

Coding Schemes

1. Overview

We will be coding information on several aspects of party campaigns:

2. Campaign timeline
3. Party manifestos
4. Election results and polls
5. Post-election government formation
6. Pre-electoral coalitions
7. Institutions
8. Televised debates
9. Television commercials
10. Newspapers
11. Party webpages
12. Expert surveys
13. Candidate surveys
14. Interviews with campaign managers

2. Campaign Timeline

We will be following election campaigns for a period of three months before a scheduled election date or from the start of an election campaign if there is less than three months to the election date. The country teams will keep a day-by-day history of the election campaign. The day-by-day history will provide information about when election polls are released, where party leaders are and what they are doing, major announcements such as the formation of pre-electoral coalitions, scandals, and major events etc. The campaign timeline will be used for a variety of things including as a means to structure part of the interviews with campaign managers.

2.1 Criteria for Inclusion of Parties

Throughout all aspects of the party strategy component of the project, we will be examining all parties that are likely to win some seats in the legislature. This includes parties that are currently represented in the legislature as well as parties that came close to winning representation – parties that needed to increase their vote share by less than one percentage point (or needed to increase their vote share by less than 33%). If there are new parties that appear likely to influence the election, they should be included as well. These criteria are clearly arbitrary and we should err on the side of inclusion if there is a question of whether or not to include a party. In short, we want to include all parties that are likely to influence how other parties conduct their campaign.

3. Manifestos

We will be coding party manifestos and will be doing so for two reasons. First, we want to measure the policy positions of parties across elections and countries within a common framework. For this purpose, we will use the same coding as employed by the Comparative Manifestos Project (Budge et al. 2001) and, to some extent, the European Manifestos Project. Second, we want to measure the degree of positive and negative campaigning by parties across elections and countries within a common framework. We employ our own coding rules for this aspect.

Included Party Programs

An appendix should be created that lists all the parties included in the manifestos portion of the project. The appendix should indicate (i) the country, (ii) a party abbreviation, (iii) the party name, (iv) the party code, (v) the elections for which manifestos were available, and (vi) the number of manifestos for each party. For an example of the type of appendix we have in mind, see the Comparative Manifesto [website](#).

Party Programs, Titles, and Sources

An appendix should be created that lists the name of the party program and the source of the party program by country, year, and party. As an example, see the Comparative Manifesto [website](#).

Missing Party Programs

An appendix should be created that provides information about the party programs that we have been unable to collect or which do not exist. The appendix should list (i) the country, (ii) the party, (iii) the election date, and (iv) the number of legislative seats controlled by the party. As an example, see the Comparative Manifesto [website](#).

3.1 Coding Unit

The coding unit for identifying a party's position is a "quasi-sentence," which is defined as an argument.¹ An argument is an expression of one political idea or issue. In its simplest form, a sentence is the basic unit of meaning, containing a subject, a verb, an attribute or adjective, and possibly an object. Coders should start by isolating each sentence in a manifesto. Many sentences will contain only one argument.

We will cut taxes.

We will reduce our military forces.

Thus, these examples represent two quasi-sentences. Sometimes, though, a single sentence will contain two arguments.

We will cut taxes and reduce our military forces.

Although this is one sentence, it should be coded as two quasi-sentences. In this sense, a quasi-sentence is simply a set of words that contain one and only one idea or statement.

Because we want freedom, we need strong military forces.

¹ The coding scheme described here comes from Budge et al. (2001, 215-218).

The previous sentence represents two quasi-sentences because it posits two political ideas: (i) freedom and (ii) strong military forces. Punctuation, such as commas and semi-colons, can often be used to signal separate quasi-sentences. If different issues are treated in the same sentence, then they each represent quasi-sentences.

Fortunately, the CMP provides detailed instructions, examples, and coding exercises on the CD-ROM that accompanies Budge et al. (2001). **All coders should complete these exercises before they code new manifestos for this project. The reliability scores for the coders from these exercises should be recorded.** Some of these exercises can be found on the Comparative Manifesto [website](#).

The first step in coding the manifestos is to scan the documents in the original language. The second step is to break the manifesto down into a sequence of numbered quasi-sentences. This document, numbering each quasi-sentence, will then also be scanned. Each numbered quasi-sentence will represent an observation in the following dataset. In other words, each row of the dataset corresponds to a particular quasi-sentence in the manifesto and analysts should be able to use the unique identifying number for each row to locate the actual quasi-sentence in the manifesto. The third step will be to translate the document into English using Google translate. *If there is time*, the country teams will clean up the English translation. The scanned, marked up, and translated manifestos will be made available with the data set. Marked up means identifying markers for quasi-sentences.

3.2 Coding Scheme for Party Positions

Identification Variables

Country Code	Two digit code:
	31 France
	33 Spain
	41 Germany
	43 Switzerland
	62 Canada

The country codes correspond to those used in the Comparative Manifestos Project.

Coder ID	An ID number indicating which individual did the manifesto coding.
Coder Month	Month in which the coding was done.
Coder Year	Year in which the coding was done.
Reliability Test	The reliability score of the coder when doing the practice test provided by the comparative manifesto project in attached Appendix 2.
Election Year	Election year (YYYY)
Election Month	Election month (MM)

Election Day Election day (DD)

Election Date DDMMYYYY

Election Type Election type

1	National legislative: upper house/senate
2	National legislative: lower house
3	National presidential
4	Sub-national legislative
5	European legislative
6	Sub-national Executive

Party Code The party identification code consists of five digits. The first two digits repeat the country code. The third and fourth digit reflect a tentative grouping of political parties and alliances into the following party families.

10	ECO	Ecology Parties
20	COM	(Former) Communist Parties
30	SOC	Social Democratic Parties
40	LILB	Liberal Parties
50	CHR	Christian Democratic/religious Parties
60	CON	Conservative Parties
70	NAT	National Parties
80	AGR	Agrarian Parties
90	SIN	Special Issue Parties
95	ETH	Ethnic and Regional Parties
99	OTH	Electoral Alliances

If more than one political party of a specific party family is represented in a particular country, this fact is reflected in the fifth digit of the party code.

The party codes should match up with those in the comparative manifestos project for pre-existing parties.

Party Name Name of political party.

Party Family Party family using the two digit party family codes shown above.

Program Type

1	Program of a single party
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As a rule, each party issues one program for each election.

2	Program of two or more parties
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In some countries, parties compete as “programmatically coalitions” by issuing joint programs. In these cases, the joint program will be assigned to each of the parties of the coalition. Joint programs should only be used if there were no single party programs.

3 Estimate

For calculating median voter or median party figures, missing election programs are to be estimated on the basis of available programs whenever a party obtains seats in parliament. Estimates are to be derived either by computing averages between two adjacent parties or by duplicating programmatic data.

4 Platform of main party from coalition

Some electoral coalitions do not issue joint programs. In these cases, we will use the program of the main coalition party.

Quasi-sentences

Quasi-Sentence Number This is the number of the quasi-sentence starting with 1.

Each quasi-sentence is coded into one (and only one) of 56+1 categories. The 56 categories are grouped into seven major policy areas. The +1 category refers to quasi-sentences that are left uncoded because they are ambiguous or cannot clearly be placed into one of the 56 categories. The seven major policy areas refer to: (i) external relations, (ii) freedom and democracy, (iii) political system, (iv) economy, (v) welfare and quality of life, (vi) fabric of society, and (vii) social groups. Note that some of the 57 main categories have subcategories to provide more specific information. You should use these subcategories where appropriate. For example, suppose that a quasi-sentence falls within the **101 Foreign Special Relations (FSR): Positive** main category. If the quasi-sentence *can* be placed in a subcategory of this main category, such as **1011 Russia/USSR/CIS: Positive**, then this quasi-sentence should be coded according to the subcategory code i.e. **1011**. If the quasi-sentence *cannot* be placed in a subcategory of this main category, then it should be coded according to the main category code i.e. **101**. In other words, use the code for the subcategories whenever possible.

Domain 1: External Relations

101 Foreign Special

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Relationships: Positive

Favorable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto *country* has a special relationship. For example, in the German case: East Germany; the need for cooperation with and/or aid to such countries.

1011 Russia/USSR/CIS: Positive

1012 Western States: Positive

1013 East European Countries: Positive

1014 Baltic States: Positive

1015 Nordic Council: Positive

1016 SFR Yugoslavia: Positive

1017 Islamic Countries: Positive

1018 ASEAN Countries: Positive

1-102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative	<p>1 (yes), 0 (no)</p> <p>Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; opposite of Foreign Special Relationships: Positive</p> <p>There are subcategories for this variable</p> <p>1021 Russia/USSR/CIS: Negative</p> <p>1022 Western States: Negative</p> <p>1023 East European Countries: Negative</p> <p>1024 Baltic States: Negative</p> <p>1025 Nordic Council: Negative</p> <p>1026 SFR Yugoslavia: Negative</p> <p>1027 Islamic Countries: Negative</p> <p>1028 ASEAN Countries: Negative</p>
103 Anti-imperialism	<p>1 (yes), 0 (no)</p> <p>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; favorable mentions of decolonization; favorable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies; negative references to the imperial behavior of the manifesto and/or other countries.</p> <p>There are subcategories for this variable</p> <p>1031 Russian Army: Negative</p> <p>1032 Independence: Positive</p> <p>1033 Rights of Nations: Positive</p>
104 Military: Positive	<p>1 (yes), 0 (no)</p> <p>Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; modernizing armed forces and improvement in military strength; rearmament and self-defense; need to keep military treaty obligations; need to secure adequate manpower in the military.</p>
105 Military: Negative	<p>1 (yes), 0 (no)</p> <p>Favorable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament; evils of war; promise to reduce conscription; opposite of Military: Positive</p>
106 Peace	<p>1 (yes), 0 (no)</p> <p>Peace as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means for solving crises; desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries.</p>
107 Internationalism: Positive	<p>1 (yes), 0 (no)</p> <p>Need for international cooperation; cooperation with specific countries other than those coded in Foreign Special Relationships: Positive; need for aid to developing countries;</p>

need for world planning of resources; need for international courts; support for any international goal or world state; support for UN.

108 European Integration: Positive 1 (yes), 0 (no)

Favorable mentions of EU in general; desirability of expanding the EU and/or of increasing its competence; desirability of the manifesto country joining or remaining a member.

1081 Bilateral cooperation: Positive

1082 EU-accession: Positive

1083 EU-accession of Turkey: Positive

1084 EU social regulation: Positive

1085 EU neoliberal: Positive

1086 EU cultural deepening: Positive

1087 EU cultural enlargement: Positive

109 Internationalism: Negative 1 (yes), 0 (no)

Favorable mentions of national independence and sovereignty as opposed to internationalism; opposite of **Internationalism: Positive**.

110 European Integration: Negative 1 (yes), 0 (no)

Hostile mentions of the EU; opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities; opposite of **European Integration: Positive**.

