



European Election Studies 1979-2014: Manifesto Project

1979-2014 Euromanifesto Study Documentation

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

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Acknowledgement

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

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

The 2014 wave of the EM Project was funded by *EUENGAGE*. *EUENGAGE* has received funding from the European Union's *Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme* under grant agreement No. 649281 — *EUENGAGE* — H2020-EURO-2014-2015/H2020-EURO-SOCIETY-2014. *EUENGAGE* aims at inquiring into the current tensions between supranational EU governance and Eurosceptic popular mobilisation at national level. It seeks to propose remedial actions based on sound empirical research on the relationship between public opinion and (supra)national political elites. In this perspective, *EUENGAGE* applies an interactive, dynamic, multilevel, and replicable quasi-experimental research design using a variety of instruments and techniques. This design allows not only to study the process of representation in vivo, but also to experiment how innovative and efficient interactions between citizens and politicians can increase both the awareness of citizens of

¹ For more information on the *European Election Studies* (EES) see <http://eeshomepage.net/>.

² For more information on the *GESIS Data Archive* see www.gesis.org/en. The EES homepage provides direct links to EES data and documentations, see <http://eeshomepage.net/>.

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

³For more information on EUENGAGE see <http://www.euengage.eu/>.

Introduction

This document describes the latest wave of integration of the *Euromanifesto Project* (EM Project). This project aims at collecting all euromanifestos (party programs) issued by political parties and the European groups ahead of elections to the European Parliament (EP) in all EU member countries. This document contains information on the selection of parties and party programs, and enumerates the actual coded manifestos. Since Croatia joined the EU in 2013, 28 countries are members of the EU. The EM Project has coded 977 manifestos from 337 political parties since the first EP elections in 1979. Table 1 provides some information about how many party entries occurred per each EP election. It clearly shows that the eastern enlargement of the EU in 2004 resulted in the highest number of new party entries into the EP. In the following, we describe the latest integration in detail, which took place in line with the 2014 EP elections. That is, we explain the two-step coding procedure (unitizing and coding) and refer to specific coding problems and difficulties. We also provide an extensive documentation of the fourth edition of the *Euromanifestos Coding Scheme* (EMCS), which was used by the coders and represents the latest version of the coding scheme. The primary integration of the data, collected over the course of the last 37 years, occurred in 2014 and 2015 after some major changes in the coding strategy took place in line with the data collection to the 2009 EP elections. The core team of the EM Project then harmonised the two datasets from 1979 through 2004 and from 2009. For detailed information on a comparison of the former paper-and-pencil approach with the modified approach which makes use of an online coding routine, please consult the *1979-2009 Euromanifesto Project Documentation* on the EES website.⁴

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

⁴For more information on the primary integration process see <http://eeshomepage.net/euromanifesto-study/>.

Table 1 Party Entries per Election Year.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Party Entries</i>	<i>Party Entries (%)</i>	<i>Cumulative Party Entries</i>	<i>Cumulative Party Entries (%)</i>
<i>1979</i>	41	12.17	41	12.17
<i>1984</i>	14	4.15	55	16.32
<i>1987</i>	7	2.08	62	18.40
<i>1989</i>	18	5.34	80	23.74
<i>1994</i>	25	7.42	105	31.16
<i>1995</i>	7	2.08	112	33.23
<i>1996</i>	11	3.26	123	36.50
<i>1999</i>	22	6.53	145	43.03
<i>2004</i>	98	29.08	243	72.11
<i>2009</i>	42	12.46	285	84.57
<i>2014</i>	52	15.43	337	100.00

1 General Information

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

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

In 2000, Hermann Schmitt began to make use of this MRG/CMP approach with respect to manifestos of political parties that participate in EP elections. The *Euromanifesto Project* (EM Project) at the *Mannheim Centre for European Social Research* (MZES) has since strived to collect and code election programs of all parties ever represented in the European Parliament. The standard MRG/CMP coding frame was modified by the coordinators of the EM Project for two reasons:⁵ on the one hand, the *Euromanifestos Coding Scheme* (EMCS) aims at maintenance of comparability with the MRG/CMP approach. On the other hand, it is to open the opportunity to grasp EU-specific content absent in national manifestos.

1.1 Selection of Parties

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

⁵ Wüst and Volkens (2003) describe the modifications of the MRG/CMP coding frame in detail. See Wüst, Andreas M. and Andrea Volkens. 2003. "Euromanifesto Coding Instructions" In *MZES Working Paper No. 64*.

a party in a given party system.⁶ Coalition potential is (1) the actual or former membership in a government or (2) the possibility (feasibility) of becoming a government party. Blackmail potential refers to a party's impact on "the tactics of party competition particularly when it alters the direction of the competition—by determining a switch from centripetal to centrifugal competition either leftward, rightward, or in both directions—of the governing-oriented parties." The MRG/CMP project makes use of these criteria.

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

1.2 Selection of Manifestos

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

- Party manifestos cover a wide range of themes, problems, and political positions and, therefore, contain a "set of key central statements."⁷
- Party manifestos are authoritative statements of party policies because party conventions usually ratify them.
- Party manifestos comprise statements that represent the whole party, not just individual party members or one of its factions.
- Political parties usually release party manifestos before elections. This enables studies of changes in issue emphases and policy positions in a diachronic perspective.

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

⁶ Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems. A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (cf. especially pp. 121-125).

⁷ Budge, Ian, David Robertson, and Derek Hearl (eds.). 1987. *Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial*

Analysis of Post-War Election Programs in 19 Democracies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

The next chapter reports all party manifestos and alternative documents collected between 1979 through 2014. The EM Project saved them as PDF-files and ASCII-files and made them accessible on demand.⁸

2 Coded Manifestos

<i>EMCS</i>	<i>Initials</i>	<i>Party Name</i>	<i>Collected</i> ⁹
Europe			
10100	<i>GREEN-EFA</i>	Group of the Greens - European Free Alliance	1989-2014
10200	<i>GUE-NGL</i>	Confederal Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left	2009
10300	<i>PES</i>	Party of European Socialists	1979-2014
10400	<i>ALDE</i>	Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	1979-2014
10600	<i>EPP</i>	European People's Party	1979-2014
10610	<i>ECR</i>	European Conservatives and Reformist Group	2014
10700	<i>UEN</i>	Union for Europe of the Nations Group	2009
10710	<i>EFDD</i>	Europe of Freedom and Democracy	2014
10950	<i>NI</i>	Non-attached Members	2009
Sweden			
11110	<i>MP</i>	Miljöpartiet de Gröna <i>Greens</i>	1995-2014
11220	<i>V</i>	Vänsterpartiet <i>Left Party</i>	1995-2014
11320	<i>S</i>	Sverige Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti <i>Social Democrats</i>	1995-2014
11420	<i>FP</i>	Folkpartiet Liberalerna <i>Liberal People's Party</i>	1995-2014
11520	<i>KD</i>	Kristdemokraterna <i>Christian Democrats</i>	1995-2014
11620	<i>M</i>	Moderata Samlingspartiet <i>Moderate Coalition Party</i>	1995-2014
11710	<i>SD</i>	Sverigedemokraterna <i>Sweden Democrats</i>	2014
11810	<i>C</i>	Centerpartiet	1995-2014

⁸ If interested, please send an email to euromanifestos@mzes.uni-mannheim.de.

⁹ First year and last year in which manifestos of the respective party were collected by the EM Project.

11951	<i>FI</i>	<i>Centre Party</i> Feministiskt Initiativ <i>Feminist Initiative</i>	2014
11952	<i>JL</i>	Junilistan <i>June List</i>	2004-2014
11953	<i>PP</i>	Piratpartiet <i>Pirate Party</i>	2009-2014
Denmark			
13230	<i>SF</i>	Socialistisk Folkeparti <i>Socialist People's Party</i>	1979-2014
13320	<i>S</i>	Socialdemokraterne <i>Social Democrats</i>	1979-2014
13330	<i>CD</i>	Centrumdemokraterne <i>Centre Democrats</i>	1984-1999
13410	<i>RV</i>	Det Radikale Venstre <i>Danish Social Liberal Party</i>	1979-2014
13420	<i>V</i>	Venstre - Danmarks Liberale Parti <i>Liberal Party</i>	1979-2014
13620	<i>KF</i>	Det Konservative Folkeparti <i>Conservative People's Party</i>	1979-2014
13710	<i>DF</i>	Dansk Folkeparti <i>Danish People's Party</i>	1999-2014
13901	<i>Siumut</i>	Siumut <i>Forward</i>	1979
13951	<i>FrP</i>	Fremskridtspartiet <i>Progress Party</i>	1979-1999
13954	<i>FB</i>	Folkebevægelsen Mod EU <i>People's Movement against the EU</i>	1979-2014
13955	<i>JuBe</i>	JuniBevægelsen <i>June Movement</i>	1994-2009
Finland			
14110	<i>VIHR</i>	Vihreä Liitto <i>Green League</i>	1996-2014
14223	<i>VAS</i>	Vasemmistoliitto <i>Left Alliance</i>	1996-2014
14320	<i>SDP</i>	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue <i>Social Democratic Party of Finland</i>	1996-2014
14520	<i>KD</i>	Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit <i>Finnish Christian Democrats</i>	1999-2014
14620	<i>KOK</i>	Kansallinen Kokoomus <i>National Coalition Party</i>	1996-2014
14701	<i>Ps</i>	Perussuomalaiset <i>True Finns</i>	2009-2014
14810	<i>KESK</i>	Suomen Keskusta <i>Centre of Finland</i>	1996-2014
14901	<i>RKP-SFP</i>	Ruotsalainen Kansanpuolue - Svenska Folkpartiet I Finland <i>Swedish People's Party of Finland</i>	1996-2014
Belgium			
21111	<i>Ecolo</i>	Écologistes Confédérés	1984-2014

