

<b>Title</b>	<b>Euromanifesto Study Documentation 1979-2009</b>
<b>Bibliographic Citation</b>	European Election Study 1979-2009: Manifesto Study
<b>Coordinators</b>	Daniela Braun Hermann Schmitt Andreas M. Wüst Sebastian Adrian Popa Slava Mikhaylov Felix Dwinger <i>Mannheim Centre for European Social Research</i> <i>(University of Mannheim)</i>
<b>Unit of analysis</b>	Content analysis of 196 election programs in 27 countries
<b>Topics</b>	Euromanifestos have been coded using a hierarchical classification scheme containing nine domains subdivided into different categories and subcategories.

## TEXT TO BE USED IN PUBLICATIONS

The data are available for public use and are to be cited as follows:

EES (2015), European Parliament Election Study 1979-2009, *Manifesto Study Data*.

The citation of the data should **always** be accompanied by a citation of – at least – this documentation:

Braun, Daniela, Hermann Schmitt, Andreas M. Wüst, Sebastian Adrian Popa, Slava Mikhaylov and Felix Dwinger (2015), *Euromanifestos Project (EMP) 1979 – 2009*.

This file compiles all relevant information on the Euromanifesto collection, on missing Euromanifestos, on the coding, on additional variables provided by the coders, and the information on all variables included in the Euromanifesto dataset. The latter information also contains macro data for each country, party, and election, like vote shares, seats and parliamentary group membership. For the analytical variables that have been computed and used for analyses, the SPSS syntax is documented as well.

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## **Introduction**

The Euromanifesto Project (EMP) 2009 is documented on the following pages. The project aims at collecting all Euromanifestos (party programs) issued by political parties ahead of the respective elections to the European Parliament (EP) in 27 EU member countries. It contains information on the selection of parties and party programs, and the actual selected, collected and coded manifestos are illustrated. Moreover, we describe the EMP 2009 in detail – the two-step coding procedure (unitizing and coding) and refer to specific coding problems and difficulties. We also provide information on coders, the timeframe of coding, the initial training procedure, data treatment, and the reliability of the data. Additionally, we include an extensive documentation of the third edition of the Euromanifestos Coding Scheme (EMCS), which was used as a manual for the coding of all Euromanifestos.

The EMP 2009 is the third project phase of the overall EMP 1979-2009, which is itself based on the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP). Coding rules, examples, and general information on the project are thus heavily based on the first editions of the EMCS and documentations. The roots of the EMCS, however, go back to the second edition of the “Manifesto Coding Instructions” compiled by Andrea Volkens at the WZB in Berlin. As it is the intention of the EMP to strive for full comparability with both the CMP and the previous (1979-2004) EMP content codes, most coding rules have been adapted from the original handbook.

## 1. General Information

The object of analyzing election programs is to measure issue emphases and policy positions of political parties across countries within a common framework. Election programs are taken as indicators of the parties' issue emphases and policy positions at a certain point in time. In order to estimate those issue emphases and policy positions, election programs are subject to quantitative content analysis. For the original project, a classification scheme was designed to allow for coding of all the content of national election programs for the post World-War-II period in a variety of countries.

A first version of the original coding scheme was developed by David Robertson for the purpose of analyzing the modes of party competition in Britain. In 1979, the *Manifesto Research Group* (MRG) was constituted as a *Standing Group of the European Consortium for Political Research* (ECPR) by scholars interested in comparative content analyses of policy positions and issue emphases of political parties. As a result of their work, the classification scheme was extended and revised so that it could be applied in additional countries. Since 1989 the *Social Science Research Centre Berlin* (WZB) has been providing resources for updating and expanding the MRG dataset in the new framework of its *Comparative Manifestos Project* (CMP).

In 2000, Hermann Schmitt started to apply the MRG/CMP approach of analyzing party manifesto content to European Parliament elections. The *Euromanifesto Project* at the *Mannheim Centre for European Social Research* (MZES) since has strived to collect and code all European Parliament election programs of all parties ever represented in that body. For the dual purpose of (a) maintaining comparability with the MRG/CMP and (b) being able to grasp EU-specific content absent in national manifestos, the standard MRG/CMP coding frame was modified as described in Wüst and Volkens (2003).

### 1.1 Selection of Parties

The collection of manifestos should cover all relevant parties. In general, the relevance of parties is given by their representation in the national parliament. Depending on the electoral system applied, this simple criterion might be misleading however. Giovanni Sartori<sup>1</sup> therefore defines relevance as coalition (governmental) or blackmail potential of a party in a given party system. Coalition potential is (1) the actual or former membership in a government or (2) the possibility (feasibility) of becoming a government party. Blackmail potential is 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,

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<sup>1</sup> Sartori, Giovanni (1976), *Parties and Party Systems. A Framework for Analysis*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP (cf. especially pp. 121-125).

rightward, or in both directions – of the governing-oriented parties”. These criteria have been used in the MRG/CMP projects.

At the EU level, neither formal coalitions are built nor are governments formed as a result of elections. Therefore, somewhat broader criteria are applied to define the relevance of a party:

**Relevant parties in the EU are those that have been represented in the European Parliament at least once.**

## 1.2 Selection of Programs

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 programs, mass media commonly spread their contents. Among different kinds of programs which are issued in many countries, the bases for this research are **election programs**. The advantages of taking election programs as source for identifying political goals of parties are manifold:

- Election programs cover a wide range of themes, problems and political positions and, therefore, can be seen as a “set of key central statements”.<sup>2</sup>
- Election programs are authoritative statements of party policies because party conventions usually ratify the programs.
- Election programs are representative statements for the whole party, not just statements of one faction or group within the party or of individual party members.
- Election programs tend to be published before elections. Thus, changes of issue emphases and policy positions of parties can be studied in a diachronic perspective.

The documents, collected in each EU country, are the platforms of parties that they publish ahead of an election to the European Parliament. The sources of gathering these programs may vary: They often come from parties themselves, but are also found in associated research and educational institutes, or in publications such as newspapers, magazines, or books. In some countries, parties do not distribute election programs. In this case, the above given description of election programs serves as an ‘ideal type’ of document to search for. The only documents available may be newspaper summaries of the parties’ election pledges or reports by party spokespersons about policy positions and goals for an upcoming legislature. In any case, the ideal type of a document, which summarizes authoritative statements of a party’s policy positions, should be achieved as best possible. The next chapter reports all relevant documents collected in the period 1979 through 2009. They were saved as PDF-files and ASCII-files, respectively, and are accessible on demand.

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<sup>2</sup> 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 UP, p. 18.

## 2. Coded Euromanifestos 1979-2009

This chapter provides information on the 197 collected and 196 coded manifestos.<sup>3</sup> Table 1 below includes information on the parties, party codes<sup>4</sup> and the type of each document.

**Table 1** Coded Manifestos 2009.

<b>EUROPE (EURO Parties)</b>				
<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>GREEN/ EFA</b>	Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance	10100	1989-2009	---
<b>GUE/ NGL</b>	Confederal Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left	10200	2009	---
<b>PES</b>	Party of European Socialists	10300	1989-2009	---
<b>ALDE</b>	Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	10400	1979-2009	---
<b>EPP-ED</b>	European People's Party-European Democrats	10600	1979-2009	---
<b>UEN</b>	Union for Europe of the Nations Group	10700	2009	---
<b>IND/ DEM</b>	Independence/Democracy Group	10950	2009	---
<b>AUSTRIA</b>				
<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>GRÜNE</b>	Die Grünen <i>The Greens</i>	42110	1996-2009	---
<b>LINKE</b>	Linke <i>Leftist Party</i>	42220	2004	---
<b>SPÖ</b>	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs <i>Social Democratic Party of Austria</i>	42320	1996-2009	---
<b>FPÖ</b>	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs <i>Freedom Party of Austria</i>	42420	1996-2009	---
<b>LIF</b>	Liberales Forum <i>Liberal Forum</i>	42421	1996-2009	2004
<b>ÖVP</b>	Österreichische Volkspartei <i>Austrian People's Party</i>	42520	1996-2009	---
<b>HPM</b>	Liste Hans-Peter Martin <i>List Hans-Peter Martin</i>	42951	2004-2009	---

<sup>3</sup> Note to the differing numbers of collected and coded manifestos: Since the Euromanifestos of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) from Northern Ireland and the UK Conservative Party (CON) are identical, only one document has been coded.

<sup>4</sup> Party IDs reported are the ones used in Euromanifesto Project.

# BELGIUM

Initials	Party Name	EMCS ID	Elections First-Last	Manifestos Not Available
<i>Flemish Parties</i>				
<b>Groen!</b>	Groen! <sup>5</sup> <i>Green!</i>	21112	1984-2009	---
<b>SP.A</b>	Socialistische Partij Anders <sup>6</sup> <i>Socialist Party Different</i>	21321	1979-2009	---
<b>SP.A</b>	Socialistische Partij Anders <sup>7</sup> <i>Socialist Party Different</i>	21323	2004	
<b>PVV</b>	Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten <sup>8</sup> <i>Flemish Liberals and Democrats</i>	21421	1979-2009	---
<b>LDD</b>	Lijst Dedecker <i>List Dedecker</i>	21428	2009	---
<b>CD&amp;V</b>	Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams <sup>9</sup> <i>Christian Democratic &amp; Flemish Party</i>	21521	1979-2009	---
<b>NVA</b>	Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie <sup>10</sup> <i>New Flemish Alliance</i>	21913	1984-2009	1999
<b>VB</b>	Vlaams Belang <sup>11</sup> <i>Flemish Interest</i>	21914	1989-2009	---
<b>SPIRIT</b>	SPIRIT <sup>12</sup>	21915	1999	---
<i>Francophone Parties</i>				
<b>ECOLO</b>	Écologistes Confédérés <i>The Greens</i>	21111	1984-2009	---
<b>PS</b>	Parti Socialiste <i>Socialist Party</i>	21322	1979-2009	1989, 1994
<b>MR</b>	Mouvement Réformateur <i>Reformist Movement</i>	21427	2004-2009	---
<b>CDH</b>	Centre Démocrate Humaniste <sup>13</sup> <i>Humanist Democratic Centre</i>	21522	1989-2009	
<b>FN</b>	Front National <i>National Front</i>	21710	1999-2009	---
<b>FDF</b>	Front Démocratique de Francophones <i>Democratic Front</i>	21912	1984-1989	---
<i>Electoral Alliances</i>				
<b>PRL/FDF/MCC</b>	PRL/FDF/MCC	21425	1999	---
<b>FDF/PRL</b>	FDF/PRL	21426	1994	---
<b>FDF-RW</b>	FDF/RW	21925	1979	---

<sup>5</sup> formerly: AGALEV.

<sup>6</sup> formerly: Socialistische Partij (SP); in 2004: SP.A/SPIRIT

<sup>7</sup> formerly: Socialistische Partij (SP); in 2004: SP.A/SPIRIT

<sup>8</sup> until 1992: Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang (PVV); in 2004: Alliance with VIVANT (VLD/VIVANT).

<sup>9</sup> until 2001: Christelijke Volkspartij (CVP); in 2004: Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams/Nieuw-Vlaams Alliantie (CD&V/NVA).

<sup>10</sup> until 2001: Volksunie - Vlaamse Vrije Democraten (VU-VVD); in 2004: Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams/Nieuw-Vlaams Alliantie (CD&V/NVA).

<sup>11</sup> until 2009: Vlaams Blok.

<sup>12</sup> ID 21 to merge with De toekomstpoep in 2001.

<sup>13</sup> until 2002: Parti Social Chrétien (PSC).

**BULGARIA**

Initials	Party Name	EMCS ID	Elections First-Last	Manifestos Not Available
<b>BSP</b>	Balgarska Socialisticheska Partija <i>Bulgarian Socialist Party</i>	80220	2009	---
<b>DPS</b>	Dvizhenie za Prava i Swobodi <i>Movement for Rights and Freedom</i>	80420	2009	---
<b>GERB</b>	Grazhdani za Evropejsko Razvitie na Bulgaria <i>Citizens for a European Development of Bulgaria</i>	80620	2009	---
<b>ATAKA</b>	Ataka <i>Attack</i>	80710	2009	---
<b>NDSV</b>	Nazionalno Dwizhenie za Stabilnost i Prosperitet <i>National Movement for Stability and Progress</i>	80902	2009	---
<i><b>Electoral Alliances</b></i>				
<b>SK</b>	Sinjata Koalicija <i>The Blue Coalition</i>	80410	2009	---

**CYPRUS**

Initials	Party Name	EMCS ID	Elections First-Last	Manifestos Not Available
<b>KOP</b>	Kinima Oikologoi Perivallontistoi <i>Cyprus Green Party</i>	36110	2004	---
<b>AKEL</b>	Anorthotikon Komma Ergazemenou Laou <i>Progressive Workers' Party</i>	36220	2004-2009	---
<b>EDEK</b>	Kinima Sosialdimokraton <i>Social Democrats Movement</i>	36322	2004-2009	---
<b>DIKO</b>	Dimokratikon Komma <i>Democratic Party</i>	36420	2004-2009	---
<b>DISY</b>	Dimokratikos Sinagermos <i>Democratic Coalition</i>	36510	2004-2009	---

**CZECH REPUBLIC**

Initials	Party Name	EMCS ID	Elections First-Last	Manifestos Not Available
<b>KSCM</b>	Kommunistická strana Čech a Moravy <i>Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia</i>	82220	2004-2009	---
<b>CSSD</b>	Česká strana sociálně demokratická <i>Czech Social Democratic Party</i>	82320	2004-2009	---
<b>SNK/ED</b>	Sdružení nezávislých a Evropských demokratů <i>Association of Independent and European Democrats</i>	82321	2004-2009	---



ODS	Občanská demokratická strana <i>Civic Democratic Party</i>	82413	2004-2009	---
<b>KDU- CSL</b>	Křesťansko-demokratická strana - Česká strana lidová <i>Christian and Democratic Union- Czechoslovak People's Party</i>	82523	2004-2009	---
<b>NEZ</b>	Nezávislí - Politické Hnutí <i>Independents – Political Movement</i>	82952	2004-2009	---
<b>Electoral Alliances</b>				
<b>Union of LibDem</b>	Union of Liberal Democrats (US/LRS/ODA/CZ)	82424	2004	---
<b>DENMARK</b>				
Initials	Party Name	EMCS ID	Elections First-Last	Manifestos Not Available
<b>SF</b>	Socialistisk Folkeparti <i>Socialist People's Party</i>	13230	1979-2009	---
<b>S</b>	Socialdemokraterne <i>Social Democrats</i>	13320	1979-2009	---
<b>CD</b>	Centrumdemokraterne <i>Centre Democrats</i>	13330	1984-1999	---
<b>RV</b>	Det Radikale Venstre <i>Danish Social Liberal Party</i>	13410	1979-2009	1984
<b>V</b>	Venstre - Danmarks Liberale Parti <i>Denmark's Liberal Party</i>	13420	1979-2009	---
<b>KF</b>	Det Konservative Folkeparti <i>Conservative People's Party</i>	13620	1979-2009	1984, 1989
<b>DF</b>	Dansk Folkeparti <i>Danish People's Party</i>	13710	1999-2009	---
<b>Siumut</b>	Siumut <i>The Progress Party of Greenland</i>	13901	1979	---
<b>FrP</b>	Fremskridtspartiet <i>Progress Party</i>	13951	1979-1999	---
<b>Fobe</b>	Folkebevægelsen Mod EU <i>People's Movement against the EU</i>	13954	1979-2009	---
<b>JuBe</b>	JuniBevægelsen <i>June Movement against the Union</i>	13955	1994-2009	---
<b>ESTONIA</b>				
Initials	Party Name	EMCS ID	Elections First-Last	Manifestos Not Available
<b>SDE</b>	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond <i>People's Party Moderates</i>	83410	2004-2009	---
<b>KESK</b>	Eesti Keskerakond <i>Centre Party</i>	83411	2004-2009	---
<b>ER</b>	Eesti Reformierakond <i>Estonian Reform Party</i>	83430	2004-2009	---
<b>ResP</b>	Ühendus Vabariigi Eest - Res Publica <i>Res Publica</i>	83611	2004	---

Rahvaliid	Eestimaa Rahvaliid <i>Estonian People's Union</i>	83612	2004	---
IL	Erakond Isamaaliit <i>Party Fatherland Union</i>	83710	2004	---
IRL	Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit <i>Union pro Patria and Res Publica</i>	83720	2009	---
IT_Ind	Indrek Tarand <i>Independent</i>	83955	2009	---
<b>FINLAND</b>				
Initials	Party Name	EMCS ID	Elections First-Last	Manifestos Not Available
VIHR	Vihreä Liitto <i>Green League</i>	14110	1996-2009	---
VAS	Vasemmistoliitto <i>Left Alliance</i>	14223	1996-2009	---
SDP	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue <i>Social Democratic Party of Finland</i>	14320	1996-2009	---
SKL	Suomen Kristillinen Liitto <i>Centre Party of Finland</i>	14520	1999	---
KD	Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit <sup>14</sup> <i>Christian Democrats in Finland</i>	14520	2004-2009	---
KOK	Kansallinen Kokoomus <i>National Coalition Party</i>	14620	1996-2009	---
Ps	Perussuomalaiset <i>True Finns</i>	14701	2009	---
KESK	Suomen Keskusta <i>Centre Party of Finland</i>	14810	1996-2009	---
RKP-SFP	Ruotsalainen Kansanpuolue - Svenska Folkpartiet i Finland <i>Swedish People's Party in Finland</i>	14901	1996-2009	---
<b>FRANCE</b>				
Initials	Party Name	EMCS ID	Elections First-Last	Manifestos Not Available
Les Verts	Les Verts <i>The Greens</i>	31110	1999-2004	---
EE	Europe Écologie <i>Europe Ecology</i>	31112	2009	---
TSR	Le terre sinon rien <i>Nothing but the Earth</i>	31114	2004	---
PCF	Parti Communiste Français <i>Communist Party of France</i>	31220	1979-2004	---
LCR	Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire <i>Revolutionary Communist League</i>	31222	1999	---
PS	Parti Socialiste <i>Socialist Party</i>	31320	1979-2009	1984

<sup>14</sup> formerly: Suomen Kristillinen Liitto.

