Codebook European Commissioners

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This documentation provides a codebook for a dataset of all Commissioners of the European Union. The dataset includes biographical information of the Commissioners of the European Economic Community, the European Communities and the European Union. It is mostly based on the *Munzinger* archive. If the *Munzinger* archive provided no information other sources were used. All variables and decisions for coding the variables of the data set are documented in this codebook.

Two information are most relevant for the data set. First, a party affiliation of a Commissioner before entering the Commission. Here two aspects are coded: Was the party part of the governing coalition at the time? The left/right score of the party, using publicly available data sets. Second, I am interested in the former political importance of every Commissioner. For this information, I use a publicly available data set to give scores to the highest former positions of Commission members.

If you have any comments on the methods used here or the information provided in this codebook please contact me. In addition, please let me know about any mistakes you encounter in the dataset or the documentation.

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1 Data Sources

To collect the biographical information of all European Commissioners, I used several data sources. Most of the information used to create the data set are based on the *Munzinger* archive. If *Munzinger* provided no information other sources where used. For the Commissions after 1995 the Internet presentation of the European Commission provided biographical information of the Commissioners.

The *Munzinger* archive is a German news data base. It contains the *Internationale Biographische Archiv* with biographical information of important personalities from politics, business, science and arts. Especially for the early Commissions it turned out to be the most complete source. To guarantee a certain coherence of the sources, used in the data set, I relied on the *Munzinger* data for all Commissions until 1995. For Commissions after 1995 I used the Internet presentation of the European Commission (`http://europa.eu.int/comm`).

If the *Munzinger* archive provided no information of a Commissioner, I used *LexisNexis* to find additional information. Since *LexisNexis* provides several news sources, I relied mostly on the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* for information to keep the sources coherent. Section 2.3 provides detailed information about the alternative sources and when they where used.

To find the parties in government information provided by Woldendorp et al. (2000) and `http://www.kolumbus.fi/taglarsson/dokumentit/hallituk2.htm` were used. For a comparison of left/right positions of Commissioners national parties, I used the different data sets available and assembled by Philip Manow (see Manow et al. 2004).[1]

To compare the the political importance of Commissioners former positions, I used a data set published by Druckman and Warwick (2005). This data set provides a scale of the importance of ministry portfolios in European countries. It is based on an expert survey among country experts. See Chapter 4.1 for a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of using this data set.

Getting coherent information on the portfolios assigned among the Commissioners turned out to be very difficult for Commissions before 1973. *Munzinger* gives only incomplete information on the division of responsibilities within the Commission. Because studying the portfolio allocation within the Commission is not my first priority, I will add these information later, if possible.

2 Variables

2.1 List of all Variables

All of the variables stated in Table 1 are included into the data set. I have added some of the textual information into the data set as well. The information might be helpful, for a later extension of the data set. All of the variables relevant for quantitative studies are described more detailed in later parts of this codebook.

[1] Philip Manow provided his data based on the expert survey by Laver and Hunt (1992) and the Comparative Manifest Project as published in Budge et al. (2001).

Table 1: Used Variables

Variable	**Description**	**Type**	**Coding**
id	identification numer	continuous	
name	Commissioner's name	TEXT	
firstname	Commissioner's first name	TEXT	
country	country of origin	ordinal	*see Table 2*
countryiso	country ISO 3166 ID	TEXT	
oneseat	one seat in Commission	DUMMY	
smallstate	small/big member state	DUMMY	
commission	number Commission	ordinal	*see Table 3*
incumbent	incumbent Commissioner	DUMMY	
posscore	score for highest position	continuous	*see Section 4*
elected	political position before	DUMMY	
party	party abbreviation	text	*see Section 3*
cmpid	Manifesto Data ID	ordinal	
partygov	governing coalition member	ordinal	
partymaj	biggest governing party	DUMMY	
year	year Commission took office	nominal	
begin	year of entering Commission	nominal	
end	year of leaving Commission	nominal	
portfolio	Commission portfolio	TEXT	
highestpos	highest former position	TEXT	*see Section 4*
partyname	name of party membership	TEXT	*see Section 3*
president	president of Commission	DUMMY	
vicepres	vicepresident Commission	DUMMY	
minister	former minister	DUMMY	
juniormin	former junior minister	DUMMY	
memparl	member of parliament	DUMMY	
memep	member of EP	DUMMY	
bureaucrat	ministry bureaucrat	DUMMY	
diplomat	former diplomat	DUMMY	
professor	former professor	DUMMY	
comments	comments on observation	TEXT	
moreinfo	information needed	TEXT	

