**Regional Election Dataset (RED)**

**Codebook**

**Version 2024**

Published together with   
“Studying multi-level systems with cross-level data: Introducing three integrated datasets”

*British Journal of Political Science*

Leonce Röth, Daniel Saldivia Gonzatti, Lea Kaftan, André Kaiser

**Citation:** *When using our data, please cite the accompanying BJPS publication:* Röth, Leonce, Daniel Felipe Saldivia Gonzatti, Lea Kaftan, André Kaiser (2024) Studying multi-level systems with cross-level data: Introducing three integrated datasets. *British Journal for Political Science*, forthcoming.

The datasets entail variables that have been collected by other researchers or institutions. All those are referenced. We would like to remind you that appropriate citation refers to the real creators of those data even if they have been used based on our dataset!

**Access:** via the BJPS Harvard Dataverse (link https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/mld/)

**Funding:** We are very thankful for the generous funding by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) - Grant numbers: KA 1741/10-1 and KA 1741/10-2.

**Feedback:** We are very grateful for any constructive comments or suggestions for improvement. Please provide feedback via the **GitHub repository.** (link https://github.com/leonce-collab/Multi-level-Data)

**Explore:** Visit our dashboard to explore the datawithin interactive maps: [**http://multi-level-cross-level-politics.eu/**](http://multi-level-cross-level-politics.eu/).

**Acknowledgments**   
We are very thankful for all the student assistants that have worked on the project over the years: Ben Stefani, Çağan Varol, Keno Röller-Siedenburg, Kristina Ophey, Marcel Buchwald, Mingyi Zhang, Rebecca Kittel, Saskia Gottschalk, Taiwo A. Ahmed and Vera Serbenyuk. We further had a fruitful collaboration with external researchers such as Arjan Schakel (University of Bergen), Sandra León (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid) and Emanuele Massetti (University of Trento).

**Content**

1. Conceptual information
2. Coverage
3. Variables
4. Country Notes
5. References

# **Conceptual information**

**Definition of a region:** The definition of a region is closely related to the definition within the dataset of the Regional Authority Index (Hooghe et al. 2016). A region is defined as a jurisdiction between the country government and local government. We do not apply the population criterion used by Hooghe et al. (2016), but define a region as the second jurisdictional tier below the country level (compare the coverage table in the Appendix as well as the codebooks).

**Definition of a party:** We use the definition of a political party as indicated by our sources. However, we put in a great deal of effort to identify and synchronize the partisan names and IDs across sources and levels. The IDs always favour continuity over change. For example, a party might change its name, but otherwise remain the same in terms of organization and personnel; here we change the name but retain the old ID. This solution has the advantage that more fine-grained distinctions can easily be made ex-post, whereas the harmonization of IDs in case of different party names would be more demanding.

**Temporal specification:** We provide two distinct temporal configurations of the dataset. In its standard configuration, the dataset is based on electoral periods. A second specification provides yearly data.

**Unit of analysis in the RED**: The RD|CEDcontains **party-level data**, including election results for regional elections, regional cabinet composition, ideological positions of parties and regional cabinets, regional electoral and party systems, and several ID based links to other datasets.