<b>PRG</b>	Parti Radical de Gauche <i>Radical Leftist Party</i>	31322	1999-2004	---
<b>MDC</b>	Mouvement Républicain et Citoyen <i>Republican and Civic Movement</i>	31323	1994	---
<b>UDF</b>	UDF Nouvelle <i>New Union for French Democracy</i>	31624	1999-2004	---
<b>RPR</b>	Rassemblement pour la République <i>Rally for the Republic</i>	31625	1979-2004	---
<b>MPF</b>	Mouvement pour la France <i>Movement for France</i>	31629	2004	---
<b>FN</b>	Front National <i>National Front</i>	31720	1994-2009	---
<b>UFCN</b>	Union française pour la cohésion nationale <i>French Union for the National Cohesion</i>	31721	2004	---
<b>MoDem</b>	Mouvement Démocrate pour l'Europe <i>Democratic Movement for Europe</i>	31950	2009	---
<b>RPF</b>	Rassemblement pour la France et l'Indépendance de l'Europe <i>Rally for France and Independence from Europe</i>	31952	1994-2004	---
<b>CPNT</b>	Chasse, Pêche, Nature, Traditions <i>Hunting, Fishing, Nature, Traditions</i>	31953	1989-2004	---
<b>OAC</b>	L'Ouest au Cœur <i>The West in the Heart</i>	31956	2004	---
<b>N.S.</b>	Nouvelle Solidarité <i>New Solidarity</i>	31957	2004	---
<b>HZ</b>	Herritarren Zerrenda	31959	2004	---
<b>EDE</b>	Europe-Démocratie-Espéranto <i>Europe-Democracy-Esperanto</i>	31961	2004	---
<b>Pdsocio</b>	Parti des socioprofessionnels <i>Party of the Socio-Professionals</i>	31962	2004	---
<b>DpE</b>	Diversité pour l'Europe <i>Diversity for Europe</i>	31963	2004	---
<b><i>Electoral Alliances</i></b>				
<b>EG</b>	Extrême Gauche <sup>15</sup> <i>Extreme Left</i>	31221	1999-2009	---
<b>FdG</b>	Le Front de Gauche <sup>16</sup> <i>Left Front</i>	31223	2004-2009	---
<b>RPR/UDF</b>	RPR/UDF	31635	1989, 1994	---
<b>UMP</b>	Union pour un mouvement populaire <i>Union for a People's Movement</i>	31645	1999-2009	---
<b>Libertas</b>	Libertas <sup>17</sup>	31951	1994, 2009	---
<b>AOM</b>	Alliance des Outre-Mers <i>Alliance of the Overseas</i>	31958	2009	---

<sup>15</sup> until 2004: Lutte Ouvrière (LO).

<sup>16</sup> in 2004: Parti des travailleurs (Pdt).

<sup>17</sup> formerly: Énergie Radicale.

**GERMANY**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>B90/GR</b>	Bündnis90/Die Grünen <i>Alliance90/Greens</i>	41113	1979-2009	---
<b>Die Linke</b>	Die Linke <sup>18</sup> <i>The Left</i>	41221	1994-2009	---
<b>SPD</b>	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands <i>Social Democratic Party</i>	41320	1979-2009	---
<b>FDP</b>	Freie Demokratische Partei <i>Free Democratic Party</i>	41420	1979-2009	---
<b>CDU</b>	Christlich Demokratische Union <i>Christian Democratic Union</i>	41521	1979-2009	---
<b>CSU</b>	Christlich Soziale Union <i>Christian Social Union</i>	41522	1979-2009	---
<b>REP</b>	Die Republikaner <i>The Republicans</i>	41701	1989-2009	---

**GREECE**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>KKE</b>	Kommounistiko Komma Ellados <i>Communist Party of Greece</i>	34210	1984-2009	---
<b>SYRIZA</b>	Synaspismós Rizospastikís Aristerás (Synapsismos tis Aristeres ke ti Proodu) <i>Coalition of the Radical Left</i>	34211	1999-2009	---
<b>PASOK</b>	Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima <i>Panhellenic Socialist Movement</i>	34313	1984-2009	1989
<b>DIKKI</b>	Dimokratiki Kinoniku Kinima <i>Democratic Social Movement</i>	34314	1999	---
<b>ND</b>	Nea Dimokratia <i>New Democracy</i>	34511	1999-2009	---
<b>POLAN</b>	Politiki Anixi <i>The Political Spring</i>	34512	1999	---
<b>OP</b>	Oikologoi Prassinioi <i>Ecologists Greens</i>	34701	2009	---
<b>LAOS</b>	Laekos Orthodoxos Synagermos <i>Popular Orthodox Rally</i>	34703	2004-2009	---
<b>DPE</b>	Dimokratiki Perifereiaki Enosi <i>Republican Regional Union</i>	34801	2004	---

<sup>18</sup> formerly: Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus. (PDS).

**HUNGARY**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>MSZP</b>	Magyar Szocialista Párt <i>Hungarian Socialist Party</i>	86220	2004-2009	---
<b>FIDESZ</b>	Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége <i>Federation of Young Democrats</i>	86421	2004	---
<b>SZDSZ</b>	Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége <i>Alliance of Free Democrats</i>	86422	2004-2009	---
<b>MDF</b>	Magyar Demokrata Forum <i>Democratic Forum</i>	86521	2004-2009	---
<b>JOBBIK</b>	Jobbik Magyarországi Mozgalom <i>Movement for a Better Hungary</i>	86701	2009	---
<b><i>Electoral Alliances</i></b>				
<b>FIDESZ</b>	Fidesz - Magyar Polgári Szövetség <i>Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Union</i>	86524	2009	---

**IRELAND**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>GP</b>	Comaóantas Glass-Green Party	53110	1999-2009	---
<b>SP</b>	Socialist Party <sup>19</sup>	53220	1989-2009	2004
<b>JH_Ind</b>	Joe Higgins <i>Independent</i>	53225	2009	---
<b>Lab</b>	Labour Party	53320	1979-2009	---
<b>PD</b>	Progressive Democrats	53420	1994	---
<b>MH_Ind</b>	Marian Harkin <i>Independent</i>	53425	2009	---
<b>FG</b>	Fine Gael <i>Family of the Irish</i>	53520	1979-2009	1984
<b>FF</b>	Fianna Fáil <i>The Republican Party</i>	53620	1979-2009	1984, 1989
<b>SF</b>	Sinn Féin 'We Ourselves'	53951	2004-2009	---

**ITALY**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>FdV</b>	Federazione de Verdi <i>Federation of Greens</i>	32110	1994, 2004	---
<b>PRC</b>	Partito della Rifondazione Comunista <i>Communist Refoundation Party</i>	32212	1994-2004	---
<b>PdCI</b>	Partito dei Comunisti Italiani <i>Party of Italian Communists</i>	32213	1999-2004	---
<b>PCI</b>	Partito Comunista Italiano <i>Party of Italian Communists</i>	32220	1979	---

<sup>19</sup> formerly: Páirtí na nOibrithe.

<b>Bonino-Pannella</b>	Partito Radicale - Lista Bonino-Pannella <i>Radical Party – List Bonino-Pannella</i>	32310	1999-2009	---
<b>PSI</b>	Socialisti Democratici Italiani <i>Socialist Party of Italy</i>	32320	1989	---
<b>PD</b>	Partito Democratico <i>Democratic Party</i>	32331	2009	---
<b>Sgarbi</b>	Lista Pri-Liberal/Sgarbi	32411	2004	---
<b>Dem</b>	I Democratici <i>The Democrats</i>	32423	1999	---
<b>UD.EUR</b>	Unione Democratici Europei <i>Democrats Union for Europe</i>	32426	2004	---
<b>Patto Segni</b>	Patto Segni	32513	1994, 2004	---
<b>PPI</b>	Partito Popolare Italiano <sup>20</sup> <i>People's Party of Italy</i>	32520	1984-1999	---
<b>CCD</b>	Centro Cristiano Democratico <i>Christian-Democratic Centre</i>	32521	1999	---
<b>UDC</b>	Unione dei democratici cristiani e dei democratici di centro <i>Union of Christian and Centre Democrats</i>	32523	2004-2009	---
<b>FI</b>	Forza Italia <i>Italy Ahead</i>	32610	1994-2004	---
<b>PdL</b>	Popolo della Libertà <sup>21</sup> <i>The People of Freedom</i>	32630	2009	---
<b>AN</b>	Alleanza Nazionale <i>National Alliance</i>	32710	1994-2004	---
<b>LN</b>	Lega Nord <i>North League</i>	32720	1994-2009	---
<b>SVP</b>	Südtiroler Volkspartei <i>South Tyrol People's Party</i>	32912	1999-2009	---
<b><i>Electoral Alliances</i></b>				
<b>Altra</b>	Lista Anticapitalista - Un'altra Europa <sup>22</sup> <i>Anticapitalist List – Another Europe</i>	32221	1994-2009	2004
<b>SEL</b>	Sinistra, Ecologia e Libertà <i>Left, Ecology and Freedom</i>	32333	2009	---
<b>IdV</b>	Italia dei Valori - Lista Di Pietro <i>Italy of Values – List Di Pietro</i>	32422	2004-2009	---
<b>FDL/PRI</b>	FDL/PRI	32435	1999	---
<b>Ulivo</b>	Ulivo	32445	1999-2004	---
<b>DS/SDI/La Margherita</b>	DS/SDI/La Margherita	32446	2004	---
<b>Auto-nomia</b>	L'Autonomia <i>The Autonomy</i>	32953	2009	---

<sup>20</sup> formerly: DP-Democrazia Cristiana.

<sup>21</sup> since 2013: Forza Italia, again.

<sup>22</sup> formerly: Partito Democratico della Sinistra (PDS).

**LATVIA**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>ZZS</b>	Zaļo un Zemnieku savienība <i>Green and Farmers Union</i>	87110	2004	---
<b>SC</b>	Saskanas Centrs <i>Harmony Centre</i>	87221	2009	---
<b>LC</b>	Latvijas ceļš <i>Latvia's Way</i>	87410	2004	---
<b>JL</b>	Jaunais laiks <i>New Era</i>	87431	2004-2009	---
<b>LPP</b>	Latvijas Pirmā Partija <i>Latvia's First Party</i>	87521	2004	---
<b>TP</b>	Tautas Partija <i>People's Party</i>	87610	2004-2009	---
<b>PS</b>	Pilsoniska Savienība <i>Civic Union</i>	87611	2009	---
<b>TB/LNNK</b>	Apvienība 'Tēvzemei un Brīvībai' <i>Alliance 'Fatherland and Freedom'</i>	87723	2004-2009	---
<b><i>Electoral Alliances</i></b>				
<b>LPP/LC</b>	Latvijas Pirmā Partija - Latvijas ceļš <i>Latvia's First Party – Latvia's Way</i>	87424	2009	---
<b>PCTVL</b>	Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā <i>For Human Rights in an United Latvia</i>	87951	2004-2009	---

**LITHUANIA**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>LSDP</b>	Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija <i>Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party</i>	88320	2004-2009	---
<b>DP</b>	Darbo Partija <i>Labour Party</i>	88322	2004-2009	---
<b>NS</b>	Naujoji Sąjunga <i>New Union</i>	88410	2004	---
<b>LRLS</b>	Lietuvos Respublikos liberalų sąjūdis <i>Liberal Movement of the Republic of Lithuania</i>	88423	2009	---
<b>LiCS</b>	Liberalų ir Centro Sąjunga <i>Liberal and Centre Union</i>	88433	2004-2009	---
<b>LKD</b>	Lietuvos Krikščionys Demokratai <i>Lithuanian Christian Democrats</i>	88521	2004	---
<b>TT (until 2006: LDP)</b>	Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas (until 2006: Liberalų Demokratų Partija) <i>Order and Justice Party</i>	88522	2004-2009	---
<b>KKSS</b>	Krikščionių konservatorių socialinės sąjungos <i>Christian Conservative Social Union</i>	88523	2004	---
<b>VNDPS</b>	Lietuvos valstiečių sąjunga <i>Lithuanian Peasants People Union</i>	88524	2004-2009	---

<b>TS</b>	Tėvynės Sąjunga Homeland Union	88620	2004	---
<b>TS-LKD</b>	Tėvynės Sąjunga - Lietuvos Krikščionys Demokratai <i>Homeland Union – Lithuanian Christian Democrats</i>	88621	2009	---
<b>LLRA</b>	Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija <i>Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action</i>	88951	2009	---
<b>LLRA/L RS</b>	Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcijos ir Lietuvos rusų sąjungos laisvės rinkimų programa	88952	2004	---
<b>LUXEMBOURG</b>				
<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>DG</b>	Déi Gréng (Alternativ) <i>The Greens</i>	23113	1984-2009	---
<b>LSAP</b>	Letzebuergesch Sozialistesche Arbechterpartei <i>Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party</i>	23320	1979-2009	1984
<b>DP</b>	Demokratesch Partei <i>Democratic Party</i>	23420	1979-2009	---
<b>CSV</b>	Chreschtlich Sozial Vollekspartei <i>Christian Social People's Party</i>	23520	1979-2009	---
<b>ADR</b>	Aktiounskomitee fir Demokratie Rentegerechtegkeet <i>Action Comity for Democracy and Pensions Justice</i>	23951	2004	---
<b>MALTA</b>				
<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>MLP</b>	Partit Laburista <i>Labour Party</i>	37320	2004-2009	---
<b>PN</b>	Partit Nazzjonalista <i>Nationalist Party</i>	37520	2004-2009	---
<b>THE NETHERLANDS</b>				
<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>GL</b>	GroenLinks <i>Green Left</i>	22110	1994-2009	---
<b>SP</b>	Socialistische Partij <i>Socialist Party</i>	22210	1989-2009	---
<b>PPR</b>	Politieke Partij Radikalen <i>Radical Party</i>	22310	1979	---
<b>CPN</b>	Communistische Partij van Nederland <i>Communist Party of the Netherlands</i>	22311	1979	---
<b>PvdA</b>	Partij van de Arbeid <i>Labour Party</i>	22320	1979-2009	---



<b>D66</b>	Democraten 66 <i>Democrats 66</i>	22330	1979-2009	---
<b>VVD</b>	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie <i>People's Party for Freedom and Democracy</i>	22420	1994-2009	---
<b>CDA</b>	Christen Democratisch Appèl <i>Christian Democratic Appeal</i>	22521	1994-2009	---
<b>RPF</b>	Reformatorische Politieke Federatie <i>Reformed Political Federation</i>	22526	1984-1989	---
<b>SGP</b>	Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij <i>Political Reformed Party</i>	22527	1979-1989	---
<b>GPV</b>	Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond <i>Reformed Political League</i>	22528	1989	---
<b>LPF</b>	Lijst Pim Fortuyn <i>List Pim Fortuyn</i>	22700	2004	---
<b>PVV</b>	Partij voor de Vrijheid <i>Party for Freedom</i>	22721	2009	---
<b>ET</b>	Europa Transparent <i>Europe Transparent</i>	22951	2004	---
<b><i>Electoral Alliances</i></b>				
<b>GLA/ Regenboog</b>	GLA/Regenboog: CPN/PPR/PSP	22125	1989	---
<b>CU/SGP</b>	ChristenUnie + Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij <sup>23</sup> <i>Christian Union + Reformed Political Party</i>	22225	1984-2009	---
<b>POLAND</b>				
<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>SDPL</b>	Socjaldemokracja Polska <i>Polish Social Democracy</i>	92323	2004	---
<b>UW</b>	Unia Wolności <i>Freedom Union</i>	92434	2004	---
<b>PO</b>	Platforma Obywatelska <i>Civic Platform</i>	92435	2004-2009	---
<b>PiS</b>	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość <i>Law and Justice</i>	92436	2004-2009	---
<b>SO</b>	Samobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej <i>Self-defence of the Republic of Poland</i>	92622	2004-2009	---
<b>LPR</b>	Liga Polskich Rodzin <i>League of Polish Families</i>	92713	2004	---
<b>PSL</b>	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe <i>Polish People's Party</i>	92811	2004-2009	---
<b><i>Electoral Alliances</i></b>				
<b>SLD-UP</b>	Koalicja Sojuszu Lewicy Demokratycznej i Unii Pracy <i>Election Coalition Committee of the Democratic Left Alliance – Labour Union</i>	92210	2004-2009	---

<sup>23</sup> since 2004; formerly: RPF/SGP/GPV.

<b>PdP-CL</b>	Porozumienie dla Przyszlosci - Centro Lewica <i>Coalition Agreement for the Future – Centre Left</i>	92437	2009	---
<b>PORTUGAL</b>				
<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>PEV</b>	Partido Ecologista - Os Verdes <i>Ecologist Party - The Greens</i>	35110	1994-1999	---
<b>PCP</b>	Partido Comunista Português	35220	1987-1999	---
<b>BE</b>	Bloco do Esquerda <i>Left Block</i>	35223	2004-2009	---
<b>PS</b>	Partido Socialista Português <i>Socialist Party</i>	35311	1989-2009	---
<b>PSD</b>	Partido Social Democrata <i>Social Democratic Party</i>	35313	1987-2009	2004
<b>PP</b>	Partido Popular <sup>24</sup> <i>Popular Party</i>	35314	1987-2009	1989
<i><b>Electoral Alliances</b></i>				
<b>CDU (PCP/PEV)</b>	Coligação Democrática Unitária <i>Unitarian Democratic Coalition</i>	35225	2004-2009	---
<b>PSD-PP</b>	Coligação Força Portugal	35319	2004	---
<b>ROMANIA</b>				
<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>PDL</b>	Partidul Democrat-Liberal <i>Democratic Liberal Party</i>	93323	2009	---
<b>PNL</b>	Partidul Național Liberal <i>National Liberal Party</i>	93430	2009	---
<b>PRM</b>	Partidul România Mare <i>Greater Romanian Party</i>	93712	2009	---
<b>UDMR</b>	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România <i>Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania</i>	93951	2009	---
<b>EB_Ind</b>	Elena Băsescu <i>Independent</i>	93952	2009	---
<i><b>Electoral Alliances</b></i>				
<b>PSD-PC</b>	Alianța Politică Partidul Social Democrat + Partidul Conservator <i>Social Democratic Party + Conservative Party Alliance</i>	93601	2009	---

<sup>24</sup> until 1995: partido do Centro Democrático Social (CDS).

