

EUROMANIFESTO DOCUMENTATION

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

The documentation includes information divided into the following five parts:

1. Coded Euromanifestos 1979–2004
2. Euromanifestos Coding Scheme (EMCS)
3. Euromanifesto Coding Instructions
4. Additional Information Provided by Coders
5. Description of the Euromanifestos Dataset

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1 Coded Euromanifestos 1979–2004

EUROPE (Euro-Parties)

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
EPP-ED	European People's Party-European Democrats	10600	1979-2004	-
PES	Party of European Socialists	10300	1979-2004	-
ELDR	European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party	10400	1979-2004	-
EFGP	European Federation of Green Parties	10100	1989-2004	-

AUSTRIA

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs <i>Social Democratic Party of Austria</i>	42320	1996-2004	-
ÖVP	Österreichische Volkspartei <i>Austrian People's Party</i>	42520	1996-2004	-
FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs <i>Freedom Party</i>	42420	1996-2004	-
GRÜNE	Die Grünen <i>The Greens</i>	42110	1996-2004	-
LIF	Liberales Forum <i>Liberal Forum</i>	42421	1996-1999	-
HPM	Liste "Hans-Peter Martin" <i>List "Hans-Peter Martin"</i>	42951	2004	-
LINKE	Linke <i>The Lefts</i>	42220	2004	-

BELGIUM

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
	Flemish Parties			
CVP	Christelijke Volkspartij <i>Flemish Christian People's Party</i> <i>renamed 2001:</i>	21521	1979-2004	-
CD&V	Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams <i>Christian Democratic & Flemish</i>			
SP	Socialistische Partij <i>Flemish Socialist Party</i>			
SP.A	renamed: Socialistische Partij Anders <i>Socialist Party Different</i>	21321	1979-2004	-
VLD	Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten (renamed 1992, former PVV- Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang) <i>Flemish Liberals and Democrats</i>	21421	1979-2004	-
NVA	Nieuw-Vlaamse-Alliantie (founded in 2001) <i>New Flemish Alliance</i> (former Volksunie – Vlaamse Vrije Democraten)	21913	1979-2004	1999

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BELGIUM (continued)

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
SPIRIT	SPIRIT (founded in 2001) ID 21 (Integrale Democratie voor de 21ste Eeuw) merged with De toekomstopep	21915	1999-2004	-
GROEN!	GROEN! (since 2003) former AGALEV (Anders Gaan Leven) <i>Flemish Green Party</i>	21112	1984-2004	-
VB	Vlaams Blok <i>Flemish Block</i>	21914	1989-2004	-
Francophone Parties				
PS	Parti Socialiste <i>Socialist Party</i>	21322	1979-2004	
PRL	Parti Réformateur Libéral <i>Liberal Reform Party</i>	21422	1979-2004	1979, 1984, 1989
FDF	Front Démocratique des Francophones <i>Democratic Front</i>	21912	1979-2004	1979
MCC	Mouvement des Citoyens pour le Changement (founded 1998) <i>Citizen's Movement for Change</i>	21419	1999-2004	-
ECOLO	Ecologistes Confédérés (founded 1980) <i>Green Party</i>	21111	1984-2004	-
FN	Front National (founded 1985) <i>National Front</i>	21710	1989-2004	1989, 1994
PSC	Parti Social Chrétien <i>Christian Social Party</i>	21522	1979-2004	1979, 1984
CDH	Centre Démocrate Humaniste <i>Humanist Democratic Centre</i>	21910	2004	-
MR	Mouvement réformateur <i>Reformist Movement</i> (alliance: PRL/MCC)	21427	2004	-
	Electoral Alliances			
	FDF/RW	21925	1979	-
	FDF/PRL	21426	1994	-
	PRL/FDF/MCC	21425	1999	-

CYPRUS

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
DISY	Dimokratikos Sinagermos <i>Democratic Coalition</i>	36510	2004	-
AKEL	Anorthotikon Komma Ergazemenou Laou <i>Progressive Worker's Party</i>	36220	2004	-
DIKO	Dimokratikon Komma <i>Democratic Party</i>	36420	2004	-
KISOS	Minima Sosialdimokraton <i>Social Democrats Movement</i>	36320	2004	-
KOP	Kinima Oikologoi Perivallontistoi <i>Cyprus Green Party</i>	36110	2004	-
GTE	Gia Tin Evropi	36520	2004	2004

CZECH REPUBLIC

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
KDU-CSL	Křesťansko-demokratická strana – Česká strana lidová <i>Christian and Democratic Union- Czechoslovak People's Party</i>	82523	2004	-
ODS	Občanská demokratická strana <i>Civic Democratic Party</i>	82413	2004	-
NEZ	Politické Hnutí Nezávislí <i>Political Movement Independents</i>	82952	2004	-
SN-ED	Sdružení nezávislých a Evropských demokratu <i>Association of Independents</i>	82321	2004	-
KSCM	Kommunistická strana Čech a Moravy <i>Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia</i>	82220	2004	-
CSSD	Česká strana sociálně demokratická <i>Czech Social Democratic Party</i>	82320	2004	-
	Electoral Alliances			-
	Union of Liberal Democrats (US/LRS/ODA/CZ)	82424	2004	-

DENMARK

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
V	Venestre – Danmarks Liberale Parti <i>Liberal Party</i>	13420	1979-2004	-
SD	Socialdemokratiet I Danmark <i>Social- Democratic Party</i>	13320	1979-2004	-
JB	JuniBevægelsen <i>June Movement against the Union</i>	13955	1984-2004	-
RV	Det Radikale Venstre <i>Radical Left Party</i>	13410	1979-2004	1984, 1989
KF	Det Konservative Folkeparti <i>Conservative People's Party</i>	13620	1979-2004	-
FB	Folkebevægelsen Mod EU <i>People's Movement against the EU</i>	13954	1979-2004	-
SF	Socialistisk Folkeparti <i>Socialist People's Party</i>	13230	1979-2004	-
DF	Dansk Folkeparti (founded 1995) <i>Danish People's Party</i>	13710	1999-2004	-
CD	Centrum Demokraterne <i>Centre-Democratic Party</i>	13330	1979-1999	1979
FrP	Fremskridtspartiet <i>Progress Party</i>	13951	1979-2004	-
SIUMUT	Siumut <i>The Forward Party of Greenland</i>	13901	1979-1984	-

ESTONIA

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
KESK	Eesti Keskerakond <i>Centre Party</i>	83411	2004	-
ResP	Ühendus Vabariigi Eest – Res Publica <i>Res Publica</i>	83611	2004	-
ER	Eesti Reformierakond <i>Estonian Reform Party</i>	83430	2004	-
Rahvaliit	Eestimaa Rahvaliit <i>Estonian People's Union</i>	83612	2004	-
Isamaa	Erakond Isamaaliit <i>Party Fatherland Union</i>	83710	2004	-
SDE	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond former Rahvaerakond Mõõdukad <i>People's Party Moderates, social-democratic</i>	83410	2004	-

FINLAND

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
KOK	Kansallinen Kokoomus <i>National Coalition Party</i>	14620	1996-2004	-
KESK*	Suomen Keskusta <i>Centre Party of Finland</i>	14810	1996-2004	-
SDP	Suomen Sosialdemokraattinen Puolue <i>Social Democratic Party of Finland</i>	14320	1996-2004	-
VIHR	Vihreä Liitto <i>Finnish Green League</i>	14110	1996-2004	-
VAS	Vasemmistoliitto <i>Left Wing League</i>	14223	1996-2004	-
RKP/SFP	Ruotsalainen Kansanpuolue/ Svenska Folkpartiet i Finland <i>Swedish People's Party in Finland</i>	14901	1996-2004	-
KD	Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit (formerly SKL- Suomen Kristillinen Liitto) <i>The Christian League of Finland</i>	14520	1996-2004	-

