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**Manifesto Coding Instructions (1st edition)
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1. Introduction

The object of analysing election programmes is to measure policy positions of parties across countries within a common framework. Election programmes are taken as indicators of the parties' policy emphases and policy positions at a certain point in time. Therefore, election programmes are subjected to quantitative content analysis. A classification scheme was designed to allow for the coding of all the content of election programmes for the post World-War-II period in a variety of countries.

A first version of the classification scheme was developed by David Robertson (1976: 73-5) for analyzing modes of party competition in Britain. In 1979, the 'Manifesto Research Group' (MRG) was constituted as a research group of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) by scholars interested in a comparative content-analytic approach on policy positions of parties. During their work, the classification scheme was extended and revised to fit additional countries.

Since 1989 the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) provides resources for updating and expanding the MRG appendix paper is an introduction to the application of the coding scheme for coders who do not have the background knowledge of the MRG-members. Moreover, it provides investigators in countries not covered by the MRG/CMP with all the relevant information, definitions, and sources to apply the coding scheme to their respective countries.

2. Selection of Programmes

Programme statements are central features of parties. In party programmes, the political ideas and goals of parties are put on record. Although only few voters actually read party programmes, they are spread commonly through the mass media.

Among the different kinds of programme which are issued in many countries, the basis for this research are *election programmes*. The advantages of taking election programmes as a source for identifying political goals of parties are manifold:

- 1) Election programmes cover a wide range of political positions and themes and, therefore, can be seen as a 'set of key central Statements of party positions' (Budge, Robertson and Hearl (eds.) 1987: 18).
- 2) Election programmes are authoritative statements of party policies because the programmes are usually ratified in party conventions.
- 3) Election programmes are representative statements for the whole party, not just statements of one faction or group within the party or of individual party members.
- 4) Election programmes are published before every election. Thus, changes of policy positions of parties over time can be studied.

According to the special significance of election programmes, the documents to be collected are the platforms of parties which are published for the election of representatives in the national assembly of a respective country. The sources of these programmes may be the parties themselves, associated research and training institutes or publications in newspapers, magazines, or books.

In some countries parties do not distribute election programmes. In this case, the description of election programmes given above serves as an 'ideal type' of document to be sought. The only documents available may be newspaper summaries of the parties' election pledges or reports of party representatives' speeches about policy positions and goals for the upcoming legislature. In any case the 'ideal type' of document which summarises authoritative statements of the party's policy positions for electioneering should be obtained as far as possible.

3. Selection of Parties

The collection should cover all the significant parties which are represented in the national assembly. The significance of parties is defined as the coalition (governmental) or blackmail potential of a party in a given party system (Sartori 1976: 121-5). Coalition potential is defined as 1. the actual or former membership in a government or 2. the possibility (feasibility) of becoming a government party. Blackmail potential is defined as the party's impact on 'the tactics of party competition particularly when it alters the direction of the competition-by determining a switch from centripetal to centrifugal competition either leftward, rightward, or in both directions-of the governing- oriented parties.' (Sartori 1976: 123) These criteria for selection need consideration whether small parties, especially new ones like the Green Parties, affect party competition despite their small size.

4. The Coding Procedure

The election programmes are analysed by methods of content analysis which is 'a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Berelson 1971: 18). The method can be applied to a wide range of different materials and research questions. The purpose of this section is to describe the specific form of content analysis to undertaken in Manifesto research.

The specific kind of internal, quantitative analysis is derived from the ideas, policies, issues, and concerns parties stress in their platforms. The methods of coding are designed to be comparable over a wide range of countries irrespective of cultural and socio-economic differences. Therefore, a classification scheme with invariant general categories is used to cover the total content of election programmes by identifying the statements of preference expressed in the programmes. This classification scheme contains 56 different

categories grouped into seven major policy domains: Each of the 56 categories sums up related issues in a way that changes over time can be measured across parties and cross-culturally. Thus, the coding procedure comprises a quantification (how many statements do parties make?) and a classification (what kind of statements do parties make?) of election programmes.

4.1. Quantification: The Coding Unit

The coding unit in a given programme is the '*quasi-sentence*', defined as an argument. An argument is the verbal expression of one political idea or issue. In its simplest form, a sentence is the basic unit of meaning. Therefore, punctuation can be used as a guideline for identifying arguments. The starting point of coding is the sentence, but what we are aiming for is an argument. In its shortest form, a sentence contains a subject, a verb and an attribute or an adjective.