## **Coverage**

**Table 1:** Coverage of RED

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **ID** | **Regions** | **Number of observations as yearly party regional cabinet dyad (panel)** | **Electoral period** |
| Australia | 2 | Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia, Queensland, South Australia, New South Wales, Northern Territory, Australian Capital Territory | 2,512 | 1941-2012 |
| Austria | 1 | Burgenland, Kärnten, Niederösterreich, Oberösterreich, Salzburg, Steiermark, Tirol, Vorarlberg, Wien | 3,148 | 1945-2018 |
| Belgium | 3 | Vlaanderen, Wallonie, Bruxelles-Capitale | 489 | 1995-2014 |
| Canada | 4 | Prince Edward Islands, Saskatchewan, Quebec, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Alberta, New Foundland and Labrador, Yukon | 2,840 | 1943-2015 |
| Denmark | 5 | FaroeIslands, Frederiksberg Municipality, Nordjyllands, Arhus, Bornholms, Fyns, Ribe, Ringkobing, Roskilde, Sonderjyllands, Storstroms, Vejle, Vestjaellands, Viborg, Kobenhavn Municipality, Kobenhavns, Frederiksborg, Gronland, Hovedstaden, Sjælland, Syddanmark, Midtjylland, Nordjylland | 5,918 | 1966-2009 |
| France | 17 | Alsace, Aquitaine, Auvergne, Basse-Normandie, Bourgogne, Bretagne, Centre, Champagne-Ardenne, Franche-Comté, Haute-Normandie, Île-de-France, Languedoc-Roussillon, Limousin, Lorraine, Midi-Pyrénées, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Pays de la Loire, Picardie, Poitou-Charentes, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, Rhône-Alpes, Corse, Alsace-Champagne-Ardenne-Lorraine, Aquitaine-Limousin-Poitou-Charentes, Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Normandie, Bourgogne-Franche-Comté, Centre-Val de Loire, Languedoc-Roussillon-Midi-Pyrénées, Nord-Pas-de-Calais-Picardie | 4,021 | 1986-2015 |
| Germany | 8 | Bremen, Brandenburg, Hamburg, Hessen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Sachsen, Thuringen, Baden-Wurttemberg, Berlin, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Schleswig-Holstein, Bayern, Sachsen-Anhalt | 4,462 | 1946-2017 |
| Italy | 10 | Sicilia, AltoAdige, Trentino, Sardeg., Valled√¢‚Ç¨‚Ñ¢Aosta, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Abruzzo, Basilicata, Calabria, Campania, Emilia-Romagna, Lazio, Liguria, Lombardi, Marche, Molise, Piemonte, Puglia, Tosca., Umbria, Veneto | 12,116 | 1947-2019 |
| Norway | 13 | Ostfold, Akershus, Oslo, Hedmark, Oppland, Buskerud, Vestfold, Telemark, Aust-Agder, Vest-Agder, Rogaland, Hordaland, Sogn og Fjordane, Møre og Romsdal, Sør-Trøndelag, Nord-Trøndelag, Nordland, Troms, Finnmark | 8,555 | 1975-2015 |
| Spain | 14 | Navarra, Pais Vasco, Cataluna, Galicia, Andalucia, Aragon, Asturias, Baleares, Canarias, Cantabria, Castilla y Leon, Castilla-La Mancha, Extremadura, Madrid, Murcia, Valencia, La Rioja, Ceuta, Melilla | 3,621 | 1979-2019 |
| Sweden | 15 | Älvsborg, Blekinge, Gotlands, Gävleborg, Göteborgs, Halland, Jämtland, Jönköping, Kalmar, Kristianstad, Kronoberg, Malmöhus, Norrbotten, Örebro, Östergötland, Skaraborg, Stockholm, Södermanland, Uppsala, Värmland, Västerbotten, Västernorrland, Västmanland, Dalarna, Malmö, Bohus, Skåne, Västra | 13,102 | 1942-2014 |
| Switzerland | 16 | BaselStadt, St.Gallen, Uri, Thurgau, Schwyz, Schaffausen, Wallis-Valais, Aargau, Neuchâtel, Solothurn, Graubünden-Grigioni, Genève, Freiburg-Fribourg, Vaud, Nidwalden, Bern, Obwalden, Glarus, Jura, Zug, BaselLand, Ticino, Zürich, Luzern, AppenzellA.Rh., AppenzellInner-Rhoden | 5,505 | 1980-2010 |
| United Kingdom | 18 | Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, London | 829 | 1945-2012 |
| **13 countries** |  | **217 regions** | **67,118** | **1941-2019** |

