

European Election Studies 1979-2019: Manifesto Project

1979-2019 Euromanifesto Study Documentation

**Content Analysis of Party Manifestos for the EP Elections from 28 Countries
and the European Groups**

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Table of Content

Acknowledgement	1
Introduction	2
1 General Information.....	4
1.1 Selection of Parties.....	4
1.2 Selection of Manifestos.....	5
2 Coded Manifestos	7
3 EM Coding Procedure.....	24
3.1 The Coding Procedure	24
3.1.1 Quantification: Coding Unit.....	25
3.1.2 Classification: Euromanifestos Coding Scheme V (EMCS V).....	27
3.1.3 Content Evaluation.....	46
3.2 Coding Difficulties and Decision Rules.....	46
3.2.1 No Category Seems to Apply	46
3.2.2 More than One Category Seems to Apply	47
3.2.3 Statement Seems Unclear.....	48
4 Description of the Data.....	50
Appendix A: Inter-coder and Intra-coder Reliability	67

Acknowledgement

This document describes the latest wave of data integration of the different waves of the *Euromanifesto Project* (EM Project). The EM Project is one of five components of the *European Election Studies* (EES). The EES are not only about electoral participation and voting behaviour in European Parliament elections, but also include empirical analyses of the evolution of an EU political community and a European public sphere. Focus is upon perceptions of and preferences about the EU political regime plus evaluations of the EU political performance among citizens, political elites, and political organizations. Besides the EM Project, the EES feature such components as the *Voter Study*, the *Elite Study*, the *Media Study*, and the collection of contextual data. With the notable exception of the 2009 *PIREDEU* study coordinated by the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, the University of Mannheim has been home to the EES series from 1979 onwards.¹

With only a few exceptions, all data and documentations are available for download at the *GESIS Data Archive*, which is a member of the *Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences*. The *GESIS Data Archive* aims at providing excellent data service for national and international comparative surveys from the fields of social and political science research. These surveys are to comply with clearly defined methodological and technical requirements. The *GESIS Data Archive* archives and processes them according to internationally recognized standards and makes them accessible to the scientifically interested public in a user-friendly manner.²

This project has received funding from the German Research Foundation (for the coding of the manifestos issued between 1979-2004),³ the European Union's research and innovation funding programme Horizon 2020 (for the coding of the manifestos issued in 2009 and 2014),⁴ and the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (for the coding of the manifestos issued in 2019).⁵ Its successive host institutions (MZES in Mannheim; LMU in Munich and Saarland University in Saarbrücken) provided invaluable support in addition.

¹ For more information on the European Election Studies (EES) see the [dedicated GESIS webpage](#).

² The [Saarland University webpage](#) dedicated to the Euromanifesto project provides direct links to data and documentations.

³ For additional information on the DFG funding for earlier waves of the Euromanifesto project, see <https://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/5334844>.

⁴ More specifically, the coding of the 2009 and 2014 EP elections' manifestos was part of two Horizon 2020 projects, PIREDEU and EUENGAGE. For more information on the former see <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/211810>. For information on the latter see <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/649281>.

⁵ For more information on the ProConEU project, see <https://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/proconeu/>. For more information on the funding line "Zusammenhalt in Europa" see <https://www.geistes-und-sozialwissenschaften-bmbf.de/de/Zusammenhalt-in-Europa-1705.html>

Introduction

This document describes the latest wave of integration of the *Euromanifesto Project* (EM Project). This project aims at collecting all Euromanifestos (party programs) issued by political parties and the European groups ahead of elections to the European Parliament (EP) in all EU member countries. This document contains information on the selection of parties and party programs, and enumerates the actual coded manifestos. Since UK left the EU in 2016, 27 countries are members of the EU. The EM Project has coded 1198 manifestos from 404 political parties since the first EP elections in 1979. Table 1 provides some information about how many party entries occurred per each EP election. It clearly shows that the eastern enlargement of the EU in 2004 resulted in the highest number of new party entries into the EP. In the following, we describe the latest integration in detail, which took place after the 2019 EP elections. That is, we explain the two-step coding procedure (unitizing and coding) and refer to specific coding problems and difficulties. We also provide an extensive documentation of the fifth edition of the *Euromanifestos Coding Scheme* (EMCS), which was used by the coders and represents the latest version of the coding scheme. The primary integration of the data, collected over the course of the last 41 years, occurred in 2014 and 2015 after some major changes in the coding strategy took place in line with the data collection to the 2009 EP elections. The core team of the EM Project then harmonised the two datasets from 1979 through 2004 and from 2009. For detailed information on a comparison of the former paper-and-pencil approach with the modified approach which makes use of an online coding routine, please consult the *1979-2009 Euromanifesto Project Documentation* on the EES website hosted by the GESIS Archive.⁶

The EM Project 2019 is the fifth project phase of the overall EM Project 1979-2019, which derives from on the *Comparative Manifesto Project* (CMP). Coding rules, examples, and general information on the project heavily rely on the first editions of the EM Project, the EMCS, and the corresponding documentations. The EMCS originates from the second edition of the *Manifesto Coding Instructions*, compiled by Andrea Volkens at the *Berlin Social Science Centre* (*Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung*, WZB) in Berlin. As it is the intention of the EM Project to strive for full comparability with both the CMP and the previous (1979-2009) EM content codes, most coding rules have been adapted from the original handbook.

⁶ ⁴ For more information on the primary integration process see <https://www.gesis.org/en/services/finding-and-accessing-data/international-survey-programs/european-election-studies>

Table 1 Party Entries per Election Year.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Party Entries</i>	<i>Party Entries (%)</i>	<i>Cumulative Party Entries</i>	<i>Cumulative Party Entries (%)</i>
<i>1979</i>	41	12.17	41	10.15
<i>1984</i>	14	4.15	55	13.61
<i>1987</i>	7	2.08	62	15.35
<i>1989</i>	18	5.34	80	19.80
<i>1994</i>	25	7.42	105	25.99
<i>1995</i>	7	2.08	112	27.72
<i>1996</i>	11	3.26	123	30.45
<i>1999</i>	22	6.53	145	35.89
<i>2004</i>	98	29.08	243	60.15
<i>2009</i>	42	12.46	285	70.54
<i>2014</i>	52	15.43	337	83.42
<i>2019</i>	67	16.58	404	100.00

1. General Information

The analysis of party manifestos, that is, election programs of political parties, aims at measuring issue emphases and policy positions of political parties across countries using a common framework. Election programs reflect indicators of issue emphases and policy positions of political parties at a certain point in time. They are subject to quantitative content analysis when estimating these characteristics. The original project relies on a classification scheme designed to code the whole content of national election programs from a variety of countries after the Second World War.

David Robertson developed a first version of the original coding scheme. He aimed at analysing modes of party competition in Britain. In 1979, the *Manifesto Research Group* (MRG) was constituted as *Standing Group of the European Consortium for Political Research* (ECPR) by scholars interested in comparative content analysis. This progress resulted in an extension and revision of the classification scheme in order to make it applicable to additional countries. Since 1989, the WZB has been providing resources for updates and expansions of the MRG dataset within the new framework of the *Comparative Manifestos Project* (CMP) and later the MARPOR framework.

In 2000, Hermann Schmitt began to make use of this MRG/CMP approach with respect to manifestos of political parties that participate in EP elections. The *Euromanifesto Project* (EM Project) at the *Mannheim Centre for European Social Research* (MZES) has since strived to collect and code election programs of all parties ever represented in the European Parliament. The standard MRG/CMP coding frame was modified by the coordinators of the EM Project for two reasons: on the one hand, the *Euromanifestos*⁷ *Coding Scheme* (EMCS) aims at maintenance of comparability with the MRG/CMP approach. On the other hand, it is open to the opportunity to grasp EU-specific content absent in national manifestos.

1.1 Selection of Parties

The collection of manifestos is to cover all relevant parties. In general, its representation in the national parliament hints at the relevance of a political party. Depending on the specific electoral system, however, this simple criterion is likely to mislead in some cases. Giovanni Sartori consequently defines relevance as coalition (governmental) or blackmail potential of a party in a given party system.⁸ Coalition potential is (1) the actual or former membership in a

⁷ Wüst and Volkens (2003) describe the modifications of the MRG/CMP coding frame in detail. See Wüst, Andreas M. and Andrea Volkens. 2003. "Euromanifesto Coding Instructions" In *MZES Working Paper No. 64*.

⁸ Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems. A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University

government or (2) the possibility (feasibility) of becoming a government party. Blackmail potential refers to a party's impact on "the tactics of party competition particularly when it alters the direction of the competition—by determining a switch from centripetal to centrifugal competition either leftward, rightward, or in both directions—of the governing-oriented parties." The MRG/CMP project makes use of these criteria.

At EU-level, elections result neither in formal coalitions nor governments. Thus, the EM Project applies somewhat broader criteria to define the relevance of a political party. Relevant parties in the EU are those that have been represented in the European Parliament at least once and did not stop being represented for at least two consecutive legislative periods. Put differently, *each political party is coded from the first time being represented in the European Parliament onwards. Political parties not being represented in the European Parliament for two consecutive legislative periods, however, discontinue to be coded.*

1.2 Selection of Manifestos

Programmatic statements are central features of political parties. Party programs put political ideas and goals of parties on record. Although only few voters actually read party documents, mass media commonly spread their contents. *Party manifestos* build the core among different party documents issued in many countries for this sort of research. The advantages⁹ of using party manifestos in order to identify political goals of parties are manifold:

- ✓ Party manifestos cover a wide range of themes, problems, and political positions and, therefore, contain a "set of key central statements."¹⁰
- ✓ Party manifestos are authoritative statements of party policies because party conventions usually ratify them.
- ✓ Party manifestos comprise statements that represent the whole party, not just individual party members or one of its factions.
- ✓ Political parties usually release party manifestos before elections. This enables studies of changes in issue emphases and policy positions in a diachronic perspective.

All documents collected by the EM Project are party manifestos released before an election to the European Parliament. The political parties themselves are not necessarily the only source of information when it comes to accessing party manifestos. Research and

Press (cf. especially pp. 121-125).

⁹ For a more detailed discussion on the advantages as well as the disadvantages and challenges of manifesto data, see: Braun, Daniela. 2023. Text analysis of party manifestos. In: Carter, Neil, Daniel Keith, Gyda M. Sindre, Sofia Vasilopoulou (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Political Parties*. London: Routledge.

¹⁰ Budge, Ian, David Robertson, and Derek Hearl (eds.). 1987. *Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial Analysis of Post-War Election Programs in 19 Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

educational institutes oftentimes provide these pieces of information. Newspapers, magazines, or books occasionally serve as transmitters as well. In some countries, parties do not distribute manifestos. Hence, party manifestos only represent an ideal type of documents to search for. Alternative documents are election pledges of parties released in newspapers or reports by official spokespersons of a party on policy positions and intentions. Yet these kinds of documents are to represent information sources of last resort only.

The next chapter reports all party manifestos and alternative documents collected between 1979 through 2014. The EM Project saved them as PDF-files and ASCII-files and made them accessible at the GESIS Archive.¹¹

¹¹ For the 2019 documentation see [Braun & Reinl \(2022\)](#). For the 1979-2014 documentation see [MZES \(2021\)](#).

2. Coded Manifestos

<i>EMCS</i>	<i>Initials</i>	<i>Party Name</i>	<i>Collected</i> ¹²
Europe			
10100	<i>GREEN-EFA</i>	Group of the Greens - European Free Alliance	1989-2019
10102	<i>EGP</i>	European Green Party	2019
10200	<i>GUE-NGL</i>	Confederal Group of the European United Left – Nordic Green Left	2009
10202	<i>European Left</i>	Party of European Left	2019
10300	<i>PES</i>	Party of European Socialists	1979-2019
10400	<i>ALDE</i>	Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	1979-2019
10501	<i>ECPM</i>	European Christian Political Movement	1979-2019
10600	<i>EPP</i> ¹³	European People's Party	2019
10610	<i>ACRE</i>	European Conservatives and Reformist Party	2014-2019
10700	<i>UEN</i>	Union for Europe of the Nations Group	2009
10710	<i>EFDD</i>	Europe of Freedom and Democracy	2014
10950	<i>NI</i>	Non-attached Members	2009
10951	<i>DiEM25</i>	Democracy in Europe Movement 2025	2019
10952	<i>Volt</i>	Volt	2019
10953	<i>PPEU</i>	European Pirate Party	2019
Sweden			
11110	<i>MP</i>	Miljöpartiet de Gröna <i>Greens</i>	1995-2019
11220	<i>V</i>	Vänsterpartiet <i>Left Party</i>	1995-2019
11320	<i>S</i>	Socialdemokraterna <i>Social Democrats</i>	1995-2019
11420	<i>L</i> ¹⁴	Liberalerna <i>Liberal People's Party</i>	1995-2019
11520	<i>KD</i>	Kristdemokraterna <i>Christian Democrats</i>	1995-2019
11620	<i>M</i>	Moderaterna <i>Moderate Coalition Party</i>	1995-2019
11710	<i>SD</i>	Sverigedemokraterna <i>Sweden Democrats</i>	2014-2019
11810	<i>C</i>	Centerpartiet <i>Centre Party</i>	1995-2019
11951	<i>F!</i>	Feministiskt Initiativ <i>Feminist Initiative</i>	2014-2019
11952	<i>JL</i>	Junilistan <i>June List</i>	2004-2014
11953	<i>PP</i>	Piratpartiet <i>Pirate Party</i>	2009-2014
Denmark			
13201	<i>EL</i>	Enhedslisten, de Rød-Grønne	2019

¹² First year and last year in which manifestos of the respective party were collected by the EM Project.

¹³ 1953-1979: CD (Christian Democrats); 1979-1999: EPP (European People's Party); 1999-2009: EPP-ED (European People's Party - European Democrats).

¹⁴ Before 2015: FP (Folkpartiet Liberalerna)

13230	<i>SF</i>	<i>The Unity List – The Red-Greens'</i> Socialistisk Folkeparti	1979-2019
13320	<i>S</i>	<i>Socialist People's Party</i> Socialdemokratiet	1979-2019
13330	<i>CD</i>	<i>Social Democrats</i> Centrumdemokraterne	1984-1999
13410	<i>RV¹⁵</i>	<i>Centre Democrats</i> Radikale Venstre	1979-2019
13420	<i>V</i>	<i>Danish Social Liberal Party</i> Venstre - Danmarks Liberale Parti	1979-2019
13620	<i>KF</i>	<i>Liberal Party</i> Det Konservative Folkeparti	1979-2019
13710	<i>DF</i>	<i>Conservative People's Party</i> Dansk Folkeparti	1999-2019
13901	<i>Siumut</i>	<i>Danish People's Party</i> Siumut	1979
13951	<i>FrP</i>	<i>Forward</i> Fremskridtspartiet	1979-1999
13954	<i>FB</i>	<i>Progress Party</i> Folkebevægelsen Mod EU	1979-2019
13955	<i>JuBe</i>	<i>People's Movement against the EU</i> JuniBevægelsen	1994-2009
		<i>June Movement</i>	
Finland			
14110	<i>VIHR</i>	Vihreä Liitto	1996-2019
14223	<i>VAS</i>	<i>Green League</i> Vasemmistoliitto	1996-2019
14320	<i>SDP</i>	<i>Left Alliance</i> Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue/Finlands Socialdemokratiska Parti	1996-2019
14520	<i>KD</i>	<i>Social Democratic Party of Finland</i> Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit	1999-2014
14620	<i>KOK</i>	<i>Finnish Christian Democrats</i> Kansallinen Kokoomus	1996-2019
14701	<i>PS¹⁶</i>	<i>National Coalition Party</i> Perussuomalaiset	2009-2019
14810	<i>KESK</i>	<i>Finns Party</i> Suomen Keskusta	1996-2019
14901	<i>RKP-SFP</i>	<i>Centre Party</i> Ruotsalainen Kansanpuolue - Svenska Folkpartiet I Finland	1996-2019
		<i>Swedish People's Party of Finland</i>	
Belgium			
21111	<i>ECOLO</i>	Écologistes Confédérés pour l'Organisation de Luttes Originales	1984-2019
21112	<i>Groen¹⁷</i>	<i>Confederate Ecologists for the organisation of original struggles</i> Groen	1984-2019
21201	<i>PTB-PVDA</i>	<i>Green</i> Parti du Travail de Belgique – Partij van de Arbeid	2019

¹⁵ Previously known as Det Radikale Venstre.

