**Coding of Parties and Candidates, February 8, 2022**

**ARGENTINA 2007**

Gov1 FPV Frente para la Victoria {Cristina Fernández Kirchner}

Gov2 PJ Partido Justicialista

Gov3 Peronismo {Alberto Rodríguez Saa}

Opp1 UCR Radicalismo {Roberto Lavagna} [left-liberal]

Opp2 CC Coalición Cívica {Elisa Carrió} [Social Democrat]

Opp4Leader Propuesta Republicana {Mauricio Macri} [right-liberal]

Opp5Leader Movimiento Socialista de los Trabajadores {Vilma Ripoll}

OppOther Socialismo {Pino Solanas}; Jorge Sobisch; Propuesta Republicana

{Ricardo López Murphy }

**BULGARIA 1996**

Gov1 BSP Bulgarian Socialist party {Marasov—Pres.Candidate} [left]

Gov1Leader2 {Videnov—BSP Prime minister}

Opp1 UDF Union of Democratic Forces{Stoyanov, Pres.candidate} [right]

Opp1Leader2 {Kostov—UDF party leader}

Opp2 BBB Bulgarian Business Bloc {Ganchev} [center]

Opp3 BAPU Bulg.Agrarian People’s Union [right]

Opp4 MRF Movement for Rights and Freedom {Dogan} [right, Turkish]

Opp5 DP Democratic Party [right]

OppNew1 UNS National Salvation (Koburg—former King Simeon, later elected prime minister)

OppNew2 (indep) {Tomov}

OppOther (Not named in original data set)

**CHILE 1993** (Note: Opp1 coalition candidate for president was Alessandri; not in Therms)

Gov1 PDC Partido Demócrata Cristiano {Frei} [center,Christian democratic]

Gov1Leader2 {Aylwin, incumbent president}

Gov1Leader3 {Foxley}

Gov1Leader4 {Arraigada}

Gov1Leader5 {Animat}

Gov2 PPD Partido por la Democracia {Lagos} [center-left]

Gov3 PS Partido Socialista {Correa} [left]

Gov3Leader2 {Maira}

Opp1 RN Partido Renovación Nacional {Allamand} [right]

Opp2 UDI Partido Unión Democrática {Bombal} [right]

Opp3 PR Partido Radical [center-left]

Opp4 UCC Partido Unión Centro Centro [center]

OppNew1 {Max Neef, independent}

OppNew2 {Piñera, independent}

OppOther {Pizarro [indep.], Reitze [Green], others}

OppOtherLeader Partido Comunista {Marin} [left]

**CHILE 2000**

Gov1 PDC Christian Democratic Party {Lagos, PPD}

Gov2 PPD Partido por la Democracia [center-left]

Gov3 PS [Socialist]

Gov4 PRSD

Opp1 RN Partido Renovacíon Nacional {Lavín} [right]

Opp2 UDI

OppNew1 PC

OppNew2 P H-V

OppOther UCCP

**CHILE 2017**

Gov1 PS Socialist Party {Michelle Bachelet, outgoing president}

Gov2 PDC Christian Democrats {Carolina Goic, 2017 candidate; unlike 2013,

PDC in 2017 was not part of center-left coalition}

Gov3 PPD Party for Democracy

Gov4 PC Communist Party

Gov5 PR Social Democrat Radical Party

Opp1 UDI Independent Democratic Union

Opp2 RN National Renewal

Opp3 RD Democratic Revolution

Opp4 Evópoli Political Evolution

Opp5 PRO Progressive Party {Marco Enríquez Ominami}

Opp6 PRI Independent Regionalist Party {Ricardo Israel in 2013}

Opp7 Ciudadanos Citizens

OppNew1 Chile Vamos (coalition of RN, UDI, Evo, Amplitude and PRI) [right]

{Sebastián Piñera}

(In 2013, this alliance included RN and UDI {Matthei Pres. Cand.})

OppNew2 Nueva Mayoría (coalition of PS, PR, PPD, PC and MAS) [center-left]

{Alejandro Guillier}

(In 2013, Nueva Mayoría {Bachelet cand. For President} included PS, PR, PPD, PC and MAS, and **excluded** the Christian Democrats)

OppNew3 Frente Amplio (coalition of RD, Green, Humanist, Liberal, Equality and

Power) [left] {Beatriz Sánchez} {Claude in 2013}

OppNew4 UPA Unión Patriótica {Eduardo Artés}

OppNew5 País {Alejandro Navarro}

OppOther Independents and various small parties {José Antonio Kast}

{In 2013, Jocelyn-Holt, Miranda, Parisi and Sfeir}

(For a more detailed breakdown of vote in 2013, see H.VoteWhichPrevious.Z in the CN4Chile.Fin file)

**COLOMBIA 2014**

Gov1 Partido de la U {Juan Manuel Santos}

Gov2 Partido Liberal

Gov3 Cambio Radical {Vargas Lleras}

Gov4 Alianza Verde

Opp1 CentroDemocrático {Opp1a Uribe} {Opp1b Zuluaga}

Opp2 Partido Conservador

Opp3 Polo Democrátido Alternativo {Opp3a Clara Lopez} {Opp3bRobledo}

Opp4 Unión Patriotíca

**COLOMBIA 2010** (Previous vote in 2014 survey)

Gov1 Partido de la U {Juan Manuel Santos}

Gov2 Partido Liberal

Gov3 Cambio Radical {Vargas Lleras}

Gov4 Alianza Verde {Mockus}

Opp2 Partido Conservador {Noemi Sanin}

Opp3 Polo Democrátido Alternativo {Gustavo Petro}

Opp4 Unión Patriotíca

**COLOMBIA 2018**

Gov1 Partido de la U {Santos}

Gov2 Partido Liberal {de la Calle

Gov3 Cambio Radical {Vargas Lleras}

Gov4 Alianza Verde {Fajardo}

Opp1 Centro Democrático {Opp1a Uribe, former president and party leader}

{Duque2018 presidential candidate was incorrectly named “Opp2Leader”}

Opp2 Partido Conservador {Ramírez; ran in 2018 as Duque’s vice-president}

Opp3 Polo Democratido {Petro, 2018 candidate of the left]

