PIREDEU

Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union

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Unit of analysis	Content analysis of 196 election programs in 27 countries
Topics	Euromanifestos have been coded using a hierarchical classification scheme containing nine domains subdivided into different categories and subcategories.
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TEXT TO BE USED IN PUBLICATIONS

The data are available for public use and are to be cited as follows:
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0. Introduction

On the following pages, the Euromanifesto Project (EMP) 2009 is documented. The project's aim was to collect all Euromanifestos (party programs) issued by political parties ahead of the 2009 election to the European Parliament (EP) in 27 EU member countries. It contains information on the selection of parties and party programs, and the actual selected, collected and coded manifestos are illustrated. Moreover, we describe the EMP 2009 in detail – the two-step coding procedure (unitizing and coding) and refer to specific coding problems and difficulties. We also provide information on coders, the timeframe of coding, the initial training procedure, data treatment, and the reliability of the data. Additionally, we prepared an appendix, including an extensive documentation of the third edition of the Euromanifestos Coding Scheme (EMCS) which was meant to be used as a manual for the coding of all Euromanifestos.

The EMP 2009 is the third project phase of the overall EMP 1979-2009 which is itself based on the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP). Therefore, coding rules and examples as well as general information on the project are heavily based on the first editions of the EMCS[1] and documentations[2]. The roots of the EMCS, however, go back to the second edition of the "Manifesto Coding Instructions" compiled by Andrea Volkens[3] at the WZB in Berlin. As it is the intention of the EMP to strive for full comparability with both the CMP and the previous (1979-2004) EMP content codes, most coding rules have been adapted from the original handbook.

1. General Information on Manifesto Projects

The object of analyzing election programs is to measure issue emphases and policy positions of political parties across countries within a common framework. Election programs are taken as indicators of the parties' issue emphases and policy positions at a certain point in time. In order to estimate those issue emphases and policy positions, 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.

[1] Wüst, Andreas M. and Andrea Volkens (2003), "Euromanifesto Coding Instructions", *MZES Working Paper*, 64.
[2] Braun, Daniela, Maike Salzwedel, Christian Stumpf and Andreas M. Wüst (2006), "Euromanifesto Documentation", available online: http://www.ees-homepage.net/?site=euromanifestos).
[3] Volkens, Andrea (2002), "Manifesto Coding Instructions", *Discussion Paper*, FS III 02-201, Berlin, WZB.

A first version of the original coding scheme was developed by David Robertson[4] for the purpose of analyzing the modes of party competition in Britain. In 1979, the "Manifesto Research Group" (MRG) was constituted as a Standing Group of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) by scholars interested in comparative content-analyses of policy positions and issue emphases of political parties. As a result of their work, the classification scheme was extended and revised so that it could be applied in additional countries. Since 1989 the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) provides resources for updating and expanding the MRG data set in the new framework of its "Comparative Manifestos Project" (CMP).

In 2000, Hermann Schmitt started to apply the MRG/CMP approach of analyzing party manifesto content to European Parliament elections. The "Euromanifesto Project" at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES) since has strived to collect and code all European Parliament election programs of all parties ever represented in that body. For the dual purpose of (a) maintaining comparability with the MRG/CMP and (b) being able to grasp EU-specific content absent in national manifestos, the standard MRG/CMP coding frame was modified as described in Wüst and Volkens (2003).[5]

1.1 Selection of Parties

The collection of manifestos should cover all the relevant parties. In general, the relevance of parties is given by their representation in the national parliament. Depending on the electoral system applied, this simple criterion might be misleading however. Giovanni Sartori[6] therefore defines relevance as the coalition (governmental) or blackmail potential of a party in a given party system. Coalition potential is (1) the actual or former membership in a government or (2) the possibility (feasibility) of becoming a government party. Blackmail potential is 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". These criteria have been used in the MRG/CMP projects.

At the EU level, neither formal coalitions are build nor governments are formed as a result of the election. Therefore, somewhat broader criteria are applied to define the relevance of a

[4] Robertson, David (1976), *A Theory of Party Competition*, London, Wiley.
[5] Wüst and Volkens, 2003, *Euromanifesto Coding Instructions*.
[6] Sartori, Giovanni (1976), *Parties and Party Systems. A Framework for Analysis*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP (cf. especially pp. 121-125).

party: **Relevant parties in the EU are those that have been represented in the European Parliament at least once.**

1.2 Selection of Programs

Programmatic statements are central features of political 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 bases 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 themes, problems and political positions and, therefore, can be seen as a "set of key central statements".[7]
- 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 tend to be published ahead of successive elections. Thus, changes of issue emphases and policy positions of parties can be studied in a diachronic perspective.

The documents that are collected, in each EU country, are the platforms of parties that they publish ahead of the election to the European Parliament. The sources of gathering these programs may vary: they often come from the parties themselves, but they are also found in associated research and educational institutes, or in publications such as 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 by party spokesmen about policy positions and goals for the upcoming legislature. In any case, the ideal type of a document which summarizes authoritative statements of the party's policy positions for electioneering should be achieved as far as possible. In the following chapter all relevant documents which have been collected in 2009 by the Euromanifesto coders are reported. The documents have been saved as PDF-files as well as ASCII-files and are accessible on demand.

[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 UP, p. 18.

2. Coded Euromanifestos 2009

This chapter provides information on the 197 collected and 196 coded manifestos[8] issued ahead to the EP elections 2009. Table 1 below includes information on the parties, party codes[9] and the type of each document.

Table 1: Coded Manifestos 2009

Initials	Party Name	Party ID	Type of Manifesto
EUROPE (EURO Parties)[10]			
GREENS/ EFA	Group of the Greens / European Free Alliance	10100	EM[11]
GUE/ NGL	Confederal Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left	10200	EM
PES	Party of European Socialists	10300	EM
ALDE	Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	10400	EM
EPP-ED	European People's Party-European Democrats	10600	EM
UEN	Union for Europe of the Nations Group	10700	Other[12] (Image document)
IND/ DEM	Independence/Democracy Group	10950	Other (Image document)
AUSTRIA			
GRÜNE	Die Grünen *The Greens*	1040110 (42110)	EM
SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs *Social Democratic Party of Austria*	1040320 (42320)	EM
LF	Liberales Forum *Liberal Forum*	1040490 (42421)	EM
ÖVP	Österreichische Volkspartei *Austrian People's Party*	1040520 (42520)	EM
FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs *Freedom Party of Austria*	1040720 (42420)	Flyer
IND[13]	Liste "Hans-Peter Martin" *List "Hans-Peter Martin"*	1040951 (42951)	Flyer
BELGIUM			
	Flemish Parties		
GROEN!	GROEN! *Green!*	1056112 (21112)	EM
SP.A	Socialistische Partij Anders *Socialist Party Different*	1056327 (21321)	EM
OPEN VLD	Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten *Flemish Liberals and Democrats*	1056421 (21421)	EM (Manifesto of ELDR)

[8] Note to the differing numbers of collected and coded manifestos: Since the Euromanifestos of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) from Northern Ireland and the UK Conservative Party (CON) are identical, only one document has been coded.

[9] Two different party IDs are reported: The first one is PIRDEU's master party ID, the second one in brackets the Party ID used in Manifesto Projects (CMP, Euromanifesto).

[10] EURO-Parties are political groups of the European Parliament. Since no PIRDEU Master-Code for these EURO-Parties has been provided, we assigned '999' for EURO-Parties within the data set.

[11] EM means that an official „Euromanifesto" has been used.

[12] In case that we used another official document it will be specified in each case in brackets.

[13] IND means "independent candidate".

CD&V	Christen-Demokratisch & Vlaams *Christian Democratic & Flemish Party*	1056521 (21521)	EM
LDD	Lijst Dedecker *List Dedecker*	1056600 (21428)	EM
VB	Vlaams Blok *Flemish Block*	1056711 (21914)	EM (Manifesto of Vlaams Belang)
NVA	Nieuw-Vlaamse-Alliantie *New Flemish Alliance*	1056913 (21913)	EM
	Francophone Parties		
ECOLO	Ecologistes Conféderés *Green Party*	1056111 (21111)	EM
PS	Parti Socialiste *Socialist Party*	1056322 (21322)	EM
MR	Mouvement reformateur *Reformist Movement*	1056427 (21427)	EM
cdH	Centre Democrate Humaniste *Humanist Democratic Centre*	1056522 (21522)	EM
FN	Front National *National Front*	1056710 (21710)	Excerpt of General Manifesto
	Germanophone Parties		
CSP	Christlich Soziale Partei *Christian Social Party*	1056523 (21909)	EM
BULGARIA			
BSP	Balgarska Socialisticheska Partija *Bulgarian Socialist Party*	1100300 (80220)	EM
NDSV	Nazionalno Dwizhenie za Stabilnost i Prosperitet *National Movement for Stability and Progress*	1100400 (80902)	EM
GERB	Grazhdani za Evropejsko Razvitie na Bulgaria *Citizens for a European Development of Bulgaria*	1100600 (80620)	EM
ATAKA	Ataka *Attack*	1100700 (80710)	EM
DPS	Dvizhenie za Prava i Swobodi *Movement for Rights and Freedoms*	1100900 (80420)	EM
	Electoral alliance		
SK	Sinjata Koalicija *The Blue Coalition*	1100001 (80410)	EM
CYPRUS			
AKEL	Anorthotikon Komma Ergazemenou Laou *Progressive Party of Working People*	1196321 (36220)	EM
EDEK	Kinima Sosialdimokraton *Movement for Social Democracy*	1196322 (36322)	Manifesto of the Party Leader
DIKO	Dimokratikon Komma *Democratic Party*	1196422 (36420)	EM
DISY	Dimokratikos Sinagermos *Democratic Rally*	1196711 (36510)	EM
CZECH REPUBLIC			
NEZ	Nezávislí - Politcké Hnutí *Independents - Political Movement*	1203021 (82952)	EM
KSCM	Kommunistická strana Čech a Moravy *Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia*	1203220 (82220)	EM
CSSD	Česká strana sociálne demokratická *Czech Social Democratic Party*	1203320 (82320)	EM