Table 2: Country Codes (*country*)

Code	**Variable**	**ISO**						
1	Belgium	BE	*7*	Denmark	DK	*11*	Spain	ES
2	France	FR	*8*	Ireland	IE	*12*	Portugal	PT
3	Germany	DE	*9*	United Kingdom	GB			
4	Italy	IT			GR	*13*	Austria	AT
5	Luxembourg	LU	*10*	Greece		*14*	Finland	FI
6	Netherlands	NL				*15*	Sweden	SE
16	Cyprus	CY	*20*	Latvia	LV	*24*	Slovakia	SK
17	Czech Republic	CZ	*21*	Lithuania	LT	*25*	Slovenia	SI
18	Estonia	EE	*22*	Malta	MT			
19	Hungary	HU	*23*	Poland	PL			

2.2 Coding of Variables

2.2.1 Categorical Variables

Countries (*country*) where ordered based on their time of accession to the EU and alphabetically. In addition country, abbreviations (*countryiso*) are given according to the ISO 3166 list at `http://www.iso.org/iso/en/prods-services/iso3166ma/index.html` in the data set. Table 2 gives the numbers and ISO abbreviations assigned to the different member states. The Commissions (*commission*) were serially numbered. Starting from the *Hallstein Commission* in 1958, Table 3 lists the assigned number of every Commission. Each observation contains the information of one Commissioner for every Commission. Therefore, if Commissioners served for more than one period, several observations are included into the data set. The variable *incumbent* can be used to exclude multiple observations.

The variable *partygov* indicates the Commissioner's party affiliation, at the time he was sent to the Commission. It is coded *0* if the Commissioner was member of a government party, *1* if he was a member of the opposition party and *2* if he had no party affiliation. Diplomats, experts and bureaucrats without party affiliation fill the last category.

2.2.2 Dummy Variables

Several variables indicate if an observation fulfills the criteria described by this variable. These variables are coded either *1* or *0*. If the the observation has the criteria indicated through the variable, the value is *1*, otherwise *0*. For example, the variable *incumbent* shows if a Commissioner has been part of a former Commission.

To indicate positions within the Commission, dummy variables for the president (*president*) and vice-presidents (*vicepres*) of each Commission are included into the data set. These information are based on Donnelly and Ritchie (1994) and `http://europa.eu.int/comm`. Portfolios assigned in the Commission are only included as incomplete textual information.

Furthermore, dummy variables that indicate former positions are also included (*minister, juniorminister, memparl, memep, bureaucrat, diplomat* and *professor*). Since the *Munzinger* archive focuses on certain parts of a biography, I can't guarantee completeness of these data.

Table 3: Commission Codes (*commission*)

Code	Period	Commission President
1	1958/01/10–1962/01/09	Walter Hallstein (D)
2	1962/01/10–1967/07/05	Walter Hallstein (D)
3	1967/07/06–1970/06/30	Jean Rey (B)
4	1970/07/01–1973/01/05	Malfatti (I)/Mansholt (NL)
5	1973/01/06–1977/01/06	Francis-Xavier Ortoli (F)
6	1977/01/06–1981/01/06	Roy Jenkins (UK)
7	1981/01/06–1985/01/05	Gaston Thorn (L)
8	1985/01/06–1989/01/05	Jacques Delors (F)
9	1989/01/06–1993/01/06	Jacques Delors (F)
10	1993/01/06–1995/01/06	Jacques Delors (F)
11	1995/01/06–1999/03/15	Jacques Santer (L)
12	2000/01/23–2004/10/31	Romani Prodi (I)
13	2004/11/22–today	Jose Manuel Barroso (P)

Especially the distinction between a diplomatic or a bureaucratic career, was very difficult. Therefore, these information should be used with reservation.