1101 Bilateral cooperation: Negative

1102 EU-accession: Negative

1103 EU-accession of Turkey: Negative

1184 EU social regulation: Negative

1185 EU neoliberal: Negative

1086 EU cultural deepening: Positive

1087 EU cultural enlargement: Positive

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy.

201 Freedom and Human Rights 1 (yes), 0 (no)

Favorable mentions of importance of personal freedom and civil rights; freedom from bureaucratic control; freedom of speech; freedom from coercion in the political and economic spheres; individualism in the manifesto country and in other countries.

2011 Immigration

202 Democracy: Positive 1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

There are subcategories for this variable

2021 Transition to Democracy

2022 Restrictive Citizenship: Positive

2023 Lax Citizenship: Positive

203 Constitutionalism: Positive

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

There are subcategories for this variable

2031 Presidential Regime: Positive

2032 Republic: Positive

2033 Checks and Balances

2034 Secularism: Positive

204 Constitutionalism: Negative

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Opposition to the constitution in general or to specific aspects; opposite of **Constitutionalism: Positive**

There are subcategories for this variable

2041 Monarchy: Positive

Domain 3: Political System

301 Decentralization: Positive

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

There are subcategories for this variable

3011 Republican Powers: Positive

3012 Independence: Positive

3013 Federalism: Positive

3014 Constitution: Positive

302 Centralization: Positive

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels; support for more centralization in political and administrative procedures; opposite of **Decentralization**.

3021 Independence: Negative

3022 Federalism: Negative

3023 Constitution: Positive

303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	1 (yes), 0 (no) 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.
304 Political Corruption: Negative	1 (yes), 0 (no) Need to eliminate corruption and associated abuse in political and public life
305 Political Authority	1 (yes), 0 (no) Favorable mentions of strong government, including government stability; manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other parties' lack of such competence. There are subcategories for this variable
3051 Public Situation: Negative	
3052 Communist: Positive	
3053 Communist: Negative	
3054 Rehabilitation and Compensation: Positive	
3055 Political Coalitions: Positive	

Domain 4: Economy

401 Free Enterprise: Positive	1 (yes), 0 (no) Favorable mentions of free enterprise capitalism; superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems; favorable mentions of private property rights, personal enterprise, and initiative; need for unhampered individual enterprises. There are subcategories for this variable
4011 Privatization: Positive	
4012 Control of Economy: Negative	
4013 Property Restitution: Positive	
4014 Privatization Vouchers: Positive	
402 Incentives: Positive	1 (yes), 0 (no) Need for wage and tax policies to induce enterprise; encouragement to start enterprises; need for financial and other incentives such as subsidies.
403 Market Regulation: Positive	1 (yes), 0 (no) Need for regulations designed to make private enterprises work better; actions against monopolies and trusts, and in defense of consumer and small business; encouraging economic competition; social market economy.
404 Economic Planning: Positive	1 (yes), 0 (no)

Favorable mentions of long-standing economic planning of a consultative or indicative nature, need for government to create such a plan.

405 Corporatism: Positive

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Favorable 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.

406 Protectionism: Positive

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

407 Protectionism: Negative

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Support for the concept of free trade; opposite of **Protectionism: Positive**.

408 Economic Goals

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

409 Keynesian Demand Management 1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

410 Productivity: Positive

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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; increasing foreign trade; the paradigm of growth.

411 Technology and Infrastructure

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Importance of modernization of industry and methods of transport and communication; importance of science and technological developments in industry; need for training and research. This does not imply education in general (see **Education Expansion**).

412 Controlled Economy: Positive

1 (yes), 0 (no)

General need for direct government control of economy; control over prices, wages, rents etc; state intervention into the economic system.

There are subcategories for this variable

4121 Social Ownership: Positive

4122 Mixed Economy: Positive

4123 Publicly-Owned Industry: Positive

4124 Socialist Property: Positive

413 Nationalization

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Favorable mentions of government ownership, partial or complete, including government ownership of land.

4131 Property-Restitutions: Negative

4132 Privatization: Negative

414 Economic Orthodoxy

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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.

415 Marxist Analysis

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

416 Anti-Growth Economy

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Favorable mentions of anti-growth politics and steady state economy; ecologism; Green politics; sustainable development.

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

501 Environmental Protection

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

502 Culture: Positive

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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.

There are subcategories for this variable

5021 Private-Public Mix in Culture: Positive

5022 Immigration

503 Social Justice

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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 or sexual discrimination etc.

There are subcategories for this variable

- 5031 **Private-Public Mix in Social Justice: Positive**
- 5032 **Race-Blind Equality: Positive**
- 5033 **Group Proportionality: Positive**
- 5034 **Immigration**

504 Welfare State Expansion

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Favorable mentions of need to introduce, maintain, or expand any social service or social security scheme; support for social services such as health service or social housing. This category excludes education.

There are subcategories for this variable

- 5041 **Private-Public Mix in Welfare: Positive**
- 5042 **Unemployment Benefits: Positive**
- 5043 **Health Insurance: Positive**
- 5044 **Social Services: Positive**
- 5045 **New Social Risks: Positive** (support for single parents, etc)
- 5046 **Immigration**

505 Welfare State Limitation

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; opposite of **Welfare State Expansion**.

- 5051 **Private-Public Mix in Welfare: Negative**
- 5052 **Unemployment Benefits: Negative**
- 5053 **Health Insurance: Negative**
- 5054 **Social Services: Negative**
- 5055 **New Social Risks: Negative**(support for single parents, etc)
- 5056 **Immigration**

506 Education Expansion

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels. This excludes technical training, which is coded under **Technology and Infrastructure**.

There are subcategories for this variable

- 5061 **Private-Public Mix in Education: Positive**
- 5062 **Immigration**

507 Education Limitation

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Limiting expenditure on education; opposite of **Education Expansion**.

- 5071 **Immigration**

Domain 6: Fabric of Society

601 National Way of Life: Positive

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Appeals to patriotism and/or nationalism; suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion; support for established national ideas.

6011 Karabakh Issue

6012 Rebuilding the USSR: Positive

6013 National Security

6014 Cyprus Issue

6015 Immigration

602 National Way of Life: Negative 1 (yes), 0 (no)

Against patriotism and/or nationalism; opposition to the existing national state; opposite of **National Way of Life: Positive**.

6021 Immigration

603 Traditional Morality: Positive 1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

There are subcategories for this variable

6031 Islamization: Positive

604 Traditional Morality: Negative 1 (yes), 0 (no)

Opposition to traditional moral values; support for divorce, abortion etc; opposite of **Traditional Morality: Positive**.

6041 Islamization: Negative

605 Law and Order 1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

6051 Immigration

606 Social Harmony: Positive 1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

There are subcategories for this variable

6061 General Crisis

6062 Interethnic Harmony: Positive

6063 Immigration

607 Multiculturalism: Positive 1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

There are subcategories for this variable

6071 Cultural Autonomy: Positive

6072 Multiculturalism pro Roma

6073 Immigration

608 Multiculturalism: Negative

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration; opposite of **Multiculturalism: Positive**.

There are subcategories for this variable

6081 Multiculturalism against Roma

6082 Immigration

Domain 7: Social Groups

701 Labor Groups Positive

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

702 Labor Groups: Negative

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Abuse of power of trade unions; opposite of 701

703 Agriculture and Farmers

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Support for agriculture and farmers; any policy aimed specifically at benefitting these.

**704 Middle Class and
Professional Groups**

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

**705 Underprivileged Minority
Groups**

1 (yes), 0 (no)

Favorable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor demographic terms e.g. the handicapped, disabled, homosexuals, immigrants, refugees etc.

There are subcategories for this variable

7051 Minorities Inland: Positive

7052 Minorities Abroad: Positive

7053 Immigration

**706 Non-Economic
Demographic Groups**

1 (yes), 0 (no)

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

There are subcategories for this variable

- 7061 War Participants: Positive
- 7062 Refugees: Positive
- 7063 Immigration

Uncoded Position Statement 1 (yes), 0 (no)
Sentence cannot be coded with respect to a category

Total Total number of quasi-sentences

Programmatic Dimensions

We plan to place parties along five different dimensions. The coding rules for creating these positions refer to the *percentage* of statements that fall into certain categories.

Right-Left **Left-Right position of the manifesto party.**
26 categories go into the calculation of a party’s left-right position. 13 categories are classified as left-wing and 13 categories are classified as right-wing. To calculate a party’s left-right position, we calculate the percentage of quasi-sentences devoted to right-wing issues minus the percentage of quasi-sentences devoted to left-wing issues. Thus, a manifesto entirely devoted to left-wing issues will be coded as -100 and a manifesto entirely devoted to right-wing issues will be coded as +100.

Right-Wing Categories	Left-Wing Categories
Military: positive (PER104)	Decolonization (PER103)
Freedom, human rights (PER201)	Military: negative (PER105)
Constitutionalism: positive (PER203)	Peace (PER106)
Effective authority (PER305)	Internationalism: positive (PER107)
Free enterprise (PER401)	Democracy (PER202)
Economic incentives (PER402)	Regulate capitalism (PER403)
Protectionism: negative (PER407)	Economic planning (PER404)
Economic orthodoxy (PER414)	Protectionism: positive (PER406)
Social services limitation (PER505)	Controlled economy (PER412)
National way of life: positive (PER601)	Nationalization (PER413)
Traditional morality: positive (PER603)	Social services: expansion (PER504)
Law and order (PER605)	Education: expansion (PER506)
Social harmony (PER606)	Labor groups: positive (PER701)

Planned Economy **Planned economy**
Market Regulation + Economic Planning + Controlled Economy (Percentages)

Market Economy **Market economy**

Free Enterprise + Economic Orthodoxy (Percentages)

Welfare

Welfare

Social Justice + Welfare State Expansion (Percentages)

International Peace

International Peace

Foreign Special Relationships: Negative + Military: Negative + Peace (Percentages)

3.3 Coding Scheme for Positive and Negative Campaigning

The coding unit when it comes to identifying positive and negative campaigning remains the *quasi-sentence*. We will be coding quasi-sentences along three dimensions: (i) direction, (iii) content, and (iv) civility. *Direction* refers to whether the quasi-sentence is positive or negative. A *positive* quasi-sentence is any mention of an argument to vote for a party and a *negative* quasi-sentence is any argument to vote against a party. *Content* refers to whether the argument is related to policy concerns or personality/party traits. And *civility* refers to whether the argument is made in a civil or uncivil manner (Mutz & Reeves *APSR* 2005, Brooks & Geer *AJPS* 2007). All positive statements and any type of statement about one's own party are, by definition, civil; negative statements about other parties may be civil or uncivil. For incivility, we follow Brooks and Geer (2007, 5) and define incivility as statements that are inflammatory and superfluous. Statements can be quite critical but should only be coded as uncivil if they go further i.e. by adding inflammatory comments that add little in the way of substance to a discussion. The list below is based in large part on Geer's coding.

Actor Party

The five digit party code of the party making the quasi-sentence. In the case of party manifestos, this will almost certainly be the party whose manifesto is being coded.

