Working Paper

Nr. 64, 2003

Euromanifesto Coding Instructions

Andreas M. Wüst
Andrea Volkens

UNIVERSITÄT
MANNHEIM

Andreas M. Wüst

Andrea Volkens

Euromanifesto Coding Instructions

Editorial Note:

Andreas M. Wüst is Research Fellow at the MZES and currently working in the DFG-funded Euromanifestos Project. Andrea Volkens is Senior Reseach Fellow at the WZB working in the research area "Institutions and Social Change".

Abstract

The Euromanifesto Coding Instructions are used as handbook for the coding of all manifestos within The Euromanifestos Project in the 15 EU countries. It is based on the second edition of "Manifesto Coding Instructions" by Andrea Volkens of the WZB (Volkens 2002). In accordance with the intention of The Euromanifestos Project to strive for full comparability with the Comparative Manifesto Project, most coding rules have been adapted from the original handbook. The authors acknowledge critical comments by Hermann Schmitt, Tanja Binder and the expert coders on earlier drafts of the coding instructions and the underlying coding scheme as well as the coding sheets (see appendices to this paper). Since the coding has not been finished yet, there might be a revised edition of these instructions at the end of the project.

Contents

Appendices

1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

2. Selection of Programs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Selection of Parties

The collection should cover all the relevant parties. In general, the relevance of parties is defined as the coalition (governmental) or blackmail potential of a party in a given party system (Sartori 1976: 121-125). Coalition potential is defined as (1) the actual or former membership in a government or (2) the possibility (feasibility) of becoming a government party. Blackmail potential is defined as the party's impact on 'the tactics of party competition particularly when it alters the direction of the competition - by determining a switch from centripetal to centrifugal competition either leftward, rightward, or in both directions - of the governing-oriented parties (Sartori 1976: 123). These criteria have been used in the MRG/CMP projects.

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

4. The Coding Procedure

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

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

4.1 Quantification: The Coding Unit

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

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

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

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

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

In many cases, arguments are combined and related into one sentence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Step No 1: Identifying Quasi- Sentences

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

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

4.2 Classification: The Euromanifestos Coding Scheme (EMCS)

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

4.2.1 Content Codes

The basic data sought to support such comparisons are the shares of election programs devoted to each category in a set of standardised issue areas. Comparison requires standardisation. The Manifesto Project, after much experimentation and discussion, developed a coding system, whereby each quasi-sentence of every election program is coded into one, and only one, of 56 standard

categories. The 56 categories were grouped into seven major policy areas. The coding categories are designed, as far as possible, to be comparable between parties, countries and over time.

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

1. 54 out of the 56 MRG/CMP codes build the core of the Euromanifestos Coding Scheme (EMCS). The two remaining codes have been divided into sub-codes. In addition, more generally applicable sub-codes than in the original MRG/CMP coding frame have been developed. For comparative purposes, all EMCS subcodes can be aggregated into the original EMP/CMP standard codes.

2. The MRG/CMP coding frame has been "mirrored" two times (tripled to 162 codes) to document whether

   2.1. the content has an explicit focus on the party's country as political protagonist or political arena (national, sub-national or local level)

   2.2. the content has an explicit focus on Europe as a historical, political or economical unit or the EC/EU as political protagonist or political arena (supra-national level)

   2.3. the content has neither an explicit focus on the party's country nor on Europe/ the EC/EU as protagonist or political arena (including content referring to all (other) peoples of the world)

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

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

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

4.2.2 Political Level

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

the governmental frame that may be part of an argument
[with the codes (1) National government, (2) EC/EU government and (3) World government or unspecific]; and

the policy scope that may be part of an argument
[with the codes (1) the nation or sub-national entities, (2) the EC/EU/Europe, and (3) the world or unspecific].

> **The political level decision rules are:**
>
> if only one meaning element is present, it defines the code; if both elements are present but do not suggest the same code, governmental frame beats policy scope.

