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Manifesto Coding Instructions (3. fully revised edition), 2010

Abstract

Since 1979, the Manifesto Research Group (MRG) has been collecting and coding election programs with the aim of estimating policy preferences of political parties. Detailed descriptions of the Manifesto Project can be found in Budge et al. (1987, 2001), Laver and Budge (1992), and Klingemann et al. (1994, 2006). During the first phase of the project, while the classification scheme was being developed, the data was collected by individual MRG members. The second phase of the project was launched in 1989. In the context of its 'Comparative Manifestos Project' (CMP), the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) provided resources for updating and expanding the MRG data. The third phase started in 2009 when the German Science Foundation (DFG) admitted the 'Manifesto Research on Political Representation' project (MARPOR) to its long-term funding infrastructure scheme to update the CMP data collection, extend it to 75 countries up until 2021, and raise the quality of raw data as well as its position index estimates. This handbook describes how to select the documents, to identify the coding units, and to apply the classification scheme. Hired local coders conduct the content analysis accordingly, under central supervision. After a training test, an entry test serves as basis for choosing coders.

Zusammenfassung

Seit 1979 sammelt und analysiert die Manifesto Research Group (MRG) Wahlprogramme, um politische Parteienpositionen komparativ zu messen. Detaillierte Darstellungen des Gesamtprojekts finden sich in Budge et al. (1987, 2001), Laver/Budge (1992) und Klingemann et al. (1994, 2006). Während der ersten Phase des Projektes wurde das Klassifikationsschema entwickelt und jedes Gruppenmitglied brachte die Daten eines Landes ein. 1989 begann die zweite Phase, in der das Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB) die Vervollständigung und Erweiterung der Datensammlung ermöglichte. Die dritte Phase wurde 2009 mit der Aufnahme von MARPOR (Manifesto Research on Political Representation) in das langfristiges Infrastrukturprogramm der Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) eingeleitet, in dessen Rahmen die CMP Daten aktualisiert, die Datensammlung auf 75 Länder ausgeweitet und die Qualität der Rohdaten sowie der Positionsindizes erhöht wird. Die Inhaltsanalysen werden von einheimischen Codern anhand des vorliegenden Handbuches unter zentraler Aufsicht vorgenommen. Das Handbuch führt die Coder in die Selektion der Programme, die Identifikation der Codiereinheiten und die Anwendung des Klassifikationsschemas ein. Ein beigefügter Trainingstest dient der Schulung von Codern, ein Eingangstest der abschließenden Coderauswahl.

1. Introduction

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

A first version of the classification scheme was developed by David Robertson (1976:73-75) for analysing modes of party competition in Britain and the USA. 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 preferences 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 data set in the context of its 'Comparative Manifestos Project' (CMP).

In 2009 the German Science Foundation (DFG) admitted the 'Manifesto Research on Political Representation' (MARPOR) project to its long-term funding infrastructure scheme. Until 2021 the CMP data collection is updated and extended to 75 countries including Latin America and South-East Asia.

This handbook is an introduction into the application of the coding scheme. It provides coders who do not have the background knowledge of the MRG-members and 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. This third version of the handbook, updating the second version (Volkens 2002) with the considerations indicated in Volkens, Alonso and Gómez (2009), provides further commandments, rules, and examples to enhance the data quality by ensuring comparability between the coders.

2. Selection of Parties

The project started at the beginning of the 1970s with the idea of comparing parties' programmatic strategies in Britain and the United States during the post–World War II period (Robertson 1976). Since then, the data collection has been continually updated for all new national elections and extended to 29 members of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and all member states of the European Union (EU).

During the first phase of the Manifesto project, the coders decided which parties to include into the coding process. The collection ought to have covered all the significant parties which are represented in the national assembly. The significance of parties was defined as the coalition (governmental) or blackmail potential of a party in a given party system (Sartori 1976:121–125). 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.

In the second phase, CMP additionally documented 23 Central and Eastern European (CEE) party systems in the making, including the Visegrad countries and Baltic states which all joined the EU, as well as the Balkan countries and the successor states to the Soviet Union. All CEE parties were included that won two or more seats in the national parliaments.

With the MARPOR project, the democratic countries of Latin America and South-East Asia are also introduced into the database. All coders hired by MARPOR receive a list of parties for which manifestos or their substitutes have to be coded.

3. Selection of Election Programs

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

Among the different kinds of programs which are issued in many countries, the bases for this research are **manifestos**. The British label 'manifesto' refers to what the rest of the world dubs 'election program,' i.e., a text issued by political actors on the occasion of elections in order to raise internal and/or external support. In this manual, the term is used to define a text with an average length of 50 pages published by a political party in order to compete for votes in national or supra-national level elections.

The advantages of taking election programs as a source for identifying political goals of parties are manifold:

1) Election programs 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, Hearl 1987:18).

2) Election programs are authoritative statements of party policies because the programs are usually ratified in party conventions.

3) Election programs 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 programs are published before every election. Thus, changes of policy preferences of parties over time can be studied.

Nevertheless, some scholars are suspicious about election programs. They argue that no voter ever reads a program, that election programs are mere shopping lists to attract voters, or that they are too vaguely formulated to assume any binding character for decision-taking of parties in parliament (Hofferbert/Klingemann/Volkens 1995). However, the mass media communicate the contents of programs during election campaigns and inform voters on subsequent actions deviating from programmatic pledges. Quantitative analyses of election programs reveal that programs usually contain quite a number of concrete pledges and that, on average across parties, elections, countries, and policy areas, about 70 percent of the concrete pledges of government parties are put into effect (Rallings 1987; Thomson 2001).

While the definition of 'manifesto' presented above may seem straightforward at first sight, many variations can occur across parties, elections, countries, levels, and times. The title of a manifesto can vary considerably, from 'Election Program of Party X', 'Program', 'Platform' or 'Action Intentions' to statements like 'We will make Australia prosper', and is a key component of documenting the coding process. The same is true for the number of pages. The sources of gathering the programs may be the parties themselves and in particular their websites, special election newspapers of parties but also regular newspapers. Furthermore, associated research and training institutes or publications, e.g. books with collections of programs, might be sources.

Specificities are especially important in those instances, when there is not one easily identifiable election manifesto available. Some parties issue more than one program, e.g. one long and one short version or specific programs for their first 100 days in office. Alliances and electoral blocks might issue one joint program or each party may keep its own programmatic statements. Some parties may also compete on the basis of a general program, containing long-term goals and ideological principles of parties, instead of a specific election programme. Should parties provide more than one version of an election program, be it a long and a short version or a machine-readable version via the webpage and a colourful hard-copy including many pictures, all versions need to be collected and send to the supervisor.