Actor Candidate

The name of the specific candidate making the quasi-sentence if this can be identified beyond simply naming a party. If no candidate can be identified, code this as 99.

Actor Other

The name of the actor making the quasi-sentence if not a party or candidate.

Object Party

The five digit party code of the party that is the object of the quasi-sentence. If the quasi-sentence is about a particular candidate, what is the candidate's party?

Object Candidate

The name of the candidate that is the object of the quasi-sentence. If a party is mentioned but no specific candidate, code this as 99.

Object Other

The name of the object of the quasi-sentence if not a party or candidate.

Using the various **Object** variables, we will be able to identify whether a quasi-sentence or argument is about one's own party, another party, another candidate, or some other institution. Theoretically, one could make positive statements about one's own party or an opponent's party etc. Similarly, one could make negative statements about one's own party or an opponent's party etc.

Direction	1 if positive quasi-sentence, 0 if negative quasi-sentence. 99 if uncodable.
Content	1 if policy-based quasi-sentence, 0 if trait-based quasi-sentence. 99 if uncodable.
Civility	1 if civil quasi-sentence, 0 if uncivil quasi-sentence. 99 if uncodable. Can only be 0 if Direction is 0.
Trait Type	If a quasi-sentence is about a trait, what is the trait? The following traits are based on Geer's coding.

- 1 Bipartisan
- 2 Bold
- 3 Caring
- 4 Committed
- 5 Common sense leadership
- 6 Compassionate
- 7 Competent/knows how to get things done
- 8 Conservative
- 9 Family values
- 11 Fiscally conservative
- 13 Hard-working
- 14 Honest
- 15 Independent
- 16 Innovative
- 18 Leader
- 19 Moderate/Middle of the road/Mainstream
- 21 Patriotic
- 22 Progressive
- 23 Protector
- 24 Principled
- 25 Proven/tested/experienced
- 26 Reformer
- 27 Religious/spiritual/moral values
- 28 Self-made
- 29 Tough
- 30 Visionary
- 31 Careerist
- 32 Dishonest/ Corrupt
- 33 Dangerous
- 34 Extremist/radical
- 35 Failure

- 36 Friend (puppet) of religious right
- 37 Friend (puppet) of special interests
- 38 Friend (puppet) of President/PM
- 39 Heartless
- 40 Hypocrite
- 41 Incompetent
- 42 Negative
- 43 Partisan/uncompromising
- 44 Reckless
- 45 Right-wing/reactionary
- 46 Risky
- 47 Soft/weak
- 48 Taxing (or some version of liking taxes)
- 49 Turncoat
- 50 Unpatriotic
- 90 Other, specify below
- 99 N/A

Strat

Does the quasi-statement suggest that the voter should behave strategically?

- 1. Reference to a wasted vote
- 2. Vote sincerely
- 3. Vote for a coalition
- 4. Candidate has a good chance of “winning”
- 5. Plea for turnout
- 6. Vote trading
- 99. N/A

Duty

Does the quasi-statement make appeals to the voter’s sense of duty.

- 1. Explicit reference to a duty to vote
- 2. Reference to democratic values
- 3. Reference to participation being important
- 99. N/A

Regtarget

Does the quasi-statement explicitly target a subgroup of the electorate?

- 1. A particular region
- 2. Ethnicity
- 3. Religion
- 99. N/A

Ambiguity

If quasi-statement deals with policy, is it ambiguous/general or does it offer specific policy change?

- 1. Issue (candidate claims an issue - not necessary a position)

Election/Poll Date Date of election or poll (DDMMYYYY)

Election Type Election type

1	National legislative: upper house/senate
2	National legislative: lower house
3	National presidential
4	Sub-national legislative
5	European legislative
6	Sub-national Executive

Polling Firm Name of polling firm

Polling Starts First day of poll in the field (DDMMYYYY)

Polling Ends Last day of poll in the field (DDMMYYYY)

Poll Duration Number of days poll is in the field

Poll Observations Number of respondents in poll (i.e., actual respondents, not sample size)

Party Code The party identification code consists of five digits. The first two digits repeat the country code. The third and fourth digits reflect a tentative grouping of political parties and alliances into the following party families.

10	ECO	Ecology Parties
20	COM	(Former) Communist Parties
30	SOC	Social Democratic Parties
40	LIB	Liberal Parties
50	CHR	Christian Democratic/religious Parties
60	CON	Conservative Parties
70	NAT	National Parties
80	AGR	Agrarian Parties
90	ETH	Ethnic and Regional Parties
95	SIN	Special Issue Parties
98	OTH	Electoral Alliances

If more than one political party of a specific party family is represented in a particular country, this fact is reflected in the fifth digit of the party code.

The party codes should match up with those in the comparative manifestos project for pre-existing parties.

In addition, record the number of abstentions, don't knows, and invalid votes using the following codes:

99997 Abstentions (1-Turnout)

99998 Don't know (polls only)

99999 Invalid votes (election only)

Party Name Name of political party.

Party Family Party family using the two digit party family codes shown above.

Vote The percentage of votes won by the party in the election or predicted in the poll. Votes for parties should be entered as share of valid votes. Abstentions (non-respondents in polls) and 'don't knows' are entered as a percentage of registered or sampled voters. Invalid votes are recorded as a percentage of votes cast.

Vote Estimated **0 Original figure from data source**
Election statistics often assign votes to electoral coalitions as a whole and do not distinguish between component members. Votes for parties in electoral coalitions are to be estimated on the basis of the distribution of seats between them.

1 Estimated

President Vote The percentage of votes won by the party in presidential elections or predicted in the poll.

Seats The absolute number of seats won by the party in the election or predicted in the poll.

Legislature Size Total number of seats in parliament.

5. Governments

We will be collecting data on the post-election government formation process. Each row in the data set refers to a different post-election government. In the case of some Swiss elections, the categories outlined below may not be appropriate. In this case, the Swiss team should create functionally equivalent variables for their particular situation and have them vetted by Indridi, Matt, and Andre. We look forward to seeing these variables.

General

Country Code Two digit code:
31 France
33 Spain
41 Germany

43 Switzerland
62 Canada

Coder ID An ID number indicating which individual did the coding.

Coder Month Month in which the coding was done.

Coder Year Year in which the coding was done.

Election Date Date of election (DDMMYYYY)

Government ID **Government identification number**
Use the two digit **Country Code** followed by the eight digit **Election Date**.

Government Year The day on which a government takes office (YYYY).

Government Month The month on which a government takes office (MM).

Government Day The year on which a government takes office (DD).

It is not always obvious when a government takes office. Imagine the following scenario. Parliamentary elections are held on June 15. Only July 2, an announcement of a coalition agreement between three parties is made. On July 27 a prime minister takes office, and two days later, on July 29, the full cabinet takes office. Finally, the government passes an investiture vote on August 13. Which date is appropriate for the beginning of the new government? We will choose the start date of the government as the day on which the full cabinet takes office rather than the day on which the prime minister alone takes office (if different from that of the full cabinet) or the date on which the government passes an investiture vote (if one is required). Thus, the begin date for our scenario would be July 29.

Incumbent Government

Incumbent PM Name of incumbent prime minister

Incumbent PM Party Party name of incumbent prime minister.

Incumbent President Name of incumbent president

Incumbent President Party Party name of incumbent president

Incumbent GovParty 1	Name of incumbent government party 1 Repeat for all incumbent government parties.
Incumbent Govparty 1 Seats	Total number of legislative seats controlled by incumbent government party 1. Repeat for all incumbent government parties.
Incumbent Govparty1 Portfolios	Total number of ministerial portfolios controlled by incumbent government party 1. Repeat for all incumbent government parties.
Incumbent Portfolios Total	Total number of incumbent government portfolios
<i>New Government</i>	
PM	Name of prime minister
PM Party	Party name of prime minister.
President	Name of president
President Party	Party name of president
Govparty 1	Name of government party 1 Repeat for all government parties.
Govparty1 Seats	Total number of legislative seats controlled by government party 1. Repeat for all government parties.
Govparty1 Portfolios	Total number of ministerial portfolios controlled by government party 1. Repeat for all government parties.
Portfolios Total	Total number of government portfolios
<i>Policy Positions</i>	
Government Right-Left (S/P)	The government's left-right position

The government's left-right position is the weighted mean score of the parties in the government on the left-right policy dimension. We will use two different weights. First, we will use the proportion of seats (S) that each party in the cabinet contributes to the government's share of legislative seats. For example, if party A has 100 seats and is the one party in a government, then the weight for party A is 1, so that the government's left-right position is equal to the left-right position of party A. In contrast, if party A (200 seats) and party B (50 seats) are in government, then the weight for party A is 0.8 and the weight for party B is 0.2. In this case, the government's left-right position will be 0.8 (party A position) + 0.2(Party B position). Second, we will use the proportional ministerial portfolios (P) held by each party in the cabinet.

Government Planned Economy (S/P) The government's planned economy position

The government's planned economy position is calculated exactly the same way as the left-right position except that the planned economy positions for the parties are used.

Government Market Economy (S/P) The government's market economy position

The government's market economy position is calculated exactly the same way as the left-right position except that the market economy positions for the parties are used.

Government Welfare (S/P)

The government's welfare position

The government's welfare position is calculated exactly the same way as the left-right position except that the welfare positions for the parties are used.

Government International Peace (S/P)The government's international peace position

The government's international peace position is calculated exactly the same way as the left-right position except that the international peace positions for the parties are used.

Median Voter Right-Left

The median voter's positions on the left-right scale

The median voter's position is to be calculated according to the formula established by Kim and Fording in Budge et al. (2001) *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments 1945-1998*, pp. 163. Basically, there are three steps. First, identify the ideological position for each party. Second, for each party, find an interval on the ideological dimension where its supporters are located. In other words, for each party, calculate the midpoint between this party and the one immediately left of it and another midpoint between this party and the one immediately right of it. Then assume that those who vote for this party are located in this interval. Third, for each election, find the percentage of the vote received by each party. This gives you the percentage of the electorate that fall into each interval. You can then use the following formula to calculate the median voter position:

$$M=L+\{(50-C)/F\}*W$$

Where

M = Median position (ideological score)

L = The lower end (ideological score) of the interval containing the median.
 C = The cumulative frequency (vote share) up to but not including the interval containing the median.
 F = The frequency (vote share) in the interval containing the median.
 W = The width of the interval containing the median.

Median Voter Planned Economy	The median voter’s planned economy position Same process as above except using the planned economy dimension.
Median Voter Market Economy	The median voter’s market economy position Same process as above except using the market economy dimension.
Median Voter Welfare	The median voter’s welfare position Same process as above except using the welfare dimension.
Median Voter International Peace	The median voter’s international peace position Same process as above except using the international peace dimension.

We should provide uncertainty estimates for the party positions using the methodology presented in Benoit, Mikhaylow and Laver (2009). “Treating Words as Data with Error: Uncertainty in Text Statements of Policy Positions.” *American Journal of Political Science* 53: 495-513.

6. Pre-Electoral Coalitions

We will also be collecting data on pre-electoral coalitions. Each row is an election.