FRANCE

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
PS	Parti Socialiste <i>Socialist Party</i>	31320	1979-2004	1984
PRG	Parti Radical de Gauche (formerly MRG) <i>Radical Left Party</i>	31322	1979-2004	-
MRC	Mouvement Républicain et Citoyen <i>Republican and Civic Movement</i> (since 2004; formerly MDC: Mouvement des Citoyens founded 1992)	31323	1994-2004	-
UDF	UDF Nouvelle (since 1998, formerly UDF) <i>New Union for French Democracy</i>	31624	1979-2004	-
RPR	Rassemblement pour la République <i>Rally for the republic</i> (since 2002: Electoral Alliance: UMP)	31625	1979-2004	-
RPFie	Rassemblement pour la France et l'Indépendance de l'Europe (1994: L'Autre Europe) <i>Rally for France and an independent Europe,</i>	31952	1994-2004	-
Verts	Les Verts (founded 1984) <i>The Greens</i>	31110	1989-2004	1989
PC	Parti Communiste Français <i>Communist Party of France</i>	31220	1979-2004	-
LO	Lutte Ouvrière <i>Workers Fight</i>	31221	1979-2004	-
LCR	Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire <i>Revolutionary Communist League</i>	31222	1999-2004	-
FN	Front National <i>National Front</i>	31720	1984-2004	1984, 1989
CPNT	Chasse, Pêche, Nature, Traditions (founded 1989) <i>Hunting, Fishing, Nature, Traditions</i>	31953	1989-2004	-
ER	Energie Radicale (founded 1994) <i>Radical Energy</i>	31951	1994	-
MPF	Mouvement pour la France <i>Movement for France</i>	31629	2004	-
OAC	L'ouest au cœur <i>(The west in the heart)</i>	31956	2004	-
N.S.	Nouvelle Solidarité <i>New solidarity</i>	31957	2004	-
UFCN	Union française pour la cohésion nationale	31721	2004	-
HZ	Herritarren Zerrenda	31959	2004	-
EDE	Europe-Démocratie-Espéranto	31961	2004	-
Pdsocio	Parti des socioprofessionnels	31962	2004	-
DpE	Diversité pour l'Europe	31963	2004	-
TSR	La terre sinon rien	31114	2004	-
PdT	Parti des travailleurs	31223	2004	-
PCR	Pour défendre l'Outre-mer dans une Europe élargie	31970	2004	2004

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FRANCE (continued)

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
UMP	Electoral Alliances RPR/UDF	31635	1984-1994	-
	RPR/DL (since 2002) Union pour un mouvement populaire <i>Union for the People's Movement</i>	31645	1999-2004	-
	PS/PRG	31325	1979-1994	1984
	LO/LCR	31225	1999-2004	-

GERMANY

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands <i>Christian Democratic Union of Germany</i>	41521	1979-2004	-
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern e.V. <i>Christian Social Union in Bavaria</i>	41522	1979-2004	-
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands <i>Social Democratic Party</i>	41320	1979-2004	-
B90/GR	Bündnis 90/Grüne <i>Greens/Alliance 90</i>	41113	1984-2004	-
PDS	Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus <i>Party for Democratic Socialism</i>	41221	1994-2004	-
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei- Die Liberalen <i>Free Democratic Party – The Liberals</i>	41420	1979-2004	-
REP	Die Republikaner <i>The Republicans</i>	41701	1989-2004	-

GREECE

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
ND	Nea Dimokratia <i>New Democracy</i>	34511	1981-1999	1981, 1984, 1989, 1994
PASOK	Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima <i>Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement</i>	34313	1981-2004	1981, 1989
KKE	Kommounistiko Komma Ellados <i>Communist Party of Greece</i>	34210	1981-2004	1981
DIKKI	Dimokratiki Kinoniku Kinima (founded 1995) <i>Democratic Social Movement</i>	34314	1999	-
SYN*	Synapsismos tis Aristeres ke ti Proodu (founded as party 1992) <i>Coalition of the Left and Progress</i>	34211	1994-2004	-
POLAN	Politiki Anixi (founded 1993) <i>The Political Spring</i>	34512	1994-1999	1994
DIANA	Demokratiki Ananeossi <i>Democratic Renewal</i>	34501	1989-1994	1989
KKE.es	Kommounistiko Komma Ellados –esoterikou <i>The Communist Party of Greece-interior</i>	34212	1981-1989	1981, 1984, 1989
LAOS	Laekos Orthodoxos Synagermos <i>Popular Orthodox Alarm</i>	34703	2004	-

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GREECE (continued)

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
DPE	Demokratiki Perifereiaki Enosi <i>Republican Regional Union</i>	34801	2004	-
KP	Komma ton Prodefitikon Electoral Alliance	34701	1981	
	KKE/KKE.es/EDA 'Synaspismos'	34215	1989	1989

HUNGARY

Initials	Name	EM-ID	Elections	Manifestos not available
MSZP	Magyar Szocialista Párt <i>Hungarian Socialist Party</i>	86220	2004	-
FIDESZ	Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége <i>Federation of Young Democrats</i>	86421	2004	-
MDF	Magyar Demokrata Fórum <i>Democratic Forum</i>	86521	2004	-
SZDSZ	Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége <i>Alliance of Free Democrats</i>	86422	2004	-

IRELAND

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
FF	Fianna Fáil-The Republican Party	53620	1979-2004	1984, 1989
FG	Fine Gael (Family of the Irish)	53520	1979-2004	1984
Lab	Labour Party	53320	1979-2004	-
GP	Comahoantas Glass-Green Party (founded 1983)	53110	1984-2004	1994
PD	Progressive Democrats (founded 1985)	53420	1989-1994	1989
WP	Workers Party	53220	1979-2004	-
SF	Sinn Fein "We Ourselves"	53951	2004	-

ITALY

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
FI	Forza Italia (founded 1994) <i>Italy Ahead</i>	32610	1994-2004	-
AN	Alleanza Nazionale (renamed 1994, formerly MSI- DN Movimento Sociale Italiano-Destra Nazionale <i>National Alliance</i>	32710	1979-2004	1979, 1984, 1989
MSFT	Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolori (split from AN 1995) <i>Italian Social Movement</i>	32712	1999-2004	1999, 2004
Segni	Patto Segni (founded 1994) <i>Pact Segni</i>	32513	1994-2004	-
PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano <i>Party of Italian Communists</i>	32220	1979-1989	1984, 1989

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ITALY (continued)

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
PDS	Partito Democratico della Sinistra (founded 1991 as successor of PCI) <i>Democrats of the Left</i>	32221	1994-2004	-
PRC	Partito Rifondazione Comunista (founded 1991) <i>Communist Refoundation Party</i>	32212	1994-2004	-
PdCI	Partito dei Comunisti Italiani (since 1998) <i>Party of Italian Communists</i>	32213	1999-2004	-
Lista Bonino (PR)	Partito Radicale (1994 'Lista Pannella Riformatori'); until 1999 'Lista Emma Bonino' <i>Radical Party</i>	32310	1979-2004	-
Rete	La Rete (founded 1991) <i>The Network</i>	32591	1994	1994
Dem	I Democratici <i>The Democrats</i>	32423	1999-2004	-
LN	Lega Nord (renamed 1991, formerly LL-Lega Lombarda) <i>Northern League</i>	32720	1984-2004	1984
PPI	Partito Popolare Italiano (renamed 1994, formerly DP-Democrazia Cristiana) <i>People's Party of Italy</i>	32520	1979-2004	1979
CCD	Centro Cristiano Democratico (founded 1994) <i>Christian-Democratic Centre</i>	32521	1994-1999	-
CDU	Cristiani Democratici Uniti (founded 1995) <i>Christian Democratic Union</i>	32522	1999-2004	-
UDC	Unione dei democratici cristiani e dei democratici di centro <i>Union of christian and centre democrats (CDU and CCD merged)</i>	32523	2004	-
Fed.V	Federazione dei Verdi (founded 1986) <i>Federation of Greens</i> (1990: <i>Federazione dei Verdi and Verdi Arcobaleno merged</i>)	32111	1994-2004	1994, 1999
LV	Green List	32111	1994	-
SDI	Socialisti Democratici Italiani (formerly PSI-Partito Socialista Italiano) <i>Socialist Party of Italy</i>	32320	1979-2004	1979, 1984, 1994, 1999
PSDI	Partito Socialdemocratico Italiano <i>Social Democratic Party of Italy</i>	32330	1979-1994	1979, 1984, 1989, 1994
DP	Democrazia Proletaria <i>Proletarian Democrats</i>	32211	1979-1989	1979, 1984, 1989
PRI	Partito Repubblicano Italiano <i>Italian Republican Party</i>	32410	1979-1999	1979, 1984, 1994
UD.EUR	Unione Democratici Europei (founded 1998) <i>Democrats Union for Europe</i>	32426	1999-2004	1999
PP	Partito Pensionati <i>Pensioners Party</i>	32952	1999-2004	1999, 2004
SVP	Südtiroler Volkspartei <i>South Tyrol People's Party</i>	32912	1979-2004	1984, 1989, 1994
Pietro	Lista di Pietro Italia dei Valori <i>List Di Pietro Italy of Values</i>	32421	2004	-
Sgarbi	Lista Pri-Liberal / Sgarbi	32411	2004	-
	A.S.-Mussolini	32915	2004	2004

