Appendix

List of party manifestos

Country	Year	Party	N	n	frames
Belgium (Flemish region)	1995	Vlaams Blok	821	821	108
		Volksunie	1017	1017	127
		VLD	308	308	43
		CVP	649	649	79
		SP	511	511	172
		Agalev	1128	1128	176
Belgium (Flemish region)	2014	Vlaams Belang	865	865	168
		N-VA	2873	2873	472
		Open VLD	1294	1294	254
		CD&V	8039	8039	898
		sp.a	8008	8008	1359
		Groen	13686	13686	1646

Robustness check with dictionary

We conducted a dictionary based text analysis of the coded sentences per solidarity mode per party in 2014. After running the dictionary (see below), we calculated the ratio of the number of counted words compared to the total number of sentences per mode. Overall, most runs offer a reasonable representation (at least 15 percent) of the coded sentences. Afterwards, we followed the same procedure for the party manifestos of 1995.

Our check shows that the relative frequencies of our word counts paint a fairly similar picture as the relative frequencies of sentences containing a solidarity frame. Indeed, the positions of the different political parties are overall similar to those shown in the results section. Some differences with our findings do occur, as in some cases the relative weight of the frames is slightly different compared to the quantified results shown earlier.

Solidarity frames 14	Vlaams Belang	N-VA	Open VLD	CD&V	sp.a	Groen
Group-based	38 (65.52%)	71 (55.47%)	23 (32.39%)	52 (23.42%)	58 (18.35%)	22 (7.80%)
Compassionate	12 (20.69%)	22 (17.19%)	19 (26.76%)	36 (16.22%)	131 (41.85%)	142 (50.35%)
Exchange-based	6 (10.34%)	19 (14.84%)	11(15.49%)	53 (23.87%)	45 (14.38%)	45 (15.96%)
Empathic	2 (3.45%)	16 (12.50%)	18 (25.35%)	81 (36.49%)	79 (25.24%)	73 (25.89%)
Total solidarity words	58	128	71	222	313	282

The percentages are based on frequencies of words related to a particular solidarity frame compared to the total number of words related to a solidarity frame found in the coded sentence

Solidarity frames 95	Vlaams Blok	Volksunie	VLD	CVP	SP	Agalev
Group-based solidarity	12 (44,44%)	34 (60,71%)	3 (50, 00%)	7 (25,93%)	2 (5,56%)	10 (16,95%)
Compassionate solidarity	9 (33,33%)	5 (8,93%)	1 (16,67%)	10 (37,04%)	19 (52,78%)	33 (55,93%)
Exchange-based solidarity	2 (7,41%)	4 (7,14%)	2 (33,33%)	5 (18,52%)	4 (11,11%)	4 (6,78%)
Empathic solidarity	4 (14,81%)	13 (23,21%)	0 (0,00%)	5 (18,52%)	11 (30,56%)	12 (20,34%)
Total solidarity words	27	56	6	27	36	59

The percentages are based on frequencies of words related to a particular solidarity frame compared to the total number of words related to a solidarity frame found in the coded sentence

Group-based solidarity	Group-based solidarity (cont.)
Aangepast (adapted)	Saam (together)
Aanpassen (adapt)	Samen (together)
Aanpassing (adaptation)	Samenleving (society)
Belang (interest)	Stem (voice)
Cultuur (culture)	Toebehoren (belong)
Eengemaakt (unified/united)	Waarde (value)
Eengeworden (unified/united)	Barst (cleavage/fissure)
Eenmaking (unification)	Breuk (cleavage/fissure)
Eensgezind (unanimous)	Kloof (cleavage)
Eenwording (unification)	Onenig (discordant/disagreeable)
Elke (every)	Onenigheid
Gemeen (in common)	(disagreement/discord)
Gemeenschap (community)	Onverenigbaar (incompatible/irreconcilable)
Gemeenschappelijk (in common)	Onverenigbare (incompatible/irreconcilable)
Gewoonte (custom)	Opgesplitst (split)
Groep (Group)	Polair (polar: e.g. polarized)
Identific (identif)	Splits (split)
Identiteit (identity)	Splitst (split)
Inpassen (fit in)	Tegengesteld (opposite)
Integratie (integration)	Tegenstelling (opposition)
Integreer (integrate)	Uit (out)
Integreren (integrate)	Uiteen (split)
Land (land/country)	Verdeeld (divided/split)
Leden (members)	Verdeelt (divides)
Lid (member)	Verschil (divide)
Norm (norm)	Verwijder (expel)
Onderling (mutually)	Vijand (enemy)
Ons (us)	Vijandig (hostile)
Onze (our) Passen (fit)	
Plaats (place)	
Recht (right)	

