

## **Online-Appendix: Coding Scheme: Content Analysis of AfD Press Releases**

**Last revision of the Coding Scheme: 16<sup>th</sup> February 2016 (under permanent revision)**

**Applied in:** Simon T. Franzmann (2016): Calling the Ghost of Populism: The AfD's strategic and tactical agendas until the EP election 2014, *German Politics, online first*:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09644008.2016.1201075>.

**The entire codebook is applied to the AfD's press releases. The codes belonging to V8 ISS are applied to the AfD's manifestos according to the MARPOR coding instructions (Volken et al 2015).**

### **Sampling Unit**

All press releases published on the AfD's website [www.alternativefuer.de](http://www.alternativefuer.de) are reconsidered in the analysis belonging to the time period between official party founding and the election date of the European parliament (20 May 2014; reported data extended to 30 May 2014). Press releases have been continuously gathered during this time period. Since the AfD has also published non-typical press statements, such as general position papers, such statements including the 'ideal' agenda (Norris et al. 1999: 62–65) are excluded in the first step of the analysis. Those documents will be coded in a later phase of the project. The current analysis includes only those documents that represent short-term 'tactical' statements (Norris et al. 1999: 62–65). Constitutive elements of a political party's press release are identified as an (1) internal actor, e.g. a politician of the AfD, addressing or reacting to a current event of an (2) external actor, e.g. the current federal government, and (3) a policy statement expressed by the internal actor.

### **Recoding/Coding Unit**

Some AfD press releases contain more than one substantive press statement. Such documents are too complex to handle as one recording unit. As long as the same internal actor or group of internal actors address the same external actor or group of external actors with the same evaluation and statements, a press release equals the coding unit. However, sometimes internal and/or external actors change concerning the evaluations and policy statements. We then identify a second coding unit within a press release when either (1) a new internal actor makes a different policy statement or (2) a different external actor is addressed by the same internal actor with a different policy statement.

### **Technical Units**

**No.**

Sequential Number of coding unit

## **V0 Press\_Rel**

Sequential Number of reconsidered press release

### **V0b (recording unit within the press release)**

Since more than one coding unit can belong to the same press release, coding units are sequentially identified with capital letters starting from 'A' to 'Z'. 'A' is the first coding unit identified of the press release with the first mention of an internal and external actor, 'B' the second and the so on.

## **V1 DAT**

Publication date (YYMMDD)

### **v1b (official date or published date of the press release)**

Is the date of the press release an official date included in the press release? Then the code is '1'. When no date is included, the publication date is the one of the homepage's URL or the date the press release is detected by the coder. The code is then '0'.

### **v1c (press release still available on the homepage)**

Is the press release itself still available on the homepage? The the code is '1'. When the press release has been deleted between the date of the download and the date of the coding, then the code is '0'.

## **V2 TIT**

Title

## **V3 WORD**

Number of words of the press release

## **Special Content Units**

Due to its special attention regarding the research question and the development of the AfD, the category regarding populism has to be treated differently from the other content units. Populism is coded in two steps. First, together with all other content units v59 is coded whether the particular press release is suspicious of containing populist appeal. A second, different coder then applies **V59 control for populist appeal**.

### **V59 populist appeal**

Regarding the press releases, each identified recording unit is assigned one code, signalling whether the particular issue is framed by populist discourse.

Populist appeals to the German people or public claim an identity of party elite and people's will. Included are also statements that include 'we' – meaning party and people – fighting against the 'others'. Signalling words or phrases may be '*kleiner Mann*' (common man), 'the German tax payer', 'the German *Volk*', etc. In general, undifferentiated, anti-pluralist

statements with the aim of excluding parts of the citizenship must also be coded as populist appeal. Please regard also the definition of populism provided within the article.

In this first step, the coder simply identifies whether a press release contains populism as defined above. The populist appeal to the 'people', asserting an identity of party leadership and the common people as 'we' fighting together against the corrupt others, is coded with a dummy for occurrence.

- 1 press release includes potentially populist appeal
- 0 press release does not include populist appeal

### **v59 control for populist appeal:**

In the second step, a different coder determines the grade of populism.

- 0 No populism
- 0.5 v59 is coded with 1, but indeed populism is weak
- 1 populism is present by referring to an friend-foe antagonism
- 2 The whole press release is dominated by moral disgust and populist antagonism

Context Unit: in order to differentiate between the different degrees of populism, the headline of a press release should be used as a point of reference. Is moral disgust or/and the antagonism part of the headline? Then it clearly indicates that the main target of the press release is to apply populist discourse.