SNK-ED	Sdružení nezávislých a Evropských demokratu *Association of Independent and European Democrats*	1203321 (82321)	EM
ODS	Občanská demokratická strana *Civic Democratic Party*	1203413 (82413)	EM
KDU-CSL	Křest'ansko-demokratická strana – Česká strana lidová *Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party*	1203523 (82523)	EM
DENMARK			
FB	Folkebevægelsen Mod EU *People's Movement against the EU*	1208054 (13954)	EM
JB	JuniBevægelsen *June Movement*	1208055 (13955)	Other (Flyer)
SD	Socialdemokraterna *Social Democrats*	1208320 (13320)	EM
SF	Socialistisk Folkeparti *Socialist People's Party*	1208330 (13230)	EM
RV	Det Radikale Venstre *Danish Social Liberal Party*	1208410 (13410)	EM
V	Venstre – Danmarks Liberale Parti *Left – Denmark's Liberal Party*	1208420 (13420)	EM
KF	Det Konservative Folkepartiet *Conservative People's Party*	1208620 (13620)	EM
DF	Dansk Folkeparti *Danish People's Party*	1208720 (13710)	Excerpt of National Manifesto
ESTONIA			
IND	Indrek Tarand *Independent candidate*	1233003 (83955)	Manifesto of the Party Leader
SDE	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond *Social Democratic Party*	1233410 (83410)	EM
KE	Eesti Keskerakond *Estonian Centre Party*	1233411 (83411)	EM
ER	Eesti Reformierakond *Estonian Reform Party*	1233430 (83430)	EM
IRL	Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit *Union of Pro Patria and Res Publica*	1233613 (83720)	EM
FINLAND			
VIHR	Vihreä Liitto *Green League*	1246110 (14110)	EM (Manifesto of GREENS)
VAS	Vasemmistoliitto *Left Alliance*	1246223 (14223)	EM
SDP	Suomen Sosiaalidemokraattinen Puolue *Social Democratic Party of Finland*	1246320 (14320)	EM
KD	Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit *Christian Democrats in Finland*	1246520 (14520)	EM
KOK	Kansallinen Kokoomus *National Coalition Party*	1246620 (14620)	Other (Preference List)
KESK	Suomen Keskusta *Centre Party of Finland*	1246810 (14810)	EM
PERUS	Perussuomalaiset *True Finns*	1246820 (14701)	EM
RKP/SFP	Ruotsalainen Kansanpuolue/ Svenska Folkpartiet I Finland *Swedish People's Party in Finland*	1246901 (14901)	EM

FRANCE			
EE	Europe Écologie *Europe Ecology*	1250190 (31112)	EM
PS	Parti Socialiste *Socialist Party*	1250320 (31320)	Excerpt of General Manifesto
MoDEM	Mouvemente Democrate pour l'Europe *Democratic Movement for Europe*	1250336 (31950)	EM
FN	Front National *National Front*	1250720 (31720)	EM
	Electoral Alliances		
FG	Le Front de Gauche *Left Front*	1250026 (31223)	Other (Concept)
Libertas	Libertas - en marche pour une autre Europe Libertas - running for another Europe	1250090 (31951)	Other (Concept)
Ext. gauche	Extrême gauche *Extreme left*	1250226 (31221)	Other (Homepage Preference List of Lutte Ouvrière)
UMP	Union pour un mouvement populaire *Union for a Popular Movement*	1250626 (31645)	EM
AOM	Alliance des Outre-Mers Alliance of the Overseas	1250955 (31953)	Short Manifesto of the Party Leader
GERMANY			
B90/GR	Bündnis '90/Grüne *Alliance '90/Greens*	1276113 (41113)	EM
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands *Social Democratic Party*	1276320 (41320)	EM
Die Linke	Die Linke *The Left*	1276321 (41221)	EM
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei- Die Liberalen *Free Democratic Party – The Liberals*	1276420 (41420)	EM
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union *Christian Democratic Union*	1276521 (41521)	EM
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union *Christian Social Union*	1276522 (41522)	EM
REP	Die Republikaner *The Republicans*	1276701 (41701)	EM (Preference List)
GREECE			
OP	Oikologoi Prassinoi *Ecologists Greens*	1300116 (34701)	Other (Homepage Preference List)
KKE	Kommounistiko Komma Ellados *Communist Party of Greece*	1300210 (34210)	Other (Image document)
SYRIZA	Synaspismós Rizospastikís Aristerás *Coalition of the Radical Left*	1300215 (34211)	EM
PASOK	Panellinio Socialistico Kinima *Panhellenic Socialist Movement*	1300313 (34313)	EM
ND	Nea Dimokratia *New Democracy*	1300511 (34511)	EM
LAOS	Laekos Orthodoxos Synagermos *Popular Orthodox Rally*	1300703 (34703)	Other (Image document)
HUNGARY			
MSZP	Magyar Szocialista Párt *Hungarian Socialist Party*	1348220 (86220)	Other (Excerpt of Fidesz program)
SZDSZ	Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége *Alliance of Free Democrats*	1348422 (86422)	EM
MDF	Magyar Demokrata Fórum *Hungarian Democratic Forum*	1348521 (86521)	Other (Image document)

JOBBIK	Jobbik Magyarorszagert Mozgalom *Movement for a Better Hungary*	1348700 (86701)	EM
	Electoral alliance		
FIDESZ	Fidez - Magyar Polgári Szövetség *Fidez - Hungarian Civic Union*	1348421 (86524)	EM
IRELAND			
IND	Marian Harkin *Independent candidate* (ALDE)	1372001 (53425)	EM
IND	Joe Higgins *Independent candidate* (IND/DEM)	1372002 (53225)	Other (Flyer)
GP	Comahoantas Glas - *Green Party*	1372110 (53110)	EM
Lab	Labour Party	1372320 (53320)	EM
SP	Socialist Party	1372321 (53220)	Other (Concept)
FG	Fine Gael - *Family of the Irish*	1372520 (53520)	EM
FF	Fianna Fáil – The Republican Party	1372620 (53620)	EM
SF	Sinn Féin – *We Ourselves*	1372951 (53951)	EM
ITALY			
PD	Partito democratico *Democratic Party*	1380331 (32331)	EM
Bonino-Pannella	Partito Radicale – Lista Bonino-Pannella *Radical Party – List Bonino-Pannella*	1380401 (32310)	Other (Flyer)
UDC	Unione dei democratici cristiani e dei democratici di centro *Union of Christian and Centre democrats*	1380523 (32523)	Other (Flyer)
PDL	Popolo della Liberta *The People of Freedom*	1380630 (32630)	EM (Manifesto of EPP) + Preference List
LN	Lega Nord *North League*	1380720 (32720)	Excerpt of General Manifesto
SVP	Südtiroler Volkspartei *South Tyrol People's Party*	1380958 (32912)	Other (Preference List)
	Electoral alliances		
SEL	Sinistra, Ecologia e Libertà *Left, Ecology and Freedom*	1380007 (32333)	EM
Altra	Lista Anticapitalista – Un'altra Europa *List Anticapitalist – Another Europe*	1380221 (32221)	EM
IdV	Italia dei Valori – Lista Di Petrio *Italy of Values – List of Petrio*	1380902 (32422)	Other (Flyer)
	L' Autonomia *The Autonomy*	1380955 (32953)	Other (Flyer)
LATVIA			
SC	Saskanas Centrs *Harmony Centre*	1428317 (87221)	EM
JL	Jaunais laiks *New Era*	1428423 (87431)	EM
TP	Tautas partija *People's Party*	1428610 (87610)	EM
PS	Pilsoniska Savieniba *Civic Union*	1428611 (87611)	EM
TB/LNNK	Apvienība "Tēvzemei un Brīvībai"/LNNK *Alliance "Fatherland and Freedom"/LNNK*	1428723 (87723)	EM

	Electoral alliances		
PCTVL	Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā *For Human Rights in an United Latvia*	1428422 (87951)	EM
LPP/LC	Latvijas Pirmā Partija - Latvijas Ceļš *Latvian First Party – Latvia's Way*	1428424 (87424)	EM
LITHUANIA			
TT	Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas *Order and Justice Party*	1440021 (88522)	EM
LSDP	Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija *Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party*	1440320 (88320)	EM
LiCS	Liberalų ir Centro Sąjunga *Liberal and Centre Union*	1440420 (88433)	EM
LRLS	Lietuvos Respublikos liberalų sąjūdis *Liberal's Movement of the Republic of Lithuania*	1440421 (88423)	EM
DP	Darbo Partija *Labour Party*	1440422 (88322)	EM
TS-LKD	Tėvynės sąjunga – Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai *Homeland Union – Lithuanian Christian Democrats*	1440620 (88621)	EM
LVLS	Lietuvos valstiečių liaudininkų sąjunga *Lithuanian Peasants People Union*	1440824 (88524)	EM
LLRA	Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija *Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action*	1440952 (88951)	EM
LUXEMBOURG			
DG	Déi Gréng *The Greens*	1442113 (23113)	Excerpt of General Manifesto
LSAP	Letzebuergesch Sozialistesch Arbechterpartei *Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party*	1442320 (23320)	EM
DP	Demokratesch Partei *Democratic Party*	1442420 (23420)	Excerpt of General Manifesto
CSV	Chreschtlich Sozial Volleкspartei *Christian Social People's Party*	1442520 (23520)	EM
MALTA			
PL	Partit Laburista *Labour Party*	1470300 (37320)	Other (Concept)
PN	Partit Nazzjonalista *Nationalist Party*	1470500 (37520)	EM
THE NETHERLANDS			
GL	GroenLinks *Green Left*	1528110 (22110)	EM
SP	Socialistische Partij *Socialist Party*	1528220 (22210)	EM
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid *Labour Party*	1528320 (22320)	EM
D66	Democraten 66 *Democrats 66*	1528330 (22330)	EM
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie *People's Party for Freedom and Democracy*	1528420 (22420)	EM
CDA	Christen Democratisch Appel *Christian Democratic Appeal*	1528521 (22521)	EM
PVV	Partij voor de Vrijheid *Party for Freedom*	1528600 (22721)	EM
	Electoral alliance		