## 

## **Variables**

**Table 2:** Description of variables of RED

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Temporal, Geographic and Party Identification** | | | |
| **Variable** | **Name** | **Description** | **Data format** |
| year | Year of observation | Calendar year of the observation | YYYY |
| country | Country name | Name of the country in English | string |
| country\_id | Country ID | Unique identification of country within the project | two-digit code |
| region\_red | Region name | Name of the region (different languages; accent formats). | string |
| region\_id | Region ID | Unique identification number of the region composed by the 'country\_id' at the beginning and a two-digit code for each region | country\_id + two-digit code |
| region\_rd\_sed | Region name in RD|CED | Name of the region (different languages; accent formats) as in RD|CED, which can differ depending on the regional unit level of electoral data (aggregations possible) | string |
| region\_id\_unique | Region ID in RD|CED and unique | Unique identification number of the region composed by the 'country\_id' at the beginning and a two-digit code for each region, unique and mergeable with aggregations to the RD|CED data | country\_id + two-digit code |
| reg\_elec\_year | Regional electoral year | Year of the regional election. A 'b' is added at the end if this was the second election in the region that year | YYYY (+b) |
| reg\_elec\_date | Regional electoral date | Date of regional election [Date format in R data; Excel format can generate problems] | YYYY-MM-DD |
| reg\_gov\_start | Regional government start date | Start date of the regional cabinet government [many missing dates] | YYYY-MM-DD |
| reg\_gov\_st\_year | Regional government start year | Calendar year of regional cabinet government start. | YYYY |
| reg\_cab\_nr | Cabinet government number | Count number of the regional cabinet government, within the coverage of the dataset | number |
| reg\_elec\_number | Regional election number | Count number of the regional election within region, within the coverage of the dataset | number |
| state\_wide\_election | Country-level election date connector | Calendar date of the last country election of reference for each year in the panel | YYYY-MM-DD |
| p\_abbrev | Party abbreviation raw | Abbreviation of the party, which can differ across time for the same party. Abbreviation are not official abbreviations. | string |
| p\_name | Party name raw | Raw party name without whitespaces [The standard language is English; exceptions can include original language.] | string |
| party\_id | Party ID | Identification number of the party. Composed by the variables 'country\_id', 'parfam' (see below), and the count number of parties within country. Unique for each party across time. Use this party variable for merges with RD|CED data. | country\_id + parfam + two-digit code |
| parfam\_all | Party family | Family of the party inspired by the Manifesto Project labels and coded by the project team with qualitative information. In some cases, we divert from the Manifesto Project assignment (see Country notes). 10 (ECO, ecological) 20 (COM, communist) 30 (SOC, social democratic) 40 (LIB, liberal) 50 (CHR, Christian democratic) 60 (CON, conservative) 70 (NAT, nationalist) 80 (AGR, agrarian) 90 (ETH, ethnic and regional) 95 (SIP, special issue) 98/00 (DIV, electoral alliances of diverse origin, no dominant party) 99 Independent candidate list (category added by authors). Imputations from the RD|CED dataset for missing values of available parties. | two-digit code |
| year\_of\_national\_match | Year of manifestos | Calendar year of match with country election manifesto from the Manifesto Project project (Lehmann et al. 2023) | YYYY |
| party\_id\_ches | CHES ID | Merged party id of the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES; Jolly et al 2022) | number |
| party\_id\_cmp | Manifesto Project Party ID | Party ID assigned by Manifesto Project (Lehmann et al. 2023). | five-digit code |
| cmp\_year\_CED | Manifesto Project year in RD|CED | Calendar year of the Manifesto Project (Lehmann et al. 2023) extracted from the year-observation connected at the party\_id level from the RD|CED dataset. RD|CED data uses Manifesto Project information based on last country election, while the RED data takes the nearest year of manifesto data. | YYYY |
| *table continued on following page* | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Regional Election Results and Regional Cabinet Information** | | | |
| **Variable** | **Name** | **Description** | **Data format** |
| reg\_p\_votes | Regional party votes | Votes gained by the party in the regional election | number |
| reg\_p\_vshare | Regional party vote share | Party vote share (per cent) won in the regional election | percentage |
| reg\_p\_seats | Regional party seats | Number of seats won by the party in the respective regional election for the regional assembly | number |
| seats\_assembly | Seats in assembly | Number of total seats available in the respective regional assembly | number |
| seat\_share | Regional seat share | Party seat share (per cent) won in the respective regional election for the regional assembly | percentage |
| reg\_turnout | Regional election turnout | Percentage of casted votes in reference to maximal number of potential votes in the respective regional election (0-100) [many missing data points] | percentage |
| alliance | Pre-Electoral Alliance | Dummy indicating whether the party belongs to a pre-electoral alliance; not available for Denmark, Germany, Italy, Norway and Spain | dummy |
| strongest\_cab\_p | Strongest cabinet party | Dummy indicating whether the party is the numerically speaking in terms of assembly seats the strongest one within the regional cabinet government (1) or not (0) | dummy |
| main\_canton\_exe\_party | Main canton executive party in Switzerland | Swiss-specific dummy indicating whether the party is the main cabinet government party in the respective Swiss canton (1), which can differ from the strongest cabinet party in the cantonal executive context, or not (0) | dummy |
| cab\_p | Cabinet party | Party participates in the regional cabinet government | dummy |
| cab\_idp | Cabinet lead by independent | Regional cabinet executive is led by an independent politician without party affiliation (1) or not (0) | dummy |
| party\_CED | Party name from RD|CED | Party name without whitespaces and first letter of each word is capitalized merged from the RD|CED dataset merged with party\_id | capitalized string |
| p\_abbrev\_CED | Party abbreviation from the RD|CED | Capitalized abbreviation of the party from the RD|CED data, which can differ across time for same party, merged with party\_id. Abbreviation are not official abbreviations. | capitalized string |
| cab\_name\_reg | Regional cabinet name | Surname of head of cabinet (first letter capitalized). If two or more head of cabinets in the data set have the same surname, the first letter (capitalized) of the cabinet leaders’ first name is indicated in addition. If this does not suffice to discriminate among the cabinet leaders, the full first name (first letter capitalized) is indicated. Moreover, roman letters indicate the tenure for every cabinet leader with more than one tenure. We code the dominant regional cabinet in terms of most days in government in the calendar years, for coding resource reasons. | string (+ first letter of first name or full first name) (+ roman digit) |