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ITALY (continued)

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
	Electoral Alliances			
	PR/PLI/PRI 'Polo Laico'	32425	1989	1989
	FDL/PRI	32435	1999	-
	AN/Segni	32725	1999	1999
	Ulivo* (founded 1996)	32445	1999-2004	-
	DS/SDI/La Margherita*	32446	2004	-

LATVIA

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
JL	Jaunais laiks <i>New Era</i>	87431	2004	-
TP	Tautas partija <i>People's Party</i>	87610	2004	-
LPP	Latvijas Pirmā Partija <i>Latvia's First Party</i>	87521	2004	-
ZZS	Zaļo un Zemnieku savienība <i>Green and Farmers Union</i>	87110	2004	-
TB/LNNK	Apvienība "Tēvzemei un Brīvībai"/LNNK <i>Alliance "Fatherland and Freedom"/LNNK</i>	87723	2004	-
LC	Latvijas ceļš <i>Latvia's Way</i>	87410	2004	-
	Electoral Alliances			
PCTVL	Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā <i>For Human Rights in a United Latvia</i>	87951	2004	-

LITHUANIA

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
DP	Darbo Partijos Rinkimu i Europos Parlamenta <i>Labour Party</i>	88322	2004	-
LSDP	Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija <i>Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party</i>	88320	2004	-
LDP	Liberalų Demokratų Partija <i>Liberal Democratic Party</i>	88522	2004	-
VNDPS	Valstiecių ir naujosios demokratijos partijų sąjunga	88524	2004	-
NS	Naujoji Sąjunga <i>New Union</i>	88410	2004	-
TS-LK	Tėvynės Sąjunga (Lietuvos konservatoriai) <i>Homeland Union-Conservatives of Lithuania</i>	88620	2004	-
LKD	Lietuvos Krikščionys Demokratai <i>Lithuanian Christian Democrats</i>	88521	2004	-
LCS	Liberalų ir Centro Sąjunga <i>Liberal and Centre Union</i>	88433	2004	-
LLRA/ LRS	Lietuvos lenku rinkimu akcijos ir Lietuvos rusų sąjungos koalicijos rinkimų programa	88952	2004	-
KKSS	Krikščionių konservatorių socialinės sąjungos <i>Christian conservative social union</i>	88523	2004	-

LUXEMBURG

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
CSV	Chreschtlich Sozial Vollekspartei <i>Christian Social People's Party</i>	23520	1979-2004	-
LSAP	Letzebuergesch Sozialistesch Arbechterpartei <i>Socialist Workers' Party of Luxembourg</i>	23320	1979-2004	1984
DP	Demokratesch Partei <i>Democratic Party</i>	23420	1979-2004	-
DGA	Déi Gréng Alternativ <i>The Green Alternative</i>	23113	1984-2004	-
ADR	Aktiounskomitee fir Demokratie Rentegerechtegkeet <i>Action Comity for Democracy and Pensions Justice</i>	23951	2004	-

MALTA

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
PN	Partit Nazzjonalista <i>Nationalist Party</i>	37520	2004	-
MLP	Partit Laburista <i>Malta Labour Party</i>	37320	2004	-

THE NETHERLANDS

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
CDA	Christen Democratisch Appel <i>Christian-Democratic Appeal</i>	22521	1979-2004	1979, 1984, 1989
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid <i>Labour Party</i>	22320	1979-2004	-
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie <i>People's Party for Freedom and Democracy</i>	22420	1979-2004	1979, 1984, 1989
GL	GroenLinks (founded 1990) <i>Green Left</i>	22110	1994-2004	-
D66	Democraten 66 <i>Democrats 66</i>	22330	1979-2004	-
RPF	Reformatorische Politieke Federatie <i>Reformatorian Political Federation</i>	22526	1979-1999	-
SGP	Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij <i>Political Reformed Party</i>	22527	1979-2004	-
GPV	Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond <i>Reformed Political League</i>	22528	1979-1999	-
SP	Socialistische Partij <i>Socialist Party</i>	22210	1979-2004	-
PPR	Politieke Partij Radikalen <i>Radical Party</i>	22310	1979-1989	1984, 1989
CPN	Communistische Partij van Nederland <i>Communist Party of the Netherlands</i>	22311	1979-1989	-
ET	Europa Transparent (Anti-corruption Party)	22951	2004	-
LPF	Lijst Pim Fortuyn (List Pim Fortuyn)	22700	2004	-
	Electoral Alliances			
	RPF/SGP/GPV (2004: CU/SGP)	22225	1984-2004	-
	GPA (Groen progressiv accord): CPN/GPN/PPR/PSP	22115	1984	1984
	GLA/Regenboog: CPN/PPR/PSP (predecessor of Groen Links)	22125	1989	-

POLAND

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
PO	Platforma Obywatelska <i>Citizens' Platform</i>	92435	2004	-
SdPI	Socjaldemokracja Polska <i>Polish Social Democracy</i>	93323	2004	-
SO	Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej <i>Self Defence of the Polish Republic</i>	92622	2004	-
PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość <i>Law and Justice</i>	92436	2004	-
PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe <i>Polish People's Party, agrarian</i>	92811	2004	-
UW	Unia Wolności <i>Freedom Union</i>	92434	2004	-
LPR	Liga Polskich Rodzin <i>League of Polish Families</i>	92713	2004	-
Electoral Alliances				
SLD-UP	Koalicja Sojuszu Lewicy Demokratycznej i Unii Pracy (SLD/UP) <i>Coalition of the Alliance of Democratic Left and the Union of Labour</i>	92210	2004	-

PORTUGAL

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
PS	Partido Socialista Português <i>Socialist Party</i>	35311	1987-2004	1987
PSD	Partido Social Democrata <i>Social Democratic Party</i>	35313	1987-2004	-
PCP	Partido Comunista Português <i>Portuguese Communist Party</i>	35220	1987-2004	-
PEV	Partido Ecologista-Os Verdes (founded 1985) <i>Ecologist Party-The Greens</i>	35110	1987-2004	1989
PP	Partido Popular (renamed 1995, formerly CDS – Partido do Centro Democrático Social) <i>People's Party</i>	35314	1987-2004	1989
B.E.	Bloco do Esquerda <i>Blok of the Left</i>	35223	2004	-
Electoral Alliance				
CDU	Coligação Democrática Unitária (PCP/PEV) <i>Unitarian Democratic Coalition</i>	35225	1987-2004	1989
PSD-PP	Coligação Força Portugal (PPD/PSD-CDS/PP)	35319	2004	

SLOVAKIA

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
HZDS	Hnutie za Demokratické Slovensko <i>Movement for a Democratic Slovakia</i>	96711	2004	-
SDKU	Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská únia Slovak <i>Democratic and Christian Union</i>	96523	2004	-
Smer	Strana Smer – Tretia Cesta <i>Party Direction – Third Way</i>	96423	2004	-
SMK	Strana maďarskej koalície – Magyar Koalíció Pártja <i>Party of the Hungarian Coalition</i>	96955	2004	-
KDH	Kresťansko-demokratické hnutie <i>Christian Democratic Movement</i>	96521	2004	-
ANO	Aliancia Nového Občana <i>New Civic Alliance</i>	96424	2004	-
KSS	Komunistická strana Slovenska <i>Slovak Communist Party</i>	96222	2004	-
SDL	Strana Demokratickej L'avice <i>Party of Democratic Left</i>	96220	2004	-
SF	Free Forum (Split from the SDKU)	96524	2004	-

SLOVENIA

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
LDS	Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije <i>Liberal Democracy of Slovenia</i>	97421	2004	-
SDS	Slovenska demokratska stranka <i>Slovenian Democratic Party</i>	97320	2004	-
ZLSD	Združena Lista socialnih demokratov <i>United List of Social-Democrats</i>	97321	2004	-
NSi	Nova Slovenija Krščanski Ljudska Stranka <i>New Slovenia Christian People's Party</i>	97522	2004	-
SLS+ SKD	SLS + SKD Slovenska Ljudska Stranka <i>SLS + SKD Slovenian People's Party</i>	97620	2004	-