In case a particular issue dominates the press release and only once a populist style element is used but not in prominent way (e.g. not in headline or within one of the first three sentences), then this press release should not be coded as populist. Hence it gets the score 0.5. The same applies when only anti-party sentiments are present (→ v59d\_anti-party).

In any case, before applying this category, please read carefully the extended coding instructions and example in German provided by Simon Franzmann.

### **V59d\_anti-party sentiment (former 514100)**

In this category, anti-party sentiment is coded. Does the particular party act as an anti-party party? All press releases with arguments complaining about the influence of established parties as well as general statements against party democracy are coded with 1 for occurrence. Signalling keywords are "Altparteien", "Kartellparteien", "Konsensparteien", "etablierte Parteien".

- 1 press release includes anti-party sentiment
- 0 press release does not include anti-party sentiment

## Regular Content Units

### V4 PLIN\_ (1, 2, 3)

Internal Actor

Which party members are quoted or play a major role in the coded press release?

Up to three internal actors are coded as long as they belong to the same coding unit. The first mentioned internal actor is coded under the category V4PLIN\_1, the second under V4PLIN\_2, the third under V4PLIN\_3.

#### Internal Actors

4	-10100	<b>Bernd Lucke</b>	
	-10200	<b>Alexander Gauland</b>	
	-10300	<b>Konrad Adam</b>	
	-10400	<b>Frauke Petry</b>	
	-10500	<b>Joachim Starbatty</b>	
	-10600	<b>Roland Klaus</b>	
	-10700	<b>Michaela Merz</b>	
	-10800	<b>Hans-Olaf Henkel</b>	
	-10900	<b>Beatrix Diefenbach</b>	
	-11000	<b>Ulrike Trebesius (MEP)</b>	
	-11100	<b>Jörg Meuthen</b>	
	-20100	<b>Bernd Kölmel</b>	
	-20200	<b>Jan Rittaler</b>	
	-20300	<b>André Wächter</b>	
	-20400	<b>Christian Schmidt</b>	
	-20500	<b>Jörn Kruse (prüfen -21000</b>	<b>Jörn Kruse)</b>
	-20600	<b>Kay Gottschalk</b>	
	-20700	<b>Beatrix von Storch</b>	
	-20800	<b>Ronald Geiger</b>	
	-20900	<b>Alexander Dilger</b>	
	-30100	<b>Dr. Alice Weidel</b>	
	-30110	<b>Georg Pazderski</b>	
	-30120	<b>Marcus Pretzell</b>	
	-30130	<b>Erwin Paul Hampel</b>	
	-30140	<b>André Poggenburg</b>	
	-30150	<b>Björn Höcke</b>	
	-30160	<b>Marc Jongen</b>	
	-30170	<b>Albrecht Glaser</b>	
	-30180	<b>Lars Steinke</b>	
	-30190	<b>Dirk Driesang</b>	

Other

4	-10000	<b>other party member from federal level</b> (please create a new category for this particular new internal actor)
	-20000	<b>other party member from land level</b> (please create a new category for this particular new internal actor)
	-30100	<b>member from local level</b>
	-40100	<b>whole party/more than just one member</b>
	-99800	<b>indistinct</b>
	-00000	<b>No meaningful subcategory applies</b> <i>Internal actor is not covered by the pre-defined categories.</i>

**V5 PLEX\_(1, 2, 3)**

External players

Which external players are addressed by the AfD in the coded press release?

Up to three external actors are coded as long as they belong to the same coding unit. The first mentioned internal actor is coded under the category V5PLEX\_1, the second under V5PLEX\_2, the third under V5PLEX\_3.