| reg\_cabinet\_change | Cabinet change | Dummy indicating whether the regional cabinet did not govern the whole year observation but is only the one dominant cabinet with majority of year governance period (most days) | dummy |
| cabinet\_parties\_ideo\_seatshare | Cabinet party seat share, ideology available | Seat share of the party if there is ideological information available AND if the party participates in the regional cabinet | percentage |
| cab\_seat\_share | Seat share of the regional cabinet | Aggregated seat shares of the regional cabinet at the region-year level | percentage |
| cab\_p\_weight | Cabinet party weight | Relative weight of each regional cabinet party within the regional cabinet: cabinet\_parties.ideo\_seatshare/cab\_seat.share | percentage |
| cab\_p\_rilestand\_wg | Cabinet party RILE standardized weighted by seat share | RILE standardized position weight according to regional cabinet's party force within cabinet: cab\_p\_weight x rilestand\_imp | number |
| cab\_p\_market\_wg | Cabinet party market liberalism position weighted by seat share | Market liberalism position weight according to regional cabinet's party force within cabinet: cab\_p\_weight x market\_state\_imp | number |
| cab\_p\_cultural\_wg | Cabinet party cultural dimension position weighted by seat share | Cultural dimension position weight according to regional cabinet's party force within cabinet: cab\_p\_weight x cultural.dim\_imp | 0-1 |
| reg\_gov\_rilestand\_estimate | Regional government - Left-Right position | Regional government’s left-right position based on rilestand\_imp and weighted by cabinet parties seat share within cabinet | 0-1 |
| reg\_gov\_market\_estimate | Regional government - Market-Liberalism position | Regional government’s market-liberalism position based on market\_state\_imp and weighted by cabinet parties seat share within cabinet | 0-1 |
| reg\_gov\_cultural\_estimate | Regional government - Cultural dimension position | Regional government’s cultural dimension position based on cultural.dim\_imp and weighted by cabinet parties seat share within cabinet | 0-1 |
| *table continued on following page* | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
| **Party Families and Positions** | | | |
| **Variable** | **Name** | **Description** | **Data format** |
| RED\_parfam | Party family without imputation, RED | Party family (see above) without imputations from the RD|CED dataset | two-digit code |
| reg\_party | Regionalist party | Dummy indicating whether the party demands more regional authority (1) or not (0). | dummy |
| only\_regional | Party only at regional elections | Dummy indicating whether the party is present in the panel data at the year level only in the RED dataset and not in the RD|CED. This can have two reasons: we were not able to collect electoral party results for that respective party at the country elections due an artifact of the electoral data available OR the party did not contest at country elections. | dummy |
| cmp\_year\_orig | Manifesto Project year original | Calendar year in the original Manifesto Project data (Lehmann et al. 2023) that was merged with the party observation; nearest country election in the past or future | YYYY |
| year\_b | Manifesto Project year B | Calendar year in the original Manifesto Project data with a ‘b’ at the end for the second country election within one year (Lehmann et al. 2023) that was merged with the party observation | YYYY (+b) |
| rile | RILE | Left right party position values assigned by the Manifesto Project (Lehmann et al. 2023) | number |
| ml\_ir | Market liberalism position | Market liberalism party position values based on item-response models on manifesto data by Röth (2017); standardized from state interventionist (0) to market liberal (1) | 0-1 |
| rilestand | RILE standardized | Left right party position values assigned by the Manifesto Project (Lehmann et al. 2023); standardized from left (0) to right (1). RILE according to Laver and Budge (1992) | 0-1 |
| cultural\_position | Cultural position | Cultural dimension party position values based on item-response models on manifesto data by Röth (2017); standardized from cultural traditionalist (0) to cultural liberal (1) | 0-1 |
| econ\_ches | Economic position CHES | Economic position as measured by CHES (Jolly et al. 2022). Match by nearest past year. |  |
| left\_right\_ches | Left-right position CHES | General Left-Right position as measured by CHES (Jolly et al. 2022). Match by nearest past year. |  |
| cultural\_ches | Cultural position CHES | Cultural (GALTAN) position as measured by CHES (Jolly et al. 2022). Match by nearest past year. |  |
| party\_cmp | Manifesto Project party name | Party name assigned by the Manifesto Project project for the parties available (Lehmann et al. 2023) | string |
| p\_abbrev\_cmp | Manifesto Project party abbreviation | Party abbreviation assigned by the Manifesto Project project for the parties available (Lehmann et al. 2023) | capitalized string |
| decade | Decade of observation | Calendar decade of the observation | YYYY-decade |
| rile\_parfam\_decade | RILE mean by party family - decade | Mean RILE position of all parties in the ideological dataset by Röth (2017) by party family and decade | number range |
| ml\_ir\_parfam\_decade | Market liberalism by party family - decade | Mean market liberalism position of all parties in the ideological dataset by Röth (2017) by party family and decade | 0-1 |
| rilestand\_parfam\_decade | RILE standardized mean by party family - decade | Mean RILE standardized position of all parties in the ideological dataset by Röth (2017) by party family and decade |  |
| cultural\_parfam\_decade | Cultural position mean by party family - decade | Mean cultural dimension position of all parties in the ideological dataset by Röth (2017) by party family and decade | 0-1 |
| rilestand\_imp | RILE standardized with imputations | Left right party position values assigned by the Manifesto Project (Lehmann et al. 2023) with imputed RILE standardized means by party family/decade for missing values; standardized from left (0) to right (1) | 0-1 |
| market\_state\_imp | Market liberalism position with imputations | Market liberalism party position values based on item-response models on manifesto data by Röth (2017) with imputed market liberalism means by party family/decade for missing values; standardized from state interventionist (0) to market liberal (1) | 0-1 |
| cultural\_dim\_imp | Cultural dimension position with imputations | Cultural dimension party position values based on item-response models on manifesto data by Röth (2017) with imputed cultural dimension means by party family/decade for missing values; standardized from cultural traditionalist (0) to cultural liberal (1) | 0-1 |
| *ecotable continued on following page* | | | |
|  | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Regional Party System Information** | | | |
| **Variable** | **Name** | **Description** | **Data format** |
| reg\_electoral\_system | Regional electoral system | Dummy indicating whether the electoral system is proportional (1) or not (0) | dummy |