¹⁶ Before 2011: True Finns.

¹⁷ Before 2003: Agalev; 2003-2012: Groen!.

21321	<i>sp.a</i> ¹⁸	<i>Workers' Party of Belgium</i> Socialistische Partij - Anders	1979-2019
21322	<i>PS</i>	<i>Socialist Party Different</i> Parti Socialiste <i>Socialist Party</i>	1979-2019
21323	<i>SPIRIT</i>	SPIRIT	2004
21421	<i>Open VLD</i> ¹⁹	Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten <i>Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats</i>	1979-2019
21425	<i>PRL-FDF-MCC</i>	Parti Réformateur Libéral - Fédéralistes Démocrates Francophones - Mouvement des Citoyens pour le Changement <i>Liberal Reformist Party – Francophone Democratic Federalists – Movement of Citizens for Change</i>	1999
21426	<i>FDF-PRL</i>	Fédéralistes Démocrates Francophones - Parti Réformateur Libéral <i>Francophone Democratic Federalists - Liberal Reformist Party</i>	1994
21427	<i>MR</i>	Mouvement Réformateur <i>Reformist Movement</i>	2004-2019
21428	<i>LDD</i>	Lijst Dedecker <i>List Dedecker</i>	2009
21520	<i>CSP</i>	Christlich Soziale Partei <i>Christian Social Party</i>	2014-2019
21521	<i>CD&V</i> ²⁰	Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams <i>Christian Democrats & Flemish</i>	1979-2019
21522	<i>cdH</i> ²¹	Centre Démocrate Humaniste <i>Humanist Democratic Centre</i>	1989-2019
21710	<i>FN</i>	Front National <i>National Front</i>	1999-2009
21912	<i>FDF</i>	Front Démocratique de Francophones	1984-1989
21913	<i>N-VA</i> ²²	<i>Democratic Front of the Francophone</i> Nieuw-Vlaamse-Alliantie <i>New Flemish Alliance</i>	1979-2019
21914	<i>VB</i> ²³	Vlaams Belang <i>Flemish Interest</i>	1989-2019
21915	<i>SPIRIT</i>	SPIRIT	1999
21925	<i>FDF-RW</i>	Fédéralistes Démocrates Francophones - Rassemblement Wallonie <i>Francophone Democratic Federalists - Rallye Wallonia</i>	1979
The Netherlands			
22110	<i>GL</i>	GroenLinks	1994-2019

¹⁸ In 2004: SP.A (Socialistische Partij Anders)/SPIRIT.

¹⁹ Before 1992: PVV (Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang); in 2004: VLD/VIVANT.

²⁰ Before 2001: CVP (Christelijke Volkspartij); in 2004: CD&V/N-VA (Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie).

²¹ Before 2002: PSC (Parti Social Chrétien).

²² Before 2001: VU-VVD (Volksunie - Vlaamse Vrije Demokraten); in 2004: CD&V (Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams)/N-VA (Nieuw-Vlaamse-Alliantie).

²³ Before 2009: Vlaams Blok.

22120	<i>PvdD</i>	<i>Green Left</i> Partij voor de Dieren <i>Party for the Animals</i>	2014-2019
22125	<i>Regenboog</i>	Regenboog <i>Rainbow</i>	1989
22210	<i>SP</i>	Socialistische Partij <i>Socialist Party</i>	1989-2019
22225	<i>CU-SGP²⁴</i>	ChristenUnie - Staatskundig Gereformeerde Partij <i>Christian Union - Reformed Political Party</i>	1984-2019
22310	<i>PPR</i>	Politieke Partij Radikalen <i>Radical Political Party</i>	1979
22311	<i>CPN</i>	Communistische Partij van Nederland <i>Communist Party of the Netherlands</i>	1979
22320	<i>PvdA</i>	Partij van de Arbeid <i>Labour Party</i>	1979-2019
22330	<i>D66</i>	Democraten 66 <i>Democrats 66</i>	1979-2019
22420	<i>VVD</i>	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie <i>People's Party for Freedom and Democracy</i>	1994-2019
22521	<i>CDA</i>	Christen Democratisch Appèl <i>Christian Democratic Appeal</i>	1994-2019
22526	<i>RPF</i>	Reformatrische Politieke Federatie <i>Reformatory Political Federation</i>	1984-1989
22527	<i>SGP</i>	Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij <i>Reformed Political Party</i>	1979-1989
22528	<i>GPV</i>	Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond <i>Reformed Political Union</i>	1979-1989
22700	<i>LPF</i>	Lijst Pim Fortuyn <i>List Pim Fortuyn</i>	2004
22701	<i>FvD</i>	Forum voor Democratie <i>Forum for Democracy</i>	2019
22721	<i>PVV</i>	Partij voor de Vrijheid <i>Party for Freedom</i>	2009-2019
22951	<i>ET</i>	Europa Transparent <i>Europe Transparent</i>	2004
22952	<i>50+</i>	50Plus <i>50Plus</i>	2019
Luxembourg			
23113	<i>DG/LV</i>	Déi Gréng/Les Verts <i>The Greens</i>	1984-2019
23320	<i>LSAP/POSL</i>	Letzebuergesch Sozialistesche Arbechterpartei/Parti ouvrier socialiste luxembourgeois) <i>Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party</i>	1979-2019
23420	<i>DP/PD</i>	Demokratesch Partei/Parti démocratique <i>Democratic Party</i>	1979-2019
23520	<i>CSV/PCS</i>	Chreschtlich Sozial Vollekspartei/Parti populaire chrétien-social <i>Christian Social People's Party</i>	1979-2019
23951	<i>ADR</i>	Aktiounskomitee fir Demokratie a Rentegerechtegkeet	2004

²⁴ Before 2004: RPF (Reformatrisch Politieke Federatie) and GPV (Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond); in 2004: CU (ChristenUnie) since 2009: CU (ChristenUnie)/SGP (Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij).

*Action Committee for Democracy and Fair
Pensions*

France			
31110	<i>Les Verts</i>	Les Verts <i>The Greens</i>	1999-2004
31112	<i>EE</i>	Europe Écologie <i>Europe Ecology</i>	2009
31114	<i>TSR</i>	Le terre sinon rien <i>The World without Nothing</i>	2004
31115	<i>EELV</i>	Europe Écologie - Les Verts <i>Europe Ecology – The Greens</i>	2014-2019
31201	<i>FI</i>	France insoumise <i>France unbowed</i>	2019
31220	<i>PCF</i>	Parti Communiste Français <i>Communist Party of France</i>	1979-2004
31221	<i>LO</i>	Lutte Ouvrière <i>Workers' Struggle</i>	1999-2014
31222	<i>LCR</i>	Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire <i>Communist Revolutionary Ligue</i>	1999
31223	<i>FG</i>	Front de Gauche	2004-2014
31301	<i>PS+RDG+PP+N²⁵</i>	Coalition Envie d'Europe écologique et sociale <i>Coalition Envie d'Europe écologique et sociale</i> <i>Left Front</i>	2019
31320	<i>PS</i>	Parti Socialiste <i>Socialist Party</i>	1979-2009
31322	<i>PRG</i>	Parti Radical de Gauche <i>Radical Party of the Left</i>	1994-2004
31323	<i>MDC</i>	Mouvement Républicain et Citoyen <i>Republican and Civic Movement</i>	1994
31324	<i>PS-PRG</i>	Parti Socialiste - Parti Radical de Gauche <i>Socialist Party – Radical Party of the Left</i>	2014
31401	<i>LREM+MoDem+A+MRSL²⁶</i>	Coalition Renaissance <i>Coalition Renaissance</i>	2019
31601	<i>LR²⁷</i>	Les Républicains <i>The Republicans</i>	2019
31624	<i>Nouvelle UDF</i>	Nouvelle Union pour la Démocratie Française <i>New Union for the French Democracy</i>	1999-2004
31625	<i>RPR</i>	Rassemblement pour la République <i>Rallye for the Republic</i>	1979-1984
31629	<i>MPF</i>	Mouvement pour la France <i>Movement for France</i>	2004
31635	<i>RPR-UDF</i>	Rassemblement pour la République - Union pour la Démocratie Française <i>Rallye for the Republic - Union for the French</i> <i>Democracy</i>	1989-1994
31645	<i>UMP</i>	Union pour un Mouvement Populaire <i>Union for a Popular Movement</i>	1999-2014
31701	<i>RN²⁸</i>	Rassemblement national <i>The National Rally</i>	2019
31720	<i>FN</i>	Front National	1994-2014

²⁵ Parties in the coalition: Parti Socialiste, Parti Radical de Gauche, Place Publique, Nouvelle Donne

²⁶ Parties in the coalition: La République En marche!, MoDem, Agir, Mouvement radical, social et libéral

²⁷ Before 2015: UMP (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire)

²⁸ Before 2018: FN (Front National)

31721	UFCN	<i>National Front</i> Union Française pour la Cohésion Nationale <i>French Union for National Cohesion</i>	2004
31950	MoDem-UDI	Mouvement Démocrate - Union des Démocrates et Indépendants <i>Democratic Movement - Union of Democrats and Independents</i>	2009-2014
31951	Libertas	Libertas France <i>Liberty France</i>	2009
31952	RPF	Rassemblement pour la France et l'Indépendance de l'Europe <i>Rally for France and Independence from Europe</i>	1994-2004
31953	CPNT	Chasse, Pêche, Nature, Traditions <i>Hunting, Fishing, Nature, Traditions</i>	1989-2004
31956	OAC	L'Ouest au Cœur <i>The West at Heart</i>	2004
31957	N.S.	Nouvelle Solidarité <i>New Solidarity</i>	2004
31958	AOM	Alliance des Outre-Mers <i>Alliance of the Overseas Departments and Territories</i>	2009
31959	HZ	Herritarren Zerrenda <i>List of Fellow Citizens</i>	2004
31961	EDE	Europe Démocratie Espéranto <i>Europe Democracy Esperanto</i>	2004
31962	PSP	Parti des Socioprofessionnels <i>Party of the Socioprofessional</i>	2004
31963	DpE	Diversité pour l'Europe <i>Diversity for Europe</i>	2004
Italy			
32010	M5S	Movimento 5 Stelle <i>Five Star Movement</i>	2014-2019
32110	FdV	Federazione de Verdi <i>Federation of the Greens</i>	1994-2004
32201	Coal La Sinistra	Coal La Sinistra <i>Coal The Left</i>	2019
32210	L'Altra Europa	L'Altra Europa con Tsipras <i>The Other Europe with Tsipras</i>	2014
32212	PRC	Partito della Rifondazione Comunista <i>Communist Refoundation Party</i>	1994-2004
32213	PdCI	Partito dei Comunisti Italiani <i>Party of the Italian Communists</i>	1999-2004
32220	PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano <i>Italian Communist Party</i>	1979
32221	PDS	Partito Democratico della Sinistra <i>Democratic Party of the Left</i>	1994-1999
32230	LCA	Lista Comunista e Anticapitalista <i>Communist and Anticapitalist List</i>	2009
32310	Bonino-Pannella	Partito Radicale - Lista Bonino-Pannella <i>Radical Party - List Bonino-Pannella</i>	1999-2009
32320	PSI	Socialisti Democratici Italiani <i>Italian Democratic Socialists</i>	1989
32331	PD	Partito Democratico <i>Democratic Party</i>	2009-2019

32333	<i>SEL</i>	Sinistra, Ecologia e Libertà <i>Left, Ecology and Freedom</i>	2009
32401	<i>Coal +E</i>	Coalition +Europa <i>Coalition +Europa</i>	2019
32411	<i>Sgarbi</i>	Lista Pri-Liberal/Sgarbi <i>Liberal List/Sgarbi</i>	2004
32422	<i>IdV</i>	Italia dei Valori - Lista Di Pietro <i>Italy of Values - List Di Pietro</i>	2004-2009
32423	<i>Dem</i>	I Democratici <i>The Democrats</i>	1999
32426	<i>UD.EUR</i>	Unione Democratici Europei <i>European Democratic Union</i>	2004
32435	<i>FdL-PRI</i>	Federazione dei Liberali - Partito Repubblicano Italiano <i>Federation of the Liberals - Italian Republican Party</i>	1999
32445	<i>Ulivo</i>	Ulivo <i>Olive Tree</i>	1999
32446	<i>DS-SDI-La Margherita-MRE</i>	Democratici di Sinistra - Socialisti Democratici Italiani - La Margherita - Movimento Repubblicani Europei <i>Democrats of the Left - Italian Democratic Socialists - The Daisy - European Republican Movement</i>	2004
32513	<i>Patto Segni</i>	Patto Segni <i>Segni Pact</i>	1994-2004
32520	<i>PPI</i>	Partito Popolare Italiano <i>Italian People's Party</i>	1984-1999
32521	<i>CCD</i>	Centro Cristiano Democratico <i>Christian Democratic Centre</i>	1999
32523	<i>UDC</i>	Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e dei Democratici di Centro <i>Union of the Christian and Centre Democrats</i>	2004-2009
32610	<i>FI</i>	Forza Italia <i>Go Italy</i>	1994-2004
32630	<i>FI²⁹</i>	Forza Italia <i>Go Italy</i>	2009-2019
32701	<i>FDI</i>	Fratelli d'Italia <i>Brothers of Italy</i>	2019
32710	<i>AN</i>	Alleanza Nazionale <i>National Alliance</i>	1994-2004
32720	<i>LN³⁰</i>	Lega Salvini Premier <i>League for Salvini Premier</i>	1994-2019
32912	<i>SVP</i>	Südtiroler Volkspartei <i>South Tyrolean People's Party</i>	1999-2019
32953	<i>Autonomia</i>	L'Autonomia <i>Autonomy</i>	2009
Spain			
33101	<i>Los Verdes</i>	Partido Verde Europeo	2004-2009
33110	<i>IP</i>	Coalición Izquierda Plural <i>Coalition of the Plural Left</i>	2014

²⁹ Before 2013: PdL (Popolo della Libertà); successor party of FI (Forza Italia).

³⁰ Before 2018: LN (Lega Nord).

33120	<i>PE</i>	Coalición Primavera Europea	2014
33210	<i>Podemos</i>	Podemos	2014
		<i>Podemos</i>	
33210	<i>Coal (UP + IU + Catalunya en Comú + Barcelona en Comú)</i> ³¹	Coalition Unidas Podemos Cambiar Europa	2019
		<i>Podemos</i>	
33320	<i>PSOE-PSC</i> ³²	Partido Socialista Obrero Español - Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya	1987-2019
		<i>Spanish Socialist Workers' Party + Party of the Socialists of Catalonia</i>	
33410	<i>C's</i>	Ciudadanos - Partido de la Ciudadanía	2014-2019
		<i>Citizens - Party of the Citizens</i>	
33440	<i>UPyD</i>	Unión Progreso y Democracia	2009-2014
		<i>Union, Progress, and Democracy</i>	
33512	<i>CDS</i>	Centro Democrático y Social - Coalición Foro	1987-2009
33610	<i>PP</i> ³³	Partido Popular	1987-2019
		People's Party	
33701	<i>VOX</i>	VOX	2019
		<i>VOX</i>	
33901	<i>Coal (ERC+Bildu+BNG)</i> ³⁴	Coalition Ahora Repúblicas	2019
		Republics Now	
33902	<i>PNV-EAJ</i>	Partido Nacionalista Vasco - Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea	1989-2009
33902	<i>Coal (EAJ-PNV + CC + CxG + Atarrabia Taldea + El Pi + Demòcrates Valencians)</i> ³⁵	Coalition por una Europa Solidaria	2019
		<i>Coalition for a Solidary Europe</i>	
33904	<i>Coal (PdCat+JxCat)</i> ³⁶	Coal LLIURES PER EUROPA (JUNTS)	2019
		<i>Together for Catalonia</i>	
33905	<i>ERC</i>	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	1989-2009
33907	<i>Batasuna</i>	Batasuna	1994-2004
33911	<i>BNG</i>	Bloque Nacionalista Galego	1994-2009
33913	<i>ARM</i>	Agrupación Ruiz-Mateos	1994
33914	<i>CC</i>	Coalición Canaria	2004
33930	<i>EdIP</i>	Europa de los Pueblos	1989-2004
33935	<i>plEdIP</i>	Por la Europa de los Pueblos	1994

³¹ Parties in the coalition: Unidas Podemos, Izquierda Unida, Catalunya en Comú, Barcelona en Comú

³² Before 2014: PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español).