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

Table 1: The Euromanifestos Coding Scheme: 69 Categories at 3 Political Levels in 7 Policy Domains

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

[*level*] [*content*]

1, 2	-**101**	**Foreign Special Relationships: Positive**
1, 2	-**102**	**Foreign Special Relationships: Negative**
1, 2, 3	-**103**	**Anti-Imperialism**
1, 2, 3	-**104**	**Military: Positive**
1, 2, 3	-**105**	**Military: Negative**
1, 2, 3	-**106**	**Peace**
1, 2, 3	-**107**	**Internationalism: Positive**
1, 2, 3	-**108**	**Europe, European Community/Union: Positive**
1, 2, 3	-**109**	**Internationalism: Negative**
1, 2, 3	-**110**	**Europe, European Community/Union: Negative**

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

[1, 2, 3	-**201**	**Freedom and Human Rights;** differentiated into two sub-categories]
1, 2, 3	-**202**	**Democracy**
1, 2, 3	-**203**	**Constitutionalism: Positive**
1, 2, 3	-**204**	**Constitutionalism: Negative**

DOMAIN 3: Political System

DOMAIN 3.1: Political System (in general)

1, 2, 3	-**301**	**Decentralization: Positive**
1, 2, 3	-**302**	**Decentralization: Negative**
1, 2, 3	-**303**	**Executive and Administrative Efficiency**
1, 2, 3	-**304**	**Political Corruption**
1, 2, 3	-**305**	**Political Authority**

DOMAIN 3.2: Political System of the European Union

[by definition, the political level is always '2']

2	-306	**Competences of the European Parliament: Positive**
2	-307	**Competences of the European Parliament: Negative**
2	-308	**Competences of the European Commission: Positive**
2	-309	**Competences of the European Commission: Negative**
2	-310	**Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: Positive**
2	-311	**Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: Negative**
2	-312	**Competences of the European Court of Justice: Positive**
2	-313	**Competences of the European Court of Justice: Negative**
2	**-314**	**Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: Positive**
2	**-315**	**Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: Negative**
2	**-316**	**EC/EU Enlargement: Positive**
2	**-317**	**EC/EU Enlargement: Negative**
2	**-318**	**Complexity of the EC/EU Political System**

DOMAIN 4: Economy

1, 2, 3	**-401**	**Free Enterprise**
1, 2, 3	**-402**	**Incentives**
1, 2, 3	**-403**	**Market Regulation**
1, 2, 3	**-404**	**Economic Planning**
1, 2, 3	**-405**	**Corporatism**
1, 2, 3	**-406**	**Protectionism: Positive**
1, 2, 3	**-407**	**Protectionism: Negative**
1, 2, 3	**-408**	**Economic Goals**
1, 2, 3	**-409**	**Keynesian Demand Management**
1, 2, 3	**-410**	**Productivity**
1, 2, 3	**-411**	**Technology and Infrastructure**
1, 2, 3	**-412**	**Controlled Economy**
1, 2, 3	**-413**	**Nationalization**
1, 2, 3	**-414**	**Economic Orthodoxy**
1, 2, 3	**-415**	**Marxist Analysis**
1, 2, 3	**-416**	**Anti-Growth Economy**

DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

1, 2, 3	**-501**	**Environmental Protection**
1, 2	**-502**	**Culture in the Manifesto Country**
1, 2, 3	**-503**	**Social Justice**
1, 2, 3	**-504**	**Welfare State Expansion (WSE)**
1, 2, 3	**-505**	**Welfare State Limitation (WSL)**
1, 2, 3	**-506**	**Education Expansion**
1, 2, 3	**-507**	**Education Limitation**

DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society

1, 2	**-601**	**National/European Way of Life: Positive**
1, 2	**-602**	**National/European Way of Life: Negative**
1, 2, 3	**-603**	**Traditional Morality: Positive**
1, 2, 3	**-604**	**Traditional Morality: Negative**
1, 2, 3	**-605**	**Law and Order**
1, 2, 3	**-606**	**Social Harmony**
1, 2, 3	**-607**	**Multiculturalism: Positive**
1, 2, 3	**-608**	**Multiculturalism: Negative**

DOMAIN 7: Social Groups

1, 2, 3 -**701**   **Labour Groups: Positive**
1, 2, 3 -**702**   **Labour Groups: Negative**
[1, 2, 3 -**703**   **Agriculture and Farmers;** differentiated into two sub-categories**]**
1, 2, 3 -**704**   **Middle Class and Professional Groups**
1, 2, 3 -**705**   **Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMG)**
1, 2, 3 -**706**   **Non-economic Demographic Groups (NEDG)**

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

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

[codes] [manifesto text]

'In the European Union, we will

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

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

Step No 2: Classifying the Quasi-Sentences

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

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

[codes] [manifesto text]

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

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

4.2.3 Categories with Country-Specific Meanings

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

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

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

4.2.4 Coding Problems and Difficulties

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

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

a. No category seems to apply

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Decision Rule No 2: Identifying Connecting Sentences

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

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

Decision Rule No 3: Creating Subcategories

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

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

b. More than one category seem to apply

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

Decision Rule No 4: Section Headings as Guidelines

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c. The statement seems unclear

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

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

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

4.3 Coding Sheet

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

5. References

Berelson, Bernard (1952): Content Analysis in Communication Research, New York: Hafner.