| cumpolsory\_voting | Compulsory voting | Dummy indicating whether the act of voting is compulsory by law (1) or not (0) | dummy |
| rai20regionid | RAI region ID - 2020 | Region identifier according to the Regional Authority Index v3 (Shair-Rosenfield et al. 2020; Hooghe et al. 2016) | number |
| rai20region\_name | RAI region name - 2020 | Region name according to the Regional Authority Index v3 (Shair-Rosenfield et al. 2020; Hooghe et al. 2016) | string |
| cog\_rile\_vote | Center of Gravity - Left-Right (vote) | Ideological position of the mean voter measured as the weighted left-right party position, weights based on regional vote shares | 0-1 |
| cog\_rile\_seat | Center of Gravity - Left-Right (seat) | Ideological position of the mean voter measured as the weighted left-right party position, weights based on regional seat shares | 0-1 |
| cog\_market\_vote | Center of Gravity - Market liberalism (vote) | Ideological position of the mean voter measured as the weighted mean market-liberalism party position, weights based on regional vote shares | 0-1 |
| cog\_market\_seat | Center of Gravity - Market liberalism (seat) | Ideological position of the mean voter measured as the weighted mean market-liberalism party position, weights based on regional seat shares | 0-1 |
| cog\_cultural\_vote | Center of Gravity - Cultural dimension (vote) | Ideological position of the mean voter measured as the weighted cultural party position, weights based on regional vote shares | 0-1 |
| cog\_cultural\_seat | Center of Gravity - Cultural dimension (seat) | Ideological position of the mean voter measured as the weighted mean cultural party position, weights based on regional seat shares | 0-1 |
| vote\_force\_ideo\_available | Vote share with ideology available | Vote share of the party, with NA for parties without ideological information, e.g., electoral alliances | percentage |
| seat\_force\_ideo\_available | Seat share with ideology available | Seat share of the party, with NA for parties without ideological information, e.g., electoral alliances | percentage |
| covered\_vote\_ideo | Vote share coverage with ideology available | Vote share coverage including only parties with ideological information | percentage |
| covered\_seat\_ideo | Seat share coverage with ideology available | Seat share coverage including only parties with ideological information | percentage |
| vote\_relative\_cog | Vote share adapted (ideology) | Vote share adapted simulating full coverage with available electoral results and party ideology at the regional election level: vote\_force.ideo\_available/covered\_vote.ideo | percentage |
| seat\_relative\_cog | Seat share adapted (ideology) | Seat share adapted simulating full coverage with available seat distribution and party ideology at the regional election level: seat\_force.ideo\_available/covered\_seat.ideo | percentage |
| reg\_enp\_vote | Effective number of parties – vote based | Calculated on for every regional election with the formulae of Golosov (2010). Golosov provided a kind of inverse Herfindahl-Hirschman Index as a measure for concentration that approximates 1 for a single dominant party to higher number in highly fragmented systems. Vote shares are used as a basis for this measure. | 1.76 – 13.83 |
| reg\_enp\_seat | Effective number of parties regional – seat based | Calculated on for every regional election with the formulae of Golosov (2010). Golosov provided a kind of inverse Herfindahl-Hirschman Index as a measure for concentration that approximates 1 for a single dominant party to higher number in highly fragmented systems. Seat shares are used as a basis for this measure. | 1.00 – 12.60 |
| *table continued on following page* | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country Level Data on the Regional Level** | | | |
| **Variable** | **Name** | **Description** | **Data format** |
| regional\_party\_CEDinfo | Regionalist party as by RD|CED | Dummy indicating whether the party is regionalist (1) or not (0) - see above; merged from the RD|CED by party\_id for control | dummy |
| vote\_share\_reg\_nationalelec | Party regional vote share - country election | Party vote share in the respective region in the last country election. Information merged by party\_id with the RD|CED panel data | percentage |
| seat\_share\_reg\_nationalelec | Party regional seat share - country election | Party seat share in the respective region in the last country election. Information merged by party\_id with the RD|CED panel data | percentage |
| parl\_year\_statewide | Parliamentary election year - country | Calendar year of parliamentary election of the corresponding observation of the country government data (RD|CED dataset) | YYYY |
| parl\_date\_statewide | Parliamentary election date - country | Date of parliamentary election of the corresponding observation of the country government data (RD|CED dataset) | YYYY-MM-DD |
| cab\_name\_statewide | Country cabinet name | Country cabinet name of the corresponding observation of the country government data (RD|CED dataset) | string |
| cab\_nr\_statewide | Country cabinet number | Country cabinet number of the corresponding observation of the country government data according to available data in the RD|CED dataset | number |
| cab\_startdate\_statewide | Country cabinet start date | Country cabinet’s first day in office of the corresponding observation of the country government data (RD|CED dataset) | YYYY-MM-DD |
| cab\_rile\_statewide | Country cabinet - Left-Right position | Country cabinet’s left-right position of the corresponding observation of the country government data (RD|CED dataset) | 0-1 |
| cab\_market\_state\_statewide | Country cabinet - Market-Liberalism position | Country cabinet's market-liberalism position of the corresponding observation of the country government data (RD|CED dataset) | 0-1 |
| cab\_cult\_statewide | Country cabinet - Cultural dimension position | Country cabinet's cultural dimension position of the corresponding observation of the country government data (RD|CED dataset) | 0-1 |
| **Cross-level Ideology Data** | | | |
| **Variable** | **Name** | **Description** | **Data format** |
| multi\_level\_rilestand\_proximity | Multi-level - Left-Right proximity | Ideological left-right proximity (RILE standardized) between country cabinet and region in terms of regional electoral arena (RED COGs) | 0-1 |
| multi\_level\_market\_proximity | Multi-level - Market-Liberalism proximity | Ideological market-liberalism proximity between country cabinet and region in terms of regional electoral arena (RED COGs) | 0-1 |
| multi\_level\_cultural\_proximity | Multi-level - Cultural dimension proximity | Ideological cultural dimension proximity between country cabinet and region in terms of regional electoral arena (RED COGs) | 0-1 |
| multilevel\_governments\_rilestand\_proximity | Multi-level - Governments Left-Right proximity | Ideological left-right proximity between country cabinet and regional cabinet | 0-1 |
| multilevel\_governments\_market\_proximity | Multi-level - Market-Liberalism proximity | Ideological market-liberalism proximity between country cabinet and regional cabinet | 0-1 |
| multilevel\_governments\_cultural\_proximity | Multi-level - Governments' Cultural dimension proximity | Ideological cultural dimension proximity between country cabinet and regional cabinet | 0-1 |