CU/SGP	ChristenUnie + Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij *Christian Union + Reformed Political Party*	1528528 (22225)	EM
POLAND			
PO	Platforma Obywatelska *Civic Platform*	1616435 (92435)	EM (Manifesto of EPP)
PiS	Prawo I Sprawiedliwość *Law and Justice*	1616436 (92436)	Excerpt of General Manifesto
SO	Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej *Self Defence of the Republic of Poland*	1616622 (92622)	EM
PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe *Polish People's Party*	1616811 (92811)	EM
	Electoral alliances		
PdP-CL	Porozumienie dla Przyszlosci – CentroLewica *Coalition Agreement for the Future – CentreLeft*	1616011 (92437)	EM
SLD-UP	Koalicja Sojuszu Lewicy Demokratycznej I Unii Pracy *Election Coalition Committee of the Democratic Left Alliance - Labour Union*	1616012 (92210)	EM (Manifesto of PES)
PORTUGAL			
B.E.	Bloco do Esquerda *Left Bloc*	1620211 (35223)	EM
PS	Partido Socialista Portuguêsa *Socialist Party*	1620311 (35311)	EM
PSD	Partido Social Democrata *Social Democratic Party*	1620313 (35313)	EM (Preference List)
CDS-PP	Centro Democrático Social - Partido Popular *Democratic and Social Center – Popular Party*	1620314 (35314)	EM
	Electoral alliance		
CDU	Coligaçao Democratica Unitaria *Democratic Union Coalition*	1620229 (35225)	EM
ROMANIA			
IND	Elena Băsescu *Independent candidate*	1642000 (93952)	Other (Concept)
PD-L	Partidul Democrat-Liberal *Democratic Liberal Party*	1642400 (93323)	EM
PNL	Partidul Naţional Liberal *National Liberal Party*	1642401 (93430)	EM
PRM	Partidul România Mare *Greater Romanian Party*	1642700 (93712)	Other (Preference List)
UDMR (RMDSZ)	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România (Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség) *Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania*	1642900 (93951)	EM
	Electoral alliance		
PSD-PC	Alianţa Politică Partidul Social Democrat + Partidul Conservator *Social Democratic Party + Conservative Party Alliance*	PSD:1642300 PC: 1642600 (93601)	EM (joint Manifesto of PSD and PC)
SLOVAKIA			
Smer	Strana Smer – Tretia Cesta	1703423	EM

	Party Direction - Social Democracy	(96423)	
KDH	Krest'ansko-demokratické hnutie *Christian Democratic Movement*	1703521 (96521)	EM
SDKÚ-DS	Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská únia - Demokratická strana *Slovak democratic and Christian Union – Democratic Party*	1703523 (96523)	EM
SNS	Slovenská národná strana *Slovak National Party*	1703710 (96710)	Other (Preference List of the Party Leader)
L'S-HZDS	L'udova strana-Hnutie za Demokratické Slovensko *People's Party - Movement for Democratic Slovakia*	1703711 (96711)	EM
SMK-MKP	Strana maďarskej koalície – Magyar Koalíció Pártja *Party of the Hungarian Coalition*	1703954 (96955)	EM
SLOVENIA			
SDS	Slovenska demokratska stranka *Slovenian Democratic Party*	1705320 (97320)	Other (Image document)
SD	Socialnih demokratov *Social Democrats*	1705323 (97321)	EM (PES)
Zares	Zares *For Real*	1705324 (97431)	EM
LDS	Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije *Liberal Democracy of Slovenia*	1705421 (97421)	Other (Homepage Preference List)
SLS	SLS Slovenska Ljudska Stranka *SLS Slovenian People's Party*	1705521 (97620)	Other (Homepage Preference List)
NSi	Nova Slovenija Kršèanski Ljudska Stranka *New Slovenia - Christian People's Party*	1705522 (97522)	EM
SPAIN			
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español *Spanish Socialist Workers' Party*	1724320 (33320)	EM
CDS	Centro Democrático y Social/Coalición Foro *Social and Democratic Center/Coalition Forum*	1724321 (33512)	EM
PP	Partido Popular *People's Party*	1724610 (33610)	EM
	Electoral alliances		
CiU	Convèrgencia I Unió *Convergence and Union*	1724007 (33611)	EM
UPyD	Unión progreso y democracia *Union, Progress, and Democracy*	1724010 (33440)	EM
Los Verdes	Partido Verde Europeo *European Green Party*	1724101 (33101)	EM
IU-ICV	Izquierda Unida *United Left*	1724220 (33220)	EM (Manifesto of Izquierda Unida)
PNV-EAJ	Partido Nazionalista Vasco - Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea *Basque Nationalist Party*	1724902 (33902)	EM
ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya *Republican Left of Catalonia*	1724905 (33905)	EM
BNG	Bloque Nacionalista Galego *Galician Nacionalist Bloc*	1724908 (33911)	EM
SWEDEN			
PP	Piratpartiet	1752000	Excerpt of General

	Pirate Party	(11953)	Manifesto
MP	Miljöpartiet de Gröna *Environmental Party the Greens*	1752110 (11110)	EM
V	Vänsterpartiet *Left Party*	1752220 (11220)	EM
S	Sverige Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti *Swedish Social Democratic Party*	1752321 (11320)	EM
FP	Folkpartiet Liberalerna *Liberal People's Party*	1752420 (11420)	EM
KD	Kristdemokraterna *Christian Democrats*	1752520 (11520)	EM
M	Moderata Samlingspartiet *Moderate Rally Party*	1752620 (11620)	EM
C	Centerpartiet *Centre Party*	1752810 (11810)	EM
Junilistan	Junilistan	1752952 (11952)	EM
UNITED KINGDOM			
Greens	Green Party	1826110 (51110)	EM
Lab	Labour Party	1826320 (51320)	EM
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party	1826421 (51421)	EM
CON	Conservative Party	1826620 (51620)	EM
BNP	British National Party	1826720 (51701)	EM
PC	Plaid Cymru	1826901 (51901)	EM
SNP	Scottish National Party	1826902 (51902)	EM
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party	1826951 (51951)	Other (Preference List)
	Northern Irish Parties		
SF	Sinn Féin “We Ourselves”	1826210 (51953)	EM
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party	1826621 (51904)	EM (Manifesto of CON)
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party	1826724 (51340)	EM
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party	1826903 (51903)	EM (Flyer)

3. Euromanifesto Project 2009

In this chapter we will discuss, first, some general issues on data quality in content analysis, explain the reasons for some changes having been introduced in the EMP 2009, and present the Euromanifesto Coding Routine, which has been built in order to simplify the coding scheme allowing for the application of a hierarchical coding decision approach. Subsequently, we will outline extensively the two-step coding procedure – unitizing and classification –, refer to specific coding problems or difficulties, and report in a last step some useful information on the expert coders, the training procedure, and the overall timeframe.

3.1 Data quality in content analysis

Content analysis can be reduced to two basic data generating steps.[14] First, texts are divided into smaller units relevant to the research question, such as words, sentences, or quasi-sentences. Second, in the coding step each text unit is assigned a category from the coding scheme to each text unit. The reliability of the dataset produced in the coding process depends on the reliability of each of these two steps. Moreover, a research procedure, according to Krippendorff, "is reliable when it responds to the same phenomena in the same way regardless of the circumstances of its implementation.[15] In content analysis, this means that the reading of textual data as well as of the research results is replicable elsewhere, that researchers demonstrably agree on what they are talking about". Krippendorff identifies three types of reliability: stability, reproducibility, and accuracy.[16] Stability is concerned with possible change of coding results on repeated trials. This type of reliability has a coder reanalysing the same manifesto after a period of time in order to highlight any intra-coder disagreement. A stronger measure of reliability is reproducibility, also called inter-coder reliability. This measure assesses the degree of replication of coding results by two distinct coders working separately. It covers intra-coder disagreement and inter-coder differences in interpretation and application of the coding scheme. Accuracy tests the conformity of coding process and data generation procedure to some canonical standard, and is perceived to be the strongest test of reliability. It can be used effectively at the training stage when coder's performance can be compared to some 'true' results.

[14] Krippendorff 2004, *Content analysis*, p. 219.
[15] Ibid., p. 211.
[16] Ibid., p. 214.

Historically Euromanifestos were coded following the methodology developed by the CMP with a somewhat extended coding scheme that was deemed necessary to classify the issues that are discussed at the elections to the European Parliament. Adopting the CMP methodology means that data issues associated with the CMP are likely to be equally relevant to the data produced by the Euromanifesto project. We know with certainty that the coding process as applied in the CMP is characterized by significant misclassification.[17] Coders disagree with the CMP master codings (`gold standard' in the CMP terminology) when assigning text units to CMP coding categories. Since different coders all have different correlations with the CMP gold standard, we also know with certainty that different CMP coders disagree with each other when coding the master documents. Mikhaylov, Laver, and Benoit characterize this disagreement as stochastic coding error and derive estimates of the scale of this.[18] They experimentally show that the inter-coder reliability of the CMP dataset may be very low. The same authors also found that, under the assumption that the gold standard is correct, some categories in the CMP scheme are much more susceptible to coding error than others. The results of their experiments imply that coder misclassification has introduced considerable noise into existing CMP estimates, substantially more than shown to arise from the text generation process.[19] However, these conclusions are based only on multiple codings of sections of two English-language manifestos available.[20]

3.2 Improving data quality in EMP 2009

By the very nature of the data generation procedure that has been applied in the past, the Euromanifesto data faces reliability issues similar to the CMP. Even worse, the problem of misclassification may be aggravated due to a somewhat more complex coding scheme. Just like with the CMP, neither inter-coder agreement estimates nor agreement estimates between coder and the "gold standard" are available for the 1979-2004 Euromanifesto data. Furthermore, since unitizing is a stochastic process it is not clear on what, if anything, the coders are supposed to agree. Since the aim of the 2009 Euromanifesto study is to assess and

[17] Budge, Ian, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara, Eric Tannenbaum, Richard Fording, Derek Hearl, Hee Min Kim, Michael McDonald, and Silvia Mendes (eds.) (2001), *Mapping policy preferences: estimates for parties, electors, and governments, 1945-1998*. Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press.
[18] Mikhaylov, Slava, Michael Laver, and Kenneth Benoit (2008), "Coder Reliability and Misclassification in Comparative Manifesto Project Codings", *66th MPSA Annual National Conference*. Palmer House, Hilton Hotel and Towers.
[19] Benoit, Kenneth, Michael Laver, and Slava Mikhaylov (2009), "Treating Words as Data with Error: Estimating Uncertainty in Text Statements of Policy Positions", *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2), pp. 495–513.
[20] Budge, 2001, *Mapping policy preferences*.

improve the reliability of the available data, we modified the conventional EMCS coding scheme – inspired by the new methodological findings presented above – as follows:

1. In order to allow for reliable content coding, there are two main requirements for the categories of a coding scheme: they must be mutually exclusive and exhaustive.[21] The CMP and Euromanifesto coding schemes might be regarded as being exhaustive (given the relatively low proportions of uncodable arguments); anyone who ever applied one of these coding schemes knows that they tend to lack exclusiveness (which is to say that some argument can be coded in two different categories depending on the perspective the coder applies). Krippendorff suggests that exhaustiveness can be improved by the addition of a new category that represents all units not covered by other categories (e.g. "not applicable", "other").[22] Mutual exclusiveness is related to the ability of coders to clearly conceptualize the text unit they are reading. Lack of mutual exclusiveness via semantic confusion may lead to misclassification.

