

EUROMANIFESTOS CODING SCHEME (EMCS)

Second Edition

slightly revised and updated for the 2004 Euromanifestos

Mirroring

Compared to the MRG/CMP Coding Frame, all codes (formerly 3 digits) and all sub-codes (formerly 4 or 5 digits) get an additional (first) digit (x), separated from the original MRG/CMP code by a hyphen:

x = 1 = National

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

x = 2 = Europe

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

x = 3 = n.s.

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

Total Number of Codes

293 codes (168 regular codes; 125 sub-codes)

New Codes developed for 2004 are marked in blue.

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

1-101 Foreign Special Relationships (FSR) of the Manifesto Country: Positive

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

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

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

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

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

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

1-1013 FSR to Russia: Positive

Favourable mentions of Russia.

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

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

2-1011 FSR to USA: Positive

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

2-1012 FSR to Russia: Positive

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1-1023 FSR Russia: Negative

Negative mentions of Russia.

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

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

2-1021 FSR to USA: Negative

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

2-1022 FSR to Russia: Negative

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

x-103 Anti-Imperialism

Negative references to exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states; negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire; favourable mentions of decolonization; favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies; negative references to the imperial behaviour of the manifesto and/or other countries.

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

1-104 Military in the Manifesto Country: Positive

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

2-104 Military in Europe, the EC/EU: Positive

Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; modernizing armed forces and improvement in military strength; rearmament and self-defence; need to keep military treaty obligations; need to secure adequate manpower in the military; need for military co-operation within the EC/EU or the formation of EC/EC armed forces.

3-104 Military in Other Countries/Worldwide: Positive

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

1-105 Military in the Manifesto Country: Negative

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

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

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

3-105 Military in Other Countries/Worldwide: Negative

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

x-106 Peace

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

x-107 Internationalism: Positive

Need for international cooperation; cooperation with specific countries other than those coded in 101; need for aid to developing countries; need for world planning of resources; need for international courts; support for any international goal or world state; support for UN.

1-108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive

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

2-108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive

Favourable mentions of Europe, the EC/EU in general. The idea of a more integrated Europe/EC/EU is supported; “deepening of Europe”.

Note: For specific favourable mentions of EU institutions refer to other codes, especially in Domain 3.2 instead.

3-108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive

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

x-109 Internationalism: Negative

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

1-110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative

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

1-1101 Financing the EC/EU: Negative

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

2-110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative

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

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

3-110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative

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

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

[x-201 Freedom and Human Rights]

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

1-2011 Freedom

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

2-2011 Freedom

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

3-2011 Freedom

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

1-2012 Human Rights

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

2-2012 Human Rights

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

3-2012 Human Rights

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

1-202 Democracy in the Manifesto Country

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

2-202 Democracy in Europe, the EC/EU

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

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

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

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

3-202 Democracy in Other Countries and in General

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

1-203 Constitutionalism in the Manifesto Country: Positive

Support for specified aspects of constitution; use of constitutionalism as an argument for policy as well as general approval of the constitutional way of doing things in the manifesto country.

2-203 Constitutionalism in Europe, the EC/EU: Positive

Support for specified aspects of constitution; use of constitutionalism as an argument for policy as well as general approval of the constitutional way of doing things in Europe, the EC/EU (as defined by the EC/EU treaties). Need for an European constitution.

3-203 Constitutionalism in Other Countries or in General: Positive

Support for specified aspects of constitution; use of constitutionalism as an argument for policy as well as general approval of the constitutional way of doing things in other countries or in general.

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

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

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

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

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

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

DOMAIN 3.1: Political System (in general)

1-301 Decentralization in the Manifesto Country: Positive

Support for federalism or devolution in the manifesto country; more regional autonomy for policy, economy, and administration; support for keeping up local and regional customs and symbols; favourable mentions of special consideration for local areas; deference to local expertise.

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

Support for a less unitary Europe, the EC/EU; more national and regional autonomy for policy, economy, and administration; support for keeping up local and regional customs and symbols; favourable mentions of special consideration for local areas; deference to local expertise.

2-3011 Transfer of Power to the EC/EU: Negative

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

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

Support for federalism or devolution; more regional autonomy for policy, economy, and administration; support for keeping up local and regional customs and symbols; favourable mentions of special consideration for local areas; deference to local expertise.

1-302 Decentralization in the Manifesto Country: Negative

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

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

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

2-3021 Transfer of Power to the EC/EU: Positive

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

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

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

1-303 Executive and Administrative Efficiency in the Manifesto Country

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

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

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

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

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

x-304 Political Corruption

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

1-305 Political Authority

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

2-305 Political Authority

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

3-305 Political Authority

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

DOMAIN 3.2: Political System of the European Union

[by definition, x=2 only]

2-306 Competences of the European Parliament: Positive

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

2-307 Competences of the European Parliament: Negative

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

2-308 Competences of the European Commission: Positive

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

2-309 Competences of the European Commission: Negative

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

2-310 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: Positive

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

2-3101 Unanimity in the (European) Council

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

2-311 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: Negative

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

2-3111 Majority Voting in the (European) Council

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

2-312 Competences of the European Court of Justice: Positive

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

2-313 Competences of the European Court of Justice: Negative

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

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

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

2-3141 Positive Mentions of the European Central Bank

Note: Check 2-414 (economic orthodoxy).

