MNM

Majority Nationalist Movements (MNM) Dataset: Codebook v1.0

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1 Goals

The MNM Dataset is a global database on nationalist movements that demand **dominant rule by a specific ethnic or cultural group in their country's government**. Prototypical examples thereof are Hindu Nationalism in India, religious Zionism in Israel, White/Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa, and Serb nationalism in Yugoslavia. The dataset identifies majority nationalist movements (MNMs) in Europe, North America, Asia, and Africa between 1816 and 2023. For a narrower time period since 1946 (or independence), it also collects information on MNMs' main political organizations, their demands, and their justifications. The main tasks of this coding effort are the **identification** of MNMs and their organizations, the **period-based coding** of their demands, claims, and justifications, and the **documentation** of coding decisions.

Section 2 defines the key terms necessary for your coding and informs you on how to identify MNMs in your assigned countries. Section 3 defines additional characteristics you will need to code for each MNM. Sections 4 and 5 give you step-by-step guidance on how to proceed with your coding effort and explain all variables to be coded. Section 6 informs you on key sources you should consult.

2 Identification of MNMs

We consider MNMs as constituted by **one or more formal political organizations** that:

1. claim to **represent** a specific ethnic or cultural identity group (henceforth "identity group" or "group"), *and*
2. make consistent **demands for this group's political dominance in the government**, *and*
3. are **politically relevant** at the national level.

In what follows, we define these terms and conditions in turn.

2.1 Claim to represent a specific ethnic or cultural identity group

MNMs are constituted by political organizations which are connected to one or multiple ethnic or cultural groups in a country, either explicitly through consistent public claims or implicitly through their patterns of recruitment and mass support.

> MNMs may claim to represent a diverse set of ethnic and cultural identities. They may refer to common **ancestry** (ethnicity), shared **language**, similar **phenotypical features**, or shared **religion**. We distinguish different MNMs based on the specific identities they claim to represent (e.g., "Hindus", "White Americans", "Serbs", "Muslims", "Shia Muslims"). This means that a country may have *multiple* MNMs that represent and demand dominance for different identity groups, either in succession or even at the same time.

For example, in apartheid-South Africa, an MNM sought to protect the dominance of (racially-defined) White South Africans. In India, an MNM demands dominant rule by (religiously-defined) Hindus. In Spain, an MNM claims to represent Castilians, defined jointly by Castilian

language and Catholic religion. In Israel, four rival MNMs demand dominance for (ethnically-defined) Jews, (religiously-defined) Jews, Palestinian Arabs (regardless of religion), and Muslims. In Yugoslavia/Serbia, successive MNMs variably demanded dominant rule by ethnic Serbs, all South Slavs, and (religiously-defined) Orthodox Christians. In Côte d'Ivoire, an MNM has sought dominance for "indigenous" Southern Ivorians.

MNMs **often, but not necessarily, claim to represent the demographic majority**. While this is often the case, some MNMs seek political dominance for demographic plurality or even minority. For example, Afrikaner nationalists in South Africa aimed to preserve the exclusionary apartheid system and retain the White minority's political dominance, to the exclusion of the much larger native African population.

2.2 Demands for political dominance

In addition to claims of representation, MNMs also demand **political dominance or monopoly rule** for their ethnic or cultural group, to the disadvantage of other groups in the same country. We distinguish between these two options as follows:

> - Demands for **dominance in government:** The MNM demands that the group holds dominant power in the executive, to the disadvantage of other groups. However, it tolerates limited or "token" inclusion of other groups. For example, South Africa's Afrikaner nationalists demanded that Afrikaners be dominant, but tolerated limited representation of Asians and Coloreds.
> - Demands for **monopoly rule in government:** The MNM demands that the group holds monopoly power in the executive, to the exclusion of all other groups. For example, Rwanda's Hutu Power movement demanded that ethnic Hutu hold all government posts, without representation for minorities such as the Tutsi and Twa.