		<i>Confederated Ecologists</i>	
21112	<i>Groen</i>	Groen <i>Green</i>	1984-2014
21321	<i>sp.a</i>	Socialistische Partij Anders <i>Socialist Party Different</i>	1979-2014
21322	<i>PS</i>	Parti Socialiste <i>Socialist Party</i>	1979-2014
21323	<i>SPIRIT</i>	SPIRIT	2004
21421	<i>Open VLD</i>	Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten <i>Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats</i>	1979-2014
21425	<i>PRL-FDF-MCC</i>	Parti Réformateur Libéral - Fédéralistes Démocrates Francophones - Mouvement des Citoyens pour le Changement <i>Liberal Reformist Party – Francophone Democratic Federalists – Movement of Citizens for Change</i>	1999
21426	<i>FDF-PRL</i>	Fédéralistes Démocrates Francophones - Parti Réformateur Libéral <i>Francophone Democratic Federalists - Liberal Reformist Party</i>	1994
21427	<i>MR</i>	Mouvement Réformateur <i>Reformist Movement</i>	2004-2014
21428	<i>LDD</i>	Lijst Dedecker <i>List Dedecker</i>	2009
21520	<i>CSP</i>	Christlich Soziale Partei <i>Christian Social Party</i>	2014
21521	<i>CD&V</i>	Christen-Demokratisch & Vlaams <i>Christian Democrats & Flemish</i>	1979-2014
21522	<i>cdH</i>	Centre Démocrate Humaniste <i>Humanist Democratic Centre</i>	1989-2014
21710	<i>FN</i>	Front National <i>National Front</i>	1999-2009
21912	<i>FDF</i>	Front Démocratique de Francophones <i>Democratic Front of the Francophone</i>	1984-1989
21913	<i>N-VA</i>	Nieuw-Vlaamse-Alliantie <i>New Flemish Alliance</i>	1979-2014
21914	<i>VB</i>	Vlaams Belang <i>Flemish Interest</i>	1989-2014
21915	<i>SPIRIT</i>	SPIRIT	1999
21925	<i>FDF-RW</i>	Fédéralistes Démocrates Francophones - Rassemblement Wallonie <i>Francophone Democratic Federalists - Rallye Wallonia</i>	1979
The Netherlands			
22110	<i>GL</i>	GroenLinks <i>Green Left</i>	1994-2014
22120	<i>PvdD</i>	Partij voor de Dieren <i>Party for the Animals</i>	2014
22125	<i>Regenboog</i>	Regenboog <i>Rainbow</i>	1989
22210	<i>SP</i>	Socialistische Partij	1989-2014

		<i>Socialist Party</i>	
22225	<i>CU-SGP</i>	ChristenUnie - Staatskundig Gereformeerde Partij <i>Christian Union - Reformed Political Party</i>	1984-2014
22310	<i>PPR</i>	Politieke Partij Radikalen <i>Radical Political Party</i>	1979
22311	<i>CPN</i>	Communistische Partij van Nederland <i>Communist Party of the Netherlands</i>	1979
22320	<i>PvdA</i>	Partij van de Arbeid <i>Labour Party</i>	1979-2014
22330	<i>D66</i>	Democraten 66 <i>Democrats 66</i>	1979-2014
22420	<i>VVD</i>	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie <i>People's Party for Freedom and Democracy</i>	1994-2014
22521	<i>CDA</i>	Christen Democratisch Appèl <i>Christian Democratic Appeal</i>	1994-2014
22526	<i>RPF</i>	Reformatorische Politieke Federatie <i>Reformatory Political Federation</i>	1984-1989
22527	<i>SGP</i>	Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij <i>Reformed Political Party</i>	1979-1989
22528	<i>GPV</i>	Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond <i>Reformed Political Union</i>	1979-1989
22700	<i>LPF</i>	Lijst Pim Fortuyn <i>List Pim Fortuyn</i>	2004
22721	<i>PVV</i>	Partij voor de Vrijheid <i>Party for Freedom</i>	2009-2014
22951	<i>ET</i>	Europa Transparent <i>Europe Transparent</i>	2004
Luxembourg			
23113	<i>DG</i>	Déi Gréng <i>The Greens</i>	1984-2014
23320	<i>LSAP</i>	Letzebuergesch Sozialistesche Arbechterpartei <i>Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party</i>	1979-2014
23420	<i>DP</i>	Demokratesch Partei <i>Democratic Party</i>	1979-2014
23520	<i>CSV</i>	Chreschtlich Sozial Vollekspartei <i>Christian Social People's Party</i>	1979-2014
23951	<i>ADR</i>	Aktiounskomitee fir Demokratie a Rentegerechtegkeet <i>Action Committee for Democracy and Fair Pensions</i>	2004
France			
31110	<i>Les Verts</i>	Les Verts <i>The Greens</i>	1999-2004
31112	<i>EE</i>	Europe Écologie <i>Europe Ecology</i>	2009
31114	<i>TSR</i>	Le terre sinon rien <i>The World without Nothing</i>	2004
31115	<i>EELV</i>	Europe Écologie - Les Verts <i>Europe Ecology - The Greens</i>	2014
31220	<i>PCF</i>	Parti Communiste Français	1979-2004

		<i>Communist Party of France</i>	
31221	LO	Lutte Ouvrière <i>Workers' Struggle</i>	1999-2014
31222	LCR	Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire <i>Communist Revolutionary Ligue</i>	1999
31223	FG	Front de Gauche <i>Left Front</i>	2004-2014
31320	PS	Parti Socialiste <i>Socialist Party</i>	1979-2009
31322	PRG	Parti Radical de Gauche <i>Radical Party of the Left</i>	1994-2004
31323	MDC	Mouvement Républicain et Citoyen <i>Republican and Civic Movement</i>	1994
31324	PS-PRG	Parti Socialiste - Parti Radical de Gauche <i>Socialist Party - Radical Party of the Left</i>	2014
31624	Nouvelle UDF	Nouvelle Union pour la Démocratie Française <i>New Union for the French Democracy</i>	1999-2004
31625	RPR	Rassemblement pour la République <i>Rallye for the Republic</i>	1979-1984
31629	MPF	Mouvement pour la France <i>Movement for France</i>	2004
31635	RPR-UDF	Rassemblement pour la République - Union pour la Démocratie Française <i>Rallye for the Republic - Union for the French Democracy</i>	1989-1994
31645	UMP	Union pour un Mouvement Populaire <i>Union for a Popular Movement</i>	1999-2014
31720	FN	Front National <i>National Front</i>	1994-2014
31721	UFCN	Union Française pour la Cohésion Nationale <i>French Union for National Cohesion</i>	2004
31950	MoDem-UDI	Mouvement Démocrate - Union des Démocrates et Indépendants <i>Democratic Movement - Union of Democrats and Independents</i>	2009-2014
31951	Libertas	Libertas France <i>Liberty France</i>	2009
31952	RPF	Rassemblement pour la France et l'Indépendance de l'Europe <i>Rally for France and Independence from Europe</i>	1994-2004
31953	CPNT	Chasse, Pêche, Nature, Traditions <i>Hunting, Fishing, Nature, Traditions</i>	1989-2004
31956	OAC	L'Ouest au Cœur <i>The West at Heart</i>	2004
31957	N.S.	Nouvelle Solidarité <i>New Solidarity</i>	2004
31958	AOM	Alliance des Outre-Mers <i>Alliance of the Overseas Departments and Territories</i>	2009
31959	HZ	Herritarren Zerrenda <i>List of Fellow Citizens</i>	2004

31961	<i>EDE</i>	Europe Démocratie Espéranto <i>Europe Democracy Esperanto</i>	2004
31962	<i>PSP</i>	Parti des Socioprofessionnels <i>Party of the Socioprofessional</i>	2004
31963	<i>DpE</i>	Diversité pour l'Europe <i>Diversity for Europe</i>	2004
Italy			
32010	<i>M5S</i>	Movimento 5 Stelle <i>Five Star Movement</i>	2014
32110	<i>FdV</i>	Federazione de Verdi <i>Federation of the Greens</i>	1994-2004
32210	<i>L'Altra Europa</i>	L'Altra Europa con Tsipras <i>The Other Europe with Tsipras</i>	2014
32212	<i>PRC</i>	Partito della Rifondazione Comunista <i>Communist Refoundation Party</i>	1994-2004
32213	<i>PdCI</i>	Partito dei Comunisti Italiani <i>Party of the Italian Communists</i>	1999-2004
32220	<i>PCI</i>	Partito Comunista Italiano <i>Italian Communist Party</i>	1979
32221	<i>PDS</i>	Partito Democratico della Sinistra <i>Democratic Party of the Left</i>	1994-1999
32230	<i>LCA</i>	Lista Comunista e Anticapitalista <i>Communist and Anticapitalist List</i>	2009
32310	<i>Bonino-Pannella</i>	Partito Radicale - Lista Bonino-Pannella <i>Radical Party - List Bonino-Pannella</i>	1999-2009
32320	<i>PSI</i>	Socialisti Democratici Italiani <i>Italian Democratic Socialists</i>	1989
32331	<i>PD</i>	Partito Democratico <i>Democratic Party</i>	2009-2014
32333	<i>SEL</i>	Sinistra, Ecologia e Libertà <i>Left, Ecology and Freedom</i>	2009
32411	<i>Sgarbi</i>	Lista Pri-Liberal/Sgarbi <i>Liberal List/Sgarbi</i>	2004
32422	<i>IdV</i>	Italia dei Valori - Lista Di Pietro <i>Italy of Values - List Di Pietro</i>	2004-2009
32423	<i>Dem</i>	I Democratici <i>The Democrats</i>	1999
32426	<i>UD.EUR</i>	Unione Democratici Europei <i>European Democratic Union</i>	2004
32435	<i>FdL-PRI</i>	Federazione dei Liberali - Partito Repubblicano Italiano <i>Federation of the Liberals - Italian Republican Party</i>	1999
32445	<i>Ulivo</i>	Ulivo <i>Olive Tree</i>	1999
32446	<i>DS-SDI-La Margherita-MRE</i>	Democratici di Sinistra - Socialisti Democratici Italiani - La Margherita - Movimento Repubblicani Europei <i>Democrats of the Left - Italian Democratic Socialists - The Daisy - European Republican Movement</i>	2004