³³ Merger of AP (Alianza Popular), PDP (Partido Demócrata Popular), and PL (Partido Liberal) in 1989.

³⁴ Parties in the coalition: Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, Euskal Herria Bildu, Bloque Nacionalista Galego

³⁵ Parties in the coalition: Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea, *Coalición Canaria*, *Compromiso por Galicia*, Atarrabia Taldea, Proposta per les Illes, Demòcrates Valencians

³⁶ Parties in the coalition: Partit Demòcrata Europeu Català, Junts per Catalunya

33941	<i>Galeusca</i>	Galeusca	2004
33950	<i>CE</i>	Coalición Europea	2004
33960	<i>LPD</i>	Coalición Los Pueblos Deciden <i>Coalition The Peoples Decide</i>	2014
Greece			
34210	<i>K.K.E.</i>	Kommounistiko Komma Ellados <i>Communist Party of Greece</i>	1984-2019
34211	<i>SY.RIZ.A.</i>	Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras <i>Coalition of the Radical Left</i>	1999-2019
34301	<i>Coal. KINAL</i>	Kínima Allagís <i>Movement for Change</i>	2019
34312	<i>AN.E.L.</i>	Anexartitoi Ellines <i>Independent Greeks</i>	2014-2019
34313	<i>PA.SO.K.</i>	Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima	1984-2009
34314	<i>DI.K.KI.</i>	Dimokratiki Kinoniku Kinima	1999
34315	<i>ELIA-DI.PA.</i>	Elia Dimokratiki Parataxi <i>Olive Tree</i>	2014
34410	<i>To Potami</i>	To Potami <i>The River</i>	2014-2019
34511	<i>N.D.</i>	Nea Dimokratia <i>New Democracy</i>	1999-2019
34512	<i>POL.AN.</i>	Politiki Anixi	1999
34701	<i>O.P.-K.P.E.</i>	Oikologoi Prasinoi - Komma Peiraton Elladas <i>Ecologist Greens - Pirate Party of Greece</i>	2009-2014
34702	<i>X.A.</i>	Chrysi Avgi <i>Golden Dawn</i>	2019
34702	<i>C.A.</i>	Laikos Syndesmos - Chrysi Avgi <i>People's Association - Golden Dawn</i>	2014
34703	<i>LA.O.S.</i>	Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos <i>Popular Orthodox Rally</i>	2004-2014
34704	<i>EL</i>	Elliniki Lysi <i>Greek Solution</i>	2019
34801	<i>D.P.E.</i>	Dimokratiki Perifereiaki Enosi	2004
Portugal			
35101	<i>PAN</i>	Pessoas-Animais-Natureza <i>People-Animals-Nature</i>	2019
35110	<i>PEV</i>	Partido Ecologista - Os Verdes	1994-1999
35120	<i>MPT</i>	Partido da Terra <i>Earth Party</i>	2014
35220	<i>PCP</i>	Partido Comunista Português	1987-1999
35223	<i>B.E.</i>	Bloco do Esquerda <i>Bloc of the Left</i>	2004-2019
35225	<i>CDU³⁷</i>	Coligação Democratica Unitaria <i>Unified Democratic Coalition</i>	2004-2019
35311	<i>PS</i>	Partido Socialista Portuguêsa <i>Portuguese Socialist Party</i>	1989-2019
35313	<i>PSD</i>	Partido Social Democrata	1987-2009 &2019

³⁷ Electoral coalition of PCP (Partido Comunista Português), PEV (Partido Ecologista - Os Verdes), and ID (Intervenção Democrática) basically since 1987

35314	<i>PP</i> ³⁸	CDS-Partido Popular <i>Popular Party</i>	1987-2009 & 2019
35319	<i>PSD-PP</i>	Partido Social Democrata - Partido Popular <i>Social Democratic Party - People's Party</i>	2004-2014
35601	<i>A</i>	Alianca <i>Alliance</i>	2019
Cyprus			
36110	<i>KOP</i>	Kinima Oikologoi Perivallontistoi	2004
36220	<i>AKEL</i>	Anorthotikó Kómma Ergazómenou Laoú <i>Progressive Party of Working People</i>	2004-2019
36322	<i>EDEK</i>	Kinima Sosialdimokraton <i>Socialist Party of Cyprus</i>	2004-2019
36420	<i>DIKO</i>	Dimokratikó Kómma <i>Democratic Party</i>	2004-2019
36510	<i>DISY</i>	Dimokratikos Sinagermos <i>Democratic Rally</i>	2004-2019
Malta			
37320	<i>PL</i>	Partit Laburista <i>Labour Party</i>	2004-2019
37520	<i>PN</i>	Partit Nazzjonalista <i>Nationalist Party</i>	2004-2019
Germany			
41112	<i>ÖDP</i>	Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei <i>Ecologist Democratic Party</i>	2014-2019
41113	<i>GRÜNE</i>	Bündnis 90 - Die Grünen <i>Alliance 90 - The Greens</i>	1979-2019
41221	<i>DIE LINKE</i> ³⁹	Die Linke <i>The Left</i>	1994-2019
41320	<i>SPD</i>	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands <i>Social Democratic Party of Germany</i>	1979-2019
41420	<i>FDP</i>	Freie Demokratische Partei <i>Free Democratic Party</i>	1979-2019
41501	<i>CDU-CSU</i>	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands / Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern e.V <i>Christian Democratic Union of Germany / Christian Social Union in Bavaria</i>	2019
41521	<i>CDU</i>	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands <i>Christian Democratic Union of Germany</i>	1979-2014
41522	<i>CSU</i>	Christlich Soziale Union <i>Christian Social Union of Germany</i>	1979-2014
41701	<i>REP</i>	Die Republikaner	1989-2009
41710	<i>NPD</i>	Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands <i>National Democratic Party of Germany</i>	2014-2019
41910	<i>FREIE WÄHLER</i>	Freie Wähler <i>Free Voters</i>	2014-2019
41950	<i>AfD</i>	Alternative für Deutschland <i>Alternative for Germany</i>	2014-2019
41951	<i>Piraten</i>	Piratenpartei Deutschland	2014-2019

³⁸ Actual name is CDS-Partido Popular but the same party as Partido Popular

³⁹ Before 2007: PDS (Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus); merger with WAsG (Wahlalternative Arbeit und soziale Gerechtigkeit) in 2007

41952	<i>Familie</i>	<i>Pirate Party of Germany</i> <i>Familienpartei Deutschlands</i>	2014-2019
41953	<i>Die Partei</i>	<i>Family Party of Germany</i> Die Partei	2014-2019
41954	<i>Tierschutz</i>	<i>The Party</i> Partei Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz	2014-2019
41955	<i>Volt</i>	<i>Animal Protection Party</i> Volt	2019
Austria			
42110	<i>GRÜNE</i>	Die Grünen <i>The Greens</i>	1996-2019
42220	<i>LINKE</i>	Linke	2004
42320	<i>SPÖ</i>	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs <i>Social Democratic Party of Austria</i>	1996-2019
42420	<i>FPÖ</i>	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs <i>Freedom Party of Austria</i>	1996-2019
42421	<i>LIF</i>	Liberales Forum	1996-2009
42422	<i>NEOS⁴⁰</i>	NEOS Das Neue Österreich und Liberales Forum <i>NEOS The New Austria and Liberal Forum</i>	2014-2019
42520	<i>ÖVP</i>	Österreichische Volkspartei <i>Austrian People's Party</i>	1996-2019
42951	<i>HPM</i>	Liste Hans-Peter Martin	2004-2009
United Kingdom			
51110	<i>Greens</i>	Green Party	1989-2019
51320	<i>Lab</i>	Labour Party	1979-2019
51340	<i>SDLP</i>	Social Democratic and Labour Party	1979-2014
51401	<i>APNI</i>	Alliance Party	
51415	<i>LP-SDP</i>	Liberal Party - Social Democratic Party	1984
51421	<i>Lib dems</i>	Liberal Democrats	1989-2019
51620	<i>Cons</i>	Conservative and Unionist Party	1979-2019
51701	<i>BNP</i>	British National Party	2009-2014
51702	<i>Brexit Party</i>	Brexit Party	2019
51901	<i>PL-PW</i>	Plaid Cymru <i>Party of Wales</i>	1984-2019
51902	<i>SNP</i>	Scottish National Party	1989-2019
51903	<i>DUP</i>	Democratic Unionist Party	1984-2019
51904	<i>UUP</i>	Ulster Unionist Party	1984-2019
51951	<i>UKIP</i>	United Kingdom Independence Party	1994-2019
51952	<i>Respect</i>	Respect - The Unity Coalition	2004
51953	<i>SF</i>	Sinn Féin <i>We Ourselves</i>	2004-2019
Ireland			
53001	<i>Ind.</i>	Independent Luke Ming Flanagan	2019
53110	<i>GP</i>	Green Party - Comhahant Glas	1999-2019
53220	<i>SP</i>	Socialist Party - Páirtí Sóisialach	1989-2014
53301	<i>SD</i>	Social Democrats	2019
53302	<i>I4C</i>	Independents 4 Change	2019
53320	<i>Labour</i>	Irish Labour Party - Páirtí an Lucht Oibre	1979-2019

⁴⁰ Merger of NEOS (Das Neue Österreich) and LIF (Liberales Forum) in 2014

53420	PD	Progressive Democrats - An Páirtí Daonlathach	1994
53520	FG	Gaelic Nation - Fine Gael	1979-2019
53620	FF	Soldiers of Destiny - Fianna Fáil	1979-2019
53951	SF	We Ourselves - Sinn Féin	2004-2019
Bulgaria			
80220	BSP	Balgarska Socialisticheska Partija <i>Bulgarian Socialist Party</i>	2009-2019
80410	SK	Sinjata Koalicija	2009
80420	DPS	Dvizhenie za Prava i Swobodi <i>Movement for Rights and Freedoms</i>	2009-2019
80601	RB	Reload Bulgaria <i>Reload Bulgaria; formerly Bulgaria without Censorship</i>	2019
80602	DB	Demokratichna Bulgaria <i>Democratic Bulgaria</i>	2019
80610	RB	Reformatorski Blok <i>Reformist Bloc</i>	2014
80620	GERB	Grazhdani za Evropejsko Razvitie na Bulgaria <i>Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria</i>	2009-2019
80630	VMRO/BMPO	Balgarija bes Zensura + Bulgarsko Natsionalno Dvizhenie + Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz + Dvizhenie Gergyovden <i>Bulgaria Without Censorship + Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation-Bulgarian National Movement + Agrarian People's Union + St George's Day movement</i>	2014-2019
80710	Ataka	Ataka <i>Attack</i>	2009-2019
80902	NDSV	Nazionalno Dwizhenie za Stabilnost i Prosperitet <i>National Movement Simeon II</i>	2009-2014
Croatia			
81001	ŽIVI ZID	ŽIVI ZID <i>ŽIVI ZID</i>	2019
81002	Mislav Kolakušić	Mislav Kolakušić <i>Independent Mislav Kolakušić</i>	2019
81110	ORaH	Održivi razvoj Hrvatske <i>Sustainable Development of Croatia</i>	2014
81301	SDP	Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske <i>Social Democratic Party of Croatia</i>	2019
81310	LC	Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatske + Hrvatska Narodna Stranka – Liberalni Demokrati + Istarski Demokratski Sabor <i>Left Coalition (Social Democratic Party of Croatia + Croatian People's Party - Liberal Democrats + Istrian Democratic Assembly + Croatian Party of Pensioners)</i>	2014
81401	HNS	Hrvatska narodna stranka <i>Croatian People's Party</i>	2019
81402	START	START <i>START</i>	2019

81403	<i>Coal AMS⁴¹</i>	Coal AMS	2019
81501	<i>HDZ</i>	<i>Coalition Amsterdamska koalicija</i> Hrvatska demokratska zajednica	2019
81510	<i>RC</i>	<i>Croatian Democratic Union</i> Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica + Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka + Hrvatska stranka prava Ante Starčević <i>Right Coalition Croatian Democratic Union +</i> <i>Croatian Peasant Party + Croatian Party of</i> <i>Rights Dr. Ante Starčević)</i>	2014
81601	<i>MOST</i>	Most nezavisnih lista <i>Bridge of Independent Lists</i>	2019
81701	<i>Suverenisti</i>	Coal Hrv. Suverenisti <i>Coal Hrv. Suverenisti</i>	2019
Czech Republic			
82220	<i>KSČM</i>	Komunistická Strana Čech a Moravy <i>Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia</i>	2004-2019
82320	<i>ČSSD</i>	Česká Strana Sociálně Demokratická <i>Czech Social Democratic Party</i>	2004-2019
82321	<i>SNK-ED</i>	Sdružení Nezávislých a Evropských Demokrátů	2004-2009
82403	<i>Piráti</i>	Česká pirátská strana <i>Czech Pirate Party</i>	2019
82413	<i>ODS</i>	Občanská Demokratická <i>Civic Democratic Party</i>	2004-2019
82414	<i>ANO 2011</i>	ANO 2011 <i>Yes 2011</i>	2014-2019
82415	<i>Svobodní</i>	Strana Svobodných Občanů <i>Party of Free Citizens</i>	2014-2019
82424	<i>US+LiRA+ ODA+CZ</i>	Unie Svobody–Demokratická Unie + Liberální Reformní Strana + Občanská Demokratická Aliance + Cesta Změny	2004
82523	<i>KDU-ČSL</i>	Křesťanská a Demokratická Unie – Československá Strana Lidová <i>Christian and Democratic Union - Czechoslovak</i> <i>People's Party</i>	2004-2019
82610	<i>TOP 09 + STAN</i>	STAROSTOVÉ (STAN) s regionálními partnery a TOP 09 <i>TOP 09 + Mayors and Independents</i>	2014-2019
82701	<i>SPD</i>	Svoboda a přímá demokracie <i>Freedom and Direct Democracy</i>	2019
82952	<i>NEZ</i>	Nezávislí - Politické Hnutí	2004-2009
Estonia			
83101	<i>ERE</i>	Elurikkuse Erakond <i>Elurikkuse Erakond</i>	2019
83102	<i>EER</i>	Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised <i>Estonian Greens</i>	2019
83401	<i>Esti 200</i>	Erakond Eesti 200 <i>Erakond Eesti 200</i>	2019
83410	<i>SDE</i>	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond	2004-2019

⁴¹ Parties in the coalition: Građansko-liberalni savez, Hrvatska seljačka stranka, Istarski demokratski sabor
Dieta democratica istriana, Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika, Demokrati, Primorsko-goranski savez, Hrvatski laburisti
– Stranka rada

83411	<i>KESK</i>	<i>Social Democratic Party</i> Eesti Keskerakond	2004-2019
83430	<i>ER</i>	<i>Estonian Centre Party</i> Eesti Reformierakond	2004-2019
83601	<i>Isamaa</i>	<i>Estonian Reform Party</i> Isamaa Erakond	2019
83611	<i>ResP</i>	<i>Isamaa Erakond</i> Ühendus Vabariigi Eest - Res Publica	2004
83612	<i>ERL</i>	Eestimaa Rahvaliid	2004
83630	<i>EKRE</i>	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond	2019
83710	<i>IL</i>	<i>Conservative People's Party of Estonia</i> Erakond Isamaaliit	2004
83720	<i>IRL</i>	Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit <i>Union of Pro Patria and Res Publica</i>	2009-2014
Hungary			
86110	<i>Együtt-PM</i>	Együtt - a Korszakváltók Pártja + Párbeszéd Magyarországért <i>Together - Party for a New Era + Dialogue for Hungary</i>	2014
86120	<i>LMP</i>	Lehet Más a Politika <i>Politics Can Be different</i>	2014-2019
86220	<i>MSZP</i>	Magyar Szocialista Párt <i>Hungarian Socialist Party</i>	2004-2019
86310	<i>DK</i>	Demokratikus Koalíció <i>Democratic Coalition</i>	2014-2019
86421	<i>FIDESZ</i>	Fiatalkor Demokraták Szövetsége	2004
86422	<i>SZDSZ</i>	Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége	2004-2009
86521	<i>MDF</i>	Magyar Demokrata Forum	2004-2009
86524	<i>Fidesz-KDNP⁴²</i>	Fidesz Magyar Polgári Szövetség - Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt <i>Fidesz Hungarian Civic Union + Christian Democratic People's Party</i>	2009-2019
86701	<i>Jobbik</i>	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom <i>Movement for a Better Hungary</i>	2009-2019
86951	<i>Momentum</i>	Momentum Mozgalom <i>Momentum Movement</i>	2019
Latvia			
87110	<i>Coal. ZZS</i>	Coalition Zaļo un Zemnieku Savienība <i>Union of Greens and Farmers</i>	2004-2019
87221	<i>Saskaņa</i>	Saskaņa Sociāldemokrātiskā partija <i>Harmony Social Democratic Party</i>	2009-2019
87401	<i>Coal. AP!⁴³</i>	Coalition AP! <i>Coalition AP!</i>	2019
87402	<i>JV⁴⁴</i>	Jaunā Vienotība <i>Jaunā Vienotība</i>	2019
87410	<i>LC</i>	Latvijas Ceļš	2004
87411	<i>V</i>	Partija Vienotība	2014

⁴² Before 2014: Fidesz (Fidesz Magyar Polgári Szövetség).

