



PoIDem – National Election

Campaign Dataset

- Version 1 -

poldem-election_all

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Short version for in-text citations & references: Kriesi, Hanspeter et al. 2020. *PoIDem-National Election Campaign Dataset, Version 1.*

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Introduction

The codebook lists the variables in the PoIDem election campaign dataset and explains our strategy of data collection. This media-based dataset on party-issue associations is based on previously collected data from the project “National Political Change in a Globalizing World (NPW)” (Kriesi et al., 2008, 2012) (funded by the German Research Council DFG and the Swiss National Science Fund SNF) which has been updated as part of the European Research Council (ERC) project “Political Conflict in Europe in the Shadow of the Great Recession (POLCON)” (Hutter & Kriesi, 2019).

Please note that ...

- (a) most variables are available for all elections. As indicated below, some are only available for the most recent updates provided by POLCON (indicated below);
- (b) the NPW project coded not only newspaper articles but also newspaper ads and TV news. For a consistent comparison, please drop the additional observations (keep variable `source_type == 1`);

Country selection and list of elections

The countries and elections covered by the current version are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: List of countries and campaigns

Country	Elections
Austria	1975, 1994, 1999, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2013, 2017
France	1978, 1988, 1995, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017
Germany	1976, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2017
Greece	2007, 2009, 2012 I & II, 2015 I & II
Hungary	2006, 2010, 2014
Ireland	2007, 2011, 2016
Italy	2006, 2008, 2013
Latvia	2006, 2010, 2011, 2014
Netherlands	1972, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2012, 2017
Poland	2007, 2011, 2015
Portugal	2005, 2009, 2011, 2015
Romania	2004, 2008, 2012, 2016
Spain	2004, 2008, 2011, 2015, 2016
Switzerland	1975, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015
UK	1974, 1992, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010, 2015, 2017

Variables in the Dataset

Identifiers

Which country/ election sample does the observation belong to

COUNTRY

In which country did the election take place?

ISO2CODE

Iso2code of country where the election took place

COUNTRY_YEAR

Combined iso2code and the year of the election – unique by campaign

YEAR_ELECTION

In which year did the election take place?

ELECTION_DATE

Exact date of the election (from ParlGov)

ELECTION_TYPE

Indicator variable whether the election under consideration is presidential (only France) or parliamentary.

Article-level variables

Identifying the article from which the core sentence originates

SOURCE_TYPE

The type of the source the core sentence originates from. Can be newspaper articles (1), newspaper ads (2) or TV news (3).

SOURCE_NAME

Name of the outlet the coverage of which we have coded.

TITLE_ART

Title of the article we coded (if available; missing data for earlier elections)

DATE_ART

The publication date of the article.

PAGE_ART

Number of the page on which the article is published (if available;

missing data for earlier elections)

SECTION_ART

Section in the newspaper where the article is published. (if available; missing data for earlier elections)

WORDS_ART

Number of words the article has. (if available; missing data for earlier elections)

Core sentence-level variables

Identifiers

SENTENCE

This string variable includes a very brief summary of the grammatical sentence that is coded (for some elections also whole grammatical sentence due to manual coding from print editions in first projects).

TYPE_CS

Identifier for actor-issue and actor-actor sentences

Who is the subject of the core sentence?

SUBJECT_FUNCTION

Type of subject. Possible categories are (only available for POLCON updates)

- 11 Subnat. executive/gov.
- 12 Subnat.judiciary
- 13 Subnat. political party
- 14 Subnat. private interest org.
- 15 Subnat. public interest org.
- 16 Subnat. scientists/experts
- 17 Subnat. business actors
- 18 Subnat. Others
- 19 Subnat. no org. affiliation
- 21 Nat. executive/government
- 22 Nat. judiciary
- 23 Nat. political party
- 24 Nat.private interest org.
- 25 Nat. public interest org.
- 26 Nat.scientists/experts
- 27 Nat. business actors
- 28 Nat. others
- 29 Nat. no org. affiliation
- 31 Foreign executive/gov.
- 32 Foreign judiciary
- 33 Foreign political party
- 34 Foreign private interest org.
- 35 Foreign public interest org.
- 36 Foreign scientists/experts
- 37 Foreign business actors
- 38 Foreign others
- 39 Foreign no org. affiliation
- 41 European institutions/bodies
- 42 International org.

