

Codebook

Ray and Marks/Steenbergen Party Dataset funded by the University of North Carolina Center for European Studies

This dataset combines the data from Leonard Ray for 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996 with the data collected by Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen for 1999 (with the help of Liesbet Hooghe, David Scott, and Carole Wilson.) Read this in conjunction with the party expert survey and the SPSS datafile.

EASTWEST 0: party from Central- and Eastern Europe, 1: party from EU-15

EUMEMBER = the country of this party was an EU member for time point of evaluation

COUNTRY

Country Codes	Country Abbreviation	Countries
1	BE	Belgium
2	DK	Denmark
3	GE	Germany
4	GR	Greece
5	ESP	Spain
6	FR	France
7	IRL	Ireland
8	IT	Italy
10	NL	Netherlands
11	UK	UK
12	POR	Portugal
13	AUS	Austria
14	FIN	Finland
16	SV	Sweden

EXPERT = number of experts who evaluated this party

YEAR = year for which party experts were asked to evaluate: 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, or 1999

PARTY_ID = unique identifier for each party, see below

PARTY

We use, where possible, the same labeling of parties and party abbreviations as in the Party manifesto data project edited by Budge et. al. (2001). First code is the party id in current dataset/ second code is party id in raw dataset.

Belgium		
101/ NA	Communist Party	PCB/KP
102/ 115	Socialist Party (Francophone)	PS

103/ 116	Socialist Party (Flemish)	SP
104/ 119	Ecologists (Francophone)	ECOLO
105/ 120	Ecologists (Flemish)	AGALEV
106/ 118	Liberal Party (Francophone)	PRL
107/ 117	Liberal Party (Flemish)	PVV/VLD
108/ 114	Christian Social Party (Francophone)	PSC
109/ 113	Christian Peoples' Party (Flemish)	CVP
110/ 123	People's Union (Flemish)	VU
111/ 121	Francophone Democratic Front (Francophone)	FDf, FDF/RW
112/ 125	Flemish Bloc (Flemish)	VB
113/ 122	Citizens' Movement for Change (Francophone)	MCC
114/ 124	ID21 (Flemish)	ID21
115/ 126	National Front (Francophone)	FN
Denmark		
201/ 138	Social Democratic Party	SD
202/ 146	Radical Party	RV
203/ 140	Conservative People's Party	KF
204/ 145	Centre Democrats	CD
205/ NA	Justice Party	RF
206/ 141	Socialist Peoples' Party	SF
207/ NA	Greens	GRONN
208/ NA	Danish Communist Party	DKP
209/ NA	Common Course	FK
210/ 148	Christian People's Party	KrF
211/ 139	Liberals	V
212/ 149	Progress Party	FP
213/ 147	Red/Green Unity List	EL
214/ NA	Left Socialist Party	VS
215/ 142	Danish Peoples' Party	DF
215/ NA	Danish People's Movement	DF
216/ 143	June Movement	JuniB
217/ 144	People's Movement	FolkB
Germany		
301/ 60	Christian Democratic Union	CDU
302/ 59	Social Democratic Party	SPD
303/ 64	Free Democratic Party	FDP
304/ 62	Greens	GRUN
305/ 65	Republikaner	REP
306/ 63	Party of Democratic Socialism	PDS
307/ NA	German Communist Party	KPD
308/ 61	Christian Social Union	CSU
309/ 66	German People's Union	DVU
Greece		
401/ 107	Pan Hellenic Socialist Movement	PASOK
402/ 108	New Democracy	ND
403/ 110	Progressive Left Coalition	SAP, SYN
404/ 109	Communist Party of Greece	KKE
405/ NA	Democratic Renewal	DIANA/DA
406/ NA	Ecologist-Alternatives	EA