# 

1. **Party positions**

In this dataset, we provide party positions based on expert surveys (Jolly et al. 2022) and manifesto-based data at the country and regional level (Lehmann et al. 2023; Alonso et al. 2013). There is a long tradition of literature debating what party positions are, how to measure them and how to scale them. We do not take a position on this debate here, but the overriding principle is to give users as much choice as possible. Therefore, we provide party IDs from different datasets so that users can merge and create the largest possible number of potential party positions based on existing datasets. Nevertheless, we provide some default party positions derived from the country level, the choice of which is explained below (part 4a). We also provide positions at the regional level, some of which have been imputed from the country level. This provision is discussed and validated in parts 4.b and 4.c.

* 1. *Party positions of the country-level*

This data set provides standard party positions derived from the country level. It includes three conventional dimensions from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey, as well as those based on manifesto data, namely an overall left-right, an economic, and a cultural dimension. Expert positions are generally considered valid but limited in scope (1999-2019; Jolly et al. 2022). On the other hand, manifesto-based positions are broader in scope, although their exact positions are contested due to the infinite scaling possibilities using fine-grained issue salience measures (Lehmann et al. 2023). The discussion on scaling involves Franzmann and Kaiser (2006), Lowe et al. (2011), and Röth (2017). Based on the manifestos, we present the RILE (overall left-right positions) and Markeco (economic dimension). It should be noted that the Manifesto Project dataset does not include a 'cultural' dimension. Furthermore, we offer a left-right, economic, and cultural dimension, also derived from the Manifesto Project data, but scaled using item response models as recommended by Röth (2017). These positions demonstrate higher convergent validity with expert placements and greater comparability in terms of their properties (Röth et al. 2018; Röth 2017; Garritzmann et al. 2021). Table 3 below illustrates the convergent validity of the various indicators.

**Table 3:** Convergence of provided positions

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Dimension** | **Left-Right** | **Economic** | **Culture** |
| **Benchmark**  (Jolly et al. 2022) | Overall ideological stance (left and right)  **(lrgen)** | Ideological stance on economic issues  **(lrecon)** | Ideological stance on social and cultural values  **(galtan)** |
| **Build in Manifesto Project Measures** (Lehmann et al. 2023) | **0.61**  (RILE) | **0.48**  (markeco) | - |
| **Issues** |  |  |  |
| **Item response model** (following Röth 2017) | **0.73**  (market liberalism + cultural homogeneity) | **0.75**  (market liberalism versus state interventionism) | **0.70**  (cultural diversity versus cultural homogeneity) |
| **Issues** |  |  |  |
| **n** | 886 | 886 | 891 |

**Note:** Correlations are based on nearest neighbour matching. Thus, CHES positions are merged to Manifesto Project-based positions from 1999-2021. Exact matching results are very similar (not shown). Highlighted are pairwise correlation coefficients. Descriptions of the benchmarks are taken from the CHES codebook (Jolly et al. 2022).

* 1. *Party positions of the regional level*

Regrettably, regional party positions receive significantly less coverage than country positions. There is no equivalent expert survey of regional party positions across countries. The only comparable dataset with position data is the Regional Manifesto Project (Alonso et al. 2013). Regional manifestos require more coding resources than country-level data, as manifestos are inflated by the number of regions in a country. The coverage is still below the country level and includes several elections in Spain, Italy, and the UK (Alonso et al. 2013).