Examples: 'We will cut taxes.'
'We will reduce our military forces.'

Obviously, these sentences contain two different arguments which are easy to identify and to distinguish. But unfortunately, languages are more complex, and it is a question of style how the same political ideas might be expressed.

Example: 'We will cut taxes and reduce our military forces.'

In this case, the two statements are combined in one sentence, but for our purposes are still treated as two different arguments. Long sentences are decomposed into '*quasi-sentences*' if the sense changes within the sentence. In most cases, one sentence which covers two (or more) arguments can be easily transformed into two (or more) *quasi-sentences* by repeating substantives and/or verbs. Thus, a '*quasi-sentence*' is a set of words containing, one and only one, political idea. It stops either at the end of an argument or at a full stop (period).

In many cases, arguments are combined and related into one sentence.

Example: 'Because we want freedom, we need strong military forces.'

These are *two quasi-sentences*, because there are two political goals, i.e. freedom and strength of military forces, which can be transformed into two *quasi-sentences*:

Examples: 'We want freedom.'
'We need strong military forces.'

Thus, long sentences may combine two or more arguments which are often contained by commas, semicolons or colons. A list of arguments,

sometimes marked with hyphens or dots, is treated as if separated with full stops.

Example: 'In international policy we shall take new initiatives.

We will:

- promote peace;
- ban chemical weapons;
- refuse to deploy Cruise missiles;
- begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases;
- increase aid to developing countries;
- take action to protect the status of refugees."

This text contains seven quasi-sentences. Three of the arguments (1. ban chemical weapons; 2. refuse to deploy cruise missiles; 3. begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases) express the same general idea, i.e. disarmament, but different issues in this policy field. Because distinct policies are mentioned for disarmament, three different quasi-sentences are identified. This list of policies may be given in the following way for which the same number of quasi-sentences is coded as for the list given above:

'In international policy we shall take new initiatives. We will promote peace, ban chemical weapons, refuse to deploy Cruise missiles, begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases, increase aid to developing countries, and take action to protect the status of refugees.'

Thus, if different issues-however short-are dealt with in the same sentence they constitute different quasi-sentences even if they apply to the same policy field. On the other hand, the same argument may be very long and may occupy a lot of space, but still be only one quasi-sentence.

Detailed instructions, examples and coding exercises can be found in the CD-ROM.

Step No 1: Identifying Quasi- Sentences

1. Photocopy the respective party programme. Then, 2. start with reading the first paragraph, 3. look at each sentence of the first paragraph, 4. identify the number of arguments by transforming them into quasi-sentences, and 5. mark all quasi-sentences in the first paragraph as shown in sample texts in section 5. Some parts of the platform, like statistics, tables of content and section headings are not considered as text to be coded and, therefore, do not count as quasi-sentences. Introductory remarks by party leaders are equally ignored since the ideal-type of a platform is defined as authoritative statements of parties. All the other parts of a platform constitute the basis of analysis. The total number of units of analysis equals the total number of quasi-sentences identified for the relevant text of a given platform.

4.2. Classification: The Standard Coding Frame

In this project three types of comparisons are possible: a) comparisons of changes in policy positions or in emphases over time within specific parties; b) differences in policy positions or in emphases across parties; and, c) differences across countries. The basic data sought to support such comparisons are the shares of election programmes devoted to each category in a set of standardized issue areas. Comparison requires standardisation. The Manifesto project, after much experimentation and discussion, developed a coding system, whereby each quasi-sentence of every election programme is coded into one, and only one, of the following 56 standard categories. The 56 categories are grouped into seven major policy areas. The coding categories are designed, as far as possible, to be comparable between parties, countries and over time.