In some countries parties do not distribute ideal type election programs. The only texts available may be newspaper summaries as a condensed form of the parties' election pledges. In others, only reports of party spokesmen about policy preferences and goals for the upcoming legislature may be available. In such cases, these sources and all the available information on them need to be collected just as carefully. In any case the ideal type of a document which summarises authoritative statements of the party's policy preferences for electioneering should be retrieved if at all possible.

All users of the data strongly depend on the information they get from the coders, which needs to be as complete as possible. Hence, **Commandment No. 1 is crucial: Document titles, sources, number of pages and all specificities of texts and do so in a readily comprehensible way**. While only country coders as the country specialists can provide all these information, decisions on which programs are to be selected for coding will be taken by the supervisor based on recommendations of the coder.

Whenever there is machine-readable version of the texts available, they should be used for the documentation and coding. In these cases, the coders only need to send the coded text to the supervisor. If only hard copies of the manifestos are at hand, the coding and any information on the document must be legible in a scanned version. Furthermore, the coders need to count the codes and fill in the coding sheet (section 4.3).

4. The Coding Procedure

Central concern of any coding procedure is the comparability of its results. Hence, in principle, every coder should make the same decisions on the quantification and classification of any given manifesto. Therefore, the instructions in this handbook have to be studied thoroughly and followed to the core. The included training test is a crucial element in the training of the coders and provides valuable feedback to them. Thus, this test has to be taken before the actual coding can start. Equally important is to highlight that it is not sufficient to look at this handbook only once. Coders must read the manual several times and try to memorize all commandments, rules, and definitions of categories as far as possible. The more a coder can memorize the rules and definitions, the faster the production coding will be. Thus, **Commandment 2 is to read trough the whole manual before starting any work and to memorize commandments, rules, and definitions as far as possible.**

The specific kind of internal, quantitative analysis is derived from the question as to what ideas, policies, issues, and concerns parties stress in their manifestos. 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 programs by identifying the statements of preference expressed in the programs. In comparative perspective, specific issues and claims vary between parties, countries, and over time because all party systems differ to some degree in their status quo. Therefore, not all given

concepts play a role everywhere all the time. And in case of such broad comparative concepts, their definitions can never cover every possible specific issue and claim coming up somewhere someplace.

The CMP classification scheme captures policy preferences of parties as taken in their election programs (Budge 2001a, 2001b, 2002). Deductive (Budge/Farlie 1977) as well as inductive considerations (Budge 1993a, 1993b) have produced 56 Standard Categories covering all relevant policy areas and an average of 98 percent of program contents (Volkens 2001). 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 programs.

4.1. Quantification: The Coding Unit

The coding unit in any given program 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 is used as the most important guideline for identifying arguments. In its shortest form, a sentence contains a subject, a verb, and an attribute or adjective:

> We want worldwide peace.
> We will reduce our military forces.

Obviously, these two 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 to express the same political ideas:

> We want worldwide peace and will reduce our military forces.

In this case, the two statements are combined into one sentence but for our purposes they should be still treated as two different arguments. Whether parties use simple, short sentences or combine arguments into one long sentence is largely a matter of style. Because the results of our content analysis must be independent of style, long sentences are decomposed into 'quasi-sentences' if the argument changes within the sentence. In most cases, one sentence that covers two (or more) arguments can be easily transformed into two (or more) quasi-sentences by repeating substantives and/or verbs as shown by the two examples above. Thus, **Commandment No. 3 defines the coding unit as the quasi-sentence, given by a set of words containing one and only one political argument. It stops either at the end of an argument or at a full stop (period).**

A list of arguments, sometimes marked with hyphens or dots, is treated as if separated by full stops:

> In international policy we shall take new initiatives. We will:

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

This text contains six quasi-sentences. Two of the arguments (1. ban chemical weapons; 2. 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, two 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, begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases, increase aid to developing countries, and take action to protect the status of refugees.

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. However, the aim of identifying coding units is NOT to cut each and every sentence in as many quasi-sentences as there are categories or sub-categories given, which cover a part or one word of the sentence. The goal is to identify the overall argument in a sentence. Only unique new arguments may be cut into quasi-sentences. The following is an example for a very long sentence.

"Now a new historical period has begun – a period in which Russia should be cleansed from obscurantism and evil foreign and inner forces, a period of its revival as a great superpower, strong and peaceful, and democratic, free and prosperous, setting the whole world an example of real civilization and strong spirituality."(Russia, LDPR 2003)

At first sight, this sentence seems to contain arguments about peace, democracy, freedom, prosperity and various others. However, the overall argument here is patriotism. Accordingly, this sentence is not cut up.

These convoluted sentences are often found at the beginning and the end of a program, when parties summarize their ideas and preferences. If this is the case, leave the tricky parts to the end of the coding procedure. The main parts of the programs usually provide you with ideas on how to deal with long sentences without cutting them up into as many quasi-sentences as there are words.

> **Decision Rule No 1: Identifying Quasi- Sentences**
> 1. Copy the respective party program into the left column of a table with 2 columns, leave the right column for the codings (see section 5). Then, 2. start with reading the first paragraph, 3. look at each sentence of the first paragraph, 4. identify the number of arguments and transform them into (quasi-)sentences, and 5. mark all (quasi-)sentences in the first paragraph as shown in sample texts in section 5. Always think twice before you cut a sentence into several quasi-sentences. Always read the sentence again and consider whether there is a comprehensive argument that catches the meaning of those aspects that could be considered separately.

Some parts of the manifesto, 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 manifesto is defined as authoritative statements of parties. All the other parts of a manifesto 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 manifesto.

4.2. Classification: The Standard Coding Frame

In this project three types of comparisons are possible: a) comparisons of changes in policy preferences or in emphases over time within specific parties; b) differences in policy preferences or in emphases across parties; and, c) differences across countries. The basic data sought to support such comparisons are the shares of election programs devoted to each category in a set of standardised issue areas. Comparison requires standardisation. The Manifesto project, after much experimentation and discussion, developed a coding system, whereby each quasi-sentence of every election program is coded into one, and only one, of 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.

Party manifestos, however, differ tremendously between countries, parties, and over time. When trying to attribute specific policy issues to general categories attention should be paid to the fact that not every category is mentioned in every manifesto and that in the case of such broad comparative concepts, their definitions can never cover every possible specific issue coming up somewhere someplace. Therefore, **Commandment No. 4 is to have the handbook at hand at any time and use it whenever having the slightest doubt about unitising or scoring.** In case of any remaining doubt, check with the supervisor. Only they can decide where an issue not covered in a definition fits in.

Some manifestos may be easy to interpret because parties state clear arguments, i.e., those fitting easily to given definitions of categories, in simple sentences. Parties often repeat positions by treating lasting problems and hot topics in some detail. In these cases, a quick check of the definition may suffice for handling large parts of texts. But **Commandment No. 5** reads **'beware of**

your expectations.' Publicly known positions of party elites may deviate from party program majorities. Although this difference may be small in elite-steered parties, even these parties can state opposite positions, even within one and the same sentence, when weighting the pros and cons of some topic.