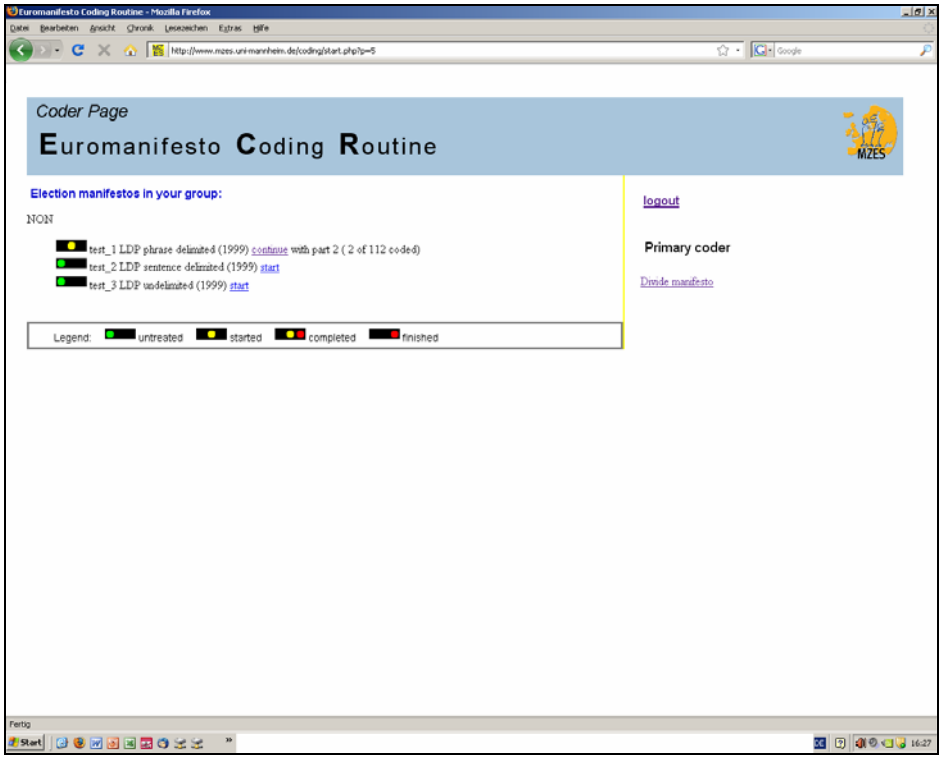
2. Krippendorff acknowledges that problems with the semantics of the data, especially mutual exclusiveness, can be difficult to resolve.[23] In practice several devices have been offered that improve the reliability of the data. A device relevant to the CMP and Euromanifesto methodology is the utilization of a decision scheme, which is uniformly reliable. According to Krippendorff, a decision scheme is characterized by a predefined sequence of decisions that produces each recorded datum.[24] This corresponds to the natural cognitive process of coders taking steps with separate criteria in mind, thus minimizing the criteria confusion. Decision schemes reduce the cognitive load on the coders by not requiring them to keep in mind a large number of categories simultaneously. Psychological research shows that an optimal number of alternatives in the cognitive process may be seven (plus or minus two).[25] Larger numbers lead to the development of coding habits and coding preferences.[26] Krippendorff also suggests that decision schemes prevent unreliability from the categories defined on different levels of generality and overlapping meaning. When

[21] Krippendorff, Klaus (2004), *Content analysis : an introduction to its methodology*, 2nd ed., Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, p. 109, p. 132.
[22] Ibid., p. 132.
[23] Ibid., p. 132.
[24] Ibid., p. 135.
[25] Miller, George A. (1956), "The magical number seven, plus or minus two: Some limits on our capacity to process information", *Psychological Review* 63 (2), pp. 81-97.
[26] Krippendorff 2004, *Content Analysis*, p. 135.

coding involves several dimensions of judgments, decision schemes allow separate decision making on each of the dimensions.[27]

While we still intend to maintain comparability with the parent CMP coding scheme, we modified the conventional EMCS coding scheme, concretely, as follows: A decision scheme approach is utilized recasting the categories in a hierarchical manner (cf. Figure 2, Appendix). Care has been taken that each hierarchical level contains no more than seven (plus or minus two) cognitive options. Inflation in the number of categories under consideration has been reduced by recasting categories as policy issues. Thus, where previously coders had to choose between two separate categories containing positive and negative connotations of the same policy issue, coders are now asked to decide whether the statement is positive or negative. Exhaustiveness of the categories is secured by including the remainder category "other" at the terminal nodes of the modified coding scheme.

Figure 1: *Euromanifesto Coding Routine*



In order to support the strictly hierarchical approach, we provide an online coding tool the *Euromanifesto Coding Routine*[28] (cf. Figure 1), and a classification scheme, the EMCS III (cf. Appendix 5.1) with invariant general categories containing nine domains with different

[27] Ibid., p. 135.
[28] We wish to acknowledge the invaluable support of Dr Christian Melbeck of the MZES who launched and revised this online tool for the purpose of the EMP 2009.

categories subdivided into subcategories. Each category sums up related issues, in such a way that changes over time can be measured across parties and countries. 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.

3.3 Coding Procedure

First of all, we transformed the party programs into ASCII-files (UTF-8 formatted) and uploaded them to the *Euromanifesto Coding Routine*. Then, coders were asked to read the manifesto carefully to get a first idea of the text to be coded, and to identify headings or subtitles included in the text.[29] Only then, they unitized all paragraphs of the manifesto and classified the assigned quasi-sentences. This two-step procedure will be described in the following chapter.

3.3.1 Unitizing: Identification of quasi-sentences

The first step is to divide the text into text units suitable for content analysis. As text units, the EMCS III utilizes quasi-sentences, which are defined as arguments. 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; however the EMP is primarily interested in 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. 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 the EMCS III purposes they 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

[29] Since the text is unformatted, headings cannot be identified in the process of the coding (using the online routine) but only by reading the original text version. In the coding process headings should be assigned the code “98”.

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:

Example: '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 ('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, but different issues within 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:

Example: 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.

3.3.2 Coding: Classification of the categories

At this stage of the coding procedure coders had to decide which of the categories of the EMCS III a quasi-sentence expresses. Each category of the EMCS III is specified by a set of typical issues and political ideas. Before starting the coding procedure, the coder should read through the EMCS III and its defining ideas and issues as well as through the manifesto itself[30] several times. Under the current hierarchical structure the EMCS III is reasonably scarce so that titles of categories and their defining characteristics can be easily memorized. The better a coder can memorize the categories and their specifications, the easier and faster the coding procedure will be.

In a first step coders identified the domain and then the category (and subcategory if available) that definitely captures the sense of the identified quasi-sentence. They repeated this procedure for every quasi-sentence in the paragraph, proceeded then to the next paragraph and repeated the coding for all quasi-sentences in the next paragraph.

Having identified the category/subcategory applicable to a given quasi-sentence, they had to decide in a second step whether the quasi-sentence has a negative (0) or a positive (1) connotation. The coder is required to read the descriptions of the categories carefully because identification of positive and negative connotations is inherently subjective. For example, the "External Relations" domain contains a category "Foreign Special Relationships (FSR)" and the subcategory "FSR to the USA". Quasi-sentences that contain favorable mentions of the USA can be viewed as expressing positive connotations of the "FSR to the USA", while unfavorable mentions of the USA can be viewed as expressing negative connotations of this subcategory. Essentially, the decision depends on the specific definition of a category, and the context of a quasi-sentence.

Having identified the positive or negative connotation of every quasi-sentence, the coder is required to identify the governmental frame (i.e. the policy level at which an argument refers to) of the argument in the quasi-sentence. The coder needs to decide whether the content

[30] Since the context may give cues on coding an otherwise ambiguous argument, coders were asked to read each paragraph before start coding the first quasi-sentence in that paragraph.

explicitly points to (1) the manifesto country (national/sub-national level) governmental system, (2) Europe or the EC/EU as a governmental frame, (3) the global or worldwide level of government or to (4) neither one of these. Since this decision can be a delicate task, an example is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Governmental Frame (Example)

Level	**Numeric code**	**Manifesto text**
National	1	We recognize that in establishing equal status for women our country lags far behind.
European	2	We welcome the directives of the EEC on the principle of equal treatment in access to employment.
Global	3	We support an international agreement on the limitation of green house gas emissions.
Unspecified	4	We totally support women's aspirations for equality.

A summary of all stages of the coding process is illustrated in Table 3: The categories are "Environmental Protection" (domain "Welfare and Quality of Life"), "Social Justice" (domain "Welfare and Quality of Life"), "Labor Groups" (domain "Social Groups"), "Political Corruption" (domain "Political System in general"), and "Multiculturalism" (domain "Fabric of Society") respectively. Semantic connotations of each quasi-sentence are "positive". Regarding the political level decision, the introductory sentence clearly indicates that the political level of the discussed political action is the European Union. Therefore, the level chosen for each quasi-sentence is "European" (2).

