CMP-ParlGov Government Positions Data Version 2.2

Christopher Wratil¹

This dataset provides aggregated and harmonized government positions from the Manifesto Project (Volkens et al. 2019), version 2019b, and the Parliaments and Governments Database (Döring and Manow 2019). Estimates are provided for each European Union country covered in the CMP and each day for the period 1993 to the end of 2018 (wherever available). All measures are constructed by seat-weighting the cabinet parties' CMP positions from the party manifesto issued at the last election. Detailed information is included below.

Quick start

In order to produce the data, you must first <u>register</u> an account with the Manifesto Project at the WZB. You must then login to your account, go to your profile page and generate an API key. Once you have the API key, you are ready to produce the government positions data with the following steps:

- 1. Open "manifesto_apikey.txt" and insert your API key from your Manifesto Project account. Save the file and close.
- 2. Open "Download_CMP_data.R" in *R* and run the code, which will create a modified version of the CMP data that can be merged with ParlGov. This version is saved in a new csv file "cmp data modified.csv".
- 3. Open "Join_datasets_and_create_measures.do" in STATA and run the code. This will merge modified ParlGov spreadsheets with the modified CMP data, and produce several CMP-based government positions as outlined below. You can also **create your own measures from CMP categories of your choice**. For customized measures, please amend lines 166, 169, 207, 218, 227, 238, 259 and 269 in the code. All estimates will be saved as a STATA dataset called "parties_cmp2019_online_2.2.dta".

Any use of this data must cite the relevant CMP and ParlGov versions as well as this script:

Döring, Holger, and Philip Manow. 2019. Parliaments and Governments Database (ParlGov): Information on Parties, Elections and Cabinets in Modern Democracies. Development Version.

Volkens, Andrea et al. 2019. The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2019b.

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Please note that the full CMP dataset ("cmp_data_modified.csv") or the full government positions dataset ("parties_cmp2019_online_2.2.dta") should **not** be included in replication files. Instead, you can refer replicating researchers to the CMP or this set of scripts for a full replication. Please get in touch with me should you have any questions or encounter problems.

¹ I am grateful to Marvin Müller (WZB) for programming the R script joining my data with the Manifesto Project data and to Pit Rieger (University of Zurich) for his excellent research assistance in collecting this data. I am also indebted to Fabio Franchino for checking large parts of the data. I would like to thank the Manifesto Project and the ParlGov teams, who have both been extremely forthcoming and helpful in creating this data and making it publicly available.

Information on standard measures included

The standard version of the STATA do file calculates measures of governments' ideological positions on EU integration, left-right (the CMP's RILE scale) and different economic dimensions by seat-weighting the cabinet parties' positions on these dimensions. For the government's position on EU integration, I operationalize the difference between the percentages of positive and negative quasi-sentences on EU integration²:

Government position EU integration =
$$\sum_{i=1}^{N} [per108_{i} - per110_{i}] * \frac{S_{i}}{S_{T}}$$

As the measure for left-right I use the CMP's RILE as the difference between the percentages of 'rightist' and 'leftist' quasi-sentences:

$$Government \ position \ left - right \\ = \sum_{i=1}^{N} [(per104_i + \dots + per606_i) - (per103_i + \dots + per701_i)] * \frac{S_i}{S_T}$$

In addition, the following scales proposed by the CMP team are also included:

$$Government \ position \ on \ planeco = \sum_{i=1}^{N} [per403_i + per404_i + per412_i] * \frac{S_i}{S_T}$$

$$Government \ position \ on \ markeco = \sum_{i=1}^{N} [per401_i + per414_i] * \frac{S_i}{S_T}$$

$$Government \ position \ on \ welfare = \sum_{i=1}^{N} [per503_i + per504_i] * \frac{S_i}{S_T}$$

The data also contains positions on two dimensions suggested in Lowe et al. (2011):³

Government position on free market economy

$$= \sum_{i=1}^{N} [(per401_i + per402_i) - (per403_i + per412_i + per413_i + per415_i)] * \frac{S_i}{S_T}$$

Government position on planned vs. free market economy \sum_{N}^{N}

$$= \sum_{i=1}^{N} [(per401_i + per414_i) - (per403_i + per404_i + per412_i)] * \frac{S_i}{S_T}$$

Last, the data contains positions on one dimension suggested by Benoit and Laver (2007):

 ² per108: 'European Community/Union: Positive'; per110: 'European Community/Union: Negative'.
 ³ Note that the logit transformation suggested by Lowe et al. (2011) is not applied.