The goal is to measure the policy preferences of parties in all policy areas, i.e., welfare, education, economy, environment, etc. In all of these cases, policy preferences are defined as the currently held views, either positive or negative, on goals, positions, tasks, and issues of the political debate about material and ideational interests and conflicts. This type of statement is covered by the CMP Standard Classification scheme for policy preferences of national manifestos, made up of 56 Standard Categories in three-digit codes. Some of these 56 categories cover bipolar positions, such as (504) 'Welfare State Expansion' and (505) 'Welfare State Limitation', others are unipolar, such as (501) 'Environmental Protection: Positive' because no party openly opposes these valence issues.

Table 1: 56 Standard Policy Preferences in Seven Policy Domains

Domain 1: External Relations
- 101   Foreign Special Relationships: Positive
- 102   Foreign Special Relationships: Negative
- 103   Anti-Imperialism: Positive
- 104   Military: Positive
- 105   Military: Negative
- 106   Peace: Positive
- 107   Internationalism: Positive
- 108   European Integration: Positive
- 109   Internationalism: Negative
- 110   European Integration: Negative

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy
- 201   Freedom and Human Rights: Positive
- 202   Democracy: Positive
- 203   Constitutionalism: Positive
- 204   Constitutionalism: Negative

Domain 3: Political System
- 301   Decentralisation: Positive
- 302   Centralisation: Positive
- 303   Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive
- 304   Political Corruption: Negative
- 305   Political Authority: Positive

Domain 4: Economy
- 401   Free Enterprise: Positive
- 402   Incentives: Positive
- 403   Market Regulation: Positive
- 404   Economic Planning: Positive
- 405   Corporatism: Positive
- 406   Protectionism: Positive
- 407   Protectionism: Negative
- 408   Economic Goals
- 409   Keynesian Demand Management: Positive
- 410   Economic Growth
- 411   Technology and Infrastructure: Positive
- 412   Controlled Economy: Positive
- 413   Nationalisation: Positive
- 414   Economic Orthodoxy: Positive
- 415   Marxist Analysis: Positive
- 416   Anti-Growth Economy: Positive

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life
- 501   Environmental Protection: Positive
- 502   Culture: Positive
- 503   Social Justice: Positive
- 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: Positive
- 606   Social Harmony: Positive
- 607   Multiculturalism: Positive
- 608   Multiculturalism: Negative

Domain 7: Social Groups
- 701   Labour Groups: Positive
- 702   Labour Groups: Negative
- 703   Agriculture: Positive
- 704   Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive
- 705   Minority Groups: Positive
- 706   Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive

The coding categories are designed, as far as possible, to be comparable between parties, countries, and over time. Policy preferences range from pledges for action taking after the election during the upcoming legislative period to statements of some concern over the election campaign. Parties in government also include evaluations of their former deeds. **Commandment No. 6 defines such a preference for a policy, long- or short-term, as constituting the main emphasis of a sentence.**

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 8** 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.

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 program:

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

Decision Rule 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 in the right column of the table or 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.

Not all coders may be familiar with all the terms used in this handbook or in the manifestos. **Commandment No. 7 is to check terms whenever the coder is in doubt about the meaning of a term.** In most cases, Wikipedia provides quick explanations, comprehensive enough for most purposes.

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' are such cases. 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. Thus, **Commandment 8** reads: **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 Subcategories for Transitional Democracies

Some quasi-sentences may contain country-specific issues which are not particularly mentioned in the definition of the category but can nonetheless be subsumed under it. 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. Subcategories are divisions of the Standard Categories for analysing some details that are otherwise hidden or merged in the broader categories. They can be attached to standard categories without destroying the overall comparability as long as they are subsumed under and can be aggregated into one of the standard categories. The typical three-digit code of the Standard Manifesto Coding Scheme takes on a four-digit structure in the subcategory. The last digit is telling us that we are dealing with a subcategory. The precedent three-digits are just the same as those of the standard categories. 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.

For content analysing the election programs of the developing East European party systems the following subcategories have been used:

Table 2:   Subcategories to be Used for Parties in Transitional Democracies

Domain 1: External Relations
1011	Russia/USSR/CIS: Positive
1012	Western States: Positive
1013	Eastern European Countries: positive
1014	Baltic States: Positive
1015	Nordic Council: Positive
1016	SFR Yugoslavia: Positive
1021	Russia/USSR/CIS: Negative
1022	Western States: Negative
1023	East European Countries: Negative
1024	Baltic States: Negative
1025	Nordic Council: Negative
1026	SFR Yugoslavia: Negative
1031	Russian Army: Negative
1032	Independence: Positive
1033	Rights of Nations: Positive

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy
2021	Transition to Democracy
2022	Restrictive Citizenship
2023	Lax Citizenship
2031	Presidential Regime: Positive
2032	Republic: Positive
2041	Monarchy: Positive

Domain 3: Political System
3011	Republican Powers: Positive
3051	Public Situation: Negative
3052	Communist: Positive
3053	Communist: Negative
3054	Rehabilitation and Compensation
3055	Political Coalitions

Domain 4: Economy
4011	Privatisation: Positive
4012	Control of Economy: Negative
4013	Property-Restitution: Positive
4014	Privatisation Vouchers: Positive
4121	Social Ownership: Positive
4122	Mixed Economy: Positive
4123	Publicly-Owned Industry: Positive
4124	Socialist Property: Positive
4131	Property-Restitution: Negative
4132	Privatisation: Negative

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life
5021	Private-Public Mix in Culture
5031	Private-Public Mix in Social Justice
5041	Private-Public Mix in Welfare
5061	Private-Public Mix in Education

Domain 6: Fabric of Society
6011	The Karabakh Issue
6012	Rebuilding the USSR
6013	National Security
6061	General Crisis
6071	Cultural Autonomy: Positve
6072	Multiculturalism pro Roma
6081	Multiculturalism against Roma

Domain 7: Social Groups
7051	Minorities Inland
7052	Minorities Abroad
7061	War Participants
7062	Refugees

For Cyprus, the subcategory **6014 'Cyprus Issue'** was created, for Mexico, the subcategory **2033 'Checks and Balances'** was introduced. Definitions of all subcategories are given in Section 9.

Up to now, subcategories have been mainly created for East European parties to allow studying party systems in the making. For some party systems, subcategories were also coded for a more country-specific analysis of programmatic

party competition. As such, subcategories are part of the standard classification of policy preferences. But creating new subcategories should be avoided as far as possible, because the overall comparability of the manifesto data is reduced to the standard categories.

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.**

To check with the supervisor before creating a sub-category is crucial since coders tend to diversify the existing standard categories into subcategories. Even trained coders tend to create too many subcategories, i.e. subcategories containing only one or two quasi-sentences. From more than 80 subcategories that had been created for transitional countries, 30 were re-aggregated into the main Standard Categories because they were almost empty and fitted to one the Standard Categories.