Table 3: Stages of the coding process (Example)

Manifesto text	**Domain**	**Category**	**Sub-category**	**Semantic connotation**	**Political level**	**Numeric code**
In the European Union, we will fight for clean air	Welfare and Quality of Life	Environmental Protection	None	Positive	European	070100 1 2
promote higher standards in water protection	Welfare and Quality of Life	Environmental Protection	None	Positive	European	070100 1 2
put the environment on top of the EP's agenda	Welfare and Quality of Life	Environmental Protection	None	Positive	European	070100 1 2
secure social justice	Welfare and Quality of Life	Social Justice	None	Positive	European	070300 1 2

guarantee the rights of employees	Social Groups	Labor Groups	None	Positive	European	090100 1 2
fight against corruption	Political System (in general)	Political Corruption	None	Positive	European	030300 1 2
retain our cultural diversity	Fabric of Society	Multiculturalism	None	Positive	European	080100 1 2

3.3.3 Coding Problems and Difficulties

Not all of the arguments are as clear as the examples given above. Three main difficulties may arise in the process of coding:

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 may be treated as 'uncoded' (99 "No code applies"). It is important to realize that 'uncoded' does not necessarily mean that a sentence is devoid of meaning; only that it cannot be fitted into the EMCS III. 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 difficult coding decisions.

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

Whenever tempted to treat a quasi-sentence as uncoded, reread the definitions of categories in the relevant policy domains because the quasi-sentence may be characterized by a seldom used category that is not easily recalled by the coder.

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 "Agriculture and Farmers" (domain "Social Groups") is recorded three times.

Decision Rule No 2: Identifying Connecting Sentences

Some sentences, which may otherwise be uncoded, may just be connecting sentences between two arguments (e.g., "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 majority of the paragraph they appear in. The same logic applies to some quasi-sentences that are part of an ongoing argument in surrounding quasi-sentences (e.g., in our example from the section above "In the European Union, we will…").

More than one category seems to apply

The opposite difficulty of uncoded 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 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".

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 "Labor Groups" (domain "Social Groups") or category "Welfare State: General" (domain "Welfare and Quality of Life") may apply.

Decision Rule No 4: Specific Policy Positions 'Beat' "Political Authority" Category

Whenever there is a choice between category "Political Authority", defined as the party's **general** competence to govern or the **general** critique of the opponent parties' competence, on the one hand and another policy specific category (e.g., "Protectionism" in domain "Economic Policies and Goals") on the other hand, the specific policy position is to be chosen.

Decision Rule No 5: Specific Policy Positions 'Beat' General Policy Areas

Whenever there is a choice between applying a more specific policy category and a general policy area, the specific policy category (e.g., "Nationalization" domain "Economic Structure") is to be chosen instead of the general policy area (e.g., "Economic Goals: General" domain "Economic Policies and Goals").

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 because one, and only one, category has to be chosen for each argument.

The statement seems unclear

Even after applying Decision Rules no. 1 to 5, 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 subsequent 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 uncoded sentences, all unclear statements should be noted and reread at the end of coding.

Some of the coding problems will be solved with growing experience. However, whenever the coder was unsure about which category is to be taken, a supervisor should be contacted. The sentences in question should be translated into English and the coding decision is then taken and explained by the supervisor.

3.4 Coders, training procedure, and timeframe

We recruited expert coders, i.e. people involved in related projects from different European countries (cf. Tab. 4), introduced the "Euromanifesto Coding Scheme" and the newly designed coding tool "Euromanifesto Coding Routine", and trained them during a two-day training-workshop. However, some coders did not participate at the workshop, because they were classified as experienced coders, having already participated in earlier project phases, and therefore in training workshops.

Starting around April/Mai 2009, the expert coders collected all relevant Euromanifestos, participated in Mai 2009 at the training workshop, and performed then the reliability test. All coders were asked to code small text – a manifesto's excerpt (see Appendix 5.3) – using the EMCS III. After the evaluation of the reliability test (in June 2009), coders started coding the Euromanifestos of their respective country. By October 2009 we have received most of the coded data – however, the coding process has been completed only in January 2010.

Table 4: Expert Coders 2009

Country	**Coder name**	**Institutional Affiliation**
Europe	Ivo Georgiev	Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation, Berlin
Austria	Alice Ludvig	Researcher, University of Vienna
Belgium (Flanders)	Patrick van der Weyden	University of Ghent
Belgium (Wallonia)	Ilona Rezsöhazy	Université Catholique de Louvain
Bulgaria	Ivo Georgiev	Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation, Berlin
Cyprus	Andreadaki Valia	Greek Ministry of Education, Athens
Czech Republic	Lukas Linek	Politics Institute of Sociology Prague
Denmark	Sofie Neergaard	Roskilde University
Estonia	Kadri Lúhiste	University of Bath
Finland	Sari Rannanpää	PhD candidate, Central European University Budapest
France	Anna Marek	Institute for research and information in health economics, Paris
Germany	Antonia Scholz	University of Stuttgart
Greece	Valia Andreadaki	Greek Ministry of Education, Athens
	Eftichia Teperoglou	University of Athens
Hungary	István Gergő Székely	Central European University Budapest
Ireland	James Fitzgerald	School of Law and Government Dublin
Italy	Nicolò Conti	University of Siena
Latvia	Zane Bandere	Graduate Institute Geneva
Lithuania	Ligita Sarkute	Kaunas University of Technology
Luxembourg	Astrid Spreitzer	Researcher, Université du Luxembourg
Malta	Ben Stanley	PhD candidate, University of Essex
The Netherlands	Janna Marieke Hoffman	University of Amsterdam
Poland	Ben Stanley	PhD candidate, University of Essex

Portugal	Inês Carneiro	"Instituto de Ciências Sociais do Trabalho e da Empresa", Lisbon
Romania	István Gergő Székely	Central European University Budapest
Slovakia	Zuzana Gabrizova	Euractiv Slovakia
Slovenia	Simona Kustec Lipicer	University of Ljubljana
Spain	María Celeste Ratto	Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
Sweden	Johan Martinsson	Gothenburg University
United Kingdom	Ben Stanley	University of Essex

4. Reliability of the data

In this chapter we discuss the issues of reliability in the Euromanifesto data. First, we assess inter-coder reliability based on tests from the 2002/04 coder training workshops. Second, the inter-coder reliability of the revised coding scheme (in conjunction with an updated coding routine) is assessed in an experimental setting. Third, the effect of unitizing is compared across two alternative unitizing strategies; the results of these alternative unitizing procedures are accessed via the inter-rater reliability and the overall validity of the results.

In order to assess the reliability of the Euromanifesto study, we designed and carried out a series of coding experiments on texts for which we possess `true' coding.[31] Our aim in doing this is to increase the professional value of the 2009 Euromanifesto data by enhancing our ability to draw reliable, valid and unbiased statistical inferences from them. The reliability experiments of Euromanifesto data assess three aspects of reliability: (a) characterize stochastic human misclassification in the data; (b) estimate inter-rater reliability; (c) estimate the agreement between the coders and the "gold standard".

In the first experiment the inter-coder reliability of the 2009 expert coders (treatment group) was compared to the inter-coder reliability results for the 2002 and 2004 expert coders.[32] The treatment is the application of the simplified EMCS coding scheme[33]. In the second

[31] It is debatable whether the concept of "gold standard" is applicable to text analysis. However, here we took texts that were used to train coders in the coder workshop in 2004, assuming that we possess the "correct" coding of those documents.

[32] Graduate students and junior researchers from different European universities participating in 2-day training session.

[33] As described above the scheme simplification took the following steps: a decision scheme approach is utilized recasting the categories in a hierarchical manner; care has been taken that each hierarchical level contains no more than seven (plus or minus two) cognitive options; inflation in the number of categories under consideration has been reduced by recasting categories as policy issues, thus, where previously coders had to choose between two separate categories containing positive and negative connotations of the same policy issue, coders are now asked to decide on one category identifying the policy issue and only at the next cognitive step they are asked to

experiment, coders were randomly assigned to two groups that use either thematic-based (quasi-sentence) unitizing (control group) or syntactical-based (natural sentence) unitizing (treatment group). Subsequently both groups followed the same task as the treatment group in the first experiment.[34] In both experiments the same text was coded (an excerpt of the 1999 British Liberal Democratic Party Euromanifesto). The coding experiments were completed online on a dedicated MZES web page, which provides a digitized version of the test manifesto.

Table 5: Inter-coder agreement for three experimental groups

	Test coders natural sentences		Test coders quasi-sentences		Expert coders EMCS 2009	
	Kappa	95% CI	Kappa	95% CI	Kappa	95% CI
Domain	0.397	(0.343 - 0.457)	0.384	(0.335 - 0.441)	0.512	(0.46 - 0.568)
Positive/negative	0.22	(0.151 - 0.299)	0.251	(0.178 - 0.353)	0.295	(0.223 - 0.396)
Policy level	0.347	(0.287 - 0.399)	0.398	(0.336 - 0.466)	0.425	(0.378 - 0.488)
Categories	0.315	(0.260 - 0.365)	0.313	(0.269 - 0.360)	0.435	(0.397 - 0.488)
Categories & positive/negative	0.267	(0.216 - 0.324)	0.273	(0.241 - 0.321)	0.4	(0.363 - 0.449)
Overall	0.206	(0.164 - 0.249)	0.218	(0.179 - 0.255)	0.322	(0.27 - 0.363)

Note: Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals (500 replications).

decide whether the statement is positive or negative; exhaustiveness of the categories is secured by including the remainder category "other" at the terminal nodes of the modified coding scheme.

[34] Both the control and treatment group were comprised of the undergraduate students from the University of Mannheim from different fields and at different stages of their studies trained in a 45-minute lecture session.

Inter-coder reliability in our experiments is assessed using Fleiss' kappa[35] ranging from zero (perfect disagreement) to one (perfect agreement), and taking into account the fact that some agreement may occur purely by chance. Agreement is assessed on several levels: domain, policy level, positive vs. negative tag, categories, categories with positive/ negative tag, and over all levels. Inter-coder agreement measures were calculated with attributed standard errors. Bias-corrected confidence intervals were bootstrapped with 500 replications. The results for three experimental groups are presented in Table 5.