**SLOVAKIA**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>SDL</b>	Strana Demokratickej L'avice <i>Party of Democratic Left</i>	96220	2004	---
<b>KSS</b>	Komunistická strana Slovenska <i>Slovak Communist Party</i>	96222	2004	---
<b>Smer</b>	Strana Smer - Tretia Cesta <i>Party Direction – Third Way</i>	96423	2004-2009	---
<b>ANO</b>	Alianca Nového Občana <i>New Civic Alliance</i>	96424	2004	---
<b>KDH</b>	Kresťansko-demokratické hnutie <i>Christian Democratic Movement</i>	96521	2004-2009	---
<b>SDKÚ-DS</b>	Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská únia - Demokratická strana	96523	2004-2009	---
<b>SF</b>	Free Forum	96524	2004	---
<b>SNS</b>	Slovenská národná strana <i>Slovak National Party</i>	96710	2009	---
<b>LS-HZDS</b>	L'udova strana Hnutie za Demokratické Slovensko <i>People's Party – Movement for Democratic Slovakia</i>	96711	2004-2009	---
<b>SMK-MKP</b>	Strana maďarskej koalície - Magyar Koalíció Pártja <i>Party of the Hungarian Coalition</i>	96955	2004-2009	---

**SLOVENIA**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>SDS</b>	Slovenska demokratska stranka <i>Slovenian Democratic Party</i>	97320	2004-2009	---
<b>SD</b>	Socialni demokrati <sup>25</sup> <i>Social Democrats</i>	97321	2004-2009	---
<b>LDS</b>	Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije <i>Liberal Democracy of Slovenia</i>	97421	2004-2009	---
<b>Zares</b>	Zares <i>For Real</i>	97431	2009	---
<b>NSi</b>	Nova Slovenija Krščanski Ljudska Stranka <i>New Slovenia – Christian People's Party</i>	97522	2004-2009	---
<b>SLS</b>	SLS Slovenska Ljudska Stranka <sup>26</sup> <i>SLS Slovenian People's Party</i>	97620	2004-2009	---

<sup>25</sup> formerly: Socialnih demokratov; Združena Lista socialnih demokratov (ZLSD).

<sup>26</sup> formerly: SLS + SKD Slovenska Ljudska Stranka (SLS + SKD).

# SPAIN

Initials	Party Name	EMCS ID	Elections First-Last	Manifestos Not Available
<b>PSOE</b>	Partido Socialista Obrero Español <i>Spanish Socialist Workers' Party</i>	33320	1987-2009	---
<b>CDS</b>	Centro Democrático y Social/Coalición Foro <i>Social and Democratic Centre/Coalition Forum</i>	33512	1987-2009	1994, 1999, 2004
<b>PP</b>	Partido Popular <sup>27</sup> <i>People's Party</i>	33610	1987-2009	---
<b>EA</b>	Eusko Alkartasuna <i>Basque Solidarity</i>	33903	1994, 2004	---
<b>EH</b>	Euskal Herritarrok <sup>28</sup> <i>Basque Country</i>	33907	1994-2004	---
<b>ARM</b>	Agrupación Ruiz-Mateos <i>Ruiz-Mateos Group</i>	33913	1994	---
<b>CC</b>	Coalición Canaria <i>Canarias Coalition</i>	33914	2004	---
<i>Electoral Alliances</i>				
<b>Los Verdes</b>	Partido Verde Europeo <i>European Green Party</i>	33101	2004-2009	---
<b>IU-ICV</b>	Izquierda Unida <i>United Left</i>	33220	1989-2009	---
<b>UPyD</b>	Unión progreso y democracia <i>Union, Progress, and Democracy</i>	33440	2009	---
<b>CiU</b>	Convergència i Unió <i>Convergence and Union</i>	33611	1987-2009	---
<b>PNV - EAJ</b>	Partido Nacionalista Vasco - Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea <i>Basque Nationalist Party</i>	33902	1989-2009	1994
<b>ERC</b>	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya <i>Republican Left of Catalonia</i>	33905	1989-2009	1999
<b>BNG</b>	Bloque nacionalista Galego <i>Galician Nationalist Bloc</i>	33911	1994-2009	2004
<b>EdIP</b>	Europa de los Pueblos <i>Europe of the Peoples</i>	33930	1989, 2004	---
<b>pEdIP</b>	Por la Europa de los Pueblos <i>For a Europe of the Peoples</i>	33935	1994	---
<b>Galeusca</b>	Galeusca	33941	2004	---
<b>CE</b>	Coalición Europea <i>European Coalition</i>	33950	2004	---

<sup>27</sup> formerly: Alianza Popular (AP).

<sup>28</sup> formerly: Herri Batasuna (HB).

**SWEDEN**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>MP</b>	Miljöpartiet de Gröna <i>Environmental Party the Greens</i>	11110	1995-2009	---
<b>V</b>	Vänsterpartiet <i>Left Party</i>	11220	1995-2009	---
<b>S</b>	Sverige Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti <i>Swedish Social Democratic Party</i>	11320	1995-2009	---
<b>FP</b>	Folkpartiet Liberalerna <i>Liberal People's Party</i>	11420	1995-2009	---
<b>KD</b>	Kristdemokraterna <i>Christian Democrats</i>	11520	1995-2009	---
<b>M</b>	Moderata Samlingspartiet <i>Moderate Rally Party</i>	11620	1995-2009	---
<b>CP</b>	Centerpartiet <i>Centre Party</i>	11810	1995-2009	---
<b>Junilistan</b>	Junilistan	11952	2004-2009	---
<b>PP</b>	Piratpartiet <i>Pirate Party</i>	11953	2009	---

**UNITED KINGDOM**

<b>Initials</b>	<b>Party Name</b>	<b>EMCS ID</b>	<b>Elections First-Last</b>	<b>Manifestos Not Available</b>
<b>Greens</b>	Green Party	51110	1989-2009	---
<b>Lab</b>	Labour Party	51320	1979-2009	---
<b>LD</b>	Liberal Democrats	51421	1989-2009	---
<b>Cons</b>	Conservative Party	51620	1979-2009	---
<b>BNP</b>	British National Party	51701	2009	---
<b>PC</b>	Plaid Cymru	51901	1984-2009	1989
<b>SNP</b>	Scottish National Party	51902	1989-2009	---
<b>UKIP</b>	United Kingdom Independence Party	51951	1994-2009	---
<i>Northern Ireland</i>				
<b>SDLP</b>	Social Democratic and Labour Party	51340	1979-2009	---
<b>DUP</b>	Democratic Unionist Party	51903	1984-2009	---
<b>UUP</b>	Ulster Unionist Party	51904	1984-2004	---
<b>Respect</b>	Respect - The Unity Coalition	51952	2004	---
<b>SF</b>	Sinn Fein 'We Ourselves'	51953	2004-2009	---
<i>Electoral Alliances</i>				
<b>LP/SDP</b>	LP/SDP	51415	1984	---

### **3. EM Coding Procedure**

Content analysis, by and large, contains two major steps. A text needs to be divided into smaller units first. Such units may be words, sentences, or quasi-sentences. The latter option is referred to in the EM Coding Procedure. 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. The former thus also shares the latter's reliability issues, which is generally a major concern in content analysis. These issues aggravate because the EMCS coding scheme even goes beyond the MRG 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. Therefore, this chapter deals with the characteristics and differences of the two coding procedures in further detail, by firstly highlighting the 1979/2004 one and then continuing with the procedural changes in 2009.

#### **3.1 The Coding Procedure**

The election programs are analysed by methods of content analysis which is 'a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Berelson 1971: 18). The method can be applied to a wide range of different materials and research questions. The purpose of this section is to describe the specific form of content analysis to be undertaken in manifesto research.

The specific kind of internal, quantitative analysis is derived from the question as to what ideas, policies, issues, and concerns parties stress in their platforms. The methods of coding are designed to be comparable over a wide range of countries irrespective of cultural and socio-economic differences. A classification scheme with invariant general categories is used to cover the total content of election programs by identifying statements of preference expressed in them. This classification scheme contains 170 different categories grouped into seven major policy domains. Each of the 170 categories sums up related issues in a way that changes over time can be measured across parties and culture. Thus, the coding procedure comprises a quantification (how many statements do parties make?) and a classification (what kind of statements do parties make?) of election programs.

##### **3.1.1 Quantification: The Coding Unit**

The coding unit in a given program is the 'quasi-sentence', defined as an argument. An argument is the verbal expression of one political idea or issue. In its simplest form, a

sentence is the basic unit of meaning. Therefore, punctuation can be used as a guideline for identifying arguments. The starting point of coding is the sentence, but what we are aiming for is an argument. In its shortest form, a sentence contains a subject, a verb and an attribute or an adjective.

Examples:     ‘We make a stand for a democratic Europe.’  
                  ‘We support more rights for the European Parliament.’

Obviously, these two sentences contain two different arguments which are easy to identify and to distinguish. But unfortunately, languages are more complex, and it is a question of style how to express the same political ideas.

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

In this case, the two statements are combined in one sentence, but for our purposes are still treated as two different arguments. Long sentences are decomposed into ‘quasi-sentences’ if the sense changes within the sentence. In most cases, one sentence which covers two (or more) arguments can be easily transformed into two (or more) quasi-sentences by repeating substantives and/or verbs. Thus, a ‘quasi-sentence’ is a set of words containing one and only one political idea. It stops either at the end of an argument or at a full stop (period). In many cases, arguments are combined and related into one sentence.

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

These are two quasi-sentences, because there are two political goals, i.e. democracy and rights for the EP, which can be transformed into two quasi-sentences:

Examples:     ‘We make a stand for more democracy in Europe.’  
                  ‘We promote more rights for the European Parliament.’

Thus, long sentences may combine two or more arguments which are often contained by commas, semicolons or colons. A list of arguments, sometimes marked with hyphens or dots, is treated as if separated with full stops.

Example:       ‘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 (1. fight for clean air; 2. promote higher standards in water protection; 3. put the environment on top of the EP's agenda) express the same general idea, i.e. environmental protection, but different issues in this policy field. Because distinct policies are mentioned for environmental protection, three different quasi-sentences are identified. This list of policies may be given in the following way for which the same number of quasi-sentences is coded as for the list given above:

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.

Thus, if different issues - however short - are dealt with in the same sentence they constitute different quasi-sentences even if they apply to the same policy field. On the other hand, the same argument may be very long and may occupy a lot of space, but still be only one quasi-sentence.

#### **Step No 1: *Identifying Quasi- Sentences***

1. Xerox the respective party program. 2. Start with reading the first paragraph. 3. Look at each sentence of the first paragraph. 4. Identify the number of arguments by transforming them into quasi-sentences. 5. Mark all quasi-sentences in the first paragraph.

Some parts of a platform, like statistics, tables of content and section headings are not considered as text to be coded and, therefore, do not count as quasi-sentences. Introductory remarks by party leaders are equally ignored since the ideal-type of a platform is defined as authoritative statements of parties. All the other parts of a platform constitute the basis of analysis. The total number of units of analysis equals the total number of quasi-sentences identified for the relevant text of a given platform.



### **3.1.2 Classification: The Euromanifestos Coding Scheme (EMCS)**

Four types of comparisons are possible in this project: (1) comparisons of changes in policy positions or in emphases over time within specific parties; (2) differences in policy positions or in emphases across parties; (3) differences across countries; and, (4) differences between elections to the European Parliament and to national parliaments.

#### **3.1.2.1 *Content Codes***

The basic data sought to support such comparisons are the shares of election programs devoted to each category in a set of standardised issue areas. Comparison requires standardisation. The Manifesto Project, after much experimentation and discussion, developed a coding system, whereby each quasi-sentence of every election program is coded into one, and only one, of 56 standard categories. The 56 categories were grouped into seven major policy areas. The coding categories are designed, as far as possible, to be comparable between parties, countries and over time.

For the EMP, three modifications have been made, but the well-known MRG/CMP coding frame retained its central role:

- (1) 54 out of the 56 MRG/CMP codes build the core of the Euromanifestos Coding Scheme (EMCS). The two remaining codes have been divided into sub-codes. In addition, more generally applicable sub-codes than in the original MRG/CMP coding frame have been developed. For comparative purposes, all EMCS subcodes can be aggregated into the original EMP/CMP standard codes.
- (2) The MRG/CMP coding frame has been “mirrored” two times (tripled to 162 codes) to document whether
  - the content has an explicit focus on the party’s country as political protagonist or political arena (national, sub-national or local level)
  - the content has an explicit focus on Europe as a historical, political or economical unit or the EC/EU as political protagonist or political arena (supra-national level)
  - the content has neither an explicit focus on the party’s country nor on Europe/ the EC/EU as protagonist or political arena (including content referring to all (other) peoples of the world)

5 of the 162 ‘mirrored’ codes were found not to be applicable to the EMP, so 157 codes remained.

- (3) 13 additional codes have exclusively been developed for the political system of the EC/EU (mirror 2.2).

Thus, the EMCS essentially consists of 170 codes and 86 sub-codes. 13 of the codes exclusively apply to the political system of the EC/EU, and the remaining 157 codes are – with only 5 exceptions – the tripled MRG/CMP coding frame. Neglecting the political level, there are all in all 69 standard ‘content’ categories.

### **3.1.2.2      *Political Level***

The structure of the codes reflects the logic of the code construction. Therefore, the first digit indicates the political level pertaining to the mirroring of the MRG/CMP coding frame. The level digit is being determined by two meaning elements and two decision rules. **The meaning elements are:**

**the governmental frame** that may be part of an argument

[with the codes (1) National government, (2) EC/EU government and (3) World government or unspecific]; and

**the policy scope** that may be part of an argument

[with the codes (1) the nation or sub-national entities, (2) the EC/EU/Europe, and (3) the world or unspecific].

#### **Decision Rules on the Political Level**

If only one meaning element is present, it defines the code; if both elements are present but do not suggest the same code, governmental frame beats policy scope.

This first ‘level’ digit (1, 2, and 3) is separated from the ‘content’ digits by a hyphen. In the coding scheme, there are two ways in which definitions are given. One way is one separate definition for each political level of a content code. The other way is just one definition for the content code of all three levels: then an ‘x’ appears instead of the level digit which means that the level (1, 2, or 3) should be easily assigned by the coder without having a level-specific definition. The level digit and the following three digits form the 170 EM codes. In 89 cases, sub-codes are indicated by one additional, a fifth digit.

After identifying the quasi-sentences in the first paragraph, the next stage of the coding procedure is to decide which of the 69 standard categories of the Euromanifestos Coding Scheme a respective quasi-sentence expresses. Each category of the EMCS is specified by a set of typical issues and political ideas. Before starting the coding procedure, the coder should read through the EMCS and its defining ideas and issues several times. With 69 standard categories the EMCS is reasonably scarce so that titles of categories and their defining

characteristics can be easily memorised. The better the coder can memorise the categories and their specifications, the easier and faster the coding procedure will be.

For the example given above, the introductory sentence clearly indicates that the political level in which political action should be taken is the European Union. Therefore, the first digit has to be a '2', if there is no further deviation or specification. The category numbers (2-501) 'Environmental Protection (in the EC/EU)', (2-503) 'Social Justice (in the EC/EU)', (2-701) 'Labour Groups (in the EC/EU): Positive', (2-304) 'Political Corruption (in the EC/EU)', and (2-607) 'Multiculturalism (in the EC/EU): Positive', are noted down at the margin of the copied election program:

[codes]	[manifesto text]
	'In the European Union, we will
2-501	- fight for clean air
2-501	- promote higher standards in water protection;
2-501	- put the environment on top of the EP's agenda;
2-503	- secure social justice;
2-701	- guarantee the rights of employees;
2-304	- fight against corruption;
2-607	- retain our cultural diversity.

This is, of course, a rather simple example. However, it already contains at least two crucial decisions that deserve special attention. The first decision is to be made concerning the political level. In the example, it is perfectly clear that the list of arguments applies to Europe, the EC/EU. Yet, if the first sentence only read 'We will' instead of 'In the European Union, we will', the political level could have been less certain, and the subsequent code could have been '3' (or even '1') instead of '2'. The second decision applies to 'guarantee the rights of employees' which gets the code 2-701 (Labour Groups (in the EC/EU): Positive). At first sight, the code does not quite fit the content. However, there is no 'support for employees'

### **Step No 2: *Classifying the Quasi-Sentences***

Read the whole of the first paragraph before you start coding the first quasi-sentence because the context may give you hints how to code an otherwise ambiguous argument. Look to see whether one of the 69 standard categories definitely captures the sense of the first identified quasi-sentence and note down the respective number of the category at the margin of the page. Repeat this procedure for all the quasi-sentences of the first paragraph. Then proceed with the next paragraph by repeating step no 1.

category, and ‘favourable references to employees’ is included in the far-reaching ‘Labour Groups: Positive’ categories. While the MRG/CMP does not explicitly take into account political levels, the decision about the political level is crucial for the success of the Euromanifestos Project. We want to know whether content does explicitly point to (1) the manifesto country, (2) Europe or the EC/EU as governmental frame or to (3) neither one of these. This decision can be a delicate task. Another example shows all three levels:

<b>[codes]</b>	<b>[manifesto text]</b>
3-503	We totally support women’s aspirations for equality.
2-503	We welcome the directives of the EEC on the principle of equal treatment in access to employment.
1-503	We recognise that in establishing equal status for women our country lags far behind.

If, however, the political level cannot be detected by simply reading the sentence or the quasi-sentence, follow the decision rules originally developed for the content categories, and apply it to the political level. If this does not help at all, the political level remains unspecified and should be coded with ‘3’.

### **3.1.2.3      *Categories with Country-Specific Meanings***

In most of the cases, the categories have clear-cut meanings which are applicable to all countries. But some categories have country-specific contents or require country-specific definitions. The categories (1-101) ‘Foreign Special Relations: Positive’ and (1-102) ‘Foreign Special Relations: Negative’ have country-specific meanings. Here, the coder has to decide in advance with which other country or countries the manifesto country (i.e. the country he or she is coding) has a ‘special foreign relationship’; for example, in the British case: former colonies, in the Swedish case: the rest of Scandinavia. The category (1-705) ‘Minorities’ equally requires a definition of what groups are considered as underprivileged in the manifesto country. The specific content of these categories must be spelled out as notes in a coding protocol.

#### **Step No 3: Coding Protocol for all Country-Specific Categories and Codings**

Note down definitions for all country-specific categories in a coding protocol. The coding has to be done in as uniform a way as possible. For comparative reasons, the greatest possible standardisation has to be achieved. Therefore, the coder must note down every coding decision he or she made if the procedure is not particularly mentioned in this handbook.

### 3.1.2.4 *Coding Problems and Difficulties*

Not all of the arguments are as clear as the examples given above. Three difficulties may appear in the process of applying step no 2:

- a. No category seems to apply.
- b. More than one category seem to apply.
- c. The statement seems unclear.

#### *a. No Category Seems to Apply*

The coding frame was created to capture the total platform content. Nonetheless, it may be that no category is available for a particular problem in a particular country. These quasi-sentences are treated as uncodable (x-000). It is important to realize that ‘uncoded’ does not necessarily mean that a sentence is devoid of meaning (although of course it may be), only that it cannot be fitted into the EMCS. However, the general rule is that sentences should be coded if at all possible. To follow this general rule there are a number of specific decision rules on how to tackle with difficult coding decisions.

