5.1 EM Coding Scheme 2009

On the following pages the EMCS Coding Scheme III containing nine domains, and several categories as well as subcategories will be described. It was meant to be used as a manual for the coding of all manifestos that are issued by political parties ahead of the 2009 elections to the EP election and collected by the Euromanifestos Project (EMP) in the 27 EU member countries. It is heavily based on the first edition of the EMCS. For ease of comparison, all previous editions are available online.

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

010100 Foreign Special Relationships (FSR)

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

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

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

010103 FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU
Positive: Favourable mentions of Eastern European that are not members of the EU.
Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Eastern European that are not members of the EU.

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

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

010200 Anti-Imperialism

36 Wüst and Volkens, 2003, Euromanifesto Coding Instructions.
37 http://www.ees-homepage.net/?site=euromanifestos
**Positive:** Negative references to exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states; negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire; favourable mentions of decolonization; favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies; negative references to the imperial behaviour of the manifesto and/or other countries.

**Negative:** Opposite of **positive**.

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

010300 Military

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

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

010400 Peace

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

**Negative:** Opposite of **positive**.

010500 Internationalism

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

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

010600 Europe, European Community/Union

010601 Europe, European Community/Union: General

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

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

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

010602 Financing the EC/EU

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

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

**DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Human Rights**

020100 Freedom and Human Rights
020101 Freedom

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

Negative: Opposite of positive.

020102 Human Rights

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

Negative: Opposite of positive.

020200 Democracy

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

Negative: Lack of democracy; otherwise opposite of positive.

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

020300 Constitutionalism

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

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

DOMAIN 3: Political System (in general)

030100 Decentralization

030101 Decentralization: General

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

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

030102 Transfer of Power to the EC/EU

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

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

030200 Executive and Administrative Efficiency
Positive: Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration; cutting down civil service; improving governmental procedures; general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more effective.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

030300  Political Corruption
Positive: Need to eliminate corruption, and associated abuse, in political and public life.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

030400  Political Authority
Positive: Favourable mentions of strong government, including government stability; manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

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

040100  Competences of the European Parliament
Positive: Positive mentions of the European Parliament (EP) in general. Need to maintain or increase the legislative power and/or competences of the EP and/or of MEPs. Favourable mentions of the EP pertaining to the democratisation of the EC/EU.
Negative: Negative mentions of the European Parliament (EP) in general. Need to cutback or decrease the legislative power and/or competences of the EP and/or of MEPs.

040200  Competences of the European Commission
Positive: Positive mentions of the European Commission in general. Need to maintain or increase the executive power and/or competences of the European Commission and/or of the president or members of the European Commission.
Negative: Negative mentions of the European Commission in general. Need to cutback or decrease the executive power and/or competences of the European Commission and/or of the president or members of the European Commission.

040300  Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers

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

040302  Voting procedures in the (European) Council
Positive: Need to maintain or increase the voting procedures requiring unanimity in the Council. Negative mentions of (qualified) majority voting in the Council.
Negative: Need to maintain or increase the (qualified) majority voting procedures in the Council. Negative mentions of the need for unanimity in the Council. Favourable mentions of majority voting in the council as a means of democratisation or of more efficiency in decision-making within the EC/EU.
040400 Competences of the European Court of Justice

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

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

040500 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions

040501 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General

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

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

040502 Mentions of the European Central Bank

**Positive:** Positive mentions of the European Central Bank

**Negative:** Negative mentions of the European Central Bank

*Note: Check Economic Orthodox (060700).*

040600 EC/EU Enlargement

040601 EC/EU Enlargement: General

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

040604 Membership of Turkey in the EU

**Positive:** Positive references to Turkey’s membership in the EU.

**Negative:** Negative references to Turkey’s membership in the EU.
040700 Complexity of the EC/EU Political System

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

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

DOMAIN 5: Economic Structure

050100 Free Enterprise

050101 Free Enterprise: General
Positive: Favourable mentions of free enterprise capitalism; superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems; favourable mentions of private property rights, personal enterprise and initiative; need for unhampered individual enterprises. 
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050102 Property-Restitution
Positive: Favourable references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners. 
Negative: Negative references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners.