4.2.3 Coding Problems and Difficulties

Coding problems may concern unitizing or/and scoring. As with uncodable sentences, all unclear statements should be marked and reread at the end of the coding procedure.

4.2.3.1 Problems with Unitising

To prevent unitising mistakes, Commandment No. 9 spells out that whenever coding units are in doubt, the respective sentence must be coded twice, in two logically different rounds, and the two solutions for unitising have to be cross-checked before a final decision is taken on breaking up a sentence into quasi-sentences. In a first round, coders should choose one code for the overarching preference of the whole sentence and finish the coding of all the sentences of the whole paragraph or section. In the second round, a separate row of codes for the quasi-sentences will be added. The inference from both rows of codes should then be compared to the qualitative arguments. For example, let us suppose that a sentence-based coding of a paragraph or section produces 6 codes, 3 for welfare state expansion and 3 for environmental protection, whereas a quasi-sentence-based

coding of the same paragraph or section produces 12 codes with 3 for welfare state expansion and 9 for environmental protection. The sentence-based coding paints the picture of a party that is equally in favour of welfare and environment, whereas the quasi-sentence-based coding leaves the impression of a party overwhelmingly concerned with the environment. These different impressions can then be compared to the arguments given in the whole section. The quantitative codes should give a balanced view; they should 'mirror' the qualitative arguments as far as possible.

In case of remaining doubts, ask the supervisor!

4.2.3.2 Problems with Scoring

a. No category seems to apply

The coding frame was created to capture the total manifesto 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, **Commandment No. 10 is that sentences should be coded if at all possible.** To follow this 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 4: 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 once 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 just have been forgotten.

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 5: 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 commandment to classify quasi-sentences if at all possible, all quasi-sentences treated as uncodable must be checked again after coding the total program.

b. More than one category seems to apply

The opposite difficulty arises if more than one category seems to apply. The Standard Classification Scheme was developed to cover the whole content of election programs. Election programs do not only mention policy preferences, but also include preferences about the polity and the politics of the country. The term 'polity' refers to the institutional dimension of political systems, covering all political institutions such as electoral rules and principles of decision making as well as the organisations of interest intermediation and governance. The term 'politics' refers to all processes of interest intermediation and governance. A classification scheme covering the whole content of national election programs should also allow for coding these polity and politics preferences. Some categories such as (203) 'Constitutionalism: Positive' and (204) 'Constitutionalism: Negative' address the polity, others such as (303) 'Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive' address politics, still others such as (301) 'Decentralisation: Positive' and (302) 'Centralisation: Positive' include polity, politics, as well as policy issues.

The problem of multiple coding solutions occurs when polity, politics, and/or policy arguments are combined into one sentence:

'Because we want worldwide peace, we will add this goal to our constitution.'

In this case, the polity is merely a means to achieve a policy goal. This difficulty can be dealt with by applying the following decision rules:

> ### *Decision Rule No 6: Policy Goals "Beat" Politics, Polity, and Policy Means*
>
> Whenever a sentence combines the means with the achievement of a policy goal, the policy goal is to be chosen.

These general decision rules often apply to the following specific choices:

> ### *Decision Rule No 7: Specific Policy Positions "Beat" (303) 'Efficiency'*
>
> Whenever there is a choice between category (303) 'Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive', defined as the need for efficiency and economy in government and administration, and another policy category from Domains 1 to 7, the specific policy position is to be chosen.

> ### *Decision Rule No 8: 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.

And example for the rule that policy goals beat policy means is provided by the following sentence:

"We will achieve world wide peace by disarmament."

The argument in this sentence is 'Peace' (106), not 'Military Negative' (105)

The problem of choosing between two categories also 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 9: 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. Whenever agriculture is positively mentioned, code 703 has to be used.

In addition to the aforementioned cases of choice, there is one category, (408) 'General Economic Goals', which is non–positional and should, therefore, be avoided if possible.

Decision Rule No 10: 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.

Even after applying these decision rules, one may still not be sure where an argument is leading. In many cases, section headings can be used to make a decision:

Decision Rule No 11: Section Headings as Guidelines

Look at the section heading of the quasi–sentence in question. Then, take the category which 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.

Many of these problems may be solved by taking the context of the ambiguous quasi–sentence into account. Coders should first of all study the sentences that follow because the first quasi–sentence may be part of an argument explicated in the next sentences. Therefore, it is always useful to start the coding procedure by reading the whole paragraph.

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 12: European Level and National Level

Policies at the European level may be discussed with respect to their impact at the national 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.

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scoring problems often occur with the introductory parts and the summary of long programs as well as with short programs. In both cases, many arguments are typically condensed into very few

sentences, often containing numerous commas and semicolons. In case of such difficulties, the rest of the manifesto should be coded before the introductory part is tackled as this will give hints on how to solve the riddles of the introductory sentences.

In case of very short programs with just one to five pages, unitising and scoring decisions concerning a few sentences can change the result of the content analysis. Therefore, the following decision rule should be applied:

Decision Rule No 13: Double-check each Code Chosen for Short Manifestos

Short manifestos have to be coded twice because each coding decision is particularly crucial. In case of short programs, make sure that no argument is neglected due to decision rules 6 to 10. Make sure that the numerical coding solution mirrors all qualitative arguments given in such short programs, even if they are hidden in subordinate clauses.

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c. The statement seems unclear

Even after applying Decision Rules No 1 to 13, 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 into account the following sentences because the first (quasi-) sentence may be part of an argument which 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. Thus, if a party claims that a measure favours employees, (701) 'Labour Groups: Positive' has to be coded although you may feel sure that it is to their detriment.

As with uncodable sentences, all unclear statements should be marked and reread at the end of coding. The reason is that many statements which may be uncodable at first sight may become clear in the context of the whole program.

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 sentence in question should be translated into English and the supervisor should be contacted. From 1989 to 2009 Andrea Volkens (volkens@wzb.eu) served as the central supervisor. From 01.11.2009 onwards Annika Werner takes this position (werner@wzb.eu).