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

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

2-3151 Negative Mentions of the European Central Bank

2-316 EC/EU Enlargement: Positive

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

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

2-3161 Membership of Turkey in the EU: Positive**2-317 EC/EU Enlargement: Negative**

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

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

2-3171 Membership of Turkey in the EU: Negative**2-318 Complexity of the EC/EU Political System**

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

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

DOMAIN 4: Economy

x-401 Free Enterprise

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

2-4011 EC/EU Structural Fund: Negative

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

1-4012 Property-Restitution: Positive

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

x-402 Incentives

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

x-403 Market Regulation

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

1-404 Economic Planning

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

2-404 Economic Planning

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

2-4041 EC/EU Structural Fund: Positive

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

3-404 Economic Planning

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

x-405 Corporatism

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

x-406 Protectionism: Positive

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

x-407 Protectionism: Negative

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

x-408 Economic Goals

Statements of intent to pursue any economic goal not covered by other categories in domain 4. Note: This category is created to catch an overall interest of parties in economics and, therefore, covers a variety of economic goals.

x-4081 Creating Jobs

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

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

x-4082 Labour Migration: Positive

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

x-4083 Labour Migration: Negative

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

2-4084 Single Market: Positive

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

2-4085 Single Market: Negative

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

2-4086 European Monetary Union/ European Currency: Positive

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

2-4087 European Monetary Union/ European Currency: Negative

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

x-409 Keynesian Demand Management

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

x-410 Productivity

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

x-411 Technology and Infrastructure

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

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

x-412 Controlled Economy

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

x-4121 Social Ownership: Positive

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

x-4122 Mixed Economy: Positive

Favourable references to mixed ownership within a market economy.

x-4123 Publicly-Owned Industry: Positive

Positive references to the concept of publicly-owned industries.

x-4124 Socialist Property: Positive

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

x-413 Nationalization

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

x-4131 Property-Restitution: Negative

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

x-4132 Privatisation: Negative

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

x-414 Economic Orthodoxy

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

x-415 Marxist Analysis

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

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

x-416 Anti-Growth Economy

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

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

DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

x-501 Environmental Protection

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

1-502 Culture in the Manifesto Country

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

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

2-502 Culture in Europe, the EC/EU

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

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

x-503 Social Justice

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

Note: Check x-706 for adequate coding.

x-504 Welfare State Expansion (WSE)

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

x-5041 WSE: Job Programs

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

x-5042 WSE: Pensions

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

x-5043 WSE: Health Care and Nursing Service

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

x-5044 WSE: Social Housing

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

x-5045 WSE: Child Care

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

x-505 Welfare State Limitation (WSL)

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

x-5051 WSL: Job Programs

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

x-5052 WSL: Pensions

Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend pensions.

x-5053 WSL: Health Care and Nursing Service

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

x-5054 WSL: Social Housing

Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend social housing.

x-5055 WSL: Child Care

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

x-506 Education Expansion

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

x-507 Education Limitation

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

DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society

1-601 National Way of Life: Positive

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

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

1-6011 Immigration: Negative

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

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

1-6012 Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus Only)

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

2-601 European Way of Life: Positive

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

2-6011 Immigration: Negative

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

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

1-602 National Way of Life: Negative

Against patriotism and/or nationalism; opposition to the existing national state; the suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion is criticized.

2-602 European Way of Life: Negative

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

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

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

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

x-603 Traditional Morality: Positive

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

x-604 Traditional Morality: Negative

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

x-605 Law and Order

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

x-6051 Fight against terrorism

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

1-606 Social Harmony in the Manifesto Country

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

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

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

3-606 Social Harmony in Other Countries or in General

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DOMAIN 7: Social Groups

x-701 Labour Groups: Positive

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

x-702 Labour Groups: Negative

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

[x-703 Agriculture and Farmers]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

x-704 Middle Class and Professional Groups

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

x-705 Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMG)

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

x-7051 UMG: Handicapped

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for handicapped people.

x-7052 UMG: Homosexuals

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for homosexuals.

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

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners.

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

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

x-706 Non-economic Demographic Groups (NEDG)

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

Note: Check x-503 for adequate coding.

x-7061 NEDG: Women

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for women.

x-7062 NEDG: Old People

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for the elderly.

x-7063 NEDG: Young People

Favourable mentions, support or assistance for young people.

1-7064 NEDG: Linguistic Groups

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