Depending on the country-specific context, MNM demands for dominance or monopoly rule can take **different forms**: For instance, in India, Hindu nationalists have sought to constitutionally enshrine India as a Hindu nation, while explicitly demanding that Muslims and Christians be excluded from government. In Iraq, Shia nationalists have demanded rule according to Shia Islamic Principles and, specifically, by Shia clerics. In Spain, Castilian Nationalists equate Spain with greater Castile, with its Castilian language and its Catholic religion at the center. Conversely, they seek to suppress differences between Spain's different regions and cultural groups. In Malaysia, Malay nationalists have tolerated minority representation in government and their cultural rights. However, they have demanded special political and cultural privileges for Malays, which they define as Malaysia's indigenous group.

We require demands for dominance to be **central to the platform or the leadership of organizations that constitute an MNM**. Conversely, we do *not* consider statements by **fringe members** of an organization. For example, the US Republican Party has long had extremist members of Congress that made at least implicit demands relating to White dominance. However, only following the nomination of Donald Trump in 2016 as presidential nominee did references to such demands become a central platform of the party. Hence, we consider the Republican party an MNM organization since 2016.

Important: *Every* MNM needs to make demands for either dominance or monopoly rule. Movements that claim to represent an ethnic group without making demands

for dominance/monopoly rule are not MNMs. Demands for dominance/monopoly rule need to be to the disadvantage other groups in the same country and be specifically directed against the country's government. This means that we exclude four types of organizations that do *not* constitute MNMs:

- First, we do *not* consider movements that demand mere representation in the government, without demanding dominance/monopoly rule. For example, South Africa's ANC demanded that Blacks be awarded a just share of political power, but stopped short of demanding dominance to the exclusion of other groups. Similarly, European Christian Democratic parties claim to represent Christians, but do not typically demand Christian political dominance.
- Second, we do *not* consider movements that demand political dominance at either the *sub-state* or only on the *transnational* level. For example, nativists in many African countries demand their group be dominant in their region, but not at the national level. Similarly, especially since the 1980s, transnational Islamist organizations have sought to establish an Islamic state that transcends national borders, but do not typically direct their demands at specific national governments.
- Third, we do *not* consider movements that only demand their group's *economic or cultural* dominance, but do not extend their demands to political dominance in the central government.
- Fourth, we do *not* consider nationalist and populist movements that rally exclusively against *recent immigrants*. For example, the Swiss People's Party consistently rallies against mass immigration and Muslims, but claims to represent all major Swiss ethnic and cultural groups.

Note for both claims and demands, **we are principally interested in what organizations say, and not in what they effectively do**. For example, Iraq's Arab Nationalist movement headed by the Ba'ath party had a predominantly Sunni power base. However, it claimed to represent and demanded dominance for all Arabs in the country. Hence, we consider it to be part of an MNM that represents Iraqi Arabs (as opposed to Sunni Arabs specifically). Conversely, Castilian Nationalists under the Franco regime included Galicians and Catalans in key positions, but publicly brushed over ethno-regional differences and sought to establish Castilian political and cultural dominance in Spain. Hence, we consider them to be part of an MNM that represents Castilian speakers and Catholics, to the disadvantage of ethno-regional minorities such as the Catalans and Basque.

2.3 Political relevance

MNMs needs to be constituted by politically relevant organizations that make claims and demands as defined above. These organizations do not need to have majority support among the group they claim to represent. However, we do require that they have at least minimal political relevance and exclude fringe organizations. We consider any of the following as proof an organization is politically relevant:

- it is active **nation-wide and has a membership of at least 10,000**, *or*
- at least one representative of the organization **is included in the (executive) government**, *or*
- the organization has obtained at least **1% of the vote or at least one seat in parliament** in at least one national election with a choice on the ballot, *or*
- the organization has **demonstrated mass support** but is either **barred from participating in elections or boycotts elections altogether**.

If an MNM has been active previously, but its politically relevant, constituent organizations have stopped to exist (e.g., because they were dissolved), we consider it as **"inactive"**. For example, following the fall of Franco, Castilian nationalism had been discredited and all major political organizations in Spain disavowed this ideology. It was only in 2013 when the right-wing VOX party emerged and took over many positions resembling Franco's ideology that the movement reemerged. Hence, we consider the Castilian nationalist movement inactive between 1977 (following the fall of Franco) and 2013 (when VOX was founded).