Table 1: The Standard Coding Frame: 56 Categories in Seven Policy

Domains

Domain 1: External Relations

- 101 Foreign Special Relationships: positive
- 102 Foreign Special Relationships: negative
- 103 Anti-Imperialism
- 104 Military: positive
- 105 Military: negative
- 106 Peace
- 107 Internationalism: positive
- 108 European Community: positive
- 109 Internationalism: negative
- 110 European Community: negative

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy

- 201 Freedom and Human Rights
- 202 Democracy
- 203 Constitutionalism: positive
- 204 Constitutionalism: negative

Domain 3: Political System

- 301 Decentralisation
- 302 Centralisation
- 303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency
- 304 Political Corruption
- 305 Political Authority

Domain 4: Economy

- 401 Free Enterprise
- 402 Incentives
- 403 Market Regulation
- 404 Economic Planning
- 405 Corporatism
- 406 Protectionism: positive
- 407 Protectionism: negative
- 408 Economic Goals

- 409 Keynesian Demand Management
- 410 Productivity
- 411 Technology and Infrastructure
- 412 Controlled Economy
- 413 Nationalisation
- 414 Economic Orthodoxy
- 415 Marxist Analysis
- 416 Anti-Growth Economy

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

- 501 Environmental Protection
- 502 Culture
- 503 Social Justice
- 504 Welfare State Expansion
- 505 Welfare State Limitation
- 506 Education Expansion
- 507 Education Limitation

Domain 6: Fabric of Society

- 601 National Way of Life: positive
- 602 National Way of Life: negative
- 603 Traditional Morality: positive
- 604 Traditional Morality: negative
- 605 Law and Order
- 606 Social Harmony
- 607 Multiculturalism: positive
- 608 Multiculturalism: negative

Domain 7: Social Groups

- 701 Labour Groups: positive
- 702 Labour Groups: negative
- 703 Agriculture
- 704 Middle Class and Professional Groups
- 705 Minority Groups
- 706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups

After identifying the quasi-sentences in the first paragraph, the next stage of the coding procedure is to decide which of the 56 categories of the Standard Coding Frame a respective quasi-sentence expresses. Each category of the Standard Coding Frame is specified by a set of typical issues and political ideas which are given in section 7 of this handbook. Before starting the coding procedure, the coder should read through the Standard Coding Frame and its defining ideas and issues several times. With only 56 categories the Standard Coding Frame is reasonably scarce so that titles of categories and their defining characteristics can be easily memorized. The better the coder can memorize the categories and their specifications, the easier and faster the coding procedure will be. For the example given above, the category numbers (105) 'Military: Negative', (106) Peace, (107) 'Internationalism: Positive' and (201) 'Freedom and Human Rights', are noted down at the margin of the copied election programme:

- 107 In international policy we shall take new initiatives. We will:
- 106 - promote peace;
- 105 - ban chemical weapons;
- 105 - refuse to deploy Cruise missiles;
- 105 - begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases;
- 107 - increase aid to developing countries;
- 201 - take action to protect the status of refugees.

Step No 2: Classifying the Quasi-Sentences

Read the whole of the first paragraph before you start coding the first quasi-sentence because the context may give you hints how to code an otherwise ambiguous argument. Look to see whether one of the 56 categories definitely captures the sense of the first identified quasi-sentence and note down the respective number of the category at the margin of the page. Repeat this procedure for all the quasi-sentences of the first paragraph. Then proceed with the next paragraph by repeating step no 1.

4.2.1 Categories with Country-Specific Meanings

In most of the cases, the categories have clear-cut meanings which are applicable to all countries. But some categories have country-specific contents or require country-specific definitions. The categories (101) 'Foreign Special Relations: Positive' and (102) 'Foreign Special Relations: Negative' have country-specific meanings. Here, the coder has to decide in advance with which other country or countries the manifesto country (i.e. the country he or she is coding) has a 'special foreign relationship'; for example, in the British case: former colonies, in the Swedish case: the rest of Scandinavia. Equally, the category (705) 'Minorities' requires a definition of what groups are considered as underprivileged in the manifesto country. The specific content of these categories must be spelled out as notes in a coding protocol.

Step No 3: Coding Protocol for all Country-Specific Categories and Codings

Note down definitions for all country-specific categories in a coding protocol. The coding has to be done in as uniform a way as possible. For comparative reasons, the greatest possible standardisation has to be achieved. Therefore, the coder must note down every coding decision he or she made if the procedure is not particularly mentioned in this handbook.

4.2.2 Coding Problems and Difficulties

Not all of the arguments are as clear as the examples given above. Three difficulties may appear in the process of applying step no 2: a. No category seems to apply. b. More than one category seem to apply. c. The statement seems unclear.

a. No category seems to apply

The coding frame was created to capture the total platform content. Nonetheless, it may be that no category is available for a particular problem in a particular country. These quasi-sentences are treated as uncodable (000). It is important to realize that 'uncoded' does not necessarily mean that a sentence is devoid of meaning (although of course it may be), only that it cannot be fitted into the present coding frame. However, the **general rule** is that sentences should be coded if at all possible. To follow this general rule there are a number of specific decision rules on how to tackle with difficult coding decisions. In many countries some of the categories are not much used (for instance (405) 'Corporatism' and (409) 'Keynesian Demand Management'), but are vital for comparative reasons. Therefore, some categories may be left empty at the end of the coding procedure. On the other hand seldom used categories are the most difficult to handle.