Opp4 FARC (former leftist guerrillas) {Timochenko}

Opp5 Human Colombia Movement (allied with Petro)

Opp6 MIRA (allied with Duque)

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC 2010**

Gov1 PLD Dominican Liberation Party [right]

Opp1 PRD Dominican Revolutionary Party [center-left]

Opp2 PRSC Social Christian Reformist Party [center-right]

Opp3 PRSD Revolutionary Social Democratic Party [center-left]

Opp4 PPC Partido Popular Cristiano

Opp5 APD Alianza por la Democracia [center-left]

**FRANCE 2017**

Gov1 Socialists {Hamon; Hollande LeaderB}

Opp1 Republicans (UMP in 2012) {Fillon; Sarkozy LeaderB} [center-right]

Opp2 New Center (Democratic Movement in 2012) {Bayrou} [center]

Opp3 France Insumise (Left Front in 2012) {Mélenchon} [far left]

Opp4 PCF (Communist) {supported Mélenchon in 2017}

Opp5 FN (National Front) {LePen} [far right]

Opp6 Debout La France {Dupont-Aignan} [Gaullist right]

Opp7 Europe Ecology/Greens

OppNew1 En Marche {Macron} [center]

OppOther (In 2012 includes) Poutou, Arthaud, Cheminade; (in 2017 includes) Lasalle, Poutou, Arthaud, Cheminade, Asselineau

**GERMANY 2017**

Gov1 CDU Christian Democratic Union {Merkel} [center-right]

Gov2 CSU Christian Social Union [center-right,right]

Gov3 SPD Socialdemocratic Party {Schulz} [center-left]

Opp1 FDP Free Democratic Party [liberal,center]

Opp2 Die Linke The Left [post-Communist left]

Opp3 Die Grünen The Greens [green]

OppNew1 AfD Alternative for Germany [far right]

Other Spoiled ballot

**GREAT BRITAIN 1992**

Gov1 Conservatives

Opp1 Labour

Opp2 Liberal Democrats

Opp3 Ulster Unionist

Opp4 SNP (Scotland)

Opp5 Plaid Cymru (Wales)

**GREAT BRITAIN 2017**

Gov1 Con Conservatives [center-right] {May}

Opp1 Lab Labour [left] {Corbyn}

Opp2 SNP Scottish National Party [center-left, nationalist] {Sturgeon}

Opp3 LibDem Liberal Democrat Party [center] {Ferron}

Opp4 Plaid Cymru Plaid Cymru [center-left, Welsh nationalist]

Opp5 UKIP UK Independence Party [right, British nationalist] {Nuttall}

Opp6 Green Green Party

**GREECE 1996**

Gov1 PASOK Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement {Costas Simitis} [center-left]

Opp1 ND New Democracy {Evert} [center-right to right]

Opp2 Polan Politike Anixi (Political Spring {Samaras} [far right]

Opp3 KKE Greek Communist Party {Aleka Papariga} [left to far left]

Opp4 Left Left Coalition {Nikos Kostantopoulos} [Left to center-left]

OppNew1 DemSoc Democratic Social Movement {Tsvolas}

OppOther (Not named in original data set.)

**GREECE 2004**

Gov1 PASOK Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement {George Papandreou}

[center-left]

Opp1 ND New Democracy {Kostas Karamanlis} [center-right to right]

Opp2 KKE Greek Communist Party {Aleka Papariga} [left to far left]

Opp3 Syn Synaspismos [Left Coalition] {Nikos Kostantopoulos} [Left to

center-left]

OppNew1 LAOS The People {George Karatzaferis} [ultranationalist right]

OppOther (Not named in original data set.)

**GREECE 2015**

Gov1 ND New Democracy {Samaras} [center-right to right, pro-EU]   
Gov2 PASOK Panhellenic Socialist Movement-Democratic Alignment {Venizelos} [center-left, pro-EU]

Opp1 SYRIZA Coalition of the Radical Left{Tsipras} [left, anti-EU]

Opp2 ANEL Independent Greeks {Kammenos} [right, anti-EU]

Opp3 XA Golden Dawn {Mihaloliakos} [fascist]

Opp4 KKE Communist Party of Greece {Koutsoumbas} [communist, anti-EU]

OppNew1 Potami The River {Theodorakis} [centrist, pro EU]

OppOther (Not named in original data set.)

**HONG KONG 1998**

Gov1 LP Liberal Party {Alee} [pro-business]

Gov2 DAB Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of HK {Tsang} [pro- Beijing]

Gov2Leader2 {Tung, pro-beijing chief administrator of HKSAR}

Gov3 New Territories Alliance

Gov4 Communist Party, Pro-China Party, HK Progressive Alliance,

Liberal Democratic Foundation

Opp1 DP Democratic Party {MLee} [pro-democracy]

Opp2 ADPL Association for Democracy and People’s Livelihood

Opp3 The Frontier

Opp4 Citizens Party

Opp5 Democratic Camp

OppOther Democratic Alliance; Pioneer; Atlas Alliance; FTU; Functional constituency; Independent

OppNew1Leader {Anson Chan, pro-democracy leader of civil service}

**HONG KONG 2015**

Gov1 DAB Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of HK {LeeWaiKing}

[pro- Beijing]

Gov2 Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions {SukYee}

Gov3 Liberal Party

Gov4 New People's Party

Gov5 Business and Professional Alliance of Hong Kong

Gov6 Other pro-government parties (inc. Civic Force, Kowloon West New Dynamic,Federation of Hong Kong and Kowloon Labour Unions

Opp1 Democratic Party {LauWai-hing}

Opp2 ADPL HK Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood {LiuSing-Lee}

Opp3 People Power {Yuen Mi Ming}

Opp4 League of Social Democrats {Kwok-hung}

Opp5 North of the Rings {Leung Chung-hang}

Opp6 YoungInspiration [grew out of Umbrella Movement] {Wong Ka Ho} Opp7 Other parties formed out of Umbrella movement (inc. Tuen Mun Community, Kowloon East Community, Third Side, Shatin Communnity Network, Tsz Wan San Power, others