SPAIN

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
PP	Partido Popular (renamed 1989, formerly AP- Alianza Popular <i>People's Party</i>)	33610	1987-2004	-
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español <i>Socialist Workers' Party of Spain</i>	33320	1987-2004	-
IU	Izquierda Unida (renamed 1989, formerly IU/IC – Izquierda Unida/ Iniciativa per Catalunya) <i>United Left</i>	33220	1987-2004	1987
CC	Coalición Canaria <i>Canarina Coalition</i>	33914	1987-2004	-
PNV-EAJ	Partido Nazionalista Vasco <i>Basque Nationalist Party</i>	33902	1987-2004	-
EA	Eusko Alkartasuna <i>Basque Solidarity</i>	33903	1987-2004	1987
ERdC	Esquerra Nazionalista de Catalunya <i>Republican Left of Catalonia</i>	33905	1987-2004	-
EH	Euskal Herritarrok (renamed 1998, formerly HB – Herri Batasuna) <i>Basque Country</i>	33907	1987-1999	1987, 1989
BNG	Bloque Nazionalista Gallego <i>Galician Nationalist Bloc</i>	33911	1987-2004	-
CDS	Centro Democrático y Social/Coalición Foro <i>Social and Democratic Center/Coalition Forum</i>	33512	1987-1999	-
ARM	Agrupación Ruiz-Mateos <i>Ruiz-Mateos Group</i>	33913	1989-1999	1989
Los Verdes	Partido Verde Europeo <i>Green Party</i>	33101	1999-2004	-
Electoral Alliances				
CiU	Convèrgencia i Unió (CDC/UDC) <i>Convergence and Union</i>	33611	1987-2004	-
	Izquierda de los Pueblos: (EE, PSG-EG, UPV, ENE, PSM, AV, UA-CHA, PSM, PSA)	33925	1989	1989
EdP	Coalición "Europa de los Pueblos"(1987 : EA, ERC, PNG ;1989 : EA, ERC, PNG ; 2004 : ERC, EA, CHA, ICVR, PSA, ERPV, EV, AA, CNC)	33930	1987/1989- 2004	1987
	Por la Europa de los Pueblos (1994: EA, ERC, ACC, ENE, TC, PNC)	33935	1994	-
GAL	GALEUSCA (BNG, CiU, EAJ-PNV, PSM, BNV)	33941	2004	-
CE	Coalición Europea (CC, PA, PAR, UV ; 2004 : CC, PA, PAR, UV, UI, PAS, EU, CDN)	33950	1999-2004	1999

SWEDEN

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
SAP	Sverige Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti <i>Swedish Social Democratic Party</i>	11320	1996-2004	-
MSP	Moderata Samlingspartiet <i>Moderate Rally Party</i>	11620	1996-2004	-
VP	Vänsterpartiet <i>Left Party</i>	11220	1996-2004	-
FP	Folkpartiet Liberalerna <i>People's Party Liberals</i>	11420	1996-2004	-
MPG	Miljöpartiet de Gröna <i>Environmental Party the Greens</i>	11110	1996-2004	-
KD	Kristdemokraterna <i>The Christian-Democrats</i>	11520	1996-2004	-
CP	Centerpartiet <i>Centre Party</i>	11810	1996-2004	-
Junilistan	Junilistan	11952	2004	-

UNITED KINGDOM

Initials	Party Name	EM-ID	Elections first-last	Manifestos not available
CON	Conservative Party	51620	1979-2004	-
LAB	Labour Party	51320	1979-2004	-
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party (founded 1988 as 'Social and Liberal Democrats', renamed 1989)	51421	1989-2004	-
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party	51951	1994-2004	-
Greens	Green Party (founded 1985)	51110	1989-2004	-
SNP	Scottish National Party	51902	1979-2004	1994
PC	Plaid Cymru	51901	1979-2004	-
	Party Name (Northern Ireland)			
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party	51903	1979-2004	1979
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party	51340	1979-2004	-
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party	51904	1979-2004	1979
SF	Sinn Fein "We Ourselves"	51953	2004	-
Respect	Respect – The Unity Coalition	51952	2004	-
	Electoral Alliances			
	LP/SDP	51415	1984	-

***Notes:**

Finland:

KESK did not issue an Euromanifesto for the 1996 EP election. Instead, a document accepted by the party council in November 1995 and by the party congress in June 1996 was collected and coded as an equivalent document.

Greece:

Synaspismos started in 1989 as a coalition of the Left and Progress, consisting of the KKE, KKE-es, EDA and other leftist splinter groups. After the KKE left the coalition in 1991, the coalition decided to unite as an official party, and *Synaspismos* was formed in June 1992.

Italy:

- In 2004 Electoral Alliance *La Margherita* consists of: PP, I Democratici, Rinnovamente Italiano, Udeur;
- In 2004 Electoral Alliance *ULIVO* consists of: PDS, SDI, La Margherita;
- In 1999 Electoral Alliance *ULIVO* consists of: DS, La Margherita, SDI, Movimento Repubblicani Europei, PdCI, Verdi, RC, Lista di Pietro-Occhetto, UDEUR, SVP, Union Valdôtaine.

2 EUROMANIFESTOS CODING SCHEME (EMCS)

On the following pages, the second edition of the EMCS (developed for 2004) is documented. The first edition is available online.¹ 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.

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

¹ <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/publications/wp/wp-64.pdf>

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

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

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

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

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

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

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

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

1-1013 FSR to Russia: Positive

Favourable mentions of Russia.

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

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

2-1011 FSR to USA: Positive

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

2-1012 FSR to Russia: Positive

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

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

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

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

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

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

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

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

1-1023 FSR to Russia: Negative

Negative mentions of Russia.

[**2-102 Foreign Special Relationships** of Europe, the EC/EU: **Negative**]
[Two subcategories have been created; do exclusively use the sub-categories!]

2-1021 FSR to USA: Negative

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

2-1022 FSR to Russia: Negative

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

x-103 Anti-Imperialism

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

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

1-104 Military in the Manifesto Country: Positive

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

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

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

3-104 Military in Other Countries/Worldwide: Positive

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

1-105 Military in the Manifesto Country: Negative

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

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

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

3-105 Military in Other Countries/Worldwide: Negative

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

x-106 Peace

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

x-107 Internationalism: Positive

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

1-108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive

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

2-108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive

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

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

3-108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive

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

x-109 Internationalism: Negative

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

1-110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative

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

1-1101 Financing the EC/EU: Negative

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

2-110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative

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

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

3-110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative

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

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

[x-201 Freedom and Human Rights]

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

1-2011 Freedom

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

2-2011 Freedom

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

3-2011 Freedom

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

1-2012 Human Rights

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

2-2012 Human Rights

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

3-2012 Human Rights

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

1-202 Democracy in the Manifesto Country

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

2-202 Democracy in Europe, the EC/EU

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

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

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

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

3-202 Democracy in Other Countries and in General

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

1-203 Constitutionalism in the Manifesto Country: **Positive**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DOMAIN 3.1: Political System (in general)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1-303 Executive and Administrative Efficiency in the Manifesto Country

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

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

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

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

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

x-304 Political Corruption

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

1-305 Political Authority

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

2-305 Political Authority

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

3-305 Political Authority

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

DOMAIN 3.2: Political System of the European Union
[by definition, x=2 only]

2-306 Competences of the European Parliament: Positive

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

2-307 Competences of the European Parliament: Negative

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

2-308 Competences of the European Commission: Positive

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

2-309 Competences of the European Commission: Negative

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

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

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

2-3101 Unanimity in the (European) Council

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

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

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

2-3111 Majority Voting in the (European) Council

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2-3141 Positive Mentions of the European Central Bank

Note: Check 2-414 (economic orthodoxy).