2.2.3 Textual Information

For later extensions or corrections of the data set, I included also some textual information. These variables indicate on what information the coding of the other variables was based. The data set contains textual information on the highest former position (*highestpos*) and the party affiliation (*partyname*) of each Commissioners. Furthermore information on the portfolios assigned to a Commissioner in the Commission are given in the data set.

2.3 Comments on Coding

2.3.1 Missing Observations

For some Commissioners, the *Munzinger* archive provided no information. In this case, I tried to use other sources to provide the necessary biographical information of a Commissioner. For some Commissioners, no information at all could be found. Table 4 states all these observation where no data could be found. If possible, I will try to add the information later.[2]

2.3.2 Alternative Sources

Some Commissioners could not be found in the *Munzinger* archive. In this case I tried first to get information about the Commissioner at *LexisNexis*. If several sources where available I used the *Financial Times*. *LexisNexis* includes the relevant newspapers from the beginning of

[2]Three Commissioners from Central/Eastern Europe are also coded as missing observations. See Section 2.3.4 for further information.

Table 4: Missing Observations for Commissioners

Name	**Country**	**Year**	**Missing Observations**
Robert Lemaignen	France	1958	*party, position*
Guido Colonna Di Paliano	Italy	1974	*party*
Cesidio Guazzaroni	Italy	1976	no information
Georges Contogeorgis	Greece	1981	no information
Grigorios Varfis	Greece	1985	*party*

Table 5: Alternative Sources

Name	**Year**	**Alternative Source**
Robert Lemaignen	1958	Internet source
Michael O'Kennedy	1981	LexisNexis – The Economist & FT
Stanley Clinton Davis	1985	LexisNexis – Financial Times
Nicolas Moser	1985	LexisNexis – Financial Times
Grigorios Varfis	1985	LexisNexis – BBC
Ray McShary	1989	LexisNexis – Financial Times
Bruce Millan	1989	LexisNexis – Financial Times
Santer Commission	1995	`europa.eu.int/comm/archives`
Prodi Commission	1999	`europa.eu.int/comm/archives`
Barroso Commission	2005	`europa.eu.int/comm`

Table 6: Portfolio Sources

President	Period	*Source*	Date	Page
F. Ortoli	1973–1977	*The Economist*	21.08.1976	56
R. Jenkins	1977–1981	*Facts on File*	05.02.1977	74
G. Thorn	1981–1985	*The Economist*	10.01.1981	40
J. Delors	1985–1989	*Financial Times*	10.12.1984	1
		Financial Times	04.01.1985	2
J. Delors	1989–1993	*The Economist*	24.12.1988	56
		The Independent	02.06.1992	10
J. Delors	1993–1995	*Financial Times*	19.01.1992	X
J. Santer	1995–1999	`europa.eu.int/comm/archives`		
R. Prodi	1999–2004	`europa.eu.int/comm/archives`		
J. Barroso	2005–today	`europa.eu.int/comm`		

the eighties. If *LexisNexis* provided no information, I used *google* to find information about the relevant Commissioner. The alternative sources used for coding of the named Commissioner are listed in Table 5.

The web site of the European Commission provides information beginning in 1995 (see `europa.eu.int/comm/archives`). The web site provides most of the information needed for this data set. Therefore, coding of Commissioners after 1995 was no longer based on the Munzinger archive, but on the information provided on the Commissioners web sites.

2.3.3 Commission Portfolios

The *Munzinger* archive provides no coherent information about the Commission portfolios assigned to Commissioners. Therefore I had to rely on other sources to find coherent information for the allocation of positions within each Commission. For most of the information, I used Newspaper articles from the *LexisNexis* archive. For Commissioners that took office later than their Commission, either the *Munzinger* sources or alternatives information from *LexisNexis* were used (see Table 6).