Decision Rule No 1: Checking Definitions of all Categories in Policy Domains

Whenever tempted to treat a quasi-sentence as uncodable, read the definitions of categories in the relevant policy domains again because it might well be that the quasi-sentence contains a policy position that is taken only seldom. Therefore, the specific definition of the respective category may have been altered. A quasi-sentence may be without meaning but may nevertheless be part of the discussion of a problem and have a stylistic or linking function, for example: 'The next government will do everything in its power to defend the interests of the farmers. To this end, we envisage several measures. Firstly, we will increase payments of all kinds to farmers. . .'

These are three quasi-sentences. The middle sentence itself is devoid of any policy-content but is a part of the same argument. Therefore, category (703) 'Agriculture' is coded three times.

Decision Rule No 2: Identifying Connecting Sentences

Some sentences, which may otherwise be uncodable, may just be connecting sentences between two arguments (for instance: Therefore, we are going to do three things.) These connecting sentences themselves do not constitute meaningful arguments but are part of an ongoing argument. Therefore, connecting sentences should be coded in the same category as surrounding sentences or as the bulk of the paragraph they appear in. Because of the general rule to classify quasi-sentences if at all possible, all quasi-sentences treated as uncodable must be checked again after coding the total programme. Uncoded quasi-sentences may be biased in meaning, that is, they may have a common thrust. Some quasi-sentences may contain countryspecific issues that are not particularly mentioned in the definition of the category but nonetheless

be subsumable under one of the 56 Standard Categories. Should this be the case, it must be noted down in the coding protocol according to step no. 3. Other quasi-sentences may have a country-specific bias too strong to be subsumed under one of the 56 Standard Categories. For these quasi-sentences a new subcategory may be developed to capture the content of these otherwise uncodable sentences. Examples of subcategories, used for coding the programmes of parties in transitional democracies, are given in section 9. Subcategories must **always** be nested into the 56 Standard Categories so that they can be aggregated up to one of the 56 Standard Categories. For instance 1011 is nested into 101, 2011 is nested into 201.

Decision Rule No 3: Creating Subcategories

*Look at all uncoded sentences a second time and try to figure out whether some of these statements have an equivalent meaning. Make sure that there really is no related Standard Category that captures the sense of these quasi-sentences. Should many quasi-sentences contain the same arguments which are not subsumable under one of the 56 Standard Categories, note down a temporary 4-digit code and a temporary definition for a new subcategory and contact the supervisor. **Do not** create subcategories for each and every single issue because this is useless even when comparing parties from the same party system. **Never** create new categories without checking with the supervisor because you may destroy the comparability of the data.*

Note that even trained coders tend to create too many subcategories, i.e. subcategories containing one or two quasi-sentences, only. From more than 80 subcategories that had been created for transitional countries, 30 were reaggregated into the main Standard Categories because they were almost empty. The remaining 54 subcategories, listed in Section 8, must be coded for all programmes from parties in transitional democracies.

b. More than one category seem to apply

The opposite difficulty of uncodable sentences is that more than one category seems to apply. This difficulty can be dealt with by applying the following decision rules:

Decision Rule No 4: Section Headings as Guidelines

Look at the section heading of the quasi-sentence in question. Then, take the category that covers the topic of the section or the heading. Thus, section headings are taken as guidelines for coding although section headings themselves are not to be coded.

If headings are not given or do not apply to the argument in question, a couple of decision rules are to be followed for the most common cases. The problem of choosing between two categories often occurs with respect to group politics, for instance: 'We want more social security for workers'. In this case, category (701) 'Labour Groups' or category (504) 'Welfare State Expansion' may apply.

Decision Rule No 5: Specific Policy Positions 'Beat' Group Politics except Group (703) 'Agriculture'

Whenever there is a choice between a specific policy position given in Policy Domains 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 on the one hand and a social group from Domain 7 on the other

hand, take the specific policy position. **This rule does not apply to category (703) 'Agriculture'**. All quasi-sentences devoted to agriculture are to be coded into category 703, even if a specific policy position such as (402) 'Incentives' or (410) 'Economic Growth' is taken to further the interests of farmers.

