Party competition on European issues in the 2024 EP Elections

Supplemental information

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Appendix A: Language models performance

Table A1 - Sentence-level classifier metrics

Model	Version	Phase	Task	Performance	Score
	- Learning rate: 0.00001 - Neural networks' size: 256 - Batch size: 32	Fine- tuning	Торіс	F1 Precision Recall	0.633 0.689 0.688
		Testing	classification	F1 Precision Recall	NA NA NA
	- Architecture: One encoder - Learning rate: 0.00001 - Neural networks' size: 256	Fine- tuning	Stance	F1 Precision Recall	0.807 0.809 0.808
ManifestoBERTa	- Batch size: 32 - Data: Full EM2019 - Seed: 44	Testing	classification	F1 Precision Recall	NA NA NA
	- Architecture: Two encoders (parallel) - Learning rate: 0.00001 - Neural networks' size: 256 - Batch size: 32 - Data: Full EM2019 - Seed: 49	Fine-	Topic classification	F1 Precision Recall	0.695 0.689 0.698
		tuning	Stance classification	F1 Precision Recall	0.821 0.824 0.819
		T:	Topic classification	F1 Precision Recall	0.713 0.673 0.775
		Testing	Stance classification	F1 Precision Recall	0.878 0.931 0.882

Notes: Best scores by metric across models and phase in bold.

Appendix B: Parties

Table B1 – Parties included in our analysis (2019 and 2024 manifestos)

Country	Party
AT	die Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP)
AT	die Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreich
AT	die Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs
AT	die Grünen
AT	das Neue Österreich und Liberales Forum

ΑT	die Kommunistische Partei Österreichs

- CZ ANO 2011
- CZ Obcanská demokratická strana
- CZ Ceská pirátská strana
- CZ Svoboda a prímá demokracie
- CZ Krestanská a demokratická unie
- CZ Starostové a nezávislí
- CZ TOP 09
- CZ Ceská strana sociálne demokratická
- DK Socialdemokratiet
- DK Venstre
- DK Socialistisk Folkeparti
- DK Moderaterne
- DK Danmarksdemokraterne
- DK Liberal Alliance
- DK Det Konservative Folkeparti
- DK Enhedslisten
- DK Radikale Venstre
- DK Dansk Folkeparti
- FI Kansallinen Kokoomus
- FI Perussuomalaiset
- FI Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue
- FI Suomen Keskusta
- FI Vasemmistoliitto
- FI Suomen ruotsalainen kansanpuolue
- FI Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit
- FR Parti communiste français (PCF)
- FR La France insoumise (LFI)
- FR Parti socialiste (PS)
- FR Les Écologistes (EELV)
- FR Renaissance
- FR Mouvement démocrate (MoDem)
- FR Horizons
- FR Les Républicains (LR)
- FR Rassemblement national
- DE CDU
- DE CSU
- DE SPD
- DE Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen
- DE FDP
- DE Die Linke
- DE AfD
- DE Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht

GR	Νέα Δημοκρατία
GR	ΣΥΡΙΖΑ
GR	ΠΑΣΟΚ/ Κίνημα Αλλαγής
GR	Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα
GR	Ελληνική Λύση
GR	Νίκη
IT	Fratelli d'Italia
IT	Lega per Salvini Premier
IT	Forza Italia
IT	Partito Democratico
IT	Movimento 5 Stelle
IT	Azione
IT	Italia Viva
IT	Noi Moderati
IT	+Europa
ES	Partido Popular
ES	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
ES	Vox
ES	Sumar
ES	Podemos
ES	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya
ES	Junts per Catalunya
ES	Partido Nacionalista Vasco
ES	BNG
ES	Coalición Canaria

Appendix C: Euromanifesto coding categories

Table C1 – Euromanifesto codes used for LLMs' fine-tuning

Euromanifesto code Euromanifesto labe	I	LLM label
60401	Green Technology	Environment
60600	Anti-Growth Economy	Environment
60810	Energy Policies	Environment
70101	Environmental Protection: General	Environment
70102	Environmental Protection: Global Warming	Environment
70103	Environmental Protection: Animal Rights	Environment
70104	Food and Alimentation	Environment
10601	Europe, European Community/Union: General	EU Polity
10602	Financing the EC/EU	EU Polity
10603	EU Exit	EU Polity
10604	Brexit	EU Polity
30102	Transfer of Power to the EC/EU	EU Polity