In many countries some of the categories are not much used (for instance (1-405) ‘Corporatism’ and (1-409) ‘Keynesian Demand Management’), but are vital for comparative reasons. Therefore, some categories may be left empty at the end of the coding procedure. On the other hand categories used seldomly are the most difficult to handle.

#### **Decision Rule No 1:** *Checking Definitions of all Categories in Policy Domains*

Whenever tempted to treat a quasi-sentence as uncodable, reread the definitions of categories in the relevant policy domains because it might well be that the quasi-sentence contains a policy position that is only taken seldomly. Therefore, the specific definition of the respective category may just not be easily recalled.

A quasi-sentence may be without meaning but may nevertheless be part of the discussion of a problem and has a stylistic or linking function, for example:

‘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. ...’

These are three quasi-sentences. The middle sentence itself is devoid of any policy-content but is a part of the same argument. Therefore, category (2-7031) ‘Agriculture and Farmers (in the EC/EU): Positive’ is coded three times.

**Decision Rule No 2: *Identifying Connecting Sentences***

Some sentences, which may otherwise be uncodable, may just be connecting sentences between two arguments (for instance: Therefore, we are going to do three things.) These connecting sentences themselves do not constitute meaningful arguments but are part of an ongoing argument. Therefore, connecting sentences should be coded in the same category as surrounding sentences or as the bulk of the paragraph they appear in.

Because of the general rule to classify quasi-sentences if at all possible, all quasi-sentences treated as uncodable must be checked again after coding the total program. Uncoded quasi-sentences may be biased in meaning, that is, they may have a common thrust. Some quasi-sentences may contain country-specific issues which are not particularly mentioned in the definition of the category but nonetheless be subsumable under one of the 69 standard categories. Should this be the case, it must be noted down in the coding protocol according to step no. 3. Other quasi-sentences may have a country-specific bias too strong to be subsumed under one of the 69 standard categories. For these quasi-sentences a new subcategory may be developed to capture the content of these otherwise uncodable sentences. Subcategories must always be nested into the 69 categories so that they can be aggregated up to one of the 69 categories. For instance, 1-1101 is nested into 1-110, 2-6021 is nested into 2-602.

**Decision Rule No 3: *Creating Subcategories***

Look at all uncoded sentences a second time and try to figure out whether some of these statements have an equivalent meaning. Make sure that there really is no related Standard Category that captures the sense of these quasi-sentences. Should many quasi-sentences contain the same arguments which are not subsumable under one of the 69 standard categories, note down a temporary 5-digit code and a temporary definition for a new subcategory and contact the supervisor. Do not create subcategories for each and every single issue because this is useless even when comparing parties from the same party system. Never create new categories without checking with the supervisor because you may destroy the comparability of the data.

**b. *More than One Category Seem to Apply***

The opposite difficulty of uncodable sentences is that more than one category seems to apply. This difficulty can be dealt with by applying the following decision rules:

**Decision Rule No 4: *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 guidelines for coding although section headings themselves are not to be coded.

If headings are not given or do not apply to the argument in question, a couple of decision rules are to be followed for the most common cases. The problem of choosing between two categories often occurs with respect to group politics, for instance: ‘We want more social security for the workers in our country’. In this case, category (1-701) ‘Labour Groups (in the Manifesto Country): Positive’ or category (1-504) ‘Welfare State Expansion (in the Manifesto Country)’ may apply.

**Decision Rule No 6: *Specific Policy Positions ‘Beat’ (x-305) ‘Political Authority’***

Whenever there is a choice between category (x-305) ‘Political Authority’, defined as the party’s general competence to govern or the general critique of opponent parties’ competence, on the one hand and another category from Policy Domains 1 to 7, the specific policy position is to be chosen.

For all other cases in which more than one category seems to apply, the coder has to decide what the most important concern of the argument is since one, and only one, category has to be chosen for each argument.

*c. The Statement Seems Unclear*

**Decision Rule No 5: *Specific Policy Positions ‘Beat’ Group Politics except Group (x 703) ‘Agriculture’***

Whenever there is a choice between a specific policy position given in Policy Domains 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 on the one hand and a social group from Domain 7 on the other hand, take the specific policy position. This rule does not apply to category (x-703) ‘Agriculture’. All quasi-sentences devoted to agriculture are to be coded into category x-703, even if a specific policy position such as (x-402) ‘Incentives’ or (x-410) ‘Economic Growth’ is taken to further the interests of farmers.

Even after applying decision rules no. 1 to 7, one may still not be sure where an argument goes. Many of these problems may be solved by taking the context of the ambiguous quasi-sentence into account. Coders should first of all take into account the following sentences because the first (quasi-)sentence may be part of an argument explicated in the next sentences. It is thus always useful to start the coding procedure by reading the whole paragraph.

In some cases, crucial decisions have to be made with respect to the manifest or latent content of statements. No inferences should be made with respect to the meaning of statements. The coder has to code what the statement says, not what he or she thinks it may lead to in the end. As with uncodable sentences, all unclear statements should be marked and reread at the end. Some of the coding problems will be solved with growing experience. However, whenever the coder is unsure about which category to take, the supervisor (Andreas.Wuest@mzes.uni-

mannheim.de) should be contacted. The sentences in question can be translated into English and the coding decision is then taken and explained by the supervisor.

### 3.1.3 Coding Sheet

After finishing the coding of a platform, a tally is kept on a coding sheet given in this section. The enclosed coding sheet shows the respective country, party, and election year and gives the absolute number of quasi-sentences coded into each standard category of the standard coding frame as well as the total number of quasi-sentences. Two additional tables provide information on the source of the manifesto (or the document that is used as substitution for a missing manifesto) and document the coder's placement of the manifesto on seven scales.

On the following pages, the second edition of the EMCS (developed for 2004) is documented. The first edition is available online.<sup>29</sup> Compared to the MRG/CMP Coding Frame, all codes (formerly 3 digits) and all sub-codes (formerly 4 or 5 digits) get an additional (first) digit (x), separated from the original MRG/CMP code by a hyphen:

x = 1 = National

*the governmental frame of the content is national, sub-national or local.*

x = 2 = Europe

*the governmental frame of the content is the EC/EU.*

x = 3 = n.s.

*the governmental frame of the content is not European, national, subnational or local.*

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<sup>29</sup> <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/publications/wp/wp-64.pdf>



New Codes developed for 2004 are denoted by [New sub-category in 2004]

## **DOMAIN 1: External Relations**

### *1-101 Foreign Special Relationships (FSR) of the Manifesto Country: 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 co-operation with and/or aid to such countries.

*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.*

[New sub-category in 2004]

#### *1-1011 FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU: Positive*

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

#### *1-1012 FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU: Positive*

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

#### *1-1013 FSR to Russia: Positive*

Favourable mentions of Russia.

[2-101 Foreign Special Relationships of Europe, the EC/EU: Positive]

[Two subcategories have been created; do exclusively use the sub-categories!]

#### *2-1011 FSR to USA: Positive*

Favourable mentions of the United States of America; need for co-operation of the EU with the USA.

[New sub-category in 2004]

#### *2-1012 FSR to Russia: Positive*

Favourable mentions of Russia; need for co-operation of the EU with Russia.

### *1-102 Foreign Special Relationships (FSR) of the Manifesto Country: Negative*

Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; otherwise as 1-101, but negative.

*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.*

[New sub-category in 2004]

#### *1-1021 FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU: Negative*

Negative mentions of Eastern European countries who are now members of the EU.

[New sub-category in 2004]

#### *1-1022 FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU: Negative*

Negative mentions of Eastern European countries who are not members of the EU.

[New sub-category in 2004]

*1-1023 FSR to Russia: Negative*

Negative mentions of Russia.

*[2-102 Foreign Special Relationships of Europe, the EC/EU: Negative]*

*[Two subcategories have been created; do exclusively use the sub-categories!]*

*2-1021 FSR to USA: Negative*

Negative mentions of the United States of America; no need for co-operation of the EU with the USA; otherwise as 2-1011, but negative.

[New sub-category in 2004]

*2-1022 FSR to Russia: Negative*

Negative mentions of Russia; no need for co-operation of the EU with Russia; otherwise as 2-1012, but negative.

*x-103 Anti-Imperialism*

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.

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

*1-104 Military in the Manifesto Country: 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.

*2-104 Military in Europe, the EC/EU: 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 co-operation within the EC/EU or the formation of EC/EC armed forces.

*3-104 Military in Other Countries/Worldwide: 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.

*1-105 Military in the Manifesto Country: Negative*

Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament; "evils of war"; promises to reduce conscription; otherwise as 1-104, but negative.

*2-105 Military in Europe; the EC/EU: Negative*

Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament; "evils of war"; promises to reduce conscription; no need for military co-operation within the EC/EU or EU/EC armed forces; otherwise as 2-104, but negative.

### *3-105 Military in Other Countries/Worldwide: Negative*

Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament; "evils of war"; promises to reduce conscription; otherwise as 3-104, but negative.

### *x-106 Peace*

Peace as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises; desirability of the manifesto country (x=1), the EC/EU (x=2) or other countries (x=3) joining in negotiations with hostile countries.

### *x-107 Internationalism: Positive*

Need for international cooperation; cooperation with specific countries other than those coded in 101; 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.

### *1-108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive*

Favourable mentions of Europe or the EC/EU referring to the manifesto country.

### *2-108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive*

Favourable mentions of Europe, the EC/EU in general. 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 3.2 instead.*

### *3-108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive*

Favourable mentions of Europe or the EC/EU referring to the rest of the world or specific non-European countries.

### *x-109 Internationalism: Negative*

Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty as opposed to Internationalism; otherwise see as x-107, but negative.

### *1-110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative*

Hostile mentions of Europe or the EC/EU referring to the manifesto country in general; as 1 108, but negative.

### *1-1101 Financing the EC/EU: Negative*

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

### *2-110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative*

Hostile mentions of Europe, the EC/EU in general. The idea of a more integrated Europe/EC/EU is rejected; no "deepening of Europe" necessary.

*Note: For other Specific hostile mentions than 1-1101 refer to other codes, especially in Domain 3.2 instead.*

### *3-110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative*

Hostile mentions of Europe or the EC/EU referring to the rest of the world or specific non-European countries; as 3 108, but negative.

## **DOMAIN 2: *Freedom and Democracy***

### *[x-201 Freedom and Human Rights]*

*[Two subcategories have been created; do exclusively use the sub-categories!]*

#### *1-2011 Freedom*

Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom; freedom from bureaucratic control; freedom from coercion in political and economic sphere; individualism in the manifesto country.

#### *2-2011 Freedom*

Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom; freedom from bureaucratic control; freedom from coercion in political and economic sphere; individualism in Europe, the EC/EU.

#### *3-2011 Freedom*

Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom; freedom from bureaucratic control; freedom from coercion in political and economic sphere; individualism in other countries or worldwide.

#### *1-2012 Human Rights*

Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights; freedom of speech in the manifesto country; supportive national refugee policies.

#### *2-2012 Human Rights*

Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights; freedom of speech in Europe, the EC/EU; supportive European refugee policies.

#### *3-2012 Human Rights*

Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights; freedom of speech; supportive refugee policies in other countries/worldwide.

#### *1-202 Democracy in the Manifesto Country*

Favourable mentions of democracy as a method or goal in organizations in the manifesto country; involvement of all citizens in decision-making, as well as generalized support for the manifesto country's democracy.

#### *2-202 Democracy in Europe, the EC/EU*

Favourable mentions of democracy as a method or goal in Europe, the EC/EU; involvement of all citizens in decision-making in Europe, the EC/EU, as well as generalized support for democracy in Europe.

#### *2-2021 Lack of Democracy in Europe, the EC/EU*

The lack of democracy in Europe, the EC/EU in general is criticized.

*Note: For reference to specific EC/EU institutions see DOMAIN 3.2 instead.*

#### *3-202 Democracy in Other Countries and in General*

Favourable mentions of democracy as a method or goal in organizations in other countries or worldwide; involvement of all citizens in decision-making, as well as generalized support for democracy (worldwide).

### *1-203 Constitutionalism in the Manifesto Country: 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.

### *2-203 Constitutionalism in Europe, the EC/EU: 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 Europe, the EC/EU (as defined by the EC/EU treaties). Need for an European constitution.

### *3-203 Constitutionalism in Other Countries or in General: 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 other countries or in general.

### *1-204 Constitutionalism in the Manifesto Country: Negative*

Opposition to the constitution in general or to specified aspects of it in the manifesto country; otherwise as 1-203, but negative.

### *2-204 Constitutionalism in Europe, the EC/EU: Negative*

Opposition to the constitution in general or to specified aspects of it in Europe, the EC/EU (as defined by the EC/EU treaties); otherwise as 2-203, but negative. No need for an European constitution.

### *3-204 Constitutionalism in Other Countries or in General: Negative*

Opposition to the constitution in general or to specified aspects of it in other countries, worldwide or in general; otherwise as 3-203, but negative.

## **DOMAIN 3.1: Political System (in general)**

### *1-301 Decentralization in the Manifesto Country: Positive*

Support for federalism or devolution in the manifesto country; more regional autonomy 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.

### *2-301 Decentralization of Europe, the EC/EU: Positive*

Support for a less unitary Europe, the EC/EU; more national and regional autonomy 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.

### *2-3011 Transfer of Power to the EC/EU: 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.

### *3-301 Decentralization in Other Countries or in General: Positive*

Support for federalism or devolution; more regional autonomy 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.

### *1-302 Decentralization in the Manifesto Country: Negative*

Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels in the manifesto country; support for more centralization in political and administrative procedures; otherwise as 1-301, but negative.

### *2-302 Decentralization of Europe, the EC/EU: Negative*

Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels of Europe, the EC/EU; support for more centralization (Europeanization) in political and administrative procedures; otherwise as 1-302, but negative.

### *2-3021 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.

### *3-302 Decentralization in Other Countries or in General: Negative*

Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels; support for more centralization in political and administrative procedures; otherwise as 3-301, but negative.

### *1-303 Executive and Administrative Efficiency in the Manifesto Country*

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

### *2-303 Executive and Administrative Efficiency in Europe, the EC/EU*

Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration of Europe or the EC/EU (f.i. the European Commission or “Brussels”); cutting down civil service; improving governmental procedures; general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more effective.

### *3-303 Executive and Administrative Efficiency in Other Countries or in General*

Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration with reference to other countries or in general; cutting down civil service; improving governmental procedures; general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more effective.

### *x-304 Political Corruption*

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

### *1-305 Political Authority*

Favourable mentions of strong government in/for the manifesto country, including government stability; manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence.

### *2-305 Political Authority*

Favourable mentions of strong government in Europe, the EC/EU (f.i. the Commission), including government stability; manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence.

### *3-305 Political Authority*

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

### **DOMAIN 3.2: Political System of the European Union**

[by definition, x=2 only]

#### *2-306 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.

#### *2-307 Competences of the European Parliament: 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.

#### *2-308 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.

#### *2-309 Competences 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.

#### *2-310 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: 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.

#### *2-3101 Unanimity in the (European) Council*

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

#### *2-311 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.

#### *2-3111 Majority Voting in the (European) Council*

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.

#### *2-312 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.

#### *2-313 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.

#### *2-314 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: Positive*

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

##### *2-3141 Positive Mentions of the European Central Bank*

*Note: Check 2-414 (economic orthodoxy).*

#### *2-315 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: Negative*

Negative mentions of other EC/EU institutions (f.i. European Central Bank) in general. Need to cutback or decrease the power and/or competences of other EC/EU institutions.

##### *2-3151 Negative Mentions of the European Central Bank*

#### *2-316 EC/EU Enlargement: Positive*

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

*Note: Cross-check x-108 for adequate coding. 2-316 only applies to EC/EU Enlargement.*

[New sub-category in 2004]

##### *2-3161 Membership of Turkey in the EU: Positive*

#### *2-317 EC/EU Enlargement: 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 county.

*Note: Cross-check x-110 for adequate coding. 2-317 only applies to EC/EU Enlargement.*

[New sub-category in 2004]

##### *2-3171 Membership of Turkey in the EU: Negative*

#### *2-318 Complexity of the EC/EU Political System*

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

*Note: Codes x-303 and x-306 are preferred, so cross-check for adequate coding.*

### **DOMAIN 4: Economy**

#### *x-401 Free Enterprise*

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.

##### *2-4011 EC/EU Structural Fund: Negative*

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

##### *1-4012 Property-Restitution: Positive*

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

#### *x-402 Incentives*

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



#### *x-403 Market Regulation*

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

#### *1-404 Economic Planning*

Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning of a consultative or indicative nature, need for the manifesto country's government to create such a plan.

#### *2-404 Economic Planning*

Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning of a consultative or indicative nature, need for the EC/EU (government) to create such a plan.

#### *2-4041 EC/EU Structural Fund: Positive*

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

#### *3-404 Economic Planning*

Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning of a consultative or indicative nature, need for another country's government to create such a plan.

#### *x-405 Corporatism*

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.

#### *x-406 Protectionism: Positive*

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

#### *x-407 Protectionism: Negative*

Support for the concept of free trade; otherwise as x-406, but negative.

#### *x-408 Economic Goals*

Statements of intent to pursue any economic goal not covered by other categories in domain 4.

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

#### *x-4081 Creating Jobs*

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

*Note: Check all other categories in Domain 4, codes x-5041 (job programs) and x-701 (unemployed) for adequate coding.*

#### *x-4082 Labour Migration: Positive*

Favourable mentions of labour migration and/or foreign workers in economic terms.

#### *x-4083 Labour Migration: Negative*

Negative mentions of labour migration and/or foreign workers in economic terms.

#### *2-4084 Single Market: Positive*

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

*2-4085 Single Market: Negative*

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

*2-4086 European Monetary Union/ European Currency: Positive*

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

*2-4087 European Monetary Union/ European Currency: Negative*

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

*x-409 Keynesian Demand Management*

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.

*x-410 Productivity*

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.

*x-411 Technology and Infrastructure*

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

*Note: This does not imply education in general (see category x-506).*

*x-412 Controlled Economy*

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

*[New sub-categories in 2004]*

*x-4121 Social Ownership: Positive*

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

*[New sub-category in 2004]*

*x-4122 Mixed Economy: Positive*

Favourable references to mixed ownership within a market economy.