2.3.4 Eastern Enlargement

With the Eastern Enlargement, ten new member states from Central/Eastern Europe joined the EU. Through this enlargement round, ten new Commissioners became members of the *Prodi Commission* in 2004. "Although they will have voting rights, the 10 joining on May 1 will shadow the work of existing Commissioners rather than receive their own portfolios, leading one official to describe them as 'interns with BMW's." (Financial Times, 29.04.2004, p. 9)

Since these Commissioners had no independent portfolio and most of them stayed in the *Barroso Commission*, I did not include them as observations for the *Prodi Commission*. Thereby, the information for Péter Balázs (Hungary), Sandra Kalniete (Latvian) and Pavel Telička (Czech Republic) are not coded in the data set. These three Commissioners were replaced by other candidates from their home countries when the *Barroso Commission* took office.

Table 7: Comments for certain Commissioners

Name	Year	Affiliation	Party Score
Robert Marjolin	1958	close to trade unions and positions in socialist governments	French Socialists
Altiero Spinelli	1967	an adviser of Nenni (socialist foreign affairs minister) without a former administrative career	Italian Socialists
Henri Rochereau	1962	no party information in *Munzinger* – government member	government
Jean-François Deniau	1967	later positions in Gaullist governments	government
Francois-Xavier Ortoli	1973	no party information in *Munzinger* – government member	government
Claude Cheysson	1973	adviser of Savary cabinet – later Socialist party member (*Munzinger*: 'Socialist')	French Socialists
Pedro Solbes	1999	member of Socialist government (*Munzinger*: "Social Democrat without membership-book")	Spanish Socialists
Dalia Grybauskaitė	2004	no party membership – member of government	government
Danuta Hübner	2004	*as above*	
Janez Potočnik	2004	*as above*	

3 Data Used for Party Positions

3.1 Party Affiliations of Commissioners

With regard to a Commissioner's former party membership, two variables are of interest. First, the name of the party the Commissioner was a member of. Second, was this party a governing party at the time the Commission took office. The party name is saved in the variable *partyname* and a government participation of the party at the time, in the variable *partygov*.

In addition to a parties name its abbreviation (*party*) and its ID (*cmpid*) in the data set of the Manifesto Research Project are included (Budge et al. 2001). The abbreviations for the variable *party* is a name composed of ascii characters only. It is similiar, but not identical, to the abbreviations used in the Manifesto project. This unique variable can be used to merge the data set with other data sets that provide information on parties in Europe.

Some Commissioners were no formal party members, though they had a strong party affiliation. My decision taken to determine the party positions are shown in Table 7. If they had been assigned to the Commission without a former administrative career, I gave these Commissioners a party score as stated in the table.

To indicate if a new Commissioner was sent or reappointed by a governing or an opposition party, I include the variable *partygov*. If the Commissioner's party was in government at the time the Commission came into office, it is coded as *1*. If the Commissioner was member of an

Table 8: Defined Scores for Positions *(posscore)*

Position	***Score***	**Comment**
parliamentarian	*0.33*	for average member of parliaments
other positions	*0.2*	all other positions (e. g. bureaucrats, diplomats, ambassadors, professors)

opposition party it is coded *0*. To determine the parties in government Woldendorp et al. (2000) and `http://www.kolumbus.fi/taglarsson/dokumentit/hallituk2.htm` were used.

For Commissioners with a former administrative career and no political positions, party information were coded as missing observations. If the biographical information indicates explicitly no party affiliation, *partygov* (party in power) is coded *2*.