Decision Rule No 6: Specific Policy Positions 'Beat' (305) 'Political Authority'

Whenever there is a choice between category (305) 'Political Authority', defined as the party's **general** competence to govern or the **general** critique of opponent parties' competence, on the one hand and another category from Policy Domains 1 to 7, the specific policy position is to be chosen.

Decision Rule No 7: Specific Policy Positions 'Beat' (408) 'General Economic Goals'

Whenever there is a choice between a more specific policy position given in Policy Domains 1 to 7 and category (408) 'General Economic Goals', the specific policy positions (for instance (410) 'Economic Growth') is to be chosen instead of 408. For all other cases in which more than one category seems to apply, the coder has to decide what the most important concern of the argument is since one, and only one, category has to be chosen for each argument. There is only one exception to the 'one-and only one' rule:

Decision Rule No 8: European Level and National/Regional Level

Policies at the European level may be discussed with respect to their impact at the national or regional level. In these cases, (108) 'European Community: positive' or (110) 'European Community: negative' as well as the specific national position in Policy Domains 2 to 7 have to be coded.

c. The statement seems unclear

Even after applying decision rules no 1 to 8, one may still not be sure where an argument is leading. Many of these problems may be solved by taking the context of the ambiguous quasi-sentence into account. Coders should first of all take the following sentences into account because the first (quasi-) sentence may be part of an argument that is explicated in the next sentences. Therefore, it is always useful to start the coding procedure by reading the whole paragraph. In some cases, crucial decisions have to be made with respect to the manifest or latent content of statements. No inferences should be made with respect to the meaning of statements. The coder has to code what the statement says, not what he or she thinks it may lead to in the end. As with uncodable sentences, all unclear statements should be marked and reread at the end of coding. Some of the coding problems will be solved with growing experience. However, whenever the coder is unsure about which category is to be taken, the supervisor (volkens@medea.wz-berlin.de) should be contacted. The sentences in question can be translated into English and the coding decision is then taken and explained by the supervisor.

4.3 Coding Sheet

After finishing the coding of a platform, a tally is kept on a coding sheet given in this section. The coding sheet shows the respective country, party, and

election year and gives the number of quasi-sentences coded into each standard category of the standard coding frame as well as the total number of quasi-sentences. However, before even starting with Step No 1, first of all take the following step:

Step No 0: Do not start with Step No 1 before having done the reliability test given in this handbook because the reliability test is used for identifying coding mistakes. Thus, wait for the reply of the supervisor or you might have to do it all over again!

Definition of Categories

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive

Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship. For example, in the British case: former colonies; in the German case: East Germany; in the Swedish case: the rest of Scandinavia; the need for co-operation with and/or aid to such countries.

102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative

Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifested country has a special relationship; otherwise as 101, but negative.

103 Anti-Imperialism

Negative references to exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states; negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire; favourable mentions of decolonization; favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies; negative references to the imperial behaviour of the manifesto and/or other countries.

104 Military: Positive

Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; modernising armed forces and improvement in military strength; rearmament and self-defence; need to keep military treaty obligations; need to secure adequate manpower in the military.

105 Military: Negative

Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament; "evils of war"; promises to reduce conscription, otherwise as 104, but negative.

106 Peace

Peace as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises; desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries.

107 Internationalism: Positive

Need for international co-operation; co-operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101; need for aid to developing countries; need for world planning of resources; need for international courts; support for any international goal or world state; support for UN.

108 *European Community: Positive*

Favourable mentions of European Community/European Union in general; desirability of expanding the European Community/European Union and/or of increasing its competence; desirability of the manifesto country joining or remaining a member.

109 *Internationalism: Negative*

Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty as opposed to internationalism; otherwise as 107, but negative.

110 *European Community: Negative*

Hostile mentions of the European Community/European Union; opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities; otherwise as 108, but negative.

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

201 *Freedom and Human Rights*

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

202 *Democracy*

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

203 *Constitutionalism: Positive*

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

204 *Constitutionalism: Negative*

Opposition to the constitution in general or to specific aspects; otherwise as 203, but negative.

DOMAIN 3: Political System

301 *Decentralisation*

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

302 *Centralisation*

Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels; support for more centralisation in political and administrative procedures; otherwise as 301, but negative.