*[New sub-category in 2004]*

*x-4123 Publicly-Owned Industry: Positive*

Positive references to the concept of publicly-owned industries.

*[New sub-category in 2004]*

*x-4124 Socialist Property: Positive*

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

*x-413 Nationalization*

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

*x-4131 Property-Restitution: Negative*

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

*x-4132 Privatisation: Negative*

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

*x-414 Economic Orthodoxy*

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.

*x-415 Marxist Analysis*

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.

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

*x-416 Anti-Growth Economy*

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

*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.*

## **DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life**

*x-501 Environmental Protection*

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

*1-502 Culture in the Manifesto Country*

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.

*Note: Check 1-601, 2-602, and 2-6021 for adequate coding*

*2-502 Culture in Europe, the EC/EU*

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.

*Note: Check 1-601, 2-602, and 2-6021 for adequate coding*

*x-503 Social Justice*

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.

*Note: Check x-706 for adequate coding.*

*x-504 Welfare State Expansion (WSE)*

Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any social service or social security scheme. Note: This category excludes education.

*x-5041 WSE: Job Programs*

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

*x-5042 WSE: Pensions*

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

*x-5043 WSE: Health Care and Nursing Service*

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

*x-5044 WSE: Social Housing*

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

*x-5045 WSE: Child Care*

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

*x-505 Welfare State Limitation (WSL)*

Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; otherwise as x-504, but negative.

*x-5051 WSL: Job Programs*

Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend job-generating measures.

*x-5052 WSL: Pensions*

Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend pensions.

*x-5053 WSL: Health Care and Nursing Service*

Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend health care or nursing services.

*x-5054 WSL: Social Housing*

Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend social housing.

*x-5055 WSL: Child Care*

Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend child care services.

*x-506 Education Expansion*

Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels. Note: This excludes technical training which is coded under x-411.

*x-507 Education Limitation*

Limiting expenditure on education; otherwise as x-506, but negative.

**DOMAIN 6: *Fabric of Society***

*1-601 National Way of Life: Positive*

Appeals to patriotism and/or nationalism; support for established national ideas; suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion.

*Note: Check 2-602, 2-6021, and 1-502 for adequate coding.*

*1-6011 Immigration: Negative*

Need to reduce immigration to the manifesto country in non-economic or unspecified terms.

*Note: Check 1-4083 (labour migration: negative) and 1-608 (multiculturalism: negative) for adequate coding.*

*1-6012 Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus Only)*

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

*2-601 European Way of Life: Positive*

Appeals to a European way of life, the Occident, or Western Civilization.

*2-6011 Immigration: Negative*

Need to reduce immigration to Europe in non-economic or unspecified terms.

*Note: Check 1-4083 (labour migration: negative) and 1-608 (multiculturalism: negative) for adequate coding.*

*1-602 National Way of Life: 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.

*2-602 European Way of Life: Negative*

Against a European way of life, the Occident, or Western Civilization.

*2-6021 Retaining the National Way of Life in Europe, the EC/EU*

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

*Note: Check 1-601, 1-502, 1-607 for adequate coding.*

*x-603 Traditional Morality: Positive*

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

*x-604 Traditional Morality: Negative*

Opposition to traditional moral values; support for divorce, abortion etc.; otherwise as x-603, but negative.

*x-605 Law and Order*

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

*x-6051 Fight against terrorism*

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.

*1-606 Social Harmony in the Manifesto Country*

Appeal for a national 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.

### *2-606 Social Harmony in Europe, the EC/EU*

Appeal for an 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.

### *3-606 Social Harmony in Other Countries or in General*

Appeal for a general effort and solidarity; need for society/societies to see itself/themselves as united; appeal for public spiritedness; decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis; support for the public interest.

### *1-607 Multiculturalism in the Manifesto Country: Positive*

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

*Note: x-608 also applies to the cultural autonomy of Roma.*

### *2-607 Multiculturalism in Europe, the EC/EU: Positive*

Cultural diversity, communalism, cultural plurality and pillarization; preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages within Europe, the EC/EU, including special educational provisions.

### *3-607 Multiculturalism in Other Countries or in General: Positive*

Cultural diversity, communalism, cultural plurality and pillarization; preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages in other countries or in general, including special educational provisions.

### *1-608 Multiculturalism in the Manifesto Country: Negative*

Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration in the Manifesto Country; otherwise as 1-607, but negative.

*Note: x-608 also applies to the cultural autonomy of Roma.*

### *2-608 Multiculturalism in Europe, the EC/EU: Negative*

Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration in Europe, the EC/EU; otherwise as 2-607, but negative.

### *3-608 Multiculturalism in Other Countries or in General: Negative*

Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration in other countries or in general; otherwise as 3-607, but negative.

## **DOMAIN 7: Social Groups**

### *x-701 Labour Groups: Positive*

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

### *x-702 Labour Groups: Negative*

Abuse of power of trade unions; otherwise as x-701, but negative.

*[x-703 s]*

*[Two subcategories have been created; do exclusively use the sub-categories!]*

*1-7031 Agriculture and Farmers in the Manifesto Country: Positive*

Support for agriculture and farmers; any national policy aimed specifically at benefiting them.

*2-7031 Agriculture and Farmers in Europe, the EC/EU: Positive*

Support for agriculture and farmers in Europe, the EC/EU; any European policy (f.i. subsidies) aimed specifically at benefiting them.

*3-7031 Agriculture and Farmers in Other Countries or in General: Positive*

Support for agriculture and farmers in other countries or in general; any non-national and non-European policy aimed specifically at benefiting them.

*1-7032 Agriculture and Farmers in the Manifesto Country: Negative*

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

*2-7032 Agriculture and Farmers in Europe, the EC/EU: Negative*

Unfavourable mentions of agriculture and farmers in Europe, the EC/EU; criticism of any European policy aimed specifically at benefiting them.

*3-7032 Agriculture and Farmers in Other Countries or in General: Negative*

Unfavourable mentions of agriculture and farmers in other countries or in general; criticism of any non-national or non-European policy aimed specifically at benefiting them.

*x-704 Middle Class and Professional Groups*

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

*x-705 Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMG)*

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

*x-7051 UMG: Handicapped*

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for handicapped people.

*x-7052 UMG: Homosexuals*

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for homosexuals.

*x-7053 UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners in the Manifesto Country*

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners.

*x-7054 UMG: Ethnic Minorities/People of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad*

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).

*x-706 Non-economic Demographic Groups (NEDG)*

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.

*Note: Check x-503 for adequate coding.*

*x-7061 NEDG: Women*

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for women.

*x-7062 NEDG: Old People*

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for the elderly.

*x-7063 NEDG: Young People*

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for young people.

*1-7064 NEDG: Linguistic Groups*

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

### **3.2 Euromanifesto Project 2009**

The 1979/2004 coding scheme does not take the complexity of the analytical subject into full account, however. New methodological findings further gave incentives to modify the coding procedure. Some general issues on data quality in content analysis are therefore discussed below before a more detailed explanation of the reasons for those changes in 2009 takes place. The Euromanifesto Coding Routine is then presented, which has been built in order to simplify the coding scheme allowing for the application of a hierarchical coding decision approach. Subsequently, an outline on the two-step coding procedure (unitizing and classification) is provided, specific coding problems or difficulties are highlighted, and some useful information on the expert coders, the training procedure, and the overall timeframe are reported.

#### **3.2.1 Data Quality in Content Analysis**

Content analysis can be reduced to two basic data generating steps. First, texts are divided into smaller units relevant to the research question, such as words, sentences, or quasi-sentences. Second, in the coding step each text unit is assigned a category from the coding scheme to each text unit. The reliability of the dataset produced in the coding process depends on the reliability of each of these two steps. Moreover, a research procedure, according to Krippendorff, “is reliable when it responds to the same phenomena in the same way regardless of the circumstances of its implementation. In content analysis, this means that the reading of textual data as well as of the research results is replicable elsewhere, that researchers demonstrably agree on what they are talking about”. Krippendorff identifies three types of reliability: stability, reproducibility, and accuracy. Stability is concerned with possible change of coding results on repeated trials. This type of reliability has a coder reanalysing the same manifesto after a period of time in order to highlight any intra-coder disagreement. A stronger measure of reliability is reproducibility, also called inter-coder reliability. This measure assesses the degree of replication of coding results by two distinct



coders working separately. It covers intra-coder disagreement and inter-coder differences in interpretation and application of the coding scheme. Accuracy tests the conformity of coding process and data generation procedure to some canonical standard, and is perceived to be the strongest test of reliability. It can be used effectively at the training stage when coder's performance can be compared to some 'true' results.

Historically Euromanifestos were coded following the methodology developed by the CMP with a somewhat extended coding scheme that was deemed necessary to classify the issues that are discussed at the elections to the European Parliament. Adopting the CMP methodology means that data issues associated with the CMP are likely to be equally relevant to the data produced by the Euromanifesto project. We know with certainty that the coding process as applied in the CMP is characterized by significant misclassification. Coders disagree with the CMP master codings ('gold standard' in the CMP terminology) when assigning text units to CMP coding categories. Since different coders all have different correlations with the CMP gold standard, we also know with certainty that different CMP coders disagree with each other when coding the master documents. Mikhaylov, Laver, and Benoit characterize this disagreement as stochastic coding error and derive estimates of the scale of this. They experimentally show that the inter-coder reliability of the CMP dataset may be very low. The same authors also found that, under the assumption that the gold standard is correct, some categories in the CMP scheme are much more susceptible to coding error than others. The results of their experiments imply that coder misclassification has introduced considerable noise into existing CMP estimates, substantially more than shown to arise from the text generation process. However, these conclusions are based only on multiple codings of sections of two English-language manifestos available.

### **3.2.2 Improving Data Quality in EMP 2009**

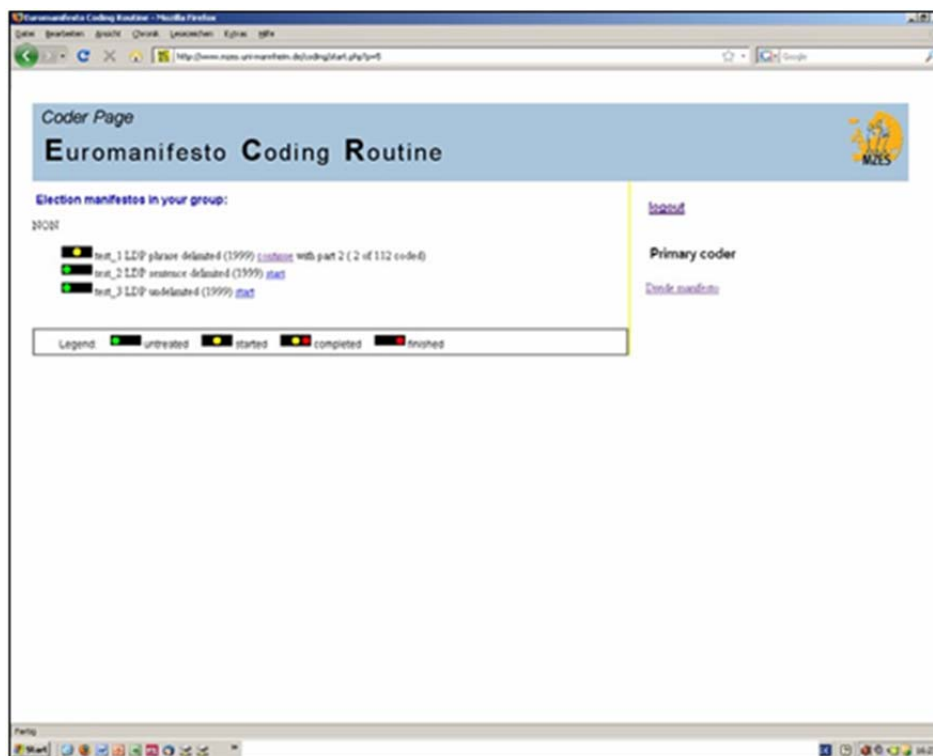
By the very nature of the data generation procedure that has been applied in the past, the Euromanifesto data faces reliability issues similar to the CMP. Even worse, the problem of misclassification may be aggravated due to a somewhat more complex coding scheme. Just like with the CMP, neither inter-coder agreement estimates nor agreement estimates between coder and the "gold standard" are available for the 1979-2004 Euromanifesto data. Furthermore, since unitizing is a stochastic process it is not clear on what, if anything, the coders are supposed to agree. Since the aim of the 2009 Euromanifesto study is to assess and improve the reliability of the available data, we modified the conventional EMCS coding scheme – inspired by the new methodological findings presented above – as follows:

- (1) In order to allow for reliable content coding, there are two main requirements for the categories of a coding scheme: they must be mutually exclusive and exhaustive. The CMP and Euromanifesto coding schemes might be regarded as being exhaustive (given the relatively low proportions of uncodable arguments); anyone who ever applied one of these coding schemes knows that they tend to lack exclusiveness (which is to say that some argument can be coded in two different categories depending on the perspective the coder applies). Krippendorff suggests that exhaustiveness can be improved by the addition of a new category that represents all units not covered by other categories (e.g. “not applicable”, “other”). Mutual exclusiveness is related to the ability of coders to clearly conceptualize the text unit they are reading. Lack of mutual exclusiveness via semantic confusion may lead to misclassification.
- (2) Krippendorff acknowledges that problems with the semantics of the data, especially mutual exclusiveness, can be difficult to resolve. In practice several devices have been offered that improve the reliability of the data. A device relevant to the CMP and Euromanifesto methodology is the utilization of a decision scheme, which is uniformly reliable. According to Krippendorff, a decision scheme is characterized by a predefined sequence of decisions that produces each recorded datum. This corresponds to the natural cognitive process of coders taking steps with separate criteria in mind, thus minimizing the criteria confusion. Decision schemes reduce the cognitive load on the coders by not requiring them to keep in mind a large number of categories simultaneously. Psychological research shows that an optimal number of alternatives in the cognitive process may be seven (plus or minus two). Larger numbers lead to the development of coding habits and coding preferences. Krippendorff also suggests that decision schemes prevent unreliability from the categories defined on different levels of generality and overlapping meaning. When coding involves several dimensions of judgments, decision schemes allow separate decision making on each of the dimensions.

While we still intend to maintain comparability with the parent CMP coding scheme, we modified the conventional EMCS coding scheme, concretely, as follows: A decision scheme approach is utilized recasting the categories in a hierarchical manner (cf. Figure 2, Appendix). Care has been taken that each hierarchical level contains no more than seven (plus or minus two) cognitive options. Inflation in the number of categories under consideration has been

reduced by recasting categories as policy issues. Thus, where previously coders had to choose between two separate categories containing positive and negative connotations of the same policy issue, coders are now asked to decide on one category identifying the policy issue and only at the next cognitive step they are asked to decide whether the statement is positive or negative. Exhaustiveness of the categories is secured by including the remainder category “other” at the terminal nodes of the modified coding scheme.

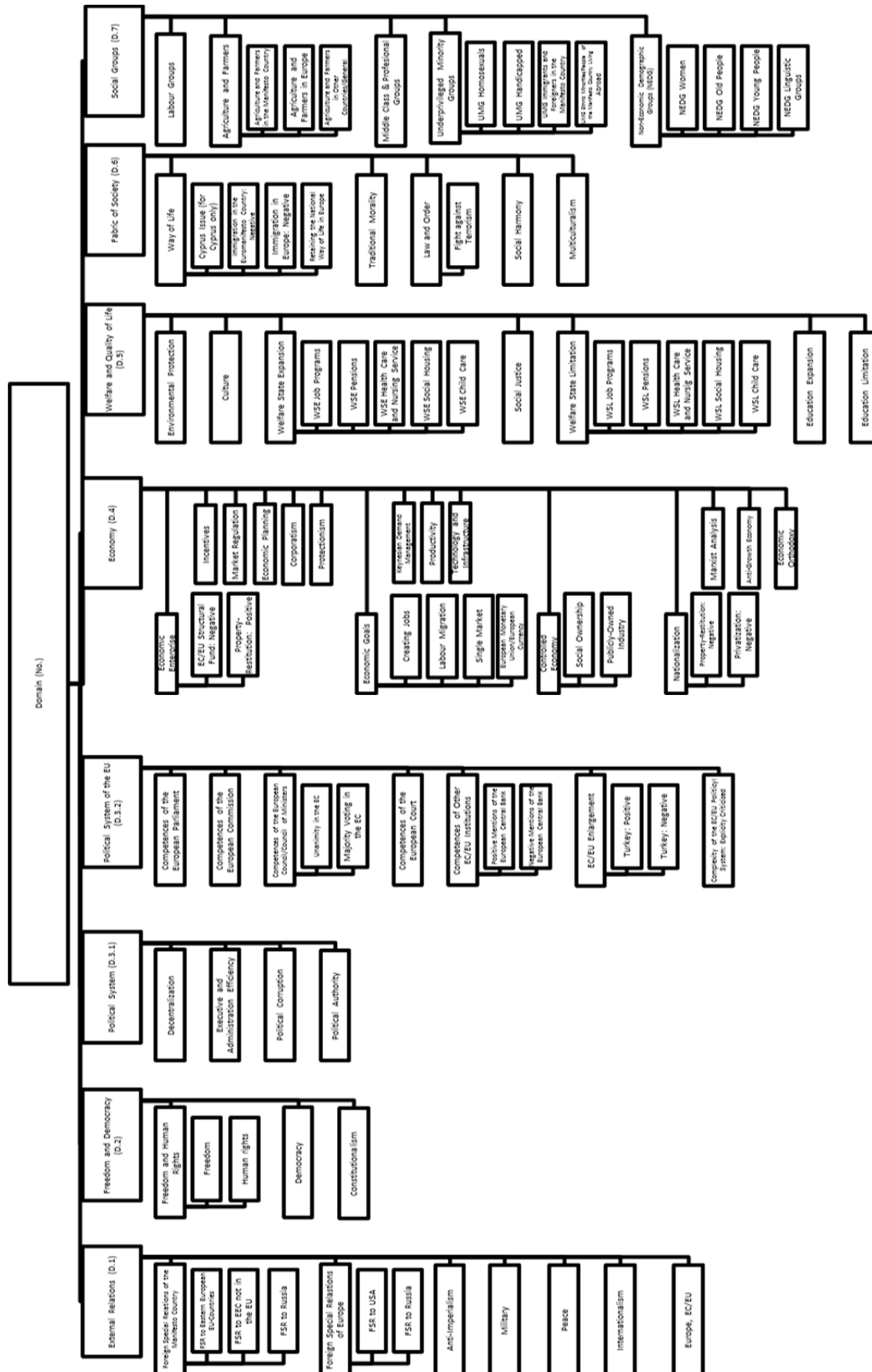
**Figure 1** Euromanifesto Coding Routine.