Country Code	Two digit code: 31 France 33 Spain 41 Germany 43 Switzerland 62 Canada
Coder ID	An ID number indicating which individual did the coding.
Coder Month	Month in which the coding was done.
Coder Year	Year in which the coding was done.
Election Date	Date of election (DDMMYYYY)
Election Type	Election type

- 1 National legislative: upper house/senate
- 2 National legislative: lower house
- 3 National presidential
- 4 Sub-national legislative
- 5 European legislative
- 6 Sub-national Executive

Pre-Electoral Coalition (PEC)	Was there a pre-electoral coalition? 0 No 1 Yes
Number of PECs	How many pre-electoral coalitions were there?
PEC1	Party composition of PEC1. Use Comparative Manifesto Codes
PEC1 Party1	Code number for Party1 in PEC1 (CMP)
PEC1 Party2	Code number for Party2 in PEC1 (CMP)
PEC1 Party 3 (etc.)	Code number for Party3 in PEC1 (CMP)
PEC1 Before	Have the parties in PEC1 formed a pre-electoral coalition before? 0 No 1 Yes
PEC1 Type	Type of pre-electoral coalition. (Golder 2006, 16-21) 1 Nomination agreements, 2 Joint list, 3 Dual ballot instructions, 4 Vote transfer instructions, 5 Public commitment to govern together.
PEC1 Written	Is the pre-electoral agreement written down? (Save copy of agreement) 0 No 1 Yes
PEC1 Date	Date when pre-electoral coalition was first announced.
PEC1 Announced By	Who announced the pre-electoral coalition? (CMP)
PEC1 Announced How	How was the pre-electoral coalition announced? 1 Press conference 2 TV 3 Website 4 Press release 99 N/A
PEC1 Decision Makers	At what level was the pre-electoral agreement negotiated

- 1 Local
- 2 National

PEC1 Motives	What were the stated motives behind the pre-electoral agreement?
PEC1 Response	Was PEC1 a response to another pre-electoral coalition? If so, which one?
PEC1 Follow-Through	Did the parties follow through on the agreement 0 No 1 Yes
PEC1 Government	Did PEC1 enter government? 0 No 1 Yes
Repeat for PEC2, PEC3 etc.	
Anti-Coalition	Was there an anti-coalition? 0 No 1 Yes
Number of Anti-Coalitions	How many anti-coalitions were there?
AC1 Type	Type of anti-coalition
AC1 Sender	Which party issued an anti-coalition statement? (CMP code)
AC1 Target1	Which party did the sender of the anti-coalition statement rule out a coalition with?
AC1 Target1 Date	When did the party issue the anti-coalition statement against target 1?
AC1 Target2	Which party did the sender of the anti-coalition statement rule out a coalition with?
AC1 Target2 Date	When did the party issue the anti-coalition statement against target 2?
Repeat for AC2, AC3 etc.	
Number of Considered PECs (CPC)	Number of other PECs that were considered
CPC1	Party composition of CPC1
CPC1 Type	Type of CPC1
CPC1 Reason Failed	Why did CPC1 Fail?
Repeat for CPC2, CPC3 etc.	

7. Institutions

We will be collecting information on various institutions. Each row of the data set refers to a particular election.

Electoral System

Country Code	Two digit code: 31 France 33 Spain 41 Germany 43 Switzerland 62 Canada
Coder ID	An ID number indicating which individual did the manifesto coding.
Coder Month	Month in which the coding was done.
Coder Year	Year in which the coding was done.
Election Date	Date of election (DDMMYYYY)
Election Type	Election type 1 National legislative: upper house/senate 2 National legislative: lower house 3 National presidential 4 Sub-national legislative 5 European legislative 6 Sub-national Executive
Legislative Size	Total number of seats in parliament.
Electoral System Family	Electoral system family 1 Majoritarian 2 Proportional 3 Mixed
Electoral Tiers	Total number of electoral tiers. An electoral tier is a level at which votes are translated into seats; the lowest tier is the district or constituency level.
District Tier 1	Total number of electoral districts in electoral tier 1 Repeat for all electoral tiers.

Magnitude District 1

Size of district 1

Repeat for all districts and all electoral tiers unless all districts have same district magnitude in which case enter magnitude of district 1 and 99999 for ‘Magnitude district 2’.

Seats Tier 1

Total number of legislative seats allocated in electoral tier 1.

Repeat for all electoral tiers.

Magnitude Tier 1

Average district magnitude in electoral tier 1 i.e. SEATS TIER 1/DISTRICTS TIER 1.

Repeat for all electoral tiers.

Electoral Formula Tier 1**Electoral formula used in electoral tier 1.**

- 1 Single-member district plurality
- 2 Majority-runoff two round system
- 3 Majority-plurality two round system
- 4 Droop (largest remainder)
- 5 Hare (largest remainder)
- 6 d’Hondt
- 7 Sainte-Lague
- 8 Modified Sainte-Lague
- 9 Hagenbach-Bischoff
- 10 Sainte-Laguë/Schepers
- 11 Divisor-based biproportional apportionment method

Repeat for all electoral tiers.

Party List Tier 1**Type of party list**

- 1 Open
- 2 Closed
- 3 Free

In a *closed* party list, the order of candidates elected is determined by the party list itself and voters are not able to express a preference for a particular candidate. In an *open* list, voters can indicate not just their preferred party but their favored candidate within that party. In a *free* party list, voters have multiple voters that they can then allocate either within a single party list or across different party lists.

Repeat for all electoral tiers.

Threshold Tier 1 Electoral threshold in electoral tier 1.

Repeat for all electoral tiers.

Apparentement Tier 1 **Apparentement** is the provision in a List PR system for two or more separate parties to reach an agreement that their votes will be combined for the purposes of seat allocation.

0 No

1 Yes

Repeat for all electoral tiers.

Panachage Tier 1 **Panachage** refers to the ability to vote for candidates from different party lists.

0 No

1 Yes

Repeat for all electoral tiers.

Cumulation Tier 1 **Cumulation** is the capacity to give more than one vote to a single candidate.

0 No

1 Yes

Repeat for all electoral tiers.

Other Institutions

Investiture Vote Is there an investiture vote?

0 No

1 Yes

Vote of No Confidence Is a vote of no confidence available? 1

0 No

1 Yes

8. TV Debates

We will be coding all *televised* debates. The goal of this coding is to gather data on negative and positive campaigning. Each row of the data set represents a quasi-sentence. If your country does not have TV debates, then simply indicate that there are no TV debates. Some country teams have indicated a desire to code other television programs that might be considered functional equivalents for a TV debate. We are happy for this to happen but only once all of the other data is collected. Moreover, such televised programs should be clearly coded as NOT being televised debates.

Identification Variables

Country Code	Two digit code: 31 France 33 Spain 41 Germany 43 Switzerland 62 Canada
Coder ID	An ID number indicating which individual did the manifesto coding.
Coder Month	Month in which the coding was done.
Coder Year	Year in which the coding was done.
Election Date	Date of election (DDMMYYYY)
Election Type	Election type 1 National legislative: upper house/senate 2 National legislative: lower house 3 National presidential 4 Sub-national legislative 5 European legislative 6 Sub-national Executive
Debate ID	Unique id number for each debate Use the two digit Country Code followed by the eight digit Election Date and finally a digit indicating whether the debate is the first, second, or third etc. to have taken place. Thus, the unique id number will be 7 digits long.
Debate Year	Year of debate (YYYY)
Debate Month	Month of debate (MM)
Debate Day	Day of debate (DD)
Debate Date	Date of Debate (DDMMYYYY)
Debate Airtime	Time debate starts
Debate Length	How long does debate last in minutes?

Debate Affiliate	TV channel airing debate
Debate Location	Geographic location of the debate
Debate Audience	Size of television audience watching debate.
Debate Party 1	Name of first party involved in debate
	Repeat for all debate parties.

Quasi-Sentences

Quasi-Sentence Number	This is the number of the quasi-sentence starting with 1.
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The debates will be coded into quasi-sentences, which will then be coded using the same rubric regarding positive and negative campaigning as outlined in Section 3.3. As before, the transcribed, marked up, Google translated, and scanned debate document will be made available with the data set. Marked up means identifying markers for quasi-sentences.

9. Television Ads.

We will be coding all televised commercials at the national and local level. We recognize that obtaining the local commercials may be difficult and that we may miss some, but we should do the best we can. The commercials should be stored digitally, identified with the **Ad ID**, as well as transcribed, translated, and scanned.

The goal of coding the TV commercials is to gather information about (i) the issues that parties emphasize, (ii) negative and positive campaigning, and (iii) strategic priming and mobilization. As before, the primary unit of analysis is the quasi-sentence. The coding scheme is, in part, adopted from other studies that have focused on party or campaign strategies. In particular, we have borrowed material from the Wisconsin Ad Project (WAP), John Geer's content analysis of presidential ads, the comparative manifesto project (CMP), and Scott Desposato's project on negative advertisement in Latin America.

Each ad is first coded on general characteristics - factors that apply to the ad as a whole (e.g., duration, race, airdate, who appears in the ad, visuals, etc). The second step in the coding focuses on each quasi-sentence made in the ad. Note that these coding schemes are also used to code other types of campaign materials (e.g., newspaper ads). Obviously some variables that apply to the coding of TV ad, e.g., spot length, don't apply to print ads.

Step 1: General characteristics of TV commercials

Each row in the data set refers to a specific TV commercial.

Identification Variables

Country Code	Two digit code: 31 France 33 Spain 41 Germany 43 Switzerland 62 Canada
Region code	In what state/region/province did the ad run? Country specific lists of regions. For example, Canada: 0 National 1 Ontario 2 Quebec
National	1 if national, 0 if local
Election Type	Election type 1 National legislative: upper house/senate 2 National legislative: lower house 3 National presidential 4 Sub-national legislative 5 European legislative 6 Sub-national Executive
Constituency code	What constituency or what district did the ad target? Country specific lists of constituencies to be provided by country experts.
Coder ID	An ID number indicating which individual did the coding.
Coder Month	Month in which the coding was done.
Coder Year	Year in which the coding was done.
Ballot	1 First or only ballot 2 Second ballot
Election Date	Date of election (DDMMYYYY)
Ad ID	Unique id number for each advertisement/'text'

Ads are numbered sequentially on the basis of source (as they are stored as separate datasets. That is, TV ads are numbered in sequence, material from newspapers (ads and letters to editor) are numbered as another sequence.