Inter-coder agreement in the 2004 EMCS reliability study followed a different design with the decisions made by coders on three levels only: policy level, category, and overall. The results of reliability analysis of the study are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Inter-coder agreement in the 2004 EMCS reliability study

	EMCS 2004	
	Kappa	95% CI
Policy level	0.527	(0.460 - 0.604)
Categories	0.448	(0.403 - 0.504)
Overall	0.354	(0.319 - 0.399)

The results of reliability experiments cannot be directly compared to the results of the reliability study in 2004. First, although the text being used for estimating the reliability is the same, unitizing in 2004 was significantly different from the natural sentences experimental group, and also minimally different from the quasi-sentence experimental group. The latter is essentially the result of using the online coding procedure with its different handling of titles and headlines. Second, the coding procedure in the 2004 EMCS study did not follow a strictly hierarchical approach as it was used in the experiment. This results in the conditional dependence of domain codes on the category codes. The only conditionally independent decisions made by the expert coders in the 2004 EMCS were on the policy level and category.

[35] Fleiss, Joseph L. (1971): "Measuring nominal scale agreement among many raters." *Psychological Bulletin* 76 (5):378-383; Fleiss, Joseph L., Bruce A. Levin, and Myunghee Cho Paik (2003): *Statistical methods for rates and proportion*, 3rd ed., Hoboken, N.J.: J. Wiley.

Third, overall agreement in the experimental study involves many more levels than in the 2004 EMCS study. In the 2004 study, the overall code given to a text unit includes only policy level and category. In the experiment, the overall code given to a text unit is composed of the attribution of domain code, category (and sub-category if available) code, positive versus negative tag, and policy level attribute.

Table 7: Inter-coder agreement on standardized samples

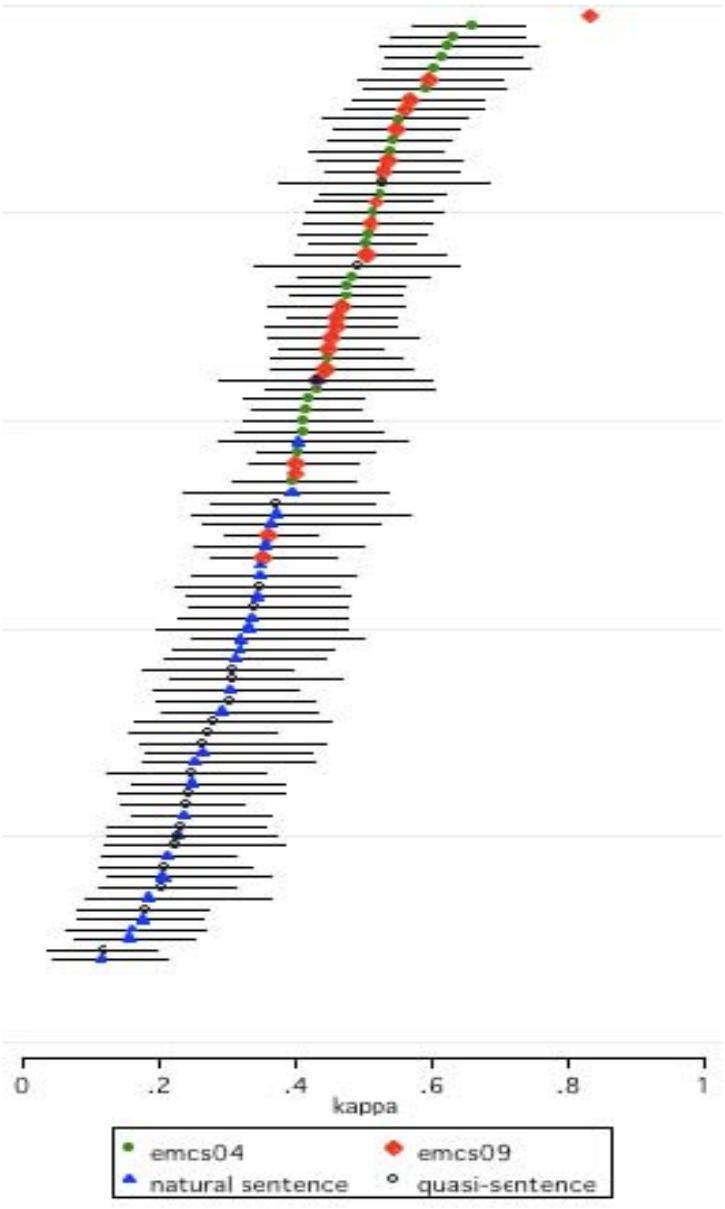
	test coder nat sentences		test coder quasi sentences		expert coder EMCS 2009		expert coder EMCS 2004	
	Kappa	95% CI	Kappa	95% CI	Kappa	95% CI	Kappa	95% CI
Policy level	0.344	(0.27 – 0.423)	0.371	(0.275 - 0.467)	0.427	(0.332 - 0.537)	0.488	(0.374 - 0.611)
Categories	0.325	(0.268 – 0.386)	0.298	(0.242 - 0.369)	0.421	(0.366 - 0.489)	0.375	(0.307 - 0.457)
Combined	0.257	(0.204 – 0.324)	0.243	(0.192 - 0.317)	0.334	(0.284 - 0.401)	0.302	(0.242 - 0.362)
Domain	0.406	(0.354 – 0.475)	0.347	(0.294 - 0.413)	0.484	(0.413 - 0.559)		
Pos/neg	0.217	(0.137 – 0.316)	0.246	(0.123 - 0.409)	0.355	(0.262 - 0.463)		

Note: Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% CI (500 replications). Grey lines are presented only for comparison of two experimental groups.

In order to compare the two experimental groups and the results of the 2004 reliability study we adopt a two-step procedure. First, we restrict the sample to texts units that are identical across all three groups. A significant proportion of quasi-sentences are natural sentences. This reduces the sample size to 55 text units only. However, text units are identical across groups thus allowing us easier cross-group comparison. Second, we analyze agreement on comparable levels. That is we assess inter-coder agreement on policy levels, categories, and

combined code that includes only policy levels and categories. One thing to note is that despite best efforts at standardization some differences still remain. For example, policy level in the EMCS 2004 contains three levels, while in the experiment it contains four. We assume here that differences are minor and standardized sample is comparable across groups. Results of inter-coder agreement analysis are presented in Table 7. The results for policy level and categories generally indicate that inter-coder agreement across three groups is statistically indistinguishable.

Figure 2: Agreement between coder and "gold standard" for three groups



Note: Bootstrapped bias-corrected 95% CIs (100 replications).

We can also analyze agreement between each coder and the "gold standard". Confidence intervals here are bootstrapped with 500 replications. We can see from Figure 2 that both groups of trained expert coders showed better results than both groups of untrained test coders. The EMCS 2004 coders have on average performed better than other groups. However, median reliability of the EMCS 2004 coders is statistically indistinguishable from median reliability of the EMCS 2009 coders. There appears to be no clear pattern distinguishing the reliability of coders using natural sentence unitizing and quasi-sentence unitizing. Although the median agreement for the quasi-sentence group is lower than for the natural sentence group, the difference is not substantively significant.

Overall, the results of reliability experiments suggests that the new simplified coding routine based on the hierarchical approach with the coding conducted online shows appreciable reliability improvement compared to earlier results. The EMCS 2009 results are better than both the test coder group and the control group, though these results were statistically not distinguishable. However, despite similar levels of reliability the online approach with simplified coding routine allows for replicability by future researchers.

5. Appendix

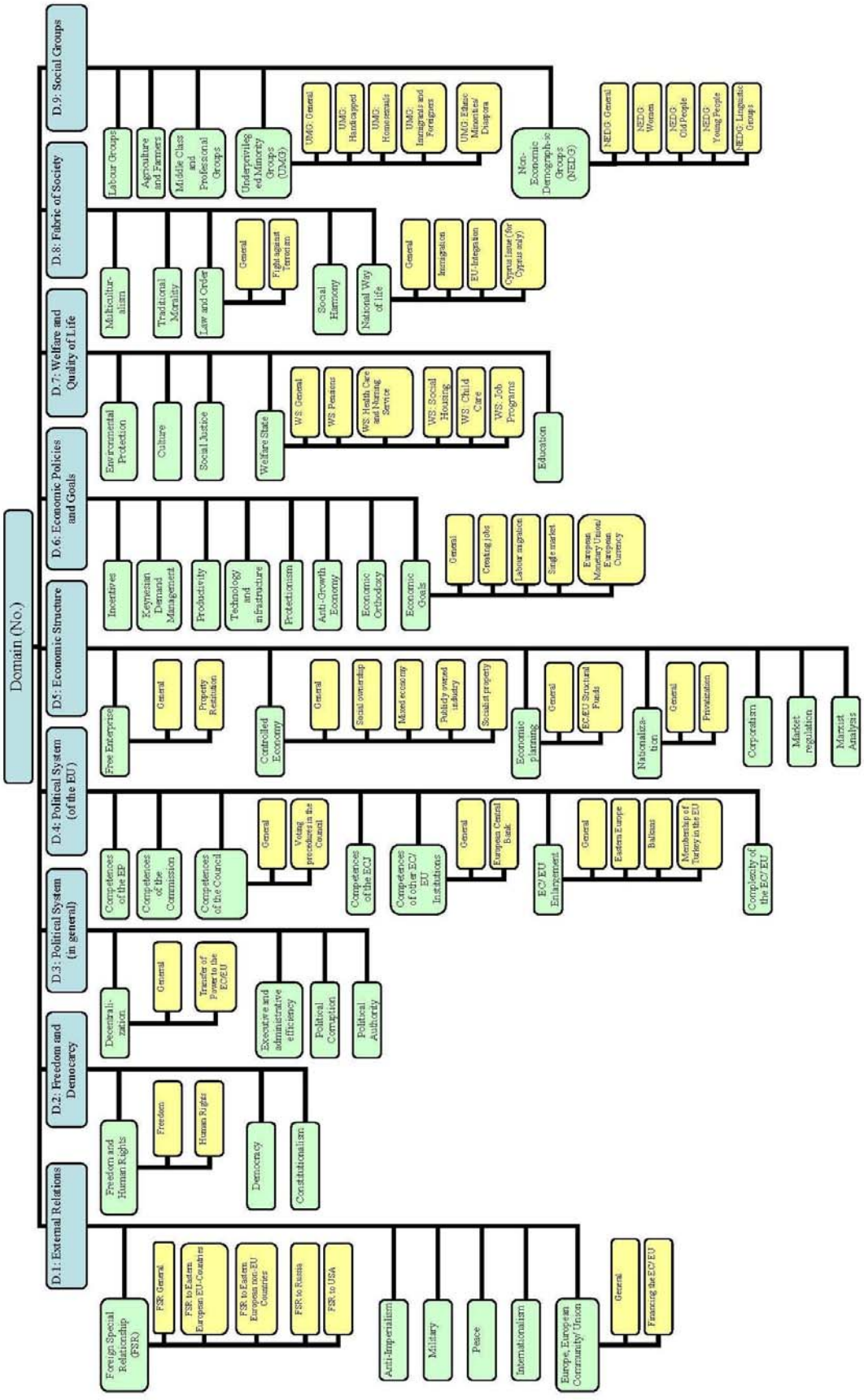


Figure 3: Hierarchical structure of the EMCS III

5.1 EM Coding Scheme 2009

On the following pages the EMCS Coding Scheme III containing nine domains, and several categories as well as subcategories will be described. It was meant to be used as a manual for the coding of all manifestos that are issued by political parties ahead of the 2009 elections to the EP election and collected by the Euromanifestos Project (EMP) in the 27 EU member countries. It is heavily based on the first edition of the EMCS.[36] For ease of comparison, all previous editions are available online.[37]

