European Election Studies 2014: Manifesto Project

2014 Euromanifesto Study Documentation

Content Analysis of 199 Party Manifestos for the 2014 EP Elections from 28 Countries and the European Groups

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Acknowledgement

This document describes the 2014 wave of the *Euromanifesto Project* (EM Project). The EM Project is one of five components of the *European Election Studies* (EES). The EES are not only about electoral participation and voting behaviour in European Parliament elections, but also include empirical analyses of the evolution of an EU political community and a European public sphere. Focus is upon perceptions of and preferences about the EU political regime plus evaluations of the EU political performance among citizens, political elites, and political organizations. Besides the EM Project, the EES feature such components as the *Voter Study*, the *Elite Study*, the *Media Study*, and the collection of contextual data. With the notable exception of the 2009 *PIREDEU* study coordinated by the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence the University of Mannheim has been home to the EES series from 1979 onwards.[1]

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

EUENGAGE aims at inquiring into the current tensions between supranational EU governance and Eurosceptic popular mobilisation at national level. It seeks to propose remedial actions based on sound empirical research on the relationship between public opinion and (supra)national political elites. In this perspective, *EUENGAGE* applies an interactive, dynamic, multilevel, and replicable quasi-experimental research design using a variety of instruments and techniques. This design allows not only to study the process of representation in vivo, but also to experiment how innovative and efficient interactions between citizens and politicians can increase both the awareness of citizens of

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[1] For more information on the *European Election Studies* (EES) see http://eeshomepage.net/.
[2] For more information on the *GESIS Data Archive* see www.gesis.org/en. The EES homepage provides direct links to EES data and documentations, see http://eeshomepage.net/.

common EU problems and the ability of the European leadership to respond to public discontent.[3]

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[3] For more information on EUENGAGE see http://www.euengage.eu/.

Introduction

This document describes the 2014 wave of the *Euromanifesto Project* (EM Project). This project aims at collecting all euromanifestos (party programs) issued by political parties and the European groups ahead of elections to the European Parliament (EP) in all EU member countries. This document contains information on the selection of parties and party programs, and enumerates the actual coded manifestos. Since Croatia joined the EU in 2013, 28 countries are members of the EU. 199 relevant political parties and European groups participated in the 2014 EP elections. In the following, we describe the EM Project 2014 in detail. That is, we explain the two-step coding procedure (unitizing and coding) and refer to specific coding problems and difficulties. We also provide information on coders, the timeframe, the initial training procedure, and data treatment. The appendix highlights some figures on data reliability and issues with particular additional variables. Additionally, we include an extensive documentation of the fourth edition of the *Euromanifestos Coding Scheme* (EMCS), which was used by the coders.

The EM Project 2014 is the fourth project phase of the overall EM Project 1979-2014, which derives from on the *Comparative Manifesto Project* (CMP). Coding rules, examples, and general information on the project heavily rely on the first editions of the EM Project, the EMCS, and the corresponding documentations. The EMCS originates from the second edition of the *Manifesto Coding Instructions*, compiled by Andrea Volkens at the *Berlin Social Science Centre* (*Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung*, WZB) in Berlin. As it is the intention of the EM Project to strive for full comparability with both the CMP and the previous (1979-2009) EM content codes, most coding rules have been adapted from the original handbook.

1 General Information

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

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

In 2000, Hermann Schmitt began to make use of this MRG/CMP approach with respect to manifestos of political parties that participate in European Parliament elections. The *Euromanifesto Project* (EM Project) at the *Mannheim Centre for European Social Research* (MZES) has since strived to collect and code election programs of all parties ever represented in the European Parliament. The standard MRG/CMP coding frame was modified by the coordinators of the EM Project for two reasons:[4] on the one hand, the *Euromanifestos Coding Scheme* (EMCS) aims at maintenance of comparability with the MRG/CMP approach. On the other hand, it is to open the opportunity to grasp EU-specific content absent in national manifestos.

1.1 Selection of Parties

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

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

a party in a given party system.[5] Coalition potential is (1) the actual or former membership in a government or (2) the possibility (feasibility) of becoming a government party. Blackmail potential refers to a party's impact on "the tactics of party competition particularly when it alters the direction of the competition—by determining a switch from centripetal to centrifugal competition either leftward, rightward, or in both directions—of the governing-oriented parties." The MRG/CMP project makes use of these criteria.

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

1.2   Selection of Manifestos

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

- Party manifestos cover a wide range of themes, problems, and political positions and, therefore, contain a "set of key central statements."[6]
- Party manifestos are authoritative statements of party policies because party conventions usually ratify them.
- Party manifestos comprise statements that represent the whole party, not just individual party members or one of its factions.
- Political parties usually release party manifestos before elections. This enables studies of changes in issue emphases and policy positions in a diachronic perspective.

All documents collected by the EM Project are party manifestos released before an election to the European Parliament. The political parties themselves are not necessarily the

[5] Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems. A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (cf. especially pp. 121-125).

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

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

The next chapter reports all party manifestos and alternative documents collected in 2014. The EM Project saved them as PDF-files and ASCII-files, which are accessible on demand.[7]

2   Coded Manifestos

Initials	Party name	EMCS	Type
Europe			
GREEN-EFA	Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance	10100	EM
PES	Party of European Socialists	10300	EM
ALDE	Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	10400	EM
EPP[8]	European People's Party	10600	EM
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformist Group	10610	EM
EFDD	Europe of Freedom and Democracy	10710	EM
Sweden[9]			
MP	Miljöpartiet de Gröna *Greens*	11110	EM
V	Vänsterpartiet *Left Party*	11220	Other
S	Sverige Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti *Social Democrats*	11320	EM
FP	Folkpartiet Liberalerna *Liberal People's Party*	11420	EM
KD	Kristdemokraterna *Christian Democrats*	11520	EM
M	Moderata Samlingspartiet *Moderate Coalition Party*	11620	EM
SD	Sverigedemokraterna *Sweden Democrats*	11710	EM
C	Centerpartiet *Centre Party*	11810	EM

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[7] If interested, please send an email to euromanifestos@mzes.uni-mannheim.de.

[8] 1953-1979: CD (Christian Democrats); 1979-1999: EPP (European People's Party); 1999-2009: EPP-ED (European People's Party - European Democrats).

[9] Some sentences in the Swedish manifestos concerned patent and copy rights on the Internet, which were coded as uncodable. This is a newer issue that has gained high salience in Sweden, which is why the coding scheme does not cover it. This also explains the slightly higher number of uncodable sentences.

F!	Feministiskt initiative	11951	EM
	Feminist Initiative		
JL	Junilistan	11952	EM
	June List		
PP	Piratpartiet	11953	EM
	Pirate Party		
Denmark			
SF	Socialistisk Folkeparti	13230	EM
	Socialist People's Party		
SD	Socialdemokraterne	13320	EM
	Social Democrats		
RV	Det Radikale Venstre	13410	EM
	Danish Social Liberal Party		
V	Venstre	13420	EM
	Liberal Party		
KF	Det Konservative Folkeparti	13620	EM
	Conservative People's Party		
DF	Dansk Folkeparti	13710	Other
	Danish People's Party		
FB	Folkebevægelsen Mod EU	13954	EM
	People's Movement against the EU		
Finland			
VIHR	Vihreä Liitto	14110	EM
	Green League		
VAS	Vasemmistoliitto	14223	EM
	Left Alliance		
SDP	Suomen Sosiaalidemokraattinen Puolue	14320	EM
	Social Democratic Party of Finland		
KD[10]	Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit	14520	EM
	Finnish Christian Democrats		
KOK	Kansallinen Kokoomus	14620	EM
	National Coalition Party		
PS	Perussuomalaiset	14701	EM
	True Finns		
KESK	Suomen Keskusta	14810	EM
	Centre of Finland		
RKP-SFP	Ruotsalainen Kansanpuolue/Svenska Folkpartiet I Finland	14901	EM
	Swedish People's Party of Finland		
Belgium[11]			

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[10] Before 2001: SKL (Suomen Kristillinen Liitto).

[11] In Belgium, the 2014 EP elections were incorporated into harmonized multilevel elections, which is why some manifestos are very extensive in terms of scope (up to 900 pages). Most parts of these manifestos do not address any policy issues broadly linked to the European level. For that reason, the coordinators of the EM Project decided to only take into consideration certain parts of some Belgian manifestos. The latter were filtered by keywords referring to European politics in a broad manner. Whenever any of these keywords were found in the manifesto, the coder was to code that paragraph including the paragraphs surrounding the latter. Whenever there was a chapter that explicitly addresses European politics, the coder was to code the whole chapter. The coordinators of the EM Project applied this coding strategy to the manifestos from Écologistes Confédérés (Ecolo), Parti Socialiste (PS), Centre Démocrate Humaniste (cdH), Groen (Groen), Nieuw-Vlaamse-Alliantie (N-VA), and Socialistische Partij Anders (sp.a).