4.3 Coding Sheet

After finishing the coding of a manifesto, 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 absolute 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 Decision Rule No 1, first of all take the following step:

> **Rule No 14: Do not start with production coding before having done the training and entry tests given in section 6 and 7 of the handbook because both tests are used for identifying coding mistakes. Thus, wait for the reply of the supervisor or you might have to do it all over again!**

Coding Sheet for 56 Standard Categories

COUNTRY:	PARTY:	YEAR:
000:	410:	
101:	411:	
102:	412:	
103:	413:	
104:	414:	
105:	415:	
106:	416:	
107:	501:	
108:	502:	
109:	503:	
110:	504:	
201:	505:	
202:	506:	
203:	507:	
204:	601:	
301:	602:	
302:	603:	
303:	604:	
304:	605:	
305:	606:	
401:	607:	
402:	608:	
403:	701:	
404:	702:	
405:	703:	
406:	704:	
407:	705:	
408:	706:	
409:	Total N:	

Coding Sheet for 56 Standard Categories plus Subcategories

COUNTRY: **PARTY:** **YEAR:**

000	409:	706:	3055:
101:	410:	1011:	4011:
102:	411:	1012:	4012:
103:	412:	1013:	4013:
104:	413:	1014:	4014:
105:	414:	1015:	4121:
106:	415:	1016:	4122:
107:	416:	1021:	4123:
108:	501:	1022:	4124:
109:	502:	1023:	4131:
110:	503:	1024:	4132:
201:	504:	1025:	5021:
202:	505:	1026:	5031:
203:	506:	1031:	5041:
204:	507:	1032:	5061:
301:	601:	1033:	6011:
302:	602:	2021:	6012:
303:	603:	2022:	6013:
304:	604:	2023:	6014:
305:	605:	2031:	6061:
401:	606:	2032:	6071:
402:	607:	2033:	6072:
403:	608:	2041:	6081:
404:	701:	3011:	7051:
405:	702:	3051:	7052:
406:	703:	3052:	7061:
407:	704:	3053:	7062:
408:	705:	3054:	Total N:

5. Coding Exercise

The following sample texts with solutions for the identification of quasi-sentences and categories serve as exercises of coding.

Country: Great Britian
Name of the Party/Alliance: The Liberal/SDP Alliance
Year: 1983

Title: 'Working together for Britain'
(Extracts)

The General Election on June 9th, 1983 will be seen as a watershed in British politics. ▮   000

It may be recalled as the fateful day when depression became hopelessness and the slide of the post-war years accelerated into the depths of decline. ▮ Alternatively it may be remembered as the turning point when the people of this country, at the eleventh hour, decided to turn their backs on dogma and bitterness and chose a new road of partnership and progress. ▮   000   000

It is to offer real hope of a fresh start for Britain that the Alliance between our two parties has been created. ▮ What we have done is unique in the history of British parliamentary democracy. ▮ Two parties, one with a proud history, and one born only two years ago out of a frustration with the old systems of politics, have come together to offer an alternative government pledged to bring the country together again. ▮   305   305   606

The Conservative and Labour parties between them have made an industrial wasteland out of a country which was once the workshop of the world. ▮ Manufacturing output from Britain is back to the level of nearly 20 years ago. ▮ Unemployment is still rising and there are now generations of school-leavers who no longer even hope for work. ▮ Mrs Thatcher's government stands idly by, hoping that the blind forces of the marketplace will restore the jobs and factories that its indifference has destroyed. ▮ The Labour Party's response is massive further nationalisation, a centralised state socialist economy and rigid controls over enterprise. ▮ The choice which Tories and socialists offer at this election is one between neglect and interference. ▮ Neither of them understands that it is only by working together in the companies and communities of Britain that we can overcome the economic problems which beset us. ▮ Meanwhile the very fabric of our common life together deteriorates. ▮ The record wave of violence and crime and increased personal stress are all signs of a society at war with itself. ▮ Rundown cities and declining rural services alike tell a story of a warped sense of priorities by successive governments. ▮ Mrs Thatcher promised 'to bring harmony where there is discord'. ▮ Instead her own example of confrontation has inflamed the bitterness so many people feel at what has happened to their own lives and local communities. ▮   305   410   408   305   305   305   606   606   605   606   606   606

Our Alliance wants to call a halt to confrontation politics. ▮ We believe   606

we have set an example by working together as two separate parties within an alliance of principle. ▞ Our whole approach is based on co-operation: not just between our parties but between management and workers, between people of different races and above all between government and people. ▞ Because we are not prisoners of ideology we shall listen to the people we represent and ensure that the good sense of the voters is allowed to illuminate the corridors of Westminster and Whitehall. ▞

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STRATEGY FOR INDUSTRIAL SUCCESS

The Alliance is alone in recognising that Britain's industrial crisis cannot be solved by short-term measures such as import controls or money supply targets. ▞ Our crisis goes deep. ▞ Its roots lie in the class divisions of our society, ▞ in the vested interests of the Tory and Labour parties, ▞ in the refusal of management and unions to wide democracy in industry, ▞ in the way profits and risks are shared. ▞

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The policies offered by the two class-based parties will further divide the nation North v South, Management v Labour. ▞ Our greatest need is to build a sense of belonging to one community. ▞ We are all in it together. ▞ It is impossible for one side or the other in Britain to 'win'. ▞ Conflict in industrial relations means that we all lose. ▞

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The Alliance is committed to policies which will invest resources in the high-technology industries of the future. ▞ We are committed to a major new effort in education and training. ▞ We are pledged to trade union reform to tough anti-monopoly measures. ▞

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THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS: JOBS AND PRICES

Our economic crisis demands tough immediate action. ▞ It also requires a Government with the courage to implement those strategic and structural reforms which alone can end the civil war between the two sides of industry. ▞

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The immediate priority is to reduce unemployment. Why? ▞ To the Alliance unemployment is a scandal; ▞ robbing men and women of their careers; ▞ blighting the prospects for a quarter of all our young people, ▞ wasting our national resources, ▞ aborting our chances of industrial recovery, ▞ dividing our nation ▞ and fuelling hopelessness and crime. ▞

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Much of the present unemployment is a direct result of the civil war in British industry, of restrictive practices and low investment. ▞ But in addition, conservative Government policies have caused unemployment to rise. ▞ An Alliance Government would cause unemployment to fall. How? ▞ Can it be done without releasing a fresh wave of inflation? ▞

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We believe it can. ▞ We propose a carefully devised and costed jobs programme aimed at reducing unemployment by 1 million over two years. ▞

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This programme will be supported by immediate measures to help those hardest hit by the slump - the disadvantaged, the pensioners, the poor. ▰ 503

Ours is a programme of mind, heart and will. ▰ It is a programme that will work! The Programme has three points: ▰ Fiscal and Financial Policies for Growth; ▰ Direct Action to provide jobs; ▰ An Incomes Strategy that will stick. ▰ 404 404 410 504 701

PARTERNSHIP IN INDUSTRY

Britain has made little progress towards industrial democracy, yet several of our European partners have long traditions of participation and co-operation backed by legislation. ▰ They do not face the obstacles to progress with which our divisive industrial relations present us. ▰To be fully effective, proposals for participation in industry need to be buttressed by action on two fronts: ▰ a major extension of profit sharing and worker share-ownership to give people a real stake where they work as well as the ability to participate in decision-taking, ▰ and reform of the trade unions to make them genuinely representative institutions. ▰ 202 606 202 701 202

PARTICIPATION AT WORK

We propose enabling legislation that will offer a flexible and sensible approach: ▰ 202