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

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

2-3151 Negative Mentions of the European Central Bank

2-316 EC/EU Enlargement: Positive

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

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

2-3161 Membership of Turkey in the EU: Positive

2-317 EC/EU Enlargement: Negative

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

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

2-3171 Membership of Turkey in the EU: Negative

2-318 Complexity of the EC/EU Political System

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

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

DOMAIN 4: Economy

x-401 Free Enterprise

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

2-4011 EC/EU Structural Fund: Negative

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

1-4012 Property-Restitution: Positive

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

x-402 Incentives

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

x-403 Market Regulation

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

1-404 Economic Planning

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

2-404 Economic Planning

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

2-4041 EC/EU Structural Fund: Positive

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

3-404 Economic Planning

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

x-405 Corporatism

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

x-406 Protectionism: Positive

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

x-407 Protectionism: Negative

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

x-408 Economic Goals

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

x-4081 Creating Jobs

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

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

x-4082 Labour Migration: Positive

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

x-4083 Labour Migration: Negative

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

2-4084 Single Market: Positive

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

2-4085 Single Market: Negative

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

2-4086 European Monetary Union/ European Currency: Positive

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

2-4087 European Monetary Union/ European Currency: Negative

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

x-409 Keynesian Demand Management

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

x-410 Productivity

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

x-411 Technology and Infrastructure

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

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

x-412 Controlled Economy

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

[New sub-categories in 2004]

x-4121 Social Ownership: Positive

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

x-4122 Mixed Economy: Positive

Favourable references to mixed ownership within a market economy.

[New sub-category in 2004]

x-4123 Publicly-Owned Industry: Positive

Positive references to the concept of publicly-owned industries.

[New sub-category in 2004]

x-4124 Socialist Property: Positive

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

x-413 Nationalization

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

x-4131 Property-Restitution: Negative

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

x-4132 Privatisation: Negative

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

x-414 Economic Orthodoxy

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

x-415 Marxist Analysis

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

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

x-416 Anti-Growth Economy

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

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

DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

x-501 Environmental Protection

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

1-502 Culture in the Manifesto Country

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

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

2-502 Culture in Europe, the EC/EU

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

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

x-503 Social Justice

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

Note: Check x-706 for adequate coding.

x-504 Welfare State Expansion (WSE)

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

x-5041 WSE: Job Programs

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

x-5042 WSE: Pensions

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

x-5043 WSE: Health Care and Nursing Service

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

x-5044 WSE: Social Housing

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

x-5045 WSE: Child Care

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

x-505 Welfare State Limitation (WSL)

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

x-5051 WSL: Job Programs

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

x-5052 WSL: Pensions

Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend pensions.

x-5053 WSL: Health Care and Nursing Service

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

x-5054 WSL: Social Housing

Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend social housing.

x-5055 WSL: Child Care

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

x-506 Education Expansion

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

x-507 Education Limitation

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

DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society

1-601 National Way of Life: Positive

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

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

1-6011 Immigration: Negative

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

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

1-6012 Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus Only)

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

2-601 European Way of Life: Positive

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

2-6011 Immigration: Negative

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

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

1-602 National Way of Life: Negative

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

2-602 European Way of Life: Negative

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

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

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

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

x-603 Traditional Morality: Positive

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

x-604 Traditional Morality: Negative

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

x-605 Law and Order

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

[New sub-category in 2004]

x-6051 Fight against terrorism

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

1-606 Social Harmony in the Manifesto Country

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

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

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

3-606 Social Harmony in Other Countries or in General

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1-608 Multiculturalism in the Manifesto Country: Negative

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

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

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

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

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

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

DOMAIN 7: Social Groups

x-701 Labour Groups: Positive

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

x-702 Labour Groups: Negative

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

[x-703 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.

3 Euromanifesto Coding Instructions

1. Introduction

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

A first version of the original classification scheme was developed by David Robertson (1976: 73-75) for analysing modes of party competition in Britain. In 1979, the 'Manifesto Research Group' (MRG) was constituted as a research group of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) by scholars interested in a comparative content-analytic approach on policy positions of parties. During their work, the classification scheme was extended and revised to fit additional countries. Since 1989 the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) provides resources for updating and expanding the MRG data set in the context of its 'Comparative Manifestos Project' (CMP).

In 2000, Hermann Schmitt started to develop the idea to apply the MRG/CMP on elections to the European Parliament. The 'Euromanifestos Project' (EMP) at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES) intends to collect and code all European Parliament election programs of all parties ever represented in that body. In order to guarantee comparability with the MRG/CMP on the one hand and to make in-depth European-specific analyses possible, the standard MRG/CMP coding frame needed to be modified. In which way this has been done is explained in chapter 4.2.

This handbook is an introduction into the application of the Euromanifestos Coding Scheme (EMCS).² It provides coders who do not have the background knowledge of the MRG/CMP or EMP members with all the relevant information, definitions, and sources to apply the coding scheme to their respective countries.

2. Selection of Programs

Programmatic statements are central features of parties. In party programs, the political ideas and goals of parties are put on record. Although only few voters actually read party programs, they are spread commonly through the mass media. Among the different kinds of programs which are issued in many countries, the basis for this research are **election programs**. The advantages of taking election programs as a source for identifying political goals of parties are manifold:

Election programs cover a wide range of political positions and themes and, therefore, can be seen as a 'set of key central statements of party positions' (Budge/Robertson/Hearl 1987: 18).

Election programs are authoritative statements of party policies because the programs are usually ratified in party conventions.

Election programs are representative statements for the whole party, not just statements of one faction or group within the party or of individual party members.

Election programs are published before every election. Thus, changes of policy positions of parties over time can be studied.

According to the special significance of election programs, the documents to be collected are the platforms of parties which are published for the election to the European Parliament in each EC/EU country. The sources of gathering the programs may be the parties themselves, associated research and training institutes or publications in newspapers, magazines, or books.

² These coding instructions have been published earlier: <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/publications/wp/wp-64.pdf>

In some countries parties do not distribute election programs. In this case, the above given description of election programs serves as an 'ideal type' of a document which is to be searched for. The only documents available may be newspaper summaries of the parties' election pledges or reports of party spokesmen about policy positions and goals for the upcoming legislature. In any case, the ideal type of a document which summarises authoritative statements of the party's policy positions for electioneering should be achieved as far as possible. Coders are asked to note down on the Euromanifesto Coding Sheet the type of document they have used.

3. Selection of Parties

The collection should cover all the relevant parties. In general, the relevance of parties is defined as the coalition (governmental) or blackmail potential of a party in a given party system (Sartori 1976: 121-125). Coalition potential is defined as (1) the actual or former membership in a government or (2) the possibility (feasibility) of becoming a government party. Blackmail potential is defined as the 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 (Sartori 1976: 123). These criteria have been used in the MRG/CMP projects.

Due to the fact that there are neither formal coalitions to be built nor governments to be elected in the EC/EU, a somewhat broader criteria is applied. Relevant parties in the EC/EU are parties that have been represented in the European Parliament at least once. While manifestos issued earlier will be archived, the starting point for the coding of Euromanifestos for any single party is the election to the European Parliament in which the party was able to achieve representation for the first time.

4. The Coding Procedure

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

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

4.1 Quantification: The Coding Unit

The coding unit in a given program is the 'quasi-sentence', defined as an argument. An argument is the verbal expression of one political idea or issue. In its simplest form, a sentence is the basic unit of meaning. Therefore, punctuation can be used as a guideline for identifying arguments. The starting point of coding is the sentence, but what we are aiming for is an argument. In its shortest form, a sentence contains a subject, a verb and an attribute or an adjective.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Step No 1: Identifying Quasi- Sentences

1. Xerox the respective party program. Then, 2. start with reading the first paragraph, 3. look at each sentence of the first paragraph, 4. identify the number of arguments by transforming them into quasi-sentences, and 5. mark all quasi-sentences in the first paragraph.

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

4.2 Classification: The Euromanifestos Coding Scheme (EMCS)

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

4.2.1 Content Codes

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.2 Political Level

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

the governmental frame that may be part of an argument

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

the policy scope that may be part of an argument

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

The political level decision rules are:

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

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

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

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

[codes] [manifesto text]

‘In the European Union, we will

- 2-501 - fight for clean air
- 2-501 - promote higher standards in water protection;
- 2-501 - put the environment on top of the EP’s agenda;
- 2-503 - secure social justice;
- 2-701 - guarantee the rights of employees;
- 2-304 - fight against corruption;
- 2-607 - retain our cultural diversity.