Ecolo	Écologistes Confédérés *Confederated Ecologists*	21111	EM
Groen[12]	Groen *Green*	21112	EM
sp.a[13]	Socialistische Partij Anders *Socialist Party Different*	21321	EM
PS	Parti Socialiste *Socialist Party*	21322	EM
Open VLD[14]	Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten *Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats*	21421	EM
MR	Mouvement Réformateur *Reformist Movement*	21427	EM
CSP	Christlich Soziale Partei *Christian Social Party*	21520	EM
CD&V[15]	Christen-Demokratisch & Vlaams *Christian Democrats & Flemish*	21521	EM
cdH[16]	Centre Démocrate Humaniste *Humanist Democratic Centre*	21522	EM
N-VA[17]	Nieuw-Vlaamse-Alliantie *New Flemish Alliance*	21913	EM
VB[18]	Vlaams Belang *Flemish Interest*	21914	EM
The Netherlands			
GL	GroenLinks *Green Left*	22110	EM
PvdD	Partij voor de Dieren *Party for the Animals*	22120	EM
SP	Socialistische Party *Socialist Party*	22210	EM
CU-SGP[19]	ChristenUnie + Staatskundig Gereformeerde Partij *Christian Union + Reformed Political Party*	22225	EM
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid/Europese Sociaaldemocraten *Labour Party*	22320	EM
D66	Democraten 66 *Democrats 66*	22330	EM
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie *People's Party for Freedom and Democracy*	22420	EM
CDA	Christen-Democratisch Appèl - Europese Volkspartij *Christian Democratic Appeal - European People's Party*	22521	EM

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[12] Before 2003: Agalev; 2003-2012: Groen!.

[13] In 2004: SP.A (Socialistische Partij Anders)/SPIRIT.

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

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

[16] Before 2002: PSC (Parti Social Chrétien).

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

[18] Before 2009: Vlaams Blok.

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

PVV	Partij voor de Vrijheid	22721	EM
	Party for Freedom		

	Luxembourg		
DG	Déi Gréng	23113	EM
	The Greens		
LSAP	Letzebuergesch Sozialistesch Arbechterpartei	23320	EM
	Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party		
DP	Democratesch Partei	23420	EM
	Democratic Party		
CSV	Chreschtlich Sozial Vollekspartei	23520	EM
	Christian Social People's Party		

	France		
EE	Europe Écologie – Les Verts	31115	EM
	Europe Ecology – The Greens		
LO[20]	Lutte Ouvrière	31221	Official
	Workers' Struggle		
FG[21]	Front de Gauche	31223	EM
	Left Front		
PS-PRG	Parti Socialiste - Parti Radical de Gauche	31324	EM
	Socialist Party - Radical Party of the Left		
UMP	Union pour un Mouvement Populaire	31645	EM
	Union for a Popular Movement		
FN	Front National	31720	Official
	National Front		
MoDem-UDI	Mouvement Démocrate + Union des Démocrates et Indépendants	31950	EM
	Democratic Movement + Union of Democrats and Independents		

	Italy		
M5S	Movimento 5 Stelle	32010	EM
	Five Star Movement		
L'Altra Europa	L'Altra Europa con Tsipras	32210	EM
	The Other Europe with Tsipras		
PD	Partito Democratico	32331	EM
	Democratic Party		
FI[22]	Forza Italia	32630	Official
	Go Italy		
LN	Lega Nord	32720	EM
	Northern League		
SVP	Südtiroler Volkspartei	32912	EM
	South Tyrolean People's Party		

	Spain		
IP	Coalición Izquierda Plural	33110	EM
	Coalition of the Plural Left		
PE	Coalición Primavera Europea	33120	EM
	Coalition Primavera Europea		
Podemos	Podemos	33210	EM

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[20] Before 2004: LO (Lutte Ouvrière); 2004-2014: EG (Extrême Gauche).
[21] In 2004: Pdt (Parti des travailleurs).
[22] Before 2013: PdL (Popolo della Liberta); successor party of FI (Forza Italia).

	Podemos		
PSOE/PSC[23]	Partido Socialista Obrero Español + Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya *Spanish Socialist Workers' Party + Party of the Socialists of Catalonia*	33320	EM
C's	Ciudadanos - Partido de la Ciudadanía *Citizens - Party of the Citizens*	33410	EM
UPyD	Unión Progreso y Democracia *Union, Progress, and Democracy*	33440	EM
PP[24]	Partido Popular *People's Party*	33610	EM
LPD	Coalición Los Pueblos Deciden *Coalition The Peoples Decide*	33960	EM
Greece			
K.K.E.	Kommounistiko Komma Ellados *Communist Party of Greece*	34210	EM
SY.RIZ.A.	Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras *Coalition of the Radical Left*	34211	EM
AN.E.L.	Anexartitoi Ellines *Independent Greeks*	34312	Official
ELIA-DI.PA.	Elia Dimokratiki Parataxi *Olive Tree*	34315	EM
To Potami	To Potami *The River*	34410	EM
N.D.	Nea Dimokratia *New Democracy*	34511	Official
O.P.-K.P.E.[25]	Oikologoi Prasinoi - Komma Peiraton Elladas *Ecologist Greens - Pirate Party of Greece*	34701	EM
C.A.	Laikos Syndesmos - Chrysi Avgi *People's Association - Golden Dawn*	34702	Other
LA.O.S.	Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos *Popular Orthodox Rally*	34703	Official
Portugal			
MPT	Partido da Terra *Earth Party*	35120	EM
B.E.	Bloco do Esquerda *Bloc of the Left*	35223	EM
CDU[26]	Coligaçao Democratica Unitaria *Unified Democratic Coalition*	35225	EM
PS	Partido Socialista Portuguêsa *Portuguese Socialist Party*	35311	EM
PSD+CDS-PP	Partido Social Democrata + Centro Democratico Social/Partido Popular *Social Democratic Party + Democratic and Social Centre/People's Party*	35319	EM

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[23] Before 2014: PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español).

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

[25] Before 2014: O.P. (Oikologoi Prasinoi).

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

	Cyprus		
AKEL	Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou	36220	EM
	Progressive Party of Working People		
EDEK	Kinima Sosialdimokraton	36322	EM
	Socialist Party of Cyprus		
DIKO	Dimokratikó Kómma	36420	EM
	Democratic Party		
DISY	Dimokratikos Synagermos	36510	EM
	Democratic Rally		
	Malta[27]		
PL	Partit Laburista	37320	EM
	Labour Party		
PN	Partit Nazzjonalista	37520	EM
	Nationalist Party		
	Germany		
ÖDP	Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei	41112	Official
	Ecologist Democratic Party		
GRÜNE	Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	41113	EM
	Alliance 90/Greens		
Die Linke[28]	Die Linke	41221	EM
	The Left		
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschland	41320	EM
	Social Democratic Party of Germany		
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei	41420	EM
	Free Democratic Party		
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands	41521	EM
	Christian Democratic Union of Germany		
CSU	Christlich Soziale Union Deutschlands	41522	EM
	Christian Social Union of Germany		
NPD	Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands	41710	EM
	National Democratic Party of Germany		
FW	Freie Wähler	41910	EM
	Free Voters		
AfD	Alternative für Deutschland	41950	EM
	Alternative for Germany		
Piraten	Piratenpartei Deutschland	41951	EM
	Pirate Party of Germany		
Familie	Familienpartei Deutschlands	41952	EM
	Family Party of Germany		
Die Partei	Die Partei	41953	EM
	The Party		
Tierschutz	Partei Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz	41954	EM
	Animal Protection Party		
	Austria		
GRÜNE	Die Grünen	42110	EM

[27] The Maltese manifestos show a slightly higher level of uncodable quasi-sentences. Most of these quasi-sentences deal with issues which were very specific to Malta, e.g. the sale of passport scheme.
[28] Before 2007: PDS (Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus); merger with WAsG (Wahlalternative Arbeit und soziale Gerechtigkeit) in 2007.

	The Greens		
SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs	42320	EM
	Social Democratic Party of Austria		
FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs	42420	Other
	Freedom Party of Austria		
NEOS[29]	NEOS Das Neue Österreich und Liberales Forum	42422	EM
	NEOS The New Austria and Liberal Forum		
ÖVP	Österreichische Volkspartei	42520	EM
	Austrian People's Party		

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4" align="center">United Kingdom[30]</th></tr>
<tr><td>Greens</td><td>Green Party</td><td>51110</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>Lab</td><td>Labour Party</td><td>51320</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>SDLP</td><td>Social Democratic and Labour Party</td><td>51340</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>LDP</td><td>Liberal Democrats</td><td>51421</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cons</td><td>Conservative Party</td><td>51620</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>BNP</td><td>British National Party</td><td>51701</td><td>Other</td></tr>
<tr><td>PC</td><td>Plaid Cymru</td><td>51901</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td><i>Party of Wales</i></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>SNP</td><td>Scottish National Party</td><td>51902</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>DUP</td><td>Democratic Unionist Party</td><td>51903</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>UUP</td><td>Ulster Unionist Party</td><td>51904</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>UKIP</td><td>United Kingdom Independence Party</td><td>51951</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>SF</td><td>Sinn Féin We Ourselves</td><td>51953</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td><i>We Ourselves</i></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4" align="center">Ireland</th></tr>
<tr><td>GP</td><td>Green Party - Comahoantas Glass</td><td>53110</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>SP</td><td>Socialist Party - Páirtí Sóisialach</td><td>53220</td><td>Other</td></tr>
<tr><td>Lab</td><td>Irish Labour Party - Páirtí an Lucht Oibre</td><td>53320</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>FG</td><td>Gaelic Nation - Fine Gael</td><td>53520</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>FF</td><td>Soldiers of Destiny - Fianna Fáil</td><td>53620</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>SF</td><td>We Ourselves - Sinn Féin</td><td>53951</td><td>EM</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4" align="center">Bulgaria</th></tr>
<tr><td>BSP</td><td>Balgarska Socialisticheska Partija
<i>Bulgarian Socialist Party</i></td><td>80220</td><td>EM</td></tr>
<tr><td>DPS</td><td>Dvizhenie za Prava i Swobodi
<i>Movement for Rights and Freedoms</i></td><td>80420</td><td>Excerpt</td></tr>
<tr><td>RB</td><td>Reformatorski Blok
<i>Reformist Bloc</i></td><td>80610</td><td>Other</td></tr>
<tr><td>GERB</td><td>Grazhdani za Evropejsko Razvitie na Bulgaria
<i>Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria</i></td><td>80620</td><td>Excerpt</td></tr>
<tr><td>BBZ+VMRO-BND+ZNS+DG[31]</td><td>Balgarija bes Zensura + Bulgarsko Natsionalno Dvizhenie + Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz + Dvizhenie Gergyovden
<i>Bulgaria Without Censorship + Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation-Bulgarian</i></td><td>80630</td><td>Other</td></tr>
</table>