Creative	Creative Name
Spot length	TV: Length of creative (seconds) [only TV]
Ad size	How big is the advertisement as a fraction of a full page? [only Newspapers]
Placement	On what page is the ad/letter? [only Newspapers] 0 Opening spread 1 Front page 999 Back page
Affiliate	Affiliate creative aired on [only TV]
Newspaper Code	Two-digit ID code for newspaper – we need to come up with ID codes for each newspaper [only Newspapers]
Date	Date of airing/publishing (DDMMYYYY)
Airtime	Time of airing (24 hour clock) [only TV]
Estimated Cost	Estimated cost of airing (dollars), based on normal cost of timeslot within market
Advertisement	1 if party advertisement, 0 if letter to editor
Program Name	Program Name (during which ad broadcast) [only TV]
Candidate	Candidate name (Surname, Firstname) - if applicable
Party	Party (of favored candidate) using Comparative Manifesto party codes.
Sponsor	Sponsor of Spot 1 Candidate 2 Party 3 Interest Group 4 Coordinated/Hybrid 5 Other, e.g., individual 6 Don't know

Group Name	Name of advertiser (if not party/candidate's own committee), including names of which particular party entity aired party spots, gained from the spot's disclaimer
Paid For	Does the ad say who paid for it? 0 No 1 Yes, noted on storyboard 2 Yes, undecipherable from the storyboard but discovered by other means 98 Possibly, but undecipherable
Paid For Wording	Specifically what is the wording of the acknowledgement of sponsorship?
Action	Does the ad direct the viewer to take any action (as opposed to merely providing information)? 0 No 1 Yes 98 Don't know 99 N/A
Action Type	What is the action? 1 To vote for someone 2 To elect or re-elect someone 3 To support someone 4 To vote against someone 5 To defeat someone 6 To reject someone 7 To write, call, or tell someone to do something 8 To urge action or attention to a particular matter 9 To send a message someone to express yourself 10 To join an organization 11 To contribute money 90 Other 99 No action or not applicable
Action Phrase	Does the ad mention any of the following specific words or phrases: vote for, elect, support, cast your ballot, [Schmidt] for [office], vote against, defeat, or reject? 0 No 1 Yes 2 Yes, but only in the Paid For By (PFB) 99 N/A
Other Action Phrase	Specify any other variation or synonym of the above words or phrases

Phone

Does it provide a phone number?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes, toll number listed
- 2 Yes, toll-free telephone number listed
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Mail

Does it provide a mailing address?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Email

Does it provide an email address?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Website

Does it provide a website address?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Candidate Appearance

If a video of the ad is available: Does the candidate physically appear on screen and speak to the audience during authorization? [only TV]

- 0 No, authorization stated in voiceover
- 1 Yes, candidate authorizes message on screen
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A /No video of spot available

Favored

Is the favored party/candidate mentioned in the ad?

- 0 Not identified at all
- 1 Mentioned by name in the text of an ad
- 2 Pictured in the ad
- 3 Both mentioned and pictured in the ad
- 4 Mentioned only in the text PFB of the ad
- 5 Mentioned only in the oral approval/authorization of the ad
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Favored Appears Does the favored party candidate appear in his or her ad in the role of a narrator?

- 0** No
- 1** Yes
- 2** Yes – only appears in the oral approval/authorization of the ad
- 98** Don't know
- 99** N/A

Favored Mentioned Is the favored party/candidate's opponent(s) mentioned in the ad?

- 0** Not identified at all
- 1** Mentioned by name in the text of an ad?
- 2** Pictured in the ad
- 3** Both mentioned and pictured in the ad
- 98** Don't know
- 99** N/A

Favored Identity 1, Favored Identity 2,... Favored Identity X If identified, which parties or candidate are identified

- 1** Party 1 / Candidate name
- 2** Party 2 / Candidate name
- 3** Party 3 / Candidate name
- 4** Party 4 / Candidate name
- 5** Party 5 / Candidate name
- 99** N/A

Tone In your judgment, is the primary purpose of the ad to promote a specific candidate, to attack a candidate or to contrast the candidates?

- 1** Attack
- 2** Contrast
- 3** Promote
- 98** Don't Know
- 99** N/A

Contrast Ad If the ad is a contrast ad, what proportion of the ad promotes (as opposed to attacks) a candidate?

- 1** More promote than attack
- 2** About equal promote and attack
- 3** More attack than promote
- 4** Only contrasting element is brief statement with the oral approval/authorization of the ad
- 99** Not a contrast ad / N/A

Contrast Order If the ad is a contrast ad, does it finish by promoting a candidate or attacking a candidate?

- 1 Finishes Promoting
- 2 Finishes Attacking
- 98 Unsure/Unclear
- 99 N/A / Not a contrast ad

Contrast With

If the ad is a negative or contrast ad, who is being attacked or who is the favored candidate being compared to?

- 0 Not a negative or contrast ad
- 1 Party 1
- 2 Party 2
- 3 Party 3
- 4 Party 4
- 5 Party 5
- 99 N/A

Target Pictured

Is leader of target party x pictured in the ad?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Office Mention

Is the office at stake mentioned in the ad?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes – referred to in transcript of the ad
- 2 Yes – written in one (or more) of the visual frames of the ad
- 3 Yes – referred to in both the transcript and in the visuals of the ad
- 4 Office Mentioned Only in the Paid for By of the Ad
- 98 Don't Know
- 99 N/A

Humor

Is the ad funny or intended to be humorous?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Cites Sources

Does the ad cite supporting sources (including footnotes) to bolster various claims?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes, a newspaper article
- 2 Yes, a newspaper editorial
- 3 Yes, an opponent's campaign advertising
- 90 Yes, other

- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Opponent Ad

Is an opponent's commercial mentioned or shown on screen?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes, opponent's commercial is referred to in text of the ad
- 2 Yes, opponent's commercial is shown on screen
- 3 Yes, opponent's commercial is referred to in text and on screen
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Refute

Does the ad refute any specific claims made about the favored candidate by an opponent?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Opponent Negative

Does the ad mention negative or dirty campaigning by opponents?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Ad Type

Which following type of ad is it?

- 1 Candidate's traits
- 2 Candidate's concern/views on issues
- 3 Candidate's traits and issues
- 4 Attack opponent's traits
- 5 Attack opponent's concern/views on issues
- 6 Attack both issues and traits
- 7 General ad about candidate
- 8 General ad attacking opponent
- 9 Comparison of candidates on issues
- 10 Comparison of candidates on traits
- 11 Comparison of candidates on traits and issues
- 20 General comparison
- 25 General endorsement
- 35 Attack opposing party on issues
- 40 Ad encourages defection
- 45 Criticism of current state of affairs, not an explicit attack on a party
- 50 Talks of party's accomplishments
- 67 Strategic/Issues ad

- 71 Strategic appeal that Candidate is electable
- 72 Appeal for Crossover votes based on Traits
- 76 Momentum Ad
- 77 A negative ad, attacking negative campaigning of opponent
- 79 Ad that attacks opponent for misleading attacks, then sets record straight
- 99 Other

Language

What is the primary language of the ad?

- 1 English
- 2 Spanish
- 3 French
- 4 German
- 5 Italian
- 98 Don't Know
- 99 N/A

Flag

Does a flag appear in the ad?

- 0 No
- 1 National flag
- 2 Regional flag
- 3 European flag
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Terror

Is there an explicit mention of terrorism or terrorists?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Head Of Government

Is the president or prime minister mentioned or pictured in the ad?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes – in a way to show support/approval of president/PM
- 2 Yes – in a way to show opposition/disproval of president/PM
- 3 Yes – unclear whether in support/approval or opposition/disapproval
- 98 Don't Know
- 99 N/A

Leader Picture

Is leader of party x mentioned or pictured in the ad?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes – in a way to show support/approval of party leader x
- 2 Yes – in a way to show opposition/disapproval of party leader x

- 3 Yes – unclear whether in support/approval or opposition/disapproval
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Central Figure

Is there a central figure, who would receive top billing if the actors were credited in the ad?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Central Figure Id

If yes, who is the central figure?

- 1 Favored Candidate
- 2 Opponent
- 3 Male non-candidate
- 4 Female non-candidate
- 5 Newspaper or otherwise 'disembodied' person
- 98 Don't know
- 99 No central figure

Central W/Candidate

Does the favored candidate appear with this person?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A, No central figure or CF is favored candidate, opponent

Age Central

In terms of life cycle, how old is the central figure?

- 0 Infant (0-2)
- 1 Child (3-11)
- 2 Adolescent (12-17)
- 3 Young Adult (18-40)
- 4 Middle Age (40-60)
- 5 Elderly (65+)
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A, No central figure or CF is favored candidate, opponent

Race Central

What is the race/ethnicity of this person?

- 0 White/Caucasian
- 1 Black
- 2 Asian
- 3 Southwestern European
- 4 Balkan

- 5 Turkish
- 6 German
- 90 Other
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A, No central figure or CF is favored candidate, opponent

Credibility Central

What is the main basis of credibility of the central figure in the ad?

- 0 No main source of credibility
- 1 Candidate – general
- 2 Personal relationship with candidate
- 3 Worker
- 4 Teacher
- 5 Parent/Family
- 6 Law Enforcement
- 7 Politician, other than candidate
- 8 Senior Citizen
- 9 Woman
- 10 Doctor/Medical Personnel/Pharmacist
- 11 Celebrity
- 12 Citizen
- 13 Veteran/Military Personnel
- 14 Farmer
- 90 Other
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A, No central figure or CF is opponent or 'disembodied' person

Credibility Central Other

Other, not listed, source of credibility

Actor 1, Actor 2 ... Actor X

Aside from the central figure (or if there is no central figure) who else figures prominently in the ad?

- 0 None
- 1 Children
- 2 Adolescents
- 3 Elderly
- 4 Citizens
- 5 Workers
- 6 Teachers
- 7 Parents/Families
- 8 Law Enforcement
- 9 Politicians, other than candidate
- 10 Women
- 11 Doctors/Medical Personnel

- 12 Celebrities
- 13 Opponent
- 14 Favored Candidate
- 15 Friends or Family of Candidate
- 16 Veteran/Military Personnel
- 17 Farmer
- 18 Opponent
- 90 Other
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Actor Other Other, not listed, actor

Family 1, Family 2, ... Family XX If family of candidate appear, which member(s) in particular?

- 0 Mother
- 1 Father
- 2 Spouse
- 3 Daughter
- 4 Son
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Supporting Actor Does the favored candidate appear with supporting actors? (not including the opponent)

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Not applicable

Supporting Use How are the supporting actors used?

- 0 Props, seen but not heard from/don't deliver a message
- 1 Delivering a message
- 98 Don't know
- 99 FC not appearing with supporting actors or N/A

Location 1, Location 2 ... Location XX Where does the ad take place? If there is a central figure, answer only for this person.

- 0 No location
- 1 School
- 2 Hospital/Pharmacy/Healthcare (NOT nursing home or elderly care)
- 3 Old age home
- 4 Blue-collar worksite (factory, construction site etc)
- 5 White-collar office
- 6 Streets

- 7 Court/Justice system/Prison (NOT police)
- 8 Domestic uniformed protection (police or firefighters)
- 9 Military setting
- 10 Natural (forest, river, lakes, streams etc)
- 11 Political setting (office, legislature, rally, political meeting)
- 12 Home, neighborhood
- 13 Farm/Ranch
- 90 Other, specify
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Location Other

Location – other

Candidate Location

If favored candidate is NOT the central figure, but appears in the ad, where does he/she appear?