OppNew1 Civic Passion [Umbrella Movement] {Wong Yeung Tat}

OppNew2 Civic Party

OppNew3 Neo Democrats

OppNew4 Others (Labour Party, Democratic Alliance, Neighborhood and Workers

Services Centre, HongKong Attention

OppOther Independent Candidates

**HONG KONG 2019**

[For C.PIDWhich, D.Pap1Part, D.TVPart, and D.InterPart, use the following:]

Gov1 Pro-establishment camp

Opp1 Pro-democracy camp

Opp2 Localist groups

Opp3 Independent candidates

[for H.VoteWhichRecent and H.VoteWhichPrevious, use the following:]

Gov1 DAB Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of HK

Gov2 Business and Professional Alliance for Hong Kong

Gov3 Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions

Gov4 Libral Party

Gov5 New Territories Association of Societies

Gov6 Other pro-establishment parties (includesHong Kong Island Federation,

New People’s Party, Civic Force, Kowloon West New Dynamic, Federation of Hong Kong and Kowloon Labour Unions, Kowloon Federation of Associations)

Opp1 Democratic Party

Opp2 Civic Party

Opp3 Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People’s Livelihood

Opp4 Neo Democrats

Opp5 Labour Party

Opp6 League of Social Democrats

Opp7 Other pro-democratic parties (including Democratic Alliance, People

Power, Neighbourhood and Workers Services Centre)

OppNew1 Civic Passion

OppNew2 Youngspiration

OppNew3 Shatin Community Network

OppNew4 Tsz Wan Shan Power

OppNew5 Kowloon East Community

Other Tuen Mun Community, Third Side, Other organizations founded by Umbrella Soldiers, Independent Candidates

**HUNGARY 1998**

Gov1 MSZP Hungarian Socialist Party {Horn} [left,post-Communist]

Gov2 SZDSZ Alliance of Free Democrats {Kuncze}[liberal]

Opp1 MDF Hungarian Democratic Forum [center-right]

Opp2 FKGP Independent Smallholders' Party {Torgyán}[center-right,

populist]

Opp3 KDNP Christian Democratic People’s Party

Opp4 Fidesz Hungarian Civic Alliance {Orbán} [right]

OppNew1 Munkáspárt Hungarian Workers' Party [communist]

OppNew2 MIEP Hungarian Justice and Life Party {Csurka} [extreme right]

OppOther MSZDP and Zj szvvesig

**HUNGARY 2006**

Gov1 MSZP Hungarian Socialist Party {Gyurcsany} [left, post-Communist]

Gov2 SZDSZ Alliance of Free Democrats {Kuncze} [center-left]

Opp1 FIDESZ Hungarian Civic Alliance {Orban} [right]

Opp2 MDF Hungarian Democratic Forum {David} [center-right]

OppNew1 KDNP Christian Democratic People’s Party [center-right]

OppNew2 MIEP Hungarian Justice and Life Party (extreme right)

OppOther Munkáspárt, other

**INDONESIA 1999**

        Gov1  Golkar   Functional Groups {Habibie} [secular]

        Opp1  PPP        Development Unity Party {Haz} [Islamic]

        Opp2  PDIP   Indonesian Democracy Party of Struggle) {Sukarnoputri} [secular]

        OppNew1      PKB        National Awakening Party {Wahid} [Secular]

        OppNew2      PAN       National Mandate Party {Rais} [Secular]

        OppNew3      PBB        Moon and Star Party {Mahendra} [Islamic]

        OppNew4      PK    Justice Party {Nurwahid} [Islamic}

        OppNew5      PKP Justice and Unity Party {Setiyoso} [Secular]

        OppOther      PNU Traditional Scholars and Teachers Party {Makmun} [Islamic]

**INDONESIA 2004**

        Gov1  PDIP      Indonesian Democracy Party-Struggle {Sukarnoputri} [secular]

        Gov2  Golkar   Functional Groups {Tandjung} [secular]

        Gov3  PPP        Development Unity Party {Haz} [Islamic]

        Gov4  PAN       National Mandate Party {Rais} [Secular]

        Gov5   PBB        Moon and Star Party {Mahendra} [Islamic]

        Opp1  PKB        National Awakening Party {Wahid} [Islamic]

        Opp2  PKS         Prosperous Justice Party {Nurwahid} [Islamic]

        OppNew1 PD           Democrat Party {Yudhoyono} [secular]

OppOther (16 other parties)

**INDONESIA 2009**

Gov1  Golkar   Functional Groups {Kalla} [secular]

        Gov2  PKB   National Awakening Party {Iskandar} [Secular]

        Gov3  PPP        Development Unity Party {Haz} [Islamic]

        Gov4  PD          Democrat Party {Yudhoyono} [Secular]

        Gov5  PKS         Prosperous Justice Party {Nurwahid} [Islamic]

        Gov6  PAN       National Mandate Party {Rais} [Secular]

        Opp1  PDIP      Indonesian Democracy Party-Struggle {Sukarnoputri} [Secular]

        Opp2  Hanura People’s Conscience Party {Wiranto} [Secular]

        Opp3  Gerindra Greater Indonesian Movement Party {Subianto} [Secular]

OppOther (25 other parties)

**INDONESIA 2014**

Gov1 PD     Democrat Party {Yudhoyono Leader; Iskan LeaderB} [Secular]

Gov2 Golkar   Functional Groups {Kalla Leader; Bakrie LeaderB} [secular]

Gov3 PKS    Prosperous Justice Party {Nurwahid Leader; Matta LeaderB} [Islamic]

Gov4 PAN  National Mandate Party {Rais Leader; Rajasa LeaderB} [Secular]

Gov5 PPP     Development Unity Party {Ali Leader} [Islamic]

Gov6 PKB Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa {Iskandar Leader; Mafud LeaderB}

Opp1 PDIP      Indonesian Democracy Party-Struggle {Sukarnoputri Leader; Widodo LeaderB} [Secular]