SUBJECT_PARTY

Name of the party of subject associated with each core sentence in the dataset. Based on the English language party name in the ParlGov dataset.

SUBJECT_INDIVIDUAL

Name of the individual politician (if available).

Direction of the relationship: opposing, ambivalent, or supporting?

DIRECTION

Direction support or opposition of subject in relation to issue.

-1 opposition
0 ambivalent
+ 1 support

Who is the object of the core sentence?

OBJECT_FUNCTION

Type of object of the core sentence. Possible categories are the same as for subject1.

OBJECT_PARTY

Name of the organization (mostly parties) of object, as coded by the coder.

OBJECT_INDIVIDUAL

Name of the individual politician (if available).

What issue does the core sentence refer to?

ISSUE_CAT

Issues – aggregated (Highest-level), reflecting the categories used by Kriesi et al (2008, 2012), as well as Hutter and Kriesi (2019). See these publications for a detailed discussion on the aggregation strategy.

Use this variable with direction.

Categories	Description (a position of +1 stands for ...)
welfare (10)	support for an expansion of the welfare state;

	objection to welfare state retrenchment; support for tax reforms with a redistributive character; calls for employment and health care programs
economic liberalism (20)	opposition to market regulation, economic protectionism in agriculture and other sectors of the economy; support for deregulation, more competition, and privatization; support for a rigid budgetary policy; reduction of the state deficit and taxes without direct redistributive effects
economic reform (vague) (30)	support for general economic reforms without clear direction (e.g., fighting economic crisis; fighting unemployment)
anti-corruption (40)	Opposition to corruption, support for measures to fight corruption (e.g., anti-corruption agency)
democratic renewal (50)	support for institutional reforms to make political system more democratic or transparent; opposition to corruption and political class; fair and equal access to media
demreform (60)	support for general reforms of the political system without clear direction, condemning the fascist or communist past
regionalism (70)	support for regional autonomy or independence
europe (80)	support for European integration in general, deepening and widening
euro (90)	support for the common European currency; opposition to a country leaving the Eurozone; opposition to the bail-out and its conditions (e.g., support for better interest rates, debt restructuring)
cultural liberalism (100)	support for cultural diversity, international cooperation, gender equality, homosexuals; opposition to traditional moral values.
nationalism (110)	support for nationalist ideas; opposition to rights of ethnic minorities (e.g., Roma, Russians in Latvia)
immigration (120)	opposition to restrictive immigration and integration policies
security (130)	support for more law and order, fighting crime
defence (140)	support for military interventions, the armed forces, a strong national defence, and nuclear weapons
education (150)	support for education and research
environment (160)	support for environmental protection; opposition to nuclear energy
infrastructure (170)	support for improving the country's roads, railways, and other physical infrastructure; support for media
not attachable (990)	Other non-substantive issue category (particularly coalition politics and style of campaigning)

ISSUE_SUBCAT

A smaller level of aggregation than the previous variable. Not yet used for detailed analysis – should be used with caution given the often low numbers of observations but good way to better understand what is covered by issue1.

Use this variable with direction.

