Codebook 2020 Chapel Hill Expert Survey: Latin America

March 2022 Version 2022.1

This dataset provides the data for the 2020 Chapel Hill Expert Survey Latin America on the positioning of 112 political parties and 13 presidents¹ on political ideology, policy positions, party characteristics, and party linkages in 12 Latin American countries. The survey was administered between July 2020 and October 2020^2 to 160 experts specializing in political parties in one of the countries considered.

The Chapel Hill expert survey was conducted by Cecilia Martínez Gallardo, Jonathan Hartlyn, Nicolás de la Cerda, Ryan Bakker, Liesbet Hooghe, and Gary Marks.

The $2020_CHES_LA_dataset_means.dta$ Stata file contains average expert judgments per political party. The $2020_CHES_LA_dataset_expert-level.dta$ dataset provides information at the level of the individual expert and allows researchers to aggregate expert scores and estimate standard deviations among expert judgments. The survey questionnaire specifies the full question format.³

*In papers or publications utilizing this dataset, we ask users to refer to the dataset as the 2020 Chapel Hill expert survey and cite documentation as follows (this citation will be replaced by the article of record for the data set when information is available):

Cecilia Martínez Gallardo, Jonathan Hartlyn, Nicolás de la Cerda, Ryan Bakker, Liesbet Hooghe, and Gary Marks. 2021. "2020 Chapel Hill Expert Survey: Latin America" Version 2020.1. Available on chesdata.eu. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

 $^{^1\}mathrm{For}$ Venezuela both Nicolás Maduro and Juan Guaidó were included.

 $^{^{2}}$ Given the results of the Peruvian 2021 general elections, we conducted a second wave during May 2021. ³The dataset files and sample questionnaire are available on the website (chesdata.eu) in Stata (.dta), R (.rds) and .csv formats.

¹

General Questions

| Country ID | Country | Country | Country |
|------------|------------------------|------------|------------|
| | Abbreviation | | English |
| 50 | \mathbf{AR} | Argentina | Argentina |
| 51 | BO | Bolivia | Bolivia |
| 52 | \mathbf{BR} | Brasil | Brazil |
| 53 | \mathbf{CL} | Chile | Chile |
| 54 | CO | Colombia | Colombia |
| 55 | \mathbf{CR} | Costa Rica | Costa Rica |
| 56 | \mathbf{EC} | Ecuador | Ecuador |
| 57 | $\mathbf{M}\mathbf{X}$ | México | Mexico |
| 58 | \mathbf{PY} | Paraguay | Paraguay |
| 59 | \mathbf{PE} | Perú | Peru |
| 60 | $\mathbf{U}\mathbf{Y}$ | Uruguay | Uruguay |
| 61 | VE | Venezuela | Venezuela |

 $\mathbf{COUNTRY} =$ unique identifier for each country.

 $PARTY_{ID} =$ unique identifier for each party.

 $\mathbf{PARTY}_{ABB} = \text{party abbreviation.}$

 $\mathbf{PARTY} = \text{party name.}$

 $\mathbf{PARTY}_{\mathbf{EN}} = \mathbf{party}$ name translated to English.

PRESIDENT = dichotomous indicator of president or party.

0 =Party. 1 =President.

WAVE = wave in which the data was collected.

1 = Between July and October 2020. 1.2 = May 2021.