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

010100 Foreign Special Relationships (FSR)

010101 FSR: General

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

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

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

010102 FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU

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

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

010103 FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU

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

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

010104 FSR to Russia

Positive: Favourable mentions of Russia.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of Russia.

010105 FSR to USA

Positive: Favourable mentions of the United States of America.

Negative: Unfavourable mentions of the United States of America.

010200 Anti-Imperialism

[36] Wüst and Volkens, 2003, *Euromanifesto Coding Instructions*.
[37] http://www.ees-homepage.net/?site=euromanifestos

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

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

010300 Military
Positive: Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; modernizing armed forces and improvement in military strength; rearmament and self-defence; need to keep military treaty obligations; need to secure adequate manpower in the military, need for military cooperation.
Negative: Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament; "evils of war"; promises to reduce conscription.

010400 Peace
Positive: Peace as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises; desirability of joining in negotiations with hostile countries.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

010500 Internationalism
Positive: Need for international cooperation; cooperation with specific countries other than those coded in **Foreign Special Relationships (010100)**; need for aid to developing countries; need for world planning of resources; need for international courts; support for any international goal or world state; support for UN.
Negative: Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty as opposed to Internationalism; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

010600 Europe, European Community/Union

010601 Europe, European Community/Union: General
Positive: Favourable mentions of Europe or the EC/EU. The idea of a more integrated Europe/ EC/EU is supported; “deepening of Europe”.
Note: For specific favourable mentions of EU institutions refer to other codes, especially in Domain Political System of the EU instead.
Negative: Hostile mentions of Europe or the EC/EU. The idea of a more integrated Europe/EC/EU is rejected; no “deepening of Europe” necessary.

010602 Financing the EC/EU
Positive: National contributions to finance the EC/EU or its policies are supported or accepted.
Negative: National contributions to finance the EC/EU or its policies are criticized or rejected.

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Human Rights

020100 Freedom and Human Rights

020101 Freedom

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

020102 Human Rights

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

020200 Democracy

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

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

020300 Constitutionalism

Positive: Support for specified aspects of constitution; use of constitutionalism as an argument for policy as well as general approval of the constitutional way of doing things in the manifesto country. On the European level, for example, need for an European constitution.
Negative: Opposition to the constitution in general or to specified aspects of it; otherwise opposite of **positive**. On the European level, for example, no need for a European constitution.

DOMAIN 3: Political System (in general)

030100 Decentralization

030101 Decentralization: General

Positive: Support for federalism or devolution; more regional autonomy on the national level (or national autonomy on the European level) for policy, economy, and administration; support for keeping up local and regional customs and symbols; favourable mentions of special consideration for local areas; deference to local expertise.
Negative: Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels; support for more centralization (Europeanization) in political and administrative procedures; otherwise opposite of **positive**.

030102 Transfer of Power to the EC/EU

Positive: Transfer of power and/or competences to the EC/EU is supported. The fact that the nation-state and its regions will lose power, competences, and sovereignty, is not bemoaned.
Negative: No need for transfer of power and/or competences to the EC/EU. The nation-state and its regions should retain their power, competences, and sovereignty. The loss of power, competences, and sovereignty of the nation-state and regions within is bemoaned.

030200 Executive and Administrative Efficiency

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

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

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

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

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

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

040300 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers

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

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

040400 Competences of the European Court of Justice

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

040500 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions

040501 Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General

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

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

040502 Mentions of the European Central Bank

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Central Bank
Negative: Negative mentions of the European Central Bank
Note: Check Economic Orthodox (060700).

040600 EC/EU Enlargement

040601 EC/EU Enlargement: General

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

040604 Membership of Turkey in the EU

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

040700 Complexity of the EC/EU Political System

Positive: The complexity of the political system of the EC/EU is explicitly criticized.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.
Note: Codes Executive and Administrative Efficiency (030200) and Competences of the European Parliament (040100) are preferred, so cross-check for adequate coding.

DOMAIN 5: Economic Structure

050100 Free Enterprise

050101 Free Enterprise: General

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

050102 Property-Restitution

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

050200 Controlled Economy

050201 Controlled Economy: General

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

050202 Social Ownership

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

050203 Mixed Economy

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

050204 Publicly-Owned Industry

Positive: Positive references to the concept of publicly-owned industries.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

050205 Socialist Property

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

050300 Economic Planning

050301 Economic Planning: General

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

050302 EC/EU Structural Fund

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

050400 Nationalization

050401 Nationalization: General

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

050402 Privatisation

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

050500 Corporatism

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

050600 Market Regulation

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

050700 Marxist Analysis

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

DOMAIN 6: Economic Policies and Goals

060100 Incentives

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

060200 Keynesian Demand Management

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

060300 Productivity

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

060400 Technology and Infrastructure

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

060500 Protectionism

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

060600 Anti-Growth Economy

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

060700 Economic Orthodoxy

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

060800 Economic Goals

060801 Economic Goals: General

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

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

060802 Creating Jobs

Positive: The party's main goal is to create jobs by economic means.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

060803 Labour Migration: Positive

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

060804 Single Market

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

060805 European Monetary Union/ European Currency

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

DOMAIN 7: Welfare and Quality of Life

070100 Environmental Protection

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

070200 Culture

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

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

070300 Social Justice

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

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 cutback or suspend pensions.

070403 WS: Health Care and Nursing Service

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

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

070404 WS: Social Housing

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

Negative: Negative mention or proposal to cutback or suspend social housing.

070405 WS: Child Care

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

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

070406 WS: Job Programs

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

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

070500 Education

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

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

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

DOMAIN 8: Fabric of Society

080100 Multiculturalism

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

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

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

080200 Traditional Morality

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

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

080300 Law and Order

080301 Law and Order: General

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

080302 Fight against terrorism

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

080400 Social Harmony

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

Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

080500 National Way of Life

080501 National Way of Life: General

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

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

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

080502 Immigration

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

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

Note: Check "Labour migration" (060803) and "Multiculturalism" (080100) for adequate coding.

080503 EU Integration

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

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

DOMAIN 9: Social Groups

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

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

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

090400 Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMG)

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

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

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

090404 UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners in the Manifesto Country
Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

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

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

090500 Non-economic Demographic Groups (NEDG)

090501 NEDG: General

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

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

090502 NEDG: Women

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for women.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090503 NEDG: Old People

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for the elderly.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090504 NEDG: Young People

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for young people.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

090505 NEDG: Linguistic Groups

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for linguistic groups within a country.
Negative: Opposite of **positive**.

5.2 Dataset description

country	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 82 Czech Republic 83 Estonia 86 Hungary 87 Latvia 88 Lithuania 92 Poland 93 Romania 96 Slovakia 97 Slovenia
party_id_1	Euromanifestos Party ID: Seven-digit-code including information on the country (first two digits; cf. ***country***), party family (third digit; cf. ***pfamily***), party specific digits, and election year (final code for Germany's Green Party: 41113_09) [identical to MRG coding]
party_id_2	PIREDEU Party ID: Seven-digit-code as the linking variable between the different studies of PIREDEU
pfamily	Party family (based on the founding period of the party) 1 green parties 2 (post-)communist 3 social democrats 4 liberal 5 christian democrats 6 conservative 7 nationalist 8 agrarian parties 9 regional parties 95 special interest parties [identical to MRG coding]

Coder rating	**10-point-scale**
left	Left - Right (Coder rating)
environ	Environmental Protection - Economic Growth (Coder rating)
liberta	Libertarian - Authoritarian (Coder rating)
religious	Religious - Secular (Coder rating)
state	State Interventionism - Free Enterprise (Coder rating)
multicult	Multiculturalism - Ethnocentrism (Coder rating)
integration	Pro EU-Integration - Anti-EU-Integration (Coder rating)
persid	Coder ID

Coding categories: Percentages of quasi-sentences in each category grouped into nine major policy areas. Because of differences in the length of the documents, the number of quasi-sentences in each category is standardized in order to make coded manifestos comparable. In doing so, the total number of quasi-sentences in the respective documents has been taken as a basis (the number of headlines/subtitles/etc. has been subtracted):

$$\frac{No.\,of\ qs\,within\,Category}{Total\ No.\,of\ qs - No.\,of\ Headlines}$$ or in terms of variables $$\frac{Category}{Total}$$