Federal players/institutions (domestic)

5	-10100	<b>Bundespräsident (Federal President)</b>
	-10200	<b>BundeskanzlerIn (Federal Chancellor)</b>
	-10300	<b>(member of) administration Merkel II</b>
	-10400	<b>(member of) administration Merkel III</b> <i>change from Merkel II to Merkel III on December 17<sup>th</sup>, 2013</i>
	-10500	<b>(member of) Bundestag (Federal Parliament)</b>
	-10700	<b>Opposition</b>
	-10800	<b>Bundesrat (Federal Council)</b>
	-10900	<b>Bundesverfassungsgericht (Federal Constitutional Court)</b>
	-11000	<b>Bundesnachrichtendienst (Federal Intelligence Service)</b>
	-12100	<b>AfD</b>
	-12200	<b>CDU (Christian Democratic Union)</b>
	-12300	<b>CSU (Christian Social Union)</b>
	-12400	<b>CDU/CSU</b>
	-12500	<b>SPD (Social Democrats)</b>
	-12600	<b>Grüne (Greens)</b>

-12700	<b>Linke (The Left)</b>
-12800	<b>FDP (Free Democrats)</b>
-12900	<b>NPD (National Democratic Party)</b>
-13000	<b>Freie Wähler (Free Voters)</b>
-13100	<b>Other right-wing extremist parties such as „Die Freiheit“ (“The Freedom”)</b>
(-14100	Mention of established parties „Altparteien“ as a whole (“Old Parties”) [CDU/CSU/SPD/GRÜNE/FDP] → please apply from now V59d_anti-party
-15100	<b>Politician(s) from land level</b>
-15200	<b>Politician(s) from European level</b>
-15300	<b>Politician(s) from local level</b>
-16100	<b>former politicians</b>
-10000	<b>other federal German player (e.g. President of German Bundestag, courts)</b>

Non-governmental or economic players (domestic)

5	-20100	<b>bank</b>
	-20200	<b>companies</b>
	-20300	<b>population or public (unspecific mention; see also v59)</b>
	-20400	<b>trade union</b>
	-20500	<b>media/journalists</b>
	-20000	<b>other non-governmental German player (e.g. church)</b>

Governmental players/institutions (abroad)

5	-30100	<b>head of state</b>
	-30200	<b>head of government</b>
	-30300	<b>(member of) government</b>
	-30400	<b>parliament/member of parliament</b>
	-30000	<b>other federal players from abroad/whole country (→ V6)</b>

Non-governmental or economic players (abroad)

5	-40100	<b>bank</b>
	-40200	<b>companies</b>
	-40300	<b>population or public</b>
	-40400	<b>trade union</b>
	-40500	<b>media/journalists</b>

**-40000 other not-governmental players from abroad**

EU Institutions

5    **-50100 European Union**  
      **-50200 (member of) Commission**  
          *also if "Brussels" is mentioned as central government of the EU*  
      **-50300 (member of) Parliament**  
      **-50400 European Council**  
      **-50500 (member of) Council of the European Union/Council of Ministers**

**-51100 Euro zone**  
      **-51200 European Central Bank**  
      **-51300 European banks (EU/Euro-zone)**  
      **-51400 Finance Ministers of the Euro zone**  
      **-51500 Finance Ministers of the EU**  
      **-51600 International Monetary Fund**  
      **-51700 Troika (EU commission + ECB + IMF)**

**-50000 other EU-player**

5    **-00000 No meaningful subcategory applies**  
          *External actors not covered by the pre-defined categories.*

**V59 appeal**

Populist appeals to German people or public for claiming an identity of party elite and people's will. Included are also statements that 'we' – meaning party and people – fighting against the 'others'. Signaling words or phrases may be '*kleiner Mann*' (common man), 'the German tax payer', 'the German *Volk*' etc.

1            is mentioned  
0            is not mentioned

**V6 CTY**

List of countries (for payers abroad; numeric ISO-Code)

In case of the external player (v5) is from abroad – where are they/is he from?

600    **-008 Albania**  
      **-040 Austria**  
      **-112 Belarus**  
      **-056 Belgium**  
      **-070 Bosnia and Herzegovina**

-100	Bulgaria
-191	Croatia
-196	Cyprus
-203	Czech Republic
-208	Denmark
-276	Germany
-233	Estonia
-246	Finland
-250	France
-300	Greece
-826	Great Britain
-348	Hungary
-380	Italy
-372	Ireland
-352	Iceland
-428	Latvia
-440	Lithuania
-442	Luxembourg
-470	Malta
-807	Macedonia
-498	Moldova
-528	Netherlands
-578	Norway
-616	Poland
-620	Portugal
-642	Romania
-752	Sweden
-756	Switzerland
-703	Slovakia
-705	Slovenia
-724	Spain
-792	Turkey
-804	Ukraine
-643	Russia
-840	USA

*If a differentiated classification is not possible:*

-901	crisis countries (Portugal, Italy, Ireland, Greece, Spain)
-902	South European countries
-903	North European countries
-904	Eastern Europe

**-905 Western Europe**

**-000 No meaningful subcategory applies**

**99 no country**

#### **V7 EVA**

Evaluation of the player(s)

How is the external player (v5) evaluated by the internal player?