| Country | Party ID | Party Abbrev | Party Name | Party Name (English) |
|-------------|----------|------------------------|---|---|
| AR | 5001 | FT | Frente de Todos | Everybody's Front |
| | 5002 | $_{\rm JC}$ | Juntos por el Cambio | Together for Change |
| | 5003 | \mathbf{CF} | Consenso Federal | Federal Consensus |
| | 5004 | FI | Frente de Izquierda - Unidad | Left Front |
| | 5005 | AF | Alberto Fernández | Alberto Fernández |
| во | 5101 | MAS | Movimiento al Socialismo | Movement for Socialism |
| | 5102 | $\mathbf{C}\mathbf{C}$ | Comunidad Ciudadana | Civic Community |
| | 5103 | MDS | Movimiento Demócrata Social | Democrat Social Movement |
| | 5104 | FUN | Frente de Unidad Nacional | National Unity Front |
| | 5105 | CR | Creemos | We Believe/Create |
| | 5106 | $_{\rm FV}$ | Frente para la Victoria | Front for Victory |
| | 5107 | MNR | Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario | Revolutionary Nationalist Movement |
| | 5108 | JA | Jeanine Áñez | Jeanine Áñez |
| $_{\rm BR}$ | 5201 | \mathbf{PT} | Partido dos Trabalhadores | Workers' Party |
| | 5202 | PSL | Partido Social Liberal | Social Liberal Party |
| | 5203 | PP | Partido Progressista | Progressive Party |
| | 5204 | PSD | Partido Social Democrático | Social Democratic Party |
| | 5205 | MDB | Movimento Democrático Brasileiro | Brazilian Democratic Movement |
| | 5206 | \mathbf{PR} | Partido da República | Party of the Republic |
| | 5207 | \mathbf{PS} | Partido Socialista Brasileiro | Brazilian Socialist Party |
| | 5208 | PRB | Partido Republicano Brasileiro | Brazilian Republican Party |
| | 5209 | PSDB | Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira | Brazilian Social Democratic Party |
| | 5210 | DEM | Democratas | Democrats |
| | 5211 | PDT | Partido Democrático Trabalhista | Democratic Labor Party |
| | 5212 | JB | Jair Bolsonaro | Jair Bolsonaro |
| CL | 5301 | RN | Renovación Nacional | National Renewal |
| | 5302 | UDI | Unión Demócrata Independiente | Independent Democrats Union |
| | 5303 | PDC | Partido Demócrata Cristiano | Christian Democratic Party |
| | 5304 | \mathbf{PS} | Partido Socialista de Chile | Socialist Party |
| | 5305 | PPD | Partido por la Democracia | Party for Democracy |
| | 5306 | RD | Revolución Democrática | Democratic Revolution |
| | 5307 | PC | Partido Comunista de Chile | Communist Party |

| Country | Party ID | Party Abbrev | Party Name | Party Name (English) |
|---------------|----------|----------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| | 5308 | EVOPOLI | Evolución Política | Political Evolution |
| | 5309 | HUM | Partido Humanista | Humanist Party |
| | 5310 | PRSD | Partido Radical Socialdemócrata | Social Democratic Radical Party |
| | 5311 | SP | Sebastián Piñera | Sebastián Piñera |
| CO | 5401 | PLC | Partido Liberal Colombiano | Colombian Liberal Party |
| | 5402 | CD | Partido Centro Democrático | Democratic Center Party |
| | 5403 | RCP | Partido Cambio Radical | Radical Change Party |
| | 5404 | U | Partido Social de Unidad Nacional | Social Party of National Unity |
| | 5405 | PCC | Partido Conservador Colombiano | Colombian Conservative Party |
| | 5406 | AV | Partido Alianza Verde | Green Alliance Party |
| | 5407 | MIRA | Partido Político MIRA | MIRA PARTY |
| | 5408 | PDA | Partido Polo Democrático Alternativo | Alternative Democratic Pole |
| | 5409 | POC | Partido Opción Ciudadana | Citizen Option |
| | 5410 | DEC | Lista de la Decencia | Decency List |
| | 5411 | CJL | Colombia Justa Libres | Colombia Just and Free |
| | 5412 | ID | Iván Duque | Iván Duque |
| \mathbf{CR} | 5501 | PLN | Partido Liberación Nacional | National Liberation Party |
| | 5502 | \mathbf{PRN} | Partido Restauración Nacional | National Restoration Party |
| | 5503 | PAC | Partido Acción Ciudadana | Citizens' Action Party |
| | 5504 | PUSC | Partido Unidad Social Cristiana | Social Christian Unity Party |
| | 5505 | PIN | Partido Integración Nacional | National Integration Party |
| | 5506 | PRSC | Partido Republicano Social Cristiano | Social Christian Republican Party |
| | 5507 | FA | Frente Amplio | Broad Front |
| | 5508 | ML | Movimiento Libertario | Libertarian Party |
| | 5509 | CAQ | Carlos Alvaro Quesada | Carlos Alvaro Quesada |
| EC | 5601 | PAIS | Movimiento Alianza País Patria Altiva I Soberana | PAIS Alliance |
| | 5602 | CREO | Movimiento CREO | CREO Movement |
| | 5603 | SUMA | Movimiento Sociedad Unida Más Acción | United Society More Action Party |
| | 5604 | PSC | Partido Social Cristiano | Social Christian Party |
| | 5605 | \mathbf{FE} | Fuerza Ecuador | Force Ecuador |
| | 5606 | ID | Izquierda Democrática | Democratic Left |
| | 5607 | PSP | Partido Sociedad Patriotica 21 de Enero | Patriotic Society Party |