Categories	Subcategories
welfare	health care (10010) retirement (10020) family (10030) consumer protection (10040) unemployment insurance (10050) poverty (10060) disability (10070) housing (welfare) (10080) redistributive taxes (10090) welfare (general) (10100)
economic liberalism	labour market (20010) housing (ecolib) (20020) privatization (20030) budget tax (20040) enterprises (20050) bureaucracy (20060) agriculture (20070) banking (20080) budget other (20090) economic liberalism (general) (20100)
economic reform (vague)	fighting unemployment (30010) economic reform (general) (30020)
anti-corruption	anti-corruption (40010)
democratic renewal	direct democracy (50010) elections (50020) financing (50030) separation of powers (50040) transparency (50050) media (50060) democratic renewal (general) (50070)
demreform	hist-legacy (CEE only) (60010) democratic reform (general) (60020)
regionalism	regionalism (70010)
europe	widening (80010) deepening (economic) (80020) deepening (general) (80030)
euro	bailout (90010) euro (90020)
cultural liberalism	international solidarity (100010) gender (100020) drug policy (100030) lgbtq (100040) cultural conservatism (100050) cultural liberalism (general) (100060)
nationalism	nationalism (110010)
immigration	immigration (120010) integration (120020)
security	terrorism (130010) policing (130020) law and order (130030) security (general) (130040)

defence	peace (140010) military intervention (140020) defence (general) (140030)
education	primary education (150010) vocational training (150020) tertiary education (150030) research (150040) education (general) (150050)
environment	nuclear energy (160010) environment (general) (160020)
infrastructure	culture and sport (170010) transport (170020) infrastructure (general) (170030)

Party level features applicable to the subject of the core sentence
(added for merging etc.)

*Party Identifier in
ParlGov*

PARTY_ID

Same party ID as in the ParlGov dataset

Name of the party

PARTY_NAME

Name of the party in the original language (from ParlGov)/

PARTY_NAME_SHORT

Abbreviation of the name of the party (from ParlGov).

Vote Share

VOTE_SHARE

The share of votes the party has received as a result of the election. (From ParlGov). In the case of presidential elections, the variable indicates the vote shares in the first round of the election.

Seats

SEATS

The number of seats the party has received as a result of the election. (From ParlGov). In the case of presidential elections, the variable indicates the winner of the election.

SEATS_TOTAL

The total number of seats contested during the election. (From ParlGov)

Additional ID Variables

CMP

ID in the Manifesto Project Database

EUPROFILER

ID in EU profiler

EES

ID in the European Election Studies

CASTLES_MAIR

ID in Castles and Mair

HUBER_INGLEHART

ID Huber & Inglehart 1995

RAY

ID in Ray 2003

BENOIT_LAVER

ID in Benoit & Laver 2007

CHESS

ID in the Chapel Hill Expert Survey

Selection and sampling of articles

Most of the data is based on the coding of a quality newspaper and a tabloid per country. For the countries in Southern and Central-Eastern Europe, we opt for the coding of two quality newspapers from the center-left and center-right of the political spectrum (for the list of newspapers, see Table 2).

We focus on the “news” part of the newspapers. We do not cover press commentaries and letters to the editors. However, we analyze commentaries by politicians. Furthermore, we only cover sections on national and international politics are covered. We exclude sections on other topics, for example, economics, local politics (if in a specific section), sports or culture (‘feuilleton’).

To be able to evaluate the newspaper data, we also coded a subsample of the core sentences from TV commercials for the 2002 elections from Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands and for the 1999 elections in Switzerland. In this case we selected the news with the highest rating, which most often from the public channel.

The universe of articles consists of all articles published during the two months before Election Day.

Table 2: List of newspapers

Country	Newspapers	TV
Austria	Die Presse, Kronenzeitung	ORF Zeit im Bild
France	Le Monde, Le Parisien	TF1
Germany	Süddeutsche Zeitung, Bild	ARD Tagesschau
Greece	Ta Nea, Kathimerini	
Hungary	Népszabadság, Magyar Nemzet	
Ireland	The Irish Times, The Sun (Irish edition)	
Italy	La Repubblica, Corriere della Sera	
Latvia	Latvijas Avīze, Diena, Vesti segodnya	
Netherlands	NRC Handelsblad, Algemeen Dagblad	NOS Journaal
Poland	Gazeta Wyborcza, Rzeczpospolita	
Portugal	Público, Diário de Notícias	
Romania	Jurnalul Național, Adevărul	
Spain	El Mundo, El País	
Switzerland	NZZ, Blick, Tagesanzeiger	SRF
UK	The Times, The Sun	