050200 Controlled Economy

050201 Controlled Economy: General
Positive: General need for direct government control of economy; control over prices, wages, rents, etc. 
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050202 Social Ownership
Positive: Favourable references to the creation or preservation of co-operative or non-state social ownership within a market economy. 
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050203 Mixed Economy
Positive: Favourable references to mixed ownership within a market economy. 
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050204 Publicly-Owned Industry
Positive: Positive references to the concept of publicly-owned industries. 
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050205 Socialist Property
Positive: Positive references to socialist property, including public and co-operative property; negative references to privatisation. 
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050300 Economic Planning

050301 Economic Planning: General
Positive: Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning of a consultative or indicative nature, need to create such a plan by authorities.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050302 EC/EU Structural Fund
Positive: Need to maintain or to extend EC/EU funds for structurally underdeveloped areas.
Negative: Support for cutback or suspension of funds for structurally underdeveloped areas.

050400 Nationalization

050401 Nationalization: General
Positive: Government ownership, partial or complete including government ownership of land.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050402 Privatisation
Positive: Negative references to the privatisation system; need to change the privatisation system.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050500 Corporatism
Positive: Favourable mentions of the need for the collaboration of employers and trade union organizations in overall economic planning and direction through the medium of tripartite bodies of government, employers, and trade unions.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050600 Market Regulation
Positive: Need for regulations designed to make private enterprises work better; actions against monopolies and trusts, and in defence of consumer and small business; encouraging economic competition; social market economy.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

050700 Marxist Analysis
Positive: Positive references (typically but not necessary by communist parties) to the specific use of marxist-leninist terminology and analysis of situations which are otherwise uncodable.
Negative: Opposite of positive.
Note: This category was introduced to catch the platform content of parties in the East European countries.

DOMAIN 6: Economic Policies and Goals

060100 Incentives
Positive: Need for wage and tax policies to induce enterprise; encouragement to start enterprises; need for financial and other incentives.
Negative: Opposite of positive.
060200  Keynesian Demand Management
Positive: Demand-oriented economic policy; economic policy devoted to the reduction of depression and/or to increase private demand through increasing public demand and/or through increasing social expenditures.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

060300  Productivity
Positive: Need to encourage or facilitate greater production; need to take measures to aid this; appeal for greater production and importance of productivity to the economy; the paradigm of growth.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

060400  Technology and Infrastructure
Positive: Importance of modernization of industry and methods of transport and communication; importance of science and technological developments in industry; need for training and research.
Negative: Opposite of positive.
Note: This does not imply education in general (see category Education: 070500).

060500  Protectionism
Positive: Favourable mentions of extension or maintenance of tariffs to protect internal markets; other domestic economic protectionism such as quota restrictions.
Negative: Support for the concept of free trade; otherwise opposite of positive.

060600  Anti-Growth Economy
Positive: Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics and steady state economy; ecologism; "Green politics".
Negative: Opposite of positive.
Note: This category was created to catch the platform content of "New Politics" parties. In some of the manifesto countries, some platforms had to be partially recoded.

060700  Economic Orthodoxy
Positive: Need for traditional economic orthodoxy; e.g. reduction of budget deficits, retrenchment in crisis, thrift and savings; support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system; support for strong currency.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

060800  Economic Goals

060801  Economic Goals: General
Positive: Statements of intent to pursue any economic goal not covered by other categories in the Domain 5 (Economic Structure) and Domain 6 (Economic policies and goals).
Negative: Opposite of positive.
Note: This category is created to catch an overall interest of parties in economics and, therefore, covers a variety of economic goals.
060802 Creating Jobs
Positive: The party’s main goal is to create jobs by economic means.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

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

060803 Labour Migration: Positive
Positive: Favourable mentions of labour migration and/or foreign workers in economic terms.
Negative: Negative mentions of labour migration and/or foreign workers in economic terms.

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

060805 European Monetary Union/ European Currency
Positive: Favourable mentions or support for the European Monetary Union, a single European currency or the Euro.
Negative: Negative mentions or rejection of the European Monetary Union, a single European currency or the Euro.

DOMAIN 7: Welfare and Quality of Life

070100 Environmental Protection
Positive: Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.; general preservation of natural resources against selfish interests; proper use of national parks; soil banks, etc; environmental improvement.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

070200 Culture
Positive: Need to provide cultural and leisure facilities, including arts and sport; need to spend money on museums, art galleries etc.; need to encourage worthwhile leisure activities and cultural mass media.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

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

070300 Social Justice
Positive: Concept of equality; need for fair treatment of all people; special protection for underprivileged; need for fair distribution of resources; removal of class barriers; end of discrimination such as racial, sexual, etc.
Negative: Opposite of positive
070400 Welfare State (WS)

070401 WS: General
Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any social service or social security scheme.
Negative: Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; otherwise opposite of positive.

