING



IDEOLOGY	Q6.6 Below is a 10-point scale on which your general political views can be arranged from LEFT to RIGHT. Where would you place your views on this scale?	0 Very left 10 Very right 99.DK/NA/MISSING
DIFFICULTY	Q7.2 Overall, how easy or difficult did you find the questions? On a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 means the questionnaire was 'very difficult to understand' and 10 means the questionnaire was 'very easy to understand'.	0 Very difficult to understand 10 Very easy to understand 99.DK/NA/MISSING
LANGUAGE	User language from optional translations of the survey questionnaire	EN English ES Spanish DE German RU Russian FR French

VII: PARTY METADATA		
Elec_code	Legislative election code used for recording % Votes and % Seats for each party	(ISO+DMY+Legislative round)
Elec_year	Legislative election year used for recording the % Votes and % Seats for each party	Year 2003-2019
PartyPerVote	Share of the vote recorded for each party in the legislative election in Elec_code, from <i>IFES Elections Guide</i> <a href="http://www.electionguide.org/">http://www.electionguide.org/</a>	% 0-100
PartyPerSeats	Share of seats recorded for each party in the legislative election in Elec_code, from <i>IFES Elections Guide</i> <a href="http://www.electionguide.org/">http://www.electionguide.org/</a>	% 0-100
ENEP	Effective number of electoral parties (ENEP) in Elec_code	1.18-23.43
ENPP	Effective number of parliamentary parties (ENPP) in Elec_code	1.00-16.55
LSQINDEX	LSQ INDEX (Gallagher index of disproportionality) in Elec_code	0-33.28
CHES_Irecon	Values: The party is left (0) or right (10) on economic issues (CHES-2017)	0-10
CHES_Irecon_salience	Values: And how salient are economic issues for the party: No importance (0) to great importance (10) (CHES-2017)	0-10
CHES_galtan	Values: The party is liberal (0) or conservative (10) in their social values (CHES-2017)	0-10
CHES_galtan_salience	Values: And how salient are liberal/conservative social values for the party: No importance (0) to great importance (10) (CHES-2017)	0-10
CHES_immigrate_policy	Issues: Party favors liberal (0) or restrictive (10) immigration policies (CHES-2017)	0-10
CHES_ethnic_minorities	Issues: Party favors (0) or opposes (10) ethnic minority rights (CHES-2017)	0-10
CHES_people_vs_elite	Rhetoric: The people should decide important issues (0) or leaders should decide (10) (CHES-2017)	0-10
CHES_experts	Number of experts (CHES-2017)	#12 TO 22
CHES_vote	% vote (CHES-2017)	%
CHES_seat	% seat (CHES-2017)	%
CHES_electionyear	electionyear (CHES-2017)	2013-2017
CHES_family	Party family (CHES-2017)	1 Radical Right 2 Conservative 3 Liberal 4 Christian Democratic 5 Socialist 6 Radical Left 7 Green 8 Regionalist
CHES_govt	Party in government (CHES-2017)	0 No 0.5 Coalition partner 1 Government