32513	<i>Patto Segni</i>	Patto Segni <i>Segni Pact</i>	1994-2004
32520	<i>PPI</i>	Partito Popolare Italiano <i>Italian People's Party</i>	1984-1999
32521	<i>CCD</i>	Centro Cristiano Democratico <i>Christian Democratic Centre</i>	1999
32523	<i>UDC</i>	Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e dei Democratici di Centro <i>Union of the Christian and Centre Democrats</i>	2004-2009
32610	<i>FI</i>	Forza Italia <i>Go Italy</i>	1994-2004
32630	<i>FI</i>	Forza Italia <i>Go Italy</i>	2009-2014
32710	<i>AN</i>	Alleanza Nazionale <i>National Alliance</i>	1994-2004
32720	<i>LN</i>	Lega Nord <i>Northern League</i>	1994-2014
32912	<i>SVP</i>	Südtiroler Volkspartei <i>South Tyrolean People's Party</i>	1999-2014
32953	<i>Autonomia</i>	L'Autonomia <i>Autonomy</i>	2009
Spain			
33101	<i>Los Verdes</i>	Partido Verde Europeo	2004-2009
33110	<i>IP</i>	Coalición Izquierda Plural <i>Coalition of the Plural Left</i>	2014
33120	<i>PE</i>	Coalición Primavera Europea <i>Coalition Primavera Europea</i>	2014
33210	<i>Podemos</i>	Podemos <i>Podemos</i>	2014
33220	<i>IU-ICV</i>	Izquierda Unida	1989-2009
33320	<i>PSOE-PSC</i>	Partido Socialista Obrero Español - Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya <i>Spanish Socialist Workers' Party + Party of the Socialists of Catalonia</i>	1987-2014
33410	<i>C's</i>	Ciudadanos - Partido de la Ciudadanía <i>Citizens - Party of the Citizens</i>	2014
33440	<i>UPyD</i>	Unión Progreso y Democracia <i>Union, Progress, and Democracy</i>	2009-2014
33512	<i>CDS</i>	Centro Democrático y Social - Coalición Foro	1987-2009
33610	<i>PP</i>	Partido Popular <i>People's Party</i>	1987-2014
33611	<i>CiU</i>	Convèrgencia i Unió	1987-2009
33902	<i>PNV-EAJ</i>	Partido Nacionalista Vasco - Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea	1989-2009
33903	<i>EA</i>	Eusko Alkartasuna	1994-2004
33905	<i>ERC</i>	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	1989-2009
33907	<i>Batasuna</i>	Batasuna	1994-2004
33911	<i>BNG</i>	Bloque Nacionalista Galego	1994-2009
33913	<i>ARM</i>	Agrupación Ruiz-Mateos	1994
33914	<i>CC</i>	Coalición Canaria	2004

33930	<i>EdIP</i>	Europa de los Pueblos	1989-2004
33935	<i>plEdIP</i>	Por la Europa de los Pueblos	1994
33941	<i>Galeusca</i>	Galeusca	2004
33950	<i>CE</i>	Coalición Europea	2004
33960	<i>LPD</i>	Coalición Los Pueblos Deciden <i>Coalition The Peoples Decide</i>	2014
Greece			
34210	<i>K.K.E.</i>	Kommounistiko Komma Ellados <i>Communist Party of Greece</i>	1984-2014
34211	<i>SY.RIZA.</i>	Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras <i>Coalition of the Radical Left</i>	1999-2014
34312	<i>AN.E.L.</i>	Anexartitoi Ellines <i>Independent Greeks</i>	2014
34313	<i>PA.SO.K.</i>	Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima	1984-2009
34314	<i>DI.K.KI.</i>	Dimokratiki Kinoniku Kinima	1999
34315	<i>ELIA-DI.PA.</i>	Elia Dimokratiki Parataxi <i>Olive Tree</i>	2014
34410	<i>To Potami</i>	To Potami <i>The River</i>	2014
34511	<i>N.D.</i>	Nea Dimokratia <i>New Democracy</i>	1999-2014
34512	<i>POL.AN.</i>	Politiki Anixi	1999
34701	<i>O.P.-K.P.E.</i>	Oikologoi Prasinoi - Komma Peiraton Elladas <i>Ecologist Greens - Pirate Party of Greece</i>	2009-2014
34702	<i>C.A.</i>	Laikos Syndesmos - Chrysi Avgi <i>People's Association - Golden Dawn</i>	2014
34703	<i>LA.O.S.</i>	Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos <i>Popular Orthodox Rally</i>	2004-2014
34801	<i>D.P.E.</i>	Dimokratiki Perifereiaki Enosi	2004
Portugal			
35110	<i>PEV</i>	Partido Ecologista - Os Verdes	1994-1999
35120	<i>MPT</i>	Partido da Terra <i>Earth Party</i>	2014
35220	<i>PCP</i>	Partido Comunista Português	1987-1999
35223	<i>B.E.</i>	Bloco do Esquerda <i>Bloc of the Left</i>	2004-2014
35225	<i>CDU</i>	Coligação Democratica Unitaria <i>Unified Democratic Coalition</i>	2004-2014
35311	<i>PS</i>	Partido Socialista Português <i>Portuguese Socialist Party</i>	1989-2014
35313	<i>PSD</i>	Partido Social Democrata	1987-2009
35314	<i>PP</i>	Partido Popular	1987-2009
35319	<i>PSD-PP</i>	Partido Social Democrata - Partido Popular <i>Social Democratic Party - People's Party</i>	2004-2014
Cyprus			
36110	<i>KOP</i>	Kinima Oikologoi Perivallontistoi	2004
36220	<i>AKEL</i>	Anorthotikó Kómma Ergazómenou Laou <i>Progressive Party of Working People</i>	2004-2014
36322	<i>EDEK</i>	Kinima Sosialdimokraton	2004-2014

36420	<i>DIKO</i>	<i>Socialist Party of Cyprus</i> Dimokratikó Kómma <i>Democratic Party</i>	2004-2014
36510	<i>DISY</i>	Dimokratikos Sinagermos <i>Democratic Rally</i>	2004-2014
Malta			
37320	<i>PL</i>	Partit Laburista <i>Labour Party</i>	2004-2014
37520	<i>PN</i>	Partit Nazzjonalista <i>Nationalist Party</i>	2004-2014
Germany			
41112	<i>ÖDP</i>	Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei <i>Ecologist Democratic Party</i>	2014
41113	<i>GRÜNE</i>	Bündnis 90 - Die Grünen <i>Alliance 90 - The Greens</i>	1979-2014
41221	<i>Die Linke</i>	Die Linke <i>The Left</i>	1994-2014
41320	<i>SPD</i>	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands <i>Social Democratic Party of Germany</i>	1979-2014
41420	<i>FDP</i>	Freie Demokratische Partei <i>Free Democratic Party</i>	1979-2014
41521	<i>CDU</i>	Christlich Demokratische Union <i>Christian Democratic Union of Germany</i>	1979-2014
41522	<i>CSU</i>	Christlich Soziale Union <i>Christian Social Union of Germany</i>	1979-2014
41701	<i>REP</i>	Die Republikaner	1989-2009
41710	<i>NPD</i>	Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands <i>National Democratic Party of Germany</i>	2014
41910	<i>FW</i>	Freie Wähler <i>Free Voters</i>	2014
41950	<i>AfD</i>	Alternative für Deutschland <i>Alternative for Germany</i>	2014
41951	<i>Piraten</i>	Piratenpartei Deutschland <i>Pirate Party of Germany</i>	2014
41952	<i>Familie</i>	Familienpartei Deutschlands <i>Family Party of Germany</i>	2014
41953	<i>Die Partei</i>	Die Partei <i>The Party</i>	2014
41954	<i>Tierschutz</i>	Partei Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz <i>Animal Protection Party</i>	2014
Austria			
42110	<i>GRÜNE</i>	Die Grünen <i>The Greens</i>	1996-2014
42220	<i>LINKE</i>	Linke	2004
42320	<i>SPÖ</i>	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs <i>Social Democratic Party of Austria</i>	1996-2014
42420	<i>FPÖ</i>	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs <i>Freedom Party of Austria</i>	1996-2014
42421	<i>LIF</i>	Liberales Forum	1996-2009
42422	<i>NEOS</i>	NEOS Das Neue Österreich und Liberales Forum	2014