To expand the coverage of regional-level party positions, we imputed country-level positions to the corresponding regional party branch with the closest temporal match. However, this method still leaves many regional parties without coverage. Some parties are not covered because they have existed at the regional level for a longer period than at the country level, while others have never gained significant presence in the country electoral arena but remain significant in certain regions. These parties are coded differently. To determine the party position, we calculate a running decade average based on the full sample across all countries and regions for party families. If a party is still not covered by this method, we assess their political leanings qualitatively, considering concepts such as socialism or conservatism, and assign them the same running decade average for party families. This approach covers almost 99% of all parties that have won seats in any of the electoral arenas in the sample.

High coverage may compromise validity. Our imputation technique eliminates differences in party positions of regional branches across regions and time. We acknowledge the existence of such differences, but at the current state of research, we are unable to provide more specific party positions at the regional level. However, we can approximate the amount of distortion introduced into the data through our choices by validating the regional imputations in two ways. Firstly, we will correlate the left-right measures provided by the country and regional manifesto projects to identify any empirical variations between the two sources of positions. However, this approach has some serious problems. Therefore, we will provide a second validation by merging both data sources and placing the regional and country-level manifestos in the same item response space.

* 1. *Validating the imputation of regional party positions*

Both the regional (Alonso et al. 2013) and country-level manifesto projects (Lehmann et al. 2023) contain hand-coded issues that are aggregated into scores of relative emphases, known as salience. In both datasets, there is an overall left-right dimension that combines several issues into a single positional dimension. This dimension is called RILE and was first suggested by Budge and Laver in 1992 for the Manifesto Project. A simple method for validation would be to merge and correlate the RILE positions of regional parties and their country-level branches using the nearest temporal match. This will allow us to observe the degree of left-right position convergence across levels for the same party.

Three major problems must be transparently laid out regarding such a comparison. Firstly, the Regional Manifesto Project cannot be considered a representative sample of the party systems in the dataset. It is important to note that this analysis is based solely on the information provided and does not include any additional aspects. It only includes regional manifestos from three countries that have (asymmetrically) decentralized regions, resulting in highly regionalized party systems. Additionally, the coverage of parties within these countries is highly biased. For instance, in Italy, over 50% of the coded parties come from Alto Adige/South, Valle d'Aosta, or coded manifestos of the Five Star Movement - a party known for its ambiguous stances. Spain has a highly regionalised party system too. Country-level parties typically have distinct branches for each region, but their positional autonomy is restricted. Therefore, we would expect a higher correspondence between country and regional positions for Spanish country-level parties. In the UK, we have a typical representation of country-level and regional parties, including social democrats, conservatives, the Scottish National Party, and Plaid Cymru. However, there are unfortunately very few observations. In short, we consider this sample a hard-test in terms of cross-level party position similarity.

Secondly, the RILE indicators differ on the regional and country levels because they include different issues. The raw data includes three questions exclusively used at the country level and not at the regional level, as well as three questions that exist only at the regional level and not at the country level. This means that over 20% of the underlying issues are different. Furthermore, some non-overlapping issues hold significant influence over left-right positions. For instance, although welfare expansion is not included in the regional RILE, it is, on average, the most prominent issue in the entire country-level corpus.

Thirdly, in the RILE approach, positions also depend on the relative salience of issues that are not considered in the RILE index (see Röth 2017; Lowe et al. 2011). If we assume systematic differences in the overall salience dedicated to issues included in the RILE composition across tiers, we have an additional source of bias. Using RILE scores, it is unclear how much of the differences and similarities between regional and country positions of the same party are substantive and how much is driven by the specific scaling approach of RILE. This uncertainty is minimized in the next section.

To improve comparability, it is important to take the debate about valid party positions seriously and use the same scaling procedure for both regional and country-level manifestos. The first step is to harmonize both manifesto datasets and estimate a latent dimension with a generalized item response model (following Röth 2017). This creates a common space for regional and country-level manifestos using the same available issues. In contrast to the ready-made RILE approach, we can ensure that the same issues are used at both levels. Additionally, we estimate a cultural dimension that is currently absent from both data sets (see issue selection in Table 4). Finally, we combine the market and cultural dimensions to create an overall left-right dimension.

**Table 4:** Issue selection for a common political space across levels

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Issues left** | **Issues right** |
| **Market dimension** | per403 (market regulation), per412 (controlled economy), per413 (nationalization economy), per504 (welfare expansion), per415 (Marxism), per404 (economic planning), per409 (Keynesian demand management), per501 (environmental protection), per701 (labour +) | per401 (free market), per414 (economic orthodoxy), p402 (economic incentives), per303 (administrative efficiency), per505 (welfare reduction) |
| **Cultural dimension** | per108 (EU +), per201 (political freedom), per503 (equality, antidiscrimination), per602 (national way of life -), per604 (traditional way of life -), per607 (multiculturalism +) | per110 (EU -), per406 (protectionism +), per601 (national way of life +), per603 (traditional morality +), per605 (law and order), per608 (multiculturalism -) |
| **Item response left and right** | Left issues of market and culture combined | Right issues of market and culture combined |

**Note:** All issues are transformed by using the logarithm of dimension-based salience in a generalized item response model. Positions are predicted by empirical Bayes means and standardized 0-1.