PG_family	ParlGov Party Family ( <a href="http://www.parlgov.org">www.parlgov.org</a> )	Agrarian Christian Democracy Communist/Socialist Green Liberal Other Rightwing Social Democracy
PG_left_right	ParlGov estimates of the position of parties. ( <a href="http://www.parlgov.org">www.parlgov.org</a> )	0-10 left-right scale
PG_state_market	ParlGov estimates of the position of parties. ( <a href="http://www.parlgov.org">www.parlgov.org</a> )	0-10 state regulation of the economy scale
PG_liberty_authority	ParlGov estimates of the position of parties. ( <a href="http://www.parlgov.org">www.parlgov.org</a> )	0-10 liberty-authority scale
PG_eu_anti_pro	ParlGov estimates of the position of parties ( <a href="http://www.parlgov.org">www.parlgov.org</a> )	0-10 anti-pro EU scale
PARTY IDENTIFIERS TO MERGE DATASETS		
ID_ParlGov	Party ID ParlGov ( <a href="http://www.parlgov.org">www.parlgov.org</a> )	
ID_PartyFacts	Party ID Party Facts ( <a href="https://partyfacts.herokuapp.com/data/">https://partyfacts.herokuapp.com/data/</a> )	
ID_CHES	Party ID Chapel Hill Expert Survey, 1999 – 2017 ( <a href="https://www.chesdata.eu/">https://www.chesdata.eu/</a> )	
ID_ESS	Party ID European Social Survey (ESS) ( <a href="http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/">http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/</a> )	
ID_CMP	Party ID Comparative Manifesto Project ( <a href="https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/">https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/</a> )	
ID_castles_mair	Party ID Castles and Mair, 1984 <a href="https://ejpr.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1984.tb00080.x">https://ejpr.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1984.tb00080.x</a>	
ID_huber_inglehart	Party ID Huber and Inglehart, 1995 <a href="https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1354068895001001004">https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1354068895001001004</a>	
ID_ray	Party ID Ray, 1999 <a href="https://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/A:1007009106184">https://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/A:1007009106184</a>	
ID_benoit_laver	Party ID Benoit and Laver, 2006, <a href="https://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/ppmd/">https://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/ppmd/</a>	
ID_EES	Party ID European Election Study	
ID_WVS	Party ID for the World Values Survey	

<b>VIII: COUNTRY METADATA</b>		
CountryName	Country Name	Text
ID_COW	COW Nation id: Correlates of War project ( <a href="https://correlatesofwar.org/">https://correlatesofwar.org/</a> ) Use to merge at national-level	3-digit
ID_VDem	Varieties of Democracy Nation id ( <a href="https://www.v-dem.net/en/">https://www.v-dem.net/en/</a> )	3-Digit
Region_6	Region (politico-geographic 6-category) V-Dem9 ( <a href="https://www.v-dem.net/en/">https://www.v-dem.net/en/</a> )	1 E. Europe & C. Asia 2 Latin Am. & Carib 3 MENA 4 Sub-Saharan Africa 5 Western Europe, N. America/Aust/NZ 6 Asia Pacific (excl Aus/NZ)
Region_9	Global region (World Bank, 9 cat)	1.E. & S Asia 2 W & C Africa 3 E. Asia &Pac 4 S. Asia 5 E. Europe 6 W. Europe 7 M. East 8 N. Africa 9 Americas
Region_10	Region (politico-geographic-10 Categories) V-Dem9 ( <a href="https://www.v-dem.net/en/">https://www.v-dem.net/en/</a> )	1 Eastern Europe and Central Asia 2 Latin America 3 Middle East and North Africa 4 Sub-Saharan Africa 5 Western Europe and N.America, +Aus+NZ 6 East Asia 7 SE Asia 8 South Asia 9 The Pacific(excl Aus/NZ) 10 Caribbean
Region_19	Region (geographic-19 categories) V-Dem9 ( <a href="https://www.v-dem.net/en/">https://www.v-dem.net/en/</a> )	1 Western Europe 2 Northern Europe 3 Southern Europe 4 Eastern Europe 5 Northern Africa 6 Western Africa 7 Central Africa 8 Eastern Africa 9 Southern Africa 10 Western Asia 11 Central Asia 12 East Asia 13 South-East Asia 14 South Asia 15 Oceania 16 North America 17 Central America 18 South America 19 Caribbean