407/ NA	New Left Current	NAP
408/ 112	Political Spring	POLA
409/ 111	Democratic Social Movement	DIKKI
Spain		
501/ 25	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party	PSOE
502/ 24	Popular Party	PP
503/ NA	Centre Democrats	CDS, CDS/UC
504/ 26	United Left	IU
505/ 29	Convergence and Union (Catalan)	CiU
506/ 35	Basque Nationalist Party	PNV
507/ 30	Basque Solidarity	EA
508/ 31	We Basks	HB, EH
509/ NA	Basque Left	EE, PSE-EE
510/ 34	Aragonese Regionalist Party	PAR
511/ 32	Catalan Republican Left	ERC
512/ 37	Valencian Union	UV
513/ 27	Galician Nationalist Bloc	BNG
514/ 38	The Greens	VERDE
515/ NA	Green party	VE
516/ 34	Andalusian Party	PA
517/ 28	Canarian Coalition	CC
518/ 33	Initiative for Catalonia	IC
519/ 36	Catalan Socialist Party	PSC
France		
601/ 3	French Communist Party	PCF
602/ 2	Socialist Party	PS
603/ 9	Radical Left Party	PRG
604/ NA	Unified Socialist Party	PSU
605/ 4	Ecologists	VERTS
609/ 5	Rally for the Republic (Gaullist)	RPR
610/ 14	National Front	FN
611/ NA	Ecology Generation	GECOLO
612/ 12	Movement for France/Rally for France	MPF, RPF
613/ 7	Union for French Democracy	UDF
614/ 1	Workers Fight/Revolutionary Communist League	LO-LCR
615/ 6	Liberal Democracy	DL
617/ 10	Independent Ecologist Movement	MEI
618/ 15	The Right	D
619/ 11	Hunting, Fishing, Nature, Tradition Party	CPNT
620/ 13	National Movement	MN
Ireland		
701/ 95	Fianna Fail	FF
702/ 96	Fine Gael	FG
703/ 97	Labour Party	LP
704/ NA	Workers' Party	WP
705/ 99	Green Party	GREENS
706/ 98	Progressive Democrats	PD
707/ 100	Sinn Fein	SF
708/ NA	Democratic Socialist Party	DS

709/ NA	Democratic Left	DLP
710/ 101	Socialist Party	SP
Italy		
801/ NA	Christian Democrats/ Popular Party	DC/PP
802/ 48	Italian Communist Party/Democratic Party of the Left	PCI, PDS
803/ 52	Newly Founded Communists	RC
804/ NA	Italian Socialist Party	PSI
805/ 39	Italian Social Movement-Right National/ National Alliance	MSI-DN, AN
806/ 50	Italian Republican Party	PRI
807/ 54	Italian Democratic Socialist Party	PSDI
808/ 58	Green Federation	FdV
810/ NA	Italian Liberal Party	PLI
811/ 45	Northern League	LN
812/ NA	Network/Movement for Democracy	RETE
813/ NA	Radical Party, Panella List, Bonino List	PR, PAN, LB
814/ 40	Christian Democratic Centre	CCD
815/ 43	Forwards Italy	FI
816/ NA	Proletarian Democracy	DP
817/ 57	Democratic Union	CU/UD
818/ 41	United Christian Democrats	CDU
819/ 42	Democrats	DEM
821/ 46	Tricolor Social Movement	MS
822/NA	Party of Proletarian Unity for Communism	PdUP
823/ 49	Italian Popular Party	PPI
824/NA	Sardinian Action Party	PsDA
825/53	Italian Renewal-Dini List	RI
826/55	Segni Pact	SEG
827/56	South Tyrolean People's Party	SVP
Netherlands		
1001/75	Christian Democratic Appeal	CDA
1002/72	Labour Party	PvdA
1003/73	Liberal Party	VVD
1004/74	Democrats 66	D'66
1005/76	Green Left	GL
1006/80	Political Reformed Party	SGP
1007/79	Reformed Political League	GPV
1008/78	Reformational Political Federation	RPF
1009/81	Center Democrats	CD
1010/NA	Radical Political Party	PPR
1011/NA	Pacifist Socialist Party	PSP
1012/NA	Dutch Communist Party	CPN
1013/NA	Evangelist People's Party	EVP
1014/77	Socialist Party	SP
United Kingdom		
1101/89	Conservative Party	TORY
1102/88	Labour Party	LAB
1103/NA	Soc.-Democratic Labour Party (N.IRL)	SDLP