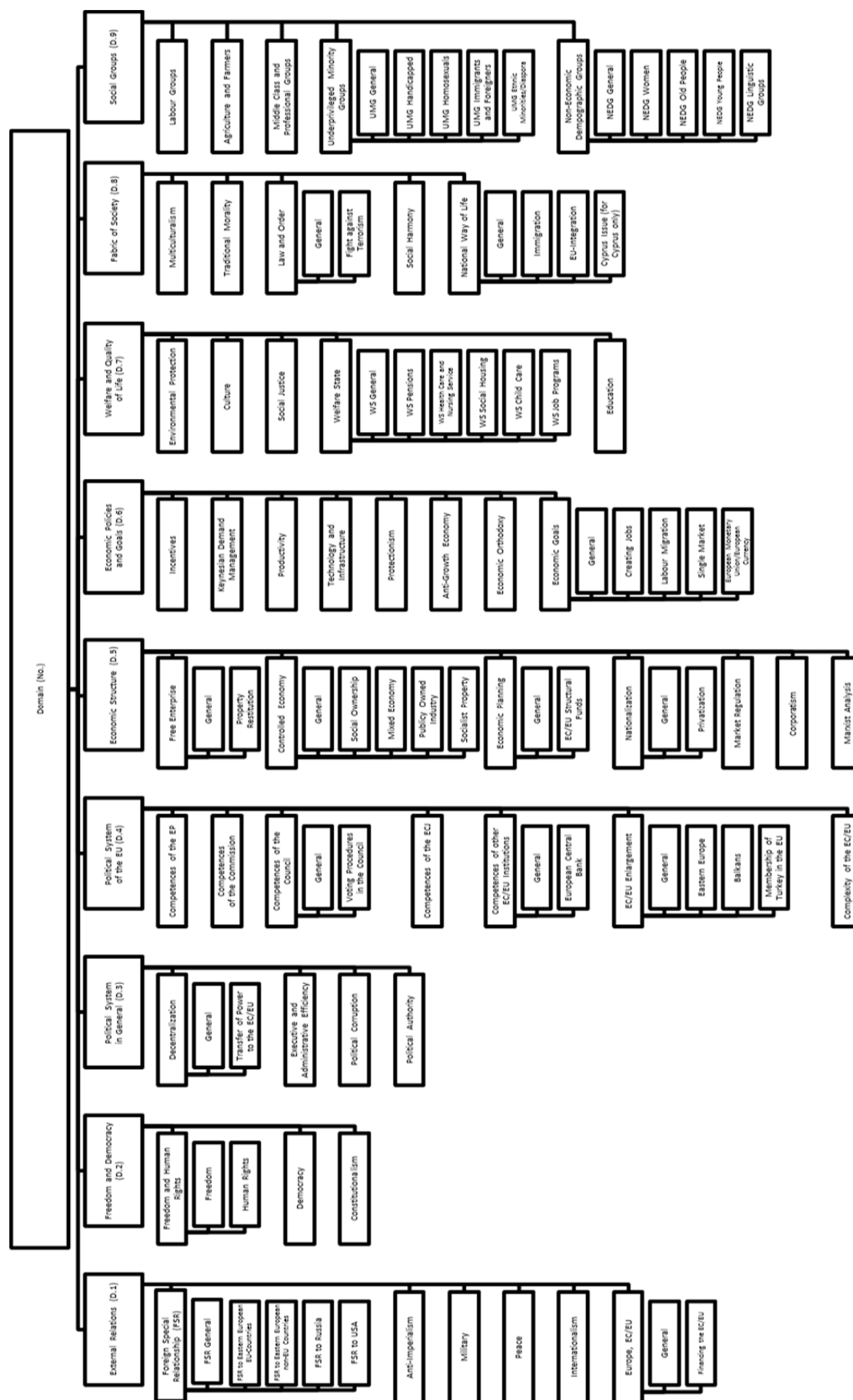
In order to support the strictly hierarchical approach, we provide an online coding tool the Euromanifesto Coding Routine (cf. Figure 1), and a classification scheme, the EMCS III (cf. Manifesto Study Documentation 2009) with invariant general categories containing nine domains with different categories subdivided into subcategories. Each category sums up related issues, in such a way that changes over time can be measured across parties and countries. Thus, the coding procedure comprises a quantification (how many statements do parties make?) and a classification (what kind of statements do parties make?) of election programs.

### 3.2.3 Hierarchical Structure of the EMCS III

Figure 2 Hierarchical Structure of the EMCS II (1979-2004).



**Figure 3** Hierarchical Structure of the EMCS III (2009)



### 3.2.4 Coding Procedure

First of all, we transformed the party programs into ASCII-files (UTF-8 formatted) and uploaded them to the Euromanifesto Coding Routine. Then, coders were asked to read the manifesto carefully to get a first idea of the text to be coded, and to identify headings or subtitles included in the text. Only then, they unitized all paragraphs of the manifesto and classified the assigned quasi-sentences. This two-step procedure will be described in the following chapter.

#### 3.2.3.1 Unitizing: *Identification of quasi-sentences*

The first step is to divide the text into text units suitable for content analysis. As text units, the EMCS III utilizes quasi-sentences, which are defined as arguments. An argument is the verbal expression of one political idea or issue. In its simplest form, a sentence is the basic unit of meaning. Therefore, punctuation can be used as a guideline for identifying arguments. The starting point of coding is the sentence; however the EMP is primarily interested in an argument. In its shortest form, a sentence contains a subject, a verb and an attribute or an adjective.

Examples:     ‘We make a stand for a democratic Europe.’  
                  ‘We support more rights for the European Parliament.’

Obviously, these two sentences contain two different arguments which are easy to identify and to distinguish. Unfortunately, languages are more complex, and it is a question of style how to express the same political ideas.

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

In this case, the two statements are combined in one sentence, but for the EMCS III purposes they are still treated as two different arguments. Long sentences are decomposed into ‘quasi-sentences’ if the sense changes within the sentence. In most cases, one sentence which covers two (or more) arguments can be easily transformed into two (or more) quasi-sentences by repeating substantives and/or verbs. Thus, a ‘quasi-sentence’ is a set of words containing one and only one political idea. It stops either at the end of an argument or at a full stop (period). In many cases, arguments are combined and related into one sentence.

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

These are two quasi-sentences, because there are two political goals, i.e. democracy and rights for the EP, which can be transformed into two quasi-sentences:

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

Thus, long sentences may combine two or more arguments which are often contained by commas, semicolons or colons. A list of arguments, sometimes marked with hyphens or dots, is treated as if separated with full stops.

Example:     ‘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, but different issues within this policy field. Because distinct policies are mentioned for environmental protection, three different quasi-sentences are identified. This list of policies may be given in the following way for which the same number of quasi-sentences is coded as for the list given above:

Example:     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.

Thus, if different issues – however short – are dealt with in the same sentence they constitute different quasi-sentences even if they apply to the same policy field. On the other hand, the same argument may be very long and may occupy a lot of space, but still be only one quasi-sentence.

### **3.2.3.2 Coding: Classification of the categories**

At this stage of the coding procedure coders had to decide which of the categories of the EMCS III a quasi-sentence expresses. Each category of the EMCS III is specified by a set of typical issues and political ideas. Before starting the coding procedure, the coder should read through the EMCS III and its defining ideas and issues as well as through the manifesto itself several times. Under the current hierarchical structure the EMCS III is reasonably scarce so that titles of categories and their defining characteristics can be easily memorized. The better a coder can memorize the categories and their specifications, the easier and faster the coding procedure will be.

In a first step coders identified the domain and then the category (and subcategory if available) that definitely captures the sense of the identified quasi-sentence. They repeated this procedure for every quasi-sentence in the paragraph, proceeded then to the next paragraph and repeated the coding for all quasi-sentences in the next paragraph.

Having identified the category/subcategory applicable to a given quasi-sentence, they had to decide in a second step whether the quasi-sentence has a negative (0) or a positive (1) connotation. The coder is required to read the descriptions of the categories carefully because identification of positive and negative connotations is inherently subjective. For example, the “External Relations” domain contains a category “Foreign Special Relationships (FSR)” and the subcategory “FSR to the USA”. Quasi-sentences that contain favorable mentions of the USA can be viewed as expressing positive connotations of the “FSR to the USA”, while unfavorable mentions of the USA can be viewed as expressing negative connotations of this subcategory. Essentially, the decision depends on the specific definition of a category, and the context of a quasi-sentence.

Having identified the positive or negative connotation of every quasi-sentence, the coder is required to identify the governmental frame (i.e. the policy level at which an argument refers to) of the argument in the quasi-sentence. The coder needs to decide whether the content explicitly points to (1) the manifesto country (national/sub-national level) governmental system, (2) Europe or the EC/EU as a governmental frame, (3) the global or worldwide level of government or to (4) neither one of these. Since this decision can be a delicate task, an example is shown in Table 2.



**Table 2** Governmental Frame (Example).

Level	Numeric code	Manifesto text
<b>National</b>	1	We recognize that in establishing equal status for women our country lags far behind.
<b>European</b>	2	We welcome the directives of the EEC on the principle of equal treatment in access to employment
<b>Global</b>	3	We support an international agreement on the limitation of green house gas emissions.
<b>Unspecified</b>	4	We totally support women's aspirations for equality.

A summary of all stages of the coding process is illustrated in Table 3: The categories are “Environmental Protection” (domain “Welfare and Quality of Life”), “Social Justice” (domain “Welfare and Quality of Life”), “Labor Groups” (domain “Social Groups”), “Political Corruption” (domain “Political System in general”), and “Multiculturalism” (domain “Fabric of Society”) respectively. Semantic connotations of each quasi-sentence are “positive”. Regarding the political level decision, the introductory sentence clearly indicates that the political level of the discussed political action is the European Union. Therefore, the level chosen for each quasi-sentence is “European” (2).

**Table 3** Stages of the coding process (Example).

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

### 3.2.5 Coders, Training Procedure, and Timeframe

We recruited expert coders, i.e. people involved in related projects from different European countries (cf. Tab. 4), introduced the “Euromanifesto Coding Scheme” and the newly designed coding tool “Euromanifesto Coding Routine”, and trained them during a two-day training-workshop. However, some coders did not participate at the workshop, because they were classified as experienced coders, having already participated in earlier project phases, and therefore in training workshops.

Starting around April/Mai 2009, the expert coders collected all relevant Euromanifestos, participated in Mai 2009 at the training workshop, and performed then the reliability test. All coders were asked to code a manifesto’s excerpt using the EMCS III. After the evaluation of the reliability test (in June 2009), coders started coding the Euromanifestos of their respective country. By October 2009 we have received most of the coded data – however, the coding process has been completed only in January 2010.

**Table 4** Expert Coders 2009.

<b>Country</b>	<b>Coder name</b>	<b>Institutional Affiliation</b>
<b>Europe</b>	Ivo Georgiev	<i>Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation, Berlin</i>
<b>Austria</b>	Alice Ludvig	<i>Researcher, University of Vienna</i>
<b>Belgium (Flanders)</b>	Patrick van der Weyden	<i>University of Ghent</i>
<b>Belgium (Wallonia)</b>	Ilona Rezsöhazy	<i>Université Catholique de Louvain</i>
<b>Bulgaria</b>	Ivo Georgiev	<i>Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation, Berlin</i>
<b>Cyprus</b>	Andreadaki Valia	<i>Greek Ministry of Education, Athens</i>
<b>Czech Republic</b>	Lukas Linek	<i>Politics Institute of Sociology Prague</i>
<b>Denmark</b>	Sofie Neergaard	<i>Roskilde University</i>
<b>Estonia</b>	Kadri Lühiste	<i>University of Bath</i>
<b>Finland</b>	Sari Rannanpää	<i>PhD candidate, Central European University Budapest</i>
<b>France</b>	Anna Marek	<i>Institute for Research and Information in Health Economics, Paris</i>
<b>Germany</b>	Antonia Scholz	<i>University of Stuttgart</i>
<b>Greece</b>	Valia Andreadaki	<i>Greek Ministry of Education, Athens</i>
	Eftichia Teperoglou	<i>University of Athens</i>
<b>Hungary</b>	István Gergő Székely	<i>Central European University Budapest</i>
<b>Ireland</b>	James Fitzgerald	<i>School of Law and Government Dublin</i>
<b>Italy</b>	Nicolò Conti	<i>University of Siena</i>
<b>Latvia</b>	Zane Bandere	<i>Graduate Institute Geneva</i>
<b>Lithuania</b>	Ligita Sarkute	<i>Kaunas University of Technology</i>
<b>Luxembourg</b>	Astrid Spreitzer	<i>Researcher, Université du Luxembourg</i>
<b>Malta</b>	Ben Stanley	<i>PhD candidate, University of Essex</i>
<b>The Netherlands</b>	Janna Marieke Hoffman	<i>University of Amsterdam</i>

<b>Poland</b>	Ben Stanley	<i>PhD candidate, University of Essex</i>
<b>Portugal</b>	Inês Carneiro	<i>"Instituto de Ciências Sociais do Trabalho e da Empresa", Lisbon</i>
<b>Romania</b>	István Gergő Székely	<i>Central European University Budapest</i>
<b>Slovakia</b>	Zuzana Gabrizova	<i>Euractiv Slovakia</i>
<b>Slovenia</b>	Simona Kustec Lipicer	<i>University of Ljubljana</i>
<b>Spain</b>	María Celeste Ratto	<i>Universidad Autónoma de Madrid</i>
<b>Sweden</b>	Johan Martinsson	<i>Gothenburg University</i>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	Ben Stanley	<i>University of Essex</i>

### 3.2.6 Reliability of the Data

In this chapter we discuss the issues of reliability in the Euromanifesto data. First, we assess inter-coder reliability based on tests from the 2002/04 coder training workshops. Second, the inter-coder reliability of the revised coding scheme (in conjunction with an updated coding routine) is assessed in an experimental setting. Third, the effect of unitizing is compared across two alternative unitizing strategies; the results of these alternative unitizing procedures are accessed via the inter-rater reliability and the overall validity of the results.

In order to assess the reliability of the Euromanifesto study, we designed and carried out a series of coding experiments on texts for which we possess ‘true’ coding. Our aim in doing this is to increase the professional value of the 2009 Euromanifesto data by enhancing our ability to draw reliable, valid and unbiased statistical inferences from them. The reliability experiments of Euromanifesto data assess three aspects of reliability: (a) characterize stochastic human misclassification in the data; (b) estimate inter-rater reliability; (c) estimate the agreement between the coders and the “gold standard”.

In the first experiment the inter-coder reliability of the 2009 expert coders (treatment group) was compared to the inter-coder reliability results for the 2002 and 2004 expert coders. The treatment is the application of the simplified EMCS coding scheme. In the second experiment, coders were randomly assigned to two groups that use either thematic-based (quasi-sentence) unitizing (control group) or syntactical-based (natural sentence) unitizing (treatment group). Subsequently both groups followed the same task as the treatment group in the first experiment. In both experiments the same text was coded (an excerpt of the 1999 British Liberal Democratic Party Euromanifesto). The coding experiments were completed online on a dedicated MZES web page, which provides a digitized version of the test manifesto.

**Table 5** Inter-coder Agreement for Three Experimental Groups.

	Test coders natural sentences		Test coders quasi-sentences		Expert coders EMCS 2009	
	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
<b>Domain</b>	0.397	(0.343 - 0.457)	0.384	(0.335 - 0.441)	0.512	(0.46 - 0.568)
<b>Positive/negative</b>	0.22	(0.151 - 0.299)	0.251	(0.178 - 0.353)	0.295	(0.223 - 0.396)
<b>Policy level</b>	0.347	(0.287 - 0.399)	0.398	(0.336 - 0.466)	0.425	(0.378 - 0.488)
<b>Categories</b>	0.315	(0.260 - 0.365)	0.313	(0.269 - 0.360)	0.435	(0.397 - 0.488)
<b>Categories &amp; positive/negative</b>	0.267	(0.216 - 0.324)	0.273	(0.241 - 0.321)	0.4	(0.363 - 0.449)
<b>Overall</b>	0.206	(0.164 - 0.249)	0.218	(0.179 - 0.255)	0.322	(0.27 - 0.363)

**Note:** Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals (500 replications).

Inter-coder reliability in our experiments is assessed using Fleiss' kappa ranging from zero (perfect disagreement) to one (perfect agreement), and taking into account the fact that some agreement may occur purely by chance. Agreement is assessed on several levels: domain, policy level, positive vs. negative tag, categories, categories with positive/ negative tag, and over all levels. Inter-coder agreement measures were calculated with attributed standard errors. Bias-corrected confidence intervals were bootstrapped with 500 replications. The results for three experimental groups are presented in Table 5.

Inter-coder agreement in the 2004 EMCS reliability study followed a different design with the decisions made by coders on three levels only: policy level, category, and overall. The results of reliability analysis of the study are presented in Table 6.

**Tabelle 6** Inter-coder Agreement in the 2004 EMCS Reliability Study.

<b>EMCS 2004</b>		
	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
<b>Policy level</b>	0.527	(0.460 - 0.604)
<b>Categories</b>	0.448	(0.403 - 0.504)
<b>Overall</b>	0.354	(0.319 - 0.399)

The results of reliability experiments cannot be directly compared to the results of the reliability study in 2004. First, although the text being used for estimating the reliability is the same, unitizing in 2004 was significantly different from the natural sentences experimental group, and also minimally different from the quasi-sentence experimental group. The latter is essentially the result of using the online coding procedure with its different handling of titles and headlines. Second, the coding procedure in the 2004 EMCS study did not follow a strictly hierarchical approach as it was used in the experiment. This results in the conditional dependence of domain codes on the category codes. The only conditionally independent decisions made by the expert coders in the 2004 EMCS were on the policy level and category. Third, overall agreement in the experimental study involves many more levels than in the 2004 EMCS study. In the 2004 study, the overall code given to a text unit includes only policy level and category. In the experiment, the overall code given to a text unit is composed of the attribution of domain code, category (and sub-category if available) code, positive versus negative tag, and policy level attribute.