		<i>NEOS The New Austria and Liberal Forum</i>	
42520	<i>ÖVP</i>	Österreichische Volkspartei <i>Austrian People's Party</i>	1996-2014
42951	<i>HPM</i>	Liste Hans-Peter Martin	2004-2009
United Kingdom			
51110	<i>Greens</i>	Green Party	1989-2014
51320	<i>Lab</i>	Labour Party	1979-2014
51340	<i>SDLP</i>	Social Democratic and Labour Party	1979-2014
51415	<i>LP-SDP</i>	Liberal Party - Social Democratic Party	1984
51421	<i>LibDems</i>	Liberal Democrats	1989-2014
51620	<i>Cons</i>	Conservative Party	1979-2014
51701	<i>BNP</i>	British National Party	2009-2014
51901	<i>PC</i>	Plaid Cymru <i>Party of Wales</i>	1984-2014
51902	<i>SNP</i>	Scottish National Party	1989-2014
51903	<i>DUP</i>	Democratic Unionist Party	1984-2014
51904	<i>UUP</i>	Ulster Unionist Party	1984-2014
51951	<i>UKIP</i>	United Kingdom Independence Party	1994-2014
51952	<i>Respect</i>	Respect - The Unity Coalition	2004
51953	<i>SF</i>	Sinn Féin We Ourselves <i>We Ourselves</i>	2004-2014
Ireland			
53110	<i>GP</i>	Green Party - Comahoantas Glass	1999-2014
53220	<i>SP</i>	Socialist Party - Páirtí Sóisialach	1989-2014
53320	<i>Labour</i>	Irish Labour Party - Páirtí an Lucht Oibre	1979-2014
53420	<i>PD</i>	Progressive Democrats - An Páirtí Daonlathach	1994
53520	<i>FG</i>	Gaelic Nation - Fine Gael	1979-2014
53620	<i>FF</i>	Soldiers of Destiny - Fianna Fáil	1979-2014
53951	<i>SF</i>	We Ourselves - Sinn Féin	2004-2014
Bulgaria			
80220	<i>BSP</i>	Balgarska Socialisticheska Partija <i>Bulgarian Socialist Party</i>	2009-2014
80410	<i>SK</i>	Sinjata Koalicija	2009
80420	<i>DPS</i>	Dvizhenie za Prava i Swobodi <i>Movement for Rights and Freedoms</i>	2009-2014
80610	<i>RB</i>	Reformatorski Blok <i>Reformist Bloc</i>	2014
80620	<i>GERB</i>	Grazhdani za Evropejsko Razvitie na Bulgaria <i>Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria</i>	2009-2014
80630	<i>BBZ+VMRO- BND+ZNS +DG</i>	Balgarija bes Zensura + Bulgarsko Natsionalno Dvizhenie + Zemedelski Naroden Sajuz + Dvizhenie Gergyovden <i>Bulgaria Without Censorship + Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation-Bulgarian National Movement + Agrarian People's Union + St George's Day movement</i>	2014
80710	<i>Ataka</i>	Ataka <i>Attack</i>	2009-2014

80902	<i>NDSV</i>	Nazionalno Dwizhenie za Stabilnost i Prosperitet <i>National Movement Simeon II</i>	2009-2014
Croatia			
81110	<i>ORaH</i>	Održivi razvoj Hrvatske <i>Sustainable Development of Croatia</i>	2014
81310	<i>LC</i>	Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatske + Hrvatska Narodna Stranka – Liberalni Demokrati + Istarski Demokratski Sabor <i>Left Coalition (Social Democratic Party of Croatia + Croatian People's Party - Liberal Democrats + Istrian Democratic Assembly + Croatian Party of Pensioners)</i>	2014
81510	<i>RC</i>	Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica + Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka + Hrvatska stranka prava Ante Starčević <i>Right Coalition Croatian Democratic Union + Croatian Peasant Party + Croatian Party of Rights Dr. Ante Starčević)</i>	2014
Czech Republic			
82220	<i>KSČM</i>	Komunistická Strana Čech a Moravy <i>Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia</i>	2004-2014
82320	<i>ČSSD</i>	Česká Strana Sociálně Demokratická <i>Czech Social Democratic Party</i>	2004-2014
82321	<i>SNK-ED</i>	Sdružení Nezávislých a Evropských Demokrátů	2004-2009
82413	<i>ODS</i>	Občanská Demokratická Strana <i>Civic Democratic Party</i>	2004-2014
82414	<i>ANO2011</i>	ANO 2011 <i>Yes 2011</i>	2014
82415	<i>Svobodní</i>	Strana Svobodných Občanů <i>Party of Free Citizens</i>	2014
82424	<i>US+LiRA+ ODA+CZ</i>	Unie Svobody–Demokratická Unie + Liberální Reformní Strana + Občanská Demokratická Aliance + Cesta Změny	2004
82523	<i>KDU-ČSL</i>	Křesťanská a Demokratická Unie - Československá Strana Lidová <i>Christian and Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party</i>	2004-2014
82610	<i>TOP09-STAN</i>	TOP 09 - Starostové a Nezávislí <i>TOP 09 + Mayors and Independents</i>	2014
82952	<i>NEZ</i>	Nezávislí - Politické Hnutí	2004-2009
Estonia			
83410	<i>SDE</i>	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond <i>Social Democratic Party</i>	2004-2014
83411	<i>KESK</i>	Eesti Keskerakond <i>Estonian Centre Party</i>	2004-2014
83430	<i>ER</i>	Eesti Reformierakond <i>Estonian Reform Party</i>	2004-2014
83611	<i>ResP</i>	Ühendus Vabariigi Eest - Res Publica	2004
83612	<i>ERL</i>	Eestimaa Rahvaliid	2004
83710	<i>IL</i>	Erakond Isamaaliit	2004

83720	<i>IRL</i>	Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit <i>Union of Pro Patria and Res Publica</i>	2009-2014
Hungary			
86110	<i>Együtt-PM</i>	Együtt - a Korszakváltók Pártja + Párbeszéd Magyarországért <i>Together - Party for a New Era + Dialogue for Hungary</i>	2014
86120	<i>LMP</i>	Lehet Más a Politika <i>Politics Can Be Different</i>	2014
86220	<i>MSZP</i>	Magyar Szocialista Párt <i>Hungarian Socialist Party</i>	2004-2014
86310	<i>DK</i>	Demokratikus Koalíció <i>Democratic Coalition</i>	2014
86421	<i>FIDESZ</i>	Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége	2004
86422	<i>SZDSZ</i>	Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége	2004-2009
86521	<i>MDF</i>	Magyar Demokrata Forum	2004-2009
86524	<i>Fidesz-KDNP</i>	Fidesz Magyar Polgári Szövetség - Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt <i>Fidesz Hungarian Civic Union + Christian Democratic People's Party</i>	2009-2014
86701	<i>Jobbik</i>	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom <i>Movement for a Better Hungary</i>	2009-2014
Latvia			
87110	<i>ZZS</i>	Zaļo un Zemnieku Savienība <i>Union of Greens and Farmers</i>	2004-2014
87221	<i>Saskaņa</i>	Saskaņa Sociāldemokrātiskā partija (Saskaņas Centrs) <i>Harmony Social Democratic Party (Harmony Centre)</i>	2009-2014
87410	<i>LC</i>	Latvijas Ceļš	2004
87411	<i>V</i>	Partija Vienotība <i>Unity Party</i>	2014
87424	<i>LPP-LC</i>	Latvijas Pirmā Partija - Latvijas Ceļš	2009
87431	<i>JL</i>	Jaunais Laiks	2004-2009
87521	<i>LPP</i>	Latvijas Pirmā Partija	2004
87610	<i>TP</i>	Tautas Partija	2004-2009
87611	<i>PS</i>	Pilsoniska Savienība	2009
87710	<i>VL-TB/LNNK</i>	Nacionālā Apvienība Visu Latvijai! - Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK	2014
87723	<i>TB/LNNK</i>	Apvienība 'Tēvzemei un Brīvībai' <i>National Alliance All for Latvia! - Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK</i>	2004-2009
87951	<i>LKS</i>	Latvijas Krievu Savienība <i>Union of Russians in Latvia</i>	2004-2014
Lithuania			
88320	<i>LSDP</i>	Lietuvos Socialdemokratų Partija <i>Lithuanian Social Democratic Party</i>	2004-2014
88322	<i>DP</i>	Darbo Partija <i>Labour Party</i>	2004-2014

88410	NS	Naujoji Sąjunga	2004
88423	LRLS	Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų Sąjūdis <i>Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic</i>	2009-2014
88433	LiCS	Liberalų ir Centro Sąjunga <i>Liberal and Centre Union</i>	2004-2014
88521	LKD	Lietuvos Krikščionys Demokratai	2004
88522	PTT	Partija Tvarka ir Teisingumas <i>Order and Justice Party</i>	2004-2014
88523	KKSS	Krikščionių Konservatorių Socialinė Sąjunga	2004
88524	LVŽS	Lietuvos Valstiečių ir Žaliųjų Sąjunga <i>Lithuanian Peasant and Greens Union</i>	2004-2014
88620	TS	Tėvynės Sąjunga	2004
88621	TS-LKD	Tėvynės Sąjunga - Lietuvos Krikščionys Demokratai <i>Homeland Union - Lithuanian Christian Democrats</i>	2009-2014
88910	LRA-RA	Lenkų Rinkimų Akcijos ir Rusų Aljanso Koalicija Valdemaro Tomaševskio Blokas <i>Coalition of Electoral Action of Poles and Russian Alliance "Block of Valdemar Tomasevski"</i>	2014
88951	LLRA	Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcijos	2009
88952	LLRA-LRS	Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcijos ir Lietuvos Rusu Sąjungos Laolicijos Rinkimų Programa	2004
Poland			
92210	SLD-UP	Koalicija Sojuszu Lewicy Demokratycznej i Unii Pracy <i>Democratic Left Alliance - Labour Union</i>	2004-2014
92323	SDPL	Socjaldemokracja Polska	2004
92434	UW	Unia Wolności	2004
92435	PO	Platforma Obywatelska <i>Civic Platform</i>	2004-2014
92436	PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość <i>Law and Justice</i>	2004-2014
92437	PdP-CL	Porozumienie dla Przyszłości - Centro Lewica	2009
92622	SO	Samobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej	2004-2009
92710	KNP	Kongres Nowej Prawicy <i>Congress of the New Right</i>	2014
92713	LPR	Liga Polskich Rodzin	2004
92811	PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe <i>Polish People's Party</i>	2004-2014
Romania			
93323	PDL	Partidul Democrat Liberal <i>Democratic Liberal Party</i>	2009-2014
93430	PNL	Partidul Național Liberal <i>National Liberal Party</i>	2009-2014
93601	PSD+UNPR +PC	Partidul Social Democrat + Uniunea Națională pentru Progresul României + Partidul Conservator <i>Social Democratic Party + Democratic and Social Centre + People's Party</i>	2009-2014
93602	PMP	Partidul Mișcarea Populară <i>People's Movement Party</i>	2014