We select all articles on the election and candidates, as well as on national politics in general. If the articles are electronically available, we rely on a country- and election-specific list of ‘national politics keywords’. The list should include keywords related to the election (e.g. ‘Bundestagswahl’ or ‘General election’), names of political parties, candidates, government personnel, as well as other political key actors (e.g. party leaders). It depends on the style of the newspaper if a list of all political parties is already good enough to find most of the relevant articles. If the articles are not electronically available, we manually select all articles that report on these topics in the title, sub-title or lead of an article – or the first paragraph if no lead is available.

Due to the large number of articles and the labor-intensive coding procedure, we draw a sample of articles. We rely on a chronological sampling strategy (we select every x^{th} article based on publication date and page). This sampling strategy helps us to account for the dynamics of the debate, as it

captures the peaks and slacks of the debate. As stated before, we aim for at least 1,500 core sentences per campaign.

Coding of articles

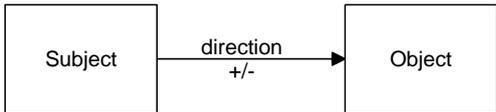
Types of core sentences

Every relationship between objects is a core sentence

The core sentence approach is interested in every relationship between ‘objects’. According to this procedure, each grammatical sentence of an article is reduced to its most basic structure, the so called ‘core sentence’, indicating only its subject (the actor) and its object (actor or issue), as well as the direction of the relationship between the two.

Direction of relationship

The direction between subject and object is always quantified using a scale ranging from -1 to +1 with three intermediary positions indicating a ‘potential’ or an ambiguous relation.



Grammatical vs. semantic structure of a sentence

The number of core sentences in an article does not equal the number of grammatical sentences, as one grammatical sentence can include none, one or several core sentences. Furthermore, the subject and object in the grammatical and the core sentence may not be the same. That is why it is important to differentiate between the grammatical and the semantic structure of a sentence. A simple example shows the difference.

(a) Merkel welcomes Committee of the Regions’ declaration on cultural diversity.

(b) Committee of the Regions’ declaration on cultural diversity is welcomed by Merkel.

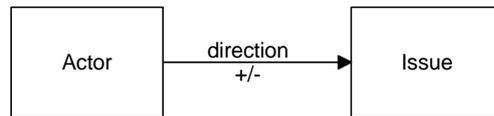
The grammatical subjects of the two sentences differ: Merkel in the first sentence and Committee of the Regions in the second. The semantic subject does not change, as in both cases Angela Merkel (subject) is the actor who welcomes the declaration (object).

We focus on actor-issue & actor-actor sentences

We are interested in two main types of core sentences that indicate different combinations of semantic subjects and objects: actor-issue and actor-actor sentences¹ - thus relationships either between two actors or between an actor and an issue that appear in the text.

Actor-issue sentences

1. Actor-issue sentences



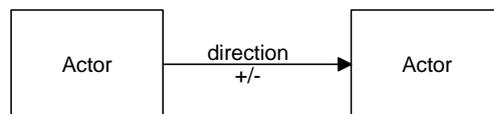
In actor-issue sentences, an actor takes a position towards a political issue.

Examples:

(a) French Socialists say yes to the European constitution → PS/+1/European constitution; (b) The German Chancellor Kohl welcomes the accession of Sweden → Kohl/+1/Swedish EU membership; (c) The Swiss People's Party (SVP) want to restrict mass immigration → SVP/-1/immigration

Actor-actor sentences

2. Actor-actor sentences



In actor-actor sentences, an actor takes a position towards another actor.