Budge, Ian/David Robertson/Derek Hearl (eds.) (1987): Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial Analysis of Post-War Election Programs in 19 Democracies, Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Budge, Ian et al. (eds.) (2001): Mapping Policy Preferences. Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments, 1945-1998, Oxford: OUP.

Robertson, David (1976): A Theory of Party Competition, London: Wiley.

Sartori, Giovanni (1976): Parties and Party Systems. A Framework for Analysis, Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Volkens, Andrea (^{2}2002): Manifesto Coding Instructions (Discussion Paper FS III 02-201), Berlin: WZB.

Appendix 1:
EUROMANIFESTOS CODING SCHEME (EMCS)

First Edition

Mirroring

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

x = 1 = National
the governmental frame of the content is national, subnational or local.

x = 2 = Europe
the governmental frame of the content is the EC/EU.

x = 3 = n.s.
the governmental frame of the content is not European, national, subnational or local.

Total Number of Codes
256 codes (170 regular codes; 86 subcodes)

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

1-**101 Foreign Special Relationships** of the Manifesto Country: **Positive**

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

Note: This is a country-specific category. Therefore, the countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship have to be defined by the coder.

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

Favourable mentions of countries with which the EC/EU has a special relationship; in this case: the USA; the need for co-operation with the USA.

1-**102 Foreign Special Relationships of** the Manifesto Country: **Negative**

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

Note: Use the same countries for categories 1-101 and 1-102, even if a particular party may make only positive or negative references to a specific country.

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

Negative mentions of particular countries with which Europe, the EC/EU has a special relationship, in this case: the USA; otherwise as 2-101, but negative.

x-**103 Anti-Imperialism**

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

1-**104 Military** in the Manifesto Country: **Positive**

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

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

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

3-**104 Military** in Other Countries/Worldwide: **Positive**

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

1-**105 Military** in the Manifesto Country: **Negative**

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

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

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

3-**105 Military** in Other Countries/Worldwide: **Negative**

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

x-**106 Peace**

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

x-**107 Internationalism: Positive**

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

1-**108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive**

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

2-**108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive**

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

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

3-**108 Europe, European Community/Union: Positive**

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

x-**109 Internationalism: Negative**

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

1-**110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative**

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

1-**1101 Financing the EC/EU: Negative**
National contributions to finance the EC/EU or its policies are criticized or rejected.

2-**110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative**

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

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

3-**110 Europe, European Community/Union: Negative**

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

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

[x-201 Freedom and Human Rights]
[Two subcategories have been created; do exclusively use the sub-categories!]

1-**2011 Freedom**
Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom; freedom from bureaucratic control; freedom from coercion in political and economic sphere; individualism in the manifesto country.

2-**2011 Freedom**
Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom; freedom from bureaucratic control; freedom from coercion in political and economic sphere; individualism in Europe, the EC/EU.

3-**2011 Freedom**
Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom; freedom from bureaucratic control; freedom from coercion in political and economic sphere; individualism in other countries or worldwide.

1-**2012 Human Rights**
Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights; freedom of speech in the manifesto country; supportive national refugee policies.

2-**2012 Human Rights**
Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights; freedom of speech in Europe, the EC/EU; supportive European refugee policies.

3-**2012 Human Rights**
Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights; freedom of speech; supportive refugee policies in other countries/worldwide.

1-**202 Democracy** in the Manifesto Country

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

2-**202 Democracy** in Europe, the EC/EU

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

2-**2021 Lack of Democracy in Europe, the EC/EU**
The lack of democracy in Europe, the EC/EU in general is criticized.

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

3-**202 Democracy** in Other Countries and in General

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DOMAIN 3.1: Political System (in general)

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

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

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

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

> 2-**3011 Transfer of Power to the EC/EU: Negative**
>
> No need for transfer of power and/or competences to the EC/EU. The nation-state and its regions should retain their power, competences, and sovereignty. The loss of power, competences, and sovereignty of the nation-state and regions within is bemoaned.