OECD	OECD Member state ( <a href="https://www.oecd.org/about/members-and-partners/">https://www.oecd.org/about/members-and-partners/</a> )	0/1
v2x_polyarchy	Electoral democracy index, 2018 (V-Dem9) To what extent is the ideal of electoral democracy in its fullest sense achieved?	0/1
v2x_libdem	Liberal democracy index, 2018 (V-Dem9) To what extent is the ideal of liberal democracy achieved?	0/1
polity	Polity combined score for autocracy-democracy, (Polity IV) 2018	(-10->+10)
polity2	Polity combined score for autocracy-democracy with mean substitution for missing codes, 2018 (Polity IV)	(-10->+10)
VDem_regime	Type of regime, 2018 (V-Dem-9)	1 Liberal democracy 2 Electoral democracy 3 Electoral autocracy 4 Absolute autocracy
FH_Regime	Type of regime (Freedom House) <a href="http://www.freedomhouse.org">www.freedomhouse.org</a>	0 Free, 1 Partly Free, 2 Not Free)
FH_PoliticalRights	Political rights 7-point scale (Freedom House) <a href="http://www.freedomhouse.org">www.freedomhouse.org</a>	1 High to 7 Low
FH_CivilLiberties	Civil Liberties 7-point scale (Freedom House) <a href="http://www.freedomhouse.org">www.freedomhouse.org</a>	1 High to 7 Low
Area	Land area of the country, 2018 (World Bank)	Sq Km
Pop1990	Total population, 1990 (World Bank)	millions
Pop2000	Total population, 2000 (World Bank)	millions
Pop2018	Total Population 2018 (World Bank)	millions
GDP	Per capita GDP in purchasing power parity (constant 2011 intl \$, 2yr.lag to election year) (World Bank)	
Longevity	Life expectancy, 2018 (V-Dem-9)	Years
Corruption	Corruption perception index (Transparency International)	0-100
Turnout	% Voter Turnout (Valid votes/Electorate) V-Dem-9 2018	%
	VARIETIES OF DEMOCRACY SELECTED VARIABLES (FOR COUNTRY-2018) (V-Dem 9.0) No suffix= Measurement Model Output: (like Z scores) used for regression _osp=Original Scale — Linearized Original Scale Posterior Prediction: _ord=Ordinal Scale — Measurement Model Estimates of Original Scale Value: categories used for description (SEE THE V-DEM CODEBOOK pp29-30 FOR DETAILS)	
v2xel_frefair	<b>Clean elections index:</b> <i>‘To what extent are elections free and fair?’</i> Composite measure (V-Dem 9.0)	0-1 scale
v2elfrfair	<b>Election free and fair:</b> <i>“Taking all aspects of the pre-election period, election day, and the post-election process into account, would you consider this national election to be free and fair?”</i>	-5 to +5 scale
v2elfrfair_osp	Election free and fair: continuous scale (V-Dem 9.0)	0 to 4
v2elfrfair_ord	Election free and fair: categories (V-Dem 9.0)	0 Not at all 1 Not really 2 Ambiguous 3 Yes somewhat 4 Yes

v2elloelsy	Lower chamber electoral system (V-Dem 9.0)	0 FPTP 1 Two round single member 2 Two round multimember 3 Block vote 4 Block vote 5 Parallel 6 Mixed-member proportional 7 List PR small DM 8 List PR large DM 9 STV 10 SNTV 11 Borda count
v2elparlel	Type of lower chamber electoral system (V-Dem 9.0)	0 Majoritarian 1 Proportional 2 Mixed 3 Other
v2elncbpr	Parties in cabinet government (V-Dem 9.0)	0 Parties not allowed 1 One party 2 Two party 3 Three parties 4 Four or more parties
v2eltrnout	Election VEP turnout: <i>'In this national election, what percentage (%) of all registered voters cast a vote according to official results?'</i> (ballots cast/Voting Eligible population) (V-Dem 9.0)	% 28.8- 93.0%
v2elvaptrn	Election VAP turnout (ballots cast/Voting Age Population) (V-Dem 9.0)	% 21.5-100%
v2psbars	<b>Barriers to parties:</b> <i>"How restrictive are the barriers to forming a party? Barriers include legal requirements such as requirements for membership or financial deposits, as well as harassment."</i> (V-Dem 9.0)	0 Parties are not allowed 1 Only government-affiliated parties can form by law 2 Parties face significant obstacles 3 Parties face modest barriers 4 No barriers
v2psbars_osp	Barriers to parties: Continuous scale (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2psbars_ord	Barriers to parties: Categories (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2psorgs	<b>Party organizations:</b> <i>'How many political parties for national-level office have permanent organizations?'</i> (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2psorgs_osp	Party organizations: Continuous scale (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2psorgs_ord	Party organizations: Categories (V-Dem 9.0)	0 No parties 1 Fewer than half 2 About half 3 More than half 4. All parties
v2psprbrch	<b>Party branches:</b> <i>'How many parties have permanent local party branches?'</i> (V-Dem 9.0)	