- 0 No location
- 1 School
- 2 Hospital/Pharmacy/Healthcare (NOT nursing home or elderly care)
- 3 Old age home
- 4 Blue-collar worksite (factory, construction site etc)
- 5 White-collar office
- 6 Streets
- 7 Court/Justice system/Prison (NOT police)
- 8 Domestic uniformed protection (police or firefighters)
- 9 Military setting
- 10 Natural (forest, river, lakes, streams etc)
- 11 Political setting (office, legislature, rally, political mee
- 12 Home, neighborhood
- 13 Farm/Ranch
- 90 Other, specify
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Other Candidate Location

Other, not specified, favored candidate location

Narrator Sex

What is the sex of any voice-over/announcers? [only TV]

- 0 No voice-over or announcer
- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female unseen voice-over/announcers
- 98 Don't know (can't tell)
- 99 N/A /No video of the spot available

Narrator 1, Narrator 2, Narrator XX Who speaks or delivers the message to the audience in the ad?

- 0** Central Figure
- 1** Supporting Actors
- 2** Voiceover/Announcer [only TV]
- 98** Don't know
- 99** N/A

Endorsement

Does the ad include endorsements?

- 0** No
- 1** Yes
- 98** Don't know
- 99** N/A

Endorser 1, Endorser 2, ... Endorser XX Who is seen endorsing in the ad?

- 1** Newspaper(s)
- 2** Law enforcement (police and prosecutors)
- 3** Politicians
- 4** Unions
- 5** Interest Groups
- 6** Teacher Groups
- 90** Other
- 98** Don't know
- 99** N/A / No other endorsement / No endorsement

Endorser Other

Endorsement – Other

Celebrity

Is a political figure or celebrity featured in the ad supporting the candidate?

- 0** No
- 1** Yes
- 98** Don't know
- 99** N/A

Celebrity Name

Favored Candidate Celebrity name

Opposing Celebrity

Is a political figure or celebrity featured in the ad in a way that associates them with the OPPONENT?

- 0** No
- 1** Yes
- 98** Don't know
- 99** N/A

Opposing Celebrity Name	Opposing Candidate Celebrity name
Verifiable Candidate	Is any verifiable information provided about the candidate/party? 0 No 1 Yes 98 Don't know 99 N/A
Citations Candidate	Is anyone cited in ad? 0 No 1 Yes 98 Don't know 99 N/A
Statistics Candidate	Are any statistics about candidate cited in ad? 0 No 1 Yes 98 Don't know 99 N/A
Quotations Candidate	Is anyone quoted about candidate in ad? 0 No 1 Yes 98 Don't know 99 N/A
Sources Candidate	What sources are cited? [TEXT]
About Target	Is any verifiable information provided about opponents? 0 No 1 Yes 98 Don't know 99 N/A
Citations Opponent	Is opponent cited? (reference to origin of information) 0 No 1 Yes 98 Don't know 99 N/A
Statistics Opponent	Are any statistics about opponent cited?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Quotations Opponent

Is anyone quoted about opponent? (direct quote)

- 0 No
- 1 Yes
- 98 Don't know
- 99 N/A

Sources Opponent?

What sources are cited?

[TEXT]

Retro/Prospective

- 1 Ad was retrospective in nature
- 2 Ad was prospective in nature
- 3 Ad contained both
- 4 No such inferences/references made

Step 2: Coding quasi-sentences

Quasi-Sentence Number

This is the number of the quasi-sentence starting with 1.

The TV ads will be coded into quasi-sentences. These quasi-sentences will then be coded for issue positions using the same rubric regarding CMP categories as outlined in Section 3.2. These quasi-sentences will then be coded again for positive and negative campaigning using the same rubric as outlined in Section 3.3. As regards the coding of positive and negative campaigning, the only difference is that we will now code the traits of the favored candidate/party and the opposing candidate/party using the variables shown below. As before, the transcribed, marked up, and Google translated document will be made available with the data set and advertisement. Marked up means identifying markers for quasi-sentences.

Favored Candidate Traits

Are any of the listed characterizations/traits used to describe the favored candidate? (Select only if the word or a minor variation thereof is mentioned directly).

- 1 Bipartisan/Consensus builder
- 2 Bold
- 3 Caring
- 4 Committed
- 5 Common sense leadership
- 6 Compassionate
- 7 Competent/knows how to get things done
- 8 Conservative

- 9 Family man/family woman
- 10 Father/fatherly
- 11 Fiscally conservative
- 12 Friend of President/PM
- 13 Hard-working
- 14 Honest
- 15 Independent
- 16 Innovative
- 17 Liberal
- 18 Leader
- 19 Moderate/Middle of the road/Mainstream
- 20 Mother/motherly
- 21 Patriotic or German/French/etc. values
- 22 Progressive
- 23 Protector
- 24 Principled
- 25 Proven/tested/experienced
- 26 Reformer
- 27 Religious/spiritual/moral values
- 28 Self-made
- 29 Tough/a fighter
- 30 Visionary
- 31 Compassion
- 32 Like us
- 33 Go-getter
- 34 Origins
- 35 Serious
- 36 Educated/intelligent
- 37 Experience
- 90 Other, specify below
- 99 N/A

Favored Trait Other

Favored candidate adjective – Other

Opponent trait 1

Are any of the listed characterizations/traits used to describe the opposing candidate?
(Select only if the word or a minor variation thereof is mentioned directly).

- 0 No adjectives or descriptions of candidates
- 1 Career politician
- 2 Dishonest/Corrupt
- 3 Dangerous
- 4 Extremist/radical
- 5 Failure

7	Friend (puppet) of religious right
8	Friend (puppet) of special interests
9.	Friend (puppet) of President/PM
10	Heartless (may be used in reference to Social Security)
11	Hypocrite
12	Incompetent
13	Liberal
14	Negative
15	Partisan/uncompromising
16	Reckless
17	Right-wing/reactionary
18	Risky
19	Soft/weak
20	Taxing (or some version of liking taxes)
21	Turncoat
22	Unpatriotic
31	Compassion
32	Like us
33	Go-getter
34	Origins
35	Serious
36	Educated/intelligent
37	Experience

Opponent trait other Opposing candidate adjective – Other

10. Newspapers.

We have decided that we will be collecting one national and one regional newspaper. However, we require that only particular sections of the newspaper be coded. Specifically, we will code (i) party advertisements and (ii) letters to the editor by party leaders/candidates. Both of these sources give close to *unmediated* insight into the campaign strategies of parties. **Country experts may choose to code other aspects of newspaper coverage but only after all of the required data is provided.** The goal of coding party advertisements and letters to the editor by party leaders is primarily to gather data on negative and positive campaigning and to get information on issues. We recognize that newspaper coverage will be more useful in some countries than in others. If the parties do not use the newspapers, then there will be less coding to do.

We will be following the two newspapers for a period of three months before the election date or from the start of the election campaign if there is less than three months to the election date.

Some country teams have indicated a desire to code functional equivalents of newspapers such as leaflets and direct-mailing letters. We are happy for them to do this, but only once all of the other data is collected.

Each row of the data set represents a quasi-sentence.

Step 1: General characteristics of newspaper advertisements

Each *party advertisement* (not letters to editor) is coded on general characteristics - factors that apply to the ad as a whole. We will use the same coding rules as used in the TV ads (Section 9, Step 1). Obviously, some of the variables used for TV ads will not be relevant for newspaper advertisements.

Step 2: Coding quasi-sentences

The newspaper advertisements and letters to the editor will be coded into quasi-sentences. As before, the transcribed, translated, marked up, and scanned documents will be made available with the data set. Marked up means identifying markers for quasi-sentences.

Quasi-Sentence Number This is the number of the quasi-sentence starting with 1.

The newspaper advertisements AND letters to the editor will be coded into quasi-sentences. These quasi-sentences will then be coded for issue positions using the same rubric regarding CMP categories as outlined in Section 3.2. These quasi-sentences will then be coded again for positive and negative campaigning using the same rubric as outlined in Section 3.3.

11. Webpages

We will be collecting data from campaign websites. The websites will be scraped for data on particular pages identified by the country specialists. The same pages will be archived as well on a daily basis.

Country specialists will need to identify both the websites to be tracked and which pages within each website to be tracked. Typically this will include:

- Front page
- News page
- Any specific election page
- Pages containing press releases
- Pages containing press material
- Pages containing scheduling information such as constituency visits
- Other relevant pages

The web scrapping is targeted at extracting 'clean text' from the party websites that constitutes the party's message, i.e., the targeted pages should not include second party material such as news stories about the party/candidate. Obtaining 'clean text' from the websites is somewhat more complicated than we hoped so the webscraper will need to be configured for each website we track. Everyone should be able to access the data as it is collected and we also aim to have it translated automatically using Google translate.

The data collected from the website is primarily intended for use in automated content coding/textual analysis (e.g., Wordscores, WordFish, etc.) In principle, the coding scheme provided above (e.g., for coding ads) can be used to code the data as well. We, however, have only a vague idea of how much data the webscraping will produce so this may not be feasible. The archived webpages can also for additional factors, e.g., look, use of images, placement of stories, etc. We do not provide a coding scheme for coding the presentation or the information technological aspects of websites. We leave this possibility open - anyone interested in addressing such issues should propose a theoretically compelling argument that involves these factors and a draft of a codebook.

12. Expert Surveys

We will field a short expert survey. Each country team should identify xx experts and ask them to participate in a brief survey after the election.

1. How would you characterize the campaign of each party on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means very negative and 10 very positive?
2. Could you tell us who was attacked most often by each party?
Which party did party A attack most often?
Which party did party B attack most often?
3. In your judgment which issue did each party talk the most about during the campaign (from PQ2)

PQ 2. What issue did each of the following parties talk the most about during the campaign?

<Maximum of 7 issues>

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5
Hartz IV/Sozialpolitik					
Schulreform					
Universitäten/Studiengebühren					
Wirtschaftskrise					
Parteisponsoring					
Internet/Datenschutz					
Verschuldung von Land/Kommunen					
Other					
Don't know					

4. In your judgment how clear or ambiguous were the policy positions of each party on the major issues of the campaign, on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means very ambiguous and 10 means very clear?
5. How much emphasis did each party put on the personality of the leader, on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means very little and 10 means very much?
6. In your judgment, how much emphasis did each of the parties place on each of the following methods of campaigning?

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5
TV ads					
Newspaper ads					
Canvassing					
Posters/Billboards					
Brochures/flyers					
Campaign events/meetings					
...					
Other					
Don't know					

7. The fringe/extremist party X contested the election. How did each of the parties respond to its presence?

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5
Adopted a more extreme position					
Adopted a more centrist position					
Ignored the issue					
Other					
Don't know					

8. Did any of the parties form a pre-electoral coalition of some sort?

9. On a scale from 0-10, how aware were voters of the pre-electoral agreement (with 0 indicating no awareness and 10 indicating complete awareness)?