93712	<i>PRM</i>	Partidul România Mare	2009
93951	<i>RMDSZ</i>	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România <i>Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania</i>	2009-2014
Slovakia			
96220	<i>SDL</i>	Strana Demokratickej L'avice	2004
96222	<i>KSS</i>	Komunistická Strana Slovenska	2004
96410	<i>Most-Híd</i>	Most-Híd <i>Bridge</i>	2014
96423	<i>Smer-SD</i>	Smer - Sociálna Demokracia <i>Direction - Social Democracy</i>	2004-2014
96424	<i>ANO</i>	Alianca Nového Občana	2004
96521	<i>KDH</i>	Kresťansko-demokratické Hnutie <i>Christian Democratic Movement</i>	2004-2014
96523	<i>SDKÚ-DS</i>	Slovenská Demokratická a Kresťanská Únia - Demokratická Strana <i>Slovak Democratic and Christian Union - Democratic Party</i>	2004-2014
96524	<i>SF</i>	Free Forum	2004
96610	<i>SaS</i>	Sloboda a Solidarita <i>Freedom and Solidarity</i>	2014
96620	<i>NOVA+KDS +OKS</i>	NOVA + Kresťanskodemokratická Strana + Občianska Konzervatívna Strana <i>NOVA + Christian Democratic Party + Citizens' Conservative Party</i>	2014
96630	<i>OLaNO</i>	Obyčajní Ľudia a Nezávislé Osobnosti <i>Ordinary People and Independent Personalities</i>	2014
96710	<i>SNS</i>	Slovenská Národná Strana <i>Slovak National Party</i>	2009-2014
96711	<i>LS-HZDS</i>	L'udova strana Hnutie za Demokratické Slovensko	2004-2009
96955	<i>SMK-MKP</i>	Strana Maďarskej Komunity - Magyar Közösség Pártja <i>Party of the Hungarian Community</i>	2004-2014
Slovenia			
97320	<i>SDS</i>	Slovenska Demokratska Stranka <i>Slovenian Democratic Party</i>	2004-2014
97321	<i>SD</i>	Socialni Demokrati <i>Social Democrats</i>	2004-2014
97411	<i>Verjamem</i>	Verjamem <i>Believe!</i>	2014
97421	<i>LDS</i>	Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije	2004-2009
97431	<i>Zares</i>	Zares <i>For Real</i>	2009-2014
97510	<i>NSi-SLS</i>	Nova Slovenija - Slovenska Ljudska Stranka <i>New Slovenia + Slovenian People's Party</i>	2014
97522	<i>NSi</i>	Nova Slovenija - Krščanska Ljudska Stranka	2004-2009
97620	<i>SLS</i>	Slovenska Ljudska Stranka	2004-2009
97951	<i>DeSUS</i>	Demokratična Stranka Upokojencev Slovenije <i>Democratic Party of Retired Persons of Slovenia</i>	2014

3 EM Coding Procedure

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

New methodological findings helped modify the conventional EMCS coding scheme in 2009, taking these problems into account. Exclusiveness, exhaustiveness, and sequencing the coding procedure has since been taken seriously. The interested reader is referred to the *1979-2009 Euromanifesto Project Documentation* for detailed information on a comparison of the former paper-and-pencil approach with the modified approach which makes use of an online coding routine.¹⁰ The remainder of this chapter provides a short introduction into the *EM Coding Procedure* and highlights certain coding difficulties and decision rules.

3.1 The Coding Procedure

Content analysis is “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.”¹¹ The method can be applied to a wide range of different materials and research questions. The specific kind of internal, quantitative analysis undertaken in manifesto research derives from the question about what ideas, policies, issues, and concerns parties stress in their platforms. These coding methods aim at comparability over a wide range of countries irrespective of cultural and socioeconomic differences. Therefore, the EM Project uses a classification scheme with invariant general categories to cover the total content of party manifestos, thereby identifying statements of preference (arguments). The EMCS IV contains nine domains including different categories and occasional subcategories. Each category covers related issues in such a way that changes over time can be measured across parties and countries. Thus, the coding procedure comprises quantification (How many statements do parties make?) and classification (What kind of statements do parties make?) of party manifestos. The final step

¹⁰ See <http://eeshomepage.net/euromanifesto-study/>.

¹¹ Berelson, Bernard. 1971. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Hafner.

of the coding procedure is evaluation: each coder is asked to evaluate the content of a given manifesto after having unitized and classified it.

3.1.1 Quantification: Coding Unit

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

Example (1) ‘We make a stand for a democratic Europe.’
‘We support more rights for the European Parliament.’

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

Example (2) ‘We make a stand for a democratic Europe with more rights for the European Parliament.’

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

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

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

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

Example (4) ‘We make a stand for more democracy in Europe.’

‘We promote more rights for the European Parliament.’

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

Example (5) ‘In the European Union, we will

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.2 Classification: Euromanifestos Coding Scheme IV (EMCS IV)

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

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

Table 2 Examples of quasi-sentences for three governmental frames.

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

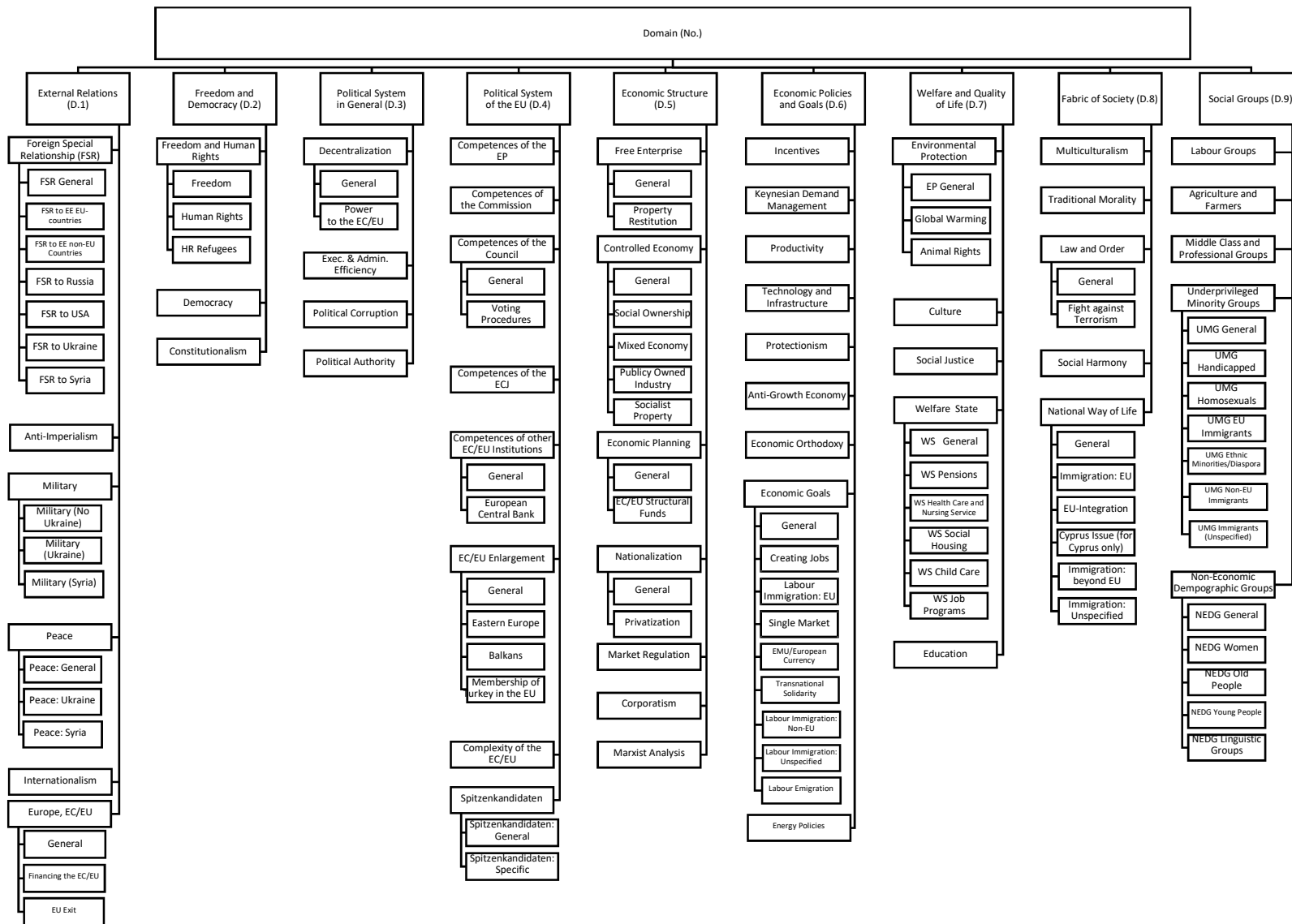
The following example illustrates all steps of the coding process using example (5) (and example (6), respectively). This list of arguments (or sentence, respectively) contains quasi-sentences that refer to *Environmental Protection* in domain *Welfare and Quality of Life*, *Social Justice* in domain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

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

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

The following hierarchical scheme describes the EMCS IV in detail. It comprises nine domains that include several categories and occasional subcategories. The EMCS IV is heavily based on the first edition of the EMCS. It nevertheless incorporates coding categories for relevant topics in each of the subsequent EP elections. As regards the 2014 EP elections, three new topics were integrated into the EMCS IV by the coordinators of the EM Project. The first new topic accounts for the immigration issue: EU immigration vs. non-EU immigration. It also relates to the question whether immigration results from sociocultural or -economic contexts. The second topic concerns the crises in Ukraine and Syria, while the third one covers the Eurozone crisis. All previous editions are available online for ease of comparison.¹²

¹² See <http://eeshomepage.net/euromanifesto-study/>.



DOMAIN 1: External Relations

010100 Foreign Special Relationships (FSR)

010101 FSR: General

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

Negative: Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; opposite of **positive**.