Compassionate solidarity	Compassionate solidarity (cont.)
Achtergesteld (marginalized)	Medeleven (compassion, sympathy)
Achterstand (marginalization)	Minder (less)
Achterstellen (marginalize)	Mindere (less)
Achterstelling (marginalization)	Minst (least)
Arm (poor)	Minste (least)
Arme (poor)	Moeilijk (difficult/trying)
Armer (poorer)	Moeilijker (difficult)
Armere (poorer)	Moeilijkst (difficult)
Armst (poorest)	Nadelig (disadvantageous)
Armste (poorest)	Onbeschermd (unprotected)
Behoeftig (needy)	Onzeker (uncertain)
Behoevend (needy)	Slecht (bad)
Benadeeld (disadvantaged)	Slechter (worse)
Bestaansonzeker (uncertain)	Slechtst (worst)
Compassie (compassion)	Tekort (shortage)
Discriminatie (discrimination)	Uitgesloten (excluded)
Discrimineren (discriminate)	Uitsluiten (exclude)
Dupe (dupe)	Verduren (endure)
Gediscrimineerd (discriminated)	Weinig (little)
Helpen (help)	Zwaar (heavy, tough)
Hulp (help)	Zwaarder (heavier, tougher)
Klap (hit; blow)	Zwaarst (heaviest, toughest)
Kwetsbaar (vulnerable)	Zwak (weak)
Kwetsbare (vulnerable)	Zwakke (weak)
Laag (low)	Zwakken (weak)
Laagst (lowest)	Zwakker (weaker)
Laagste (lowest)	Zwakkere (weaker)
Lage (low)	Zwakkeren (weak)
Lager (lower)	Zwakst (weakest)
Lagere (lower)	Zwakste (weakest)
Lijden (suffer)	Zwaksten (weakest)
Mededogen (compassion)	

Exchange-based solidarity	Exchange-based solidarity (cont.)
Aangemoedigd (encouraged)	Ruil (exchange)
Aangetrokken (attracted)	Stimulans (stimulus)
Aangezet (stimulated)	Stimuleer (stimulate)
Aanmoedigen (attracted)	Stimuleren (stimulate)
Aansprakelijk (liable, responsible)	Terugkrijgen (recover)
Aantrekken (attract)	Terugverdiend (recovered)
Aanzetten (encourage)	Terugverdienen (to earn back)
Actief (active)	Verdienste (merit, worth)
Actieve (active)	Vergoed (reimbursed)
Beloon (reward)	Waardeer (valued)
Beloond (rewarded)	Waarderen (value)
Beloont (rewards)	Waardering (value)
Bereid (prepared)	Wederdienst (reciprocity)
Bijdrage (contribution)	Wederkerig (reciprocal)
Bijgedragen (contributed)	Beboet (fined)
Compensatie (compensated)	Boet (fine)
Compenseer (compensate)	Boeten (fine)
Compenseren (compensate)	Doorschuiven (push through)
Competent (competent)	Geboet (fined)
Dienst (service)	Lasten (burden, load)
Engagement (commitment)	Misbruik (abuse)
Incentive (incentive)	Misbruiken (abuse)
Ingezet (deployed)	Ontmoedigd (discouraged)
Investeer (invest)	Ontmoedigen (discourage)
Inzet (effort)	Ontmoedigt (discourages)
Motiveer (motivate)	Ontsnappen (evade, escape)
Nut (use/utility)	Ontsnapt (evade)
Nuttig (useful)	Opdraaien (pay)
Opgeleverd (yield, delivered)	Recuperatie (recuperation)
Opleveren (deliver, yield)	Recupereerde (recuperated)
Oplevert (deliver, yield)	Recupereert (recuperate)
Potentieel (potential)	Recupereren (recuperate)
Prestatie (performance)	Straf (punishment)
Presteer (perform)	Teruggevorderd (recuperate)
Presteren (perform)	Terugvorderen (recuperate)
Prikkel (stimulus)	Terugvordert (recuperate)
Prikkelen (stimulate)	

Empathic solidarity	Empathic solidarity (cont.)
Aanvaard (accept)	Miskenning (misrecognition)
Aanvaarden (accept)	Omgaan (deal, handle)
Aanvaarding (acceptance)	Ontmoeten (meet)
Acceptatie (acceptance)	Ontmoeting (meeting)
Accepteren (accept)	Ontplooid (developed, unfold)
Authenticiteit (authenticity)	Ontplooien (develop, unfold)
Authentiek (authentic)	Ontplooiing (development, unfold)
Begrip (understanding)	Ontwikkelen (develop)
Differentiatie (differentiation)	Pluralisme (pluralism)
Differentieerde (differentiated)	Pluralistisch (pluralist)
Differentieert (differentiate)	Pluriform (pluriform)
Divers (divers)	Respect (respect, esteem)
Diversifiëren (diversify)	Specifiek (specific)
Diversiteit (diversity)	Uniciteit (unicity)
Eerbied (respect, esteem)	Uniek (unique)
Eigen (own)	Unieke (unique)
Eigenwaarde (self-worth)	Variatie (diversity)
Empathie (empathy)	Variëren (vary)
Flexibel (flexible)	Verdraag (tolerate)
Geaccepteerd (accepted)	Verdraagzaamheid (tolerance)
Gelijkwaardig (equivalent)	Verscheiden (diverse)
Jezelf (yourself)	Verscheidenheid (diversity)
Maat (tailored)	Zichzelf (themselves/himself/herself)
Miskend (misrecognized)	