40100	Competences of the European Parliament	EU Polity
40200	Competences of the European Commission	EU Polity
40301	Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers	EU Polity
40302	Voting procedures in the (European) Council	EU Polity
40400	Competences of the European Court of Justice	EU Polity
40501	Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions	EU Polity
40502	Mentions of the European Central Bank	EU Polity
40601	EC/EU Enlargement: General	EU Polity
40602	Membership of East European countries currently not in the EU	EU Polity
40603	Membership of Balkan countries currently not in the EU	EU Polity
40604	Membership of Turkey in the EU	EU Polity
40700	Complexity of the EC/EU Political System	EU Polity
40801	Spitzenkandidaten: General	EU Polity
40802	Spitzenkandidaten: Specific	EU Polity
80503	EU Integration	EU Polity
20103	Human Rights: Refugees	Migration
60803	Labour Immigration: EU Citizens	Migration
60807	Labour Immigration: Non-EU Citizens	Migration
60808	Labour Immigration: Unspecified	Migration
80502	Immigration: EU Citizens	Migration
80505	Immigration (beyond EU)	Migration
80506	Immigration (unspecified)	Migration
90404	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (EU Citizens)	Migration
90406	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (beyond EU)	Migration
90407	UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (unspecified)	Migration
10101	Foreign Special Relationships (FSR) General	Other
10102	FSR to Eastern European Countries of the EU	Other
10103	FSR to Eastern European Countries not in the EU (except Ukraine)	Other
10104	FSR to Russia	Other
10105	FSR to USA	Other
10106	FSR to Ukraine	Other
10107	FSR to Syria	Other
10200	Anti-Imperialism	Other
10301	Military: General	Other
10302	Military: Ukraine	Other
10303	Military: Syria	Other
10401	Peace: General	Other
10402	Peace: Ukraine	Other
10403	Peace: Syria	Other
10500	Internationalism	Other
50101	Free Enterprise: General	Other
50102	Property Restitution	Other
50201	Controlled Economy: General	Other

50202	Social Ownership	Other
50203	Mixed Economy	Other
50204	Publicly-Owned Industry	Other
50205	Socialist Property	Other
50301	Economic Planning: General	Other
50302	EC/EU Structural Fund	Other
50401	Nationalization: General	Other
50402	Privatisation	Other
50500	Corporatism	Other
50600	Market Regulation	Other
50700	Marxist Analysis	Other
60100	Incentives	Other
60200	Keynesian Demand Management	Other
60300	Productivity	Other
60400	Technology and Infrastructures	Other
60500	Protectionism	Other
60700	Economic Orthodoxy	Other
60801	Economic Goals: General	Other
60802	Creating Jobs	Other
60804	Single Market	Other
60805	European Monetary Union/ European Currency	Other
60806	Transnational Solidarity	Other
60809	Labour Emigration	Other
9900	Other	Other
20101	Freedom	Other
20102	Human Rights: General	Other
20104	Freedom of Press	Other
20200	Democracy	Other
20300	Constitutionalism	Other
20401	Anti-elitism	Other
20402	Glorification of Common People	Other
30101	Decentralization: General	Other
30200	Executive and Administrative Efficiency	Other
30300	Political Corruption	Other
30400	Political Authority	Other
70200	Culture	Other
70300	Social Justice: General	Other
70301	Gender	Other
70302	Race/Ethnicity	Other
70303	LGBT	Other
70401	Welfare State: General	Other
70402	Pensions	Other
70403	Health Care and Nursing Service	Other