An Industrial Democracy Act to provide for the introduction of employee participation at all levels, ▰ incentives for employee share-ownership, ▰ employee rights to information, ▰and an Industrial Democracy Agency (IDA) to advise on and monitor the introduction of these measures: ▰ 202 701 201 202

Employee Councils covering each place of work (subject to exemption for small units) for all companies employing over 1,000 people. ▰ Smaller companies would also be encouraged to introduce Employee Councils. ▰ 202 202

GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY

Priority for Industry

The role of an Alliance government in relation to private industry will be to provide selective assistance taking a number of forms: ▰ 402

an industrial credit scheme to provide low-interest, long-term finance for projects directed at modernising industry; ▰ 402

A national innovation policy, to provide selective assistance for high-risk projects, ▰ ▰particularly involving the development of new technologies ▰ and for research and development in potential growth industries; ▰ 402 411 410

Public purchasing policies to stimulate innovation, ▰ encourage the introduction of crucial technologies▰ and aid small businesses; ▰ 411 411

we will establish a Cabinet Committee chaired by the Prime Minster at the centre of decision-taking on all policies with a bearing on the performance of industry. ◢ 303

The Alliance will strengthen the Monopolies' and Mergers' Commission to ensure its ability to prevent monopoly and unhealthy concentrations of industrial and commercial power. ◢The aim is to guarantee fair competition and to protect the interests of employers, consumers and shareholders. ◢ 403 403

New and Small Business

To encourage the growth of new and small businesses, we will attack red tape and provide further financial and management assistance by: ◢ 402

Extending the Loan Guarantee Scheme, in the first instance raising the maximum permitted loan to £150,000; ◢ and the Business Start-Up Scheme, raising the upper limit for investment to £75,000; ◢ and introducing Small Firm Investment Companies to provide financial and management help; ◢ 402 402 402

zero-rating building repairs and maintenance for VAT purposes◢ and reducing commercial rates by 10 per cent; ◢ 402 402

making sure the Department of Industry co-ordinates and publicises schemes for small businesses◢and that government aid ceases to discriminate against small businesses; ◢ 402 402

Tailoring national legislation such as the Health and Safety Regulations to the needs of small businesses◢ and amending the statutory sick pay scheme to exclude small businesses. ◢ 402 402

Agriculture and Fisheries

Agriculture is an important industry and employer. ◢To encourage its further development we will: ◢ 703 703

Increase Government support for effective agricultural marketing at home and abroad◢ and continue support for 'Food from Britain'; ◢ 703 703

ensure that agriculture has access like other industries to the industrial credit scheme we propose; ◢ 703

encourage greater access to farming, especially by young entrants. ◢ 703

The Alliance is determined to safeguard the future of our fishing industry which needs help to re-build after years of uncertainty and the drastic consequences for the deep-sea fleet of 200-mile limits in the waters they used to fish. ◢ 703

Education and training

The third basic condition for industrial success is a people with the skills and self-confidence that will be needed for the challenges of new technology. ▌ The education and training systems are not providing enough people with the skills necessary to make them employable and the country successful in competition with its rivals. ▌ We are falling further behind. ▌Japan on present plans will be educating all its young people to the age of 18 by 1990. ▌More than 90 per cent of the 16–19 age group in Germany gain recognised technical qualifications. ▌ And it is not just a matter of school–leavers. ▌ Our managers are less professionally qualified than our main competitors. ▌ From the bottom to top we are underskilled, and this has to be put right if we are to prosper in future. ▌ To do this, to raise standards in education and training and to improve their effectiveness is the object of proposals set out in the next Section. ▌

Country: New Zealand
Name of the Party/Alliance: National Party
Year: 1972

Title: A Guide to what the next National Government will do for New Zealand
(Extracts)

THE ECONOMY

In 1972 New Zealand had, for the first time, more overseas reserves than total overseas debt. ▰ Labour has dissipated these reserves, borrowed about $2,00 million overseas and incurred annual interest charges mortgaging almost our total export earnings from butter and cheese. ▰

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Inflation in 1972 was about 5 per cent, the second lowest of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations. ▰ Today it is about 15 per cent, well above the OECD average, ▰ and New Zealand has an external deficit per head of population second only to Iceland. ▰

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The first three years of the coming National Government will be very largely devoted to restoring New Zealand's shattered economy. ▰

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Continuous attention to economic trends and problems will replace stop-go and panic measures. ▰ And the taxation system will be used to give incentives for desirable economic activity. ▰

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We will take steps to stimulate savings. ▰ Savings accounts, limited as to amount, will be established. ▰ The deposits of individuals will earn an interest rate at least equal to the annual rate of inflation thus preserving the purchasing power of savings. ▰

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We believe that continued double-figure inflation will destroy the basis of the New Zealand economy and cause untold misery. ▰ The fight against increases in the cost of living is the most important single issue in economic management. ▰

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People without jobs represent waste of productive effort: ▰ National supports a policy of full employment ▰ and the dignity of labour. ▰ We do not accept unemployment as a balancing factor in economic management. ▰

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Finally, the National Development Council will be restored and consultation resumed between Government departments, academic specialists and private industry, including farming and organised labour. ▰ The vital role of every section of productive industry will be recognised. ▰

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It is these moves which will put New Zealand on the way to economic recovery. ▰ And reduce the spiraling rate of inflation. ▰

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SUPERANNUATION

Seldom has any policy released by an opposition party had the impact that the National Superannuation scheme has had. ▰ It is designed to give every New Zealander dignity and a decent income in retirement. ▰ Here's how it will operate: ▰

Anyone who is 60 years old, or more, and who has lived in New Zealand for at least ten years will receive National Superannuation, starting next year. ▰ And with three big annual jumps in the rate of benefit it will be fully operating by 1978. ▰

To guarantee our elderly retired folk a decent minimum income, the full rate of National Superannuation, for a married couple, will be 80% of the average weekly ordinary time wage. ▰ It will be recalculated every six months. ▰

In 1976, to start the scheme, the rate will be 65% of the average wage; ▰ in 1977 it will be raised to 70% ▰ and in 1978 to the full 80%. ▰ The rate for single persons, at all times, will be 60% of the married rate. ▰

The present average weekly wage is $99 and so, if there is no increase at all in wage rates in the next three years, the rates of National Superannuation will be shown in the box* below (*box not shown). ▰

Next year, under National, the age and universal superannuation benefits will merge to form National Superannuation. ▰

At present both these benefits pay $51.26 to a married couple and $30.75 to a single person, so even in the first year of National Superannuation, a married couple over 60 who have no other income will have $6.18 a week more to spend than they do now and a single beneficiary will receive, after tax, $3.15 a week more than he now gets by way of age benefits, or universal superannuation. ▰

Of course those with other income will receive the benefit too, but they will pay more tax on their bigger incomes. ▰