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

Step No 2: Classifying the Quasi-Sentences

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

While the MRG/CMP does not explicitly take into account political levels, the decision about the political level is crucial for the success of the Euromanifestos Project. We want to know whether content does explicitly point to (1) the manifesto country, (2) Europe or the EC/EU as governmental frame or to (3) neither one of these. This decision can be a delicate task. Another example shows all three levels:

[codes] [manifesto text]

- 3-503 We totally support women's aspirations for equality.
- 2-503 We welcome the directives of the EEC on the principle of equal treatment in access to employment.
- 1-503 We recognise that in establishing equal status for women our country lags far behind.

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

4.2.3 *Categories with Country-Specific Meanings*

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

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

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

4.2.4 *Coding Problems and Difficulties*

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

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

a. No category seems to apply

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Decision Rule No 2: Identifying Connecting Sentences

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

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

Decision Rule No 3: Creating Subcategories

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

Note that even trained coders tend to create too many subcategories, i.e. subcategories containing one or two quasi-sentences, only. To give an example: from more than 80 subcategories that had been created for transitional countries in the MRG/CMP, 30 were re-aggregated into the main Standard Categories because they were almost empty. The remaining 53 subcategories prevailed and have to be applied for all programs from parties in transitional democracies.

b. More than one category seem to apply

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

Decision Rule No 4: Section Headings as Guidelines

Look at the section heading of the quasi-sentence in question. Then, take the category which covers the topic of the section or the heading. Thus, section headings are taken as guidelines for coding although section headings themselves are not to be coded.

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

Decision Rule No 5: Specific Policy Positions 'Beat' Group Politics except Group (x-703) 'Agriculture'

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

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

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

Decision Rule No 7: Specific Policy Positions 'Beat' (x-408) 'General Economic Goals'

Whenever there is a choice between a more specific policy position given in Policy Domains 1 to 7 and category (x-408) 'General Economic Goals', the specific policy positions (for instance (x-410) 'Economic Growth') is to be chosen instead of x-408.

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

c. The statement seems unclear

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

In some cases, crucial decisions have to be made with respect to the manifest or latent content of statements. No inferences should be made with respect to the meaning of statements. The coder has to code what the statement says, not what he or she thinks it may lead to in the end. As with uncodable sentences, all unclear statements should be marked and reread at the end of coding.

Some of the coding problems will be solved with growing experience. However, whenever the coder is unsure about which category is to be taken, the supervisor (Andreas.Wuest@mzes.uni-mannheim.de) should be contacted. The sentences in question can be translated into English and the coding decision is then taken and explained by the supervisor.

4.3 Coding Sheet

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

4 Additional Information Provided by Coders

4.1 Information on the coded document

(x) please indicate

The document coded is ...	
<input type="checkbox"/>	a.) a proper Euromanifesto of this party
<input type="checkbox"/>	b.) an other “official” election-related party document (e.g. press release)
<input type="checkbox"/>	c.) a manifesto of the party leader
<input type="checkbox"/>	d.) an excerpt of the national manifesto of this party (in case of concurrent national elections only)
<input type="checkbox"/>	e.) other, please specify:

4.2 Content Evaluation

Where would you place the party *according to this document* on the following scales? Please indicate by an x for each dimension the appropriate scale value. If a particular dimension appears un-codable, do not indicate any value and go on to the next.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
left											right
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
environmental protection											economic growth
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
libertarian											authoritarian
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
religious											secular
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
state interventionism											free enterprise
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
multiculturalism											ethnocentrism
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
pro EC/EU integration											anti EC/EU integration
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

5 Description of the Euromanifestos Dataset

5.1 General Variables

SYNTAX [position in Dataset: 1]

use of old or new syntax, because of changes made in the coding scheme between 1979-99 and 2004
old syntax=0 (1979-1999)
new Syntax=1 (2004)

MEMBER [position in Dataset: 2]

year membership of a country in the EC/EU began
1979
1981
1986
1995
2004
missing values: -888 inapplicable (for Europe)

NAT_MAN [position in Dataset: 3]

indicates whether Euromanifesto is a national one or adopted from the Euro-party
1=yes, national party
2=no, Euro-party
3=no, multiple

MULTWEIG [position in Dataset: 4]

weight for multiple documents (f.i. France 1999:LO and LCR formed an alliance, but published two Euromanifestos)

EIND_ID [position in Dataset: 5]

for 1979-1999: eind_id=party+((year-1900)/100)
for 2004: eind_id=party+((year-1900)/100)-1

PARTY [position in Dataset: 6]

(equivalent to MRG coding)
party code (includes country (two digits), party family (one digit) and party specific digits (two))
Example: 10100=EFGP (10= Europe; 1=greens)

COUNTRY [position in Dataset: 7]

(identical to MRG coding)
country in which the party ran in EP elections

REPWEIGH [position in Dataset: 8]

weight for EC/EU-wide analyses based on each party's seat in EP
Except Italy 1999: Because of 4 missing Euromanifestos of the alliance ULIVO, which is composed of 10 Parties, half of the seats to alliance ULIVO (=19,5); the existing coded Euromanifestos get the half of their reached seats as repweigh (identical case: Italy 2004).

INITIALS [position in Dataset: 9]

abbreviation of the party

PFAMILY [position in Dataset: 10]

(identical to MRG coding)
party family based on the founding period of the party
1=green parties
2=(post-)communist
3=social democrats
4=liberal
5=christian democrats
6=conservative
7=nationalist

8=agrarian parties
9=regional parties
95=special interest parties

GROUP [position in Dataset: 11]

parliamentary group a party belongs to

(based on the post-1999 election group formation period)

10=EPP-ED: Group of the European people's party and European Democrats

11=EPP: Group of the European People's Party

20=PES: Group of the party of European Socialists

30=Greens/EFA: Greens/ European Free Alliance

31="Rainbow"

32="Greens"

33="Radical Alliance"

40=ELDR: European Liberal, Democratic and Reformist Group

50=GUE/NGL: Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left

51="Communist Group"

52="Left Unity Group"

53=GUE: United European Left

54=GUE:(new founded) United European Left

60=IND/DEM: Independence/Democracy group

61=EDD: Europe of Democracies and Diversities

70=UEN: Group of Europe of Nations

71="Europe of Nations"

80=EDG: European Democratic Group

90="Progressive Democrats"

91=EDA: European Democratic Alliance

92="Union for Europe"

100="European Right"

110="Forza Europa"

120="Technical Co-ordination Group"

888=Non-Attached

999=not in EP

missing values: -777=unknown

-888=inapplicable

-999=unavailable

VOTE [position in Dataset: 12]

share of votes in EP election (in %)

missing values: -777=gained very low share

-888=inapplicable (electoral alliance, European party)

-999=unavailable

SEATS [position in Dataset: 13]

party's number of seats in European parliament

missing values: -777=unknown

-888=inapplicable (European party)

-999=unavailable

SEATSUM [position in Dataset: 14]

country's number of seats in European parliament

missing values: -777=unknown

-888=inapplicable (European party)

-999=unavailable

RESULT [position in Dataset: 15]

official election result

1=non-official results (other sources: e.g. IDEA database)

2=official results

missing values: -777=unknown

-888=inapplicable (European party)

-999=unavailable

YEAR [position in Dataset: 16]
year of EP election

5.2 Information and Evaluation by Coders (see part 4 of Appendix)

MAN [position in Dataset: 17]
type of Euromanifesto.

1=a proper EM of this party,
2=another "official" election-related party document,
3=a manifesto of the party leader,
4=an excerpt of the national manifesto of this party (national election is concurrent),
5=other.

LEFT [position in Dataset: 18]

placement of Euromanifesto according to the coder on a left-right scale.

1=left

...

10=right

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

ENV [position in Dataset: 19]

placement of Euromanifesto according to coder on environmental a protection vs. economic growth scale.

1=environmental protection

...

10=economic growth

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

LIB [position in Dataset: 20]

placement of Euromanifesto according to coder on a libertarian-authoritarian scale.

1=libertarian

...

10=authoritarian

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

REL [position in Dataset: 21]

placement of Euromanifesto according to coder on a religious-secular scale.

1=religious

...

10=secular

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

STATE [position in Dataset: 22]

placement of Euromanifesto according to coder on a state interventionism vs. free enterprise scale.

1=state interventionism

...

10=free enterprise

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

MULTI [position in Dataset: 23]

placement of Euromanifesto according to coder on a multiculturalism vs. ethnocentrism scale.

1=multiculturalism

...