3 Characteristics of MNMs

Besides identifying MNMs and their organizations, we also collect time-varying information on their main demands, external claims, and justifications. Throughout this process, we are interested in capturing the position that is typical of the overall movement, as described by secondary literature. Typically, this refers to the stance of the **leading, most politically influential organization** of an MNM movement in a given time period.

3.1 Additional demands

- Demands for **exclusion:** The MNM demands that *specific* groups be excluded from the government. For example, North Macedonian nationalists demand that ethnic Albanians be excluded from the government.
- Demands for **demographic engineering:** The MNM demands policies that protect its group's demographic size relative to other groups. For example, India's Hindu nationalist organizations demand measures to increase birth rates among the Hindu population to safeguard Hindu demographic dominance vis-a-vis Muslims. Similarly, Palestinian nationalists have demanded restrictions to Jewish immigration to safeguard their group's relative demographic size.
- Demands for **citizenship or voting rights restrictions:** The MNM demands that other groups be excluded from citizenship or voting rights, to the benefit of its own group. For example, South Africa's Conservative Party demanded that Blacks be blocked from citizenship and voting rights.
- Demands for **assimilation:** The MNM demands that other groups be assimilated into its group. For example, under Franco, Castilian nationalists demanded measures to suppress the Catalan and Basque language and non-Catholic religious practices and replace them with a "traditional" Castilian identity.
- Demands for **expulsion:** The MNM demands that other groups be physically removed from the state territory. For example, Islamic nationalists demanded that Jews be expelled from Israel/Palestine.
- Demands for **extermination:** The MNM demands that members other groups be killed to assure its group's demographic dominance. For example, in 1993-4, the Hutu Power movement demanded that Rwanda be "purged" of Tutsis.
- Demands against **territorial autonomy:** The MNM demands that territorial autonomy arrangements be reduced, abolished, or their introduction prevented. For example, Spanish nationalists rally against the autonomy statutes of Catalonia and Basque County. Similarly, Hindu nationalists in India demand that federal states' rights be curtailed and that Kashmir's special autonomy be withdrawn.
- Demands for **cultural privileges**: The MNM demands that its group's culture be protected or privileged or that other groups' cultural status be reduced. For example, Hindu nationalists in India have campaigned for explicitly defining India as a Hindu state, for erecting Hindu temples, and for tearing down mosques.
- Demands relating to **economic privileges**: The MNM demands that its group's economic status be improved or that other groups' economic privileges be reduced. For example, Malaysia's Malay nationalists have consistently demanded that Malays profit from privileged economic and educational opportunities. Similarly, Hindu nationalists

in India have rallied against affirmative action policies benefitting ethnic minorities and lower caste groups.

3.2 External claims

We are interested in two types of external claims that MNMs may make. First, MNMs may **claim territory located in other states**. For example, Israel's religious Zionists have at times claimed lands beyond Israel's controlled territory. Similarly, Serb nationalists in Serbia claim lands in neighboring Kosovo and Bosnia as well.

Second, MNMs may also claim that their identity group forms part of a **wider, transnational group**, with whom they seek a closer association or even political unification in the future. For example, Iraq's Arab Nationalists initially saw Arab dominance in Iraq as only a first step to achieving unification with other Arab states, before abandoning such aims in the 1960s.[1]

3.3 Ideological justification

MNMs give diverse **ideological justifications** for why their identity group is entitled to political dominance. We distinguish between the following types of justifications:

- **Indigeneity:** The MNM refers to its group's indigenous status or claims that it occupied the land earlier than other groups. For instance, Malaysia's Malay Nationalists, Sri Lanka's Sinhala Nationalists, and Côte d'Ivoire's Ivoirité movement all claim that their group is indigenous and hence entitled to dominance.
- **Special mission:** The MNM refers to a special mission their identity group needs to fulfill in the country, often in religious terms. For example, Israel's religious Zionist movement refers to a God-given mission for Jews in the 'Holy Land'.
- **Superiority:** The MNM highlights its group's supposed superior traits, often in racial terms. For example, White nationalists in the US often make use of racial tropes to justify their group's right to dominance.
- **Past glory:** The MNM refers to a past golden age, during which the group traditionally ruled the country's territory. For example, India's Hindu Nationalist movement refers to a Hindu 'golden age' in India before the Muslim 'invasion'. Similarly, Russian nationalists refer to a golden age in Eurasia under the Russian Empire.
- **Past struggle:** The MNM refers to past heroic struggles against other groups and states or highlights the group's past victimization. For example, Hindu Nationalists in India highlight that Hindus played a large role in the fight for independence from the British Empire, while Muslims did not. Similarly, Serb nationalists highlight the struggles of Serbs against the Ottoman Empire and Muslim invaders in the Medieval Ages. Moreover, they highlight massacres by Croatian Ustashe against Serbs during