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| Country | Party ID | Party Abbrev | Party Name | Party Name (English) |
|---------------|----------|---------------|---|---|
| | 5608 | MUPP | Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik | Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement |
| | 5609 | AVANZA | Partido Avanza | Advance Party |
| | 5610 | FCS | Fuerza Compromiso Social | Force Social Commitment |
| | 5611 | LM | Lenín Moreno | Lenín Moreno |
| MX | 5701 | MORENA | Movimiento Regeneración Nacional | National Regeneration Movement |
| | 5702 | PAN | Partido Acción Nacional | National Action Party |
| | 5703 | PRI | Partido Revolucionario Institucional | Institutional Revolutionary Party |
| | 5704 | PRD | Partido de la Revolución Democrática | Party of the Democratic Revolution |
| | 5705 | PVE | Partido Verde Ecologista de México | Ecologist Green Party of Mexico |
| | 5706 | MC | Movimiento Ciudadano | Citizens' Movement |
| | 5707 | PDT | Partido del Trabajo | Labor Party |
| | 5708 | PES | Partido Encuentro Social | Social Encounter Party |
| | 5709 | AMLO | Andrés Manuel López Obrador | Andrés Manuel López Obrador |
| PY | 5801 | ANR | Partido Colorado | Colorado Party |
| | 5802 | PLRA | Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico | Authentic Radical Liberal Party |
| | 5803 | \mathbf{FG} | Concertación Nacional Frente Guasú | Guasú Front |
| | 5804 | PPQ | Partido Patria Querida | Beloved Fatherland Party |
| | 5805 | PH | Partido Hagamos | Let's Do Party |
| | 5806 | PEN | Partido Encuentro Nacional | National Encounter Party |
| | 5807 | MCN | Movimiento Cruzada Nacional | National Crusade Movement |
| | 5808 | PDP | Partido Democrático Progresista | Progressive Democratic Party |
| | 5809 | UNACE | Partido UNACE | UNACE Party |
| | 5810 | MAB | Mario Abdo Benítez | Mario Abdo Benítez |
| \mathbf{PE} | 5901 | AP | Acción Popular | Popular Action |
| | 5902 | PP | Podemos Perú | Perú We can |
| | 5903 | FPAP | Frente Popular Agrícola del Perú | Agricultural People's Front of Peru |
| | 5904 | APP | Alianza para el Progreso | Alliance for Progress |
| | 5905 | PURP | Partido Morado | Purple Party |
| | 5906 | FP | Fuerza Popular | Popular Force |
| | 5907 | UPP | Unión por el Perú | Union for Peru |
| | 5908 | FA | El Frente Amplio por la Justicia, Vida y Libertad | Broad Front |
| | 5909 | PDSP | Partido Democrático Somos Perú | We Are Peru |

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| Country | Party ID | Party Abbrev | Party Name | Party Name (English) |
|---------|----------|---------------|--|---|
| | 5910 | PPC | Partido Popular Cristiano | Christian People's Party |
| | 5911 | APRA | Partido Aprista Peruano | American Popular Revolutionary Alliance |
| | 5912 | MV | Martín Vizcarra | Martín Vizcarra |
| | 5913 | PL | Perú Libre | Free Peru |
| | 5914 | RP | Renovación Popular | Popular Renewal |
| | 5915 | AvP | Avanza País | Go on Country |
| | 5916 | JP | Juntos por el Perú | Together for Peru |
| UY | 6001 | FA | Frente Amplio | Broad Front |
| | 6002 | $_{\rm PN}$ | Partido Nacional | National Party |
| | 6003 | PC | Partido Colorado | Colorado Party |
| | 6004 | CA | Partido Cabildo Abierto | Open Cabildo |
| | 6005 | \mathbf{PG} | Partido de la Gente | Party of the People |
| | 6006 | PERI | Partido Ecologista Radical Intransigente | Ecologist Radical Intransigent Party |
| | 6007 | PI | Partido Independiente | Independent Party |
| | 6008 | LL | Luis Lacalle | Luis Lacalle |
| VE | 6101 | PSUV | Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela | United Socialist Party of Venezuela |
| | 6102 | PJ | Primero Justicia | Justice First |
| | 6103 | AD | Acción Democrática | Democratic Action |
| | 6104 | NT | Un Nuevo Tiempo | A New Era |
| | 6105 | VP | Voluntad Popular | Popular Will |
| | 6106 | LCR | La Causa Radical | Radical Cause |
| | 6107 | Tupamaro | Movimiento Revolucionario TUPAMARO | Revolutionary Movement Tupamaro |
| | 6108 | PC | Partido Comunista de Venezuela | Communist Party of Venezuela |
| | 6109 | ABP | Alianza Bravo Pueblo | Fearless People's Alliance |
| | 6110 | AP | Avanzada Progresista | Progressive Advance |
| | 6111 | EC | Esperanza por el Cambio | Hope for Change |
| | 6112 | VV | Vente Venezuela | Come Venezuela |
| | 6113 | NM | Nicolás Maduro | Nicolás Maduro |
| | 6114 | $_{ m JG}$ | Juan Guaidó | Juan Guaidó |