13. Candidate Surveys

We had decided to not include a candidate survey. However, we are floating the idea of doing an email-web survey of candidates similar to one that was done in the Netherlands. The country teams would be responsible for obtaining the email addresses of the candidates from the party headquarters. The candidates would then be sent an email asking them to fill out a survey online. Indridi can construct this online survey relatively easily once the questions have been translated. This survey should be low cost and efficient in that all the data collection will be done automatically. The only difficulty will be getting the candidate email addresses.

The country teams need to produce a list of candidates, party id, and candidates' email addresses. There are programs (e.g. [Datathief](#) and [Needlebase](#)) that make this an easy task if the parties have well structured websites. If the websites are 'well structured' and additional information is available on the websites (e.g., list position, constituency, age, occupation, incumbency status, etc.) this should be collected as well. The list of questions can then be shortened to account for the information that we already have.

1. What was your position on the list? [if needed]
2. Did you win a seat in [the legislature]?
 1. Yes
 2. No
3. Were you a candidate in the previous (local/parliamentary/European) election? Were you elected?
 1. Yes

2. No
4. Are you currently a member of [the legislature]?
 1. Yes
 2. No
5. How many campaign events did you participate in?
6. How many posters with your name / or image on them have been hung up?
 1. None
 2. Number
7. Have you sent letters to the editor or placed an opinion piece in the local newspaper in your name?
 1. Yes, how many _____
 2. No
8. How many advertisements did you place in the following media outlets?
 1. Local newspaper:
 2. National newspaper:
 3. Local radio:
 4. National radio:
 5. Local TV:
 6. National TV:
9. Have you participated in street events or other events where you meet voters face to face?
 1. Yes, how many _____
 2. No
10. Have you or your volunteers been going door to door to promote your candidacy?
11. How many households have you [or your campaign staff] contacted by phone?
12. Did you mail campaign materials to voters?
 1. Yes, how many _____
 2. No
13. Do you have a website (separate from your party's website)?
 1. Yes [if yes, ask for address]
 2. No
14. How often did you update your website?
15. Do you have RSS feed on your website and / or send electronic newsletters?
16. How many email addresses have subscribed to your RSS feed or electronic newsletter (approximately)?
17. Do you have your own Facebook page?
 1. Yes [if yes, ask for address]
 2. No
18. Do you have your own blog?
 1. Yes [if yes, ask for address]
 2. No
19. Did you use YouTube videos or Flickr in your campaign?
 1. Yes [if yes, ask for address]
 2. No
20. Do you have a Twitter account?

1. Yes [if yes, ask for address]
 2. No
21. How often do you post messages on Twitter?
22. Did you use text messaging in your campaign?
1. Yes [if yes, how many?]
 2. No
23. How many mobile numbers are there approximately on your list of SMS/text message recipients?
24. What was your personal campaign budget for your election campaign? That is, funds that you had complete control over how you spent.
25. How much money did you personally invest in your campaign?
26. What proportion of your overall budget did you spend on:
1. Election posters?
 2. Advertising in newspapers?
 3. TV ads?
 4. The distribution of printed matter?
 5. On Internet advertising?
 6. Other
27. How many volunteers assisted with your campaign?
28. Approximately how many hours were spent by volunteers working on your campaign?
29. What is your gender? [if needed]
30. What is your birth year? [if needed]
31. What municipality do you live in? [if needed]
32. What is the highest education you completed? [if needed - list of options needed]
33. Are you currently professionally involved?
34. What is your profession?
35. Are you a public official?

14. Interviews with Campaign Managers

We will conduct interviews with campaign managers following the election. One issue that we still have to deal with is how to select the campaign managers. It should be straightforward when campaigns are dominated by parties but it is less clear how to select them where campaigns are more individualized, e.g., as in Canada (and possibly in the single member districts in Germany). Our sense is that it is not feasible to interview all campaign managers in those instances so we need to identify a method or guidelines for choosing the sample of campaign managers.

Goals

1. What were your goals in these cantonal elections?
 - a. Increase representation? Yes No
 - b. Defend current representation? Yes No
 - c. How many Kantonsrat seats? _____

- d. How many executive council seats? _____
 - e. How many percentage points of the vote? _____
 - f. Why did you run (0/1/2) candidates for the executive council?
-
-

Organization

- 2. How many people were employed by your party during the time of the campaign in total? (in % full time equivalents)?
How many people volunteered for your party during the time of the campaign in total?
- 3. How many of were employed specifically for the campaign?
- 4. [if unknown] Were all of these employees employed in [Zurich/central party location]? Yes No
- 5. [if no] How many own employees (in % full time equivalents) worked in different locations?

<i>Place</i>	<i>% full time equivalents</i>

- 6. How much influence did the federal party, the cantonal party and the local sections have on the content and themes of your campaign? Please estimate the influence of the different levels in %.

Federal party _____
 Cantonal party _____
 Local sections _____

- 7. How much influence did the federal party, the cantonal party and the local sections have on the planning and implementation of your campaign strategy? Please estimate the influence of the different levels in %.

Federal party _____
 Cantonal party _____
 Local sections _____

Opponents/Competitors

- 8. Who did you see as your main opponent/enemy at the beginning of the campaign?
Did this change during the course of the campaign? Why?
- 9. Who did you see as your main competitor for votes at the beginning of the campaign?
Did this change during the course of the campaign? Why?

Main Message

- 10. What central message(s) did you want to communicate during your campaign?
- 11. What was your best campaign issue/topic? What was especially good about it?
- 12. Here you see a list of eight political issues, which were important for the voters at the beginning of this year according to the public opinion polls. Please tell me which of these were important in your campaign.

13. Which were the most important, the second most important, and the third most important issues? Were any of them not important at all?

Importance (y/n)	Rank (-1 = not important)	Issue (substitute with relevant issues)
		Economy/jobs
		Education
		Immigration
		Nuclear energy
		Personal and inner security
		Social security systems/AHV/IV
		Taxes and public spending
		Housing and transportation

14. *Country specific questions – replace with the relevant parties and campaign issues.*

[for SP, if not mentioned:] How well did your campaign promise of more affordable housing work? Did it resonate in the electorate? Did it reach its goal?

[for SVP, if not mentioned:] How well did your campaign promise of citizenship on probation work? Did it resonate in the electorate? Did it reach its goal?

[for CVP, if not mentioned:] How well did your campaign promise of more public contracts for companies with trainees work? Did it resonate in the electorate? Did it reach its goal?

15. What was your opponents' best campaign issue/topic? What was especially good about it?

16. *Country specific questions – replace with the relevant parties and campaign issues.*

[for SP opponents, if not mentioned:] How well did the SP's campaign promise of more affordable housing work? Did it resonate in the electorate? Did it reach its goal?

[for SVP-opponents, if not mentioned:] How well did the SVP's campaign promise of citizenship on probation work? Did it resonate in the electorate? Did it reach its goal?

[for CVP, if not mentioned:] How well did the CVP's campaign promise of more public contracts for companies with trainees work? Did it resonate in the electorate? Did it reach its goal?

17. Which topic was decisive in this campaign? In your opinion, how come this topic was so important?
18. Did your party try to keep certain topics out of the campaign? Yes No
Which one(s)? What motivated your party to keep these topics out of the campaign?
19. [if „benefits the opponent“ is not mentioned:]
Have there been topics your party did not talk about, because this would have benefited the opponent? Yes No
Which one(s)?
20. [if „on principle“ is not mentioned:]
Have there been topics your party did not talk about on principle? Which one(s)? Yes No
Which principles would have been violated in this case?

Planning

21. Did you use the following means during planning and implementing your campaign? How often? When?
- a. own surveys/polls Yes No
 - b. other surveys/polls Yes No
 - c. focus groups Yes No
 - d. press Yes No
 - e. systematic press- and media analysis (other than press review) Yes No
 - f. observation of media releases of other parties Yes No
 - g. external consulting Yes No

Strategy (Timing, Targeting, Personalization)

22. During your campaign, did you generally want to appeal to the whole population? Or did you concentrate on so called target groups by, e.g., partisan, sociodemographic, geographic criteria? Whole population Target groups
[if *Target Group*:] which groups are we talking about?
How do you appeal to these groups?
23. Did you set geographic emphasize in your campaign? Yes No
[if *Yes*:] Which areas are we talking about?
Why have these areas been so important for you?
24. [if „constituencies“ are not mentioned:] Did you also put emphasis on certain constituencies? Yes No
[if *Yes*:] which constituencies are especially important? Why?
25. The electorate roughly consists of the own camp (e.g., members and supporters), the opponents' camp and the independents. Which segment(s) of the population did you primarily want to appeal to? Or would you say that your party did not put an emphasis on a specific segment?
 own camp independents opponents' camp no emphasis
Why do you do this?
[if 1 or 2 segments mentioned:] What did you do to appeal to that segment?

26. How about the undecided? Do you especially aim for that segment? Yes No

[if Yes:] What did you do to appeal to them?

27. Did you aim for a high turnout with your campaign strategy? Yes No

[if Yes:] How did you pursue this goal? (pivotal vote, civic duty, issues)

28. Often people talk about the personalization of politics. We put together a list of the most important politicians. Could you please mark all persons who, in your opinion, had an impact on this campaign?

Replace list with relevant politicians (how selected?)

1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martin Bäumle (GLP)
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Regine Aeppli (SP)
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Markus Arnold (CVP)
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Markus Bischoff (AL)
5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Christoph Blocher (SVP)
6	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ulla Blume (Grüne)
7	<input type="checkbox"/>	Toni Brunner (SVP)
8	<input type="checkbox"/>	Didier Burkhalter (FDP)
9	<input type="checkbox"/>	Micheline Calmy-Rey (SP)
10	<input type="checkbox"/>	Marco Camin (FDP)
11	<input type="checkbox"/>	Christophe Darbellay (CVP)
12	<input type="checkbox"/>	Stefan Dollenmeier (EDU)
13	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mario Fehr (SP)
14	<input type="checkbox"/>	Stefan Feldmann (SP)
15	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hans Frei (SVP)
16	<input type="checkbox"/>	Raphael Golta (SP)
17	<input type="checkbox"/>	Daniel Graf (Grüne)
18	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ursula Gut (FDP)
19	<input type="checkbox"/>	Esther Guyer (Grüne)
20	<input type="checkbox"/>	Alfred Heer (SVP)
21	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martin Heiniger (FDP)
22	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hans Hollenstein (CVP)
23	<input type="checkbox"/>	Maja Ingold (EVP)
24	<input type="checkbox"/>	Markus Kägi (SVP)
25	<input type="checkbox"/>	Jeanine Kosch (Grüne)
26	<input type="checkbox"/>	Philipp Kutter (CVP)
27	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ueli Leuenberger (Grüne)
28	<input type="checkbox"/>	Doris Leuthard (CVP)
29	<input type="checkbox"/>	Christian Levrat (SP)
30	<input type="checkbox"/>	Thomas Maier (GLP)
31	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ueli Maurer (SVP)
32	<input type="checkbox"/>	Philipp Maurer (Grüne)
33	<input type="checkbox"/>	Peter Meier (EDU)
34	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fulvio Pelli (FDP)
35	<input type="checkbox"/>	Peter Reinhard (EVP)
36	<input type="checkbox"/>	Gregor Rutz (SVP)

37	<input type="checkbox"/>	Niklaus Scherr (AL)
38	<input type="checkbox"/>	Johann Schneider-Ammann (FDP)
39	<input type="checkbox"/>	Simonetta Sommaruga (SP)
40	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ernst Stocker (SVP)
41	<input type="checkbox"/>	Thomas Vogel (FDP)
42	<input type="checkbox"/>	Beat Walti (FDP)
43	<input type="checkbox"/>	Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf (BDP)
44	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lothar Ziörjen (BDP)
45	<input type="checkbox"/>	Maja Ziörjen (BDP)
46	<input type="checkbox"/>	Johannes Zollinger (EVP)

29. Are there other persons who, in your opinion, had an impact on the campaign? Yes No
 [if Yes:] Which persons would that be?