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[1]Note, as defined in section 2.2, that transnational demands are not enough to identity an MNM. In any case, we require demands for dominance/monopoly rule directed against the specific national government, even if this only forms a first step in the movement's wider, transnational aims (as for pan-Arabists in Iraq). Conversely, we do not consider movements that do not recognize national borders in the first place. For example, this applies to Islamic state in Syria and Iraq, which did not seek to establish dominance in either state, but directly sought to establish a new, transnational entity.

World War II to justify their demands for dominance.

- **Threats:** The MNM highlights ongoing threats from other groups in the country or from foreign, rival states to justify dominance. For example, Rwandan Hutu extremists justified their anti-Tutsi demands with the alleged genocidal intentions of the insurgent RPF and the Tutsi minority.
- **Injustice:** The MNM refers to the need to rectify past or current injustices facing its group. For example, Malaysia's Malay nationalists frequently refer to Malay discrimination under British colonial rule and enduring economic disadvantages of Malays as compared to the Chinese and Indian minorities. Similarly, White nationalists in the US frequently highlight what they characterize as unjust affirmative action policies for ethnic minority groups.

4 Coding procedure

In consultation with the coding manager (Aya or Andreas), you will be assigned a country from our sample.

4.1 Stage 1: Identification of MNMs at the country-level

First, you will identify any MNM that our sources indicate ever existed in the country's territory between 1816 and 2023 (including, where applicable, during colonial rule). For this purpose, you'll first need to familiarize yourself with your assigned country by consulting the suggested sources (see section 6). Moreover, you should also look for additional secondary literature, by searching for terms such as "majority nationalism [country x]" and "exclusionary nationalism [country x]" on google scholar or an equivalent search engine. Read these sources and take notes, with a focus on information that will be useful for coding the variables in the subsequent steps.

Having read these sources, you can start your coding in the country's Excel file. On sheet "stage 1", you will see a list of suggested, potential identities that *might* have been mobilized by MNMs (see table 1 for the example of Malaysia).

Table 1: Malaysia: Identification of MNMs

group	type	mnm	name	starty	endy	prev_indmov
Malays	ethnic	1	Malay Nationalists	1946	NA	1
Malay	language	0				
Sunni Islam	religion	0				
Islam	religion	1	Islamic Nationalists	1977	NA	0
Oceanian	phenotype	0				

For each suggested identity you should judge, based on your sources, whether there was **ever an MNM representing the identity group** according to our criteria. If you did not find evidence for any MNMs in your country, you can preliminarily code no identity as ever having been subject to an MNM—this is entirely possible. However, even in this case, you should still check the suggested organizations in stage 2 to make sure you did not miss an MNM. Conversely, if your reading indicates that there was an MNM representing **other identity groups** not covered by this list (which is also possible), you will add those identities manually. You will also have to assign a unique name to each MNM you identify (e.g. "Hindu Nationalists") and a (country-wise) unique ID (e.g., 1, 2, ...).

For the example of Malaysia, we identify two MNMs: First, Malay Nationalists, who demand that ethnically-defined Malays be politically dominant. And second, Islamic Nationalists, who demand dominance for religiously-defined Muslims (regardless of their ethnicity). We code the Malay Nationalist Movement as starting in 1946, when its first organization, the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), was founded. We code the Islamic Nationalist Movement as starting in 1977, when the Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) left the coalition with UMNO and switched from demanding dominance for Malays to demands in favor of Muslim dominance.