Section 1: Ideological Questions

LRECON = 1. Parties and presidents can be classified in terms of their stance on ECONOMIC ISSUES such as privatization, taxes, regulation, government spending, and the welfare state. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Those on the economic right want a reduced role for government.

0 = extreme left. : 5 = center. : 10 = extreme right.

LRECON_BLUR = Next, some parties and presidents may blur positions on ECO-NOMIC ISSUES by taking vague, ambiguous, or contradictory stances. In 2020, how BLURRY, would you say, is each party's position on ECONOMIC ISSUES? [RANDOM-IZED WITH QUESTION ON DISSENT BELOW].

0 = Not at all blurred.:10 = Extremely blurred.

LRECON_DISSENT = Next, we would like you to think about CONFLICT or DIS-SENT within the party on ECONOMIC ISSUES. In 2020, how DIVIDED, would you say, has each party been on ECONOMIC ISSUES? [RANDOMIZED WITH QUESTION ON BLURRING ABOVE].

0 = Party was completely united.:10 = Party was extremely divided.

LRECON_SALIENCE = We would like you to think about the SALIENCE or IM-PORTANCE of ECONOMIC ISSUES for the following parties and the president. In 2020, how important were ECONOMIC ISSUES to the parties and the president in their public stance?

GALTAN = Parties and presidents can be classified in terms of their VIEWS ON SO-CIAL AND CULTURAL VALUES. "Postmaterialist" parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, divorce, and same-sex marriage. "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.

0 = Post-materialist. : 10 = Traditional.

GALTAN_BLUR = Some parties and presidents may BLUR POSITIONS ON TRA-DITIONAL/POSTMATERIALIST ISSUES, by taking vague, ambiguous, or contradictory stances. In 2020, how BLURRY, would you say, is each party's position on TRA-DITIONAL/POSTMATERIALIST ISSUES? [RANDOMIZED WITH QUESTION ON DISSENT BELOW].

0 = Not at all blurred.:10 = Extremely blurred.

GALTAN_DISSENT = Next, we would like you to think about the degree of DIS-SENT within the party on TRADITIONAL/POSTMATERIALIST issues. In 2020, how divided, would you say, has each party been on TRADITIONAL/POSTMATERIALIST issues? [RANDOMIZED WITH QUESTION ON BLURRING ABOVE].

0 = Party was completely united.

 $10={\rm Party}$ was extremely divided.

GALTAN_SALIENCE = In 2020, HOW SALIENT OR IMPORTANT were TRADI-TIONAL/POSTMATERIALIST issues to the parties and president?

0 = No importance.

10 = Great importance.

LRGEN = Before we move to questions on specific policy dimensions, please tick the box that best describes each party's and the president's OVERALL IDEOLOGY on a scale ranging from 0 (extreme left) to 10 (extreme right).

0 = Extreme left. : 5 = Center. : 10 = Extreme right.

Section 2: Policy Dimensions

 $COVID_EC =$ What has been the parties' and president's position on responding to the COVID-19 crisis since it emerged in 2020?

- 0 = Prioritizing keeping the economy open.
- 10 = Prioritizing containing the spread of the virus.

 $COVID_EX =$ What has been the position of parties and the president on whether the public health emergency created by COVID-19 requires considerable additional concentration of power in the national executive:

0 = Does not require additional concentration of power. : 10 = Requires considerable additional concentration of power.

 $IMMIGRATE_POLICY = Position on IMMIGRATION in 2020.$

0 = Strongly favors a liberal policy on immigration.
10 = Strongly favors a restrictive policy on immigration.

IMMIGRATE_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of IMMIGRATION POLICY in 2020.

0 = No importance.10 = Great importance.

REDISTRIBUTION = Next, where did these political parties and the president stand on REDISTRIBUTION in 2020?