7	<b>-01010</b>	<b>positive</b>
	<b>-01020</b>	<b>ambivalent</b>
	<b>-01030</b>	<b>negative</b>
	<b>99</b>	<b>No evaluation</b>

#### **V8 ISS\_(1, 2, 3)**

Which issues are emphasized in the press release?

Up to three policy statements are coded. The first emphasized issue is coded under the category V8ISS\_1, the second under V8ISS\_2, the third under V8ISS\_3.

*Note: According to the rules of the manifesto project (Budge et al 2001; Klingemann et al 2006; Volkens et al 2013), only Policy goals are coded, not the political means.*

Most definitions of coding categories are taken from the Manifesto Project and especially from these two coding books: Werner Annika, Onawa Lacewell and Andrea Volkens (2011): Manifesto Coding Instructions (4th fully revised edition), WZB Berlin; Werner Annika, Onawa Lacewell and Andrea Volkens (2014): Manifesto Coding Instructions (5<sup>th</sup> revised edition), March 2014, WZB Berlin.

#### External Relations

8	<b>-10100</b>	<b>Foreign Special Relationships: Positive</b> <i>'Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; the need for co-operation with and/or aid to such countries.'</i> (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)
	<b>-10200</b>	<b>Foreign Special Relationships: Negative</b> <i>'Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship. These special relationships should be predetermined on a case by case basis. Refer to the supervisor for detailed information and attach a list of special relations to the coding protocol.'</i> (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

- 10400 Military: Positive**  
*'The importance of external security and defence. May include statements concerning:*
- *The need to maintain or increase military expenditure;*
  - *The need to secure adequate manpower in the military;*
  - *The need to modernise armed forces and improve military strength;*
  - *The need for rearmament and self-defence;*
  - *The need to keep military treaty obligations.'*
- (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*
- 10500 Military: Negative**  
*'Negative references to the military or use of military power to solve conflicts. References to the 'evils of war'. May include references to:*
- *Decreasing military expenditures;*
  - *Disarmament;*
  - *Reduced or abolished conscription.'* *(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*
- 10600 Peace: Positive**  
*'Any declaration of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises -- absent reference to the military. May include:*
- *Peace as a general goal;*
  - *Desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries;*
  - *Ending wars in order to establish peace'. (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*
- 10700 Internationalism: Positive**  
*'Need for international co-operation, including co-operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101. May also include references to the:*
- *Need for aid to developing countries;*
  - *Need for world planning of resources;*
  - *Support for global governance;*
  - *Need for international courts;*
  - *Support for UN or other international organisations'*
- (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*
- 10800 European Integration: Positive**  
*'Favourable mentions of European Community/Union in general. May include the:*

- *Desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member);*
- *Desirability of expanding the European Community/Union;*
- *Desirability of increasing the ECs/EUs competences;*
- *Desirability of expanding the competences of the European Parliament.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-10810 EU: Positive**

*Positive mentions of the EU in general*

**-10820 Monetary Union of the EU: Positive**

*also: European Central Bank (see V5 External Players: 551200), Finance Ministers of the Euro zone (see V5 External Players: 551400) and Euro rescue: Positive*

**-10830 Politics at EU-level: Positive**

*Also: intern EP-issues concerning an AfD-member*

**-10900 Internationalism: Negative**

*'Negative references to international co-operation. Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty with regard to the manifesto country's foreign policy, isolation and/or unilateralism as opposed to internationalism.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-11000 European Community/Union: Negative**

*'Negative references to the European Community/Union. May include:*

- *Opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities;*
- *Opposition to the net-contribution of the manifesto country to the EU budget.'*

*(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

*Note: Applies to critique of the European Integration in general, pure economic arguments are coded in 841400.*

**-11010 EU: Negative**

*Negative mentions of the EU in general*

**-11020 Monetary Union of the EU: Negative**

*also: European Central Bank (see V5 External Players: 551200), Finance Ministers of the Euro zone (see V5 External Players: 551400) and Euro rescue: Negative; demands to abolish Euro.*