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

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

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

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

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

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

> 2-**3021 Transfer of Power to the EC/EU: Positive**
>
> Transfer of power and/or competences to the EC/EU is supported. The fact that the nation-state and its regions will lose power, competences, and sovereignty, is not bemoaned.

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

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

1-**303 Executive and Administrative Efficiency** in the Manifesto Country

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

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

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

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

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

x-**304 Political Corruption**

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

1-**305 Political Authority**

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

2-**305 Political Authority**

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

3-**305 Political Authority**

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

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

2-306 Competences of the European Parliament: Positive

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

2-307 Competences of the European Parliament: Negative

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

2-308 Competences of the European Commission: Positive

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

2-309 Competences of the European Commission: Negative

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

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

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

2-3101 Unanimity in the (European) Council

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

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

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

2-3111 Majority Voting in the (European) Council

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2-**3141 Positive Mentions of the European Central Bank**
Note: Check 2-414 (economic orthodoxy).

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

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

2-**3151 Negative Mentions of the European Central Bank**

2-**316 EC/EU Enlargement: Positive**

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

Note: Cross-check x-110 for adequate coding. 2-316 only applies to EC/EU Enlargement.

2-**317 EC/EU Enlargement: Negative**

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

Note: Cross-check x-111 for adequate coding. 2-316 only applies to EC/EU Enlargement.

2-**318 Complexity of the EC/EU Political System**

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

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

DOMAIN 4: Economy

x-**401 Free Enterprise**

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

> #### 2-**4011 EC/EU Structural Fund: Negative**
> Support for cutback or suspension of funds for structurally underdeveloped areas.

x-**402 Incentives**

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

x-**403 Market Regulation**

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

1-**404 Economic Planning**

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

2-**404 Economic Planning**

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

> #### 2-**4041 EC/EU Structural Fund: Positive**
> Need to maintain or to extend EC/EU funds for structurally underdeveloped areas.

3-**404 Economic Planning**

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

x-**405 Corporatism**

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

x-406 Protectionism: Positive

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

x-407 Protectionism: Negative

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

x-408 Economic Goals

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

x-4081 Creating Jobs
The party's main goal is to create jobs by economic means.
Note: Check all other categories in Domain 4, codes x-5041 (job programs) and x-701 (unemployed) for adequate coding.

x-4082 Labour Migration: Positive
Favourable mentions of labour migration and/or foreign workers in economic terms.

x-4083 Labour Migration: Negative
Negative mentions of labour migration and/or foreign workers in economic terms.

2-4084 Single Market: Positive
Favourable mentions or support for the common market/ Single European Market.

2-4085 Single Market: Negative
Negative mentions or rejection of the common market/ Single European Market.

2-4086 European Monetary Union/ European Currency: Positive
Favourable mentions or support for the European Monetary Union, a single European currency or the Euro.

2-4087 European Monetary Union/ European Currency: Negative
Negative mentions or rejection of the European Monetary Union, a single European currency or the Euro.

x-409 Keynesian Demand Management

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

x-**410 Productivity**

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

x-**411 Technology and Infrastructure**

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

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

x-**412 Controlled Economy**

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

x-**413 Nationalization**

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

x-**414 Economic Orthodoxy**

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

x-**415 Marxist Analysis**

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

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

x-**416 Anti-Growth Economy**

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

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

DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

x-**501 Environmental Protection**

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

1-**502 Culture** in the Manifesto Country

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

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

2-**502 Culture** in Europe, the EC/EU

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

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

x-**503 Social Justice**

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

Note: Check x-706 for adequate coding.

x-**504 Welfare State Expansion (WSE)**

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

> #### x-**5041 WSE: Job Programs**
> Favourable mentions of the need to introduce, maintain or expand job-generating measures.
>
> #### x-**5042 WSE: Pensions**
> Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand pensions.
>
> #### x-**5043 WSE: Health Care and Nursing Service**
> Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand health care or nursing services.
>
> #### x-**5044 WSE: Social Housing**
> Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand social housing.
>
> #### x-**5045 WSE: Child Care**
> Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand child care services.

x-**505 Welfare State Limitation (WSL)**

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

x-**5051 WSL: Job Programs**
Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend job-generating measures.

x-**5052 WSL: Pensions**
Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend pensions.

x-**5053 WSL: Health Care and Nursing Service**
Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend health care or nursing services.

x-**5054 WSL: Social Housing**
Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend social housing.

x-**5055 WSL: Child Care**
Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend child care services.

x-**506 Education Expansion**

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

x-**507 Education Limitation**

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

DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society

1-**601 National Way of Life: Positive**

Appeals to patriotism and/or nationalism; support for established national ideas; suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion.
Note: Check 2-602, 2-6021, and 1-502 for adequate coding.