Opp2 Gerindra Greater Indonesian Movement Party {Subianto Leader; Purnama LeaderB} [Secular]

Opp3 Hanura People’s Conscience Party {Wiranto} [Secular]

Opp4 Partai NasDem National Democratic Party {Paloh} [secular]

OppNew1 PBB Crescent Moon and Star Party {Mahendra} [Islamic]

OppOther PKPI Indonesian Justice and Unity Party {Sutiyoso LeaderB}

**INDONESIA 2019**

Gov1 PDIP Indonesian Democrat Party of Streggle {Joko Widodo},

{Gov1Leader2 Megawati Sukarnoputri},

Gov2 Golkar Functional Groups {Airlangga Hartarto}

Gov3 PKB Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa {Muhaimin Iskandar}

Gov4 Nasdem {Surya Paloh}

Gov5 PPP Development Unity Party {Suharso Monoarfa}

Gov6 GovOther Hanura (People’s Conscience Party); PBB (Crescent Moon

and Star Party); PKPI (Indonesian Justice and Unity Party);

PSI; Perindo (Partai Persatuan Indonesia)

Opp1 Gerindra Greater Indonesian Movement Party {Prabowo Subianto}

Opp2 PAN National Mandate Party {Zulkifi Hasan}

Opp3 PKS Prosperous Justice Party {Sohibul Iman}

Opp4 PD Democratic Party {Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono}

OppNew1 Berkarya Party

OppNew2 Garuda Party

**IRAN 2016 MAJLIS ELECTION**

Gov1 The Principalists {Gholam Ali Haddad-Adel; Leader B, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (previous leader)} [clerical conservative]

OppNew1 The Reformists or Pervasive Coalition of Reformists (List of Hope) {Mohammad Reza Aref; Leader B, Mohammad Khatami (previous leader} [reformist/liberal]

OppNew2 Allies of Rouhani/Moderates {Hassan Rouhani} [moderate/centrist]

OppNew3 Peoples’ Voice Coalition [Principalist/conservative]

OppNew4 Ali Larijani [moderate former Principalist]

OppOther Independent candidates [various stands]

For 2013 Presidential election variable

Gov1 {Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf} [Principalist/conservative]

OppNew2 {Hassan Rouhani}

OppOther {Mohammad Gharazi (Principalist/conservative); Saeed Jalili

{Principalist/conservative); Mohsen Rezaee (Principalist/conservative); Ali Akbar Velayati {Principalist/conservative}

**ITALY 1996**

Gov1 FI Forza Italia {Berlusconi} [center-right]

Gov2 AN Alleanza Nazionale {Fini} [right]

Gov3 Lega Lega Nord {Bossi} [center]

Gov4 Ccd-Cdu Centro Cristiano Democratico {Casini} [center-right]

Opp1 PDS Partito dei Democratici della Sinistra {Prodi} [center-left]

Opp2 PPi-Svp-Pri-Ud Popolari {D’Alema [former PCI leader] incorrectly listed as Opp2Leader]} [center-left]

Opp3 RC Rifondazione Comunista {Bertinotti} [left]

Opp4 Verdi Greens {Ripa di Meana} [left, post-materialist]

Opp5 Dini Dini’s list {Dini}

OppOther (Other parties)

**ITALY 2006**

Gov1 FI Forza Italia {Berlusconi} [center-right]

Gov2 AN Alleanza Nazionale {Fini} [right]

Gov3 UDC Unione Cristiana Democratica {Casini} [center-right]

Gov5 Lega Lega Nord {Bossi} [right, xenophobic] [Note that the Therm for

Bossi was incorrectly named C.ThermGov4Leader] Opp1 DS Democratici della Sinistra & Margherita {Prodi} [center-left]

Opp1Leader2 {Rutelli}

Opp1Leader3 {Fassino}

Opp1Leader4 {Alama}

Opp2 RC Rifondazione Comunista {Bertinotti} [left]

Opp3 Rosa Rosa nel pugno {Boselli} [left]

Opp4 Verdi Verdi [greens] {Scanio} [left, post-materialist]

Opp5 Comunisti Italiani [communist]

OppOther (Four other parties)

**(Italy 2001**--recall question in 2006 survey)

Gov1 DS Democratici di Sinistra {Veltroni} [left]

Gov2 Margherita (former Partito Popolare, left-wing of DC) {Rutelli} [center-right]

Gov3 RC Rifondazione Comunista {Bertinotti} [Communist]

Gov4 Il Girasole (Socialist and Green alliance) {Boselli} [left, postmaterialist]

Gov5 Comunisti Italiani [Comunist]

Opp1 FI Forza Italia {Berlusconi [center-right]

Opp2 AN Alleanza Nazionale {fini} [right]

Opp3 Lega Nord {Bossi} [right, xenophobic]

Opp4 CCD-CDU {Biancofiore} [center-right, Christian democratic]

**ITALY 2013 Beware!**

Analysis of "economic voting" must take into account the fact that there was a major change in the composition of the government that occurred in 2011. The following categorization was based upon the composition of the government (dominated by Berlusconi's PDL, in coalition with the Lega Nord) between 2008 and 2011. In November 2011 this government fell and was replaced by a "technocratic" caretaker government under Mario Monti, composed of unelected independents. It was invested with the support of all parties except the Northern League. Parliamentary support for its policies was provided by the Democratic Party (DP), the UDC (Union of the Center), the PS (Socialist Party) and the SVP (South Tyrol People's Party); even though they are categorized as "Opp" below, they were key supporters of the Monti government between 2011 and 2013. Analysts should consider recoding these parties accordingly.