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

010102 FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU

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

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Eastern European countries that are now members of the EU.

010103 FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU (except Ukraine)

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

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

010104 FSR to Russia

Positive: Favourable mentions of Russia.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Russia.

Note: This code also includes energy dependency to Russia.

010105 FSR to USA

Positive: Favourable mentions of the United States of America.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of the United States of America.

010106 FSR to Ukraine

Positive: Favourable mentions of Ukraine.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Ukraine.

010107 FSR to Syria

Positive: Favourable mentions of the Assad regime in Syria or the Syrian government.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of the Assad regime in Syria or the Syrian government.

010200 Anti-Imperialism

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

government and independence for colonies; negative references to the imperial behaviour of the manifesto and/or other countries.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

010300 Military

010301 Military: General

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

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

010302 Military: Ukraine

Positive: Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; improvement in military strength in the Ukraine conflict.

Negative: Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament in the Ukraine conflict.

010303 Military: Syria

Positive: Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; improvement in military strength in the Syrian conflict.

Negative: Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament in the Syrian conflict.

010400 Peace

010401 Peace: General

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

010402 Peace: Ukraine

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

010403 Peace: Syria

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

010500 Internationalism

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

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

010600 Europe, European Community/Union

010601 Europe, European Community/Union: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of Europe or the EC/EU. The idea of a more integrated

Europe/ EC/EU is supported; “deepening of Europe”.

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

Negative: Hostile mentions of Europe or the EC/EU. The idea of a more integrated

Europe/EC/EU is rejected; no “deepening of Europe” necessary.

010602 Financing the EC/EU

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

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

010603 EU Exit

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

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

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

020100 Freedom and Human Rights

020101 Freedom

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

020102 Human Rights

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

020103 Human Rights: Refugees

Positive: Favourable mentions of support for refugees; calls for humanitarian aid.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

020200 Democracy

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

Negative: Lack of democracy; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

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

020300 Constitutionalism

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

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

DOMAIN 3: Political System (In General)

030100 Decentralization

030101 Decentralization: General

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

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

030102 Transfer of Power to the EC/EU

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

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

030200 Executive and Administrative Efficiency

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

030300 Political Corruption

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

030400 Political Authority

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

040100 Competences of the European Parliament

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

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

040200 Competences of the European Commission

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

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

040300 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers

040301 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: General

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

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

040302 Voting procedures in the (European) Council

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

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

040400 Competences of the European Court of Justice

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

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

040500 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions

040501 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General

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

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

040502 Mentions of the European Central Bank

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

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

Note: Check Economic Orthodox (060700).

040600 EC/EU Enlargement

040601 EC/EU Enlargement: General

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

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 country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

040604 Membership of Turkey in the EU

Positive: Positive references to Turkey's membership in the EU.

Negative: Negative references to Turkey's membership in the EU.

040700 Complexity of the EC/EU Political System

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

040800 Spitzenkandidaten

040801 Spitzenkandidaten: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of their general role in the EU.

Negative: Negative mentions of their general role in the EU.

040802 Spitzenkandidaten: Specific

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

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

DOMAIN 5: Economic Structure

050100 Free Enterprise

050101 Free Enterprise: General

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

050102 Property Restitution

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

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

050200 Controlled Economy

050201 Controlled Economy: General

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050202 Social Ownership

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050203 Mixed Economy

Positive: Favourable references to mixed ownership within a market economy.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050204 Publicly-Owned Industry

Positive: Positive references to the concept of publicly-owned industries.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050205 Socialist Property

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050300 Economic Planning

050301 Economic Planning: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning of a consultative or indicative nature, need to create such a plan by authorities.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050302 EC/EU Structural Fund

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

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

050400 Nationalization

050401 Nationalization: General

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050402 Privatisation

Positive: Negative references to the privatisation system; need to change the

privatisation system.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050500 Corporatism

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050600 Market Regulation

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050700 Marxist Analysis

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

DOMAIN 6: Economic Policies and Goals

060100 Incentives

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

060200 Keynesian Demand Management

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

060300 Productivity

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

060400 Technology and Infrastructure

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: This does not imply education in general (see category Education: 070500).

060500 Protectionism

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

Negative: Support for the concept of free trade; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

060600 Anti-Growth Economy

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

060700 Economic Orthodoxy

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

060800 Economic Goals

060801 Economic Goals: General

Positive: Statements of intent to pursue any economic goal not covered by other categories in the Domain 5 (Economic Structure) and Domain 6 (Economic policies and goals).

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

060802 Creating Jobs

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

060803 Labour Immigration: EU Citizens

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

Negative: Negative mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign of EU member countries in economic terms.

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

060804 Single Market

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

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

060805 European Monetary Union/ European Currency

Positive: Favourable mentions or support for the European Monetary Union, a single

European currency or the Euro.

Negative: Negative mentions or rejection of the European Monetary Union, a single

European currency or the Euro.

060806 European Monetary Union/ European Currency-transnational solidarity

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

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

060807 Labour Immigration: Non-EU Citizens

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

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

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

060808 Labour Immigration: Unspecified

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

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

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

060809 Labour Emigration

Positive: Positive mentions of labour emigration in economic terms, e.g. support for work force moving abroad and/or labour migrants leaving the country.

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

060810 Energy policies

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

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

Note: Check “FSR to Russia” (010104) for adequate coding.

DOMAIN 7: Welfare and Quality of Life

070100 Environmental Protection

070101 Environmental Protection: General

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

070102 Environmental Protection: Global Warming

Positive: Acknowledging global warming as a harmful phenomenon, need for policies/actions intended to diminish effects of global warming.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**, e.g. denying dangers of global warming, denying the existence of global warming as a “man-made” phenomenon.

070103 Environmental Protection: Animal Rights

Positive: Positive mentions of animal rights.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

070200 Culture

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

070300 Social Justice

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

Note: Check “Non-economic Demographic Groups: General” (090501) for adequate coding.

070400 Welfare State (WS)

070401 WS: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any social service or social security scheme.

Negative: Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

Note: This category excludes education.

070402 WS: Pensions

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

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend pensions.

070403 WS: Health Care and Nursing Service

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

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend health care or nursing services.

070404 WS: Social Housing

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

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend social housing.

070405 WS: Child Care

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

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend child care services.

070406 WS: Job Programs

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

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cut back or suspend job-generating measures.

070500 Education

Positive: Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels.

Negative: Limiting expenditure on education; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

Note: This excludes technical training which is coded under “Technology and Infrastructure” (060400).

DOMAIN 8: Fabric of Society

080100 Multiculturalism

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

Negative: Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

Note: Negative statements also apply to the cultural autonomy of Roma.

080200 Traditional Morality

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

Negative: Opposition to traditional moral values; support for divorce, abortion etc.; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

080300 Law and Order

080301 Law and Order: General

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

080302 Fight against terrorism

Positive: Fight against terrorism by the enforcement of all laws, by actions against crime and against terrorist attacks; support and resources for police/border controls;

tougher attitudes against terrorists in courts.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

080500 National Way of Life

080501 National Way of Life: General

Positive: Appeals to patriotism and/or nationalism; support for established national ideas; suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion. On the European level appeals to a European way of life, the Occident, or Western Civilization.

Negative: Against patriotism and/or nationalism; opposition to the existing national state; the suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion is criticized. On the European level appeals against a European way of life, the Occident, or Western Civilization.

Note: Check “EU Integration” (080503) and “Culture” (070200) for adequate coding.

080502 Immigration (EU Citizens)

Positive: Need to retain or increase immigration from EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.

Negative: Need to reduce immigration from EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.

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

080503 EU Integration

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

080504 Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus Only)

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

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

080505 Immigration (beyond EU)

Positive: Need to retain or increase immigration from non-EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.

Negative: Need to reduce immigration from non-EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.

080506 Immigration (unspecified)

Positive: Need to retain or increase immigration (from unspecified country or region) in non-economic or unspecified terms.

Negative: Need to reduce immigration (from unspecified country or region) in non-economic or unspecified terms.

DOMAIN 9: Social Groups

090100 Labour Groups

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

Negative: Abuse of power of trade unions; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

090200 Agriculture and Farmers

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

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

090300 Middle Class and Professional Groups

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090400 Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMG)

090401 UMG: General

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090402 UMG: Handicapped

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for handicapped people.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090403 UMG: Homosexuals

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for homosexuals.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

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

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

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

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

090500 Non-economic Demographic Groups (NEDG)

090501 NEDG: General

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

090502 NEDG: Women

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for women.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090503 NEDG: Old People

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for the elderly.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090504 NEDG: Young People

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for young people.

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090505 NEDG: Linguistic Groups

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

3.1.3 Content Evaluation

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

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

3.2 Coding Difficulties and Decision Rules

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

3.2.1 No Category Seems to Apply

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

Decision Rule #1: *Checking Definitions of all Categories in Policy Domains*

Whenever tempted to treat a quasi-sentence as uncodable, reread the definitions of each category in the relevant policy domains because the quasi-sentence may refer to a category rarely used by the coder, which is, hence, not easily recalled.

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

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

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

Decision Rule #2: *Identifying Connecting Sentences*

Some sentences, which are otherwise uncodable, may just represent connecting sentences between two arguments (e.g., “Therefore, we are going to do three things.”). These sentences themselves do not constitute meaningful arguments but remain part of continuous argumentation. Hence, code connecting sentences using the same category applied with respect to their surrounding sentences or the majority of the paragraph.

3.2.2 More than One Category Seems to Apply

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

Decision Rule #3: *Section Headings as Guidelines*

Look at the section heading of the quasi-sentence in question. Then, take the category which covers the topic of the section or the heading. Thus, section headings are taken as cues for coding. However, section headings themselves should be coded only as 98 “Title/Headline/Subtitle”.

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

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

Decision Rule #4: Multiple Applicability
Whenever two or more categories seem applicable to a given quasi-sentence and there are no headings that explicitly hint at a specific category, take the one category among those applicable which is more often used with respect to the rest of the paragraph.

