

# EPAC\_comprehensive

## Description of the Comprehensive Version of the EPAC Dataset with Individual Expert Ratings

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Number of countries	22
Number of parties	210
Number of individual expert-party ratings	1454
Data source if not otherwise indicated	<i>Expert Survey on Ethnonationalism in Party Competition</i> , conducted by Edina Szöcsik and Christina Isabel Zuber, June – November 2011
Time period of the expert survey	June 2011 – November 2011
Elections covered	Most recent elections as of 1 June 2011
<b>country_id</b>	<b>Unique country identifier</b> (two digits, corresponding to the Comparative Manifesto Project)
<b>country_name</b>	<b>Country name in English</b> (string variable)
<b>east</b>	<b>Eastern European country</b> Dummy variable 0 = Western European country 1 = Eastern European country (Turkey coded as Eastern European)
<b>eu</b>	<b>EU27 member state</b> Dummy variable 0 = not an EU27 member state 1 = EU27 member state

<b>yrsdem</b>	<p><b>Democratic experience</b>  Cumulative years the country has been democratic up to 2011  Source: Polity IV project, combined polity score for a Democracy = +6 to +10 (see <a href="http://systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm">systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm</a>) using polity IV variable <i>byear</i>+1 as the starting point for counting.</p>
<b>party_id</b>	<p><b>Unique party identifier</b>  (four digits, first two=country_id, last two=count of parties)</p>
<b>party_accr</b>	<p><b>Party acronym</b>  as most commonly used in the respective country</p>
<b>party_name</b>	<p><b>Full vernacular party name</b></p>
<b>party_name_en</b>	<p><b>Full party name in English</b></p>
<b>natstrength</b>	<p><b>Percentage of votes gained by the party in the most recent national-level parliamentary election as of June 2011</b>  (Macedonia: results of elections of 5 June 2011, Survey sent out on 29 June 2011; Turkey: results of elections of 12 June 2011, Survey sent out on 23 June 2011).  If party ran as part of an electoral coalition, result of the coalition is entered for all member parties. See also next variable pec.</p> <p>Source: Election reports published in Electoral Studies and national electoral commissions. For detailed web-links to the sources, please consult the country files in excel format, first sheet.</p>
<b>pec</b>	<p><b>Pre-electoral coalition</b>  Dummy to identify parties that contested the most recent parliamentary elections as of June 2011 as members of a pre-electoral coalition with another party also listed in the EPAC dataset</p> <p>0 = electoral result under natstrength refers to a single party  1 = electoral result under natstrength refers to an electoral coalition</p>

<b>seat</b>	<p><b>Percentage of seats gained by the party in the national parliament after the most recent parliamentary elections as of June 2011</b>  (Macedonia: results of elections of 5 June 2011, Survey sent out on 29 June 2011; Turkey: results of elections of 12 June 2011, Survey sent out on 23 June 2011).</p> <p>Source: Election reports published in Electoral Studies and national electoral commissions. For detailed web-links to the sources, please consult the country files in excel format, first sheet.</p>
<b>regonly</b>	<p><b>Party only regionally active</b>  Dummy variable  0 = party competes in state-wide elections  1 = party competes only in regional elections</p>
<b>expert_id</b>	<p><b>Unique expert identifier</b>  (5 digits, first two digits = country_id, followed by a zero, last two digits count experts per country)</p>
<b>ethno</b>	<p><b>Party position on ethnonationalism</b>  Survey question: <i>In multinational states, parties may have different positions on the status of ethno-national groups and the nature of the state. At one end of the spectrum (0), majority nationalists seek hegemony within the current state they define as their nation-state. At the other end of the spectrum (10), minority nationalists seek to become the hegemonic majority in a new nation-state. Moderate parties of the middle ground (5) seek a common state in which no single ethno-national group dominates over another.</i></p> <p>Scale ranges from 0 (majority nationalism) to 10 (minority nationalism)</p>