Gov11 PDL The People of Freedom {Berlusconi; leader Alfano} [center-right] Gov2 Lega Nord Northern League {Maroni} [right-extreme right]

Gov3 MPA Movement for the Autonomies {Lombardo}

Gov41 Civic Choice {Monti[[1]](#footnote-1)} [centrist, neo-liberal]

Gov5 UDC Union of the Center {Casini} [Christian democratic]

Opp1 PD Democratic Party {Bersani} [center-left]

Opp2 IdV-RC Italy of Values {DiPietro} [centrist, anti-corruption]; in 2013 replaced by Civil Revolution {Ingroia} [leftist, anti-corruption]

Opp3 SA Sinistra Arcobaleno, Left Rainbow) {Bertinotti}

Opp4 La Destra, Fiamma Tricolore {Santanchè} [extreme right]

Opp5 PS Socialist Party {Boselli}

Opp6 SVP South Tyrol People's Party [regionalist]

Opp7 PRC Communist Refoundation Party {ferraro} [communist]

OppNew1 Five-Star Movement {Grillo} [populist, anti-system]

OppNew2 SEL Left, Ecology and Freedom {Vendola}

OppNew3 Fratelli D'Italia Brothers of Italy

OppNew4 Fare per fermare il decline (Stop the Decline) {Giannino}

OppOther (9 other parties)

**ITALY 2018**

Gov1 PD Democratic Party {Renzi} [social democratic]

Opp1 FI Forza Italia {Berlusconi} [liberal conservativism]

Opp2 M5S Five Star Movement {Di Maio} [populist]

Opp3 Lega League {Salvini} [right-wing populism]

Opp4 LeU Free and Equal {Grasso} [social democratic]

Opp5 FdI Brothers of Italy {Meloni} [national conservatism]

Opp6 NcI-UDC Us with Italy-UDC {Fitto} [Christian democratic]

Opp7 I Together (Socialist Party, Greens, Progressive area) [progressive]

OppNew1 +E More Europe {Bonino} [liberal]

OppNew2 PaP Power to the People {Carofalo} [Communist]

OppNew3 CP Popular Civic List {Lorenzin} [Christian democratic]

OppOther Other minor opposition parties

[NOTE: The retrospective item concerning vote in the 2013 election (H.VoteWhichPrevious) used the same codes as above *except* for the following:

OppNew4 Scelta Civica (defunct in 2018) was Mario Monti’s 2013 centrist party

OppNew5 Futuro e Libertá (defunct in 2018) was Gianfranco Fini’s party; despite its post-fascist origins (MSI), it was a “liberal-conservative” party opposed to

Berlusconi, Fini’s former coalition partner]

**KENYA 2013[[2]](#footnote-2)**

Gov1 PNU Party of National Unity {Kibaki} [Jubilee Alliance supporting

Kenyatta]

Opp1 ODM Orange Democratic Movement {Odinga} [Coalition for Reform

and Democracy]

Opp2 KNC Kenya National Congress {Kenneth} [Eagle Alliance]

Opp3 NARC Kenya {Karua}

Opp4 Safina {Muite}

Opp5 WDM-K Wiper Democratic Movement {Musyoka} [Coalition for

Reform and Democracy supporting Odinga]

Opp6 KSC Kenya Social Congress {Anyona} [Coalition for Reform and

Democracy supporting Odinga]

Opp7 New FORD-Kenya {Wamalwa}

OppNew1 TNA The National Alliance {Kenyatta} [Jubilee Alliance]

OppNew2 UDF United Democratic Front {Mudavadi} [Amani Alliance]

OppNew3 RBK Restore and Build Kenya {Kiyapi}

OppNew4 URP United Republican Party {Ruto} [Jubilee Alliance supporting

Kenyatta]

OppNew5 ARC Alliance of Real Change {Dida}

OppOther Includes FORD-Kenya (Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-

Kenya) and KANU

**MEXICO 2006**

Gov1 PAN National Action Party {Calderon} [center-right]

Opp1 PRI Institutional Revolutionary Party {Madrazo} [center]

Opp2 PRD Democratic Revolution Party {López Obrador}[center-left]

Opp3 PVEM Green Ecologist Party [center-left]

Opp4 PT Labor Party [center-left]

Opp5 Convergencia [center-left]

Opp6 Nueva Alianza [center-left]

OppNew1 Alternativa Socialdemócrata y Campesina {Mercado}

OppOther (Other parties)

**MEXICO 2012** [Note that the PRD should have been coded as Opp1 and PRI as Opp2 given their respective vote shares in the 2006 election]

Gov1 PAN National Action Party {Vázquez Mota} [center-right]

Opp1 PRI Institutional Revolutionary Party {Peña Nieto} [center-right]

Opp2 PRD Democratic Revolution Party {López Obrador}[left]

Opp3 PVEM Green Ecologist Party [center-left]

Opp4 PT Labor Party [center-left]

Opp5 Movimiento Ciudadano [left]

Opp6 Nueva Alianza [center-left]

**MEXICO 2018**

Gov1 PRI Institutional Revolutionary Party {2018 Meade; 2012 Peña Nieto}

[center-right]

Opp1 PRD[[3]](#footnote-3) Democratic Revolution Party {2018 supported Anaya} {2012 López

Obrador} [center-left]

Opp2 PAN National Action Party {2018 Anaya; 2012 Vázquez Mota} [center-

right]

Opp3 New Allliance {center-left}

OppNew1 MORENA {López Obrador} [center-left]

OppNew2 (Indep) { Calderón}

**MOZAMBIQUE 2004**

Gov1 Frelimo Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) {Armando Guebuza} ["right" – “communist one party-state”]

Opp1 Renamo-UE Mozambique’s National Resistence - Electoral Union) {Afonso Dkhama} [center-right]

OppNew1 PDD Partido para Paz, Democracia e Desenvolvimento {Raul Domingos} [center-right]

OppOther (Other parties)

**PORTUGAL 2005**

Gov1 PPD-PSDPartido Social Democrata {Lopes} [center-right]

Gov2 CDS-PP Centro Democrático-Social/Partido Popular {Portas} [right]

Opp1 PS Partido Socialista {Sócrates} [center-left]

Opp2 CDU (PCP/PEV) Coligação Democrática Unitária (Partido Comunista Português/Partido Ecologista Verdes) {Sousa} [left]

Opp3 BE Bloco de Esquerda {Louçã} [left, postmaterialist]

OppOther (Other parties)