[29] Merger of NEOS (Das Neue Österreich) and LIF (Liberales Forum) in 2014.
[30] The manifestos of both BNP and UKIP have significantly higher shares of uncodable quasi-sentences, which, to the most extent, depend on the structure of their manifestos.
[31] Dissolved after the 2014 EP elections.

	National Movement + Agrarian People's Union + St George's Day movement		
Ataka	Ataka	80710	Excerpt
	Attack		
NDSV	Nazionalno Dwizhenie za Stabilnost i Prosperitet	80902	Excerpt
	National Movement Simeon II		
Croatia			
ORaH	Održivi razvoj Hrvatske	81110	EM
	Sustainable Development of Croatia		
LC[32]	Left Coalition (Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatske + Hrvatska Narodna Stranka – Liberalni Demokrati + Istarski Demokratski Sabor)	81310	EM
	Left Coalition (Social Democratic Party of Croatia + Croatian People's Party - Liberal Democrats + Istrian Democratic Assembly + Croatian Party of Pensioners)		
RC[33]	Right Coalition (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica + Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka + Hrvatska stranka prava Ante Starčević)	81510	EM
	Right Coalition Croatian Democratic Union + Croatian Peasant Party + Croatian Party of Rights Dr. Ante Starčević)		
Czech Republic			
KSČM	Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy	82220	EM
	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia		
ČSSD	Česká strana sociálně demokratická	82320	EM
	Czech Social Democratic Party		
ODS	Občanská demokratická strana	82413	EM
	Civic Democratic Party		
ANO2011	ANO 2011	82414	EM
	Yes 2011		
Svobodní	Strana svobodných občanů	82415	EM
	Party of Free Citizens		
KDU-ČSL	Křesťanská a demokratická unie - Československá strana lidová	82523	EM
	Christian and Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party		
TOP09-STAN	TOP 09 + Starostové a nezávislí	82610	EM
	TOP 09 + Mayors and Independents		
Estonia			
SDE	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond	83410	EM
	Social Democratic Party		
KE	Eesti Keskerakond	83411	EM
	Estonian Centre Party		
ER	Eesti Reformierakond	83430	EM
	Estonian Reform Party		
IRL	Erakond Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit	83720	EM
	Union of Pro Patria and Res Publica		

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[32] Left coalition.
[33] Right coalition.

	Hungary		
Együtt-PM	Együtt - a Korszakváltók Pártja + Párbeszéd Magyarországért *Together - Party for a New Era + Dialogue for Hungary*	86110	Other
LMP	Lehet Más a Politika *Politics Can Be Different*	86120	EM
MSZP	Magyar Szocialista Párt *Hungarian Socialist Party*	86220	Other
DK	Demokratikus Koalíció *Democratic Coalition*	86310	EM
Fidesz-KDNP[34]	Fidesz Magyar Polgári Szövetség + Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt *Fidesz Hungarian Civic Union + Christian Democratic People's Party*	86524	Other
Jobbik	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom *Movement for a Better Hungary*	86701	EM
	Latvia		
ZZS	Zaļo un Zemnieku savienība *Union of Greens and Farmers*	87110	EM
Saskana	Saskaņa sociāldemokrātiskā partija (Saskanas Centrs) *Harmony Social Democratic Party (Harmony Centre)*	87221	EM
V	Partija Vienotība *Unity Party*	87411	EM
VL-TB/LNNK[35]	Nacionālā apvienība Visu Latvijai! -Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK *National Alliance All for Latvia! - Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK*	87710	EM
LKS.[36]	Latvijas Krievu savienība *Union of Russians in Latvia*	87951	EM
	Lithuania		
LSDP	Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija *Lithuanian Social Democratic Party*	88320	EM
DP	Darbo partija *Labour Party*	88322	EM
LRLS	Lietuvos Respublikos liberalų sąjūdis *Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic*	88423	EM
LiCS	Liberalų ir centro sąjunga *Liberal and Centre Union*	88433	EM
PTT.[37]	Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas *Order and Justice Party*	88522	EM
LVŽS.[38]	Lietuvos valstiečių ir žaliųjų sąjunga	88524	EM

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[34] Before 2014: Fidesz (Fidesz Magyar Polgári Szövetség).
[35] Merger of VL (Visu Latvijai!) and TB/LNNK (Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK) in 2011
[36] Before 2014: PCTVL (Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā).
[37] Before 2006: LDP (Liberalų Demokratų Partija).
[38] Before 2005: VNDS (Valstiečių ir Naujosios Demokratijos Partijų Sąjungos); 2005-2012: LVLS (Lietuvos Valstiečių Liaudininkų Sąjunga).

	Lithuanian Peasant and Greens Union		
TS-LKD	Tėvynės sąjunga - Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai	88621	EM
	Homeland Union - Lithuanian Christian Democrats		
LRA-RA	Lenkų rinkimų akcijos ir Rusų aljanso koalicija Valdemaro Tomaševskio blokas	88910	EM
	Coalition of Electoral Action of Poles and Russian Alliance "Block of Valdemar Tomasevski"		
Poland			
SLD-UP	Koalicja Sojuszu Lewicy Demokratycznej i Unii Pracy	92210	EM
	Democratic Left Alliance - Labour Union		
PO	Platforma Obywatelska	92435	EM
	Civic Platform		
PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	92436	EM
	Law and Justice		
KNP	Kongres Nowej Prawicy	92710	EM
	Congress of the New Right		
PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	92811	EM
	Polish People's Party		
Romania			
PDL	Partidul Democrat Liberal	93323	EM
	Democratic Liberal Party		
PNL	Partidul Naţional Liberal	93430	EM
	National Liberal Party		
PSD-UNPR-PC[39]	Partidul Social Democrat + Uniunea Naţională pentru Progresul României + Partidul Conservator	93601	Other
	Social Democratic Party + Democratic and Social Centre + People's Party		
PMP	Partidul Mişcarea Populară	93602	EM
	People's Movement Party		
RMDSZ	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România	93951	EM
	Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania		
Slovakia			
Most-Híd	Most-Híd	96410	EM
	Bridge		
Smer-SD[40]	Smer - sociálna demokracia	96423	EM
	Direction - Social Democracy		
KDH	Kresťansko-demokratické hnutie	96521	EM
	Christian Democratic Movement		
SDKÚ-DS	Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská únia - demokratická strana	96523	EM
	Slovak Democratic and Christian Union - Democratic Party		
SaS	Sloboda a solidarita	96610	EM
	Freedom and Democracy		
NOVA-KDS-OKS	NOVA + Kresťanskodemokratická strana + Občianska konzervatívna strana	96620	EM
	NOVA + Christian Democratic Party + Citizens´		

[39] In 2009: PSD-PC (Alianţa Politică Partidul Social Democrat - Partidul Conservator).
[40] Before 2014: Smer (Strana Smer - Tretia Cesta).

	Conservative Party		
OĽaNO	Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti	96630	EM
	Ordinary People and Independent Personalities		
SNS	Slovenská národná strana	96710	EM
	Slovak National Party		
SMK-MKP	Strana maďarskej komunity - Magyar Közösség Pártja	96955	EM
	Party of the Hungarian Community		
Slovenia			
SDS	Slovenska demokratska stranka	97320	EM
	Slovenian Democratic Party		
SD[41]	Socialnih demokratov	97321	EM
	Social Democrats		
Verjamem	Verjamem	97411	Other
	Believe!		
Zares	Zares	97431	EM
	For Real		
NSi-SLS	Nova Slovenija + Slovenska ljudska stranka	97510	EM
	New Slovenia + Slovenian People's Party		
DeSUS	Demokratična stranka upokojencev Slovenije	97951	EM
	Democratic Party of Retired Persons of Slovenia		

The following table shows a list of all political parties and European groups from which no party manifestos or alternative documents are available for the 2014 EP elections but which fulfil the definition of a relevant party.

Initials	*Party name*	*EMCS*
Europe		
GUE/NGL	Confederal Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left	10200
NI	Non-attached Members	10950
France		
UOM	L'Union pour les Outremer	31224
	Union for the Overseas Departments and Territories of France	
Italy		
NCD+UDC	Nuovo Centro Destra + Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e dei Democratici di Centro	32522
	New Centre-Right + Union of Christian and Centre Democrats Joint List	
Spain		
EPDD	Coalición 'La Izquierda por el derecho a decidir - L'Esquerra pel Dret a Decidir'	33920
	Coalition 'The Left for the Right to Decide'	
CEU	Coalición por Europa	33910
	Coalition for Europe	

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[41] 1993-2005: ZLSD (Združena Lista Socialnih Demokratov).