0 = Strongly favors redistribution.10 = Strongly opposes redistribution.

REDIST_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of REDISTRIBUTION for each of the political parties and the president in 2020.

0 = No importance.10 = Great importance.

ENVIRONMENT = Position towards ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY in 2020.

 $0={\rm Strongly}$ supports environmental protection even at the cost of economic growth.

10= Strongly supports economic growth even at the cost of environmental protection.

ENVIRO_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABIL-ITY for each of the following political parties and the president in 2020.

0 = No importance.:10 = Great importance.

SPENDVTAX = Position on improving public services vs. reducing taxes in 2020.

0 = Strongly favors improving public services. : 10 = Strongly favors reducing taxes.

SPENDVTAX_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of improving public services vs. reducing taxes for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.

DEREGULATION = Turning to specific policies, where did political parties and the president stand on DEREGULATION OF MARKETS in 2020?

0 = Strongly opposes deregulation of markets. : 10 = Strongly favors deregulation of markets.

DEREGULATION_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of DEREGULATING MARKETS for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.

0 = No importance.10 = Great importance.

SOCIALLIFESTYLE = Position on LIBERAL SOCIAL POLICIES (e.g. same sex marriage, gender equality).

0 = Strongly supports liberal policies.10 = Strongly opposes liberal policies.

SOCIALLIFESTYLE_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of LIBERAL SOCIAL POLICIES (For example, same-sex marriage, gender equality) in 2020.

0 = No importance. :

10 = Great importance.

RELIGIOUS_PRINCIPLES = Position on the role of RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES in politics.

0 = Strongly opposes religious principles in politics.

:

10 = Strongly supports religious principles in politics.

RELIGIOUS_PRINCIPLES_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.

PROTECTIONISM = Position towards TRADE LIBERALIZATION/PROTECTIONISM.

0 =Strongly favors trade liberalization.

10 = Strongly favors protection of domestic producers.

PROTECTIONISM_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of TRADE LIBERALIZA-TION/ PROTECTIONISM for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.

0 = No importance.:10 = Great importance.

REGIONS = Position on POLITICAL DECENTRALIZATION to regions (for example, provincias or estados) and localities (municipios).

0 = Strongly favors political decentralization.
:
10 = Strongly opposes political decentralization.

REGIONS_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of POLITICAL DECENTRALIZA-TION for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.

0 = No importance.:10 = Great importance.

CRIME = 2Parties disagree on the best ways to FIGHT CRIME AND IMPROVE CITIZEN SECURITY. Some of them primarily favor addressing the root causes of crime, for example, through employment, education or other social policies. Others, in turn, favor more punitive approaches to addressing crime.

0 = Strongly favors fighting the root causes of crime. :

10 = Strongly favors punitive approaches to fighting crime.

CRIME_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of FIGHTING CRIME AND IMPROV-ING CITIZEN SECURITY for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.

0 = No importance.10 = Great importance.

ETHNIC_MINORITIES = Position towards advancing RIGHTS FOR INDIGE-NOUS AND AFRO-DESCENDANT PEOPLES.

0 = Strongly supports advancing rights for indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples.

10= Strongly opposes advancing rights for indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples.

ETHNIC_MINORITIES_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of POLICIES IN FA-VOR OF INDIGENOUS AND AFRO-DESCENDANT PEOPLES for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.

0 = No importance. : 10 = Great importance.

 $INT_ORG = Position$ towards COLLABORATION THROUGH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION in which the United States plays a role such as the OAS (Organization of American States), IDB (Inter-American Development Bank), and the World Bank.

0 = Strongly favors strengthening international organizations. :

 $10={\rm Strongly}$ opposes strengthening international organizations.

 $INT_ORG_SALIENCE =$ Importance/salience of collaboration through these types of INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.

Section 3: Characteristics of Political Parties and of the President

PEOPLE_VS_ELITE = Some political parties take the position that 'THE PEOPLE' should have the final say on the most important political issues, for example, by voting directly in referendums. At the opposite pole are political parties that believe that ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES should make the most important political decisions. Where do the parties and president fall on this dimension in 2020?

0= Elected office holders should make the most important decisions. :

10 = 'The people', not politicians, should make the most important decisions.

ANTIELITE_SALIENCE = How salient has ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT AND ANTI-ELITE RHETORIC been to the party and the president over 2020?

0 = Not important at all.:10 = Extremely important.