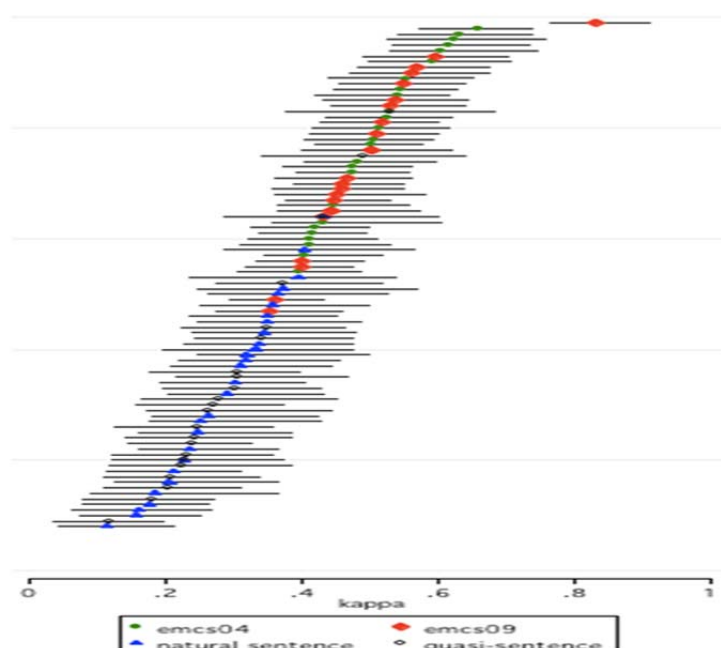
**Tabelle 7** Inter-coder Agreement on Standardized Samples.

	test coder nat sentences		test coder quasi- sentences		expert coder EMCS 2009		expert coder EMCS 2004	
	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
<b>Policy level</b>	0.344	(0.27 – 0.423)	0.371	(0.275 - 0.467)	0.427	(0.332 - 0.537)	0.488	(0.374 - 0.611)
<b>Categories</b>	0.325	(0.268 – 0.386)	0.298	(0.242 - 0.369)	0.421	(0.366 - 0.489)	0.375	(0.307 - 0.457)
<b>Combined</b>	0.257	(0.204 – 0.324)	0.243	(0.192 - 0.317)	0.334	(0.284 - 0.401)	0.302	(0.242 - 0.362)
<b>Domain</b>	0.406	(0.354 – 0.475)	0.347	(0.294 - 0.413)	0.484	(0.413 - 0.559)		
<b>Pos/neg</b>	0.217	(0.137 – 0.316)	0.246	(0.123 - 0.409)	0.355	(0.262 - 0.463)		

**Note:** Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% CI (500 replications). Grey lines are presented only for comparison of two experimental groups.

In order to compare the two experimental groups and the results of the 2004 reliability study we adopt a two-step procedure. First, we restrict the sample to texts units that are identical across all three groups. A significant proportion of quasi-sentences are natural sentences. This reduces the sample size to 55 text units only. However, text units are identical across groups thus allowing us easier cross-group comparison. Second, we analyze agreement on comparable levels. That is we assess inter-coder agreement on policy levels, categories, and combined code that includes only policy levels and categories. One thing to note is that despite best efforts at standardization some differences still remain. For example, policy level in the EMCS 2004 contains three levels, while in the experiment it contains four. We assume here that differences are minor and standardized sample is comparable across groups. Results of inter-coder agreement analysis are presented in Table 4. The results for policy level and categories generally indicate that inter-coder agreement across three groups is statistically indistinguishable.

**Figure 4** Agreement between Coder and “Gold Standard” for Three Groups.



**Note:** Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% CIs (100 replications).

We can also analyze agreement between each coder and the “gold standard”. Confidence intervals here are bootstrapped with 500 replications. We can see from Figure 2 that both groups of trained expert coders showed better results than both groups of untrained test coders. The EMCS 2004 coders have on average performed better than other groups. However, median reliability of the EMCS 2004 coders is statistically indistinguishable from median reliability of the EMCS 2009 coders. There appears to be no clear pattern distinguishing the reliability of coders using natural sentence unitizing and quasi-sentence unitizing. Although the median agreement for the quasi-sentence group is lower than for the natural sentence group, the difference is not substantively significant.

Overall, the results of reliability experiments suggests that the new simplified coding routine based on the hierarchical approach with the coding conducted online shows appreciable reliability improvement compared to earlier results. The EMCS 2009 results are better than both the test coder group and the control group, though these results were statistically not distinguishable. However, despite similar levels of reliability the online approach with simplified coding routine allows for replicability by future researchers.

## **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 co-operation 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*

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

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

#### *010104 FSR to Russia*

*Positive:* Favourable mentions of Russia.

*Negative:* Unfavourable mentions of Russia.

#### *010105 FSR to USA*

*Positive:* Favourable mentions of the United States of America.

*Negative:* Unfavourable mentions of the United States of America.

### 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

*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.

### 010400 Peace

*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.

*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.

## **DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Human Rights**

### 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*

*Positive:* Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights; freedom of speech; supportive refugee policies.

*Negative:* Opposite of positive.

### 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 an 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.

## **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.

##### *040502 Mentions of the European Central Bank*

*Positive:* Positive mentions of the European Central Bank

*Negative:* Negative mentions of the European Central Bank

*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 county.

*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 county.

*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.

## **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

*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 Migration: Positive*

*Positive:* Favourable mentions of labour migration and/or foreign workers in economic terms.

*Negative:* Negative mentions of labour migration and/or foreign workers in economic terms.

*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.

**DOMAIN 7: Welfare and Quality of Life**

*070100 Environmental Protection*

*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.

*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*

*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.

*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 cutback 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 cutback 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 cutback 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 cutback 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 cutback 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.

### 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.

### 080400 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*

*Positive:* Need to retain or increase immigration in non-economic or unspecified terms.

*Negative:* Need to reduce immigration in non-economic or unspecified terms.

*Note:* Check “Labour migration” (060803) and “Multiculturalism” (080100) 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), “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.

## **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 in the Manifesto Country*

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

*Negative:* Opposite of positive.

#### *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.

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.

#### 4. Data Integration

The integration of the two separate datasets into a single one requires an adjustment of the categories' variable names and labels, respectively. The general structure of the variable labels consists of

**per\_v[x]\_dcca[a/b]**

with [x] as proxy for the respective level the quasi-sentence is aimed at, [d] as proxy for the domain concerned, [cc] as indicator of a category's position within the domain. [s] indicates the position of a subcategory, possibly concerned, within a category and [a/b] contains information on whether the contention of a quasi-sentence is (a) positive or (b) negative. Table 6 matches the new variable names with the former ones of the 1979/2004 and the 2009 dataset, respectively, and provides with the new variable labels.

Coding the manifestos of those relevant parties participating in 2009, coders got four levels at choice for the sake of appropriate coding. As this further level differentiation has rarely been required by them, and due to the immense amount of missing values for the fourth level in the period from 1979 to 2004, level three and four is re-aggregated in the integrated version. For the same reasons the variables on the Cyprus issue (see per\_6012 in Table 6 ) are melted with respect to both level and connotation.

**Table 8** Coding of variables in the 1979-2004 and 2009 datasets.

New variable name	New variable label	1979/2004 variable name	2009 variable name
<b>per_v[x]_101b</b>	Foreign Special Relationships (FSR): General - Neg – L[x]	p[x]_102	per_v[x]_102
<b>per_v[x]_101a</b>	Foreign Special Relationships (FSR): General - Pos – L[x]	p[x]_101	per_v[x]_101
<b>per_v[x]_1011b</b>	FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU - Neg – L[x]	p[x]_1021	per_v[x]_1021
<b>per_v[x]_1011a</b>	FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU - Pos – L[x]	p[x]_1011	per_v[x]_1011
<b>per_v[x]_1012b</b>	FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU - Neg – L[x]	p[x]_1022	per_v[x]_1022
<b>per_v[x]_1012a</b>	FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU - Pos – L[x]	p[x]_1012	per_v[x]_1012
<b>per_v[x]_1013b</b>	FSR to Russia - Neg – L[x]	p[x]_1023	per_v[x]_1023
<b>per_v[x]_1013a</b>	FSR to Russia - Pos – L[x]	p[x]_1013	per_v[x]_1013
<b>per_v[x]_1014b</b>	FSR to USA - Neg – L[x]	P[x]_1021	per_v[x]_1021
<b>per_v[x]_1014a</b>	FSR to USA - Pos – L[x]	p[x]_1011	per_v[x]_1011
<b>per_v[x]_103b</b>	Anti-Imperialism - Neg – L[x]		per_v[x]_103b
<b>per_v[x]_103a</b>	Anti-Imperialism - Pos – L[x]	p[x]_103	per_v[x]_103a
<b>per_v[x]_104b</b>	Military - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_105	per_v[x]_105
<b>per_v[x]_104a</b>	Military - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_104	per_v[x]_104
<b>per_v[x]_106b</b>	Peace - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_106b
<b>per_v[x]_106a</b>	Peace - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_106	per_v[x]_106a
<b>per_v[x]_107b</b>	Internationalism - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_109	per_v[x]_109

<b>per_v[x]_107a</b>	Internationalism - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_107	per_v[x]_107
<b>per_v[x]_108b</b>	Europe, European Community/  Union: General - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_110	per_v[x]_110
<b>per_v[x]_108a</b>	Europe, European Community/ Union: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_108	per_v[x]_108
<b>per_v[x]_1081b</b>	Financing the EC/EU - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_1101	per_v[x]_1101b
<b>per_v[x]_1081a</b>	Financing the EC/EU - Pos - L[x]		per_v[x]_1101a
<b>per_v[x]_2011b</b>	Freedom - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_2011b
<b>per_v[x]_2011a</b>	Freedom - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_2011	per_v[x]_2011a
<b>per_v[x]_2012b</b>	Human Rights - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_2012b
<b>per_v[x]_2012a</b>	Human Rights - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_2012	per_v[x]_2012a
<b>per_v[x]_202b</b>	Democracy - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_2021	per_v[x]_2021
<b>per_v[x]_202a</b>	Democracy - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_202	per_v[x]_202
<b>per_v[x]_203b</b>	Constitutionalism - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_204	per_v[x]_204
<b>per_v[x]_203a</b>	Constitutionalism - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_203	per_v[x]_203
<b>per_v[x]_301b</b>	Decentralization: General - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_302	per_v[x]_302
<b>per_v[x]_301a</b>	Decentralization: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_301	per_v[x]_301
<b>per_v[x]_3011b</b>	Transfer of Power to the EC/EU - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_3011	per_v[x]_3011
<b>per_v[x]_3011a</b>	Transfer of Power to the EC/EU - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_3021	per_v[x]_3021
<b>per_v[x]_303b</b>	Executive and Administrative Efficiency - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_303b
<b>per_v[x]_303a</b>	Executive and Administrative Efficiency - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_303	per_v[x]_303a
<b>per_v[x]_304b</b>	Political Corruption - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_304b
<b>per_v[x]_304a</b>	Political Corruption - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_304	per_v[x]_304a
<b>per_v[x]_305b</b>	Political Authority - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_305b
<b>per_v[x]_305a</b>	Political Authority - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_305	per_v[x]_305a
<b>per_v[x]_306b</b>	Competences of the European Parliament - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_307	per_v[x]_307
<b>per_v[x]_306a</b>	Competences of the European Parliament - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_306	per_v[x]_306
<b>per_v[x]_308b</b>	Competences of the European Commission - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_309	per_v[x]_309
<b>per_v[x]_308a</b>	Competences of the European Commission - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_308	per_v[x]_308
<b>per_v[x]_310b</b>	Competences of the European Council/ Council of Ministers: General - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_311	per_v[x]_311
<b>per_v[x]_310a</b>	Competences of the European Council/ Council of Ministers: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_310	per_v[x]_310
<b>per_v[x]_3101b</b>	Voting Procedures in the (European) Council - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_3111	per_v[x]_3111
<b>per_v[x]_3101a</b>	Voting Procedures in the (European)	p[x]_3101	per_v[x]_3101

	Council - Pos - L[x]		
<b>per_v[x]_312b</b>	Competences of the European Court of Justice - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_313	per_v[x]_313
<b>per_v[x]_312a</b>	Competences of the European Court of Justice - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_312	per_v[x]_312
<b>per_v[x]_314b</b>	Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_315	per_v[x]_315
<b>per_v[x]_314a</b>	Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_314	per_v[x]_314
<b>per_v[x]_3141b</b>	Mentions of the European Central Bank - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_3151	per_v[x]_3151
<b>per_v[x]_3141a</b>	Mentions of the European Central Bank - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_3141	per_v[x]_3141
<b>per_v[x]_316b</b>	EC/EU Enlargement: General - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_317	per_v[x]_317
<b>per_v[x]_316a</b>	EC/EU Enlargement: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_316	per_v[x]_316
<b>per_v[x]_3162b</b>	Membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_3162b
<b>per_v[x]_3162a</b>	Membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU - Pos - L[x]		per_v[x]_3162a
<b>per_v[x]_3163a</b>	Membership in the EU of Balkan countries currently not in the EU - Pos - L[x]		per_v[x]_3163a
<b>per_v[x]_3161b</b>	Membership of the Turkey in the EU - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_3171	per_v[x]_3171
<b>per_v[x]_3161a</b>	Membership of the Turkey in the EU - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_3161	per_v[x]_3161
<b>per_v[x]_318b</b>	Complexity of the EC/EU Political System - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_318b
<b>per_v[x]_318a</b>	Complexity of the EC/EU Political System - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_318	per_v[x]_318a
<b>per_v[x]_401b</b>	Free Enterprise: General - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_401b
<b>per_v[x]_401a</b>	Free Enterprise: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_401	per_v[x]_401a
<b>per_v[x]_4012b</b>	Property-Restitution - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_4131	per_v[x]_4131
<b>per_v[x]_4012a</b>	Property-Restitution - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4012	per_v[x]_4012
<b>per_v[x]_412a</b>	Controlled Economy: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_412	per_v[x]_412a
<b>per_v[x]_4121b</b>	Social Ownership - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_4121b
<b>per_v[x]_4121a</b>	Social Ownership - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4121	per_v[x]_4121a
<b>per_v[x]_4122b</b>	Mixed Economy - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_4122b
<b>per_v[x]_4122a</b>	Mixed Economy - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4122	per_v[x]_4122a
<b>per_v[x]_4123b</b>	Publicly-Owned Industry - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_4123b
<b>per_v[x]_4123a</b>	Publicly-Owned Industry - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4123	per_v[x]_4123a
<b>per_v[x]_4124b</b>	Socialist Property - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_4124b

<b>per_v[x]_4124a</b>	Socialist Property - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4124	per_v[x]_4124a
<b>per_v[x]_404b</b>	Economic Planning: General - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_404b
<b>per_v[x]_404a</b>	Economic Planning: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_404	per_v[x]_404a
<b>per_v[x]_4011b</b>	EC/EU Structural Funds - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_4011	per_v[x]_4011
<b>per_v[x]_4011a</b>	EC/EU Structural Funds - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4041	per_v[x]_4041
<b>per_v[x]_413b</b>	Nationalization: Generalization - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_413b
<b>per_v[x]_413a</b>	Nationalization: Generalization - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_413	per_v[x]_413a
<b>per_v[x]_4132b</b>	Privatisation - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_4132b
<b>per_v[x]_4132a</b>	Privatisation - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4132	per_v[x]_4132a
<b>per_v[x]_405b</b>	Corporatism - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_405b
<b>per_v[x]_405a</b>	Corporatism - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_405	per_v[x]_405a
<b>per_v[x]_403b</b>	Market Regulations - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_403b
<b>per_v[x]_403a</b>	Market Regulations - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_403	per_v[x]_403a
<b>per_v[x]_415b</b>	Marxist Analysis - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_415b
<b>per_v[x]_415a</b>	Marxist Analysis - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_415	per_v[x]_415a
<b>per_v[x]_402b</b>	Incentives - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_402b
<b>per_v[x]_402a</b>	Incentives - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_402	per_v[x]_402a
<b>per_v[x]_409b</b>	Keynesian Demand Management - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_409b
<b>per_v[x]_409a</b>	Keynesian Demand Management - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_409	per_v[x]_409a
<b>per_v[x]_410b</b>	Productivity - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_410b
<b>per_v[x]_410a</b>	Productivity - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_410	per_v[x]_410a
<b>per_v[x]_411b</b>	Technology and Infrastructure - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_411b
<b>per_v[x]_411a</b>	Technology and Infrastructure - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_411	per_v[x]_411a
<b>per_v[x]_406b</b>	Protectionism - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_407	per_v[x]_407
<b>per_v[x]_406a</b>	Protectionism - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_406	per_v[x]_406
<b>per_v[x]_416b</b>	Anti-Growth Economy - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_416b
<b>per_v[x]_416a</b>	Anti-Growth Economy - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_416	per_v[x]_416a
<b>per_v[x]_414b</b>	Economic Orthodoxy - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_414b
<b>per_v[x]_414a</b>	Economic Orthodoxy - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_414	per_v[x]_414a
<b>per_v[x]_408b</b>	Economic Goals: General - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_408b
<b>per_v[x]_408a</b>	Economic Goals: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_408	per_v[x]_408a
<b>per_v[x]_4081b</b>	Creating Jobs - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_4081b
<b>per_v[x]_4081a</b>	Creating Jobs - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4081	per_v[x]_4081a
<b>per_v[x]_4082b</b>	Labour Migration: Positive - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_4083	per_v[x]_4083
<b>per_v[x]_4082a</b>	Labour Migration: Positive - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4082	per_v[x]_4082
<b>per_v[x]_4084b</b>	Single Market - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_4085