3   EM Coding Procedure

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

New methodological findings helped modify the conventional EMCS coding scheme in 2009, taking these problems into account. Exclusiveness, exhaustiveness, and sequencing the coding procedure has since been taken seriously. The interested reader is referred to the *1979-2009 Euromanifesto Project Documentation* for detailed information on a comparison of the former paper-and-pencil approach with the modified approach which makes use of an online coding routine. [42] The remainder of this chapter provides a short introduction into the *EM Coding Procedure* and highlights certain coding difficulties and decision rules. It also informs about the coders, the training procedure, and the timeframe of the 2014 wave of the EM Project.

3.1   The Coding Procedure

Content analysis is "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."[43] The method can be applied to a wide range of different materials and research questions. The specific kind of internal, quantitative analysis undertaken in manifesto research derives from the question about what ideas, policies, issues, and concerns parties stress in their platforms. These coding methods aim at comparability over a wide range of countries irrespective of cultural and socioeconomic differences. Therefore, the EM Project uses a classification scheme with invariant general categories to cover the total content of party manifestos, thereby identifying statements of preference (arguments). The EMCS IV contains nine domains including different categories and occasional subcategories. Each category covers related issues in such a way that changes over time can be measured across parties and countries. Thus, the coding

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[42] See http://eeshomepage.net/euromanifesto-study/.
[43] Berelson, Bernard. 1971. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Hafner.

procedure comprises quantification (How many statements do parties make?) and classification (What kind of statements do parties make?) of party manifestos. The final step of the coding procedure is evaluation: each coder is asked to evaluate the content of a given manifesto after having unitized and classified it.

3.1.1 Quantification: Coding Unit

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

> *Example (1)*   'We make a stand for a democratic Europe.'
> 'We support more rights for the European Parliament.'

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

> *Example (2)*   'We make a stand for a democratic Europe with more rights for the European Parliament.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Example (5)   'In the European Union, we will
- fight for clean air;
- promote higher standards in water protection;
- put the environment on top of the EP's agenda;
- secure social justice;
- guarantee the rights of employees;
- fight against corruption;
- retain our cultural diversity.

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

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

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

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

analysis equals the total number of quasi-sentences identified in the relevant text of a given manifesto.

3.1.2 Classification: Euromanifestos Coding Scheme IV (EMCS IV)

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

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

Table 1 Examples of quasi-sentences for three governmental frames.

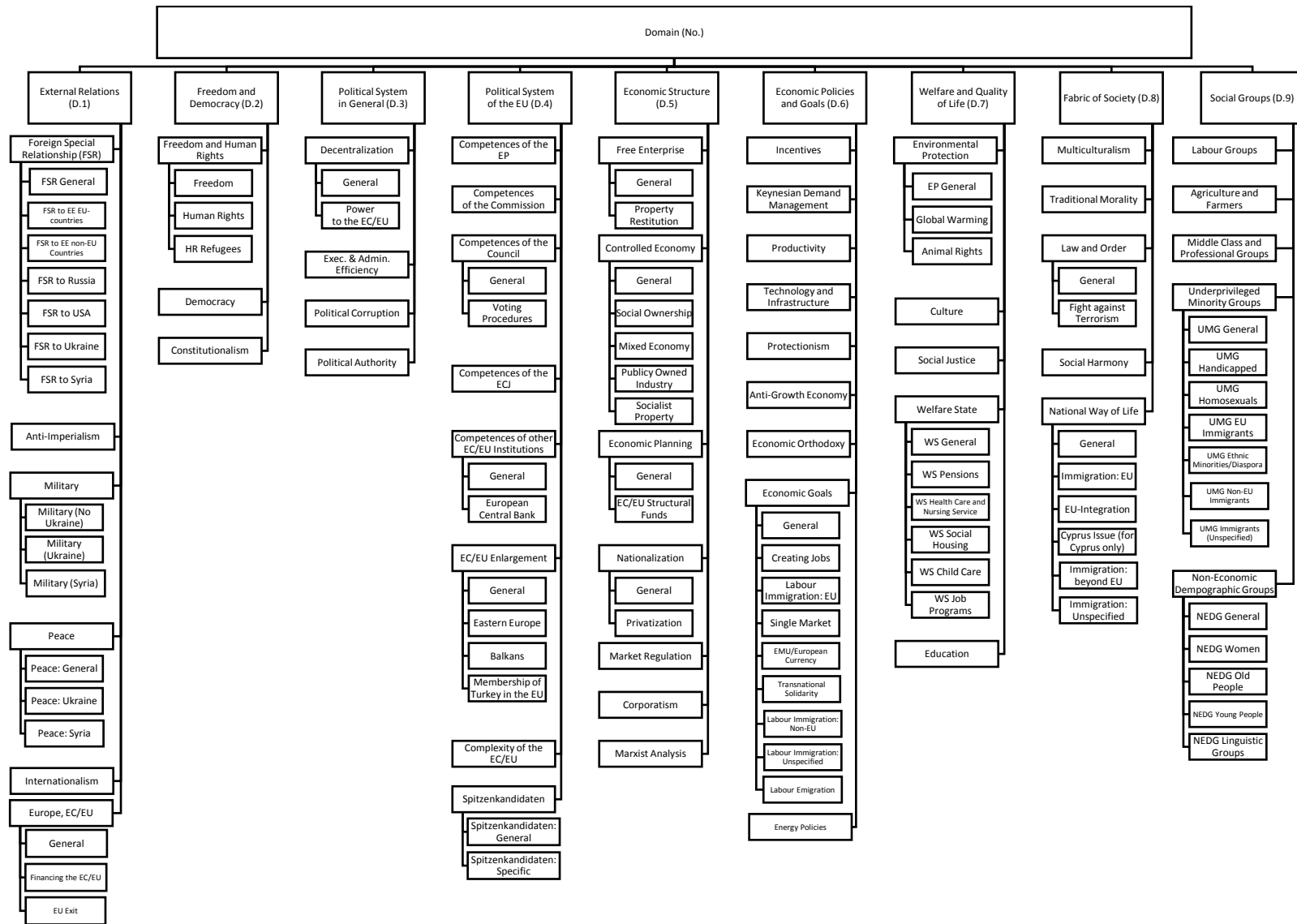| *Level*	*Numeric code*	*Manifesto text*
National	1	We recognize that in establishing equal status for women our country lags far behind.
European	2	We welcome the directives of the EEC on the principle of equal treatment in access to employment.
Unspecified	3	We totally support women's aspirations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

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

sentence, respectively) clearly indicates that all quasi-sentences refer to the European level (2).

Manifesto text	Domain	Category	Subcategory	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 protection	Welfare and Quality of Life	Environmental Protection	None	Positive	European	070100 1 2
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	Labour 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

The following hierarchical scheme describes the EMCS IV in detail. It comprises nine domains that include several categories and occasional subcategories. The EMCS IV is heavily based on the first edition of the EMCS. It nevertheless incorporates coding categories for relevant topics in each of the subsequent EP elections. As regards the 2014 EP elections, three new topics were integrated into the EMCS IV by the coordinators of the EM Project. The first new topic accounts for the immigration issue: EU immigration vs. non-EU immigration. It also relates to the question whether immigration results from sociocultural or -economic contexts. The second topic concerns the crises in Ukraine and Syria, while the third one covers the Eurozone crisis. All previous editions are available online for ease of comparison.[44]

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[44] See http://eeshomepage.net/euromanifesto-study/.

Domain (No.)

External Relations (D.1)

- Foreign Special Relationship (FSR)
  - FSR General
  - FSR to EE EU-countries
  - FSR to EE non-EU Countries
  - FSR to Russia
  - FSR to USA
  - FSR to Ukraine
  - FSR to Syria
- Anti-Imperialism
- Military
  - Military (No Ukraine)
  - Military (Ukraine)
  - Military (Syria)
- Peace
  - Peace: General
  - Peace: Ukraine
  - Peace: Syria
- Internationalism
- Europe, EC/EU
  - General
  - Financing the EC/EU
  - EU Exit

Freedom and Democracy (D.2)

- Freedom and Human Rights
  - Freedom
  - Human Rights
  - HR Refugees
- Democracy
- Constitutionalism

Political System in General (D.3)

- Decentralization
  - General
  - Power to the EC/EU
- Exec. & Admin. Efficiency
- Political Corruption
- Political Authority

Political System of the EU (D.4)

- Competences of the EP
- Competences of the Commission
- Competences of the Council
  - General
  - Voting Procedures
- Competences of the ECJ
- Competences of other EC/EU Institutions
  - General
  - European Central Bank
- EC/EU Enlargement
  - General
  - Eastern Europe
  - Balkans
  - Membership of Turkey in the EU
- Complexity of the EC/EU
- Spitzenkandidaten
  - Spitzenkandidaten: General
  - Spitzenkandidaten: Specific

Economic Structure (D.5)