By 1978 a married couple will receive a net $18.06 a week more than the present age benefit or universal annuation and a single person will be receiving a net $10.17 a week more. ▰ For the single person, that is a pay rise of more than 33%. ▰

The big and comforting thing about National Superannuation is that everyone gets it, just so long as they have lived in New Zealand for ten years or more and are aged 60 or over. ▰

They will not, nor will anyone, be expected to make special contributions over a period of years, in order to qualify. ▰ The scheme is financed out of ordinary taxation so there is nothing to be deducted from wages; no special payments of any kind. ▰

This means that the present age beneficiary will receive National

Superannuation next year. ⁄ So will the retired Government servant (in addition to the pension from the Government superannuation fund which he had paid for). ⁄ And so will all the people who are drawing pensions from company and other private superannuation schemes. ⁄

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In recent weeks, the Government has been making moves to compensate for the weaknesses revealed in their own scheme, when compared with National's. ⁄ But the fact remains that National's is the only superannuation scheme that offers a fair deal to everyone in their years of retirement. ⁄

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WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Since 1975 is International Women's Year, it can be expected that all political parties will talk a great deal about their 'women's policies'. ⁄ Unfortunately most will be little more than window dressing. ⁄ National's plans go far beyond this. ⁄

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We will begin by introducing legislation to remove existing legal discrimination relating to women, ⁄ and to prohibit discrimination against any person by reason of sex. ⁄

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We will also establish a Human Rights Commission which will ensure that equal rights legislation is enforced and that women have an effective and inexpensive means of redress. ⁄ The Commission will investigate cases of discrimination presented to it and recommend civil action to the Attorney-General. ⁄

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Full consideration will be given to the recommendations of the Select Committee on Women's Rights. ⁄ We will set priorities for implementation, in consultation with women's organisations. ⁄

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We will legislate to ensure that all areas of discrimination in employment are removed ⁄ and that merit is the sole criterion in respect of job applications, selection and promotion. ⁄

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To encourage women who wish to enter, return to or remain in employment, National will encourage employers to establish flexible working patterns, such as glide time, part-time, job sharing, and multi-shift work. ⁄ Thus assisting women who undertake the dual role of worker and mother. ⁄

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We will give special attention to the problems associated with re-entry to the work force and ensure that greater job retraining opportunities are available. ⁄

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Maternity leave without pay will be available to women for a period of up to 12 weeks, without loss of job security, promotion or superannuation rights, providing this does not cause undue disruption to a business enterprise. ⁄

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The new National Government will appoint women to boards, commissions and tribunals and will give consideration to the appointment of women as industrial mediators. ⁄

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We will also support increased participation of women in the judicial

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system and recognise no sex barriers in the exercise of any judicial office. ◢ 503
Suitably qualified women will be given exactly the same consideration as men. ◢

National will ensure that early childhood education is generally 506
available (where feasible) as an integral part of the education system. ◢ Priority 411
will be given to such areas as new housing suburbs and regenerated inner city
areas. ◢

Financial assistance will be provided through approved voluntary 504
agencies to establish centres for those children who need day care but whose
parents cannot afford to pay the full cost. ◢

National will also promote and encourage job training and retraining, 411
"second chance" education ◢ and promote a policy of life-long education for 706
women. ◢

We will tackle the problems women face with housing. ◢ Under National 706
the Housing Corporation will not differentiate between men and women 503
borrowers on grounds of sex. ◢

We will introduce a flexible principal repayment plan to meet those 706
cases where the wife works, leaves the work force to raise a family and then
returns to work. ◢

The National Party believes all women must have the opportunity to 503
participate on the basis of full equality in the social, cultural, economic and
political spheres of New Zealand society. ◢

6. Training Test

The following pages have to be coded as a training test. A copy of this text with the marked quasi-sentences and the number of identified categories in the margin of the pages has to be send to the supervisor. The supervisor evaluates the test and sends a comprehensive reply to the coder, giving feedback on mistakes and general problems. Thereby, the coder is able to learn about the pitfalls of manifesto coding intensively. The coder should be aware that this training test is based on a very difficult text. No coder is expected to code without any mistakes and hardly any coder is ever going to come across such a difficult manifesto in his or her actual manifesto coding. The purpose is simply to trigger mistakes so that these mistakes can be avoided in the production coding.

After the training test is completed, sent to the supervisor and their feedback received and intensively studied, a final entry test has to be taken, which can be found in section 7. This entry test has to be checked by the supervisor before the actual coding is started to check whether the correspondence in coding is sufficiently high.

Country: Australia
Name of the Party/Alliance: National Country Party
Year: 1966

Title: We will grow, prosper
(extracts)

'WE WILL GROW, PROSPER'
The Deputy Prime Minister (Mr McEwen) said last night all the Government's policies were aimed at building an Australia respected and trusted throughout the world. Mr McEwen, delivering the Country party policy speech at Sheparton, said: The country party, the Government, has one constant and continuing policy objective – to make Australia strong, safe, prosperous; to build a modern Australia, with equal opportunity for all:
where the aged, and the infirm, are looked after;
where the young are well educated, properly trained, to play their part in making the greater Australia of the future;
where every man, woman and child – native–born Australians and migrants alike – can live in freedom, enjoying the rewards of their own efforts, obtaining their just share of the wealth of the community.
Under our coalition Government's policies, Australia's advance has been remarkable.
Here are the results of the 17 years of our responsibility in Government:
3.5 million more people since we came to office – half of them migrants;
1.25 million new jobs (1.6 million new homes built);

tremendous increases in wool production; wheat, meat, sugar, dairy products, fruit and so on – with fewer workers.

The volume of exports more than doubled.

More than 20,000 new factories; factory production increased two and a half times.

Mineral production more than doubled.

2,5 million more vehicles on the road – a car for every four people;

unprecedented developments in community services; roads, dams, power houses, hospitals, schools.

Industries everywhere are creating new wealth, ultimately distributed for all the people in better wages, social services and health, in education and defence.

In 17 years the total production of Australia, including all primary and secondary industries and the service industries which go with them, has doubled.

If in 1949, in a policy speech I had said: 'Put the Country party and the Liberal party in power and our policies will double the size of the Australian economy in 17 years', this would have been treated with derision. But we have done it!

This is a story of growth; of increasing national strength; greater safety; higher prosperity; sharing the prosperity.

Three years ago, we said our policies would produce 25 per cent growth over five years. Despite the disastrous drought, this objective is well in sight. I now say the next five years will see this rate continued.

We are determined that successive generations of Australians will enjoy an even greater measure than we do, an Australian way of life of which we can be proud, and the rest of the world envy.

ALLIANCES

In today's world, no country can stand alone. Safety and security demand that our own growing strength be allied with that of others who share our beliefs in the right of free people to remain free. This is the basis of our foreign policy.

We must be sure that if our freedom is threatened we will not be left to stand alone. So we are concerned with the integrity of other small, free countries.