Examples:

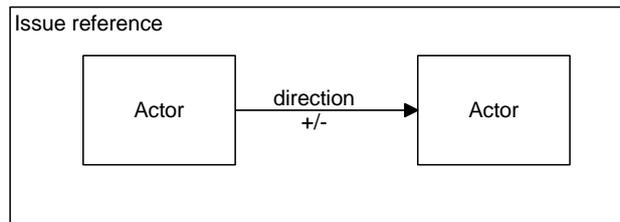
(a) European Commission praises Danish government for taking stronger action → European Commission/+1/Danish government; (b) Nicolas Sarkozy attacked the 'wounding and outrageous' refusal of the Czech president to fly a European flag → Sarkozy/-1/Havel; (c) The German Greens are open towards a coalition government with the Christian Democrats → Greens/+1/CDU

Additional elements: Issue references

¹ In the original formulation proposed by Kleinnijenhuis et al. (1997; Kleinnijenhuis & Pennings, 2001), there were five types of core sentences: actor-issue, actor-actor, actor-social groups as well as evaluative and reality sentences. We treat positive or negative relations between an actor and a social group as actor-issue sentences, while evaluative sentences can also be coded as actor-actor sentences, in which the cited actor or newspaper can be treated as the subject. Reality sentences lack an object, as one gets only information on the chance, success or failure of a political actor (e.g. 'Barroso worries about getting a new mandate' → Reality/-1/Barroso). In this project, we do however not code such reality sentences because the information they provide are not relevant for our research questions.

Issue references can supplement actor-actor sentences

Additional elements of a core sentence are issue references. Issue references can only be added to an actor-actor sentence. Issue references are coded when an actor-actor relation is taken with reference to a specific issue. An actor does most of the time not simply support or criticize another actor out of the blue. By contrast, an actor's issue positions are supported or criticized. However, note that we also coded actor-actor sentences without issue references (for example, if someone just praises the leadership quality of another politician or if someone is attacked due to his/her personality traits).



Examples:

(a) Liberals attacked Christoph Blocher (SVP) because of its 'demonstration against Europe' in Zurich on Saturday → FDP/-1/Blocher IR: European integration;

(b) Merkel welcomes Nicolas Sarkozy's call for a European supervisory body on financial transactions → Merkel/+1/Sarkozy IR: Tougher European regulations of financial markets.

(c) The Austrian chancellor Faymann criticizes Frank Stronach's attack on the social partners: "We need the social partners, but we don't need capricious billionaires!" → Faymann/-1/Stronach IR: Social partnership

Issue references can lead to additional actor-issue sentences

Often, actor-actor sentences with an issue reference "include" additional actor-issue sentences which we also need to code!

Example (a) includes explicit information about an actor's issue position (→ Blocher/-1/European integration). Example (b) includes two additional actor-issue sentences (→ Merkel/+1/ Tougher European regulations of financial markets; → Sarkozy/+1/ Tougher European regulations of financial markets). Example (c) also includes two additional actor-issue sentences (→ Faymann/+1/Social partnership; →Stronach/-1/Social partnership). Moreover, the quote includes another two core sentences: a-i → Faymann/+1/Social partnership; a-a without issue reference → Faymann/-1/Stronach

Symmetric and multiple relations

A grammatical sentence can include more than one core sentence. The most important

examples are symmetric and multiple relations.

Symmetric relations

Relations between two actors are symmetric whenever the subject and the object of a sentence could be exchanged without changing the meaning of the sentence. Symmetric relations are coded twice. Both actors are once coded as the subject and as the object of a core sentence.

Example:

(a) The British prime minister, Gordon Brown, and French President, Nicolas Sarkozy, agreed on establishing a high representative for foreign affairs → Brown/+1/Sarkozy IR: Representative for foreign affairs; → Sarkozy/+1/Brown IR: Representative for foreign affairs. In addition, the example includes two actor-issue sentences → Brown/+1/Representative for foreign affairs; → Sarkozy/+1/Representative for foreign affairs.