4.2 Stage 2: Coding political organizations in each MNM

In a second step, you will identify politically relevant organizations that are part of each MNM you identified (sheet "stage 2", see section 2.3). For each country, you will see a **list of potential organizations** that might be part of an MNM. For each of these, you will conduct **additional, brief web research** (e.g., consulting Wikipedia). When doing so, you may also come across additional MNMs that were not mentioned in the suggested readings. In this case, you should add them to the list, as specified in stage 1. . The main tasks in this step are, for each listed organization, 1. **assessing whether it is politically relevant and belongs to an MNM**, 2. collecting some **basic information** on each MNM organization (e.g. founding year), and 3. noting whether each MNM organization is substantially **more radical or moderate** in its demands, claims, and justifications than the MNM's leading organization(s)).

In the process, you may also have to slightly "clean" the list of MNM organizations: each row should be one organization-MNM link. First, some organizations may be listed more than once, in which case you should combine and delete duplicate entries. Second, you may have to **disaggregate** some entries, in cases where they refer to an alliance between organizations (e.g. an ad-hoc electoral alliance), rather than a specific organization. Finally, you may also have to manually add **additional, politically relevant organizations** mentioned in the literature you read that are not part of the automatically extracted list of suggested organizations.

Table 2 visualizes some of the main variables coded in this process, again for the example of Malaysia. As you can see, many of the suggested organizations are indeed linked to the two MNMs we identified in stage 1. However, several are not part of either movement, according to our web research. A special, noteworthy case is the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS), whose entry we copied so it appears twice. The reason is that PAS belonged, at different points of time, to both MNMs: in a first period (1951-1976), it is linked to the Malay Nationalist movement. Conversely, in a second period (1977-now), it is linked to the Islamic Nationalist movement, following its split from Malay Nationalists.

We also note that most organizations do not substantially differ from their movement's leading organization in terms of demands, territorial claims, and justification. An exception is the Malaysia Mujahideen Group, which makes external claims for territories in Indonesia and Thailand, in contrast to other organizations that make up the Islamic Nationalist movement. Similarly, we note different demands for the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party when it was part of the Malay Nationalist movement, owing to its stronger emphasis on cultural and economic demands, as compared to leading organizations in the Malay Nationalist movement.

Table 2: Malaysia: Coding of MNMs' government relationship

organization_name	mnm_name	founded	dissolved	from	to	diff_d	diff_terr	diff_j
Malaysia Mujahideen Group	Islamic Nationalists	1995	NA	1995	NA	0	1	0
Malaysian People's Welfare Party								
Malaysian United Indigenous Party (BERSATU)	Malay Nationalists	2016	NA	2016	NA	0	0	0
Malaysian United People's Party								
Muslim Unity Movement								
National Party								
National Trust Party (Amanah)	Islamic Nationalists	1978	NA	1978	NA	0	0	0
Pan-Malaysian Islamic Front	Islamic Nationalists	1977	NA	1977	NA	0	0	0
Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party	Malay Nationalists	1951	NA	1951	1976	1	0	1
Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party	Islamic Nationalists	1951	NA	1977	NA	0	0	0
People's Justice Party								
Malaysia Volunteers Corps Department (RELA)								
Sabah People's United Front								
Spirit of 46 Malay Party	Malay Nationalists	1988	1996	1988	1996	0	0	0
United Bumiputera Heritage Party								
United Malays National Organisation	Malay Nationalists	1946	NA	1946	NA	0	0	0

4.3 Stage 3: Coding time-variant MNM demands, external claims, and justifications

In a final stage, you code the typical demands, external claims, and justification(s) of each MNM between 1946 (or independence) and 2023 (sheet "stage 3"). As already stated, some MNMs are internally diverse. Here we are interested in capturing the position of overall movement, typically corresponding to its leading organization in a given time period (from year x to year y), as described by secondary literature. We identify organizational stances that strongly differ from this 'typical position' above, in stage 2. Note that, for each variable, we aim to capture the situation in January 1 of each year. For instance, if an MNM newly demands the extermination of other groups in September 2003, we code such demands only from 2004.

In this stage, you will code variables relating to MNMs' demands, external claims and justification(s) (see sections 2.2, 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3). For this purpose, you will rely on the **suggested secondary literature** (see section 6) and literature you already identified in stage 1. Additionally, you may need to find additional sources at this point by searching google scholar for secondary literature for the MNMs you identified. **For each MNM, you should identify and consult at least one additional secondary source** that describes its evolution over time, beyond the suggested sources.