⁴³ Parties in the coalition: Kustība Par!, Latvijas attīstībai, Izaugsme

⁴⁴ Parties in the coalition: Partija Vienotība, [Kuldīga](#) Municipality, For [Valmiera](#) and Vidzeme For Tukums City and Municipality parties and the [Jēkabpils](#) Regional Party

		<i>Unity Party</i>	
87424	<i>LPP-LC</i>	Latvijas Pirmā Partija - Latvijas Ceļš	2009
87431	<i>JL</i>	Jaunais Laiks	2004-2009
87521	<i>LPP</i>	Latvijas Pirmā Partija	2004
87610	<i>TP</i>	Tautas Partija	2004-2009
87611	<i>PS</i>	Pilsoniska Savienība	2009
87710	<i>Coal. NA</i>	Coalition Nacionālā apvienība	2014-2019
		<i>Coalition Nacionālā apvienība</i>	
87723	<i>TB/LNNK</i>	Apvienība 'Tēvzemei un Brīvībai'	2004-2009
		<i>National Alliance All for Latvia! - Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK</i>	
87951	<i>LKS⁴⁵</i>	Latvijas Krievu Savienība	2004-2019
		<i>Union of Russians in Latvia</i>	
Lithuania			
88001	<i>VKM-AMT</i>	Visuomeninis rinkimų komitetas	2019
		„Aušros Maldeikienės traukinys“	
		<i>Public election committee “Ausra’s Maldeikiene’s Train”</i>	
88320	<i>LSDP</i>	Lietuvos Socialdemokratų Partija	2004-2019
		<i>Lithuanian Social Democratic Party</i>	
88322	<i>DP</i>	Darbo Partija	2004-2019
		<i>Labour Party</i>	
88410	<i>NS</i>	Naujoji Sąjunga	2004
88423	<i>LRLS</i>	Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų Sąjūdis	2009-2019
		<i>Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic</i>	
88433	<i>LiCS</i>	Liberalų ir Centro Sąjunga	2004-2014
		<i>Liberal and Centre Union</i>	
88521	<i>LKD</i>	Lietuvos Krikščionys Demokratai	2004
88522	<i>PTT⁴⁶</i>	Partija Tvarka ir Teisingumas	2004-2019
		<i>Order and Justice Party</i>	
88523	<i>KKSS</i>	Krikščionių Konservatorių Socialinė Sąjunga	2004
88524	<i>LVŽS⁴⁷</i>	Lietuvos Valstiečių ir Žaliųjų Sąjunga	2004-2019
		<i>Lithuanian Peasant and Greens Union</i>	
88620	<i>TS</i>	Tėvynės Sąjunga	2004
88621	<i>TS-LKD</i>	Tėvynės Sąjunga - Lietuvos Krikščionys Demokratai	2009-2019
		<i>Homeland Union - Lithuanian Christian Democrats</i>	
88910	<i>LLRA-KŠS</i>	Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija – krikščioniškų šeimų sąjunga	2014-2019
		<i>Valdemar Tomasevski’s Block – Coalition of Christian Families Union and Russian Alliance</i>	
88951	<i>LLRA</i>	Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcijos	2009
88952	<i>LLRA-LRS</i>	Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcijos ir Lietuvos Rusų Sąjungos Laolicijos Rinkimų Programa	2004
Poland			
92210	<i>SLD-UP</i>	Koalicja Sojuszu Lewicy Demokratycznej i Unii Pracy	2004-2014
		<i>Democratic Left Alliance - Labour Union</i>	

⁴⁵ Before 2014: PCTVL (Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā).

⁴⁶ Before 2006: LDP (Liberalų Demokratų Partija).

⁴⁷ Before 2005: VNDS (Valstiečių ir Naujosios Demokratijos Partijų Sąjunga); 2005-2012: LVLS (Lietuvos Valstiečių Liaudininkų Sąjunga).

92301	<i>Coal Lewica Razem</i>	Coalition Lewica Razem <i>Coalition Lewica Razem</i>	2019
92302	<i>Wiosna</i>	Wiosna Roberta Biedronia <i>Wiosna Roberta Biedronia</i>	2019
92323	<i>SDPL</i>	Socjaldemokracja Polska	2004
92434	<i>UW</i>	Unia Wolności	2004
92435	<i>PO</i>	Platforma Obywatelska <i>Civic Platform</i>	2004-2014
92436	<i>PiS</i>	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość <i>Law and Justice</i>	2004-2019
92437	<i>PdP-CL</i>	Porozumienie dla Przyszłości - Centro Lewica	2009
92622	<i>SO</i>	Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej	2004-2009
92701	<i>Konfederacja</i>	Konfederacja KORWiN Braun Liroy Narodowcy <i>Konfederacja KORWiN Braun Liroy Narodowcy</i>	2019
92710	<i>KNP</i>	Kongres Nowej Prawicy <i>Congress of the New Right</i>	2014
92713	<i>LPR</i>	Liga Polskich Rodzin	2004
92811	<i>PSL</i>	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe <i>Polish People's Party</i>	2004-2014
92951	<i>Coal KE</i>	Coalition Koalicja Europejska <i>Coalition Koalicja Europejska</i>	2019
Romania			
93301	<i>Pro Romania</i>	Partidul Pro Romania <i>PRO Romania</i>	2019
93323	<i>PDL</i>	Partidul Democrat Liberal <i>Democratic Liberal Party</i>	2009-2014
93402	<i>USR-PLUS</i>	Coalition 2020 USR + PLUS Alliance <i>Alliance 2020 USR + PLUS</i>	2019
93430	<i>PNL</i>	Partidul Național Liberal <i>National Liberal Party</i>	2009-2019
93601	<i>PSD+UNPR+PC</i>	Partidul Social Democrat + Uniunea Națională pentru Progresul României + Partidul Conservator <i>Social Democratic Party + Democratic and Social Centre + People's Party</i>	2009-2014
93602	<i>PMP</i>	Partidul Mișcarea Populară <i>People's Movement Party</i>	2014-2019
93691	<i>PSD</i>	Partidul Social Democrat <i>Social Democratic Party</i>	2019
93712	<i>PRM</i>	Partidul România Mare	2009
93951	<i>UDMR</i>	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România <i>Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania</i>	2009-2019
Slovakia			
96220	<i>SDL</i>	Strana Demokratickej L'avice	2004
96222	<i>KSS</i>	Komunistická Strana Slovenska	2004
96402	<i>Coal (PS+SPOLU)</i>	Coalition (Progresívne Slovensko + SPOLU-občianska demokracia) <i>Progressive Slovakia & Together – civic democracy</i>	2019
96410	<i>MOST-HID</i>	Most-Híd <i>Bridge</i>	2014-2019

96423	<i>Smer-SD</i> ⁴⁸	Smer - Sociálna Demokracia <i>Direction - Social Democracy</i>	2004-2019
96424	<i>ANO</i>	Alianca Nového Občana	2004
96521	<i>KDH</i>	Kresťansko-demokratické Hnutie <i>Christian Democratic Movement</i>	2004-2019
96523	<i>SDKÚ-DS</i>	Slovenská Demokratická a Kresťanská Únia - Demokratická Strana <i>Slovak Democratic and Christian Union - Democratic Party</i>	2004-2014
96524	<i>SF</i>	Free Forum	2004
96601	<i>Sme Rodina</i>	SME RODINA – Boris Kollár <i>We are Family–Boris Kollár</i>	2019
96610	<i>SaS</i>	Sloboda a Solidarita <i>Freedom and Solidarity</i>	2014-2019
96620	<i>NOVA+KDS+OKS</i>	NOVA + Kresťanskodemokratická Strana + Občianska Konzervatívna Strana <i>NOVA + Christian Democratic Party + Citizens' Conservative Party</i>	2014
96630	<i>Coal. (OĽaNO+NOVA)</i>	Coalition (Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti + Nová väčšina – Dohoda) <i>Ordinary People and Independent Personalities</i>	2019
96630	<i>OLaNO</i>	Obyčajní ľudia a Nezávislé Osobnosti <i>Ordinary People and Independent Personalities</i>	2014
96710	<i>SNS</i>	Slovenská Národná Strana <i>Slovak National Party</i>	2009-2014
96711	<i>LS-HZDS</i>	L'udova strana Hnutie za Demokratické Slovensko	2004-2009
96955	<i>SMK-MKP</i>	Strana Maďarskej Komunity - Magyar Közösség Pártja <i>Party of the Hungarian Community</i>	2004-2019
Slovenia			
97320	<i>Coal (SDS+SLS)</i>	Coalition (Slovenska demokratska stranka + Slovenska ljudska stranka) <i>Slovenian People's Party</i>	2004-2019
97321	<i>SD</i> ⁴⁹	Socialni Demokrati <i>Social Democrats</i>	2004-2019
97401	<i>LMŠ</i>	Lista Marjana Šarca <i>Lista Marjana Šarca</i>	2019
97411	<i>Verjamen</i>	Verjamen <i>Believe!</i>	2014
97421	<i>LDS</i>	Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije	2004-2009
97431	<i>Zares</i>	Zares <i>For Real</i>	2009-2014
97510	<i>N.Si</i>	Nova Slovenija <i>New Slovenia</i>	2004-2019
97620	<i>SLS</i>	Slovenska Ljudska Stranka	2004-2009
97951	<i>DeSUS</i>	Demokratična Stranka Upokojencev Slovenije <i>Democratic Party of Retired Persons of Slovenia</i>	2014

⁴⁸ Before 2014: Smer (Smer - Tretia Cesta).

⁴⁹ 1993-2005: ZLSD (Združena Lista Socialnih Demokratov).

3. EM Coding Procedure

Quantitative content analysis using a coding scheme contains two major steps. First, there is need to divide a text into smaller units. Such units may be words, sentences, or quasi- sentences. The *EM Project Coding Procedure* refers to the latter option. What is meant by quasi-sentences is explained in further detail below. Second, every single unit is assigned a category from a coding scheme. The *EM Coding Procedure* basically relies on the one of the MRG project. This request for analogy entails that the former project is prone to the same reliability issues. Reliability is a major concern in content analysis. But the reliability issues of the MRG project aggravate when they incorporate into the EM Project because the *Euromanifestos Coding Scheme* (EMCS) goes beyond the MRG classification in terms of complexity.

New methodological findings helped modify the conventional EMCS coding scheme in 2009, taking these problems into account. Exclusiveness, exhaustiveness, and sequencing the coding procedure has since been taken seriously. The interested reader is referred to the *1979-2009 Euromanifesto Project Documentation* for detailed information on a comparison of the former paper-and-pencil approach with the modified approach which makes use of an online coding routine.⁵⁰ The remainder of this chapter provides a short introduction into the *EM Coding Procedure* and highlights certain coding difficulties and decision rules.

3.1 The Coding Procedure

Content analysis is “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.”⁵¹ The method can be applied to a wide range of different materials and research questions. The specific kind of internal, quantitative analysis undertaken in manifesto research derives from the question about what ideas, policies, issues, and concerns parties stress in their platforms. These coding methods aim at comparability over a wide range of countries irrespective of cultural and socioeconomic differences. Therefore, the EM Project uses a classification scheme with invariant general categories to cover the total content of party manifestos, thereby identifying statements of preference (arguments). The EMCS V contains nine domains including different categories and occasional subcategories. Each category covers related issues in such a way that changes over time can be measured across parties and countries. Thus, the coding procedure comprises quantification (How many statements do parties make?) and classification (What kind of statements do parties make?) of party manifestos. The final step of the coding procedure is

⁵⁰ See <https://www.gesis.org/en/services/finding-and-accessing-data/international-survey-programs/european-election-studies>

⁵¹ Berelson, Bernard. 1971. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Hafner.

evaluation: each coder is asked to evaluate the content of a given manifesto after having unitized and classified it.

3.1.1 Quantification: Coding Unit

The EM Project uses quasi-sentences as coding units of a party manifesto. A quasi-sentence is defined as an argument. The latter constitutes what the EM Project is primarily interested in. An argument is a verbal expression of a political idea or issue. In its simplest form, a sentence is the basic unit of meaning. Punctuation thus offers a guideline for identifying arguments. A sentence always has a subject and a verb, and oftentimes objects, attributes and adjectives.

Example (1) ‘We make a stand for a democratic Europe.’
‘We support more rights for the European Parliament.’

These two sentences obviously contain two readily identifiable and distinguishable arguments. Language, however, often adopts higher levels of complexity. It is also subject to linguistic, rhetorical, and purposive phrasing how to express one and the same political ideas.

Example (2) ‘We make a stand for a democratic Europe with more rights for the European Parliament.’

Example (2) combines the two statements in example (1) in one sentence. Nonetheless, the EM Project still treats them as two distinct arguments. Whenever changes in terms of argumentation occur within a sentence, a coder is to dissect the latter into quasi-sentences. Iterative nouns and/or verbs often indicate that a given sentence contains more than one argument. Hence, they can also be used as markers of quasi-sentences in longer sentences which are likely to contain several distinct arguments. Accordingly, each quasi-sentence is to contain only one single political idea or issue. It is complete at the end of that distinct argument. Full stops always set an end of an argument, whereas other forms of punctuation often but not necessarily do so.

In many cases, one single sentence contains more than one arguments which are additionally related to one another.

Example (3) ‘Because we make a stand for more democracy in Europe,
we promote an expansion of the European Parliament’s rights.’

Example (3) combines two quasi-sentences because it mentions two political goals (i.e., democracy and rights for the EP), that is, arguments:

Example (4) ‘We make a stand for more democracy in Europe.’
‘We promote more rights for the European Parliament.’

Moreover, the EM Project treats lists of arguments, sometimes marked by bullet points, as if the individual items are disjoint.

Example (5) ‘In the European Union, we will

- fight for clean air;
- promote higher standards in water protection;
- put the environment on top of the EP’s agenda;
- secure social justice;
- guarantee the rights of employees;
- fight against corruption;
- retain our cultural diversity.

This text contains seven quasi-sentences. Three of the arguments (‘fight for clean air,’ ‘promote higher standards in water protection,’ and ‘put the environment on top of the EP’s agenda’) express the same general idea (i.e. environmental protection: general) but different issues within that policy field. Since the category of environmental protection (general) covers various dimensions of environmental protection, each of the three arguments in example (5) consequently identify a distinct quasi-sentence. Example (6) depicts the same list of arguments as example (5), which is why example (6) also contains the same number of quasi-sentences to be coded in the same way.

Example (6) In the European Union, we will fight for clean air, promote higher standards in water protection, and we will put the environment on top of the EP’s agenda. We will secure social justice, guarantee the rights of the employees, fight against corruption, and retain our cultural diversity.

In general, if a given sentence mentions different issues irrespective of their individual length, they constitute different quasi-sentences even if they refer to the same policy field. Nonetheless, another sentence may deal with one and the same argument in a very extensive way but still corresponds with one single quasi-sentence.

Party manifestos sometimes include statistics, tables of content, and section headings. The EM Project does not consider such kinds of information as text to be coded. They consequently do not count as quasi-sentences. Prefaces or forewords, respectively, by party leaders and other spokespersons are likewise not supposed to reflect authoritative statements of political parties. The EM Project correspondingly ignores these parts as well. All the other parts of a party manifesto constitute the basis of analysis. The total number of units of analysis equals the total number of quasi-sentences identified in the relevant text of a given manifesto.