1-**6011 Immigration: Negative**
Need to reduce immigration to the manifesto countryin non-economic or unspecified terms.
Note: Check 1-4083 (labour migration: negative) and
1-608 (multiculturalism: negative) for adequate coding.

2-**601 European Way of Life: Positive**

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

2-**6011 Immigration: Negative**
Need to reduce immigration to Europe in non-economic or unspecified terms.
Note: Check 1-4083 (labour migration: negative) and
1-608 (multiculturalism: negative) for adequate coding.

1-**602 National Way of Life: Negative**

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

2-**602 European Way of Life: Negative**

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

2-**6021 Retaining the National Way of Life in Europe, the EC/EU**
Emphasis on retaining the national way of life and national cultures in Europe or within the EC/EU.

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

x-**603 Traditional Morality: Positive**

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

x-**604 Traditional Morality: Negative**

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

x-**605 Law and Order**

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

1-**606 Social Harmony** in the Manifesto Country

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

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

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

3-**606 Social Harmony** in Other Countries or in General

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DOMAIN 7: Social Groups

x-**701 Labour Groups: Positive**

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

x-**702 Labour Groups: Negative**

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

[x-**703 Agriculture and Farmers]**
[Two subcategories have been created; do exclusively use the sub-categories!]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

x-**704 Middle Class and Professional Groups**

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

x-**705 Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMG)**

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

x-**7051 UMG: Handicapped**
Favourable mentions, support or assistance for handicapped people.

x-**7052 UMG: Homosexuals**
Favourable mentions, support or assistance for homosexuals.

x-**7053 UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners**
Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners.

x-**706 Non-economic Demographic Groups (NEDG)**

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

Note: Check x-503 for adequate coding.

x-**7061 NEDG: Women**
Favourable mentions, support or assistance for women.

x-**7062 NEDG: Old People**
Favourable mentions, support or assistance for the elderly.

x-**7063 NEDG: Young People**
Favourable mentions, support or assistance for young people.

1-**7064 NEDG: Linguistic Groups**
Favourable mentions, support or assistance for linguistic groups within a country.

Appendix 2:
Coding Sheet for the EMCS

Country:	Party:
Year of Election:	Party Code:
Coder:	

Political Level: 1 = National	Political Level: 2 = Europe	Political Level: 3 = other/none	Total (1, 2, 3)
1-000	2-000	3-000	
1-101	2-101		
1-102	2-102		
1-103	2-103	3-103	
1-104	2-104	3-104	
1-105	2-105	3-105	
1-106	2-106	3-106	
1-107	2-107	3-107	
1-108	2-108	3-108	
1-109	2-109	3-109	
1-110	2-110	3-110	
1-1101			
1-2011	2-2011	3-2011	
1-2012	2-2012	3-2012	
1-202	2-202	3-202	
	2-2021		
1-203	2-203	3-203	
1-204	2-204	3-204	
1-301	2-301	3-301	
	2-3011		
1-302	2-302	3-302	
	2-3021		
1-303	2-303	3-303	
1-304	2-304	3-304	
1-305	2-305	3-305	
	2-306		
	2-307		
	2-308		
	2-309		
	2-310		
	2-3101		
	2-311		
	2-3111		
	2-312		
	2-313		
	2-314		
	2-3141		
	2-315		
	2-3151		
	2-316		
	2-317		
	2-318		
1-401	2-401	3-401	
	2-4011		
1-402	2-402	3-402	
1-403	2-403	3-403	
1-404	2-404	3-404	
	2-4041		
1-405	2-405	3-405	
1-406	2-406	3-406	
1-407	2-407	3-407	