70404	Social Housing	Other
70405	Child Care	Other
70406	Job Programs	Other
70500	Education	Other
80100	Multiculturalism	Other
80200	Traditional Morality	Other
80301	Law and Order: General	Other
80302	Fight Against Terrorism	Other
80400	Social Harmony	Other
80501	National Way of Life: General	Other
80504	Cyprus Issue (for Cyprus Only)	Other
90100	Labour Groups	Other
90200	Agriculture and Farmers	Other
90300	Middle Class and Professional Groups	Other
90401	Underprivileged Minority Groups (UMG): General	Other
90402	UMG: Handicapped	Other
90403	UMG: Homosexuals	Other
90405	Ethnic Minorities/People of the Manifesto Country Living Abroad	Other
90501	Non-Economic Demographic Groups (NEDG): General	Other
90502	NEDG: Women	Other
90503	NEDG: Old People	Other
90504	NEDG: Young People	Other
90505	NEDG: Linguistic Groups	Other

Appendix D: Test-data codebook

Instructions

We would like you to read and label some sentences or half sentences from the European Elections manifestos written by various German parties. You will receive an Excel file with 6 columns. Column A is an ID number. You can ignore this. Column C is the sentence or part of a sentence which we would like you to label.

To give you some context, Column B and Column D include the manifesto content immediately before and after the sentence for labelling.

Please add the labels to Column E and Column F.

There are two questions to consider:

1. What is the sentence about? Write the answer in Column E.

There are four possible answers: the Environment, Migration, the European Union, or Other. For more details on what falls into the first three categories, see the detailed category descriptions below. If the content does not match any of the descriptions, please label it as 'Other'.

2. What is the 'opinion' or 'stance' of the sentence? Write the answer in Column F.

Here there are only two possible answers: positive or negative.

Again, more details on how to recognise supportive or not content are included below.

The task includes two stages

Stage 1: You will read and label content from the 2019 German manifestos according to two above questions. Your answers will be e.g. Migration-Positive, European Union-Negative, and so on. Stop labelling either after 30 minutes, or after you label all sentences, whichever happens first. After you finish, please send the Excel file with the labels to [...].

This content has already been labelled by other coders. After you finish labelling this content, we will send you the answers from the other coders for you to check. Make a note of any disagreements and try to follow the choices of the other coders for Stage 2. If you strongly disagree with any choices of the other coders, please discuss it with [...].

<u>Stage 2</u>: You will read and label content from the 2024 German manifestos. Again, think about what the sentence is about, and what sentiment it is expressing. This content has not previously been labelled, so you should try to be as accurate as possible at this stage.

Please note, in stage 2 some sentences may be badly formatted or unclassifiable, such as a title or a page number. In case you find any 'unusual' content like this, please leave the labels blank and make a note in Column G.

Please don't compare labels with any other colleagues until everyone has completed all tasks.

Details of Each Label (taken from the 2019 Euromanifestos Codebook)

Environment

Environmental Protection: General

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

Negative: Opposite of positive.

Environmental Protection: Global Warming

Positive: Acknowledging global warming as a harmful phenomenon, need for policies/actions intended to diminish effects of global warming and/or climate change.

Negative: Opposite of positive, e.g. denying dangers of global warming and/or climate change, denying the existence of global warming and/or climate change as a "man-made" phenomenon.

Environmental Protection: Animal Rights

Positive: Positive mentions of animal rights.

Negative: Opposite of positive.

Food and Alimentation

Positive: Favourable mentions of organic food, vegetarian/vegan alimentation, need for policies/actions intended to expand organic food production.

Negative: Opposite of positive.

Green Technology

Positive: Favourable mentions of expansion of public transport, reducing car/motor traffic, supporting alternative concepts of mobility (bike etc.) and the corresponding

infrastructure.

Negative: Opposite of positive.

Migration

Human Rights: Refugees

Positive: Favourable mentions of support for refugees

Negative: Opposite of positive.

Labour Immigration: Non-EU Citizens

Positive: Favourable mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign workers of non

EU member countries in economic terms.

Negative: Negative mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign of non-EU

member countries in economic terms.

Labour Immigration: Unspecified

Positive: Favourable mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign workers in economic terms, in which the reference group of labour immigrants and/or foreign workers remains unspecified.