3.1.2 Classification: Euromanifestos Coding Scheme V (EMCS V)

Every category of the EMCS V has a unique code. This code features six digits, a pair of two of which reflect the dimension, category, and subcategory of a given category. To be more precise, the first two digits characterize a domain (e.g. 02 represents the domain *Freedom and Democracy*). The second pair of digits identifies categories within that domain (e.g. 01 is *Freedom and Human Rights* within the second domain). The subsequent two digits either define subcategories (e.g. 02 is *Human Rights* within the category *Freedom and Human Rights* within the domain *Freedom and Democracy*) or contain zeros if a category does not subsume subcategories. For instance, the overall code for category *Human Rights* is 020102.

Having identified the category that fits a given quasi-sentence, a coder is to decide whether the quasi-sentence has a negative (0) or a positive (1) connotation. This decision essentially depends on the specific definition of a given category, and the context of a quasi-sentence. The coder is also to identify the political level each argument refers to. That is, there is need to decide whether the content of a given argument explicitly points to (1) the (national and subnational) governmental system of a manifesto country and its national context, respectively, (2) Europe or the European Union as political system, or (3) neither of them. This decision is sometimes a tedious task. Table 1 illustrates all three levels using examples.

Table 2 Examples of quasi-sentences for three governmental frames.

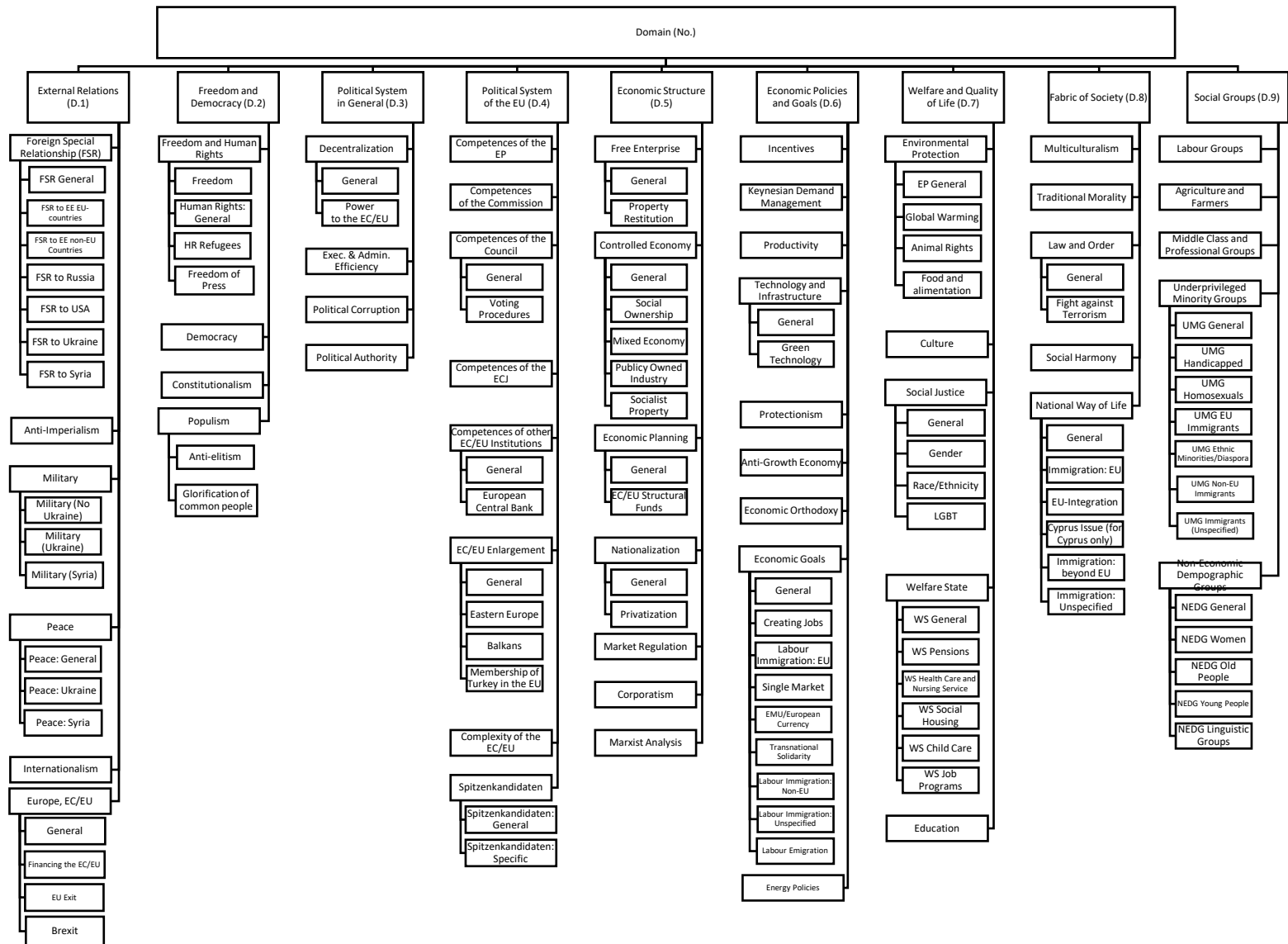
Level	Numeric code	Manifesto text
National	1	We recognize that in establishing equal status for women our country lags far behind.
European	2	We welcome the directives of the EEC on the principle of equal treatment in access to employment.
Unspecified	3	We totally support women's aspirations for equality.

The following example illustrates all steps of the coding process using example (5) (and example (6), respectively). This list of arguments (or sentence, respectively) contains quasi-sentences that refer to *Environmental Protection* in domain *Welfare and Quality of Life*, *Social Justice* in domain *Welfare and Quality of Life*, *Labour Groups* in domain *Social Groups*, *Political Corruption* in domain *Political System in General*, and *Multiculturalism* in domain *Fabric of Society*. The semantic connotation of each quasi-sentence is positive. As regards the political level, the constituent at the beginning of that list of arguments (and sentence, respectively) clearly indicates that all quasi-sentences refer to the European level (2).

<i>Manifesto text</i>	<i>Domain</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Subcategory</i>	<i>Semantic connotation</i>	<i>Political level</i>	<i>Numeric code</i>
<i>In the European Union, we will fight for clean air</i>	Welfare and Quality of Life	Environmental Protection	None	Positive	European	070100 1 2
<i>promote higher standards in water protection</i>	Welfare and Quality of Life	Environmental Protection	None	Positive	European	070100 1 2
<i>put the environment on top of the EP's agenda</i>	Welfare and Quality of Life	Environmental Protection	None	Positive	European	070100 1 2
<i>secure social justice</i>	Welfare and Quality of Life	Social Justice	None	Positive	European	070300 1 2
<i>guarantee the rights of employees</i>	Social Groups	Labour Groups	None	Positive	European	090100 1 2
<i>fight against corruption</i>	Political System in General	Political Corruption	None	Positive	European	030300 1 2
<i>retain our cultural diversity.</i>	Fabric of Society	Multi-culturalism	None	Positive	European	080100 1 2

The following pages contain information on the EM Coding Scheme V. It comprises nine domains, and several categories plus subcategories. The EMCS V is heavily based on the first edition of the EMCS. It nevertheless includes coding categories for relevant topics in each of the subsequent EP elections. The EMCS V incorporates nine new topics as regards the 2019 EP elections. The first new topic accounts for Brexit and whether it has positive or negative consequences. The second one concerns the freedom of the press and if it is mentioned either positively or in relation to some kind of censorship. A whole new category is on populism with specific subcategories for anti-elitist ideas and the glorification of common people. Also new is a subcategory about food and alimentation in the context of sustainability. Moreover, a new subcategory is introduced about green technology in the field of infrastructure and technology. The category social justice is enhanced by three new specific subcategories about gender, ethnicity and LGBT. All previous editions are available online for ease of comparison.⁵²

⁵² See <http://europeanelectionstudies.net/ees-study-components/euromanifesto-study>
https://search.gesis.org/research_data/ZA5102



DOMAIN 1 : External Relations

010100 Foreign Special Relationships (FSR)

010101 FSR: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship. For example, in the British case: former colonies; in the German case: East Germany; in the Swedish case: the rest of Scandinavia; the need for cooperation with and/or aid to such countries.

Negative: Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; opposite of **positive**.

Note: This is a country-specific category. Therefore, the countries with which the manifesto country has got a special relationship have to be defined by the coder and the supervisor. Do only use the subcategories if the manifesto country has got a FSR with them.

010102 FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU

Positive: Favourable mentions of Eastern European countries that are now members of the EU.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Eastern European countries that are now members of the EU.

010103 FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU (except Ukraine)

Positive: Favourable mentions of the Eastern European countries that are not members of the EU.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Eastern European countries that are not members of the EU.

010104 FSR to Russia

Positive: Favourable mentions of Russia.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Russia.

Note: This code also includes energy dependency to Russia.

010105 FSR to USA

Positive: Favourable mentions of the United States of America.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of the United States of America.

010106 FSR to Ukraine

Positive: Favourable mentions of Ukraine.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Ukraine.

010107 FSR to Syria

Positive: Favourable mentions of the Assad regime in Syria or the Syrian government.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of the Assad regime in Syria or the Syrian government.

010200 Anti-Imperialism

Positive: Negative references to exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states; negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire; favourable mentions of decolonization; favourable references to greater self-

government and independence for colonies; negative references to the imperial behaviour of the manifesto and/or other countries.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: This code also applies to references to the USSR (primarily retrospective) as imperial power and its military presence in the manifesto country (for level=1). It also applies to arguments on national independence (from the USSR).

010300 Military

010301 Military: General

Positive: Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; modernizing armed forces and improvement in military strength; rearmament and self-defence; need to keep military treaty obligations; need to secure adequate manpower in the military, need for military cooperation.

Negative: Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament; "evils of war"; promises to reduce conscription.

010302 Military: Ukraine

Positive: Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; improvement in military strength in the Ukraine conflict.

Negative: Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament in the Ukraine conflict.

010303 Military: Syria

Positive: Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; improvement in military strength in the Syrian conflict.

Negative: Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament in the Syrian conflict.

010400 Peace

010401 Peace: General

Positive: Peace as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises; desirability of joining in negotiations with hostile countries; call for ceasefire agreements.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

010402 Peace: Ukraine

Positive: Peace in Ukraine as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving the crisis in Ukraine; desirability of joining in negotiations with countries hostile to Ukraine; call for ceasefire agreements.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

010403 Peace: Syria

Positive: Peace in Syria as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving the crisis in Syria; desirability of joining in negotiations with inimical actors involved in the Syrian crisis; call for ceasefire agreements.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

010500 Internationalism

Positive: Need for international cooperation; cooperation with specific countries other than those coded in **Foreign Special Relationships (010100)**; need for aid to developing countries; need for world planning of resources; need for international courts; support for any international goal or world state; support for UN.

Negative: Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty as opposed to Internationalism; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

010600 Europe, European Community/Union

010601 Europe, European Community/Union: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of Europe or the EC/EU. The idea of a more integrated Europe/ EC/EU is supported; “deepening of Europe”.

Note: For specific favourable mentions of EU institutions refer to other codes, especially in Domain Political System of the EU instead.

Negative: Hostile mentions of Europe or the EC/EU. The idea of a more integrated Europe/EC/EU is rejected; no “deepening of Europe” necessary.

010602 Financing the EC/EU

Positive: National contributions to finance the EC/EU or its policies are supported or accepted.

Negative: National contributions to finance the EC/EU or its policies are criticized or rejected.

010603 EU Exit

Positive: Negative mentions of the possibility to leave the EU.

Negative: Positive of the mentions of the possibility to leave the EU.

010604 Brexit

Positive: Mentioning of positive consequences following from Brexit

Negative: Mentioning of negative consequences following from Brexit

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

020100 Freedom and Human Rights 020101

Freedom

Positive: Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom; freedom from bureaucratic control; freedom from coercion in political and economic sphere; individualism.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

020102 Human Rights: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights; freedom of speech.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Does not include rights of refugees for this see next category, 0201022 Human Rights- refugees.

020103 Human Rights: Refugees

Positive: Favourable mentions of support for refugees; calls for humanitarian aid.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

020104 Freedom of Press

Positive: Favourable mentions of freedom of press; no attempts to censor major media in any way; Attempts of censoring are to be punished.

Negative: Opposite to **positive**: Favourable mentions to directly or indirectly attempt

to censor the print or broadcast media.

020200 Democracy

Positive: Favourable mentions of democracy as a method or goal in organizations; involvement of all citizens in decision-making, as well as generalized support for democracy.

Negative: Lack of democracy; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

Note: For reference to specific EC/EU institutions see DOMAIN 4 (Political System of the European Union) instead.

020300 Constitutionalism

Positive: Support for specified aspects of constitution; use of constitutionalism as an argument for policy as well as general approval of the constitutional way of doing things in the manifesto country. On the European level, for example, need for a European constitution.

Negative: Opposition to the constitution in general or to specified aspects of it; otherwise opposite of **positive**. On the European level, for example, no need for a European constitution.

020400 Populism

020401 Anti-elitism

Positive: Positive evaluation of and/or support of anti-elitist ideas

Negative: Rejection of anti-elitist ideas.

020402 Glorification of Common People

Positive: Positive evaluation of and/or support of the glorification of the “common people”

Negative: Rejection of the glorification of the “common people”.

DOMAIN 3: Political System (In General)

030100 Decentralization

030101 Decentralization: General

Positive: Support for federalism or devolution; more regional autonomy on the national level (or national autonomy on the European level) for policy, economy, and administration; support for keeping up local and regional customs and symbols; favourable mentions of special consideration for local areas; deference to local expertise.

Negative: Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels; support for more centralization (Europeanization) in political and administrative procedures; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

030102 Transfer of Power to the EC/EU

Positive: Transfer of power and/or competences to the EC/EU is supported. The fact that the nation-state and its regions will lose power, competences, and sovereignty, is not bemoaned.

Negative: No need for transfer of power and/or competences to the EC/EU. The nation-state and its regions should retain their power, competences, and sovereignty. The loss of power, competences, and sovereignty of the nation-state and regions

within is bemoaned.

030200 Executive and Administrative Efficiency

Positive: Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration; cutting down civil service; improving governmental procedures; general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more effective.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

030300 Political Corruption

Positive: Need to eliminate corruption, and associated abuse, in political and public life.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

030400 Political Authority

Positive: Favourable mentions of strong government, including government stability; manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

DOMAIN 4: Political System of the European Union [by definition, level = 2 only]

040100 Competences of the European Parliament

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Parliament (EP) in general. Need to maintain or increase the legislative power and/or competences of the EP and/or of MEPs. Favourable mentions of the EP pertaining to the democratisation of the EC/EU.

Negative: Negative mentions of the European Parliament (EP) in general. Need to cutback or decrease the legislative power and/or competences of the EP and/or of MEPs.

040200 Competences of the European Commission

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Commission in general. Need to maintain or increase the executive power and/or competences of the European Commission and/or of the president or members of the European Commission.

Negative: Negative mentions of the European Commission in general. Need to cutback or decrease the executive power and/or competences of the European Commission and/or of the president or members of the European Commission.

040300 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers

040301 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: General

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Council/ Council of Ministers in general. Need to maintain or increase the legislative power and/or competences of the European Council/ Council of Ministers.

Negative: Negative mentions of the European Council/ Council of Ministers in general. Need to cutback or decrease the legislative power and/or competences of the European Council/ Council of Ministers.

040302 Voting procedures in the (European) Council

Positive: Need to maintain or increase the voting procedures requiring unanimity in the Council. Negative mentions of (qualified) majority voting in the Council.

Negative: Need to maintain or increase the (qualified) majority voting procedures in the Council. Negative mentions of the need for unanimity in the Council. Favourable mentions of majority voting in the council as a means of democratisation or of more

efficiency in decision-making within the EC/EU.

040400 Competences of the European Court of Justice

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Court of Justice in general. Need to maintain or increase the judicial power and/or competences of the European Court of Justice.

Negative: Negative mentions of the European Court of Justice in general. Need to cutback or decrease the judicial power and/or competences of the European Court of Justice.

040500 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions

040501 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General

Positive: Positive mentions of other EC/EU institutions (e.g. European Central Bank) in general. Need to maintain or increase the power and/or competences of other EC/EU institutions.

Negative: Negative mentions of other EC/EU institutions (e.g. European Central Bank) in general. Need to cutback or decrease the power and/or competences of other EC/EU institutions. Diminishing the powers of the EC/EU institutions, strengthen competences of national governments.

040502 Mentions of the European Central Bank

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Central Bank. Support for more powers of the ECB.