**-11030**            **Politics at EU-level: Negative**  
*Also: intern EP-issues concerning an AfD-member*

**-10000**            **No meaningful subcategory applies**  
*Statements not covered by other categories; sentences devoid of any meaning.*

Freedom and Democracy

8            **-20100**            **Freedom and Human Rights: Positive**  
*'Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom and civil rights in the manifesto and other countries. May include mentions of:*

- *The right to the freedom of speech, press, assembly etc.;*
- *Freedom from state coercion in the political and economic spheres;*
- *Freedom from bureaucratic control;*
- *The idea of individualism' (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

**-20110**            **Data Privacy**  
*No monitoring on the internet or in real world*

**-20200**            **Democracy: Positive**  
*'Favourable mentions of democracy as the "only game in town". General support for the manifesto country's democracy. May also include:*

- *Democracy as method or goal in national, international or other organisations (e.g. labour unions, political parties etc.);*
- *The need for the involvement of all citizens in political decision-making;*
- *Support for either direct or representative democracy;*
- *Support for parts of democratic regimes (rule of law, division of powers, independence of courts etc.).' (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

**-20300**            **Constitutionalism: Positive**  
*'Support for maintaining the status quo of the constitution. Support for specific aspects of the manifesto country's constitution. The use of constitutionalism as an argument for any policy.' (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

**-20400**            **Constitutionalism: Negative**  
*'Opposition to the entirety or specific aspects of the manifesto country's constitution. Calls for constitutional amendments or changes.*

*May include calls to abolish or rewrite the current constitution'*  
(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-20000**      **No meaningful subcategory applies**  
*Statements not covered by other categories; sentences devoid of any meaning.*

Political System

8      **-30100**      **Decentralization: Positive**  
*'Support for federalism or decentralization of political and/or economic power. May include:*

- *Favourable mentions of the territorial subsidiary principle;*
- *More autonomy for any sub-national level in policy making and/or economics;*
- *Support for the continuation and importance of local and regional customs and symbols and/or deference to local expertise;*
- *Favourable mentions of special consideration for sub-national areas.'*

(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-30200**      **Centralization: Positive**  
*'General opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels. Support for unitary government and for more centralization in political and administrative procedures.'*  
(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-30300**      **Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive**  
*'Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration and/or the general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more efficient. May include:*

- *Restructuring the civil service;*
- *Cutting down on the civil service;*
- *Improving bureaucratic procedures.*

*Note: Specific policy positions overrule this category! If there is no specific policy position, however, this category applies.'*  
(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-30400**      **Political Corruption: Negative**  
*'Need to eliminate political corruption and associated abuses of political and/or bureaucratic power.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-30410**      **Transparency**  
*Demands that lobby activities and the political progress should*

*be more controlled and disclosed. Special interests must not have any influence on the political progress and should be prevented and avoided. Also: wrong (election) promises.*

**-30500 Political Authority: Positive**

*'References to the manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence. Also includes favourable mentions of the desirability of a strong and/or stable government in general. Also: coalition possibilities and negotiations, politicians' greed and citizen-oriented politics.*

*Note: Specific policy positions overrule this category! If there is no specific policy position, however, this category applies.'*

*(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

**-30000 No meaningful subcategory applies**

*Statements not covered by other categories; sentences devoid of any meaning.*

Economy

8 **-40100 Free Enterprise: Positive**

*'Favourable mentions of the free market and free market capitalism as an economic model. May include favourable references to:*

- Laissez-faire economy;*
- Superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems;*
- Private property rights;*
- Personal enterprise and initiative;*
- Need for unhampered individual enterprises.' (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

**-40200 Incentives: Positive**

*'Favourable mentions of supply side oriented economic policies (assistance to businesses rather than consumers). May include:*

- Financial and other incentives such as subsidies, tax breaks etc.;*
- Wage and tax policies to induce enterprise;*
- Encouragement to start enterprises.' (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

**-40300 Market Regulation: Positive**

*'Support for policies designed to create a fair and open economic market. May include:*