- Free Enterprise
  - General
  - Property Restitution
- Controlled Economy
  - General
  - Social Ownership
  - Mixed Economy
  - Publicly Owned Industry
  - Socialist Property
- Economic Planning
  - General
  - EC/EU Structural Funds
- Nationalization
  - General
  - Privatization
- Market Regulation
- Corporatism
- Marxist Analysis

Economic Policies and Goals (D.6)

- Incentives
- Keynesian Demand Management
- Productivity
- Technology and Infrastructure
- Protectionism
- Anti-Growth Economy
- Economic Orthodoxy
- Economic Goals
  - General
  - Creating Jobs
  - Labour Immigration: EU
  - Single Market
  - EMU/European Currency
  - Transnational Solidarity
  - Labour Immigration: Non-EU
  - Labour Immigration: Unspecified
  - Labour Emigration
- Energy Policies

Welfare and Quality of Life (D.7)

- Environmental Protection
  - EP General
  - Global Warming
  - Animal Rights
- Culture
- Social Justice
- Welfare State
  - WS General
  - WS Pensions
  - WS Health Care and Nursing Service
  - WS Social Housing
  - WS Child Care
  - WS Job Programs
- Education

Fabric of Society (D.8)

- Multiculturalism
- Traditional Morality
- Law and Order
  - General
  - Fight against Terrorism
- Social Harmony
- National Way of Life
  - General
  - Immigration: EU
  - EU-Integration
  - Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus only)
  - Immigration: beyond EU
  - Immigration: Unspecified

Social Groups (D.9)

- Labour Groups
- Agriculture and Farmers
- Middle Class and Professional Groups
- Underprivileged Minority Groups
  - UMG General
  - UMG Handicapped
  - UMG Homosexuals
  - UMG EU Immigrants
  - UMG Ethnic Minorities/Diaspora
  - UMG Non-EU Immigrants
  - UMG Immigrants (Unspecified)
- Non-Economic Demographic Groups
  - NEDG General
  - NEDG Women
  - NEDG Old People
  - NEDG Young People
  - NEDG Linguistic Groups

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

010100 Foreign Special Relationships (FSR)

010101 FSR: General
Positive: Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship. For example, in the British case: former colonies; in the German case: East Germany; in the Swedish case: the rest of Scandinavia; the need for cooperation with and/or aid to such countries.
Negative: Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; opposite of **positive**.

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

010102 FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU
Positive: Favourable mentions of Eastern European countries that are now members of the EU.
Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Eastern European countries that are now members of the EU.

01013 FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU (except Ukraine)
Positive: Favourable mentions of the Eastern European countries that are not members of the EU.
Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Eastern European countries that are not members of the EU.

010104 FSR to Russia
Positive: Favourable mentions of Russia.
Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Russia.

Note: This code also includes energy dependency to Russia.

010105 FSR to USA
Positive: Favourable mentions of the United States of America.
Negative: Unfavourable mentions of the United States of America.

010106 FSR to Ukraine
Positive: Favourable mentions of Ukraine.
Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Ukraine.

010107 FSR to Syria
Positive: Favourable mentions of the Assad regime in Syria or the Syrian government.
Negative: Unfavourable mentions of the Assad regime in Syria or the Syrian government.

010200 Anti-Imperialism

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

government and independence for colonies; negative references to the imperial behaviour of the manifesto and/or other countries.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

010300 Military

010301 Military: General
Positive: Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; modernizing armed forces and improvement in military strength; rearmament and self-defence; need to keep military treaty obligations; need to secure adequate manpower in the military, need for military cooperation.
Negative: Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament; "evils of war"; promises to reduce conscription.

010302 Military: Ukraine
Positive: Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; improvement in military strength in the Ukraine conflict.
Negative: Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament in the Ukraine conflict.

010303 Military: Syria
Positive: Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; improvement in military strength in the Syrian conflict.
Negative: Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament in the Syrian conflict.

010400 Peace

010401 Peace: General
Positive: Peace as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises; desirability of joining in negotiations with hostile countries; call for ceasefire agreements.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

010402 Peace: Ukraine
Positive: Peace in Ukraine as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving the crisis in Ukraine; desirability of joining in negotiations with countries hostile to Ukraine; call for ceasefire agreements.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

010403 Peace: Syria
Positive: Peace in Syria as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving the crisis in Syria; desirability of joining in negotiations with inimical actors involved in the Syrian crisis; call for ceasefire agreements.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

010500 Internationalism

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

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

010600 Europe, European Community/Union

010601 Europe, European Community/Union: General

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

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

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

010602 Financing the EC/EU

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

010603 EU Exit

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

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

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

020100 Freedom and Human Rights

020101 Freedom

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

020102 Human Rights

Positive: Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights; freedom of speech.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

020103 Human Rights: Refugees

Positive: Favourable mentions of support for refugees; calls for humanitarian aid.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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**.

020300 Constitutionalism

Positive: Support for specified aspects of constitution; use of constitutionalism as an argument for policy as well as general approval of the constitutional way of doing things in the manifesto country. On the European level, for example, need for a European constitution.
Negative: Opposition to the constitution in general or to specified aspects of it; otherwise opposite of **positive**. On the European level, for example, no need for a European constitution.

DOMAIN 3: Political System (In General)

030100 Decentralization

030101 Decentralization: General
Positive: Support for federalism or devolution; more regional autonomy on the national level (or national autonomy on the European level) for policy, economy, and administration; support for keeping up local and regional customs and symbols; favourable mentions of special consideration for local areas; deference to local expertise.
Negative: Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels; support for more centralization (Europeanization) in political and administrative procedures; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

030102 Transfer of Power to the EC/EU
Positive: Transfer of power and/or competences to the EC/EU is supported. The fact that the nation-state and its regions will lose power, competences, and sovereignty, is not bemoaned.
Negative: No need for transfer of power and/or competences to the EC/EU. The nation-state and its regions should retain their power, competences, and sovereignty. The loss of power, competences, and sovereignty of the nation-state and regions within is bemoaned.

030200 Executive and Administrative Efficiency

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

030300 Political Corruption

Positive: Need to eliminate corruption, and associated abuse, in political and public life.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

030400 Political Authority

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

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

040100 Competences of the European Parliament

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

040200 Competences of the European Commission

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

040300 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers

040301 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: General
Positive: Positive mentions of the European Council/ Council of Ministers in general. Need to maintain or increase the legislative power and/or competences of the European Council/ Council of Ministers.
Negative: Negative mentions of the European Council/ Council of Ministers in general. Need to cutback or decrease the legislative power and/or competences of the European Council/ Council of Ministers.

040302 Voting procedures in the (European) Council
Positive: Need to maintain or increase the voting procedures requiring unanimity in the Council. Negative mentions of (qualified) majority voting in the Council.
Negative: Need to maintain or increase the (qualified) majority voting procedures in the Council. Negative mentions of the need for unanimity in the Council. Favourable mentions of majority voting in the council as a means of democratisation or of more efficiency in decision-making within the EC/EU.

040400 Competences of the European Court of Justice

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

040500 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions

040501 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General
Positive: Positive mentions of other EC/EU institutions (e.g. European Central Bank) in general. Need to maintain or increase the power and/or competences of other EC/EU institutions.
Negative: Negative mentions of other EC/EU institutions (e.g. European Central Bank) in general. Need to cutback or decrease the power and/or competences of other EC/EU institutions. Diminishing the powers of the EC/EU institutions, strengthen competences of national governments.

040502 Mentions of the European Central Bank
Positive: Positive mentions of the European Central Bank. Support for more powers of the ECB.

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

Note: Check Economic Orthodox (060700).

040600 EC/EU Enlargement

040601 EC/EU Enlargement: General
Positive: Need to enlarge the EC/EU by promoting the joining of new members in general or by promoting the joining of a specific 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.

040800 Spitzenkandidaten

040801 Spitzenkandidaten: General
Positive: Favourable mentions of their general role in the EU.
Negative: Negative mentions of their general role in the EU.

040802 Spitzenkandidaten: Specific
Positive: Favourable mentions of a specific Spitzenkandidaten (i.e., Jean-Claude Juncker, Martin Schulz, Guy Verhofstadt, Ska Keller, José Bové and Alexis Tsipras).
Negative: Negative mentions of a specific Spitzenkandidaten (i.e., Jean-Claude Juncker, Martin Schulz, Guy Verhofstadt, Ska Keller, José Bové and Alexis Tsipras).

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

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

060804 Single Market
Positive: Favourable mentions or support for the common market/ Single European Market.
Negative: Negative mentions or rejection of the common market/ Single European Market.

060805 European Monetary Union/ European Currency

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

060806 European Monetary Union/ European Currency-transnational solidarity

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

060807 Labour Immigration: Non-EU Citizens

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

Note: *Check "Labour Immigration: EU Citizens" (060803) and "Labour Immigration: Unspecified" (060808) for adequate coding.*

060808 Labour Immigration: Unspecified

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

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

060809 Labour Emigration

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

060810 Energy policies

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

Note: *Check "FSR to Russia" (010104) for adequate coding.*

DOMAIN 7: Welfare and Quality of Life

070100 Environmental Protection

070101 Environmental Protection: General

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

070102 Environmental Protection: Global Warming
Positive: Acknowledging global warning as a harmful phenomenon, need for policies/actions intended to diminish effects of global warming.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**, e.g. denying dangers of global warming, denying the existence of global warming as a "man-made" phenomenon.

070103 Environmental Protection: Animal Rights
Positive: Positive mentions of animal rights.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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 cut back or suspend pensions.