The four positional measures can be validated by comparing the same parties at both regional and country levels, using the nearest temporal match with a distance of less than 6 years. On average, the temporal distance is 0.15 years.

**Table 5:** Correlation table of country-level and regional party positions of the same parties (closest temporal match)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **All parties** | **Country-level parties** | **Regionalist parties** |
| **RILE** | 0.73 | 0.74 | 0.29 |
| **Item response left and right** | 0.84 | 0.86 | 0.45 |
| **Market dimension** | 0.80 | 0.81 | 0.36 |
| **Cultural dimension** | 0.71 | 0.74 | 0.41 |
| n | 653 | 400 | 153 |

The correlation between the matched parties indicates a high convergence for all indicators. However, previous studies (Röth and Kaiser 2019; Garritzmann et al. 2021; Röth et al. 2018; Röth 2017) have shown that the item response-based indicators perform better. It is interesting to note that the composite left and right index performs best with a correlation of 0.84. The market dimension shows a higher correspondence than the cultural dimension. For each positional index, the correspondence is significantly higher for country-level parties than for regionalist ones. We utilize the regionalist party dummy in the dataset, where regionalist parties are defined as those with a predominant regional agenda compared to those with a predominant national agenda. This is important when considering the characteristics of this matching sample. The amount of regionalist parties in the remaining countries and regions of the data set is substantially lower than in the regions of the three countries in this comparison. Therefore, for typically country-level parties in the larger sample of this dataset, the correspondence is likely to be well above 0.8. This has been demonstrated in Germany, where positions on the regional and country level correlated around 0.88 (Kleider et al., 2019). Overall, these results provide confidence in the use of imputed country-level positions for parties at the regional level, until better measures are available for the coverage provided by this dataset.

# **References**

Alonso, S., Gómez, B., & Cabeza, L. (2013). Measuring centre–periphery preferences: The regional manifestos project. Regional & Federal Studies, 23(2), 189-211.

Döring, H., & Regel, S. (2019). Party facts: A database of political parties worldwide. Party politics, 25(2), 97-109.

Döring, Holger and Philip Manow. 2019. Parliaments and governments database (ParlGov): Information on parties, elections and cabinets in modern democracies.

Franzmann, S., & Kaiser, A. (2006). Locating political parties in policy space: A reanalysis of party manifesto data. Party politics, 12(2), 163-188.

Garritzmann, J. L., Röth, L., & Kleider, H. (2021). Policy-making in multi-level systems: Ideology, authority, and education. Comparative Political Studies, 54(12), 2155-2190.

Golosov, G. V. (2010). The effective number of parties: A new approach. Party Politics, 16(2), 171-192.

Hooghe, Liesbet, Marks, Gary, Schakel, Arjan H., Chapman-Osterkatz, Sandra, Niedzwiecki, Sara and Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah (2016) Measuring regional authority. Volume I. A postfunctionalist theory of governance. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jolly, S., Bakker, R., Hooghe, L., Marks, G., Polk, J., Rovny, J., ... & Vachudova, M. A. (2022). Chapel Hill expert survey trend file, 1999–2019. Electoral studies, 75, 102420.

Kleider, H., Röth, L., & Garritzmann, J. L. (2020). Ideological alignment and the distribution of public expenditures. In Democratic Representation in Multi-level Systems (pp. 255-278). Routledge.

Laver, M. and Budge, I. (1992, eds). Party Policy and Government Coalitions, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: The MacMillan Press.

Lehmann, P., Franzmann, S., Burst, T., Regel, S., Riethmüller, F., Volkens, A., ... & Zehnter, L. (2023). The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2023a. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB)/Göttingen: Institut für Demokratieforschung (IfDem).

Lowe, W., Benoit, K., Mikhaylov, S., & Laver, M. (2011). Scaling policy preferences from coded political texts. Legislative studies quarterly, 36(1), 123-155.

Matakos, Konstantinos, Orestis Troumpounis, and Dimitrios Xefteris. 2016. Electoral rule disproportionality and platform polarization. American Journal of Political Science 60 (4): 1026–1043.

Röth, L. (2017). Equivalence Presupposes Validity. Towards Comparable Party Positions on the Market Dimension. EPSA Conference Milano 2017.

Röth, L., & Kaiser, A. (2019). Why accommodate minorities asymmetrically? A theory of ideological authority insulation. European Journal of Political Research, 58(2), 557-581.

Röth, L., Afonso, A., & Spies, D. C. (2018). The impact of populist radical right parties on socio-economic policies. European Political Science Review, 10(3), 325-350.

Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah, Schakel, Arjan H., Niedzwiecki, Sara, Marks, Gary, Hooghe, Liesbet and Chapman-Osterkatz Sandra (2021) 'Language difference and regional authority,' Regional & Federal Studies 31 (1): 73-97.