- Calls for increased consumer protection;*

- *Increasing economic competition by preventing monopolies and other actions disrupting the functioning of the market;*
  - *Defence of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses;*
  - *Social market economy.' (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*
- 40400 Economic Planning: Positive**  
*'Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning by the government. May be:*
- *Policy plans, strategies, policy patterns etc.;*
  - *Of a consultative or indicative nature.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)
- 40500 Corporatism: Positive**  
*'Favourable mentions of cooperation of government, employers, and trade unions simultaneously. The collaboration of employers and employee organisations in overall economic planning supervised by the state.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)
- 40600 Protectionism: Positive**  
*'Favourable mentions of extending or maintaining the protection of internal markets (by the manifesto or other countries). Measures may include:*
- *Tariffs;*
  - *Quota restrictions;*
  - *Export subsidies.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)
- 40700 Protectionism: Negative**  
*'Support for the concept of free trade and open markets. Call for abolishing all means of market protection (in the manifesto or any other country).'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)
- 40800 Economic Goals**  
*'Broad and general economic goals that are not mentioned in relation to any other category. General economic statements that fail to include any specific goal.*  
*Note: Specific policy positions overrule this category! If there is no specific policy position, however, this category applies.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)
- 40900 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive**

*'Favourable mentions of demand side oriented economic policies (assistance to consumers rather than businesses). Particularly includes increase private demand through*

- *Increasing public demand;*
- *Increasing social expenditures.*

*May also include:*

- *Stabilisation in the face of depression;*
- *Government stimulus plans in the face of economic crises.'* (Volkens et al 2011)

**-41000 Productivity: Positive**

*'The paradigm of economic growth. Includes:*

- *General need to encourage or facilitate greater production;*
- *Need for the government to take measures to aid economic growth.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-41100 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive**

*'Importance of modernisation of industry and updated methods of transport and communication. May include:*

- *Importance of science and technological developments in industry;*
- *Need for training and research within the economy (This does not imply education in general (see category 506);*
- *Calls for public spending on infrastructure such as roads and bridges;*
- *Support for public spending on technological infrastructure (e.g.: broadband internet, etc).'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-41200 Controlled Economy: Positive**

*'Support for direct government control of economy. May include, for instance:*

- *Control over prices;*
- *Introduction of minimum wages.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-41300 Nationalization: Positive**

*'Favourable mentions of government ownership of industries, either partial or complete. May also include favourable mentions of government ownership of land.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-41400 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive**

*'Need for economically healthy government policy making. May include calls for:*

- *Reduction of budget deficits;*
- *Retrenchment in crisis;*
- *Thrift and savings in the face of economic hardship;*
- *Support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system;*
- *Support for strong currency.*

*Also: European Banking Union*

*Note: This category excludes direct critique on European Integration, therefor see 811000.' (Werner, Laceywell, Volkens 2011)*

**-41410 anti-inflation policy**

*Demands to fight against inflation or repel it.*

**-41420 austerity policy and budgetary discipline**

*Demands for expenditure cut and to monitor compliance with a stricter budgetary discipline. Demands for insisting on austerity for borrower countries.*

**-41430 currency policy**

*Demands for a stable currency. Demands to create an ideal currency area and maybe to dissolve the current European currency area (if this is not optimal). Demands that every state should have its own currency. Conservation of the independence of the Central Bank.*

**-41440 concrete critique of Euro-rescue (economic)**

*Demands not to rescue other states or member states (with the same political system) from insolvency. Especially negative statements about Euro rescue and ESM (if issues of public finance are mentioned). Negative statements about existing national financial equalisation (e.g. German "Länderfinanzausgleich").*

**-41500 Marxist Analysis: Positive**

*'Positive references to Marxist-Leninist ideology and specific use of Marxist-Leninist terminology by the manifesto party (typically but not necessary by communist parties). Note: If unsure about what constitutes Marxist-Leninist ideology in general or terminology in a particular language, please research.'*

*(Werner, Laceywell, Volkens 2011)*

**-41600      Anti-Growth Economy: Positive**  
*'Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics. Rejection of the idea that all growth is good growth. Opposition to growth that causes environmental or societal harm. Call for sustainable economic development.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

Welfare and Quality of Life

8      **-50100      Environmental Protection: Positive**  
*'General policies in favour of protecting the environment, fighting climate change, and other "green" policies. For instance:*  

- *General preservation of natural resources;*
- *Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.;*
- *Protection of national parks;*
- *Animal rights.*

*May include a great variance of policies that have the unified goal of environmental protection.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-50110      Climate change and alternative energies: Positive**  
  