10=ethnocentrism

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

EU [position in Dataset: 24]

placement of Euromanifesto according to coder on a pro-anti-EU-integration scale.

1=pro

...

10=anti

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

5.3 Codes Based on the EMCS

Variables v1_000 to v3_7063 [position in Dataset: 25-322]

For 2004 new subcategories have been created:

v1_1011; v1_1012; v1_1013; v1_1021, v1_1022; v1_1023;
v1_4012; v1_4121; v1_4122; v1_4123; v1_4124; v1_4131; v1_4132;
v1_6012; v1_6051; v1_7054;
v2_1011; v2_1012; v2_1021; v2_1022; v2_3161; v2_3171;
v2_4121; v2_4122; v2_4123; v2_4124; v2_4131; v2_4132; v2_6051; v2_7054
v3_4121; v3_4122; v3_4123; v3_4124; v3_4131; v3_4132; v3_6051; v3_7054.

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Subcode available only since 2004)

for v2_101 & v2_102: -999=unavailable (Code no longer available for 2004)

Two categories have been differentiated into sub-categories for 2004: v2_101; v2_102. Therefore, please note these main categories are missing for 2004.

Each occurrence of one of the 170 codes and 124 sub-codes was counted (v1_000 to v3_7063). The sum of all these represent the number of arguments coded in the concerning Euromanifesto. For a description of all categories see EMCS (part 2 of appendix).

Variables SUM1 to SUM3 [position in Dataset: 323-325]

sum of all codes concerning one level

Example:

$sum1 = v1_000 + v1_101 + v1_102 + v1_103 + v1_104 + v1_105 + v1_106 + v1_107 + v1_108 + v1_109 + v1_110 + v1_1101 + v1_2011 + v1_2012 + v1_202 + v1_203 + v1_204 + v1_301 + v1_302 + v1_303 + v1_304 + v1_305 + v1_401 + v1_402 + v1_403 + v1_404 + v1_405 + v1_406 + v1_407 + v1_408 + v1_4081 + v1_4082 + v1_4083 + v1_409 + v1_410 + v1_411 + v1_412 + v1_413 + v1_414 + v1_415 + v1_416 + v1_501 + v1_502 + v1_503 + v1_504 + v1_5041 + v1_5042 + v1_5043 + v1_5044 + v1_5045 + v1_505 + v1_5051 + v1_5052 + v1_5053 + v1_5054 + v1_5055 + v1_506 + v1_507 + v1_601 + v1_6011 + v1_602 + v1_603 + v1_604 + v1_605 + v1_606 + v1_607 + v1_608 + v1_701 + v1_702 + v1_7031 + v1_7032 + v1_704 + v1_705 + v1_7051 + v1_7052 + v1_7053 + v1_706 + v1_7061 + v1_7062 + v1_7063 + v1_7064$

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

SUMTOTAL [position in Dataset: 326]

sum of all codes

$sumtotal = sum1 + sum2 + sum3$

Variables Sum_000 to Sum7064 [position in Dataset: 327-452]

sum of the same code on all three levels.

example: $sum000 = v1_000 + v2_000 + v3_000$

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Subcode available only since 2004)

Variables p1_000 to p3_7063 [position in Dataset: 453-750]

values are percentages of content Codes on each political level separately (100% = all codes on all levels).
example:

Number of Occurrence of Code 101 on Level 1
$$p1_101 = \frac{\text{Number of Occurrence of Code 101 on Level 1}}{\text{Number of all Codes occurring on all Levels}} * 100$$

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Subcode available only since 2004)
for p2_101 & p2_102: -999=unavailable (Code no longer available in 2004)

Variables pe1_000 to pe3_7063 [position in Dataset: 751-1048]

values are percentages of content codes on each political Level separately (100% = all Codes on each political level separately).

Example:

Number of Occurrence of Code 101 on Level 1
$$pe1_101 = \frac{\text{Number of Occurrence of Code 101 on Level 1}}{\text{Number of all Codes occurring on Level 1}} * 100$$

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Subcode available only since 2004)
for pe2_101 & pe2_102: -999=unavailable (Code no longer available in 2004)

Variables p_000 to p_7064 [position in Dataset: 1049-1174]

content code's share (in percent) on all political levels combined.

Example: $p_101 = p1_101 + p2_101 + p3_101$.

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Subcode available only since 2004)

Variables PER_EB1 to PER_EB3 [position in Dataset: 1175-1177]

share of all content codes combined on each political level.

Example: $per_eb1 = p1_000 + p1_101 + \dots + p1_7064$.

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Subcode available only since 2004)

Variables SumD1L1 to SumD7L3 [position in Dataset: 1178-1199]

sum of all content codes within each Domain for each political Level separately

Example: $SumD1L1 = v1_101 + v1_102 + v1_103 + v1_104 + v1_105 + v1_106 + v1_107 + v1_108 + v1_109 + v1_110 + v1_1101$

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

Variables p_D1L1 to p_D7L3 [position in Dataset: 1200-1221]

share of all content codes within each Domain for each political Level separately.

Example: $p_D1L1 = p1_101 + p1_102 + \dots + p1_110$.

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

Variables p_D1 to p_D7 [position in Dataset: 1222-1230]

share of all content codes within each Domain for all political levels combined.

Example: $p_D1 = p_D1L1 + p_D1L2 + p_D1L3$.

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

Variables p1_101S to p3_706S [position in Dataset: 1231-1406]

main content code's share including all sub-codes for each political level separately.

Example: $p1_110S = p1_110 + p1_1101$.

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

Variables p_101S to p_706S [position in Dataset: 1407-1475]

main content code's share including all sub-codes for all political levels combined.

Example: $p_201S = p1_201S + p2_201S + p3_201S$

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

Variables val1_101 to val3_706 [position in Dataset: 1476-1608]

issue content codes' share including all sub-codes for each political level separately (positive and negative codes combined).

Example: $val1_101 = p1_101S + p1_102S$.

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

Variables val_101 to val_706 [position in Dataset: 1609-1658]

issue content code's share including all sub-codes for all political levels combined (positive and negative codes combined).

Example: $val_107 = val1_107 + val2_107 + val3_107$.

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

5.4 Computed Variables for Analyses

P_PROEU [position in Dataset: 1659]

summarised percentages of pro-EU issues:

$p_108s + p2_203 + p_3021 + p_306s + p_308s + p_310s + p_312s + p_314s + p_316s + p2_4041 + p_4084 + p_4086 + p2_601 + p1_602$

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

P_ANTIEU [position in Dataset: 1660]

summarised percentages of anti-EU issues:

$p_110s + p2_204 + p_3011 + p_307s + p_309s + p_311s + p_313s + p_315s + p_317s + p_318s + p2_4011 + p_4085 + p_4087 + p2_602 + p1_601$

[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

P_EUDIF [position in Dataset: 1661]

difference between percentage of pro- and anti-EU issues

“+” pro EU, “-“ anti EU

eudif= p_proeu – p_antieu
[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

EUSUM [position in Dataset: 1662]
sum of percentage of pro- and anti EU issues
eusum=p_proeu+p_antieu
[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

Pro/Anti EU by domain [position in Dataset: 1663-1670]
Summarised pro and anti EU issues by domain
p_eu_d2=p2_203s .
a_eu_d2=p2_204s .
p_eu_d3=p_3021+p_306s+p_308s+p_310s+p_312s+p_314s+p_316s .
a_eu_d3=p_3011+p_307s+p_309s+p_311s+p_313s+p_315s+p_317s+p_318s .
p_eu_d4=p2_4041+p_4084+p_4086 .
a_eu_d4=p2_4011+p_4085+p_4087 .
p_eu_d6=p2_601+p1_602 .
a_eu_d6=p2_602+p1_601 .
[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

Eudif by domain [position in Dataset:1671-1674]
difference between percentage of pro- and anti-EU issues by domain
eudif_d2=p_eu_d2-a_eu_d2 .
eudif_d3=p_eu_d3-a_eu_d3 .
eudif_d4=p_eu_d4-a_eu_d4 .
eudif_d6=p_eu_d6-a_eu_d6 .
[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

RILE [position in Dataste: 1675]
left-right position of party (EMCS version developed by Wüst)
(p_104s+p_2011+p_203s+p_401s+p_402s+p_407s+p_414s+p_505s+p1_601+p_6011+p_603s+p_605s+p_606s+p_608s+p702s) –
(p_103s+p_105s+p_106s+p_107s+p_2012+p_202s+p_403s+p_404s+p_406s+p_412s+p_413s+p_504s+p_506s+p1_602+p_607s+p_701s).
[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

RILE_MRG [position in Dataset: 1676]
(identical to EMCS version)
left-right-position of party as given in Michael Laver/Ian Budge (1992). Summarised percentages of “Left issues” are subtracted from summarised percentages of “Right issues”,
‘+’ Right, ‘-’ Left.
(p_104s+p_201s+p_203s+p_305s+p_401s+p_402s+p_407s+p_414s+p_505s+p1_601+p_603s+p_605s+p_606s)-
(p_103s+p_105s+p_106s+p_107s+p_202s+p_403s+p_404s+p_406s+p_412s+p_413s+p_504s+p_506s+p1_602+p_701s).
[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

PLANECO [position in Dataset: 1677]
(identical to MRG coding) planned economy:
p_403s+p_404s+p_412s.
[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

MARKECO [position in Dataset: 1678]
(identical to MRG coding) market economy:
p_401s+p_414s.
[Please note additional subcategories for 2004]

WELFARE [position in Dataset: 1679]
(identical to MRG coding) Welfare:
p_503s+p_504s.