Negative: Negative mentions of the European Central Bank. Opposition towards more powers of the ECB. Diminishing the powers of the ECB.

Note: Check Economic Orthodox (060700).

040600 EC/EU Enlargement

040601 EC/EU Enlargement: General

Positive: Need to enlarge the EC/EU by promoting the joining of new members in general or by promoting the joining of a specific country.

Negative: Rejection of EC/EU enlargement by denying new members to join the EC/EU in general or by denying the joining of a specific country.

Note: This category only applies to EC/EU Enlargement. Cross-check Europe/European Community/Union (010600) for adequate coding.

040602 Membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU

Positive: Positive references to membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU.

Negative: Negative references to membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU.

040603 Membership in the EU of Balkan countries currently not in the EU

Positive: Positive references to membership in the EU of Balkan countries currently not in the EU.

Negative: Negative references to membership in the EU of Balkan countries currently not in the EU.

040604 Membership of Turkey in the EU

Positive: Positive references to Turkey's membership in the EU.

Negative: Negative references to Turkey's membership in the EU.

040700 Complexity of the EC/EU Political System

Positive: The complexity of the political system of the EC/EU is explicitly criticized.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Codes Executive and Administrative Efficiency (030200) and Competences of the European Parliament (040100) are preferred, so cross-check for adequate coding.

040800 Spitzenkandidaten

040801 Spitzenkandidaten: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of their general role in the EU.

Negative: Negative mentions of their general role in the EU.

040802 Spitzenkandidaten: Specific

Positive: Favourable mentions of a specific Spitzenkandidaten (i.e., Manfred Weber, Frans Timmermans, Margrethe Vestager, Jan Zahradil, Ska Keller, Bas Eickhout, Violeta Tomič, Nico Cué and Oriol Junqueras)

Negative: Negative mentions of a specific Spitzenkandidaten (i.e., Manfred Weber, Frans Timmermans, Margrethe Vestager, Jan Zahradil, Ska Keller, Bas Eickhout, Violeta Tomič, Nico Cué and Oriol Junqueras)

DOMAIN 5: Economic Structure

050100 Free Enterprise

050101 Free Enterprise: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of free enterprise capitalism; superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems; favourable mentions of private property rights, personal enterprise and initiative; need for unhampered individual enterprises.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050102 Property Restitution

Positive: Favourable references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners.

Negative: Negative references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners.

050200 Controlled Economy

050201 Controlled Economy: General

Positive: General need for direct government control of economy; control over prices, wages, rents, etc.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050202 Social Ownership

Positive: Favourable references to the creation or preservation of co-operative or non- state social ownership within a market economy.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050203 Mixed Economy

Positive: Favourable references to mixed ownership within a market economy.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050204 Publicly-Owned Industry

Positive: Positive references to the concept of publicly-owned industries.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050205 Socialist Property

Positive: Positive references to socialist property, including public and co-operative property; negative references to privatisation.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050300 Economic Planning

050301 Economic Planning: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning of a consultative or indicative nature, need to create such a plan by authorities.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050302 EC/EU Structural Fund

Positive: Need to maintain or to extend EC/EU funds for structurally underdeveloped areas.

Negative: Support for cutback or suspension of funds for structurally underdeveloped areas.

050400 Nationalization

050401 Nationalization: General

Positive: Government ownership, partial or complete including government ownership of land.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050402 Privatisation

Positive: Negative references to the privatisation system; need to change the privatisation system.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050500 Corporatism

Positive: Favourable mentions of the need for the collaboration of employers and trade union organizations in overall economic planning and direction through the medium of tripartite bodies of government, employers, and trade unions.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050600 Market Regulation

Positive: Need for regulations designed to make private enterprises work better; actions against monopolies and trusts, and in defence of consumer and small business; encouraging economic competition; social market economy.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050700 Marxist Analysis

Positive: Positive references (typically but not necessary by communist parties) to the specific use of marxist-leninist terminology and analysis of situations which are otherwise uncodable.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: This category was introduced to catch the platform content of parties in the East European countries.

DOMAIN 6: Economic Policies and Goals

060100 Incentives

Positive: Need for wage and tax policies to induce enterprise; encouragement to start enterprises; need for financial and other incentives.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

060200 Keynesian Demand Management

Positive: Demand-oriented economic policy; economic policy devoted to the reduction of depression and/or to increase private demand through increasing public demand and/or through increasing social expenditures.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

060300 Productivity

Positive: Need to encourage or facilitate greater production; need to take measures to aid this; appeal for greater production and importance of productivity to the economy; the paradigm of growth.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

060400 Technology and Infrastructure

060401 Technology and Infrastructure: General

Positive: Importance of modernization of industry and methods of transport and communication; importance of science and technological developments in industry; need for training and research.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: This does not imply education in general (see category Education: 070500).

060500 Protectionism

Positive: Favourable mentions of extension or maintenance of tariffs to protect internal markets; other domestic economic protectionism such as quota restrictions.

Negative: Support for the concept of free trade; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

060600 Anti-Growth Economy

Positive: Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics and steady state economy; ecologism; "Green politics".

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: This category was created to catch the platform content of "New Politics" parties. In some of the manifesto countries, some platforms had to be partially recoded.

060700 Economic Orthodoxy

Positive: Need for traditional economic orthodoxy; e.g. reduction of budget deficits, retrenchment in crisis, thrift and savings; support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system; support for strong currency.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

060800 Economic Goals

060801 Economic Goals: General

Positive: Statements of intent to pursue any economic goal not covered by other categories in the Domain 5 (Economic Structure) and Domain 6 (Economic policies and goals).

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: This category is created to catch an overall interest of parties in economics and, therefore, covers a variety of economic goals.

060802 Creating Jobs

Positive: The party's main goal is to create jobs by economic means.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Check all other categories in the Domain 5 (Economic Structure) and Domain 6 (Economic policies and goals), codes "Welfare State Expansion: job programs" (070406) and "Labour Groups" (090100) for adequate coding.

060803 Labour Immigration: EU Citizens

Positive: Favourable mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign workers of EU member countries in economic terms.

Negative: Negative mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign of EU member countries in economic terms.

Note: Check "Labour Immigration: Non-EU Citizens" (060807) and "Labour Immigration: Unspecified" (060808) for adequate coding.

060804 Single Market

Positive: Favourable mentions or support for the common market/ Single European Market.

Negative: Negative mentions or rejection of the common market/ Single European Market.

060805 European Monetary Union/ European Currency

Positive: Favourable mentions or support for the European Monetary Union, a single European currency or the Euro.

Negative: Negative mentions or rejection of the European Monetary Union, a single European currency or the Euro.

060806 European Monetary Union/ European Currency-Transnational Solidarity

Positive: Favourable mentions or support for financial help with the European Union Member State/Eurozone.

Negative: Negative mentions or support for financial help to another European Union Member State/Eurozone.

060807 Labour Immigration: Non-EU Citizens

Positive: Favourable mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign workers of non-EU member countries in economic terms.

Negative: Negative mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign of non-EU member countries in economic terms.

Note: Check "Labour Immigration: EU Citizens" (060803) and "Labour Immigration:

Unspecified” (060808) for adequate coding.

060808 Labour Immigration: Unspecified

Positive: Favourable mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign workers in economic terms, in which the reference group of labour immigrants and/or foreign workers remains unspecified.

Negative: Negative mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign in economic terms, in which the reference group of labour immigrants and/or foreign workers remains unspecified.

Note: Check “Labour Immigration: EU Citizens” (060803) and “Labour Immigration: Non-EU Citizens” (060807) for adequate coding.

060809 Labour Emigration

Positive: Positive mentions of labour emigration in economic terms, e.g. support for work force moving abroad and/or labour migrants leaving the country.

Negative: Negative mentions of labour emigration in economic terms and policies or encouraging labour emigrants to move back in the country, e.g. criticism of “brain drain”, work force moving abroad and/or labour migrants leaving the country.

060810 Energy policies

Positive: Favourable mentions of national energy policies, diversification of energy sources and/or developing energetic infrastructure.

Negative: Negative mentions of national energy policies, diversification of energy sources and/or developing energetic infrastructure.

Note: Check “FSR to Russia” (010104) for adequate coding.

DOMAIN 7: Welfare and Quality of Life

070100 Environmental Protection

070101 Environmental Protection: General

Positive: Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.; general preservation of natural resources against selfish interests; proper use of national parks; soil banks, etc.; environmental improvement.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

070102 Environmental Protection: Global Warming

Positive: Acknowledging global warming as a harmful phenomenon, need for policies/actions intended to diminish effects of global warming.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**, e.g. denying dangers of global warming, denying the existence of global warming as a “man-made” phenomenon.

070103 Environmental Protection: Animal Rights

Positive: Positive mentions of animal rights.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

070104 Food and Alimentation

Positive: Favourable mentions of organic food, vegetarian/vegan alimentation, need for policies/actions intended to expand organic food production.

Negative: Opposite of positive.

070200 Culture

Positive: Need to provide cultural and leisure facilities, including arts and sport; need to spend money on museums, art galleries etc.; need to encourage worthwhile leisure activities and cultural mass media.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Check “National Way of Life” (080500) or “EU Integration” (080503) for adequate coding.

070300 Social Justice

070300 General

Positive: Concept of equality; need for fair treatment of all people; special protection for underprivileged; need for fair distribution of resources; removal of class barriers; end of discrimination such as racial, sexual, etc.

Negative: Opposite of positive

Note: Check “Non-economic Demographic Groups: General” (090501) for adequate coding.

070301 Gender

Positive: Concept of gender equality; need for fair treatment of people of all genders; end of gender discrimination.

Negative: Opposite of positive.

Note: This code should only be used if statements refer specifically to social justice (fairness). Otherwise, the subcategory “underprivileged minority group” should be used.

070302 Race/Ethnicity

Positive: Principle of equal and fair treatment irrespective of race or ethnic origin; end of racial discrimination.

Negative: Opposite of positive.

Note: This code should only be used if statements refer specifically to social justice (fairness). Otherwise, the subcategory “underprivileged minority group” should be used.

070303 LGBT

Positive: Principle of equal and fair treatment for LGBT people; end of LGTB discrimination.

Negative: Opposite of positive.

Note: This code should only be used if statements refer specifically to social justice (fairness). Otherwise, the subcategory “underprivileged minority group” should be used.

070400 Welfare State (WS) 070401 WS: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any social service or social security scheme.

Negative: Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

Note: This category excludes education.

070402 WS: Pensions

Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand pensions.

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend pensions.

070403 WS: Health Care and Nursing Service

Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand health care or nursing services.

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend health care or nursing services.

070404 WS: Social Housing

Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand social housing.

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend social housing.

070405 WS: Child Care

Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand child care services.

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend child care services.

070406 WS: Job Programs

Positive: Favourable mentions of the need to introduce maintain or expand job-generating measures.

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend job-generating measures.

070500 Education

Positive: Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels.

Negative: Limiting expenditure on education; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

Note: This excludes technical training which is coded under "Technology and Infrastructure" (060400).

DOMAIN 8: Fabric of Society**080100 Multiculturalism**

Positive: Cultural diversity, communalism, cultural plurality and pillarization; preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages, including special educational provisions.

Negative: Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

Note: Negative statements also apply to the cultural autonomy of Roma.

080200 Traditional Morality

Positive: Favourable mentions of traditional moral values; prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour; maintenance and stability of family; religion.

Negative: Opposition to traditional moral values; support for divorce, abortion etc.; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

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080300 Law and Order

080301 Law and Order: General

Positive: Enforcement of all laws; actions against crime; support and resources for police; tougher attitudes in courts.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

080302 Fight against terrorism

Positive: Fight against terrorism by the enforcement of all laws, by actions against crime and against terrorist attacks; support and resources for police/border controls; tougher attitudes against terrorists in courts.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

080300 Social Harmony

Positive: Appeal for a national (European) effort and solidarity; need for society to see itself as united; appeal for public spiritedness; decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis; support for the public interest.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

080500 National Way of Life

080501 National Way of Life: General

Positive: Appeals to patriotism and/or nationalism; support for established national ideas; suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion. On the European level appeals to a European way of life, the Occident, or Western Civilization.

Negative: Against patriotism and/or nationalism; opposition to the existing national state; the suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion is criticized. On the European level appeals against a European way of life, the Occident, or Western Civilization.

Note: Check “EU Integration” (080503) and “Culture” (070200) for adequate coding.

080502 Immigration (EU Citizens)

Positive: Need to retain or increase immigration from EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms

Negative: Need to reduce immigration from EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.

Note: Check “Labour migration” (060803), “Multiculturalism” (080100), “Human Rights- refugees” (0201022), and UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (0904041) for adequate coding.

080503 EU Integration

Positive: Emphasis on retaining the national way of life and national cultures in Europe or within the EC/EU.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Check “National Way of Life: General” (080501), “Culture” (070200), and “Multiculturalism” (080100) for adequate coding.

080504 Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus Only)

Positive: Positive references concerning the division of Cyprus in a Greek and a Turkish part.

Negative: Negative references concerning the division of Cyprus in a Greek and a Turkish part.

080505 Immigration (beyond EU)

Positive: Need to retain or increase immigration from non-EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.

Negative: Need to reduce immigration from non-EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.

080506 Immigration (unspecified)

Positive: Need to retain or increase immigration (from unspecified country or region) in non-economic or unspecified terms.

Negative: Need to reduce immigration (from unspecified country or region) in non-economic or unspecified terms.

DOMAIN 9: Social Groups

090100 Labour Groups

Positive: Favourable references to labour groups, working class, unemployed; support for trade unions; good treatment of manual and other employees.

Negative: Abuse of power of trade unions; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

090200 Agriculture and Farmers

Positive: Support for agriculture and farmers; any policy (e.g. subsidies) aimed specifically at benefiting them.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of agriculture and farmers; criticism of any policy aimed specifically at benefiting them.

090300 Middle Class and Professional Groups

Positive: Favourable references to middle class, professional groups, such as physicians or lawyers; old and new middle class.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090400 Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMG)

090401 UMG: General

Positive: Favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090402 UMG: Handicapped

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for handicapped people.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090403 UMG: Homosexuals

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for homosexuals.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090404 UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (EU Citizens) in the Manifesto Country

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Check “UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (beyond EU) in the Manifesto Country”

(090406) and “UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (unspecified) in the Manifesto Country” (090407) for adequate coding.

090405 UMG: Ethnic Minorities/People of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for ethnic minorities or for people of the manifesto country living abroad (like Swedes in Finland from a Swedish Perspective).

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090406 UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (beyond EU) in the Manifesto Country

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Check “UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (EU Citizens) in the Manifesto Country” (090404) and “UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (unspecified) in the Manifesto Country” (090407) for adequate coding.

090407 UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (unspecified) in the Manifesto Country

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners, in which the reference group of immigrants or foreigners remains unspecified.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Check “UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (EU Citizens) in the Manifesto Country” (090404) and “UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (beyond EU) in the Manifesto Country” (090406) for adequate coding.

090500 Non-economic Demographic Groups (NEDG)

090501 NEDG: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of non-economic demographic groups, or need for, assistance to women, old people, young people; linguistic groups etc.; special interest groups of all kinds.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Check “Social Justice” (070300) for adequate coding.

090502 NEDG: Women

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for women.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090503 NEDG: Old People

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for the elderly.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090504 NEDG: Young People

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for young people.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090505 NEDG: Linguistic Groups

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for linguistic groups within a country.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

3.1.3 Content Evaluation

The final step of the coding procedure is evaluation. Each coder is asked to evaluate the content of a given party manifesto once having unitized and categorized it. This evaluation covers twelve different policy scales, each of which the coder is to evaluate on a scale from one through ten. Alternatively, the coder can choose not to answer any specific policy dimension whenever a given party manifesto's content does not sufficiently take that policy dimension into consideration.

The EM Project already asked coders to assess a given party manifesto's content in terms of policy conflicts such as left versus right politics, environmental protection versus economic growth, libertarian versus authoritarian politics, religious versus secular positions, state interventionism versus free market economy, multiculturalism versus ethnocentrism, pro EU-versus contra EU-integration, raising taxes to increase public services versus cutting public services to cut taxes, redistribution from the rich to the poor and the promotion of civil liberties versus tough actions to fight crime. In 2019, the coordinators added the following battery of questions to the evaluation scheme: The support versus the refusal of liberal policies, favouring versus opposing immigration and strong versus weak level of anti-establishment or anti-elite rhetoric.