Negative: Negative mentions of labour immigration and/or foreign in economic terms, in which the reference group of labour immigrants and/or foreign workers remains unspecified.

Immigration (beyond EU)

Positive: Need to retain or increase immigration from non-EU countries in non economic or unspecified terms.

Negative: Need to reduce immigration from non-EU countries in non-economic or unspecified terms.

Immigration (unspecified)

Positive: Need to retain or increase immigration (from unspecified country or region) in non-economic or unspecified terms.

Negative: Need to reduce immigration (from unspecified country or region) in non economic or unspecified terms.

UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (beyond EU) in the Manifesto Country

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners. Negative: Opposite of positive.

UMG: Immigrants and Foreigners (unspecified) in the Manifesto Country

Positive: Favourable mentions, support or assistance for immigrants or foreigners, in

which the reference group of immigrants or foreigners remains unspecified. Negative: Opposite of positive.

European Union

Competences of the European Parliament

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Parliament (EP) in general. Need to maintain or increase the legislative power and/or competences of the EP and/or of MEPs. Favourable mentions of the EP pertaining to the democratisation of the EC/EU. Negative: Negative mentions of the European Parliament (EP) in general. Need to cutback or decrease the legislative power and/or competences of the EP and/or of MEPs.

Competences of the European Commission

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Commission in general. Need to maintain or increase the executive power and/or competences of the European Commission and/or of the president or members of the European Commission.

Negative: Negative mentions of the European Commission in general. Need to

Negative: Negative mentions of the European Commission in general. Need to cutback or decrease the executive power and/or competences of the European Commission and/or of the president or members of the European Commission.

Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers

Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: General

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Council/ Council of Ministers in general. Need to maintain or increase the legislative power and/or competences of the European Council/ Council of Ministers.

Negative: Negative mentions of the European Council/ Council of Ministers in general. Need to cutback or decrease the legislative power and/or competences of the

European Council/ Council of Ministers.

Voting procedures in the (European) Council

Positive: Need to maintain or increase the voting procedures requiring unanimity in the Council. Negative mentions of (qualified) majority voting in the Council. Negative: Need to maintain or increase the (qualified) majority voting procedures in the Council. Negative mentions of the need for unanimity in the Council. Favourable mentions of majority voting in the council as a means of democratisation or of more efficiency in decision-making within the EC/EU.

Competences of the European Court of Justice

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Court of Justice in general. Need to maintain or increase the judicial power and/or competences of the European Court of Justice.

Negative: Negative mentions of the European Court of Justice in general. Need to cutback or decrease the judicial power and/or competences of the European Court of

Justice.

Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions

Competences of Other EC/EU Institutions: General

Positive: Positive mentions of other EC/EU institutions (e.g., European Central Bank) in general. Need to maintain or increase the power and/or competences of other EC/EU institutions.

Negative: Negative mentions of other EC/EU institutions (e.g., European Central Bank) in general. Need to cutback or decrease the power and/or competences of other EC/EU institutions. Diminishing the powers of the EC/EU institutions, strengthen competences of national governments.

Mentions of the European Central Bank

Positive: Positive mentions of the European Central Bank. Support for more powers of the ECB.

Negative: Negative mentions of the European Central Bank. Opposition towards more powers of the ECB. Diminishing the powers of the ECB.

EC/EU Enlargement

EC/EU Enlargement: General

Positive: Need to enlarge the EC/EU by promoting the joining of new members in general or by promoting the joining of a specific county.

Negative: Rejection of EC/EU enlargement by denying new members to join the EC/EU in general or by denying the joining of a specific county.

Note: This category only applies to EC/EU Enlargement. Cross-check Europe/European Community/Union (010600) for adequate coding.

Membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU

Positive: Positive references to membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU.

Negative: Negative references to membership in the EU of East European countries currently not in the EU.

Membership in the EU of Balkan countries currently not in the EU

Positive: Positive references to membership in the EU of Balkan countries currently not in the EU.

Negative: Negative references to membership in the EU of Balkan countries currently not in the EU.