POL [position in Dataset: 1680-1686]

main content code's share including all sub-codes for all political levels combined, for all issues related to freedom and democracy and political system

pol1=p_201s

pol2=p_202s.

pol3=p_203s+p_204s;

pol4=p_301s

pol5=p_302s

pol6=p_303s+p_304s+p_305s

pol= pol1+pol2+pol3+pol4+pol5+pol6:

ECO [position in Dataset:1687-1693]

main content code's share including all sub-codes for all political levels combined, for all issues related to economy, environmental protection, agriculture and farmers

eco1=p_401s+p_402s+p_403s+p_407s+p_414s.

eco2=p_404s+p_405s+p_406s+p_409s+p_412s+p_413s+p_415s.

eco3=p_410s+p_411s

eco4=p_416s+p_501s

eco5=p_703s

eco6=p_408s

Eco=eco1+eco2+eco3+eco4+eco5+eco6:

SOC [position in Dataset: 1694-1699]

main content code's share including all sub-codes for all political levels combined, for all issues related to welfare and morality

soc1=p_603s+p_605s+p_606s+p_608s

soc2=p_602s+p_604s+p_607s

soc3=p_505s+p_507s+p_702s

soc4=p_502s+p_503s+p_504s+p_506s+p_701s

soc5=p_704s+p_705s+p_706s soc=soc1+soc2+soc3+soc4+soc5:

FOR [position in Dataset: 1700-1705]

main content code's share including all sub-codes for all political levels combined, for all issues related to external relations and way of life (positive)

for1=p_104s

for2=p_103s+p_105s+p_106s

for3=p_109s+p_110s+p_601s

for4=p_107s+p_108s

for5=p_101s+p_102s

for=for1+for2+for3+for4+for5:

RILE_VOL [position im Dataset: 1706-1707]

(Identical to MRG coding)

left-right-position of party as given in Klingemann/Volkens (2001).

,right': vol_r=pol1+eco1+soc1+soc3+for1.

,left': vol_l=pol2+eco2+soc2+soc4+for2.

RILE_VOL [position im Dataset: 1708]

(Identical to MRG coding)

left-right-position of party as given in Klingemann/Volkens (2001).

,right': vol_r=pol1+eco1+soc1+soc3+for1.

,left': vol_l=pol2+eco2+soc2+soc4+for2.

rile_vol= vol_r -vol_l

VAL_EUI [position in Dataset: 1709]

all EU Institutions combined

val_eui=p_306s+p_307s+p_308s+p_309s+p_310s+p_311s+p_312+p_313+p_314s+p_315s

VAL_LM [position in Dataset: 1710]

labour migration (positive and negative)

val_lm=p_4082+p_4083

VAL_SM [position in Dataset: 1711]
single market (positive and negative)
val_sm=p_4084+p_4085

VAL_MU [position in Dataset: 1712]
monetary union (positive and negative)
val_mu=p_4086+p_4087

VAL_CJ [position in Dataset: 1713]
Creating Jobs
val_cj= p_4081

POL12DIF [position in Dataset: 1714]
difference between percentage of freedom and human rights issues and democracy issue domains
pol12dif=poll1-pol2.

SOC12DIF [position in Dataset: 1715]
difference between percentage of traditional and libertarian issue dimensions
soc12dif=soc1-soc2.

SOC34DIF [position in Dataset: 1716]
difference between percentage of pro and anti social spending issue domains
soc34dif=soc3-soc4.

ECO12DIF [position in Dataset: 1717]
difference between percentage of ate vs. market economic issue domains
eco12dif=eco1-eco2

FOR12DIF [position in Dataset: 1718]
difference between percentage of pro and anti military interventionism issue domains
for12dif=for1-for2.

REV [position in Dataset: 1719-1727]
These "revised" variables have been created to exclude the sub-categories developed for 2004 from longitudinal analyses. This applies to the following four codes 101, 102, 107 and 109.
The variables rev_202, rev_108 and rev_110 have been created for comparisons with the MRG-Dataset.

REV 2_107 [position in Dataset: 1719]
Revised 2_107
rev2_107=p2_107s+p2_1012
Variable created to include the sub-category "2-1012 Foreign Special Relationship to Russia: Positive" (developed for 2004) for longitudinal analyses.
missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Values available only for 2004)

REV 107 [position in Dataset: 1720]
Revised 107
rev107=p_107s+p2_1012
Variable created to include the sub-category "2-1012 Foreign Special Relationship to Russia: Positive" (developed for 2004) for longitudinal analyses.
missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Values available only for 2004)

REV 2_101 [position in Dataset: 1721]
Revised 2_101
rev2_101=p2_1011
Variable created to exclude the sub-category "2-1012 Foreign Special Relationship to Russia: Positive" (developed for 2004) from longitudinal analyses.
missing values: -777=unknown

-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Values available only for 2004)

REV 2_109 [position in Dataset: 1722]

Revised 2_109

rev2_109=p_109s+p2_1022

Variable created to include the sub-category “2-1022 Foreign Special Relationship to Russia: Negative” (developed for 2004) for longitudinal analyses.

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Values available only for 2004)

REV 109 [position in Dataset: 1723]

Revised 109

rev109=p_109s+p2_1022

Variable created to include the sub-category “2-1022 Foreign Special Relationship to Russia: Negative” (developed for 2004) for longitudinal analyses.

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Values available only for 2004)

REV 2_102 [position in Dataset: 1724]

Revised 2_102

rev2_102=p_1021

Variable created to exclude the sub-category “2-1022 Foreign Special Relationship to Russia: Negative” (developed for 2004) from longitudinal analyses.

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Values available only for 2004)

REV 202 [position in Dataset: 1725]

Revised 202

rev202=p_202s+p_306

Variable created for comparisons with the MRG-Dataset. The MRG Coding Scheme does not contain the category “2-306 Competences of the European Parliament: Positive” which would fall into the code “202 Democracy”.

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

REV 108 [position in Dataset: 1726]

Revised 108

rev108=p_108s+p2_203+p_3021+p_306s+p_308s+p_310s+p_312s+p_314s+p_316s+p2_4041+p_4084+p_4086+p2_601+p1_602

Variable summarising percentages of pro-EU issues has been created for comparisons with the MRG-Dataset.

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

REV 110 [position in Dataset: 1727]

Revised 110

rev110=p_110s+p2_204+p_3011+p_307s+p_309s+p_311s+p_313s+p_315s+p_317s+p_318s+p2_4011+p_4085+p_4087+p2_602+p1_601

Variable summarising percentages of anti-EU issues has been created for comparisons with the MRG-Dataset.

missing values: -777=unknown
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable

V_EUDIF [position in Dataset: 1728]

Voter's attitude to European Unification

Consists of two variables from the EES-Dataset:

“Voter`s attitude to European Unification” and “Which Party voted”
missing values: -777=unknown (no value existing)
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Values available only for 2004)

V_EUDIFP [position in Dataset: 1729]
Perception of party to European Unification
(Variable taken from the EES-Dataset)
missing values: -777=unknown (no value existing)
-888=inapplicable
-999=unavailable (Values available only for 2004)

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.