3.2 Coding Difficulties and Decision Rules

Examples (1) through (6) in chapter 3.1.1 represent rather clear-cut phrasing of arguments in order to illustrate the overall idea of the coding procedure. Not all arguments are, however, as readily identifiable and distinguishable as those illustrated above. Three main difficulties may arise in the process of coding. The remainder of this chapter discusses each of them.

3.2.1 No Category Seems to Apply

The EMCS aims at classifying the whole content of a party manifesto. Nonetheless, it is possible that no category is applicable to a particular issue of a given country. Encountering such a quasi-sentence, the coder is to treat it as uncodable (i.e., 990000 *No code applies*). It is important to realize, however, that uncodable does not necessarily mean a sentence is devoid of meaning; it is only to say that the EMCS does not provide any applicable category. *Notwithstanding that residual category, the general rule requests the coders to code each quasi-sentence if at all possible.*

Decision Rule #1: Checking Definitions of all Categories in Policy Domains

Whenever tempted to treat a quasi-sentence as uncodable, reread the definitions of each category in the relevant policy domains because the quasi-sentence may refer to a category rarely used by the coder, which is, hence, not easily recalled.

The EM Project therefore provides five specific decision rules as guidelines for coders whenever they encounter quasi-sentences difficult to categorise. To begin with, quasi-sentences are sometimes devoid of any meaningful statement but nevertheless part of a continuous argumentation and fulfil stylistic or conjunctive functions, e.g.

‘Our party will do everything in its power to defend the interests of our farmers in Europe. To this end, we envisage several measures. Firstly, we will increase payments of all kinds to farmers. ...’

This paragraph contains three quasi-sentences. The sentence in the middle is devoid of any policy content but remains part of the same argument. Hence, a coder is to make use of category *Agriculture and Farmers* in domain *Social Groups* to categorise this sentence.

Decision Rule #2: Identifying Connecting Sentences

Some sentences, which are otherwise uncodable, may just represent connecting sentences between two arguments (e.g., “Therefore, we are going to do three things.”). These sentences themselves do not constitute meaningful arguments but remain part of continuous argumentation. Hence, code connecting sentences using the same category applied with respect to their surrounding sentences or the majority of the paragraph.

3.2.2 More than One Category Seems to Apply

Another difficulty emerges when more than one category seems to apply. Whenever this is the case, a coder is to take the heading of the respective section into consideration. Section headings are likely to hint at the correct category.

Decision Rule #3: Section Headings as Guidelines

Look at the section heading of the quasi-sentence in question. Then, take the category which covers the topic of the section or the heading. Thus, section headings are taken as cues for coding. However, section headings themselves should be coded only as 98 “Title/Headline/Subtitle”.

But headings do not always apply to the argument in question. Neither do all political parties structure their manifestos using headings. A couple of decision rules help coders deal with this problem in most of these cases. The problem of multiple applicability often occurs when it comes to group politics, e.g. “We want more social security for the workers in our country.” In this case, category *Labour Groups* in domain *Social Groups* as much as category *Welfare State: General* in domain *Welfare and Quality of Life* seem applicable. In such a case, the overall statement of the given paragraph may indicate most correct category. The coder is

therefore to take the one category among those applicable which is more often used with respect to the rest of the paragraph.

Decision Rule #4: Multiple Applicability

Whenever two or more categories seem applicable to a given quasi-sentence and there are no headings that explicitly hint at a specific category, take the one category among those applicable which is more often used with respect to the rest of the paragraph.

The choice sometimes remains between a specific policy statement and the category *Political Authority* in domain *Political System in General*. Whenever this is the case, the specific policy statement is more valuable than the aspect of political authority, which is why the coder is to make use of the specific policy category.

Decision Rule #5: Specific Policy Positions Trump Political Authority

Whenever the choice is between category *Political Authority* in domain *Political System in General*, defined as a given party's *general* competence to govern the incumbent party's incompetence in that matter, and a specific policy category (e.g., *Protectionism* in domain *Economic Policies and Goals*), make use of the specific policy category.

In a similar vein, more specific policy categories are more valuable than general policy categories. Hence, whenever a specific policy category and one or more rather general categories seem applicable, the coder is to take the former.

Decision Rule #6: Specific Policy Positions Trump General Policy Areas

Whenever the choice is between a more specific policy category and one or more rather general policy areas, use the specific policy category (e.g., *Nationalization* in domain *Economic Structure*) instead of a general policy area (e.g., *Economic Goals: General* in domain *Economic Policies and Goals*).

3.2.3 Statement Seems Unclear

It is possible that a statement remains unclear, even after a coder has already taken decision rules one through six into consideration. The context of a given quasi-sentence is again likely to guide the coder when searching for the correct category. Coders are therefore to consider the following sentences because the actual (quasi-)sentence is likely to be part of a continuous argumentation, the actual statement of which only becomes obvious after having read the subsequent sentences. For this reason, the coordinators of the EM Project always recommend to first read the whole paragraph before coding.

In some cases, coders need to make crucial decisions regarding the manifest or latent content of statements. Coders are, however, not to make inferences with respect to the meaning of statements. A coder is to categorise what a given statement literally says, not what the coder assumes the statement to lead to in the end. As with uncodable sentences, the coder is to note and reread all unclear statements when having categorised the whole text in order to make a final decision in their respects.

Some coding problems disappear with experience. Whenever a coder remains in doubt about which category is to be taken, a supervisor authorised by the coordinators of the EM Project is to be consulted in order to provide a final judgment.

4. Description of the Data

General information on missing values	
-999	Unavailable
-888	Inapplicable
-777	Unknown
-666	Did not compete
888	Non-attached party
999	Not in the European Parliament
<i>Meta data</i>	
<i>za_nr</i>	GESIS ZA study number (ZA5162)
<i>version</i>	GESIS archive version
<i>Additional information</i>	
<i>country</i>	Country identification variable: two-digit code
10	Europe
11	Sweden
13	Denmark
14	Finland
21	Belgium
22	The Netherlands
23	Luxembourg
31	France
32	Italy
33	Spain
34	Greece
35	Portugal
36	Cyprus
37	Malta
41	Germany
42	Austria
51	United Kingdom
53	Ireland
80	Bulgaria
81	Croatia
82	Czech Republic
83	Estonia
86	Hungary
87	Latvia
88	Lithuania
92	Poland
93	Romania
96	Slovakia
97	Slovenia

<i>region</i>	This variable distinguishes parties from Belgium and Great Britain with respect to their respective regional backgrounds. All other parties feature their country codes (see variable <i>country</i>).
	210 Wallonia
	211 Flanders
	510 Great Britain
	511 Northern Ireland
<i>country_year</i>	Country code plus election year.
<i>emcs</i>	EMCS party code.
<i>emcs_year</i>	EMCS party code plus election year.
<i>ees</i>	EES party code.
<i>marpor</i>	MARPOR party code.
<i>cphl</i>	Chapel Hill party code.
<i>eeep</i>	Year of a country's first elections to the European Parliament.
<i>member</i>	Year of a country's first admittance to the European Parliament.
<i>year</i>	Election year.
<i>initials</i>	Party initials.
<i>partyname</i>	Party name.
<i>partyinfo</i>	Information on changes in party names.
<i>pfamily</i>	Party family (Euromanifesto Project).
	0 Other
	1 Green parties
	2 (Post-)communist parties
	3 Social democratic parties
	4 Liberal parties
	5 Christian democratic parties
	6 Conservative parties
	7 Nationalist parties
	8 Agrarian parties
	9 Regional parties
	95 Special-interest parties
<i>mfamily</i>	Party family according to MARPOR.
	0 Coalition
	10 Ecologist parties
	20 Communist parties
	30 Social democratic parties
	40 Liberal parties
	50 Christian democratic parties
	60 Conservative parties
	70 Nationalist parties
	80 Agrarian parties
	90 Ethno-regional parties
	95 Special-issue parties
	98 Diverse alliance

	99	Missing information
<i>ofamily</i>		Party family at origin (Euromanifesto Project).
	0	Other
	1	Green parties
	2	(Post-)communist parties
	3	Social democratic parties
	4	Liberal parties
	5	Christian democratic parties
	6	Conservative parties
	7	Nationalist parties
	8	Agrarian parties
	9	Regional parties
	95	Special-interest parties
<i>EPvote</i>		Percentage of EEP votes at national level.
<i>EPseats</i>		Number of seats in the European Parliament.
<i>EPseatsum</i>		Overall number of seats in the European Parliament by country.
<i>group</i>		Affiliation to a political group at European level (European party).
	11	EPP: Group of the European People's Party
	20	S&D: Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats
	30	Greens/EFA: Greens/European Free Alliance
	40	ALDE: Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
	50	GUE/NGL: Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left
	130	ECR: European Conservatives and Reformist Group
	140	EFDD: Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy
<i>manif</i>		Type of manifesto coded.
	1	Proper euromanifesto
	2	'Official' election-related document
	3	Manifesto of the leader
	4	Excerpt of the national manifesto
	5	Other
<i>NATvote</i>		Percentage of votes in the last national parliamentary elections
<i>NATseats</i>		Number of seats in the national parliament
<i>gov</i>		Member party of the national government at time of the EP election
<i>pm</i>		National Prime Minister is member of this party

Coder Ratings

<i>left</i>	Left (1) - Right (10)
	99 No answer
<i>environ</i>	Environmental Protection (1) - Economic Growth (10)
	99 No answer
<i>liberta</i>	Libertarian (1) - Authoritarian (10)
	99 No answer
<i>religious</i>	Religious (1) - Secular (10)

	99 No answer
state	State Interventionism (1) - Free Enterprise (10)
	99 No answer
multicult	Multiculturalism (1) - Ethnocentrism (10)
	99 No answer
integration	Pro EU-Integration (1) - Anti-EU-Integration (10)
	99 No answer
pubservice	Raising taxes (1) – cut taxes (10)
	99 No answer
redistribut	Fully in favour of redistribution from the rich to the poor (1) – fully opposed to redistribution from the rich to the poor (10)
	99 No answer
liberties	Civil liberties (1) – law and order (10)
	99 No answer
lifestyle	Strong support for liberal policies (1) – strong refusal of liberal policies (10)
	99 No answer
immigration	Fully in favour of immigration (1) – fully opposed to immigration (10)
	99 No answer
populism	Strong anti-establishment or anti-elite rhetoric (1) - weak anti-establishment or anti-elite rhetoric (10)
	99 No answer

Computed Variables

[x] means that the values of all levels (1 through 3) of the variable are used for the index.

rile_mrg	<p>Right-left dimension according to MRG. Sum of rightist codes minus sum of leftist codes in the Manifesto. Range from -100 (left) to 100 (right).</p> <p>Rightist codes: $per_v[x]_{104a} + per_v[x]_{2011a} + per_v[x]_{2012a} + per_v[x]_{203a} + per_v[x]_{305a} + per_v[x]_{401a} + per_v[x]_{402a} + per_v[x]_{406b} + per_v[x]_{414a} + per_v[x]_{504b} + per_v[x]_{5041b} + per_v[x]_{5042b} + per_v[x]_{5043b} + per_v[x]_{5044b} + per_v[x]_{5045b} + per_v1_{601a} + per_v[x]_{603a} + per_v[x]_{605a} + per_v[x]_{6051a} + per_v[x]_{606a}$</p> <p>Leftist codes: $per_v[x]_{103a} + per_v[x]_{104b} + per_v[x]_{106a} + per_v[x]_{107a} + per_v[x]_{202a} + per_v2_{202b} + per_v[x]_{403a} + per_v[x]_{404a} + per_v[x]_{406a} + per_v[x]_{412a} + per_v[]_{4121a} + per_v[x]_{4122a} + per_v[x]_{4123a} + per_v[x]_{4124a} + per_v[x]_{413a} + per_v[x]_{4012b} + per_v[x]_{4132a} + per_v[x]_{504a} + per_v[x]_{5041a} + per_v[x]_{5042a} + per_v[x]_{5043a} + per_v[x]_{5044a} + per_v[x]_{5045a} + per_v[x]_{506a} + per_v1_{601b} + per_v[x]_{701a}$</p>
planeco	Planned economy dimension according to MRG.

	$\begin{aligned} &per_v[x]_{403a} + per_v[x]_{404a} + per_v2_{4011a} + \\ &per_v[x]_{412a} + per_v[x]_{4121a} + per_v[x]_{4122a} + \\ &per_v[x]_{4123a} + per_v[x]_{4124a} \end{aligned}$
markeco	Market economy dimension according to MRG. $per_v[x]_{401a} + per_v2_{4011b} + per_v[x]_{4012a} + per_v[x]_{414a}$
welfare	Welfare economy dimension according to MRG. $\begin{aligned} &per_v[x]_{503a} + per_v[x]_{504a} + per_v[x]_{5041a} + \\ &per_v[x]_{5042a} + per_v[x]_{5043a} + per_v[x]_{5044a} + \\ &per_v[x]_{5045a} \end{aligned}$
pro_anti_EU	Dimension on pro versus contra European integration. Sum of pro-integration codes minus sum of integration-sceptic codes. Range from -100 (anti-EU) to 100 (pro-EU). Pro-EU: $\begin{aligned} &per_v[x]_{108a} + per_v2_{203a} + per_v2_{3011a} + \\ &per_v2_{306a} + per_v2_{308a} + per_v2_{310a} + per_v2_{3101a} + \\ &per_v2_{312a} + per_v2_{314a} + per_v2_{3141a} + per_v2_{316a} + \\ &per_v2_{3161a} + per_v2_{4011a} + per_v2_{4084a} + \\ &per_v2_{601a} + per_v1_{601b} \end{aligned}$ Anti-EU: $\begin{aligned} &per_v[x]_{108b} + per_v1_{1081b} + per_v2_{203b} + \\ &per_v2_{3011b} + per_v2_{306b} + per_v2_{308b} + per_v2_{310b} + \\ &per_v2_{3101b} + per_v2_{312b} + per_v2_{314b} + per_v2_{3141b} + \\ &per_v2_{316b} + per_v2_{3161b} + per_v2_{318a} + per_v2_{4011b} + \\ &per_v2_{4084b} + per_v2_{4086b} + per_v2_{601b} + per_v1_{601a} \end{aligned}$
Coding categories	

Percentages of quasi-sentences in each category grouped into nine major policy areas. Differences in lengths of documents necessitate the number of quasi-sentences in each category to be standardized. In doing so, the total number of quasi-sentences less the number of headlines, subtitles, etc. reflects the basis.

$$\frac{\text{No. of qs within category}}{\text{total No. of qs} - \text{No. of headlines}} \times 100$$

<i>Variable Name</i>	<i>Variable Label</i>	<i>Level</i>
		[x]
<i>[x] stands for the respective governmental frame. In each variable name, the favoured value (1 to 3) of [x] must be inserted. Example: per_v[1]_101b for the Variable ‘Foreign Special Relationships (FSR): General – Neg – L1’. For further information, please have a look at section 3.3.2, especially Table 2.</i>		
total	Total Number of Quasi-Sentences (Excluding Headlines)	

<i>per_v[x]_101b</i>		–	1
	Foreign Special Relationships (FSR): General		2
<i>per_v[x]_101a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1011b</i>		–	1
	FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU		2
<i>per_v[x]_1011a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_10111b</i>		–	1
	FSR to EECs not in the EU (No Ukraine)		2
<i>per_v[x]_10111a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_10112b</i>		–	1
	FSR to Ukraine		2
<i>per_v[x]_10112a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1012b</i>		–	1
	FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU ⁵³		2
<i>per_v[x]_1012a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1013b</i>		–	1
	FSR to Russia		2
<i>per_v[x]_1013a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1014b</i>		–	1
	FSR to USA		2
<i>per_v[x]_1014a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1015b</i>		–	1
	FSR to Syria		2
<i>per_v[x]_1015a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_103b</i>		–	1
	Anti-Imperialism		2
<i>per_v[x]_103a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_104b</i>		–	1
	Military ⁵⁴		2
<i>per_v[x]_104a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1041b</i>		–	1
	Military: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_1041a</i>		+	3

⁵³ For the years 2014 and 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_10111* “FSR to EECs not in the EU (No Ukraine)” and *per_v_10112* “FSR to Ukraine”

⁵⁴ For the years 2014 and 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_1041* “Military: General”, *per_v_1042* “Military: Ukraine” and *per_v_1043* “Military: Syria”