4 Data Used for Portfolio Salience

4.1 Measuring Portfolio Salience

To compare different former positions across countries and time, I used a data set provided by Druckman and Warwick (2005). To transfer the positions to the scale, I took the highest position that a person had reached in his career before he entered the Commission and used the score for that position in Druckman and Warwick's scale. Unfortunately, the data set provides neither all information for all member states, nor for all positions, Commissioner previously held. Because the Druckman and Warwick data set provides information for most of the positions Commissioners previously held, it is still the best data source available. I assigned values to positions where no data was available, based on the average value of a position in other countries or the logic of the scale.[3]

The logic of the scale is described by Druckman and Warwick:

> In order to obtain interval-level ratings of these posts, we provided our respondents with an anchor by asking them to apply a score of 1 to all posts whose importance they believed equaled the 'average' or 'normal' portfolio. They were then instructed that any post that is above average should receive a score above 1 that would reflect just how much more important it is than an average portfolio (e.g. a score of 1.5 would indicate that the post is 50 per cent above average). Likewise, any below-average post would receive a proportional score of less than 1. (Druckman and Warwick 2005, 23)

4.2 Data Used for Portfolio Salience

Druckman and Warwick (2005) do only measure the importance of ministry positions. Therefore all earlier occupations, others than the ones of ministers and junior ministers have to be given a score that fits into the Druckman and Warwick scale.

For political positions, not included into the original scale I have decided to use the scores as stated in Table 8. According to this scale sending an average minister to the Commission is three

[3] see next section

Table 9: Defined Scores for certain Commissioners *(posscore)*

Name	**Year**	***Score***	**Former position**
Robert Lemaignen	1958	*0.2*	vice-president of French employers federation
Ivor Richard	1981	*0.5*	under secretary of state for defense
Nicolas Moster	1985	*0.5*	secretary general party
Karl van Miert	1989	*1.0*	leader of opposition party
Bruce Millan	1989	*0.8*	Scottish secretary
Neil Kinnock	1995	*1.0*	leader of opposition party
Frederik Bolkestein	1999	*1.0*	leader of opposition party
Danuta Hübner	2004	*1.0*	minister for European affairs

times as important as sending a parliamentarian. All non political figures send to the Commission are assigned only a fifth of the importance of an average minister, respectively one and a half times the importance of a parliamentarian. This coding decision is due to the focus of the study on the political importance of former positions before being assigned to the Commission.

Some of the positions Commissioners had before they entered the Commission don't fit the given categories. If non of them could be used, I gave certain Commissioners a score as stated in Table 9. I based my decision on a comparison to a similar position.

For Greece, Spain, United Kingdom and all the Central/ Eastern European countries, the data set by Druckman Warwick provides no data. I calculated the scores for the different departments, by averaging the scores of the other countries. The calculation provided the results as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Calculated Scores for Ministers *(posscore)*

Ministry	***Mean***	**SE**	**N**	**Name**	**Year**
Agriculture	*0.92*	0.16	14	Lord Soames	1973
				Loyola de Palacio	1999
Finance	*1.64*	0.23	13	Roy Jenkins	1977
				Ioannis L. Paleokrassas	1993
				Dalia Grybauskaitė	2004
				Markos Kyprianou	2004
				Andris Piebalgs	2004
				Pedro Solbes	1999
Foreign Affairs	*1.43*	0.17	14	Marcelino Oreja Aguirre	1993
				Joe Borg	2004
				László Kovács	2004
Industry	*0.99*	0.12	7	Stavros Dimas	2004
Interior	*1.32*	0.30	7	Leon Brittan	1989
Labour	*1.03*	0.14	10	Joaquín Almunia	1999
Prime Minister	*2.14*	0.11	7	Siim Kallas	2004
				Vladimir Šplida	2004
Secretary of State	*0.59*	0.18	7	Lord M. Thomson	1973
				Stanley Clinton Davis	1985
				Grigorios Varfis	1985
				Manuel Marin	1985
				Cristiane Scrivener	1989
				Vasso Papandreou	1989
				Chris Patten	1999
				Anna Diamantopoulou	1999
				Ján Figel	2004
				Peter Mandelson	2004
				Janez Potočnik	2004
Trade	*0.99*	0.15	4	Lord Cockfield	1985

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