Variable name	Variable label	-/+	[level]
→ The term [level] denotes the respective governmental frame of the argument in the quasi-sentence. The level indicates whether the content explicitly points to (1) the manifesto country (national/sub-national level) governmental system, (2) Europe or the EC/EU as a governmental frame, (3) the global or worldwide level of government or to (4) neither one of these (cf. Table 2; p. 22). In order to reduce the effective number of variable names in the documentation, we decided to specify only the broader category name without mentioning each policy level. However, the dataset comes with four occurrences per category indicating different governmental frames. E.g.: per_v1_102 for the variable "FSR:General, Positive, National Level (Level 1)" (cf. Table 2; p. 22). ***To sum up, the manifesto study data provides information on categories of nine broader domains. Furthermore, each category occurs positively and negatively connoted and for each of the four governmental frames.***			
per_v[level]_102	**Foreign Special Relationships (FSR): General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_101		+	
per_v[level]x1_1021	FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]x1_1011		+	
per_v[level]_1022	FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_1012		+	
per_v[level]_1023	FSR to Russia	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_1013		+	
per_v[level]x2_1021	FSR to USA	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]x2_1011		+	

per_v[level]_103b	**Anti-Imperialism**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_103a		+	
per_v[level]_105	**Military**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_104		+	
per_v[level]_106b	**Peace**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_106a		+	
per_v[level]_109	**Internationalism**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_107		+	
per_v[level]_110	**Europe, European Community/ Union: General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_108		+	
per_v[level]_1101b	Financing the EC/EU	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_1101a		+	
per_v[level]_2011b	**Freedom**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_2011a		+	
per_v[level]_2012b	**Human Rights**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_2012a		+	
per_v[level]_2021	**Democracy**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_202		+	
per_v[level]_204	**Constitutionalism**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_203		+	
per_v[level]_302	**Decentralization: General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_301		+	
per_v[level]_3011	Transfer of Power to the EC/EU	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_3021		+	

per_v[level]_303b	**Executive and Administrative Efficiency**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_303a		+	
per_v[level]_304b	**Political Corruption**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_304a		+	
per_v[level]_305b	**Political Authority**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_305a		+	
per_v[level]_307	**Competences of the European Parliament**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_306		+	
per_v[level]_309	**Competences of the European Commission**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_308		+	
per_v[level]_311	**Competences of the European Council/ Council of Ministers: General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_310		+	
per_v[level]_3111	Voting Procedures in the (European) Council	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_3101		+	
per_v[level]_313	**Competences of the European Court of Justice**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_312		+	
per_v[level]_315	Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_314		+	
per_v[level]_3151	**Mentions of the European Central Bank**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_3141		+	
per_v[level]_317	**EC/EU Enlargement: General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_316		+	
per_v[level]_3162b	Membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_3162a		+	

per_v[level]_3163b	Membership in the EU of Balkan countries currently not in the EU	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_3163a		+	
per_v[level]_3171	Membership of the Turkey in the EU	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_3161		+	
per_v[level]_318b	**Complexity of the EC/EU Political System**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_318a		+	
per_v[level]_401b	**Free Enterprise: General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_401a		+	
per_v[level]_4131	Property-Restitution	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4012		+	
per_v[level]_412b	**Controlled Economy: General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_412a		+	
per_v[level]_4121b	Social Ownership	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4121a		+	
per_v[level]_4122b	Mixed Economy	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4122a		+	
per_v[level]_4123b	Publicly-Owned Industry	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4123a		+	
per_v[level]_4124b	Socialist Property	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4124a		+	
per_v[level]_404b	**Economic Planning: General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_404a		+	
per_v[level]_4011	EC/EU Structural Funds	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4041		+	

per_v[level]_413b	**Nationalization: Generalization**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_413a		+	
per_v[level]_4132b	Privatisation	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4132a		+	
per_v[level]_405b	**Corporatism**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_405a		+	
per_v[level]_403b	**Market Regulations**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_403a		+	
per_v[level]_415b	**Marxist Analysis**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_415a		+	
per_v[level]_402b	**Incentives**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_402a		+	
per_v[level]_409b	**Keynesian Demand Management**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_409a		+	
per_v[level]_410b	**Productivity**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_410a		+	
per_v[level]_411b	**Technology and Infrastructure**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_411a		+	
per_v[level]_407	**Protectionism**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_406		+	
per_v[level]_416b	**Anti Growth Economy**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_416a		+	
per_v[level]_414b	**Economic Orthodoxy**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_414a		+	

per_v[level]_408b	**Economic Goals: General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_408a		+	
per_v[level]_4081b	Creating Jobs	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4081a		+	
per_v[level]_4083	Labour Migration: Positive	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4082		+	
per_v[level]_4085	Single Market	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4084		+	
per_v[level]_4087	European Monetary Union/ European Currency	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_4086		+	
per_v[level]_501b	**Environmental Protection -**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_501a		+	
per_v[level]_502b	**Culture**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_502a		+	
per_v[level]_503b	**Social Justice**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_503a		+	
per_v[level]_505	**Welfare State (WS): General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_504		+	
per_v[level]_5052	WS: Pensions	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_5042		+	
per_v[level]_5053	WS: Health Care and Nursing Service	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_5043		+	
per_v[level]_5054	WS: Social Housing	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_5044		+	

per_v[level]_5055	WS: Child Care	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_5045		+	
per_v[level]_5051	WS: Job Programs	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_5041		+	
per_v[level]_507	**Education**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_506		+	
per_v[level]_608	**Multiculturalism**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_607		+	
per_v[level]_604	**Traditional Morality**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_603		+	
per_v[level]_605b	**Law and Order: General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_605a		+	
per_v[level]_6051b	Fight against terrorism	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_6051a		+	
per_v[level]_606b	**Social Harmony**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_606a		+	
per_v[level]_602	**National Way of Life**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_601		+	
per_v[level]_6011b	Immigration	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_6011a		+	
per_v[level]_6021b	EU Integration	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_6021a		+	
per_v[level]_6012b	Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus only)	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_6012a		+	

per_v[level]_702	**Labour Groups**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_701		+	
per_v[level]_7032	**Agriculture and Farmers**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_7031		+	
per_v[level]_704b	**Middle Class and Professional Groups**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_704a		+	
per_v[level]_705b	**Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMP): General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_705a		+	
per_v[level]_7051b	UMG: Handicapped	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_7051a		+	
per_v[level]_7052b	UMG: Homosexuals	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_7052a		+	
per_v[level]_7053b	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners in the Manifesto Country	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_7053a		+	
per_v[level]_7054b	UMG: Ethnic Minorities/People of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_7054a		+	
per_v[level]_706b	**Non-economic demographic groups(NEDG): General**	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_706a		+	
per_v[level]_7061b	NEDG: Women	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_7061a		+	
per_v[level]_7062b	NEDG: Old People	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_7062a		+	
per_v[level]_7063b	NEDG: Young People	-	1 2 3 4
per_v[level]_7063a		+	

per_v[level]_7064b	NEDG: Linguistic Groups	-	1 2
per_v[level]_7064a		+	3 4
per_v_099	**Percentage of uncoded quasi-sentences**		
total	**Total number of quasi-sentences (excluding headlines)**		

Computed Variable for Analyses → The term [level] means that the values of each policy level (1 to 4) of the respective category are used for computing the index.	
rile_mrg	Right-left dimension according to MRG [Sum of rightist codes minus sum of leftist codes in the Manifesto; Range -100 (left) to 100 (right)]. *Rightist Codes*: per_ v[level]_401a, per_ v[level]_4012, per_ v[level]_305a, per_ v[level]_203, per_ v[level]_2011a, per_ v[level]_2012a, per_ v[level]_104, per_ v[level]_402a, per_ v[level]_407, per_ v[level]_414a, per_ v[level]_505, per_ v[level]_5051, per_ v[level]_5052, per_ v[level]_5053, per_ v[level]_5054, per_ v[level]_5055, per_v1_601, per_ v[level]_603, per_ v[level]_605a, per_ v[level]_6051a, per_ v[level]_606a. *Leftist Codes:* per_ v[level]_103a, per_ v[level]_105, per_ v[level]_106a, per_ v[level]_107, per_ v[level]_202, per_ v[level]_2021, per_ v[level]_403a, per_ v[level]_404a, per_ v[level]_4041, per_ v[level]_406, per_ v[level]_412a, per_ v[level]_4121a, per_ v[level]_4122a, per_ v[level]_4123a, per_ v[level]_4124a, per_ v[level]_413a, per_ v[level]_4131, per_ v[level]_4132b, per_ v[level]_504, per_ v[level]_5041, per_ v[level]_5042, per_ v[level]_5043, per_ v[level]_5044, per_ v[level]_5045, per_ v[level]_506, per_v1_602, per_ v[level]_701.
planeco	Planned Economy dimension according to MRG *Codes:* per_ v[level]_403a, per_ v[level]_404a, per_ v[level]_412.
markeco	Market Economy dimension according to MRG *Codes:* per_ v[level]_410a, per_ v[level]_4012, per_ v[level]_414a.
welfare	Welfare dimension according to MRG *Codes:* per_ v[level]_503a, per_ v[level]_504, per_ v[level]_5041, per_ v[level]_5042, per_ v[level]_5043, per_ v[level]_5044, per_ v[level]_5045.
pro_anti_EU	Pro-Anti European Integration dimension [Sum of pro-integration codes minus sum of integration-sceptic codes; Range -100 (anti-EU) to 100 (pro-EU)]. *Integrationist Codes:* per_ v[level]_108, per_v2_203, per_ v[level]_3021, per_ v[level]_306, per_ v[level]_308, per_ v[level]_310, per_ v[level]_3111, per_ v[level]_312, per_ v[level]_314, per_ v[level]_316, per_ v[level]_3161, per_ v[level]_3162a, per_ v[level]_3163a, per_ v[level]_318b, per_ v[level]_4041, per_ v[level]_4084, per_ v[level]_4086, per_v2_601, per_v1_602. *Integration-skeptic Codes:* per_ v[level]_110, per_ v[level]_1101b, per_v2_204, per_ v[level]_3011, per_ v[level]_307, per_ v[level]_309, per_ v[level]_311, per_ v[level]_3101, per_ v[level]_313, per_ v[level]_315, per_ v[level]_3151, per_ v[level]_317, per_ v[level]_3171, per_ v[level]_3162b, per_ v[level]_3163b, per_ v[level]_318a, per_ v[level]_4011, per_ v[level]_4085, per_ v[level]_4087, per_v2_602, per_v1_601.

5.3 Text version of Reliability Test

Excerpts from the LDP 1999 Euromanifesto

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.