1104/90	Liberal Democratic Party	LDP
1105/91	Scottish Nationalist Party	SNP
1106/92	Welsh Nationalist Party	CYMRU
1107/93	Green Party	GREENUK
1108/94	UK Independence Party	UKIP
Portugal		
1201/70	Unified Democratic Coalition	CDU
1202/69	Centre Soc.-Democrats/Popular Party	CDS-PP
1203/NA	Popular Monarchist Party	PPM
1204/NA	Democratic Renewal Party	PRD
1205/67	Portuguese Socialist Party	PSP
1206/68	Popular Democratic Party/Social Democratic Party	PPD/PSD
1207/NA	National Solidarity Party	PSN
1208/71	Revolutionary Socialist Party/Left Bloc	PSR, BE
1209/NA	Portuguese Communist Party	PCP
1210/NA	Party of Christian-Democracy	PDC
1211/NA	Popular Democratic Union	UDP
1212/NA	Democratic Movement of Portugal	MDP
1213/NA	Ecologists 'os Verdes'	PEV
Austria		
1301/102	Austrian Peoples' Party	OVP
1302/103	Socialist Party	SPO
1303/104	Austrian Freedom Party/Freedom Movement	FPO
1304/105	Green Alternative/ Greens	GA
1305/NA	Austrian Communist Party	KPO
1306/106	Liberal Forum	LF
Finland		
1401/129	Social Democratic Party	SSDP
1402/130	National Coalition	KOK
1403/127	Finnish Centre	KESK
1404/131	Finnish People's Democratic Union/ Left Wing Alliance	SKDL/VL
1405/135	Finnish Rural party/True Finns	SMP/PS
1406/128	Swedish People's Party	RKP/SFP
1407/NA	Democratic Alternative	DA
1408/132	Green Union	VIHR
1409/133	Christian League	SKL
1410/NA	Liberal People's Party	LKP
1411/137	Pensioners for the People	SEP/EKA
1412/134	Reform Group	REM
1413/136	Ecological Party	KIPU
Sweden		
1601/19	Left Communists Party, Left Party	VK, V
1602/16	Social Democratic Labour Party	SAP
1603/20	Center Party	CP
1604/21	Liberal People's Party	FPL
1605/17	Moderate Coalition Party	MSP
1606/22	Christian Democrats	KdS
1607/18	Green Party, Green Ecology Party	GRONA, MP

1608/23	New Democracy	NyD
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VOTE = vote percentage received by the party in the national election in or most prior to Year

FAMILY = this classification is primarily based on the classification by Hix and Lord (1997), except that we place protestant and agrarian parties in separate categories.

- 1 radical right
- 2 conservatives
- 3 liberal
- 4 Christian-democratic
- 5 socialist
- 6 radical left
- 7 green
- 8 regionalist
- 9 no family
- 10 protestant
- 11 agrarian

POSITION = overall orientation of the party leadership towards European integration in YEAR (Q1 of the party survey)

- 1 = Strongly opposed to European integration
- 2 = Opposed to European integration
- 3 = Somewhat opposed to European integration
- 4 = Neutral, no stance on the issue of European integration
- 5 = Somewhat in favor of European integration
- 6 = In favor of European integration.
- 7 = Strongly in favor of European Integration

SALIENCE1 = the relative importance of this issue in the party's public stance in YEAR (Q2)

- 1 = European Integration is of no importance, never mentioned by the party
- 2 = European Integration is a minor issue for the party
- 3 = European Integration is an important issue for the party
- 4 = European Integration is one of the most important issues for the party
- 5 = European Integration is the most important issue for the party

DISSENT1 = degree of dissent on European integration in YEAR (Q3)

- 1 = Complete unity
- 2 = Minor dissent
- 3 = Significant dissent
- 4 = Party evenly split on issue
- 5 = Leadership position opposed by a majority of party activists

FUTURE = stance of a party in 1999 on the future of European integration (Q5) [1999 only]

- 1 = unification has gone much too far
- 2 = unification has gone somewhat too far
- 3 = just the right amount of unification has been accomplished at this point
- 4 = unification should be pushed somewhat further
- 5 = unification should be pushed much further