<b>per_v[x]_4084a</b>	Single Market - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4084	per_v[x]_4084
<b>per_v[x]_4086b</b>	European Monetary Union/ European Currency - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_4087	per_v[x]_4087
<b>per_v[x]_4086a</b>	European Monetary Union/ European Currency - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_4086	per_v[x]_4086
<b>per_v[x]_501b</b>	Environmental Protection - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_501b
<b>per_v[x]_501a</b>	Environmental Protection - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_501	per_v[x]_501a
<b>per_v[x]_502b</b>	Culture - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_502b
<b>per_v[x]_502a</b>	Culture - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_502	per_v[x]_502a
<b>per_v[x]_503b</b>	Social Justice - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_503b
<b>per_v[x]_503a</b>	Social Justice - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_503	per_v[x]_503a
<b>per_v[x]_504b</b>	WS: General - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_505	per_v[x]_505
<b>per_v[x]_504a</b>	WS: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_504	per_v[x]_504
<b>per_v[x]_5042b</b>	WS: Pensions - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_5052	per_v[x]_5052
<b>per_v[x]_5042a</b>	WS: Pensions - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_5042	per_v[x]_5042
<b>per_v[x]_5043b</b>	WS: Health Care and Nursing Service - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_5053	per_v[x]_5053
<b>per_v[x]_5043a</b>	WS: Health Care and Nursing Service - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_5043	per_v[x]_5043
<b>per_v[x]_5044b</b>	WS: Social Housing - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_5054	per_v[x]_5054
<b>per_v[x]_5044a</b>	WS: Social Housing - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_5044	per_v[x]_5044
<b>per_v[x]_5045b</b>	WS: Child Care - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_5055	per_v[x]_5055
<b>per_v[x]_5045a</b>	WS: Child Care - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_5045	per_v[x]_5045
<b>per_v[x]_5041b</b>	WS: Job Programs - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_5051	per_v[x]_5051
<b>per_v[x]_5041a</b>	WS: Job Programs - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_5041	per_v[x]_5041
<b>per_v[x]_506b</b>	Education - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_507	per_v[x]_507
<b>per_v[x]_506a</b>	Education - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_506	per_v[x]_506
<b>per_v[x]_607b</b>	Multiculturalism - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_608	per_v[x]_608
<b>per_v[x]_607a</b>	Multiculturalism - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_607	per_v[x]_607
<b>per_v[x]_603b</b>	Traditional Morality - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_604	per_v[x]_604
<b>per_v[x]_603a</b>	Traditional Morality - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_603	per_v[x]_603
<b>per_v[x]_605b</b>	Law and Order: General - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_605b
<b>per_v[x]_605a</b>	Law and Order: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_605	per_v[x]_605a
<b>per_v[x]_6051b</b>	Fight against terrorism - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_6051b
<b>per_v[x]_6051a</b>	Fight against terrorism - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_6051	per_v[x]_6051a
<b>per_v[x]_606b</b>	Social Harmony - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_606b
<b>per_v[x]_606a</b>	Social Harmony - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_606	per_v[x]_606a
<b>per_v[x]_601b</b>	National Way of Life - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_602	per_v[x]_602
<b>per_v[x]_601a</b>	National Way of Life - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_601	per_v[x]_601
<b>per_v[x]_6011b</b>	Immigration - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_6011	per_v[x]_6011b
<b>per_v[x]_6011a</b>	Immigration - Pos - L[x]		per_v[x]_6011a
<b>per_v[x]_6021b</b>	EU Integration - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_6021	per_v[x]_6021b
<b>per_v[x]_6021a</b>	EU Integration - Pos - L[x]		per_v[x]_6021a
<b>per_6012</b>	Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus only); in 2009: differentiated between posi-	p[x]_6012	per_v[x]_6012b per_v[x]_6012b

	tive and negative values on all four levels (per_v1_6012b, per_v2_6012b, per_v3_6012b, per_v4_6012b, per_v1_6012a, per_v2_6012a)		per_v[x]_6012b per_v[x]_6012b per_v[x]_6012a per_v[x]_6012a per_v[x]_6012a per_v[x]_6012a
<b>per_v[x]_701b</b>	Labour Groups - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_702	per_v[x]_702
<b>per_v[x]_701a</b>	Labour Groups - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_701	per_v[x]_701
<b>per_v[x]_7031b</b>	Agriculture and Farmers - Neg - L[x]	p[x]_7032	per_v[x]_7032
<b>per_v[x]_7031a</b>	Agriculture and Farmers - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_7031	per_v[x]_7031
<b>per_v[x]_704b</b>	Middle Class and Professional Groups - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_704b
<b>per_v[x]_704a</b>	Middle Class and Professional Groups - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_704	per_v[x]_704a
<b>per_v[x]_705b</b>	UMP: General - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_705b
<b>per_v[x]_705a</b>	UMP: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_705	per_v[x]_705a
<b>per_v[x]_7051b</b>	UMG: Handicapped - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_7051b
<b>per_v[x]_7051a</b>	UMG: Handicapped - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_7051	per_v[x]_7051a
<b>per_v[x]_7052b</b>	UMG: Homosexuals - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_7052b
<b>per_v[x]_7052a</b>	UMG: Homosexuals - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_7052	per_v[x]_7052a
<b>per_v[x]_7053b</b>	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners in the Manifesto Country - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_7053b
<b>per_v[x]_7053a</b>	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners in the Manifesto Country - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_7053	per_v[x]_7053a
<b>per_v[x]_7054b</b>	UMG: Ethnic Minorities/People of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_7054b
<b>per_v[x]_7054a</b>	UMG: Ethnic Minorities/People of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_7054	per_v[x]_7054a
<b>per_v[x]_706b</b>	NEDG: General - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_706b
<b>per_v[x]_706a</b>	NEDG: General - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_706	per_v[x]_706a
<b>per_v[x]_7061b</b>	NEDG: Women - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_7061b
<b>per_v[x]_7061a</b>	NEDG: Women - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_7061	per_v[x]_7061a
<b>per_v[x]_7062b</b>	NEDG: Old People - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_7062b
<b>per_v[x]_7062a</b>	NEDG: Old People - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_7062	per_v[x]_7062a
<b>per_v[x]_7063b</b>	NEDG: Young People - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_7063b
<b>per_v[x]_7063a</b>	NEDG: Young People - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_7063	per_v[x]_7063a
<b>per_v[x]_7064b</b>	NEDG: Linguistic Groups - Neg - L[x]		per_v[x]_7064b
<b>per_v[x]_7064a</b>	NEDG: Linguistic Groups - Pos - L[x]	p[x]_7064	per_v[x]_7064a
<b>per_v_099</b>	No Code Applies	p[x]_000	per_v_099

## 5. Description of the Data

**Table 9** Description of the Data.

<b>za_nr</b>	<b>GESIS ZA-Studiennummer</b>
<b>version</b>	GESIS archive version
<b>persid</b>	Coder ID
<b>country</b>	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
	82 Czech Republic
	83 Estonia
	86 Hungary
	87 Latvia
	88 Lithuania
	92 Poland
	93 Romania
	96 Slovakia
	97 Slovenia
<b>region</b>	Parties from both Belgium and Great Britain are differentiated with respect to the respective party's regional background. All other countries are identified by their country code (see variable <i>country</i> ).
	210 Flanders
	211 Wallonia
	510 Northern Ireland
	511 Great Britain
<b>year</b>	Election year.
<b>country_year</b>	Country code plus election year.
<b>party</b>	EMCS party code (see table 1 through 28 for each party's respective EMCS code (EMCS ID)).
<b>party_year</b>	EMCS party code (see table 1 through 28 for each party's respective

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<b>eep</b>	EMCS code (EMCS ID)) plus election year.
<b>member</b>	Year of a country's first elections to the European Parliament.
<b>partyname</b>	Year of a country's first admittance to the European Parliament.
<b>initials</b>	Party name.
<b>group</b>	Party initials.
	Affiliation to a political group at European level (European party).
	10 Group of the European People's Party and European Democrats (EPP-ED)
	11 Group of the European People's Party (EPP)
	20 Group of the Party of European Socialists (PES)
	30 Greens/European Free Alliance (Greens/EFA)
	31 Rainbow
	32 Greens
	33 Radical Alliance
	40 European Liberal, Democratic and Reformist Group (ELDR)
	50 Group of the European United left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL)
	51 Communist Group
	52 Left Unity Group
	53 United European Left (GUE)
	54 (New founded) United European Left (GUE)
	60 Independence/Democracy Group
	61 Europe of Democracies and Diversities
	70 Union for a Europe of Nations Group (UEN)
	71 Europe of Nations
	72 Europe for Freedom and Democracy Group
	80 European Democratic Group (EDG)
	90 Progressive Democrats
	91 European Democratic Alliance (EDA)
	92 Union for Europe
	100 European Right
	110 Forza Europa
	-999 Unavailable
	-888 Inapplicable
	-777 Unknown
<b>pfamily</b>	Party family (based on the founding period of the party and identical to MRG coding).
	1 Green parties
	2 (Post-)communist
	3 Social democrats
	4 Liberal
	5 Christian democrats
	6 Conservative
	7 Nationalist
	8 Agrarian parties
	9 Regional parties
	95 Special-interest parties
	-999 Unavailable

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<b>manif</b>	Type of manifesto coded.
1	Proper EM of this party
2	Another ‘official’ election-related party document
3	Manifesto of the leader
4	Excerpt of the national manifesto of this party
5	Other
-999	Unavailable
<b>vote</b>	A party’s percentage of votes at national level.
<b>seats</b>	Number of seats in the European Parliament.
<b>seatsum</b>	Number of seats in the European Parliament by country.
<b>Coder Rating (10-point-scale)</b>	
<b>99</b>	<i>No answer</i>
<b>-999</b>	<i>Unavailable</i>
<b>-777</b>	<i>Unknown</i>
<b>left</b>	Left (1) - Right (10)
<b>environ</b>	Environmental Protection (1) - Economic Growth (10)
<b>liberta</b>	Libertarian (1) - Authoritarian (10)
<b>religious</b>	Religious (1) - Secular (10)
<b>state</b>	State Interventionism (1) - Free Enterprise (10)
<b>multicult</b>	Multiculturalism (1) - Ethnocentrism (10)
<b>integration</b>	Pro EU-Integration (1) - Anti-EU-Integration (10)
<b>Computed Variables</b>	
<i>The term [x] means in this context that the values of all levels (1 through 3) of the respective variable are used for the index.</i>	
<b>rile_mrg</b>	<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:</p> $per\_v[x]_{104a} + per\_v[x]_{2011a} + per\_v[x]_{2012a} + per\_v[x]_{203a} + per\_v[x]_{305a} + per\_v[x]_{401a} + per\_v[x]_{402a} + per\_v[x]_{406b} + per\_v[x]_{414a} + per\_v[x]_{504b} + per\_v[x]_{5041b} + per\_v[x]_{5042b} + per\_v[x]_{5043b} + per\_v[x]_{5044b} + per\_v[x]_{5045b} + per\_v1_{601a} + per\_v[x]_{603a} + per\_v[x]_{605a} + per\_v[x]_{6051a} + per\_v[x]_{606a}$ <p>Leftist codes:</p> $per\_v[x]_{103a} + per\_v[x]_{104b} + per\_v[x]_{106a} + per\_v[x]_{107a} + per\_v[x]_{202a} + per\_v2_{202b} + per\_v[x]_{403a} + per\_v[x]_{404a} + per\_v[x]_{406a} + per\_v[x]_{412a} + per\_v[x]_{4121a} + per\_v[x]_{4122a} + per\_v[x]_{4123a} + per\_v[x]_{4124a} + per\_v[x]_{413a} + per\_v[x]_{4012b} + per\_v[x]_{4132a} + per\_v[x]_{504a} + per\_v[x]_{5041a} + per\_v[x]_{5042a} + per\_v[x]_{5043a} + per\_v[x]_{5044a} + per\_v[x]_{5045a} + per\_v[x]_{506a} + per\_v1_{601b} + per\_v[x]_{701a}$

<b>planeco</b>	Planned economy dimension according to MRG. $per\_v[x]_{403a} + per\_v[x]_{404a} + per\_v2_{4011a} + per\_v[x]_{412a} + per\_v[x]_{4121a} + per\_v[x]_{4122a} + per\_v[x]_{4123a} + per\_v[x]_{4124a}$
<b>markeco</b>	Market economy dimension according to MRG. $per\_v[x]_{401a} + per\_v2_{4011b} + per\_v[x]_{4012a} + per\_v[x]_{414a}$
<b>welfare</b>	Welfare economy dimension according to MRG. $per\_v[x]_{503a} + per\_v[x]_{504a} + per\_v[x]_{5041a} + per\_v[x]_{5042a} + per\_v[x]_{5043a} + per\_v[x]_{5044a} + per\_v[x]_{5045a}$
<b>pro_anti_EU</b>	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: $per\_v[x]_{108a} + per\_v2_{203a} + per\_v2_{3011a} + per\_v2_{306a} + per\_v2_{308a} + per\_v2_{310a} + per\_v2_{3101a} + per\_v2_{312a} + per\_v2_{314a} + per\_v2_{3141a} + per\_v2_{316a} + per\_v2_{3161a} + per\_v2_{4011a} + per\_v2_{4084a} + per\_v2_{601a} + per\_v1_{601b}$  Anti-EU: $per\_v[x]_{108b} + per\_v1_{1081b} + per\_v2_{203b} + per\_v2_{3011b} + per\_v2_{306b} + per\_v2_{308b} + per\_v2_{310b} + per\_v2_{3101b} + per\_v2_{312b} + per\_v2_{314b} + per\_v2_{3141b} + per\_v2_{316b} + per\_v2_{3161b} + per\_v2_{318a} + per\_v2_{4011b} + per\_v2_{4084b} + per\_v2_{4086b} + per\_v2_{601b} + per\_v1_{601a}$

*Coding categories: Percentages of quasi-sentences in each category grouped into nine major policy areas. Because of differences in the length of the documents, the number of quasi-sentences in each category is standardized in order to make coded manifestos comparable. In doing so, the total number of quasi-sentences in the respective documents has been taken as a basis (the number of headlines/subtitles/etc. has been subtracted):*

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

*or in terms of variables*
$$\frac{\text{category}}{\text{total}}$$

Variable Name	Variable Label	Level [x]
<i>[x] stands for the respective governmental frame. In each variable name, the favored 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>		
<b>total</b>	Total Number of Quasi-Sentences (Excluding Headlines)	

<b>per_v[x]_101b</b>	Foreign Special Relationships (FSR): General	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_101a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_1011b</b>	FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_1011a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_1012b</b>	FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_1012a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_1013b</b>	FSR to Russia	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_1013a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_1014b</b>	FSR to USA	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_1014a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_103b</b>	Anti-Imperialism	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_103a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_104b</b>	Military	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_104a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_106b</b>	Peace	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_106a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_107b</b>	Internationalism	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_107a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_108b</b>	Europe, European Community/Union: General	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_108a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_1081b</b>	Financing the EC/EU	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_1081a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_2011b</b>	Freedom	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_2011a</b>		+	3

<b>per_v[x]_2012b</b>	Human Rights	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_2012a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_202b</b>	Democracy	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_202a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_203b</b>	Constitutionalism	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_203a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_301b</b>	Decentralization: General	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_301a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_3011b</b>	Transfer of Power to the EC/EU	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_3011a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_303b</b>	Executive and Administrative Efficiency	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_303a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_304b</b>	Political Corruption	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_304a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_305b</b>	Political Authority	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_305a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_306b</b>	Competences of the European Parliament	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_306a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_308b</b>	Competences of the European Commission	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_308a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_310b</b>	Competences of the European Council/ Council of Ministers: General	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_310a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_3101b</b>	Voting Procedures in the (European) Council	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_3101a</b>		+	3



<b>per_v[x]_312b</b>	Competences of the European Court of Justice	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_312a</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_314b</b>	Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_314a</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_3141b</b>	Mentions of the European Central Bank	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_3141a</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_316b</b>	EC/EU Enlargement: General	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_316a</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_3162b</b>	Membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_3162a</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_3163a</b>	Membership in the EU of Balkan countries currently not in the EU	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_3161b</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_3161a</b>	Membership of the Turkey in the EU	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_318b</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_318a</b>	Complexity of the EC/EU Political System	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_401b</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_401a</b>	Free Enterprise: General	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_4012b</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_4012a</b>	Property-Restitution	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_412a</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_4121b</b>	Social Ownership	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_4121a</b>		+	2 3
<b>per_v[x]_4122b</b>	Mixed Economy	–	1
<b>per_v[x]_4122a</b>		+	2 3

<b>per_v[x]_4123b</b>	Publicly-Owned Industry	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_4123a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_4124b</b>	Socialist Property	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_4124a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_404b</b>	Economic Planning: General	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_404a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_4011b</b>	EC/EU Structural Funds	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_4011a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_413b</b>	Nationalization: Generalization	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_413a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_4132b</b>	Privatisation	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_4132a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_405b</b>	Corporatism	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_405a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_403b</b>	Market Regulations	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_403a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_415b</b>	Marxist Analysis	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_415a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_402b</b>	Incentives	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_402a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_409b</b>	Keynesian Demand Management	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_409a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_410b</b>	Productivity	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_410a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_411b</b>	Technology and Infrastructure	—	1
			2

<b>per_v[x]_411a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_406b</b>	Protectionism	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_406a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_416b</b>	Anti-Growth Economy	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_416a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_414b</b>	Economic Orthodoxy	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_414a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_408b</b>	Economic Goals: General	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_408a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_4081b</b>	Creating Jobs	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_4081a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_4082b</b>	Labour Migration: Positive	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_4082a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_4084b</b>	Single Market	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_4084a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_4086b</b>	European Monetary Union/ European Currency	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_4086a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_501b</b>	Environmental Protection	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_501a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_502b</b>	Culture	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_502a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_503b</b>	Social Justice	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_503a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_504b</b>	WS: General	–	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_504a</b>		+	3

<b>per_v[x]_5042b</b>	WS: Pensions	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_5042a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_5043b</b>	WS: Health Care and Nursing Service	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_5043a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_5044b</b>	WS: Social Housing	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_5044a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_5045b</b>	WS: Child Care	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_5045a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_5041b</b>	WS: Job Programs	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_5041a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_506b</b>	Education	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_506a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_607b</b>	Multiculturalism	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_607a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_603b</b>	Traditional Morality	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_603a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_605b</b>	Law and Order: General	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_605a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_6051b</b>	Fight against Terrorism	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_6051a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_606b</b>	Social Harmony	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_606a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_601b</b>	National Way of Life	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_601a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_6011b</b>	Immigration	—	1
			2

<b>per_v[x]_6011a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_6021b</b>	EU Integration	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_6021a</b>		+	3
<b>per_ 6012</b>	Cyprus Issue		
<b>per_v[x]_701b</b>	Labour Groups	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_701a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_7031b</b>	Agriculture and Farmers	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_7031a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_704b</b>	Middle Class and Professional Groups	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_704a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_705b</b>	UMP: General	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_705a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_7051b</b>	UMG: Handicapped	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_7051a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_7052b</b>	UMG: Homosexuals	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_7052a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_7053b</b>	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners in the Manifesto Country	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_7053a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_7054b</b>	UMG: Ethnic Minorities/People of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_7054a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_706b</b>	NEDG: General	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_706a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_7061b</b>	NEDG: Women	—	1
			2
<b>per_v[x]_7061a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_7062b</b>	NEDG: Old People	—	1
			2

<b>per_v[x]_7062a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_7063b</b>	NEDG: Young People	—	1 2
<b>per_v[x]_7063a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v[x]_7064b</b>	NEDG: Linguistic Groups	—	1 2
<b>per_v[x]_7064a</b>		+	3
<b>per_v_099</b>	No Code Applies		