070403 WS: Health Care and Nursing Service
Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand health care or nursing services.
Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend health care or nursing services.

070404 WS: Social Housing
Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand social housing.
Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend social housing.

070405 WS: Child Care
Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand child care services.
Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend child care services.

070406 WS: Job Programs
Positive: Favourable mentions of the need to introduce, maintain or expand job- generating measures.
Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend job-generating measures.

070500 Education

Positive: Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels.
Negative: Limiting expenditure on education; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

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 (EU Citizens)

> **Positive:** Need to retain or increase immigration form EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.
> **Negative**: Need to reduce immigration form EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.

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

080503 EU Integration
> **Positive**: Emphasis on retaining the national way of life and national cultures in Europe or within the EC/EU.
> **Negative**: Opposite of **positive**.

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

080504 Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus Only)
> **Positive**: Positive references concerning the division of Cyprus in a Greek and a
> Turkish part.
> **Negative**: Negative references concerning the division of Cyprus in a Greek and a Turkish part.

080505 Immigration (beyond EU)
> **Positive:** Need to retain or increase immigration from non-EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.
> **Negative**: Need to reduce immigration from non-EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.

080506 Immigration (unspecified)
> **Positive:** Need to retain or increase immigration (from unspecified country or region) in non-economic or unspecified terms.
> **Negative**: Need to reduce immigration (from unspecified country or region) in non-economic or unspecified terms.

DOMAIN 9: Social Groups

090100 Labour Groups

Positive: Favourable references to labour groups, working class, unemployed; support for trade unions; good treatment of manual and other employees.
Negative: Abuse of power of trade unions; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

090200 Agriculture and Farmers

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

090300 Middle Class and Professional Groups

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

090400 Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMG)

090401 UMG: General

Positive: Favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090402 UMG: Handicapped

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for handicapped people.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090403 UMG: Homosexuals

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for homosexuals.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Check "UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (beyond EU) in the Manifesto Country" (090406) and "UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (unspecified) in the Manifesto Country" (090407) for adequate coding.

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

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

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

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

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

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

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

090500 Non-economic Demographic Groups (NEDG)

090501 NEDG: General

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

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

090502 NEDG: Women

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for women.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090503 NEDG: Old People

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for the elderly.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090504 NEDG: Young People

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for young people.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090505 NEDG: Linguistic Groups

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for linguistic groups within a country.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

3.1.3   Content Evaluation

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

The EM Project already asked coders to assess a given party manifesto's content in terms of policy conflicts such as left versus right politics, environmental protection versus economic growth, libertarian versus authoritarian politics, religious versus secular positions, state interventionism versus free market economy, multiculturalism versus ethnocentrism, and pro EU- versus contra EU-integration. In 2014, the coordinators added the following battery of questions to the evaluation scheme: the coders were asked whether the content of a given party manifesto indicates that this party prefers raising taxes to increase public services over cutting public services to cut taxes, that this party prefers redistribution from the rich to the poor, and that this party prefers promotion civil liberties over tough actions to fight crime. The coders were additionally asked whether the content of a given party manifesto indicates that this party supports or opposes liberal policies and that this party favours or opposes restrictive policy on immigration.

3.2   Coding Difficulties and Decision Rules

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

3.2.1   No Category Seems to Apply

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

> **Decision Rule #1:** *Checking Definitions of all Categories in Policy Domains*
>
> Whenever tempted to treat a quasi-sentence as uncodable, reread the definitions of each category in the relevant policy domains because the quasi-sentence may refer to a category rarely used by the coder, which is, hence, not easily recalled.

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

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

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

> **Decision Rule #2:** *Identifying Connecting Sentences*
>
> Some sentences, which are otherwise uncodable, may just represent connecting sentences between two arguments (e.g., "Therefore, we are going to do three things."). These sentences themselves do not constitute meaningful arguments but remain part of continuous argumentation. Hence, code connecting sentences using the same category applied with respect to their surrounding sentences or the majority of the paragraph.

3.2.2 More than One Category Seems to Apply

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

> **Decision Rule #3:** *Section Headings as Guidelines*
>
> Look at the section heading of the quasi-sentence in question. Then, take the category which covers the topic of the section or the heading. Thus, section headings are taken as cues for coding. However, section headings themselves should be coded only as 98 "Title/Headline/Subtitle".

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

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

Decision Rule #4: *Multiple Applicability*

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

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

Decision Rule #5: *Specific Policy Positions Trump Political Authority*

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

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

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

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

3.2.3   Statement Seems Unclear

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

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

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

3.3 Coders, Training Procedure, and Timeframe

The EM Project recruits expert coders, i.e. people involved in related projects from different European countries (cf. Table 2), introduces the EMCS and the *Euromanifesto Coding Routine* (EMCR) to them, and instructs them over the course of a two-day coding workshop. As regards the 2014 wave of the EM Project, however, some coders were not able to attend the coding workshop, but were considered as experienced coders because they have already participated in previous waves of the EM Project.

The coders started collecting the relevant party manifestos from their respective home countries around April, 2014. The coordinators of the EM Project received the very last party document coded in the 2014 wave no earlier than February, 2016. The coding workshop took place in the midst of January, 2016. Having performed their reliability tests and gotten individual feedback on them by the end of January, 2016, the coders started coding the party manifestos of their respective countries. These performances lasted about three months. The core team of the EM Project then collected and processed the raw data including additional information, e.g., seat shares in the European Parliament, over the course of another month. The project ended with the official release of the *2014 EM Project Dataset* in June, 2016.

Table 2 Coders.

Country	Coder	Affiliation to academic institutions
Austria	Alice Ludvig	University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, Austria
Bulgaria	Tanyo Emilov Vasilev	
Belgium	Clément Museur	Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium
	Steven Van Hauwaert	Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium
Croatia	Dario Nikic Cakar	Zagreb University, Croatia
Cyprus	Vasileia Andreadaki	
Czech Republic	Ivan Petrúšek	Charles University of Prague, Czech Republic
Denmark	Erik Gahner Larsen	University of Southern Denmark, Denmark
Estonia	Kats Kivistik	Tartu Institute of Baltic Studies, Estonia
Europe	Angeles Navarro Rueda	SciencesPo Paris, France
Poland	Mikołaj Cześnik	Warsaw University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Poland
Finland	Saara Marika Hämäläinen	European University Institute, Italy
France	Charlotte Dolez	Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium
Germany	Anna Starkmann	Heidelberg University, Germany
Greece	Anastasios Varellas	Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

Hungary	István Gergő Székely	Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, Romania
Ireland	James Fitzgerald	Dublin City University, Ireland
Italy	Nicolò Conti	Unitelma Sapienza University, Italy
Luxembourg	Florent Marciacq	University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg
Latvia	Lelde Arnicāne	University of Tartu, Estonia
Lithuania	Ligita Sarkute	Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania
Malta	Nicole Tabone	University of Glasgow, Scotland
Netherlands	Sebastianus Bruinsma	Scuola Normale Superiore, Italy
Portugal	Inês Carneiro	
Romania	István Gergő Székely	Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, Romania
Sweden	Sofia Axelsson	Gothenburg University, Sweden
Slovakia	Ivan Petrúšek	Charles University of Prague, Czech Republic
Slovenia	Ivana Grgić	
Spain	Rosa Navarrete	University of Mannheim, Germany
United Kingdom	John-Paul Salter	University College London, United Kingdom

4 Description of the Data

General information on missing values

-999	**Unavailable**
-888	**Inapplicable**
-777	**Unknown**
-666	**Did not compete**
888	**Non-attached party**
999	**Not in the European Parliament**

Meta data	
za_nr	GESIS ZA study number (ZA5162)
version	1.0.0, 2016-7-28, doi:10.4232/1.5162

Additional information	
country	Country identification variable: two-digit code

10	Europe
11	Sweden
13	Denmark
14	Finland
21	Belgium
22	The Netherlands
23	Luxembourg
31	France
32	Italy
33	Spain
34	Greece
35	Portugal
36	Cyprus
37	Malta
41	Germany
42	Austria
51	United Kingdom
53	Ireland
80	Bulgaria
81	Croatia
82	Czech Republic
83	Estonia
86	Hungary
87	Latvia
88	Lithuania
92	Poland
93	Romania
96	Slovakia
97	Slovenia

region	This variable distinguishes parties from Belgium and Great Britain with

respect to their respective regional backgrounds. All other parties feature their country codes (see variable *country*).

210	Wallonia
211	Flanders
510	Great Britain
511	Northern Ireland

country_year	Country code plus election year.
emcs	EMCS party code.
emcs_year	EMCS party code plus election year.
ees	EES party code.
marpor	MARPOR party code.
cphl	Chapel Hill party code.
eep	Year of a country's first elections to the European Parliament.
member	Year of a country's first admittance to the European Parliament.
year	Election year.
initials	Party initials.
partyname	Party name.
partyinfo	Information on changes in party names.
pfamily	Party family (Euromanifesto Project).

0	Other
1	Green parties
2	(Post-)communist parties
3	Social democratic parties
4	Liberal parties
5	Christian democratic parties
6	Conservative parties
7	Nationalist parties
8	Agrarian parties
9	Regional parties
95	Special-interest parties

mfamily	Party family according to MARPOR.