Based on this reading, you identify **time periods** during which each MNM's demands, claims and justifications remained constant; if any one of these variables changes (e.g., if a movement starts making new demands in a given year), you will code a new time period starting in the following year (January 1 rule). Note that some characteristics may remain constant throughout much of an MNM's existence (e.g. ideological justifications), though others may vary more (e.g., specific demands)

For Malaysia's Malay Nationalist movement, we find evidence for consistent demands of political dominance (see table 3, which illustrates some variables collected in this stage). As the movement's leading organizations tolerated limited minority representation, we code demands for dominance and not for monopoly rule. We also find evidence for persistent demands in favor of cultural dominance, evidenced by campaigns in favor of the Malay language and Islamic religion (coded as 1 throughout the time period, not shown in table).

Table 3: Malaysia - Malay Nationalist Movement: Coding of demands (selection)

from	to	dominance	demographic	exclusion	*who*	expulsion	*who*	economy	*who*
1957	1963	1	1	0		0		0	
1964	1964	1	1	0		0		0	
1965	1965	1	0	1	Chinese	1	Chinese	0	
1966	1969	1	0	0		0		0	
1970	2023	1	0	0		0		1	Chinese;Indians

We find evidence for additional demands and territorial claims, which shifted over time: First, until 1964, the movement demanded that Sabah, Sarawak, and Singapore be merged with Malaya. During this merger process, the movement was preoccupied with maintaining Malay demographic dominance. Hence, we code external territorial claims (Sabah, Sarawak,

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Singapore) and demands in favor of demographic engineering until 1964 (when these entities joined Malaysia and demands for demographic engineering became less salient). Second, following Singapore's accession, the MNM highlighted the threat of the Chinese-dominated PAP taking over control of Malaysia. It started demanding Singapore's expulsion from Malaysia, along with the exclusion of Chinese. We capture these demands in the respective variables. Following the secession of Singapore in 1965, these demands were deemphasized. We hence drop their coding from 1966 (January 1 rule). From 1970, Malay Nationalists started to press for economic redistribution in favor of ethnic Malays and away from Chinese and Indians. Hence, we code economic demands from 1970, directed against Chinese and Indians.

As regards justifications (see table 4), our sources highlight persistent references to Malay indigeneity. We also find references to threats from Chinese and Indians, mainly as regards the possibility that they might become the demographic majority in Malaysia and take over the political system, acute between 1957 and 1965. Starting in 1970, in line with the movement's switch to economic demands, its representatives increasingly emphasized supposed injustices (mainly in economic terms) facing Malays, as compared to Chinese and Indians.

Table 4: Malaysia - Malay Nationalist Movement: Coding of justifications (selection)

from	to	indigeneity	threat	*who*	injustice	*who*
1957	1963	1	1	Chinese;Indians	0	
1964	1964	1	1	Chinese;Indians	0	
1965	1965	1	1	Chinese;Indians	0	
1966	1969	1	0		0	
1970	2023	1	0		1	Chinese;Indians

4.4 Checklist

☐ Get familiar with your assigned country.

    ☐ Read suggested sources to get a historical overview on your country, taking notes on important aspects (see section 6).

    ☐ Identify additional secondary literature (e.g., book chapters, academic papers) by looking for terms such as "majority nationalism country X" or "exclusionary nationalism country X" on google scholar (or another search engine you prefer).

    ☐ Familiarize yourself with the major ethno-cultural groups in the country (file "inoutgroups_allmajor.csv").

☐ Stage 1: Identify MNMs in your assigned country, 1816-2023.

    ☐ Based on suggested sources and additional secondary literature you found, preliminarily identify any MNM that ever existed in country between 1816 and 2023 (Sheet: "Stage 1").

☐ Stage 2: Code political organizations in each MNM, 1946/independence-2023.

    ☐ Based on sources read so far and brief web research for each listed organization, code whether the suggested organizations are politically relevant and part of an MNM (Sheet: "Stage 2"). You may have to add additional politically relevant organizations to this list if your sources indicate so.

    ☐ If your research indicates there were additional MNMs you had not coded before, add them now (Sheet: "Stage 1").

    ☐ In the process, clean up the list of organizations: Merge duplicate organization entries, disaggregate alliances, and copy an organization's entry if it has been a member of more than one MNM (principle: one organization-MNM link per row).