*Warnings of climate change caused by mankind. In Germany: EEG = positive (if competition is mentioned → Market Regulation). Demands to subsidize alternative energies or to keep existing subsidies.*

**-50200      Culture: Positive**  
*'Need for state funding of cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport. May include:*  

- *The need to fund museums, art galleries, libraries etc.;*
- *The need to encourage cultural mass media and worthwhile leisure activities, such as public sport clubs.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-50300      Equality/Social Justice: Positive**  
*'Concept of social justice and the need for fair treatment of all people. This may include:*  

- *Special protection for underprivileged social groups;*
- *Removal of class barriers;*
- *Need for fair distribution of resources;*
- *The end of discrimination (e.g. racial or sexual discrimination).'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-50400      Welfare State Expansion: Positive**

*'Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any public social service or social security scheme. This includes, for example, government funding of:*

- *Health care*
- *Child care*
- *Elder care and pensions*
- *Social housing*

*Note: This category excludes education.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-50500 Welfare State Limitation: Positive**

*'Limiting state expenditures on social services or social security. Favourable mentions of the social subsidiary principle (i.e. private care before state care).'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-50600 Education Expansion: Positive**

*'Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels. Note: This excludes technical training which is coded under 411.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-50700 Education Limitation: Positive**

*'Limiting state expenditure on education. May include:*

- *The introduction or expansion of study fees at all educational levels*
- *Increasing the number of private schools.'*

(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-50800 Skepticism on Environmentalism and Climate Change**

*nuclear energy, coal energy: Positive; climate change: negative*

**-50810 Skepticism on a climate change caused by mankind**

**-50000 No meaningful subcategory applies**

*Statements not covered by other categories; sentences devoid of any meaning.*

*Fabric of Society*

**8 -60100 National Way of Life: Positive**

*'Favourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation, history, and general appeals.*

*May include:*

- *Support for established national ideas;*
- *General appeals to pride of citizenship;*

- *Appeals to patriotism;*
- *Appeals to nationalism;*
- *Suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

*This category includes also statements that are coded as "immigration: negative" in the 5<sup>th</sup> manifesto codebook version (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2014):*

*Statement advocating the restriction of the process of immigration, i.e. accepting new immigrants. Might include statements regarding,*

- *Immigration being a threat to national character of the manifesto country,*
- *'the boat is full' argument;*
- *The introduction of migration quotas, including restricting immigration from specific countries or regions etc.*

*Only concerned with the possibility of new immigrants*

**-60200 National Way of Life: Negative**

*'Unfavourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation and history.*

*May include:*

- *Opposition to patriotism;*
- *Opposition to nationalism;*
- *Opposition to the existing national state, national pride, and national ideas.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011; 2014)

*This category includes also statements that are coded as "immigration: positive" in the 5<sup>th</sup> manifesto codebook version (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2014):*

*'Statements favouring new immigrants; against restrictions and quotas; rejection of the 'boat is full' argument. Includes allowing new immigrants for the benefit of the manifesto country's economy.*

*Only concerned with the possibility of new immigrants.'*  
(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2014)

**-60300 Traditional Morality: Positive**

*'Favourable mentions of traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:*

- *Prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour;*
- *Maintenance and stability of the traditional family as a value;*
- *Support for the role of religious institutions in state and society.'*

*(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

- 60400 Traditional Morality: Negative**  
*'Opposition to traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:*
- *Support for divorce, abortion etc.;*
  - *General support for modern family composition;*
  - *Calls for the separation of church and state.'*
- (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*
- 60500 Law and Order: Positive**  
*'Favourable mentions of strict law enforcement, and tougher actions against domestic crime. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto country's law code. May include:*
- *Increasing support and resources for the police;*
  - *Tougher attitudes in courts;*
  - *Importance of internal security.'* *(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*
- 60600 Civic Mindedness/Social Harmony: Positive**  
*'Appeals for national solidarity and the need for society to see itself as united. Calls for solidarity with and help for fellow people, familiar and unfamiliar. May include:*
- *Favourable mention of the civil society;*
  - *Decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis;*
  - *Appeal for public spiritedness;*
  - *Support for the public interest.'* *(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*
- 60700 Multiculturalism: Positive**  
*'Favourable mentions of cultural diversity and cultural plurality within domestic societies. May include the preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages within the country including special educational provisions.'*
- (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*
- 60720 Immigrants: Diversity**  
*'Diversity Statements favouring the idea that immigrants keep their cultural traits; voluntary integration; state providing opportunities to integrate. Only concerned with immigrants already in the manifesto country.'* *(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2014)*
- 60800 Multiculturalism: Negative**