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

Decision Rule #5: Specific Policy Positions Trump Political Authority
Whenever the choice is between category *Political Authority* in domain *Political System in General*, defined as a given party's *general* competence to govern the incumbent party's incompetence in that matter, and a specific policy category (e.g., *Protectionism* in domain *Economic Policies and Goals*), make use of the specific policy category.

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

Decision Rule #6: Specific Policy Positions Trump General Policy Areas
Whenever the choice is between a more specific policy category and one or more rather general policy areas, use the specific policy category (e.g., *Nationalization* in domain *Economic Structure*) instead of a general policy area (e.g., *Economic Goals: General* in domain *Economic Policies and Goals*).

3.2.3 Statement Seems Unclear

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

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

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

4 Description of the Data

General information on missing values

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

Meta data

<i>za_nr</i>	GESIS study number (ZA5102)
<i>version</i>	GESIS archive version (2.0.0, 2018-01-02)
<i>doi</i>	Digital Object Identifier (doi:10.4232/1.12830)

Additional information

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

<i>region</i>	This variable distinguishes parties from Belgium and Great Britain with respect to their respective regional backgrounds. All other parties feature their country codes (see variable <i>country</i>).
	210 Wallonia
	211 Flanders
	510 Great Britain
	511 Northern Ireland
<i>country_year</i>	Country code plus election year.
<i>emcs</i>	EMCS party code.
<i>emcs_year</i>	EMCS party code plus election year.
<i>ees</i>	EES party code.
<i>marpor</i>	MARPOR party code.
<i>cphl</i>	Chapel Hill party code.
<i>eep</i>	Year of a country's first elections to the European Parliament.
<i>member</i>	Year of a country's first admittance to the European Parliament.
<i>year</i>	Election year.
<i>initials</i>	Party initials.
<i>partyname</i>	Party name.
<i>partyinfo</i>	Information on changes in party names.
<i>pfamily</i>	Party family (Euromanifesto Project).
	0 Other
	1 Green parties
	2 (Post-)communist parties
	3 Social democratic parties
	4 Liberal parties
	5 Christian democratic parties
	6 Conservative parties
	7 Nationalist parties
	8 Agrarian parties
	9 Regional parties
	95 Special-interest parties
<i>mfamily</i>	Party family according to MARPOR.
	0 Coalition
	10 Ecologist parties
	20 Communist parties
	30 Social democratic parties
	40 Liberal parties
	50 Christian democratic parties
	60 Conservative parties
	70 Nationalist parties
	80 Agrarian parties
	90 Ethno-regional parties

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

Coder Ratings

<i>left</i>	Left (1) - Right (10)
	99 No answer
<i>environ</i>	Environmental Protection (1) - Economic Growth (10)
	99 No answer
<i>liberta</i>	Libertarian (1) - Authoritarian (10)

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

Computed Variables

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

rile_mrg	Right-left dimension according to MRG. Sum of rightist codes minus sum of leftist codes in the Manifesto. Range from -100 (left) to 100 (right).
	Rightist codes: $\text{per_v[x]_{104a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{2011a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{2012a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{203a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{305a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{401a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{402a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{406b}} + \text{per_v[x]_{414a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{504b}} + \text{per_v[x]_{5041b}} + \text{per_v[x]_{5042b}} + \text{per_v[x]_{5043b}} + \text{per_v[x]_{5044b}} + \text{per_v[x]_{5045b}} + \text{per_v1_{601a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{603a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{605a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{6051a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{606a}}$
	Leftist codes: $\text{per_v[x]_{103a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{104b}} + \text{per_v[x]_{106a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{107a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{202a}} + \text{per_v2_{202b}} + \text{per_v[x]_{403a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{404a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{406a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{412a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{4121a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{4122a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{4123a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{4124a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{413a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{4012b}} + \text{per_v[x]_{4132a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{504a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{5041a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{5042a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{5043a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{5044a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{5045a}} + \text{per_v[x]_{506a}} + \text{per_v1_{601b}} + \text{per_v[x]_{701a}}$
planeco	Planned economy dimension according to MRG.

per_v[x]_403a + per_v[x]_404a + per_v2_4011a +
per_v[x]_412a + per_v[x]_4121a + per_v[x]_4122a +
per_v[x]_4123a + per_v[x]_4124a

markeco Market economy dimension according to MRG.

per_v[x]_401a + per_v2_4011b + per_v[x]_4012a +
per_v[x]_414a

welfare Welfare economy dimension according to MRG.

per_v[x]_503a + per_v[x]_504a + per_v[x]_5041a +
per_v[x]_5042a + per_v[x]_5043a + per_v[x]_5044a +
per_v[x]_5045a

pro_anti_EU Dimension on pro versus contra European integration. Sum of pro-integration codes minus sum of integration-sceptic codes. Range from -100 (anti-EU) to 100 (pro-EU).

Pro-EU:

per_v[x]_108a + per_v2_203a + per_v2_3011a +
per_v2_306a + per_v2_308a + per_v2_310a + per_v2_3101a +
per_v2_312a + per_v2_314a + per_v2_3141a + per_v2_316a +
per_v2_3161a + per_v2_4011a + per_v2_4084a +
per_v2_601a + per_v1_601b

Anti-EU:

per_v[x]_108b + per_v1_1081b + per_v2_203b +
per_v2_3011b + per_v2_306b + per_v2_308b + per_v2_310b +
per_v2_3101b + per_v2_312b + per_v2_314b + per_v2_3141b +
per_v2_316b + per_v2_3161b + per_v2_318a + per_v2_4011b +
per_v2_4084b + per_v2_4086b + per_v2_601b + per_v1_601a

Coding categories

Percentages of quasi-sentences in each category grouped into nine major policy areas. Differences in lengths of documents necessitate the number of quasi-sentences in each category to be standardized. In doing so, the total number of quasi-sentences less the number of headlines, subtitles, etc. reflects the basis.

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

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

<i>per_v[x]_101b</i>		-	1
	Foreign Special Relationships (FSR): General		2
<i>per_v[x]_101a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1011b</i>		-	1
	FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU		2
<i>per_v[x]_1011a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_10111b</i>		-	1
	FSR to EECs not in the EU (No Ukraine)		2
<i>per_v[x]_10111a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_10112b</i>		-	1
	FSR to Ukraine		2
<i>per_v[x]_10112a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1012b</i>		-	1
	FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU		2
<i>per_v[x]_1012a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1013b</i>		-	1
	FSR to Russia		2
<i>per_v[x]_1013a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1014b</i>		-	1
	FSR to USA		2
<i>per_v[x]_1014a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1015b</i>		-	1
	FSR to Syria		2
<i>per_v[x]_1015a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_103b</i>		-	1
	Anti-Imperialism		2
<i>per_v[x]_103a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_104b</i>		-	1
	Military		2
<i>per_v[x]_104a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1041b</i>		-	1
	Military: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_1041a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1042b</i>		-	1
	Military: Ukraine		2
<i>per_v[x]_1042a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1043b</i>		-	1
	Military: Syria		2

<i>per_v[x]_1043a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_106b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_106a</i>	Peace		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1061b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_1061a</i>	Peace: General		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1062b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_1062a</i>	Peace: Ukraine		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1063b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_1063a</i>	Peace: Syria		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_107b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_107a</i>	Internationalism		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_108b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_108a</i>	Europe, European Community/Union: General		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1081b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_1081a</i>	Financing the EC/EU		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_1082b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_1082a</i>	EU Exit		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_2011b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_2011a</i>	Freedom		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_2012b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_2012a</i>	Human Rights		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_20121b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_20121a</i>	Human Rights		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_20122b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_20122a</i>	Human Rights: Refugees		2
		+	3

<i>per_v[x]_202b</i>		-	1
	Democracy		2
<i>per_v[x]_202a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_203b</i>		-	1
	Constitutionalism		2
<i>per_v[x]_203a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_301b</i>		-	1
	Decentralization: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_301a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3011b</i>		-	1
	Transfer of Power to the EC/EU		2
<i>per_v[x]_3011a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_303b</i>		-	1
	Executive and Administrative Efficiency		2
<i>per_v[x]_303a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_304b</i>		-	1
	Political Corruption		2
<i>per_v[x]_304a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_305b</i>		-	1
	Political Authority		2
<i>per_v[x]_305a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_306b</i>		-	1
	Competences of the European Parliament		2
<i>per_v[x]_306a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_308b</i>		-	1
	Competences of the European Commission		2
<i>per_v[x]_308a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_310b</i>		-	1
	Competences of the European Council/		2
<i>per_v[x]_310a</i>		+	3
	Council of Ministers: General		
<i>per_v[x]_3101b</i>		-	1
	Voting Procedures in the (European) Council		2
<i>per_v[x]_3101a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_312b</i>		-	1
	Competences of the European Court of Justice		2
<i>per_v[x]_312a</i>		+	3

<i>per_v[x]_314b</i>		-	1
	Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_314a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3141b</i>		-	1
	Mentions of the European Central Bank		2
<i>per_v[x]_3141a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_316b</i>		-	1
	EC/EU Enlargement: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_316a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3161b</i>		-	1
	Membership of the Turkey in the EU		2
<i>per_v[x]_3161a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3162b</i>		-	1
	Membership in the EU of East European countries		2
<i>per_v[x]_3162a</i>	currently not in the EU	+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3163b</i>		-	1
	Membership in the EU of Balkan countries		2
<i>per_v[x]_3163a</i>	currently not in the EU	+	3
<i>per_v[x]_318b</i>		-	1
	Complexity of the EC/EU Political System		2
<i>per_v[x]_318a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_319b</i>		-	1
	Spitzenkandidaten		2
<i>per_v[x]_319a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3191b</i>		-	1
	Spitzenkandidaten: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_3191a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_3192b</i>		-	1
	Spitzenkandidaten: Specific		2
<i>per_v[x]_3192a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_401b</i>		-	1
	Free Enterprise: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_401a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4011b</i>		-	1
	EC/EU Structural Funds		2
<i>per_v[x]_4011a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4012b</i>		-	1
	Property Restitution		2