    ☐ Code characteristics of each MNM organization. Do *not* code characteristics of organizations that are not politically relevant or not part of an MNM. Briefly justify coding on Overleaf.

☐ Stage 3: Code each MNM's time-variant demands, external claims, and justifications (1946/independence-2023). Typically, this corresponds to the stance of its leading MNM organization(s) in a given period.

    ☐ For each identified MNM, make sure you have read at least one secondary source that describes the evolution of the MNM over time and at least one recent source (news or otherwise) that captures the most recent situation.

    ☐ Code each identified MNM's demands, external claims, and justification(s) between 1946 (or independence) and 2023 (Sheet: "Stage 3"). Justify coding on Overleaf.

☐ Finalize: Verify coding in all sheets and polish coding notes on Overleaf.

☐ Notify the coding manager (Aya or Andreas).

5 Variables

variable	values	description
Stage 1: Identification of MNMs at the country-level		
mnm	1/0	Has the identity ever been subject to an MNM between 1816 and 2023?
mnm_name	character	The name of the MNM (e.g., "Hindu Nationalists", "Religious Zionists"...)
mnm_id	integer	The unique numeric ID of the MNM in the country (e.g., 1, 2, ...)
mnm_starty	{1815,2023}	The first year the MNM has been active according to our criteria.
mnm_endy	{1815,2023}	The last year the MNM has been active according to our criteria. If no end date: NA.
prev_indmov	1/0	Has the MNM emerged from a previous independence/self-determination movement?
complexity	1/0	Are there open questions for this MNM that need to be discussed?
complexity_comments	character	Which open question(s) (keywords)?
Stage 2: MNM organizations		
mnm_organization	1/0	Is this organization part of an MNM? !!!Only code the following variables for MNM organizations, while ignoring organizations not belonging to any MNM!!!
founded	{1815,2023}	Year the organization has been founded.
dissolved	{1815,2023}	Year the organization has been dissolved. If no dissolution: NA.
mnm_from	{1815,2023}	Year the organization joined the MNM.
mnm_to	{1815,2023}	Year the organization has left the MNM. If not applicable: NA.
leading	1/0	Has this organization ever been a leading organization of the MNM?
leading_when	character	If applicable: in which time period(s) has this organization been a leading organization? (e.g.: "1955-1975;1981-1989")
electoral	1/0	Has this organization participated or intended to participate in national elections?
nonelectoral	1/0	Has this organization used non-electoral, non-violent means, such as lobbying, petitions, demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, etc.?
armed	1/0	Has this organization been armed or had an armed wing?
prohibited	1/0	Has this organization ever been prohibited by the government?
prohibited_when	character	If applicable: in which time period(s) has this organization been prohibited? (e.g.: "1955-1975;1981-1989")
diff_d	1/0	Has this organization differed in its demands from the leading MNM organization(s)?
diff_external	1/0	Has this organization differed in its external (territorial or transnational identity) claims from the leading MNM organization(s)?
diff_j	1/0	Has this organization differed in its justifications from the leading MNM organization(s)?
org_webpage	character	URL(s) to the webpage(s) of the organization.
sources	character	URL of additional websource(s) used to code this organization.
Stage 3: MNM demands, claims, justifications (leading organization(s))		
from	{1946,2023}	The start year of the time period.
to	{1946,2023}	The end year of the time period.
active	1/0	Is the MNM active (constituted by politically relevant organizations)) during this time period?

Demands for political dominance. In the time period, does the MNM demand ... (see section 2.2)		
d_dominance	1/0	... dominance in government?
d_monopoly	1/0	... monopoly rule in government?

Other political/demographic demands. In the time period, does the MNM demand ... (see section 3.1)		
d_exclusion	1/0	... excluding a specific other group from government?
d_exclusion_who	character	Which group(s)?
d_demographic	1/0	... measures to increase its group's demographic size or reduce other groups' demographic size?
d_demographic_who	1/0	(if applicable) Reduce with other groups' demographic size?
d_restriction	1/0	... restricting the citizenship or voting rights of a specific other group?
d_restriction_who	character	Of which group(s)?
d_assimilation	1/0	... assimilating a specific other group?
d_assimilation_who	character	Which group(s)?
d_expulsion	1/0	... physically expelling a specific other group from the state territory?
d_expulsion_who	character	Which group(s)?
d_extermination	1/0	... killing members of a specific other group?
d_extermination_who	character	Which group(s)?