*'The enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration. Appeals for cultural homogeneity in society.'*  
(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-60820**      **Immigrants: Assimilation**  
*'Calls for immigrants that are in the country to adopt the manifesto country's culture and fully assimilate. Reinforce integration. Only concerned with immigrants already in the manifesto country'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2014)

**-60000**      **No meaningful subcategory applies**  
*Statements not covered by other categories; sentences devoid of any meaning.*

### Social Groups

8      **-70100**      **Labour Groups: Positive**  
*'Favourable references to all labour groups, the working class, and unemployed workers in general. Support for trade unions and calls for the good treatment of all employees, including:*  

- *More jobs;*
- *Good working conditions;*
- *Fair wages;*
- *Pension provisions etc.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-70200**      **Labour Groups: Negative**  
*'Negative references to labour groups and trade unions. May focus specifically on the danger of unions 'abusing power'.'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-70300**      **Farmers: Positive**  
*'Specific policies in favour of agriculture and farmers. Includes all types of agriculture and farming practises. Only statements that have agriculture as the key goal should be included in this category. Note: Statements that should be categorized as "Agriculture: Negative" are coded as "000"'* (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)

**-70400**      **Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive**  
*'General favourable references to the middle class. Specifically, statements may include references to:*

- *Professional groups, (e.g.: doctors or lawyers);*
- *White collar groups, (e.g.: bankers or office employees),*
- *Service sector groups (e.g.: IT industry employees);*
- *Old and/or new middle class.*

*Note: This is not an economical category but refers to the social group(s).' (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

**-70500 Underprivileged Minority Groups: Positive**  
*'Very general favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms (e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants). Only includes favourable statements that cannot be classified in other categories (e.g. 503, 504, 604 etc.)' (Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

**-70600 Non-economic Demographic Groups: Positive**  
*'General favourable mentions of demographically defined special interest groups of all kinds. They may include:*

- *Women;*
- *University students;*
- *Old, young, or middle aged people.*

*Might include references to assistance to these groups, but only if these do not fall under other categories (e.g. 503 or 504).'*  
*(Werner, Lacewell, Volkens 2011)*

**-70000 No meaningful subcategory applies**  
*Statements not covered by other categories; sentences devoid of any meaning.*

*Internal Party affairs*

- 8    **-80100 Party switch to AfD**  
*Party switch from another party to AfD*
- 80200 Party resignation**  
*Party member of AfD resigns*
- 80300 election campaign**  
*Party event in the context of an election campaign (Bundestag election 2013, European election 2014)*
- 80400 election/election results**  
*References to an election or its result (Bundestag election 2013, European election 2014)*

- 80500 (decisions on) Party convention**  
*Mentions of decisions or speeches in the context of a Party Convention (Federal Level)*
  
- 80600 Media appearance/other Party event (e.g. Discussion)**  
*Announcement of a party member's appearance in the public (e.g. Discussion)/in the media (e.g. television appearance)*
  
- 80610 Criticism of non-balanced coverage about AfD**  
*Mentions of media coverage about the AfD without any statements of an AfD-member*
  
- 80700 exclusion from Party**  
*Party member is excluded from AfD (e.g. because of former party membership)*
  
- 80000 general Party affairs**  
*Mentions of general party matters (e.g. number of party memberships, decisions on party conventions on Land level)*

## Context Unit

In order to precise the coding decision coders are suggested to regard the following contexts:

- (1) The coder should reconsider the headline of the press release in case the policy goal is not clearly identifiable at first sight. The issue mentioned in the headline should be taken then as a hint for the primary policy goal.
- (2) The coder should ensure on which date the press release was published. External actor should be classified according to their function or appointment within the political system at the time the press release was published. A simple example would be that press releases addressing the federal government until December 2013 are coded as Merkel II, while all later statements are coded as Merkel III as long as not the former government is explicitly mentioned.
- (3) The coder should always code the party affiliation and party membership of an external actor at the time the press release has been published.
- (4) The coder should be aware that "Brussels" represents in many press releases a statement on the European commission. The mention of "Brussels" together with a particular policy decision is most likely a statement on the external actor "EU commission".