**PORTUGAL 2015**

Gov1 PPD-PSDPartido Social Democrata {Passos Coelho} [center-right]

Gov2 CDS-PP Centro Democrático-Social/Partido Popular {Portas} [right]

Opp1 PS Partido Socialista {Costa} [center-left]

Opp2 CDU (PCP/PEV)Coligação Democrática Unitária (Partido Comunista Português/Partido Ecologista Verdes) {Sousa} [left]

Opp3 BE Bloco de Esquerda {Martins} [left, postmaterialist]

Opp4 PCP Portuguese Communist Party—stand-alone var. for Party ID and PartyProx only—for others, part of CDU coalition [Opp2])

Opp5 Greens Partido Ecologista-Os Verdes—stand-alone var. for Party ID and PartyProx only—for others, part of CDU coalition [Opp2])

OppNew1 PDR Democratic Republican Party {Martinho e Pinto) [center]

OppNew2 LIVRE LIVRE Tempo a Avançar {Rui Tavares} [center-left to left]

OppOther (Other parties)

**RUSSIA 2016**

Gov1 United Russia {Vladimir Putin; Leader B Dimitry Medvedev} [center right]

Opp1 KPRF Communist Party {Gennady Zyuganov} [extreme left, but actually

conservative]

Opp2 LDPR “Liberal Democratic” Party{Vladimir Zhirinovsky} [extreme right]

Opp3 “A Just Russia” Party [center right]

Opp4 Alexey Navalny [liberal left]

Opp5 PARNAS People’s Freedom Party [center-left]

OppNew1 “Yabloko” Russian United Democratic Party {Grigory Yavlinsky}

[liberal/left]

OppNew2 Rodina Motherland National Patriotic Union [Ultranationalist right]

OppOther Party of Growth [center right]; in 2011 Duma elections, Patriots of Russia

[left], Right Cause (Party of Growth in 2016); {Mikhail Prokhorov [center

right]}

**SERBIA 2020**

Gov1 SNS Serbian Progressive Party (SNS, PDP, PS, PUPS, PSS, SNP, SPO,

NSS){Aleksander Vucic; LeaderB Dragan Palma} [governing coalition]

Gov2 SPS Socialist Party of Serbia {Ivica Dacic}

Opp1 SzS Alliance for Serbia {Marinika Tepic} [listing of opposition parties and

leaders in Alliance follows]

Opp1Party1LeaderLutovac.Z.; Democratic Party

Opp1Party2LeaderDjilas.Z; Party of Freedom and Justice

Opp1Party3LeaderJeremic.Z; People’s Party

Opp1Party4LeaderObradovic.Z; Dveri party

Opp2 Serbian Radical Party

Opp3 Enough is enough {Sasa Radulovic}

Opp4 Metla/Democratic Party of Serbia

Opp5 Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians {Istvan Pastor}

Opp6 POKS For Kingdom Serbia

Opp6Beograd.Z.

Opp7 SPAS Serbian Patriotic Alliance {Aleksander Sapic}

OppNew1 Movement of Free Citizens

OppOther Other

**SOUTH AFRICA 2004**

Gov1 ANC African National Congress {Mbeki} [center-left]

Opp1 DA Democratic Alliance {Leon} [center-right]

Opp2 IFP Inkhata Freedom Party {Buthelezi} [center-right, Zulu nationalist]

Opp3 NNP New National Party {Van Schalkwyk} [center-right]

Opp4 UDN United Democratic Party {Holomisa} [center]

Opp5 ACDP Af.Christian Dem. Party {(Moshoe} [right, Christian conservative]

Opp6 FF Freedom Front {Mulder} [Afrikaner nationalist conservative]

OppNew1 ID Independents {De Lille} [center-left]

OppOther (Other parties)

**SOUTH AFRICA 2009**

Gov1 ANC African National Congress {Zuma}

Opp1 DA Democratic Alliance {Zille}

Opp2 IFP Inkhata Freedom Party {Buthelezi}

Opp3 Independent Democrats {De Lille}

Opp4 United Democratic Movement {Holomisa}

Opp5 Freedom Front Plus {Mulder}

Opp6 African Christian Democratic Party {Meshoe)

OppNew1 Congress of the People {Dandola pres. cand., Leader; Lekota party, LeaderB}

OppNew2 African Muslim Party

OppOther (includes: United Christian Democratic Party {Mangope}; Pan Africanist Congress {Mphahlele}; Minority Front {Rakbamso}; Azanian People’s Organisation {Dikobo}; Afrikaner Unity Movement)

**SOUTH AFRICA 2014**

Gov1 ANC African National Congress {Zuma}

Opp1 DA Democratic Alliance {Zille}

Opp2 IFP Inkatha Freedom Party {Buthelezi}

Opp3 United Democratic Movement {Holomisa}

Opp4 FFP Freedom Front Plus {Mulder}

Opp5 Congress of the People {Lekota}

Opp6 African Christian Democratic Party {Moshoe}

Opp7 Pan Africanist Congress (no leader coded)

OppNew1 EFF Economic Freedom Fighters {Malema}

OppNew2 National Freedom Party {Magwaza-Msibi}

OppNew3 Agang SA {Ramphele}

OppOther (includes: Azanian People’s Organization; African Muslim Party; African People’s Convention; Afrikaner Unity Movement;

Freedom Alliance; Minority Front; New National Party; United Christian Democratic Party; Federal Alliance [in 2009, not in 2014])

**SOUTH AFRICA 2019**

Gov1 ANC African National Congress {Cyril Ramaphosa}

Opp1 DA Democratic Alliance {Mmusi Maimane}

Opp2 EFF Economic Freedom Fighters {Julius Malema}

Opp3 IFP Inkatha Freedom Party {Mangosuthu Butheleze}

Opp4 FFP Freedom Front Plus {Pieter Groenewald}

OppOther (includes African Christian Democratic Party, Agang, Congress of the

People, Pan African Congress, United Democratic Movement,

Independent Democrats, Workers and Socialist Party, Azanian

People’s Organization)

**SPAIN 1993**

Gov1 PSOE Socialist Party {González} [center-left]