Membership of Turkey in the EU

Positive: Positive references to Turkey's membership in the EU. Negative: Negative references to Turkey's membership in the EU.

Complexity of the EC/EU Political System

Positive: The complexity of the political system of the EC/EU is explicitly criticized.

Negative: Opposite of positive.

Spitzenkandidaten

Spitzenkandidaten: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of their general role in the EU Negative: Negative mentions of their general role in the EU

Spitzenkandidaten: Specific

Positive: Favourable mentions of a specific Spitzenkandidaten (i.e., Manfred Weber, Frans Timmermans, Margrethe Vestager, Jan Zahradil, Ska Keller, Bas Eickhout, Violeta Tomič, Nico Cué and Oriol Junqueras)

Negative: Negative mentions of a specific Spitzenkandidaten (i.e., Manfred Weber, Frans Timmermans, Margrethe Vestager, Jan Zahradil, Ska Keller, Bas Eickhout, Violeta Tomič, Nico Cué and Oriol Junqueras)

Europe, European Community/Union: General

Positive: Favourable mentions of Europe or the EC/EU. The idea of a more integrated Europe/ EC/EU is supported; "deepening of Europe".

Note: For specific favourable mentions of EU institutions refer to other codes, especially in Domain Political System of the EU instead.

Negative: Hostile mentions of Europe or the EC/EU. The idea of a more integrated Europe/EC/EU is rejected; no "deepening of Europe" necessary.

Financing the EC/EU

Positive: National contributions to finance the EC/EU or its policies are supported or accepted.

Negative: National contributions to finance the EC/EU or its policies are criticized or rejected.

EU Exit

Positive: Negative mentions of the possibility to leave the EU Negative: Positive of the mentions of the possibility to leave the EU

Brexit

Positive: Mentioning of positive consequences following from Brexit Negative: Mentioning of negative consequences following from Brexit

Transfer of Power to the EC/EU

Positive: Transfer of power and/or competences to the EC/EU is supported. The fact that the nation-state and its regions will lose power, competences, and sovereignty, is not bemoaned.

Negative: No need for transfer of power and/or competences to the EC/EU. The nation-state and its regions should retain their power, competences, and sovereignty. The loss of power, competences, and sovereignty of the nation-state and regions

within is bemoaned.

Single Market

Positive: Favourable mentions or support for the common market/ Single European

Negative: Negative mentions or rejection of the common market/ Single European

Market.

European Monetary Union/ European Currency

Positive: Favourable mentions or support for the European Monetary Union, a single

European currency or the Euro.

Negative: Negative mentions or rejection of the European Monetary Union, a single

European currency or the Euro.

European Monetary Union/ European Currency-Transnational Solidarity

Positive: Favourable mentions or support for financial help with the European Union

Member State/Eurozone.

Negative: Negative mentions or support for financial help to another European Union

Member State/Eurozone.

EU Integration

Positive: Emphasis on retaining the national way of life and national cultures in

Europe or within the EC/EU. Negative: Opposite of positive.

Appendix E: Language transfer test

To assess the ability of our best model to provide reliable estimates across languages we applied our model to the Euromanifesto 2019 (Reinl and Braun 2023) annotated data. Note that the samples used for this exercise, differently from the fine-tuning data, are imbalanced.

Table E1 – Best model performance for topic classification – 2019 Euromanifesto

Country	Accuracy	Precision	Recall	F1
Austria	0.637	0.686	0.637	0.652
Belgium	0.673	0.776	0.673	0.707
Bulgaria	0.862	0.905	0.862	0.879
Croatia	0.717	0.791	0.717	0.732
Cyprus	0.545	0.891	0.545	0.578
Czech Republic	0.644	0.801	0.644	0.702
Denmark	0.558	0.644	0.558	0.583
Estonia	0.746	0.827	0.746	0.757
Finland	0.613	0.658	0.613	0.625