1-408		**2-408**		**3-408**		
1-4081		2-4081		3-4081		
1-4082		2-4082		3-4082		
1-4083		2-4083		3-4083		
		2-4084				
		2-4085				
		2-4086				
		2-4087				
1-409		**2-409**		**3-409**		
1-410		**2-410**		**3-410**		
1-411		**2-411**		**3-411**		
1-412		**2-412**		**3-412**		
1-413		**2-413**		**3-413**		
1-414		**2-414**		**3-414**		
1-415		**2-415**		**3-415**		
1-416		**2-416**		**3-416**		
1-501		**2-501**		**3-501**		
1-502		**2-502**				
1-503		**2-503**		**3-503**		
1-504		**2-504**		**3-504**		
1-5041		2-5041		3-5041		
1-5042		2-5042		3-5042		
1-5043		2-5043		3-5043		
1-5044		2-5044		3-5044		
1-5045		2-5045		3-5045		
1-505		**2-505**		**3-505**		
1-5051		2-5051		3-5051		
1-5052		2-5052		3-5052		
1-5053		2-5053		3-5053		
1-5054		2-5054		3-5054		
1-5055		2-5055		3-5055		
1-506		**2-506**		**3-506**		
1-507		**2-507**		**3-507**		
1-601		**2-601**				
1-6011		2-6011				
1-602		**2-602**				
		2-6021				
1-603		**2-603**		**3-603**		
1-604		**2-604**		**3-604**		
1-605		**2-605**		**3-605**		
1-606		**2-606**		**3-606**		
1-607		**2-607**		**3-607**		
1-608		**2-608**		**3-608**		
1-701		**2-701**		**3-701**		
1-702		**2-702**		**3-702**		
1-7031		2-7031		3-7031		
1-7032		2-7032		3-7032		
1-704		**2-704**		**3-704**		
1-705		**2-705**		**3-705**		
1-7051		2-7051		3-7051		
1-7052		2-7052		3-7052		
1-7053		2-7053		3-7053		
1-706		**2-706**		**3-706**		
1-7061		2-7061		3-7061		
1-7062		2-7062		3-7062		
1-7063		2-7063		3-7063		
1-7064						
1-Total		**2-Total**		**3-Total**		
					row	**column**
					Total	

Appendix 3:
Reliability Test for Euromanifesto Coders

Excerpts from the LDP 1999 Euromanifesto

Codes

You are free to code this text on paper or on your computer (text is also available as Word file). For coding the file you can use this mark: ▰
Simply cut and paste ▰. The right column of this file can be used to enter codes, even two in a row. Please fill out a coding sheet and e-mail or mail the documents back to the supervisor.

3-000
3-000

Devolving Decisions, Giving People More Power

The European Union we want to see is diverse, democratic and decentralised. Our approach is simple: 'local where possible, European where necessary'. In some cases - foreign and security policy for instance - there is an overwhelming argument for adding a European dimension to the policy making process. But in others the logic points to national or local decisions being taken. In all cases our starting point is the basic liberal conviction that power should be exercised at the lowest practical level.

That is why we favour radical reform of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and replacement of the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) with new devolved systems based on national or regional management structures (see final chapter). It is also why, in the economic sphere, we would resist calls for across-the-board tax harmonisation throughout Europe. We are certainly willing to work with our EU partners on the basis of unanimity to remove inefficient tax anomalies and loopholes which distort markets. But we do not believe that harmonisation of tax rates on a broader basis is desirable or necessary.

Decisions about what should and should not be a legitimate concern of the EU must not be made on an ad hoc basis. We believe that the hotchpotch of European treaties should now be clarified and the respective functions of the European, national and regional tiers clearly set out.

That is why the Liberal Democrats would work for the introduction of a Constitution for Europe to define and limit the powers of EU institutions. Such a document would set out which decisions should rightfully be taken at which level. It would enhance transparency by clarifying and simplifying European treaties. It would guard against any unnecessary accumulation of powers by the centre and set out the rights of individual citizens. And it would provide a stable and legitimate framework for the democratic development of European politics at all levels.

But democracy is about more than decentralisation. It is also about openness and transparency. That is why we want to empower those politicians who are directly elected, while making those who are not elected more accountable.

To that end, we support:

- a more democratic EU. The European Parliament is the EU's only directly elected democratic institution. It should have more power to hold to account the other EU institutions; it should have equal status with the Council in European law making; it should have the power to vet and veto the appointment of each and every Commissioner and, if necessary, sack individual Commissioners.

- better scrutiny of MEPs. With power comes responsibility. That is why we believe that as the powers of the Parliament grow, MEPs themselves should be subject to greater scrutiny. We support the creation of a statute setting out MEPs' responsibilities and conditions of service, including remuneration.