EP = position of the party leadership in 1999 on strengthening the powers of the European Parliament (Q6a) [1999 only]

- 1 = strongly opposes expanding EP powers

- 2 = opposes expanding EP powers
- 3 = somewhat opposed to expanding EP powers
- 4 = neutral towards expanding EP powers
- 5 = somewhat in favor of expanding EP powers
- 6 = favors expanding EP powers
- 7 = strongly favors expanding EP powers
- 8 = party has not yet taken a position (coded as missing)

FISCAL = position of the party leadership in 1999 on EU tax harmonization to reduce regime competition (Q6b) [1999 only]

- 1 = strongly opposes tax harmonization
- :
- 7 = strongly favors tax harmonization
- 8 = party has not yet taken a position (coded as missing)

EMPLOY = position of the party leadership in 1999 on a common employment policy (Q6c) [1999 only]

- 1 = strongly opposes a common employment policy
- :
- 7 = strongly favors a common employment policy
- 8 = party has not yet taken a position (coded as missing)

COHESION = position of the party leadership in 1999 on the EU's cohesion policy (Q6d) [1999 only]

- 1 = strongly opposes a common employment policy
- :
- 7 = strongly favors a common employment policy
- 8 = party has not yet taken a position (coded as missing)

ENVIRON = position of the party leadership in 1999 on a common policy on the environment (Q6e) [1999 only]

- 1 = strongly opposes a common policy on the environment
- :
- 7 = strongly favors a common policy on the environment
- 8 = party has not yet taken a position (coded as missing)

ASYLUM = position of the party leadership in 1999 on a common policy on political asylum (Q6f) [1999 only]

- 1 = strongly opposes a common policy on political asylum
- :
- 7 = strongly favors a common policy on political asylum
- 8 = party has not yet taken a position (coded as missing)

FOREIGN = position of the party leadership in 1999 on a common foreign and security policy (Q6g) [1999 only]

- 1 = strongly opposes a common foreign and security policy
- :
- 7 = strongly favors a common foreign and security policy
- 8 = party has not yet taken a position (coded as missing)

LRGEN = position of the party in 1999 in terms of its broad ideological stance, where 0 indicates that a party is at the extreme left of the ideological spectrum, 10 indicates that it is at the extreme right, and 5 means that it is at the center (Q8a). [1999 only]

LRECON = position of the party in 1999 in terms of its ideological stance on economic issues (role of government in economy), where 0 indicates that a party is at the extreme left of the ideological spectrum, 10 indicates that it is at the extreme right, and 5 means that it is at the center (Q8b). [1999 only]

GALTAN = position of the party in 1999 in terms of its ideological stance on democratic freedoms and rights (role of government in life choices), where 0 indicates that a party is at the extreme left of the ideological spectrum, 10 indicates that it is at the extreme right, and 5 means that it is at the center (Q8c). [1999 only]

LR_GEN = position of the party in YEAR in terms of its broad ideological stance on a scale from 0 to 1. Data for 1984 are from Castles and Mair; for 1996 from Hix and Lord, Huber and Inglehart; for 1999 from this party survey Q8a; 1988 and 1992 are linear interpolations where possible. All values are standardized to values between 0 and 1.

RADRT
CON
LIB
CD
SOC
RADLEFT
GREEN
REG
dummies (0,1) for party families (based on FAMILY)

AUS
BE
DK
ESP
FIN
FR
GER
GR
IRL
IT
NL
POR
SW
UK
dummies (0,1) for nationality of party (based on COUNTRY)

PRO_ANTI
1 anti European integration (score of 3.5 or less on Q.1)
2 neutral on European integration (score between 3.51 and 4.5 on Q.1)
3 pro European integration (score of 4.51 or higher on Q.1)

References

Budge, Ian, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara. 2001. *Mapping Policy Preferences : Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments, 1945-1998*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Huber, John, and Ronald Inglehart. 1995. "Expert Interpretations of Party Space and Party Locations in 42 Societies." *Party Politics* 1 (1): 73-111.

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