ethnoex	<p><b>Expert's self-placement on the ethnonationalism scale</b>  (see explanation of the variable <i>ethno</i>)  Survey question: <i>Where would you locate yourself on this scale?</i></p> <p>Scale ranges from 0 (majority nationalism) to 10 (minority nationalism)</p>
ethnosal	<p><b>Salience of ethnonationalism for the party</b>  Scale ranges from 0 (not important at all) to 10 (extremely important)</p>
cul	<p><b>Party position on cultural autonomy</b>  Survey question: <i>In multinational states, parties may have different positions on cultural autonomy for national minorities, defined as the right to establish institutions of self-government in the fields of education and culture. At one end of the spectrum (0), parties are strongly against granting cultural autonomy to national minorities. At the other end of the spectrum (10), parties are strongly in favor of granting cultural autonomy to national minorities.</i></p> <p>Scale ranges from 0 (strongly against) to 10 (strongly in favour)</p>
culex	<p><b>Expert's self-placement on the cultural autonomy scale</b>  (see explanation of the variable <i>cul</i>)  Scale ranges from 0 (strongly against) to 10 (strongly in favour)</p>
culsal	<p><b>Salience of the issue of cultural autonomy for the party</b>  Scale ranges from 0 (not important at all) to 10 (extremely important)</p>

edu	<p><b>Party position on education in and of the languages of national minorities</b>  Survey question: <i>In multinational states, parties may have different positions regarding education in and of the languages of national minorities. At one end of the spectrum (0), parties do not want the state to provide any education in and of the minority languages at all. At the other end of the spectrum (10), parties want the state to provide education in the minority languages up to the tertiary level</i>  Scale ranges from 0 (no education in and of the minority languages) to 10 (up to the tertiary level)</p>
edusal	<p><b>Salience of the issue of education in and of the minority languages for the party</b>  Scale ranges from 0 (not important at all) to 10 (extremely important)</p>
lan	<p><b>Party position on use of the minority language(s)</b>  Survey question: <i>In multinational states, parties may have different positions regarding the use of the languages of national minorities. At one end of the spectrum (0), parties oppose the use of minority languages in public life. At the other end of the spectrum (10), parties favor the introduction of minority languages as official state languages.</i>  Scale ranges from 0 (no public use) to 10 (official state languages)</p>
lansal	<p><b>Salience of the issue of use of the minority languages for the party</b>  Scale ranges from 0 (not important at all) to 10 (extremely important)</p>

ter

**Party position on territorial autonomy**

Survey question: *In multinational states, parties may have different positions on territorial autonomy for national minorities, defined as the right to establish their own institutions of regional self-government within their traditional homeland territories. At one end of the spectrum (0), parties are strongly against granting national minorities territorial autonomy. At the other end of the spectrum (10), parties are strongly in favor of granting national minorities territorial autonomy.*

Scale ranges from 0 (strongly against territorial autonomy) to 10 (strongly in favour of territorial autonomy)

terex

**Expert's self-placement on the territorial autonomy scale**

(see explanation of variable ter above)

Scale ranges from 0 (strongly against territorial autonomy) to 10 (strongly in favour of territorial autonomy)

tersal

**Salience of the issue of territorial autonomy for the party**

Scale ranges from 0 (not important at all) to 10 (extremely important)

mod

**Party's preferred territorial model**

Survey question: *In multinational states, parties may have different positions on which territorial model best suits a multinational society. Please indicate with an "x" whether any of the parties explicitly support any of the following territorial models (A-G), or use the free writing space provided under "any other model" if a party explicitly supports any other territorial model not included in the list.*

1 = unitary state

2 = decentralization

3 = decentralization on ethnic basis

4 = symmetrical federalism, where all regions have equal rights

5 = asymmetrical federalism, where a national minority region has more rights than other regions

6 = Independence for a national minority region

7 = Annexation of the national minority region by another state

66 = other model, in this case more information can be found under variable othermod, see below.

othermod

**Party's preferred territorial model not listed under mod**

Survey question: *In multinational states, parties may have different positions on which territorial model best suits a multinational society. Please indicate with an "x" whether any of the parties explicitly support any of the following territorial models (A-G), or use the free writing space provided under "any other model" if a party explicitly supports any other territorial model not included in the list.*

String variable mentioning the territorial model preferred by the party

Important note: if an expert chose two territorial models from the list defined above under mod, this was coded as 66 in mod and the two models were then listed together as a combined other model in othermod. Example: Kosovo experts stated that some of the parties are in favour of a unitary state *and* decentralisation on ethnic basis, which is possible if federalism and decentralization are seen as two distinct dimensions. This would lead us to code 66 in *mod* and "unitary state + decentralization on ethnic basis" in *othermod*.

eco

**Party position on economic issues**

Survey question: *Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on economic issues. Parties at one end of the spectrum, want government to play an active role in the economy. Parties at the other end of the spectrum, emphasize a reduced economic role for government: privatization, lower taxes, less regulation, less government spending, and a leaner welfare state.<sup>1</sup>*