CORRUPT_SALIENCE = How salient has REDUCING POLITICAL CORRUP-TION (e.g., the stealing, embezzling or misappropriation of public funds for private or partisan gain) been to the party and the president over 2020?

0 = Not important at all. : 10 = Extremely important.

MEMBERS_VS_LEADERSHIP = Could you please assess the power of leadership versus members/activists to make party policy choices?

0 = Members/activists have complete control over policy choices.

10 = Leadership has complete control over policy choices.

Section 4: Party Linkages

HOR_ACCOUNTABILITY = Some political parties believe that the leader of the country should have authority to make decisions WITHOUT LEGISLATIVE OR JUDI-CIAL CONSTRAINT. Other parties believe that the leader should be ACCOUNTABLE TO THE LEGISLATURE AND COURTS. Where do the parties fall on this dimension?

0 = Favors strong accountability.

10 = Favors strong leader.

HOR_ACC_SALIENCE = Importance/salience of ACCOUNTABILITY TO THE LEGISLATURE AND COURTS.

0 = No importance.:10 = Great importance.

LINKAGE_PEOPLE = Some actors refer to the common people as an authentic and homogeneous unit, with which they identify. Other actors refer more generally to citizens with different interests and values. Where do the following parties and president fall?

0 = People as homogeneous unit.
10 = Citizens with different interests and values.

LINKAGE_MANICHEAN = 41. Some actors DEMONIZE AND VILIFY the opponents. Other actors TREAT OPPONENTS WITH RESPECT. Where do the following parties and president fall?

0 = Demonize and vilify opponents.:10 = Treat opponents with respect.

LINKAGE_CLIENTELISM = How salient has COMBATING CLIENTELISM OR PATRONAGE (i.e. the appropriation or misuse of public resources through personalistic channels for electoral support) been to the party and the president over 2020?

0 = Not Important at all.:10 = Extremely Important.

LINKAGE_CHARISMA = To what extent do parties seek to mobilize electoral support by stressing the PARTY LEADER'S CHARISMATIC PERSONALITY?

0 =Charismatic leadership is not part of mobilization strategy.

:

10 = Charismatic leadership is an important mobilization strategy.

PATRONAGE = Please indicate the extent to which parties and the president seek to mobilize electoral support by emphasizing the capacity of the party to DELIVER TARGETED MATERIAL BENEFITS to its electoral supporters.

0 = Delivering targeted material is NOT part of party's mobilization strategy.

:

10 = Delivering targeted material benefits is AN IMPORTANT part of party's mobilization strategy.

PARTISANSHIP = 45. Parties may feature party symbols and rituals to cultivate party identification. They may invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders. Please indicate the extent to which parties draw on and appeal to voters' LONG-TERM PARTISAN LOYALTY ("party identification").

 $0={\rm Long}$ term partis an loyalty is not part of mobilization strategy. :

10 = Long term partial loyalty is an important mobilization strategy.

CLIENTELISM = Sometimes, candidates and parties PROMISE OR GIVE voters some of the following things in exchange for their support:

- Consumer goods.
- Preferential access to public social policy schemes.
- Access to employment in the public sector or in the publicly regulated private sector.
- Preferential access to government contracts or procurement opportunities.
- Influence or promise to influence the application of regulatory rules issues by government agencies.

HOW MUCH EFFORT do candidates and parties expend to attract voters by providing these goods and services?

0 = No effort : 10 = Great effort

PROGRAMMATISM = Please indicate the extent to which parties seek to mobilize electoral support by emphasizing the attractiveness of the PARTY'S POSITION on policy issues.

0 = Party position on policy issues is not part of mobilization strategy.

10 = Party position on policy issues is an important mobilization strategy.

Section 5: Hypothetical Parties

HYPOTHETICAL₋₁ = Party A supports a strong role for government in redistributing wealth, protecting jobs, and regulating business. It favors steeply progressive taxes to fund social programs. Where would you place this party on the scale below?

0 = extreme left. : 5 = center. : 10 = extreme right.

HYPOTHETICAL_2 = Party B believes in small government. It favors minimal regulation of business, supports the privatization of many government operations, and opposes high taxes. Where would you place this party on the scale below?

0 = extreme left. : 5 = center. : 10 = extreme right.

HYPOTHETICAL_3 = Party C advocates welfare policies within a market economy. This party supports social investment in education and health to spread individual opportunity, while rejecting major income redistribution. Where would you place this party on the scale below?

0 = extreme left. : 5 = center. : 10 = extreme right.

Last updated: March 18, 2022.