Gov1Leader2 {Alfonso Guerra, #2 in PSOE}

Opp1 PP People’s Party {Aznar} [center-right]

Opp2 IU United Left {Anguita} [left]

Opp3 CiU Convergence and Union {Pujol} [center-right Catalan party]

Opp4 PNV Basque Nationalist Party {Arzallus} [center-right Basque party]

Opp5 CDS Social & Democratic Center {Calvo Ortega} [center]

OppNew1 HB Popular Unity [anti-system, extreme left, ultranationalist, Basque]

OppNew2 ERC Catalan Republican Left [left, Catalonia]

OppOther (Other parties)

**SPAIN 2004**

Gov1 PP People’s Party {Rajoy—Candidate for PM} [center-right]

Gov1Leader2 {Aznar—outgoing PP prime minister}

Opp1 PSOE Socialist Party {Rodríguez Zapatero} [center-left]

Opp2 IU United Left {Llamazares} [left]

Opp3 CiU Convergence and Union [center-right Catalan party]

Opp4 PNV Basque Nationalist Party [center-right Basque party]

Opp5 BNG Galego Nationalist Bloc [left, Galicia]

Opp6 PA Party of Andalucía [center-left, Andalucía]

OppNew1 ERC Catalan Republican Left [left, Catalonia]

OppNew2 EA Basque Solidarity [center, Basque party]

OppOther (Other parties)

**SPAIN 2011**

Gov1 PSOE Spanish Socialist Workers Party {Alfredo Rubalcaba} [center-left]

Opp1 PP People’s Party {Mariano Rajoy} [center-right]

Opp2 IU-UP People’s Unity{Cayo Lara} [left]

Opp3 UPyD Union, Progress and Democracy {Rosa Diez} [centrist]

Opp4 CiU Convergence and Union {Durán}[center-right Catalan party]

Opp5 PNV Basque Nationalist Party {Josu Erkoreka} [center-right Basque]

Opp6 ERC Catalan Republican Left {Alfred Bosch}[left Catalan party]

Opp7 BNG Galego Nationalist Bloc {Francisco Jorquera}[left, Galicia]

OppNew1 Equo Compromis Equo {Joan Baldovi Roda}[center-left, Valencia]

OppNew2 Amaiur {Iñaki Antigüedad}[left, Basque separatist party]

OppNew3 CC {Ana María Oramas}Coalición Canaria-New Canarias [center-

right, regional]

OppNew4 FAC Asturias Forum Enrique Álvarez Sostres}[center-right, regional]

OppNew5 GBai {Uxue Barkos}[left, Navarrese Basque nationalist party]

OppOther CHA, Other (C.LROther is for CHA only)

**SPAIN 2015**

Gov1 PP People’s Party {Rajoy} [center-right]

Opp1 PSOE Spanish Socialist Workers Party {Pedro Sánchez) [center-left]

Opp2 IU-UP People’s Unity {Alberto Garzón} [left]

Opp3 ERC Catalan Republican Left {Oriol Junqueras} [left Catalan party]

Opp4 PNV Basque Nationalist Party {Iñigo Urkullu} [center-right Basque]

Opp5 EH-Bildu Euskal Herria-Bildu {Hasier Arraiz} [left Basque party]

Opp6 CC Canary [Islands] Coalition {Paulino Rivero} [center-right Canary]

Opp7 UPyD Union, Progress and Democracy {Rosa Diez until 7/2015, now

Gorka Maniero} [centrist]

OppNew1 Podemos We Can {Pablo Iglesias} [left]

OppNew2 C’s Ciudadanos (Citizens) {Albert Rivera} [center-right]

OppNew3 DL Democracy and Freedom (CDC [Catalan Democratic Convergence]—split from CiU) {Artur Mas} [center-right Catalan]

OppNew4 UDC Catalan Democratic Union (split from CiU) {Ramon Espadaler} [center-right Catalan]

OppOther (1) NOS (Galician Candidature-BNG) {Xavier Vence} [left Galician party]; (2) CxG (Commitment for Galicia) {Xoán Bascuas} [center-left Galician party]; (3) CHA (Aragonist Council) {José Luis Soro} [left Aragonese party]; (4) FAC (Forum Asturias) {Francisco Álvarez-Cascos} [center-right Asturian party]; (5) Commitment {Mónica Oltra} [left Valencian party]; (6) Equo {Rosa Martínez} [green partly]; (7) Vox {Santiago Abascal} [radical right].

**TAIWAN 2004**

Gov1 DPP Democratic Progressive Party {Chen Shui-Bian, President}

Gov2 TSU Taiwan Solidarity Union{Lee Teng-hui}

Gov3 TAIP Taiwan Independence Party

Gov4 Pan-Green(electoral alliance of DPP, TSU and TAIP)

Opp1 KMT Kuomintang {Lien Chan}

Opp2 PFP People First Party {James Soong}

Opp3 NP New Party

Opp4 Pan-Blue (electoral alliance of KMT, PFP and NP)

OppOther (Other parties)

**TAIWAN 2016**

Gov1 KMT Kuomintang {Ma Ying-jeou} {Leader2 Eric Chu}

Gov2 PFP People First Party {James Soong Chu-yu}

Gov3 NP New Party {Yok Mu-ming}

Gov4 MKT

Opp1 DPP Democratic Progressive Party {Tsai Ing-wen}

Opp2 TSU Taiwan Solidarity Union {Huang Kun-huei}

Opp3 TIP Taiwan Independence Party {Wu Jing-hsiang}

Opp4 New Power {Huang Kuo-chang}

**TAIWAN 2020**

Gov1 DPP Democratic Progressive Party {Tsai Ing-wen}

Gov2 New Power

Opp1 KMT Kuomintang {Han Kuo-yu}

Opp2 PFP People First Party {James Soong Chu-yu}

**TURKEY 2014** (Presidential election): [Note that Turkish presidential elections are ostensibly non-partisan. Ihsanoğlu is not CHP, but was the presidential candidate of the opposition coalition, of which the CHP was the largest party, but which also included the MHP and several smaller parties.]