Scale ranges from 0 (state interventionism) to 10 (free market/lean state)

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<sup>1</sup> This question is based on question 11 of the Chapel Hill Expert Survey of 2006 (Liesbet Hooghe, Ryan Bakker, Anna Brigeovich, Catherine de Vries, Erica Edwards, Gary Marks, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen (2010), "Reliability and Validity of Measuring Party Positions: The Chapel Hill Expert Surveys of 2002 and 2006", *European Journal of Political Research* (4): 684-703.). The questionnaire was downloaded from [http://www.unc.edu/~hooghe/data\\_pp.php](http://www.unc.edu/~hooghe/data_pp.php).



ecoex	<p><b>Expert's self-placement on the economic scale</b>  (see explanation for variable <i>eco</i> above)  Scale ranges from 0 (state interventionism) to 10 (free market/lean state)</p>
ecosal	<p><b>Salience of economic issues for the party</b>  Scale ranges from 0 (not important at all) to 10 (extremely important)</p>
dem	<p><b>Party position on democratic freedoms and rights</b>  Survey question: <i>Parties can be classified in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. "Libertarian" or "postmaterialist" parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same-sex marriage, or greater democratic participation. "Traditional" or "authoritarian" parties often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues.</i>  Scale ranges from 0 (libertarian/postmaterialist) to 10 (traditional/authoritarian)</p>
demex	<p><b>Expert's self-placement on democratic freedoms and rights</b>  (see explanation for variable <i>dem</i> above)  Scale ranges from 0 (libertarian/postmaterialist) to 10 (traditional/authoritarian)</p>
demsal	<p><b>Salience of expanded personal freedoms (respectively order, tradition and stability) for the party</b>  Scale ranges from 0 (not important at all) to 10 (extremely important)</p>

**repgroup**

**Represented groups**

Survey question: *Does the party seek to represent a particular ethno-national group/groups?*

String variable with the name of the group as written down originally by each expert.

Coded 77 if expert answered: No, the party does not seek to represent a particular ethnonational group/groups.

Coded 99 if expert gave no answer.

**ethparty**

**Ethnic party**

Dummy variable, ethparty takes the value of 1 if at least 2/3 of the experts that gave substantial answers to repgroup, excluding those that gave no answers, say that the party appeals to a specific ethnonational group. Takes the value of 0 otherwise

**repre**

**Represented regions**

Survey question: *Does the party seek to represent a particular region/regions?*

String variable with the name of the group as written down originally by the expert

Coded 77 if expert explicitly answered: No, the party does not seek to represent a particular region/regions.

Coded 99 if expert gave no answer.

**regparty**

**Regionalist party**

Dummy variable, regparty takes the value of 1 if 2/3 of the experts that gave substantial answers to repre (excluding those that gave no answers) say that the party appeals to a specific region. Takes the value of 0 otherwise

inc

**Minority inclusion into the parties**

Survey question:

*Please indicate to what extent the parties include individuals who identify themselves with a national minority group among their candidates for elections (hereafter: minority candidates). If the parties include to some extent minority candidates, please specify in the grey cells to what minority groups these candidates belong.*

1 = No inclusion (The party does not field any minority candidates).

2 = Some minority candidates (The party fields some minority candidates).

3 = Mostly minority candidates (The party predominantly fields minority candidates for all elections).

4 = Only minority candidates (All candidates fielded by the party identify with a national minority group).

Coded missing due to a different question wording for BiH and Belgium, see variable *inc2* below

inc2

***inc* for Belgium and BiH**

1 = mononational candidates

2 = multinational candidates

(since there is no clear majority minority constellation in these two countries)

incgroup

**Minorities included into the party**

Survey question: *Please indicate to what extent the parties include individuals who identify themselves with a national minority group among their candidates for elections (hereafter: minority candidates). If the parties include to some extent minority candidates, please specify in the grey cells to what minority groups these candidates belong.*

String variable with names of the minority groups as originally mentioned by each expert.

illeg

### **Illegal action**

Survey question:

*Please indicate whether any of the parties currently use illegal means to achieve their goals:*

- 1 = No illegal action (the party's actions are in line with the legal rules of the state.  
2 = Non-violent illegal action (some of the party's actions breach the legal rules of the state, but they are not connected to violence, for example the party sets-up and maintains parallel institutions that are not-recognized by official state authorities, or organises an unofficial referendum on independence of a minority region).  
3 = Violent illegal action (some of the party's actions breach the legal rules of the state and are connected to violence, for example the party supports para-military organizations that fight for the interests of an ethno-national group with the use of force).  
4 = Non-violent and violent illegal action (the party combines non-violent illegal action and violent illegal action).

