**Codebook for Multilevel Dataset (multilevel\_1-5-22.Rds)**

*Note – The structure of the dataset is individual party evaluations from CSES respondents. Each row represents the evaluation of a single party by one individual, with each individual appearing multiple times according to the number of parties evaluated. The to party variables indicate the party being evaluated, the from party variables indicate the respondent’s own party.*

*Note – If a variable has \_s after it in the dataset, it is the same variable but has been standardized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.*

**country** – Name of Country

**year** – Year of Election

**cntryyr** – Name of Country and Year of election

**gender** – Gender of the individual, 1 = male, 2 = female, 7 = refused, 8 = don’t know, 9 = missing

**ID** – the CSES identifier of the respondent

**to\_mp\_number** – The manifestos project (https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/) number for the To Party

**from\_mp\_number –** The manifestos project (https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/) number for the From Party

**party\_from** – The letter assigned to the “from” party in the CSES codebook – used for merging with CSES

**party\_to** – Same as above, for to party

**to\_parfam –** The party family of the “To” Party, following the the comparative manifestos project (<https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/>) codebook

10 = Green

20 = Rad Left/Socialist  
30 = Social Democratic/Center-Left 40 = Liberal  
50 = Christian Democratic  
60 = Conservative  
70 = Radical Right  
80 = Agrarian  
90 = Regionalist  
95 = Misc/Other

**from\_parfam –** The party family of the from party, see above for codes

**thermometer\_score– t**he mean thermometer score from gender group of partisans of the from party assigned to the to party, drawn from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, but rescaled such that(10 = positive feelings and 0 = negative feelings. See <https://cses.org> for more

**to\_pfeml** – The percentage of evaluated party’s parliamentary delegation who are women 1-year before the election, coded continuously from 0-1 (0= 0% Women MPs, 1=100% of delegation is women)

**from\_pfeml** – The percentage of evaluating party’s parliamentary delegation who are women 1-year before the election, coded continuously from 0-1 (0= 0% Women MPs, 1=100% of delegation is women)

**diff\_pfeml** – The absolute difference between the percentage of the evaluated party and the evaluating party’s parliamentary delegations who are women 1-year before the election, coded continuously from 0-1 (0= equal percentage of Women MPs, 1= one party has 0 women MPs, the other has 100% women MPs)

**to\_femaleleader**– Is the leader of the party being evaluated female? (1= yes, 0=no)

**rile (to/from/distance)** – Rile is the unidimensional left right measure of party ideologiy from the Comparative Manifestos Project. For more details see (https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/datasets)

**prior\_coalition –** Were the parties in government together during the period before the election survey (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**prior\_opposition –** Were the parties in opposition together during the period before the election survey (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**to\_prior\_seats** – The number of parliamentary seats (lower chamber) held by the to-party prior to the election

**Variables not used in analysis but present in dataset:**

**to\_left\_bloc** – Is the to party on the left of the country’s political system (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**to\_right\_bloc** – Is the to party on the right of the country’s political system (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**DM** – The average district magnitude in the country during that election year

**logDM** - the natural log of the average district magnitude

**to\_rrparty / from\_rrparty** – Is the party radical right (1 =yes, 0 = no

**from\_senior\_partner –** Is the from party the senior partner in government (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**to\_senior\_partner –** Is the to party the senior partner in government (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**To\_in\_gov** – Is the to party in the governing coalition (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**From\_in\_gov** – Is the from party in the governing coalition (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**Govern\_together –** Are the parties in government together (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**Opposition\_together** – Are the parties in opposition together (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**From\_left\_bloc** – Is the from party on the left of the country’s political system (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**From\_right\_bloc** – Is the from party on the right of the country’s political system (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**Same\_bloc** – Are the parties on the same side of the country’s political system (1 = yes, 0 = no)

**Nationalism (To/From/Distance)** – A score derived from Burgoon (2009) using CMP to measure how nationalist a party is. Primary use would be for a robustness check of our “society” score.

**Rile (To/From/Distance)** – Rile is the unidimensional left right measure of party ideologiy from the CMP

**ElecDate** – the date of the election, useful if there are two elections in one country year

**Sat\_together10 –** Have the parties been in government together in the last 10 years

**Sat\_together15** – Have the parties been in government together in the last 15 years

**Sat\_together20** – Have the parties been in government together in the last 20 years

**Galtan(to/from/distance)** – A measure of “cultural” ideology from the CHES. Has limited coverage (1999-2015, EU only)

**Lrecon(to/from/distance)** - A measure of “economic” distance from the CHES. Has limited coverage (1999-2015, EU only)

**Multiculturalism** - A measure of “multicultural” ideology from the CHES. Has limited coverage (2006-2015, EU only)

**Immigration\_policy** - A measure of “immigration” ideology from the CHES. Has limited coverage (2006-2015, EU only)

**Govern\_together\_10** – Have the parties been in government in the last 10 years, not including the current coalition (1 =yes, 0 = no)

**Govern\_together\_20** – Have the parties been in government in the last 20 years, but not in the most recent 10. (1 =yes, 0 = no)

**Economy(to/from/distance**) – Our main measure of economic policy ideology, comes from the CMP. Details are here: https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/information/documents/visualizations

**Society(to/from/distance**) – Our main measure of “cultural” distance, comes from the CMP. Details are here: https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/information/documents/visualizations

**party\_like t**he mean thermometer score from partisans (all genders) of the from party assigned to the to party, drawn from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (10 = positive feelings and 0 = negative feelings). See <https://cses.org> for more

**party\_dislike –** the mean thermometer score from partisans (all genders) of the from party assigned to the to party. Again fromt he CSES, rescaled so that 0 = positive feelings and 10 = negative feelings

**from\_prior\_seats** – The number of parliamentary seats (lower chamber) held by the from-party prior to the election

**Partyname (to/from)**  - Name of the political party