Gov1 AKP Justice and Development Party {Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Pres. Candidate (Gov1Leader); Ahmet Davutoğlu, Prime Minister (Gov1bLeader)} [Islamist]

Opp1 CHP Republican People's Party {Ekmeleddin Mehmet Ihsanoğlu, (Opp1Leader) Pres. Cand; Kemal Kiliçdaroğlu, leader of

CHP (Opp1BLeader)} [secular, Kemalist]

Opp2 MHP Nationalist Movement Party {Devlet Bahçeli} [right]

Opp3 Saadet Party

Opp4 BBP

Opp5 DemokratParty

OppNew1 HDP/BDP People's Democratic Party {Selahattin Demirtaş} [Kurdish]

**UKRAINE 2019** (Parliamentary Election)

Gov1 European Solidarity {Petro Poroshenko}

Opp1 Servant of the People {Volodymyr Zelensky}

Opp2 Opposition Platform {Yuriy Boyko}

Opp3 All-Ukrainian Union “Batkivshchyna” {Yulia Tymoshenko}

Opp4 VOICE {Svyatoslav Vakarchuk}

Opp5 Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko {Oleh Lyashko}

Opp6 Strength and Honor {Igor Smeshko}

Opp7 Opposition Bloc

**UNITED STATES 1992**

Gov1 Republicans {George H.W.Bush}

Opp1 Democrats {Bill Clinton}

OppNew1 Indep. {Ross Perot}

**UNITED STATES 2004**

Gov1 Republicans {George W. Bush}

Opp1 Democrats {John Kerry}

OppNew1 Greens {Ralph Nader}

OppOther

**UNITED STATES 2012**

Gov1 Democrats {Barack Obama}

Opp1 Republicans {Mitt Romney}

Opp2 Libertarians

Opp3 Greens

OppOther (Other candidates)

**UNITED STATES 2016**

Gov1 Democrats {Hillary Clinton}

Opp1 Republicans {Donald Trump}

Opp2 Libertarians {Gary Johnson}

Opp3 Greens {Jill Stein}

OppOther (Other candidates)

**UNITED STATES 2020**

Gov1 Republicans {Donald Trump} {Mike Pence LeaderB}

Opp1 Democrats {Joe Biden} {Kamala Harris LeaderB)

Opp2 Libertarians {Jo Jorgensen}

Opp3 Greens {Howie Hawkins}

OppOther (Other candidates)

**URUGUAY 1994** [Parties, (Factions), and {Presidential candidate supported by each faction}]

Gov1 Colorado

Gov11 Colorado (Foro Batllista) {Sanguinetti}

Gov14 Colorado (Cruzada 94) {Sanguinetti}

Gov15 Colorado (PGP) {Sanguinetti}

Gov12 Colorado (Batllismo Radical) {Batlle}

Gov13 Colorado (Pachequismo) {Pacheco}

Gov1Leader {Sanguinetti}

Gov1Leader2 {Batlle}

Gov1Leader3 {Pacheco}

Gov2 Nacional

Gov21 Nacional (Volonteismo) {Volonte}

Gov22 Nacional (Herrerismo) {Ramírez}

Gov23 Nacional (Mov. De Rocha) {Pereyra}

Gov24 Nacional (Renovación y Victoria) {Ramírez}

Gov2Leader {Volonte}

Opp1 EP-FA (Encuentro Progresista-Frente Amplio) {Vázquez}

Opp11 EP-FA (Asamblea Uruguay)

Opp12 EP-FA (P.Socialista)

Opp13 EP-FA (Vertiente Artiguista)

Opp14 EP-FA (MPP)

Opp15 EP-FA (Comunistas, or Democracia Avanzada)

Opp16 EP-FA (Nin Novoa, or Compromiso Progresista)

Opp17 EP-FA (UNIR)

Opp18 EP-FA (PDC)

Opp1Leader {Vázquez}

Opp2 Partido Verde

OppNew1 NE (Neuvo Espacio) {Michelini}

OppNew1Leader {Michelini}

OppNew2 Partido del Sol

OppNew3 Partido Azul

OppOther (Other parties)

**URUGUAY 2004**

Gov1 Colorado (social democratic)

Gov2 Nacional (liberal)

Opp1 EP-FA-NM (leftist coalition)

OppNew1 Independent (social democratic)

Gov1.1 Colorado {Foro Batllista)

Gov1.2 Colorado {Batllismo 15}

Gov1.3 Colorado {Unión Colorado y Batllista}

Gov2.1 Nacional {Herrerismo}

Gov2.2 Nacional {Allianza Nacional}

Gov2.3 Nacional {Corriente Wilsonista}

Opp1.1 EP-FA-NM {Socialistas}

Opp1.2 EP-FA-NM {Asamblea Uruguay}

Opp1.3 EP-FA-NM {MPP [Tupamaros]}

Opp1.4 EP-FA-NM {Vertiente Artiguists}

Opp1.5 EP-FA-NM {Allianza Progresista}

Opp1.6 EP-FA-NM {Nuevo Espacio}

Opp1.7 EP-FA-NM {Democracia Avanzada [Communistas]}

Opp1.8 EP-FA-NM {radicals}

OppOther (Other parties)

1. Silvio Berlusconi and his coalition won the 2008 election and governed until 2011; he was replaced by a caretaker government under Mario Monti. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. In the 2013 presidential election, Kenya’s governing Party of National Unity did not have a candidate or join in a coalition, so there is no Gov1 vote. Also, many of the parties joined together in pre-election coalitions/alliances to back a single candidate. This means that many party leaders are not presidential candidates, deferring instead to the coalition candidate. Party contacts and party meetings are coded for the coalitions without reference to which particular party in the coalition may have been involved; in these cases, the contact/meeting is attributed to the lead party of the coalition. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Since PAN and the PRD ran a joint ticket supporting PAN’s Anaya for president, the party contact data for the two parties were combined into one. To avoid double-counting, I.Opp1Contact and I.MeetOpp1 were scored as -999 and all contacts were attributed to the PAN (Opp2). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)