orig

### **Origins of the party**

Survey question:

*Please indicate whether you think that the leadership and candidates of these parties include commanders of armed groups that were involved in the xxxx conflict:*

- 0 = No: The leadership and the main candidates for elections do not include any former commanders.  
1 = Yes: Some former commanders can be found within the party leadership and are the main candidates for elections

Note: Question was only asked in BiH, Croatia, France, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia Spain, Turkey and UK. Missing by design for parties in all other countries.

pa

**Stance on peace agreement** Question:  
*Does the party oppose or support the "xxxx Agreement"?*

Survey question: Does the party oppose or support the xxxx peace agreement?

1 = strong opposition

2 = moderate opposition

3 = neutral

4 = moderate support

5 = strong support

Note: Question was only asked in BiH, Croatia, Macedonia and the UK. Missing by design for all parties in all other countries.

cit

Party position on citizenship

Survey question: *In multinational states, parties may have different positions on the naturalization process of non-citizens of other former Soviet republics. On the one end of the spectrum (0), parties deny the naturalization of non-citizens of other former Soviet republics. On the other end of the spectrum (10), parties support an easy and almost automatic naturalization process for non-citizens of other former Soviet republics.*

Scale ranges from 0 (no naturalization) to 10 (easy naturalization)

Note: Question was only asked in Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. Missing by design for all parties in all other countries.

citsal

**Salience of the issue of citizenship for the party**

Scale ranges from 0 (not important at all) to 10 (extremely important)

Note: Question was only asked in Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. Missing by design for parties in all other countries.

numethno

Number of expert ratings by party on ethnonationalism

<b>ethno77</b>	Percentage of experts stating that party has no position on ethnonationalism  Note: For each scale, experts had the option to state explicitly that the party has no position (originally coded 77), in addition to the option of no answer (originally coded 99). To be able to calculate party means, 77 and 99 were both recoded as missing (.a). All variables with the suffix 77 preserve information on the share of experts that had originally given the substantively important answer that the party has no position on a given issue. In no case did all experts converge in their judgment that a party has no position on a given issue.
<b>numcul</b>	Number of expert ratings by party on cultural autonomy
<b>cul77</b>	Percentage of experts stating that party has no position on cultural autonomy
<b>numedu</b>	Number of expert ratings by party on education in and of the minority languages
<b>edu77</b>	Percentage of experts stating that party has no position on education in and of the minority languages
<b>numlan</b>	Analogous
<b>lan77</b>	Analogous
<b>numter</b>	Analogous
<b>ter77</b>	Analogous
<b>numeco</b>	Analogous
<b>eco77</b>	Analogous
<b>numdem</b>	Analogous
<b>dem77</b>	Analogous
<b>numcit</b>	Analogous
<b>cit77</b>	Analogous
<b>ethno_m</b>	Mean expert rating of party p on ethnonationalism
<b>cul_m</b>	Analogous
<b>edu_m</b>	Analogous
<b>lan_m</b>	Analogous
<b>ter_m</b>	Analogous
<b>eco_m</b>	Analogous
<b>dem_m</b>	Analogous
<b>cit_m</b>	Analogous

ethnosal_m	Mean expert rating of party p with regard to the salience of ethnonationalism
culsal_m	Analogous
edusal_m	Analogous
lansal_m	Analogous
tersal_m	Analogous
ecosal_m	Analogous
demsal_m	Analogous
citsal_m	Analogous
ethno_sd	Standard deviation of expert ratings by party on ethnonationalism
cul_sd	Analogous
edu_sd	Analogous
lan_sd	Analogous
ter_sd	Analogous
eco_sd	Analogous
dem_sd	Analogous
cit_sd	Analogous
ethnosal_sd	Analogous
culsal_sd	Analogous
edusal_sd	Analogous
lansal_sd	Analogous
tersal_sd	Analogous
ecosal_sd	Analogous
demsal_sd	Analogous
citsal_sd	Analogous
ethnopol	Party system level polarization on ethnonational issues Calculated as the standard deviation of ethno_m by country
culpol	Analogous
edupol	Analogous
lanpol	Analogous
terpol	Analogous
ecopol	Analogous
dempol	Analogous