We only code symmetric relations for up to three actors

We only code such symmetric relations for up to three actors. In the other cases, we code (if available) the 'superior' actor that the different actors belong to and/or we code additional actor-issue sentences.

Examples:

(a) Merkel, Brown, and Sarkozy agree on Mediterranean Union (UfM) → The grammatical sentence leads to six actor-actor sentences with an issue reference and three actor-issue sentences → Merkel/+1/Brown IR: UfM; Merkel/+1/Sarkozy IR: UfM; Brown/+1/Merkel IR: UfM; Sarkozy/+1/Merkel IR: UfM; Brown/+1/Sarkozy IR: UfM; Sarkozy/+1/Brown IR: UfM; Merkel/+1/UfM; Brown/+1/UfM; Sarkozy/+1/UfM;

(b) The heads of EU member states agree on Mediterranean Union (UfM) → The grammatical sentence leads to one actor-issue sentence → European council/+1/UfM

Multiple relations

In a grammatical sentence, several subjects can be related to one object. Or alternatively, one object refers to several subjects. We code as many core sentences as there are subjects and objects respectively.

Examples:

(a) Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens argue, the European Union is the most original and successful experiment in political institution-building since the second world war → Beck/+1/European Union; Giddens/+1/European Union;

(b) Jörg Haider fights against EU membership and for Austrian neutrality → Haider/-1/EU accession of Austria; Haider/+1/Neutrality.

Interpretation and past positions

Do not interpret too much!

In general, one should only code what is reported in the newspaper. In example (a) on Beck and Giddens there is, for example, the implicit information that Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens agree on the issue-position and one could code two additional actor-actor-sentences. As this is, however, not explicitly spelt out in the text, we do only code two actor-issue sentences.

What would an informed reader understand?

While 'not interpreting too much' is a general guideline, it is sometimes necessary to link specific grammatical sentences to the whole article – or to one's basic knowledge as an informed reader – to make sense of certain information. This is most obvious when, for example, the pronoun of a sentence only refers to the previous sentences.

In general, we do not code past positions

Past positions are not coded when they have been articulated long before the publication date of the selected article. It is however not possible to give a specific number of months or years after which a statement is no longer coded. It mainly depends on the question whether the past position becomes an issue in the current political contestation. If this is the case, we do code the position (see examples).

Examples:

(a) This reminds us of De Gaulle's "No to Britain" during the early 1960s (published 1977) → no core sentence; (b) Schröder rejects the privileged partnership between Turkey and the EU that was proposed by the Christian Democrats a few months ago. → Schröder/-1/Privileged partnership; Schröder/-1/CDU IR: Privileged partnership; → CDU/+1/Privileged partnership.

Identifying relevant core sentences

We code all sentences with at least one national political actor

We code all core sentences that involve at least one national party political actor as subject and/or object. Party political actors cover all collective and individual actors that are affiliated to a national political party (for example, candidates, party leaders, party officials in government, party members, city majors, European parliamentarians). There are no further constraints as regards the issues that we code. In other words, all types of issues – ranging across different policy fields and levels – are coded. As stated, we also code actor-actor sentences that do not include an issue reference (e.g. purely personal critique of a candidate).

How many core sentences do we code per article?

*We code title,
lead, and first
paragraph*

If the structure of the article is not lost (sometimes this is the case in the electronic archives), we code the title, lead, and the first paragraph of an article. Since this is not always easy to determine, we will adapt this rule according to the newspaper (for example, we will code the whole articles from some of the tabloids because these articles are often very short).

OR

*We code a
maximum of
20 sentences
per article!*

If we can no longer determine the structure of the article because there are no paragraphs etc., we code a maximum of 20 core sentences per article. We start at the beginning of the article and code it sentence-by-sentence. When we reach the maximum number of 20 core sentence, we stop coding. The only exception refers to symmetric actor-actor relations. In such cases, we code more than 20 core sentences instead of losing some of the symmetric information.

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