0	Coalition
10	Ecologist parties
20	Communist parties
30	Social democratic parties
40	Liberal parties
50	Christian democratic parties
60	Conservative parties
70	Nationalist parties
80	Agrarian parties
90	Ethno-regional parties
95	Special-issue parties
98	Diverse alliance

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

Coder Ratings

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

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

Computed Variables

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

rile_mrg

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).

Rightist codes:
$per\_v[x]\_104a + per\_v[x]\_2011a + per\_v[x]\_2012a + per\_v[x]\_203a + per\_v[x]\_305a + per\_v[x]\_401a + per\_v[x]\_402a + per\_v[x]\_406b + per\_v[x]\_414a + per\_v[x]\_504b + per\_v[x]\_5041b + per\_v[x]\_5042b + per\_v[x]\_5043b + per\_v[x]\_5044b + per\_v[x]\_5045b + per\_v1\_601a + per\_v[x]\_603a + per\_v[x]\_605a + per\_v[x]\_6051a + per\_v[x]\_606a$

Leftist codes: $per\_v[x]\_103a + per\_v[x]\_104b + per\_v[x]\_106a + per\_v[x]\_107a + per\_v[x]\_202a + per\_v2\_202b + per\_v[x]\_403a + per\_v[x]\_404a + per\_v[x]\_406a + per\_v[x]\_412a + per\_v[x]\_4121a + per\_v[x]\_4122a + per\_v[x]\_4123a + per\_v[x]\_4124a + per\_v[x]\_413a + per\_v[x]\_4012b + per\_v[x]\_4132a + per\_v[x]\_504a + per\_v[x]\_5041a + per\_v[x]\_5042a + per\_v[x]\_5043a + per\_v[x]\_5044a + per\_v[x]\_5045a + per\_v[x]\_506a + per\_v1\_601b + per\_v[x]\_701a$

planeco

Planned economy dimension according to MRG.

$per\_v[x]\_403a + per\_v[x]\_404a + per\_v2\_4011a + per\_v[x]\_412a + per\_v[x]\_4121a + per\_v[x]\_4122a +$

	$per\_v[x]\_4123a \ + \ per\_v[x]\_4124a$
markeco	Market economy dimension according to MRG.
	$per\_v[x]\_401a \ + \ per\_v2\_4011b \ + \ per\_v[x]\_4012a \ + \ per\_v[x]\_414a$
welfare	Welfare economy dimension according to MRG.
	$per\_v[x]\_503a \ + \ per\_v[x]\_504a \ + \ per\_v[x]\_5041a \ + \ per\_v[x]\_5042a \ + \ per\_v[x]\_5043a \ + \ per\_v[x]\_5044a \ + \ per\_v[x]\_5045a$
pro_anti_EU	Dimension on pro versus contra European integration. Sum of pro-integration codes minus sum of integration-sceptic codes. Range from -100 (anti-EU) to 100 (pro-EU).
	Pro-EU:
	$per\_v[x]\_108a \ + \ per\_v2\_203a \ + \ per\_v2\_3011a \ + \ per\_v2\_306a \ + \ per\_v2\_308a \ + \ per\_v2\_310a \ + \ per\_v2\_3101a \ + \ per\_v2\_312a \ + \ per\_v2\_314a \ + \ per\_v2\_3141a \ + \ per\_v2\_316a \ + \ per\_v2\_3161a \ + \ per\_v2\_4011a \ + \ per\_v2\_4084a \ + \ per\_v2\_601a \ + \ per\_v1\_601b$
	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. Differences in lengths of documents necessitate the number of quasi-sentences in each category to be standardized. In doing so, the total number of quasi-sentences less the number of headlines, subtitles, etc. reflects the basis.

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

Variable Name	Variable Label	Level [x]
[x] stands for the respective governmental frame. In each variable name, the favoured value (1 to 3) of [x] must be inserted. Example: per_v[1]_101b for the Variable 'Foreign Special Relationships (FSR): General – Neg – L1'. For further information, please have a look at section 3.3.2, especially Table 2.		
total	Total Number of Quasi-Sentences (Excluding Headlines)	
per_v[x]_101b		− 1
	Foreign Special Relationships (FSR): General	2
per_v[x]_101a		+ 3

per_v[x]_1011b		−	1
	FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU		2
per_v[x]_1011a		+	3
per_v[x]_10111b		−	1
	FSR to EECs not in the EU (No Ukraine)		2
per_v[x]_10111a		+	3
per_v[x]_10112b		−	1
	FSR to Ukraine		2
per_v[x]_10112a		+	3
per_v[x]_1012b		−	1
	FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU		2
per_v[x]_1012a		+	3
per_v[x]_1013b		−	1
	FSR to Russia		2
per_v[x]_1013a		+	3
per_v[x]_1014b		−	1
	FSR to USA		2
per_v[x]_1014a		+	3
per_v[x]_1015b		−	1
	FSR to Syria		2
per_v[x]_1015a		+	3
per_v[x]_103b		−	1
	Anti-Imperialism		2
per_v[x]_103a		+	3
per_v[x]_104b		−	1
	Military		2
per_v[x]_104a		+	3
per_v[x]_1041b		−	1
	Military: General		2
per_v[x]_1041a		+	3
per_v[x]_1042b		−	1
	Military: Ukraine		2
per_v[x]_1042a		+	3
per_v[x]_1043b		−	1
	Military: Syria		2
per_v[x]_1043a		+	3
per_v[x]_106b	Peace	−	1
			2

per_v[x]_106a		+	3
per_v[x]_1061b		−	1
	Peace: General		2
per_v[x]_1061a		+	3
per_v[x]_1062b		−	1
	Peace: Ukraine		2
per_v[x]_1062a		+	3
per_v[x]_1063b		−	1
	Peace: Syria		2
per_v[x]_1063a		+	3
per_v[x]_107b		−	1
	Internationalism		2
per_v[x]_107a		+	3
per_v[x]_108b		−	1
	Europe, European Community/Union: General		2
per_v[x]_108a		+	3
per_v[x]_1081b		−	1
	Financing the EC/EU		2
per_v[x]_1081a		+	3
per_v[x]_1082b		−	1
	EU Exit		2
per_v[x]_1082a		+	3
per_v[x]_2011b		−	1
	Freedom		2
per_v[x]_2011a		+	3
per_v[x]_2012b		−	1
	Human Rights		2
per_v[x]_2012a		+	3
per_v[x]_20121b		−	1
	Human Rights		2
per_v[x]_20121a		+	3
per_v[x]_20122b		−	1
	Human Rights: Refugees		2
per_v[x]_20122a		+	3
per_v[x]_202b		−	1
	Democracy		2
per_v[x]_202a		+	3

per_v[x]_203b	−	1
Constitutionalism		2
per_v[x]_203a	+	3
per_v[x]_301b	−	1
Decentralization: General		2
per_v[x]_301a	+	3
per_v[x]_3011b	−	1
Transfer of Power to the EC/EU		2
per_v[x]_3011a	+	3
per_v[x]_303b	−	1
Executive and Administrative Efficiency		2
per_v[x]_303a	+	3
per_v[x]_304b	−	1
Political Corruption		2
per_v[x]_304a	+	3
per_v[x]_305b	−	1
Political Authority		2
per_v[x]_305a	+	3
per_v[x]_306b	−	1
Competences of the European Parliament		2
per_v[x]_306a	+	3
per_v[x]_308b	−	1
Competences of the European Commission		2
per_v[x]_308a	+	3
per_v[x]_310b	Competences of the European Council/	−	1
	Council of Ministers: General		2
per_v[x]_310a		+	3
per_v[x]_3101b	−	1
Voting Procedures in the (European) Council		2
per_v[x]_3101a	+	3
per_v[x]_312b	−	1
Competences of the European Court of Justice		2
per_v[x]_312a	+	3
per_v[x]_314b	−	1
Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General		2
per_v[x]_314a	+	3

per_v[x]_3141b	Mentions of the European Central Bank	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_3141a		+	3
per_v[x]_316b	EC/EU Enlargement: General	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_316a		+	3
per_v[x]_3161b	Membership of the Turkey in the EU	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_3161a		+	3
per_v[x]_3162b	Membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_3162a		+	3
per_v[x]_3163b	Membership in the EU of Balkan countries currently not in the EU	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_3163a		+	3
per_v[x]_318b	Complexity of the EC/EU Political System	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_318a		+	3
per_v[x]_319b	Spitzenkandidaten	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_319a		+	3
per_v[x]_3191b	Spitzenkandidaten: General	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_3191a		+	3
per_v[x]_3192b	Spitzenkandidaten: Specific	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_3192a		+	3
per_v[x]_401b	Free Enterprise: General	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_401a		+	3
per_v[x]_4011b	EC/EU Structural Funds	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_4011a		+	3
per_v[x]_4012b	Property Restitution	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_4012a		+	3
per_v[x]_402b	Incentives	−	1
			2

per_v[x]_402a		+	3
per_v[x]_403b	Market Regulations	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_403a		+	3
per_v[x]_404b	Economic Planning: General	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_404a		+	3
per_v[x]_405b	Corporatism	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_405a		+	3
per_v[x]_406b	Protectionism	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_406a		+	3
per_v[x]_408b	Economic Goals: General	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_408a		+	3
per_v[x]_4081b	Creating Jobs	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_4081a		+	3
per_v[x]_4082b	Labour Migration: Positive	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_4082a		+	3
per_v[x]_40821b	Labour Immigration: EU Citizens	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_40821a		+	3
per_v[x]_40822b	Labour Immigration: Non-EU Citizens	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_40822a		+	3
per_v[x]_40823b	Labour Immigration: Unspecified	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_40823a		+	3
per_v[x]_40824b	Labour Emigration	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_40824a		+	3
per_v[x]_4084b	Single Market	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_4084a		+	3