<i>per_v[x]_1042b</i>		–	1
	Military: Ukraine		2
<i>per_v[x]_1042a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1043b</i>		–	1
	Military: Syria		2
<i>per_v[x]_1043a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_106b</i>		–	1
	Peace ⁵⁵		2
<i>per_v[x]_106a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1061b</i>		–	1
	Peace: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_1061a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1062b</i>		–	1
	Peace: Ukraine		2
<i>per_v[x]_1062a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1063b</i>		–	1
	Peace: Syria		2
<i>per_v[x]_1063a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_107b</i>		–	1
	Internationalism		2
<i>per_v[x]_107a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_108b</i>		–	1
	Europe, European Community/Union: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_108a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1081b</i>		–	1
	Financing the EC/EU		2
<i>per_v[x]_1081a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1082b</i>		–	1
	EU Exit		2
<i>per_v[x]_1082a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1083b</i>		–	1
	Brexit		2
<i>per_v[x]_1083a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_2011b</i>		–	1
	Freedom		2
<i>per_v[x]_2011a</i>		+	3

⁵⁵ For the years 2014 and 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_1061* “Peace: General”, *per_v_1062* “Peace: Ukraine” and *per_v_1063* “Peace: Syria”

<i>per_v[x]_2012b</i>		–	1
	Human Rights ⁵⁶		2
<i>per_v[x]_2012a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_20121b</i>		–	1
	Human Rights: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_20121a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_20122b</i>		–	1
	Human Rights: Refugees		2
<i>per_v[x]_20122a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_2013b</i>		–	1
	Freedom of Press		2
<i>per_v[x]_2013a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_202b</i>		–	1
	Democracy		2
<i>per_v[x]_202a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_203b</i>		–	1
	Constitutionalism		2
<i>per_v[x]_203a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_301b</i>		–	1
	Decentralization: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_301a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_204b</i>		–	1
	Populism ⁵⁷		2
<i>per_v[x]_204a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_2041b</i>		–	1
	Anti-Elitism		2
<i>per_v[x]_2041a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_2042b</i>		–	1
	Glorification of Common People		2
<i>per_v[x]_2042a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3011b</i>		–	1
	Transfer of Power to the EC/EU		2
<i>per_v[x]_3011a</i>		+	3

⁵⁶ For the years 2014 and 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_20121* “Human Rights: General” and *per_v_20122* “Human Rights: Refugees”

⁵⁷ For the year 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_2041* “Anti-Elitism” and *per_v_2042* “Glorification of Common People”

<i>per_v[x]_303b</i>		–	1
	Executive and Administrative Efficiency		2
<i>per_v[x]_303a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_304b</i>		–	1
	Political Corruption		2
<i>per_v[x]_304a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_305b</i>		–	1
	Political Authority		2
<i>per_v[x]_305a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_306b</i>		–	1
	Competences of the European Parliament		2
<i>per_v[x]_306a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_308b</i>		–	1
	Competences of the European Commission		2
<i>per_v[x]_308a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_310b</i>		–	1
	Competences of the European Council/ Council of Ministers: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_310a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3101b</i>		–	1
	Voting Procedures in the (European) Council		2
<i>per_v[x]_3101a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_312b</i>		–	1
	Competences of the European Court of Justice		2
<i>per_v[x]_312a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_314b</i>		–	1
	Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_314a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3141b</i>		–	1
	Mentions of the European Central Bank		2
<i>per_v[x]_3141a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_316b</i>		–	1
	EC/EU Enlargement: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_316a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3161b</i>		–	1
	Membership of the Turkey in the EU		2
<i>per_v[x]_3161a</i>		+	3

<i>per_v[x]_3162b</i>	Membership in the EU of East European countries	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_3162a</i>	currently not in the EU	+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_3163b</i>	Membership in the EU of Balkan countries	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_3163a</i>	currently not in the EU	+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_318b</i>	Complexity of the EC/EU Political System	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_318a</i>		+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_319b</i>	Spitzenkandidaten ⁵⁸	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_319a</i>		+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_3191b</i>	Spitzenkandidaten: General	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_3191a</i>		+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_3192b</i>	Spitzenkandidaten: Specific	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_3192a</i>		+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_401b</i>	Free Enterprise: General	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_401a</i>		+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_4011b</i>	EC/EU Structural Funds	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_4011a</i>		+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_4012b</i>	Property Restitution	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_4012a</i>		+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_402b</i>	Incentives	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_402a</i>		+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_403b</i>	Market Regulation	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_403a</i>		+	2
			3
<i>per_v[x]_404b</i>	Economic Planning: General	–	1
<i>per_v[x]_404a</i>		+	2
			3

⁵⁸ For the years 2014 and 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_3191* “Spitzenkandidaten: General” and *per_v_3192* “Spitzenkandidaten: Specific”

<i>per_v[x]_405b</i>		–	1
	Corporatism		2
<i>per_v[x]_405a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_406b</i>		–	1
	Protectionism		2
<i>per_v[x]_406a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_408b</i>		–	1
	Economic Goals: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_408a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4081b</i>		–	1
	Creating Jobs		2
<i>per_v[x]_4081a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4082b</i>		–	1
	Labour Migration		2
<i>per_v[x]_4082a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_40821b</i>		–	1
	Labour Immigration: EU Citizens		2
<i>per_v[x]_40821a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_40822b</i>		–	1
	Labour Immigration: Non-EU Citizens		2
<i>per_v[x]_40822a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_40823b</i>		–	1
	Labour Immigration: Unspecified		2
<i>per_v[x]_40823a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_40824b</i>		–	1
	Labour Emigration		2
<i>per_v[x]_40824a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4084b</i>		–	1
	Single Market		2
<i>per_v[x]_4084a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4086b</i>		–	1
	European Monetary Union/ European Currency		2
<i>per_v[x]_4086a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4087b</i>		–	1
	EMU/EC - Transnational Solidarity		2
<i>per_v[x]_4087a</i>		+	3

<i>per_v[x]_4088b</i>		–	1
	Energy Policies		2
<i>per_v[x]_4088a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_409b</i>		–	1
	Keynesian Demand Management		2
<i>per_v[x]_409a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_410b</i>		–	1
	Productivity		2
<i>per_v[x]_410a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_411b</i>		–	1
	Technology and Infrastructure ⁵⁹		2
<i>per_v[x]_411a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4111b</i>		–	1
	Technology and Infrastructure: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_4111a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4112b</i>		–	1
	Green Technology		2
<i>per_v[x]_4112a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_412b</i>		–	1
	Controlled Economy: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_412a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4121b</i>		–	1
	Social Ownership		2
<i>per_v[x]_4121a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4122b</i>		–	1
	Mixed Economy		2
<i>per_v[x]_4122a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4123b</i>		–	1
	Publicly-Owned Industry		2
<i>per_v[x]_4123a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4124b</i>		–	1
	Socialist Property		2
<i>per_v[x]_4124a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_413b</i>		–	1
	Nationalization: Generalization		2
<i>per_v[x]_413a</i>		+	3

⁵⁹ For the year 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_4111* “Technology and Infrastructure: General” and *per_v_4112* “Green Technology”

<i>per_v[x]_4132b</i>		–	1
	Privatisation		2
<i>per_v[x]_4132a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_414b</i>		–	1
	Economic Orthodoxy		2
<i>per_v[x]_414a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_415b</i>		–	1
	Marxist Analysis		2
<i>per_v[x]_415a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_416b</i>		–	1
	Anti-Growth Economy		2
<i>per_v[x]_416a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_501b</i>		–	1
	Environmental Protection ⁶⁰		2
<i>per_v[x]_501a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5011b</i>		–	1
	Environmental Protection: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_5011a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5012b</i>		–	1
	Environmental Protection: Global Warming		2
<i>per_v[x]_5012a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5013b</i>		–	1
	Environmental Protection: Animal Rights		2
<i>per_v[x]_5013a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5014b</i>		–	1
	Food and Alimentation		2
<i>per_v[x]_5014a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_502b</i>		–	1
	Culture		2
<i>per_v[x]_502a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_503b</i>		–	1
	Social Justice ⁶¹		2
<i>per_v[x]_503a</i>		+	3

⁶⁰ For the years 2014 and 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_5011* “Environmental Protection: General”, *per_v_5012* “Environmental Protection: Global Warming”, *per_v_5013* “Environmental Protection: Animal Rights” and *per_v_5014* “Food and Alimentation”

⁶¹ For the year 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_5031* “Social Justice:General”, *per_v_5032* “Gender”, *per_v_5033* “Race/Ethnicity” and *per_v_5034* “LGBT”

<i>per_v[x]_5031b</i>		–	1
	Social Justice: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_5031a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5032b</i>		–	1
	Gender		2
<i>per_v[x]_5032a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5033b</i>		–	1
	Race/Ethnicity		2
<i>per_v[x]_5033a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5034b</i>		–	1
	LGBT		2
<i>per_v[x]_5034a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_504b</i>		–	1
	WS: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_504a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5041b</i>		–	1
	WS: Job Programs		2
<i>per_v[x]_5041a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5042b</i>		–	1
	WS: Pensions		2
<i>per_v[x]_5042a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5043b</i>		–	1
	WS: Health Care and Nursing Service		2
<i>per_v[x]_5043a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5044b</i>		–	1
	WS: Social Housing		2
<i>per_v[x]_5044a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5045b</i>		–	1
	WS: Child Care		2
<i>per_v[x]_5045a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_506b</i>		–	1
	Education		2
<i>per_v[x]_506a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_601b</i>		–	1
	National Way of Life: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_601a</i>		+	3

<i>per_v[x]_6011b</i>		–	1
	Immigration ⁶²		2
<i>per_v[x]_6011a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_60111b</i>		–	1
	Immigration (EU Citizens)		2
<i>per_v[x]_60111a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_60112b</i>		–	1
	Immigration (beyond EU)		2
<i>per_v[x]_60112a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_60113b</i>		–	1
	Immigration (Unspecified)		2
<i>per_v[x]_60113a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_6012b</i>		–	1
	Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus only)		2
<i>per_v[x]_6012a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_6021b</i>		–	1
	EU Integration		2
<i>per_v[x]_6021a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_603b</i>		–	1
	Traditional Morality		2
<i>per_v[x]_603a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_605b</i>		–	1
	Law and Order: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_605a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_6051b</i>		–	1
	Fight against Terrorism		2
<i>per_v[x]_6051a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_606b</i>		–	1
	Social Harmony		2
<i>per_v[x]_606a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_607b</i>		–	1
	Multiculturalism		2
<i>per_v[x]_607a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_701b</i>		–	1
	Labour Groups		2
<i>per_v[x]_701a</i>		+	3

⁶² For the years 2014 and 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_60111* “Immigration (EU Citizens)”, *per_v_60112* “Immigration (beyond EU)” and *per_v_60113* “Immigration (Unspecified)”

<i>per_v[x]_7031b</i>		–	1
	Agriculture and Farmers		2
<i>per_v[x]_7031a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_704b</i>		–	1
	Middle Class and Professional Groups		2
<i>per_v[x]_704a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_705b</i>		–	1
	UMP: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_705a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7051b</i>		–	1
	UMG: Handicapped		2
<i>per_v[x]_7051a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7052b</i>		–	1
	UMG: Homosexuals		2
<i>per_v[x]_7052a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7053b</i>		–	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners in the Manifesto Country ⁶³		2
<i>per_v[x]_7053a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_70531b</i>		–	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (EU Citizens)		2
<i>per_v[x]_70531a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_70532b</i>		–	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (beyond EU)		2
<i>per_v[x]_70532a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_70533b</i>		–	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (unspecified)		2
<i>per_v[x]_70533a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7054b</i>		–	1
	UMG: Ethnic Minorities/People of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad		2
<i>per_v[x]_7054a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_706b</i>		–	1
	NEDG: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_706a</i>		+	3

⁶³ For the years 2014 and 2019, this variable is calculated from the sum of *per_v_70531* “UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (EU Citizens)”, *per_v_70532* “UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (beyond EU)” and *per_v_70533* “UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (unspecified)”

<i>per_v[x]_7061b</i>		–	1
	NEDG: Women		2
<i>per_v[x]_7061a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7062b</i>		–	1
	NEDG: Old People		2
<i>per_v[x]_7062a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7063b</i>		–	1
	NEDG: Young People		2
<i>per_v[x]_7063a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7064b</i>		–	1
	NEDG: Linguistic Groups		2
<i>per_v[x]_7064a</i>		+	3
<u><i>per_v_099</i></u>	No Code Applies		

Appendix A: Inter-coder and Intra-coder Reliability

Inter-coder reliability (2009, 2014, 2019)

All coders performed reliability tests before they started coding the actual party manifestos. They were asked by the project coordinators to unitise and categorise a test manifesto. The former subsequently compared their performances with a gold standard, i.e. a master coding determined by the project coordinators. Table A.1 provides information on the inter-coder agreements in 2009, 2014 and 2019. Using Cohen's Kappa, it informs about the agreement among coders regarding the connotations, levels, domains, categories, and overall categorizations of the quasi-sentences.

Table A.1 Inter-coder Agreement on Standardized Samples: Cohen's Kappa.

	EMCS 2019		EMCS 2014		EMCS 2009	
	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
<i>Pos/neg</i>	0.351	(0.274 - 0.435)	0.370	(0.267 - 0.482)	0.355	(0.262 - 0.463)
<i>Level</i>	0.404	(0.354 - 0.477)	0.519	(0.452 - 0.590)	0.427	(0.332 - 0.537)
<i>Domain</i>	0.555	(0.514 - 0.608)	0.525	(0.473 - 0.581)	0.484	(0.413 - 0.559)
<i>Categories</i>	0.406	(0.373 - 0.456)	0.434	(0.388 - 0.488)	0.421	(0.366 - 0.489)
<i>Overall</i>	0.286	(0.251 - 0.324)	0.313	(0.275 - 0.367)	0.334	(0.284 - 0.401)

Note: Cohen's kappa used. Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% CI (500 replications) based on 113 quasi-sentences (N=113) in 2009 and 2014 and 151 quasi-sentences (N=151) in 2019.

About intra-coder reliability tests, the coder sample of 2014 contains seven coders who already coded the test manifesto in 2009. The core team of the EM Project can thus provide tests of intra-coder reliability for five of them.⁶⁴ These tests are based on only 100 quasi-sentences due to the disaggregation of the category *Environmental Protection* in domain *Welfare and Quality of Life* in 2014. We also exclude the 62th quasi-sentence of the test manifesto because it was only coded in 2014.⁶⁵ To begin with, table A.2 compares the inter-coder reliability from 2009 and 2014 when only these five coders are considered. Intra-coder reliability was not computed for the 2019 data.

⁶⁴ Two coders have not coded the test manifesto in either 2009 or 2014, which is why they drop out of this sample.
⁶⁵ The core team of the EM Project excludes this quasi-sentence because it was not explicitly coded by the 2009 coders.

Intra-coder reliability (2009-2014)

Table A.2 Intra-coder Agreement on Standardized Samples for Five Coders: Cohen's Kappa.

	EMCS 2014		EMCS 2009	
	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
<i>Pos/neg</i>	0.421	(0.285 - 0.556)	0.396	(0.250 - 0.531)
<i>Level</i>	0.533	(0.408 - 0.626)	0.514	(0.408 - 0.613)
<i>Domain</i>	0.558	(0.488 - 0.636)	0.520	(0.447 - 0.626)
<i>Categories</i>	0.482	(0.427 - 0.552)	0.455	(0.394 - 0.542)
<i>Overall</i>	0.381	(0.341 - 0.441)	0.358	(0.304 - 0.434)

Note: Cohen's kappa used. Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% CI (500 replications) based on 100 quasi-sentences (N=100).

Table A.3 informs about their individual reliability scores when compared with the gold standard and their individual intra-coder reliability using Cohen's Kappa based on complete categories.

Table A.3 Intra-coder Reliabilities of Five Coders in 2009 and 2014: Complete Categories.

<i>Coder vs Master</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>Intra-coder Reliability</i>
	<i>Cohen's Kappa</i>		
<i>Coder I</i>	0.31	0.29	0.33
<i>Coder II</i>	0.38	0.26	0.31
<i>Coder III</i>	0.30	0.33	0.33
<i>Coder IV</i>	0.77	0.85	0.74
<i>Coder V</i>	0.42	0.48	0.46

Note: Nominal scale. Variables represent coders. Observations refer to quasi-sentences. Analysis based on 100 quasi-sentences of the test manifesto. Cells contain codes.