30. [if >3 persons mentioned] In order of importance, which three of the persons you marked on the list especially had an impact on the campaigning?

1.	
2.	
3.	

31. Did you use „celebrities“ within your party during the campaign? Yes No
 [if Yes:] Who? How exactly? (e.g., Billboards, visits, addresses...)

Action repertoire

32. Please mark the forms of political activities you used in your campaign in the list below.

	#People	%Campaign Funds
<input type="checkbox"/> Media conference	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Media statements	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Mobilization of prominent political figures	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Mobilization of prominent figures in sports, culture, business...	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Interviews and self-contributed articles/TV-reports	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> TV appearances	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Letters to the editor	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Advertisements	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Billboards	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> TV-ads	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Website/Homepage	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Blog	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> e-Mail-activities (incl. Newsletter)	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Social networking (e.g. Facebook)	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Twitter	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Text-message activities	—	—

- Telephone marketing _____
- Own publications _____
- Direct mailing _____
- Public rallies and panels _____
- Flyers _____
- Stands _____
- Door-to-door canvassing _____
- Protest / demonstrations _____
- Support committees _____
- Sponsoring _____
- Providing decision-makers with information _____
- Contacting other political parties directly _____
- Contacting associations directly _____
- Carrying out internal consultations _____
- Participation in consultations (government initiated) _____
- Participation in commissions (government initiated) _____
- Participation in parliamentary commissions _____
- Taking legal action _____
- Other: _____

33. Can you tell me for every activity you marked, how many people of your party have been involved in these?

34. [if media statements mentioned] You told me, that your party wrote media statements during the campaign. Here you find a list of criteria, which can be of importance when writing a media release. Which criteria did you especially keep in mind?

1. Suitability for this type of media	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Timing (in relation to competitors/opponents statements)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Clarity/Simplicity	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. It is new information	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. The possibility of making a striking visual impact? (slogans that can be incorporated into logos etc..)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Targeting personalities, political figures (rather than issues)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Drama/ Conflict	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Provocation	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Critique	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Emotionality	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Optimism/good news	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Credibility	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Possibility to create polarization	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Current affairs (what's hot in the news)	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Public interest	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Showing closeness to the public.	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Reference to fundamental political questions/issues (e.g. NHS, Anglo-American relationship...)	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Surprise	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Journalists' expectations	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Using spokespeople's prominence and influence	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Public opinion	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Presenting a balanced picture	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Professionalism	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Background information	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. Information content	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. Exciting/interesting story	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. Using examples of everyday people to show a point	<input type="checkbox"/>
28. Common sense	<input type="checkbox"/>
29. National Values	<input type="checkbox"/>
30. Reference to national symbols	<input type="checkbox"/>

In order of importance, which 3 criteria you mentioned were especially important for your party?

1.	
2.	
3.	

35. *Country specific questions – replace with the relevant parties and campaign issues.*

[for SP] How do you evaluate your slogan „Ja.“? How did it emerge? Did it resonate in the electorate? Did it reach the goals?

[for SVP] How do you evaluate your slogan „Schweizer wählen SVP“? How did it emerge? Did it resonate in the electorate? Did it reach the goals?

[for FDP] How do you evaluate your slogan „Aus Liebe zur Schweiz“? How did it emerge? Did it resonate in the electorate? Did it reach the goals?

36. Could you sketch how the cooperation between the cantonal party office and the local sections worked?

37. All in all, how would you rate your independence from the federal party on a 0 to 10 scale? (0 = no independence) (10=full independence)? _____

How independent is your cantonal party regarding...

- a. Candidate nomination _____
- b. Campaign issues _____
- c. Production and application of advertising material _____

- d. The strategic orientation _____
- e. Appearance of local candidates _____
- f. Creation and communication of the party's image _____
- g. Assignment of financial resources _____
- h. Scheduling of the campaign _____
- i. Attempts to influence media coverage _____
- j. Prioritization of means of communication _____

Events/changes/adaptations

38. [Campaign timeline] Everybody talks about “permanent campaigning”, but still you have to intensify your efforts at a certain point. How did you distribute your budget and personnel in the course of the campaign?
[if exact point in time is unclear] When did you intensify your efforts?

39. What were the main reasons for intensifying the campaign effort?

40. Did you change your campaign during the three months before the election? Yes No

[if Yes] What did you change?

What caused this change?

a. [If not mentioned before:] Did you adapt your campaign because of the controversy about the P+J-center on January 17? Yes No

[if Yes:] How?

b. [If not mentioned before:] Did you adapt your campaign because of the attack on NR Hans Fehr on Jan. 21? Yes No

[if Yes:] How?

c. [If not mentioned before:] Did you adapt your campaign because of the results of the first Isopublic-poll on February 2? Yes No

[if Yes:] How?

d. [If not mentioned before:] Did you adapt your campaign because of the results of the arms-protection initiative-vote on February 13? Yes No

[if Yes:] How?

e. [If not mentioned before:] Did you adapt your campaign because of the nuclear disaster in Japan starting March 11? Yes No

[if Yes:] How?

f. [If not mentioned before:] Did you adapt your campaign because of the results of the Isopublic-poll on March 21? Yes No

[if Yes:] How?

41. Do you think the following events influenced the election result? If yes, did they benefit specific parties or candidates?

Event	Yes	No	Beneficiary
P+J-Center			

Attack on Fehr			
Isopublic-poll 2/2			
arms-protection initiative-vote 2/13			
nuclear disaster Japan 3/11			
Isopublic-poll 3/21			

42. Are there parties, whose presence in the electoral competition was a major threat to your electoral success?

Yes No

[if Yes:] which parties?

Did you try to cope with these parties by using special strategies?

Did this party urge you to change/adapt your position(s)?

Negative campaigning/populism

43. You can steer the audience's attention to different directions. Which of the following aspects did you try to emphasize during your campaign?

Strength of own arguments

Weakness of opponents' arguments

Positive emotions (e.g. enthusiasm)

Negative emotions (e.g. fear)

Actors: Parties and persons on your side

Actors: Parties and persons on the opponents' side

[if more than one:] Which aspect was the most important for your party?

44. Sometimes people speak of "smear campaigns" during the time before an election. In this campaign, have there been principles violated, that your party subscribes to?

Yes No

[if Yes:] What are we talking about here?

45. Has your party or have your candidates been the aim of "negative campaigning"? (e.g. personal attacks, advice not to vote for you, ridiculing your topics and arguments...)

Yes No

[if Yes:] By which party/ies?

[if Yes:] Have you been the only target?

Examples?

46. Different parties adopt different strategies and issues. Did you notice any parties use the following strategies or issues during the campaign...

a. ... were there any appeals to "common sense"?

Yes No

[if Yes:] By whom?

b. ... appeals to the people?

Yes No

[if Yes:] By whom?

c. ... were immigrants used as scapegoats?

Yes No

[if Yes:] By whom?

- d. ... were the political elite criticized (out of touch with reality, superior attitudes, inaction, looking out for their own interests)? Yes No
 [if Yes:] By whom?
- e. ... was the bureaucratic state criticized (slowness to react, out of touch with reality, corruption, inefficient)? Yes No
 [if Yes:] By whom?
- f. ... were the business elites criticized? (arrogance, out of touch with reality, superior attitudes)? Yes No
 [if Yes:] By whom?
- g. ... were the banks criticized? (Arrogance, out of touch with reality, superior attitudes, greed, excess, cynicism)? Yes No
 [if Yes:] By whom?
- h. ... were the power companies criticized? (arrogance, out of touch with reality, greed, cynicism) Yes No
 [if Yes:] By whom?

Pre-Electoral Coalitions (PECs)

47. [SP and Grüne] You negotiated a cooperation with SP/Greens for the Regierungsrat election. Did you also think about other pre-electoral alliances (Regierungsrat und Kantonsrat)?
 [others] SP and Grüne had negotiated a cooperation for the Regierungsrat election. Did you also think about pre-electoral alliances (Regierungsrat und Kantonsrat)? Yes No
 [if Yes:] Which ones? Why did they not work?
48. How are PECs negotiated? Who makes the decisions?
 Are they decided on the national or the cantonal level? National Cantonal
49. [SP and Grüne] Has there been disagreement about the PECs in your party? Yes No
 [SP and Grüne] How was the PEC promoted in the party?
 [Others] How were the suggestions promoted?
50. Do you think that parties in PECs get more votes?
51. Do you think that it is easier to get elected into government in a PEC?

Evaluation

52. If you had to evaluate your own campaign, how many points would you give? (0-10) _____
53. We put together a list of specific criteria of success. Could you give points (0-10) to your party for each one of them?
 How many points would you give for...
- a. ...commitment/dedication? _____
- b. ...election result? _____
- c. ...ratio between expenses and revenue? _____

- d. ...the amount of media attention raised? _____
- e. ...media coverage about your party? _____

54. Would you change something in your campaign if there were cantonal elections called again? Yes No

[if yes:] What exactly?

55. Would you stick to your core message(s)? Yes No

[if Nein:] What would your modified core message be?

Funds

56. Did you finance your campaign exclusively from the regular budget? Or did fundraising at least play a role regular budget (exclusively) (also) fundraising

[if Fundraising] What percentage of your campaign budget is covered by funds from fundraising activities? ____%

57. Here you find a list of different sources of funds. Could you mark all sources, from which you got money? Estimates of what percentage?

- Contributions from individuals
- Contributions from firms
- Contributions from organizations
- Money from campaign sales

58. Let's talk about [marked source 1]: How exactly do you operate to get to this source?

59. Let's talk about [marked source 2]: How exactly do you operate to get to this source?

60. Let's talk about [marked source 3]: How exactly do you operate to get to this source?

61. Which percentage of your total annual budget was used for this campaign? _____%

62. Please go back to the list of activities (34). Could you tell me, how you approximately distributed your funds among the different activities (in percent)?

63. Could you give us an estimate of your campaign budget?

End

64. Was this the first time you were involved in an election campaign? Yes No

[if NO:] How many before?

1 2-3 4-5 6-10 > 10

Thank you for your time!