- freedom of Information in Europe. Brussels must be subject to the same standards of freedom of information that we seek for the UK. Experience shows that secretive government is usually bad and inefficient government. All EU institutions, including the Council of Ministers, must be subject to comprehensive freedom of information legislation.

- better scrutiny of European affairs in UK Parliaments. British Ministers should come before an open session of the UK Parliament, both before and after meetings of the Council of Ministers at which they represent the UK, and be held to account for the decisions they take. Parliamentary committees, in the Commons and the Lords, should also be strengthened to ensure that they can rigorously scrutinise EU laws. In time, the legislatures in Belfast, Cardiff and Edinburgh should do likewise for issues within their competence.

- open meetings of the Council of Ministers when acting in a legislative capacity. Our Parliaments, Assemblies and Council Chambers in Britain are open to the public and a record is kept of all debates and voting records. The same should apply to Ministers when discussing and voting on proposed legislation in Europe.

- greater accountability for the European Central Bank. Again, what we expect in Britain, we should also expect in the European Union. The European Central Bank, like the Bank of England, should enjoy full independence in its day to day decision making. But it should also publish, on a timely basis, minutes of its meetings. And the Monetary Committee of the European Parliament, like the Treasury Select Committee at Westminster, should have the resources and expertise to scrutinise the Bank's workings.

(…)

Benefiting From Co-operation

Prosperity and peace are not the only areas in which we can achieve more in Europe than we can on our own. Increasingly our lives in Britain are affected by regional developments and global forces against which national borders provide little or no protection. Chief among them are environmental degradation, international crime and the displacement or movement of refugees and immigrants. Each of these is an international problem which requires an international solution.

That is why we are determined to work with our European partners to:

- reduce pollution and protect the environment. If ever there was an obvious case for working with others, it is in the effort to reduce pollution and protect our natural environment. For that reason, the EU has taken the lead in raising environmental standards within member states, and action plans have been put into place to help clean up the environment of countries applying to join the EU. We believe that rapid progress could, and should, be made beyond the EU target of an 8% cut in greenhouse gas emissions from 1990 levels by 2010. One of the most effective ways of achieving this would be to switch taxation across Europe from jobs, incomes and wealth creation, and onto pollution instead. EU action has also been particularly important in improving water quality around Europe's coasts; Liberal Democrats would seek to ensure that Britain's marine environment achieves higher compliance with the standards set by the EU.

- guarantee free and fair trade. The EU must not become a protectionist trading bloc. Thus far, the EU has a commendable record in maintaining the momentum of liberalisation in the global market. This momentum must be sustained throughout the proposed round of World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiations expected to begin shortly – the so-called 'Millennium Round'. The EU has proved to be a powerful trading area which is able to act as a counterweight to the USA and to promote free and fair trade. Liberal Democrats will support EU measures that are designed to create a dynamic international economy. EU policies must reflect the commitment under the Maastricht Treaty to enable the smooth and gradual integration of developing countries into the world economy. We also believe that policies should be framed so as to protect and strengthen international environmental standards, and improve global labour conditions. We want to see an effective regulatory regime to end any abuse of market power by transnational corporations.

- crack down on international crime. The European Union has established a Europe-wide criminal intelligence service, Europol. It is intended to facilitate co-operation between different national police authorities. We fully support Europol as part of the war against cross-border crime. We believe that Europol should be given the resources to do more to combat trafficking in drugs and weapons. But we are not satisfied that Europol's procedures have been properly framed so as to protect civil liberties, or that there are effective judicial and parliamentary scrutiny procedures in place. In particular, we oppose the immunity from prosecution granted to Europol officers - an immunity which effectively places them above the law. We will work to make Europol more effective and more accountable.

- guarantee equal rights and justice. Establishing and protecting the rights of the innocent is as important as preventing and punishing the crimes of the guilty. For that reason we warmly welcome the fact that the European Convention on Human Rights has at long last been incorporated into British law. The European Court of Justice has also played an essential role in the development of Europe. It has established new rights for citizens, such as women's rights to equal pay. Liberal Democrats will continue to support the Court's work in maintaining high standards of equality and opportunity throughout the Union. But more can be done. In particular, we need to ensure that EU legislation is implemented evenly across all member states. The Commission should establish a swifter and more effective mechanism for acting against negligent or recalcitrant member states which drag their feet over implementing agreed policies. Also, we welcome the inclusion of the need to combat racial discrimination within the scope of the European Union, as agreed in the Treaty of Amsterdam, but much work needs to be done to make this commitment a reality.