303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency

Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration; cutting down civil service; improving governmental procedures; general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more effective.

304 Political Corruption

Need to eliminate corruption and associated abuse in political and public life.
Political Authority

305 Political Authority

Favourable mentions of strong government, including government stability; manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other parties' lack of such competence.

DOMAIN 4: Economy

401 Free Enterprise

Favourable mentions of free enterprise capitalism; superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems; favourable mentions of private property rights, personal enterprise and initiative; need for unhampered individual enterprises.

402 Incentives

Need for wage and tax policies to induce enterprise; encouragement to start enterprises; need for financial and other incentives such as subsidies.

403 Market Regulation

Need for regulations designed to make private enterprises work better; actions against monopolies and trusts, and in defence of consumer and small business; encouraging economic competition; social market economy.

404 Economic Planning

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

405 Corporatism

Favourable mentions of the need for the collaboration of employers and trade union organisations in overall economic planning and direction through the medium of tripartite bodies of government, employers, and trade unions. This category was not used for Austria up to 1979, for New Zealand up to 1981, nor for Sweden up to 1988.

406 Protectionism: Positive

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

407 Protectionism: Negative

Support for the concept of free trade; otherwise as 406, but negative.

408 Economic Goals

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

409 Keynesian Demand Management

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

410 Productivity

Need to encourage or facilitate greater production; need to take measures to aid this; appeal for greater production and importance of productivity to the economy; increasing foreign trade; the paradigm of growth.

411 Technology and Infrastructure

Importance of modernisation of industry and methods of transport and communication; importance of science and technological developments in industry; need for training and research. This does not imply education in general (see category 506).

412 Controlled Economy

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

413 Nationalisation

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

414 Economic Orthodoxy

Need for traditional economic orthodoxy, e.g. reduction of budget deficits, retrenchment in crisis, thrift and savings; support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system; support for strong currency.

415 Marxist Analysis

Positive references (typically but not solely by communist parties) to the specific use of Marxist-Leninist terminology and analysis of situations which are otherwise uncodable. This category was not used for Austria 1945-79, for Australia, Japan and the United States up to 1980; for Belgium, Ireland, The Netherlands and New Zealand up to 1981; for Italy and Britain up to 1983; for Denmark, Luxembourg and Israel up to 1984; for Canada, France and Sweden up to 1988.

416 Anti-Growth Economy

Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics and steady state economy; ecologism; "Green politics"; sustainable development. This category was not used for Austria 1945-79, for Australia, Japan and the United States up to 1980; for Belgium, Ireland, The Netherlands and New Zealand up to 1981; for Italy and Britain up to 1983; for Denmark, Luxembourg and Israel up to 1984; for Canada, France and Sweden up to 1988; nor for

Norway up to 1989. Test codings, however, have shown that parties before the beginning of the 1990s hardly ever advocated anti-growth policies.

DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

501 Environmental Protection

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

502 Culture

Need to provide cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport; need to spend money on museums, art galleries etc.; need to encourage worthwhile leisure activities and cultural mass media.

503 Social Justice

Concept of equality; need for fair treatment of all people; special protection for underprivileged; need for fair distribution of resources; removal of class barriers; end of discrimination such as racial or sexual discrimination, etc.

504 Welfare State Expansion

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

505 Welfare State Limitation

Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; otherwise as 504, but negative.

506 Education Expansion

Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels. This excludes technical training which is code under 411.

507 Education Limitation

Limiting expenditure on education; otherwise as 506, but negative.

DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society

601 National Way of Life: Positive

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

602 National Way of Life Negative

Against patriotism and/or nationalism; opposition to the existing national state; otherwise as.601, but negative.

603 Traditional Morality: Positive

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

604 Traditional Morality: Negative

Opposition to traditional moral values; support for divorce, abortion etc.; otherwise as 603, but negative.

605 Law and Order

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

606 Social Harmony

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

607 Multiculturalism: Positive

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

608 Multiculturalism: Negative

Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration; otherwise as 607, but negative.

DOMAIN 7: Social Groups

701 Labour Groups: Positive

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

702 Labour Groups: Negative

Abuse of power of trade unions; otherwise as 701, but negative.

703 Agriculture and Farmers

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

704 Middle Class and Professional Groups

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

705 Underprivileged Minority Groups

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

706 Non-economic Demographic Groups

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