Government position on state involvement in economy

$$= \sum_{i=1}^{n} [(per401_i + per402_i + per407_i + per414_i + per505_i) - (per403_i + per404_i + per406_i + per412_i + per413_i + per504_i + per506_i + per701_i)] * \frac{S_i}{S_T}$$

Where *i* denotes the respective government party, *N* is the number of government parties, S_i is the number of seats of party *i*, and S_T the total number of governmental seats.⁴

Issues in merging CMP and ParlGov

I use the ParlGov database (Döring and Manow 2019) to ascertain which parties entered parliament and government (defined as representation in the cabinet). While the ParlGov database provides direct links to the CMP, these links often result in a high degree of missing values on the CMP, e.g. when parties do not issue individual manifestos, or when parties change parliamentary fractions, split, or unite during the legislative term. In order to recover the policy positions in such instances, I employ a number of strategies. In the case of party splits, I assigned the new party/fraction the CMP measures of its 'mother' as long as no new manifesto was available. In the case of electoral alliances issuing a common manifesto, all parties were assigned the related CMP measures. In case of party/fraction mergers, I assigned the CMP measures of the largest party to all parties from the recording date of mergers in the ParlGov database. In the case of marginal parties, I researched whether they sat together with a larger party or supported this party throughout their history. If this was the case, I assigned the CMP measure of the larger party. I also added several links between ParlGov and CMP that were missed by the ParlGov team (e.g. when a manifesto was coded by CMP but the CMP code was missing in the ParlGov database). Seat-weighted government positions are reported if at least 75% of governmental seats have a corresponding party manifesto in the CMP data (after employing the strategies mentioned). Otherwise, the data contains a missing value.

Description of files

- "Download_CMP_data.R": *R* script that downloads the CMP data via the API and modifies entries before merging the data with ParlGov.
- "manifesto_apikey.txt": Must contain your CMP API key.
- "Join_datasets_and_create_measures.do": STATA do file that merges CMP and ParlGov and creates standard measures as well as customized measures of government positions from the CMP.
- "new_entries.csv", "drop.csv" and "differences.csv": contains the amendments of the CMP data implemented to make it mergeable with ParlGov
- "parlgov_cabinets.xlsx" and "parlgov_cabinets.csv": ParlGov cabinet data with modifications to ensure correct merging. Comments and colors in the Excel spreadsheet indicate where data was modified.

⁴ In the case of fully technocratic caretaker governments with no partisan ministers and a non-partisan prime minister (e.g. Monti in Italy), the government's positions are the seat-weighted positions of all parliamentary parties.

• "parlgov_parties.xlsx" and "parlgov_parties.csv": ParlGov parties data with modifications to ensure correct merging. Comments and colors in the Excel spreadsheet indicate where data was modified.

References

- Benoit, Kenneth, and Michael Laver. 2007. "Estimating Party Policy Positions: Comparing Expert Surveys and Hand-Coded Content Analysis." *Electoral Studies* 26(1): 90–107.
- Döring, Holger, and Philip Manow. 2019. Parliaments and Governments Database (ParlGov): Information on Parties, Elections and Cabinets in Modern Democracies. Development Version.
- Lowe, Will, Kenneth Benoit, Slava Mikhaylov, and Michael Laver. 2011. "Scaling Policy Preferences from Coded Political Texts." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36(1): 123–55.
- Volkens, Andrea et al. 2019. The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2019b.