France	0.586	0.681	0.586	0.616
Germany	0.673	0.722	0.673	0.688
Greece	0.621	0.687	0.621	0.641
Hungary	0.642	0.728	0.642	0.665
Ireland	0.667	0.732	0.667	0.688
Italy	0.515	0.638	0.515	0.557
Latvia	0.667	0.861	0.667	0.724
Lithuania	0.623	0.701	0.623	0.654
Luxembourg	0.678	0.750	0.678	0.703
Malta	0.500	0.625	0.500	0.556
Netherlands	0.710	0.811	0.710	0.747
Poland	0.600	0.674	0.600	0.623
Portugal	0.542	0.664	0.542	0.569
Romania	0.717	0.731	0.717	0.719
Slovakia	0.500	0.696	0.500	0.555
Slovenia	0.795	0.887	0.795	0.823
Spain	0.642	0.713	0.642	0.662
Sweden	0.631	0.702	0.631	0.656
United Kingdom	0.629	0.678	0.629	0.644

Notes: Countries included in our study in bold

 $\textbf{Table E2} - Best \ model \ performance \ for \ stance \ classification - 2019 \ Euromanifesto$

Country	Accuracy	Precision	Recall	F1
Austria	0.810	0.800	0.778	0.789
Belgium	0.850	0.835	0.825	0.830
Bulgaria	0.848	0.840	0.818	0.829
Croatia	0.850	0.832	0.828	0.830
Cyprus	0.872	0.860	0.838	0.849
Czech Republic	0.854	0.842	0.820	0.831
Denmark	0.800	0.790	0.772	0.781
Estonia	0.820	0.810	0.789	0.799
Finland	0.855	0.840	0.827	0.833
France	0.842	0.830	0.812	0.821
Germany	0.860	0.850	0.820	0.835
Greece	0.845	0.830	0.818	0.824
Hungary	0.820	0.810	0.796	0.803
Ireland	0.875	0.860	0.848	0.854
Italy	0.825	0.810	0.796	0.803
Latvia	0.870	0.860	0.835	0.847
Lithuania	0.825	0.810	0.796	0.803

Luxembourg	0.820	0.810	0.792	0.801
Malta	0.815	0.800	0.790	0.795
Netherlands	0.820	0.810	0.788	0.799
Poland	0.828	0.816	0.794	0.805
Portugal	0.826	0.812	0.796	0.804
Romania	0.815	0.800	0.786	0.793
Slovakia	0.805	0.790	0.776	0.783
Slovenia	0.820	0.808	0.788	0.798
Spain	0.870	0.860	0.832	0.845
Sweden	0.845	0.832	0.812	0.822
United Kingdom	0.875	0.860	0.846	0.853

Notes: Countries included in our study in bold

Appendix F: Inter-coder Reconciliation

Text on which test coders disagreed						
Coder 1	Coder 2	Text	Reason			
environment	other	We want ecologically sustainable and, if possible, regional economic activity with collective bargaining agreements to	Implicit mention of environment			
		become a legal requirement for public procurement in the EU.				
other	eu	This goal has not been achieved in any EU member state, even though legal conditions for queer people have improved in some countries.				
migration	eu	In direct contrast to this political promise, we have been experiencing an asylum and migration policy in Europe for years that has led to massive social upheaval.	Middle point between EU and Migration classes			

other	eu	The Istanbul Convention must therefore be ratified in all EU member states and its provisions must be transposed into national law.	Broad reference to the EU but not clearly related to any EU competence, institutional settings, or other categories
			used in the codebook

Text on which test coder	s agreed		119
Coder 1	Coder 2	Text	Reason
environment	environment	We advocate for high environmental and social standards worldwide, also in order to equalize global competitive conditions. Therefore, we are committed to ensuring that sustainability goals and human rights are included in all future international trade agreements and are enforceable, as in the recently concluded agreement between the EU and New Zealand.	Clear reference to environmental policies
migration	migration	Refugees who make their way to the European Union are also holders of these fundamental rights.	Clear reference to migration policies
eu	eu	We are generally committed to	Clear reference to EU enlargement

		establishing identifiable intermediate steps in the enlargement process and want to examine to what extent, for example, access to the common internal market can be granted before full EU membership.	
other	other	Public schools and universities are dilapidated, and there are far too few teachers.	No clear reference to other three categories

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