per_v[x]_4086b		−	1
	European Monetary Union/ European Currency		2
per_v[x]_4086a		+	3
per_v[x]_4087b		−	1
	EMU/EC - Transnational Solidarity		2
per_v[x]_4087a		+	3
per_v[x]_4088b		−	1
	Energy Policies		2
per_v[x]_4088a		+	3
per_v[x]_409b		−	1
	Keynesian Demand Management		2
per_v[x]_409a		+	3
per_v[x]_410b		−	1
	Productivity		2
per_v[x]_410a		+	3
per_v[x]_411b		−	1
	Technology and Infrastructure		2
per_v[x]_411a		+	3
per_v[x]_412b		−	1
	Controlled Economy: General		2
per_v[x]_412a		+	3
per_v[x]_4121b		−	1
	Social Ownership		2
per_v[x]_4121a		+	3
per_v[x]_4122b		−	1
	Mixed Economy		2
per_v[x]_4122a		+	3
per_v[x]_4123b		−	1
	Publicly-Owned Industry		2
per_v[x]_4123a		+	3
per_v[x]_4124b		−	1
	Socialist Property		2
per_v[x]_4124a		+	3
per_v[x]_413b		−	1
	Nationalization: Generalization		2
per_v[x]_413a		+	3
per_v[x]_4132b	Privatisation	−	1
			2

per_v[x]_4132a		+	3
per_v[x]_414b	Economic Orthodoxy	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_414a		+	3
per_v[x]_415b	Marxist Analysis	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_415a		+	3
per_v[x]_416b	Anti-Growth Economy	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_416a		+	3
per_v[x]_501b	Environmental Protection	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_501a		+	3
per_v[x]_5011b	Environmental Protection: General	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_5011a		+	3
per_v[x]_5012b	Environmental Protection: Global Warming	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_5012a		+	3
per_v[x]_5013b	Environmental Protection: Animal Rights	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_5013a		+	3
per_v[x]_502b	Culture	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_502a		+	3
per_v[x]_503b	Social Justice	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_503a		+	3
per_v[x]_504b	WS: General	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_504a		+	3
per_v[x]_5041b	WS: Job Programs	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_5041a		+	3
per_v[x]_5042b	WS: Pensions	−	1
			2
per_v[x]_5042a		+	3

per_v[x]_5043b		−	1
	WS: Health Care and Nursing Service		2
per_v[x]_5043a		+	3
per_v[x]_5044b		−	1
	WS: Social Housing		2
per_v[x]_5044a		+	3
per_v[x]_5045b		−	1
	WS: Child Care		2
per_v[x]_5045a		+	3
per_v[x]_506b		−	1
	Education		2
per_v[x]_506a		+	3
per_v[x]_601b		−	1
	National Way of Life		2
per_v[x]_601a		+	3
per_v[x]_6011b		−	1
	Immigration		2
per_v[x]_6011a		+	3
per_v[x]_60111b		−	1
	Immigration (EU Citizens)		2
per_v[x]_60111a		+	3
per_v[x]_60112b		−	1
	Immigration (beyond EU)		2
per_v[x]_60112a		+	3
per_v[x]_60113b		−	1
	Immigration (Unspecified)		2
per_v[x]_60113a		+	3
per_v_6012	Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus only)		
per_v[x]_6021b		−	1
	EU Integration		2
per_v[x]_6021a		+	3
per_v[x]_603b		−	1
	Traditional Morality		2
per_v[x]_603a		+	3
per_v[x]_605b		−	1
	Law and Order: General		2
per_v[x]_605a		+	3

per_v[x]_6051b		−	1
	Fight against Terrorism		2
per_v[x]_6051a		+	3
per_v[x]_606b		−	1
	Social Harmony		2
per_v[x]_606a		+	3
per_v[x]_607b		−	1
	Multiculturalism		2
per_v[x]_607a		+	3
per_v[x]_701b		−	1
	Labour Groups		2
per_v[x]_701a		+	3
per_v[x]_7031b		−	1
	Agriculture and Farmers		2
per_v[x]_7031a		+	3
per_v[x]_704b		−	1
	Middle Class and Professional Groups		2
per_v[x]_704a		+	3
per_v[x]_705b		−	1
	UMP: General		2
per_v[x]_705a		+	3
per_v[x]_7051b		−	1
	UMG: Handicapped		2
per_v[x]_7051a		+	3
per_v[x]_7052b		−	1
	UMG: Homosexuals		2
per_v[x]_7052a		+	3
per_v[x]_7053b	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners	−	1
	in the Manifesto Country		2
per_v[x]_7053a		+	3
per_v[x]_70531b		−	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (EU Citizens)		2
per_v[x]_70531a		+	3
per_v[x]_70532b		−	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (beyond EU)		2
per_v[x]_70532a		+	3

per_v[x]_70533b		−	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (unspecified)		2
per_v[x]_70533a		+	3
per_v[x]_7054b	UMG: Ethnic Minorities/People	−	1
	of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad		2
per_v[x]_7054a		+	3
per_v[x]_706b		−	1
	NEDG: General		2
per_v[x]_706a		+	3
per_v[x]_7061b		−	1
	NEDG: Women		2
per_v[x]_7061a		+	3
per_v[x]_7062b		−	1
	NEDG: Old People		2
per_v[x]_7062a		+	3
per_v[x]_7063b		−	1
	NEDG: Young People		2
per_v[x]_7063a		+	3
per_v[x]_7064b		−	1
	NEDG: Linguistic Groups		2
per_v[x]_7064a		+	3
per_v_099	No Code Applies		

Appendix A: Inter-coder Reliability

All coders performed a reliability test in January, 2016. They were asked by the project coordinators to unitise and categorise a test manifesto. Comparing their performances with a gold standard, i.e. a master coding determined by the project coordinators, reveals the following results. To begin with, Table A.1 shows that the number of quasi-sentences unitised by the coders ranges from 51 quasi-sentences below to 15 quasi-sentences above the expected score. The absolute number of quasi-sentences deviates from the expected number by 51 quasi-sentences at maximum. The absolute mean is 13.04 (see Table A.1).

Table A.1 Deviations in the number of quasi-Sentences in relation to the master coding.

Variable	*N*	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Min*	*Max*
Deviation from the Master	28	-9.61	15.36	-51	15
Absolute Deviation from the Master	28	13.04	12.46	1	51

Note 28 out of 29 coders considered.

Second, table A.2 reveals the quartile levels regarding absolute deviations from the expected number of unitised quasi-sentences. More than 50 percent of the coders deviated from the expected score by less than eight quasi-sentences (absolute deviations).

Table A.2 Quartiles, absolute number of coders per quartile, and percentage of coders per quartile (based on absolute deviations from the master coding).

Quartile	Quasi-sentences	Absolute number of coders	Percentage of coders
1st Quartile	5.5	7	28.57
2nd Quartile	8	8	25.98
3rd Quartile	15	7	25.00
4th Quartile	51	6	21.43

Note 28 out of 29 coders considered.

Last, table A.3 provides information on the inter-coder agreement. Using Cohen's Kappa, it informs about the agreement among coders regarding the connotations, levels, domains, categories, and overall categorizations of the quasi-sentences.

Table A.3 Inter-coder agreement on standardized samples: Cohen's Kappa.

	EMCS 2014	
	Kappa	*95% CI*
Pos/neg	0.370	(0.267 - 0.482)
Level	0.519	(0.452 - 0.590)
Domain	0.525	(0.473 - 0.581)
Categories	0.434	(0.388 - 0.488)
Overall	0.313	(0.275 - 0.367)

Note: Cohen's Kappa used. Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% CI (500 replications) based on 113 quasi-sentences (N=113). 28 out of 29 coders considered.

Appendix B: Seats per Country and Party in the European Parliament

The dataset contains a variable called *EPseatsum* and another one called *EPseats*. The former provides the overall number of seats by country, whereas the latter informs about the number of seats a particular party holds in the European Parliament. By definition, the sum of the parties' individual scores of *EPseats* over all parties from a given country are supposed to add up to the overall number given in *EPseatsum*. However, this is *de facto* not necessarily the case. On the one hand, there are some party manifestos missing that meet the definition of a relevant party. On the other hand, there are some individual MEPs not attached to any political party. These individual MEPs therefore do not meet the criterions for being taken into consideration by the EM Project. Table B.1 provides information about countries in which either or both of these limitations occur.

Table B.1 Overall seat sum versus seats by party in the European Parliament.

Country	Information
Europe	No manifestos from GUE/NGL (52 seats) and NI (52 seats).
France	No manifesto from UOM (1 seat) and one independent MEP (Joëlle Bergeron).
Italy	No manifesto from NCD+UDC (3 seats).
Spain	No manifesto from the electoral alliances of EPDD (2 seats) and CEU (3 seats).
Ireland	Three independent MEPs (Marian Harkin, Luke Flanagan, and Nessa Childers).
Estonia	One independent MEP (Indrek Tarand).
Romania	One independent MEP (Mircea Diaconu).