v2psprbrch_osp	Party branches: Continuous scale (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2psprbrch_ord	Party branches: categories (V-Dem 9.0)	0 No parties 1 Fewer than half 2 About half 3 More than half 4. All parties
v2psprlnks	<b>Party linkages:</b> <i>'Among the major parties, what is the main or most common form of linkage to their constituents?'</i> (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2psprlnks_osp	Party linkages: continuous scale (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2psprlnks_ord	Party linkages: categories (V-Dem 9.0)	0 Clientelistic. Constituents are rewarded with goods, cash, and/or jobs. 1: Mixed clientelistic and local collective. 2: Local collective. Constituents are rewarded with local collective goods 3: Mixed local collective and policy/programmatic. 4: Policy/programmatic. Constituents respond to a party's positions on national policies, general party programs, and visions for society.
v2psplats	<b>Distinct party platforms:</b> <i>'How many political parties with representation in the national legislature or presidency have publicly available party platforms (manifestos) that are publicized and relatively distinct from one another?'</i> (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2psplats_osp	Distinct party platforms: continuous scale (V-Dem 9.0)	0-4
v2psplats_ord	Distinct party platforms: categories (V-Dem 9.0)	0 No parties 1 Fewer than half 2 About half 3 More than half 4. All parties
v2pscnslnl	<b>Candidate selection-national/local:</b> <i>'How centralized is legislative candidate selection within the parties?'</i> (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2pscnslnl_osp	Candidate selection-national/local: continuous scale (V-Dem 9.0)	

v2pscnslnl_ord	Candidate selection-national/local: categories (V-Dem 9.0)	<p>0. National legislative candidates are selected exclusively by national party leaders.</p> <p>1: National legislative candidate selection is dominated by national party leaders but with some limited influence from local or state level organizations.</p> <p>2: National legislative candidates are chosen through bargaining across different levels of party organization.</p> <p>3: National legislative candidates are chosen by regional or state-level organizations, perhaps with some input from local party organizations or constituency groups.</p> <p>4: National legislative candidates are chosen by a small cadre of local or municipal level actors.</p> <p>5: National legislative candidates are chosen by constituency groups or direct primaries.</p>
v2pscohesv	<b>Legislative party cohesion:</b> <i>'Is it normal for members of the legislature to vote with other members of their party on important bills?'</i> (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2pscohesv_osp	Legislative party cohesion (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2pscohesv_ord	Legislative party cohesion: categories (V-Dem 9.0)	<p>0: Not really. Many members are elected as independents and party discipline is very weak.</p> <p>1: More often than not. Members are more likely to vote with their parties than against them, but defections are common.</p> <p>2: Mostly. Members vote with their parties most of the time.</p> <p>3: Yes, absolutely. Members vote with their</p>



		parties almost all the time.
v2pscomprg	<b>Party competition across regions:</b> <i>'Which of the following best describes the nature of electoral support for major parties (those gaining over 10 % of the vote)?'</i> (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2pscomprg_osp	Party competition across regions: scale (V-Dem 9.0)	
v2pscomprg_ord	Party competition across regions: categories (V-Dem 9.0)	<p>0: Most major parties are competitive in only one or two regions of the country, <i>i.e.</i>, their support is heavily concentrated in a few areas.</p> <p>1: Most major parties are competitive in some regions of the country, but not in others.</p> <p>2: Most major parties are competitive in most regions of the country.</p>
v2xnp_client	<b>Clientelism Index:</b> <i>'To what extent are politics based on clientelistic relationships?'</i> Composite index (V-Dem 9.0)	0-1
v2xps_party	<b>Party institutionalization index:</b> <i>'To what extent are political parties institutionalized?'</i> (V-Dem 9.0)	0-1

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