Other key demands. In the time period, does the MNM demand ... (see section 3.1)		
d_autonomy	1/0	... to reduce, abolish, or prevent a territorial autonomy arrangement?
d_autonomy_who	character	If applicable: reduce, abolish, or prevent which group's autonomy?
d_culture	1/0	... improving its group's cultural status or diminishing the cultural status of another group?
d_culture_who	character	If applicable: diminish which group's cultural status?
d_economy	1/0	... improving its group's economic status or diminishing the economic status of another group?
d_economy_who	character	If applicable: diminish which group's economic status?
d_other	1/0	... additional key demands that do not fit into the above categories?
d_other_what	character	Which other demands? (note in keywords)

External claims		
territory	1/0	In the time period, does the MNM make external territorial claims? (see section 3.2)
territory_what	character	For which states and territories? (e.g.: "Kosovo (Serbian enclaves);Bosnia(Republika Sprpska;Brcko)").
transnational	1/0	In the time period, does the MNM make claims to represent a wider transnational group? (see section 3.2)
transnational_who	character	Which transnational group? (e.g.: "Arabs").

Justification. In the time period, does the MNM justify its demands by referring to ... (see section 3.3)		
j_indigeneity	1/0	... indigeneity?
j_mission	1/0	... special mission?
j_superiority	1/0	... superiority?
j_glory	1/0	... past glory?
j_struggle	1/0	... past struggle?
j_struggle_who	character	If so: against whom?
j_threat	1/0	... threats?
j_threat_who	character	If so: by whom?
j_injustice	1/0	... injustice?
j_injustice_who	character	If so: by/as compared to who?
j_other	1/0	... other key justifications?
j_other_what	character	If so: what justifications (keywords)?

6 Sources

Coders are provided with the following suggested sources (available as .pdf in folder "sources"):

- EPR Encyclopedia. *The EPR encyclopedia discusses ethnic power relations for each country between 1946 (or independence) and 2021. Coders should read their country's entry to familiarize themselves with its history and most important ethno-cultural groups.*

- Herb, Guntram H. & Kaplan, David H. (2008): Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc. *This book offers a good starting point for most countries. It describes nationalist movements between 1770 and 1880 (volume 1), 1880-1945 (volume 2), 1945-1989 (volume 3), and 1989-2008 (volume 4). Coders should read their countries' descriptions, with particular focus on volumes 3 and 4. Coders should cite all relevant entries as separate sources, naming their author(s) and pages.*

- Motyl, Alexander J. (2001): Encyclopedia of Nationalism. Leaders, Movements, and Concepts. Volume 2. Cambridge, MA: Academic Press. *This book contains good chronologies of nationalist movements until the late 1990s. Coders should screen this book for nationalist movements in their countries (e.g. in the case of India, by searching for terms such as "Indian nationalism", "Hindu", and in other countries analogously).*

- Ness, Immanuel (2009): The International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest. 1500 to the Present. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. *This volume contains numerous interesting entries. Coders should briefly screen these volumes by scrolling alphabetically, looking for terms related to MNMs in their countries (e.g., in the case of India, by looking for terms such as "Indian nationalism" or "Hindu nationalism"). They should focus on the most relevant entries and ignore only peripherally related ones (e.g., in the case of India, there are entries on various armed independence movements that are not directly relevant for our time period). Coders should cite all relevant entries as separate sources, naming their author(s) and pages.*

In addition, coders can use any reliable source they can find on the web or in a library. In general, they should aim to find **at least one additional secondary source** (articles, book, book chapters) that discuss the evolution of each identified MNM. Moreover, they should aim to find **1 recent source** of any type that provides up-to-date information on each MNM's current status (news or otherwise). To find such sources, coders should look for nationalist movement descriptions on google scholar by googling for terms such as "Country xy exclusionary nationalism / majority nationalism / nationalism". Moreover, they should google the respective nationalist movements directly (e.g. "Hindu nationalism India" or "White nationalism United States").