<i>per_v[x]_4012a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_402b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_402a</i>	Incentives		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_403b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_403a</i>	Market Regulations		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_404b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_404a</i>	Economic Planning: General		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_405b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_405a</i>	Corporatism		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_406b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_406a</i>	Protectionism		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_408b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_408a</i>	Economic Goals: General		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4081b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_4081a</i>	Creating Jobs		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4082b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_4082a</i>	Labour Migration: Positive		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_40821b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_40821a</i>	Labour Immigration: EU Citizens		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_40822b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_40822a</i>	Labour Immigration: Non-EU Citizens		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_40823b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_40823a</i>	Labour Immigration: Unspecified		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_40824b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_40824a</i>	Labour Emigration		2
		+	3

<i>per_v[x]_4084b</i>		-	1
	Single Market		2
<i>per_v[x]_4084a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4086b</i>		-	1
	European Monetary Union/ European Currency		2
<i>per_v[x]_4086a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4087b</i>		-	1
	EMU/EC - Transnational Solidarity		2
<i>per_v[x]_4087a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4088b</i>		-	1
	Energy Policies		2
<i>per_v[x]_4088a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_409b</i>		-	1
	Keynesian Demand Management		2
<i>per_v[x]_409a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_410b</i>		-	1
	Productivity		2
<i>per_v[x]_410a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_411b</i>		-	1
	Technology and Infrastructure		2
<i>per_v[x]_411a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_412b</i>		-	1
	Controlled Economy: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_412a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4121b</i>		-	1
	Social Ownership		2
<i>per_v[x]_4121a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4122b</i>		-	1
	Mixed Economy		2
<i>per_v[x]_4122a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4123b</i>		-	1
	Publicly-Owned Industry		2
<i>per_v[x]_4123a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4124b</i>		-	1
	Socialist Property		2
<i>per_v[x]_4124a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_413b</i>		-	1
	Nationalization: Generalization		2

<i>per_v[x]_413a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_4132b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_4132a</i>	Privatisation		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_414b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_414a</i>	Economic Orthodoxy		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_415b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_415a</i>	Marxist Analysis		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_416b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_416a</i>	Anti-Growth Economy		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_501b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_501a</i>	Environmental Protection		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5011b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_5011a</i>	Environmental Protection: General		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5012b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_5012a</i>	Environmental Protection: Global Warming		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5013b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_5013a</i>	Environmental Protection: Animal Rights		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_502b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_502a</i>	Culture		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_503b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_503a</i>	Social Justice		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_504b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_504a</i>	WS: General		2
		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5041b</i>		-	1
<i>per_v[x]_5041a</i>	WS: Job Programs		2
		+	3

<i>per_v[x]_5042b</i>		-	1
	WS: Pensions		2
<i>per_v[x]_5042a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5043b</i>		-	1
	WS: Health Care and Nursing Service		2
<i>per_v[x]_5043a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5044b</i>		-	1
	WS: Social Housing		2
<i>per_v[x]_5044a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_5045b</i>		-	1
	WS: Child Care		2
<i>per_v[x]_5045a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_506b</i>		-	1
	Education		2
<i>per_v[x]_506a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_601b</i>		-	1
	National Way of Life		2
<i>per_v[x]_601a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_6011b</i>		-	1
	Immigration		2
<i>per_v[x]_6011a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_60111b</i>		-	1
	Immigration (EU Citizens)		2
<i>per_v[x]_60111a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_60112b</i>		-	1
	Immigration (beyond EU)		2
<i>per_v[x]_60112a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_60113b</i>		-	1
	Immigration (Unspecified)		2
<i>per_v[x]_60113a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v_6012</i>	Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus only)		
<i>per_v[x]_6021b</i>		-	1
	EU Integration		2
<i>per_v[x]_6021a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_603b</i>		-	1
	Traditional Morality		2
<i>per_v[x]_603a</i>		+	3

<i>per_v[x]_605b</i>		-	1
	Law and Order: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_605a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_6051b</i>		-	1
	Fight against Terrorism		2
<i>per_v[x]_6051a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_606b</i>		-	1
	Social Harmony		2
<i>per_v[x]_606a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_607b</i>		-	1
	Multiculturalism		2
<i>per_v[x]_607a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_701b</i>		-	1
	Labour Groups		2
<i>per_v[x]_701a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7031b</i>		-	1
	Agriculture and Farmers		2
<i>per_v[x]_7031a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_704b</i>		-	1
	Middle Class and Professional Groups		2
<i>per_v[x]_704a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_705b</i>		-	1
	UMP: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_705a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7051b</i>		-	1
	UMG: Handicapped		2
<i>per_v[x]_7051a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7052b</i>		-	1
	UMG: Homosexuals		2
<i>per_v[x]_7052a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7053b</i>		-	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners		2
<i>per_v[x]_7053a</i>		+	3
	in the Manifesto Country		
<i>per_v[x]_70531b</i>		-	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (EU Citizens)		2
<i>per_v[x]_70531a</i>		+	3

<i>per_v[x]_70532b</i>		-	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (beyond EU)		2
<i>per_v[x]_70532a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_70533b</i>		-	1
	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (unspecified)		2
<i>per_v[x]_70533a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7054b</i>		-	1
	UMG: Ethnic Minorities/People		2
<i>per_v[x]_7054a</i>	of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad	+	3
<i>per_v[x]_706b</i>		-	1
	NEDG: General		2
<i>per_v[x]_706a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7061b</i>		-	1
	NEDG: Women		2
<i>per_v[x]_7061a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7062b</i>		-	1
	NEDG: Old People		2
<i>per_v[x]_7062a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7063b</i>		-	1
	NEDG: Young People		2
<i>per_v[x]_7063a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v[x]_7064b</i>		-	1
	NEDG: Linguistic Groups		2
<i>per_v[x]_7064a</i>		+	3
<i>per_v_099</i>	No Code Applies		

Appendix A: Inter-coder and Intra-coder Reliability

All coders performed reliability tests before they started coding the actual party manifestos. They were asked by the project coordinators to unitise and categorise a test manifesto. The former subsequently compared their performances with a gold standard, i.e. a master coding determined by the project coordinators. Table A.1 provides information on the inter-coder agreements in 2004, 2009, and 2014. Using Cohen’s Kappa, it informs about the agreement among coders regarding the connotations, levels, domains, categories, and overall categorizations of the quasi-sentences.

Table A.1 Inter-coder Agreement on Standardized Samples: Cohen’s Kappa.

	<i>EMCS 2014</i>		<i>EMCS 2009</i>		<i>EMCS 2004</i>	
	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
<i>Pos/neg</i>	0.370	(0.267 - 0.482)	0.355	(0.262 - 0.463)		
<i>Level</i>	0.519	(0.452 - 0.590)	0.427	(0.332 - 0.537)	0.488	(0.374 - 0.611)
<i>Domain</i>	0.525	(0.473 - 0.581)	0.484	(0.413 - 0.559)		
<i>Categories</i>	0.434	(0.388 - 0.488)	0.421	(0.366 - 0.489)	0.375	(0.307 - 0.457)
<i>Overall</i>	0.313	(0.275 - 0.367)	0.334	(0.284 - 0.401)	0.302	(0.242 - 0.362)

Note: Cohen’s kappa used. Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% CI (500 replications) based on 113 quasi-sentences (N=113).

The coder sample of 2014 contains seven coders who already coded the test manifesto in 2009. The core team of the EM Project can thus provide tests of intra-coder reliability for five of them.¹³ These tests are based on only 100 quasi-sentences due to the disaggregation of the category *Environmental Protection* in domain *Welfare and Quality of Life* in 2014. We also exclude the 62th quasi-sentence of the test manifesto because it was only coded in 2014.¹⁴ To begin with, table A.2 compares the inter-coder reliability from 2009 and 2014 when only these five coders are considered.

¹³ Two coders have not coded the test manifesto in either 2009 or 2014, which is why they drop out of this sample.

¹⁴ The core team of the EM Project excludes this quasi-sentence because it was not explicitly coded by the 2009 coders.

Table A.2 Intra-coder Agreement on Standardized Samples for Five Coders: Cohen's Kappa.

	<i>EMCS 2014</i>		<i>EMCS 2009</i>	
	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Kappa</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
<i>Pos/neg</i>	0.421	(0.285 - 0.556)	0.396	(0.250 - 0.531)
<i>Level</i>	0.533	(0.408 - 0.626)	0.514	(0.408 - 0.613)
<i>Domain</i>	0.558	(0.488 - 0.636)	0.520	(0.447 - 0.626)
<i>Categories</i>	0.482	(0.427 - 0.552)	0.455	(0.394 - 0.542)
<i>Overall</i>	0.381	(0.341 - 0.441)	0.358	(0.304 - 0.434)

Note: Cohen's kappa used. Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% CI (500 replications) based on 100 quasi-sentences (N=100).

Table A.3 informs about their individual reliability scores when compared with the gold standard and their individual intra-coder reliability using Cohen's Kappa based on complete categories.

Table A.3 Intra-coder Reliabilities of Five Coders in 2009 and 2014: Complete Categories.

<i>Coder vs Master</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>Intra-coder Reliability</i>
	<i>Cohen's Kappa</i>		
<i>Coder I</i>	0.31	0.29	0.33
<i>Coder II</i>	0.38	0.26	0.31
<i>Coder III</i>	0.30	0.33	0.33
<i>Coder IV</i>	0.77	0.85	0.74
<i>Coder V</i>	0.42	0.48	0.46

Note: Nominal scale. Variables represent coders. Observations refer to quasi-sentences. Analysis based on 100 quasi-sentences of the test manifesto. Cells contain codes.