Note: This category excludes education.

070402 WS: Pensions
Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand pensions.
Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend pensions.

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

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

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

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

070500 Education
Positive: Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels.
Negative: Limiting expenditure on education; otherwise opposite of positive.
Note: This excludes technical training which is coded under “Technology and Infrastructure” (060400).

DOMAIN 8: Fabric of Society

080100 Multiculturalism
Positive: Cultural diversity, communalism, cultural plurality and pillarization; preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages, including special educational provisions.
Negative: Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration; otherwise opposite of positive.
Note: Negative statements also apply to the cultural autonomy of Roma.

080200 Traditional Morality
Positive: Favourable mentions of traditional moral values; prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour; maintenance and stability of family; religion.
Negative: Opposition to traditional moral values; support for divorce, abortion etc.; otherwise opposite of positive.

080300 Law and Order

080301 Law and Order: General
Positive: Enforcement of all laws; actions against crime; support and resources for police; tougher attitudes in courts.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

080302 Fight against terrorism
Positive: Fight against terrorism by the enforcement of all laws, by actions against crime and against terrorist attacks; support and resources for police/border controls; tougher attitudes against terrorists in courts.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

080400 Social Harmony
Positive: Appeal for a national (European) effort and solidarity; need for society to see itself as united; appeal for public spiritedness; decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis; support for the public interest.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

080500 National Way of Life

080501 National Way of Life: General
Positive: Appeals to patriotism and/or nationalism; support for established national ideas; suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion. On the European level appeals to a European way of life, the Occident, or Western Civilization.
Negative: Against patriotism and/or nationalism; opposition to the existing national state; the suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion is criticized. On the European level appeals against a European way of life, the Occident, or Western Civilization.
Note: Check “EU Integration” (080503) and “Culture” (070200) for adequate coding.

080502 Immigration
Positive: Need to retain or increase immigration in non-economic or unspecified terms.
Negative: Need to reduce immigration in non-economic or unspecified terms.
Note: Check “Labour migration” (060803) and “Multiculturalism” (080100) for adequate coding.

080503 EU Integration
Positive: Emphasis on retaining the national way of life and national cultures in Europe or within the EC/EU.
Negative: Opposite of positive.
Note: Check “National Way of Life: General” (080501), “Culture” (070200), “Multiculturalism” (080100) for adequate coding.

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

DOMAIN 9: Social Groups

090100 Labour Groups
Positive: Favourable references to labour groups, working class, unemployed; support for trade unions; good treatment of manual and other employees.
Negative: Abuse of power of trade unions; otherwise opposite of positive.

090200 Agriculture and Farmers
Positive: Support for agriculture and farmers; any policy (e.g. subsidies) aimed specifically at benefiting them.
Negative: Unfavourable mentions of agriculture and farmers; criticism of any policy aimed specifically at benefiting them.

090300 Middle Class and Professional Groups
Positive: Favourable references to middle class, professional groups, such as physicians or lawyers; old and new middle class.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

090400 Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMG)

090401 UMG: General
Positive: Favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

090402 UMG: Handicapped
Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for handicapped people.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

090403 UMG: Homosexuals
Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for homosexuals.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

090404 UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners in the Manifesto Country
Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners.
Negative: Opposite of positive.
090405  UMG: Ethnic Minorities/People of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad
Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for ethnic minorities or for people of the manifesto country living abroad (like Swedes in Finland from a Swedish Perspective).
Negative: Opposite of positive.

090500  Non-economic Demographic Groups (NEDG)

090501  NEDG: General
Positive: Favourable mentions of non-economic demographic groups, or need for, assistance to women, old people, young people; linguistic groups etc.; special interest groups of all kinds.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

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

090502  NEDG: Women
Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for women.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

090503  NEDG: Old People
Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for the elderly.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

090504  NEDG: Young People
Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for young people.
Negative: Opposite of positive.

090505  NEDG: Linguistic Groups
Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for linguistic groups within a country.
Negative: Opposite of positive.