The respect for Australia as a staunch and reliable ally has never been higher. Our great association with Britain and the Commonwealth have been strengthened. We have stood with Britain in preserving the security of Malaysia.

Under the AZEUS Treaty we, with New England, have established a great alliance with the United States.

Under SEATO we are linked with Britain, the United States and France, and with Asian countries from Pakistan to the Philippines.

PRUDENCE

We help the less-developed countries with aid, and we were the first in the world to give tariff preference to them.

We strive constantly for peace, through the United Nations, and will do so unceasingly.

But prudence and security demand that we work also for strong and lasting alliances. The most powerful country in the world – the United States – will be with us to protect our freedom if we are threatened with aggression, just as the United States today is protecting the freedom of the people of South Vietnam from communist aggression.

The United States seeks no material gain, fighting this distant war. Australia seeks only to prove that aggression will not succeed.

And as Australia herself would expect help if in need, we now demonstrate that we are willing to extend our help to a small, free people under attack.

We want to so conduct ourselves that the United States will not hesitate to stand between Australia and an aggressor. America is the one country that can do this.

Our troops in South Vietnam earn for us the right to the protection of the United States and our other treaty allies, should Australia be threatened.

Voluntary recruiting has not produced the numbers of men required for the Army. The Government did try, long and hard, to enlist sufficient men as volunteers.

Despite all its efforts not enough men came forward to enable us to play our present part with the British in Malaysia and the Americans in South Vietnam. So we have added to the ranks of our volunteer regular army the necessary numbers of national servicemen to meet the nation's requirements.

To say that we would honor our obligations with the United States and our other allies only if enough volunteers came forward would show Australia as a very uncertain ally.

American conscripts have helped to save us once. No Australian would suggest that we were not grateful that they defended us in our day of peril.

Surely no responsible Australian would suggest that, in the absence of sufficient volunteers, we should wait until war reaches Australia itself before we called conscripts to the protection of our homeland.

We in the Government are sure that we have acted properly in bringing in National Service so that we may join with America in her stand to prevent the outward expansion of aggressive communism.

Of course, safety is not secured only by modern defence forces and alliances. There must be great economic strength – an industrial base capable of servicing and maintaining today's complex military operations; food and mineral production for our own needs, and to earn foreign exchange; good roads and railways; efficient ports.

Defence security and economic strength go hand in hand. Our policies promote economic strength. Look at the primary industries.

By 1964, before the calamitous drought total farm output was 67 per cent higher than when we came to office.

Wool, still the great foreign country earner, has nearly doubled in production since the war. Wool has been helped by the Japanese Trade Treaty; taxation incentives; huge expenditure on research and technology; and Government–supported promotion activity.

CROP RECORD

Wheatgrowers are about to harvest what could be an all-time record crop; double the average crop of the early 'fifties'. The guaranteed price covers more than 200 million bushels each harvest. This has given the industry the confidence necessary for expansion.

Total bounty payments provided by our Government to the dairy industry, to offset high costs and difficult markets, have amounted to just on 3500 million. A quarter of a million people depend on the dairy industry.

The great sugar industry has a fair price in the home market; a good price for sales under the agreement with Britain; negotiated access for profitable sales to America. The Japanese Trade Treaty has made Japan our biggest sugar customer.

In my policy speech, three years ago, I said: 'If problems arise, we will be ready to help.' We have helped.

The sugar industry, through no fault of its own, is in serious temporary difficulty. It asked for, and our Government has given a loan of $19 million to augment pool payments from this year's crop.

For Australian beef producers, negotiated access to the United States market, and now to Japan, has been worth millions.

We have legislated to give effect to marketing or stabilisation plans for canned and dried fruits, for eggs, and also for tobacco, which has been lifted from a peasant industry to one of high average incomes.

Cotton is taking dramatic strides forward under the stimulus of our policies.

There are problems - in the apple and pear industry; in dairying; the British move towards the European Common Market; the never-ending job of gaining access to markets. Much has been achieved in meeting these problems. We will never let up in our efforts.

EXPANSION

Our policies for secondary industry are policies for growth, sound expansion, jobs, jobs for a growing, well-paid work force, more than 100,000 new jobs a year.

Tariff machinery is continually improved to give prompt and adequate tariff protection; to prevent damage by dumping and disruptive imports.

We give efficient secondary industry a secure grip on the home market. From this base we encourage it to develop exports with the help of a variety of export incentives.

Investment in manufacturing has risen from $120 million a year to $1000 million a year.

Great new industries are providing well-paid employment for more and more Australians. Average earnings in real `spending-power terms`, are up 50 per cent.

Help is provided for the aged, the infirm, the sick; health and social-service payments lifted from $162 million to $1020 million a year.

Australia can and must look after the needs of the aged and the infirm. They must be given a full share of benefit from the nation's growth.

FREIGHTS

We have initiated moves to stem overseas freight rises by rationalisation of overseas shipping services; for containerisation and other modern cargo-handling methods, and by establishment of modern port facilities.

Industry stabilisation plans form part of the compensation to export industries for the burden of costs arising from fast national growth.

So does the $28 million-a-year subsidy on superphosphate, and our new subsidy on nitrogenous fertilisers of $30 per ton nitrogen content.

Petrol prices have been reduced to no higher than four pence a gallon over city prices. Many inland people have been saved more than a shilling a gallon. For years the Country party policy urged this plan.

Special taxation allowance have been granted to primary producers; huge sums provided for agricultural research and extension; massive help for wool promotion.

Suitable long-term credit at lower interest rates has been made available for rural and other development needs.

The Commonwealth Development Bank, the trading banks, term loan fund of $246 million, adds a new dimension to the array of credit facilities available to farmers.

Decentralisation requires practical policies which make country area profitable locations for industry and attractive places for people to live. Housing must be available, so must phones and TV, air services - including freight.

For Commonwealth Aid Roads grants we are providing $750 million in the current five-year period; $150 million this year, rising to $170 million the year after next and $126 million is being found for nearly 2000 miles of rail standardisation and reconstruction.

Our Government acted through State Government to help those affected by the drought. So far $57 million has been provided. Ways must be found to mitigate the effects of drought; to reduce and alleviate the personal heartbreak and national losses which go with them.

BEEF ROADS

We have given special attention to developing the North and 4000 miles of beef roads have been approved. More are under study and $57 million is being provided for beef roads in Queensland, Western Australia and the Northern Territory.

We have found millions of dollars for port facilities in Western Australia and Queensland: at Weipa in Queensland, and help at Gladstone; in Western Australia more than $6 million for port improvements at Derby, Wyndham and Broome.

We have found $12 million for stage one of the Ord irrigation project.

In Queensland vast areas - 11 million acres - are being turned into high-productive pastures. We are finding $23 million for this and $1 million is being provided this year for research into tropical pastures.

Freight on superphosphate to Darwin will be subsidised and tax concessions allowed for mining with $42 million for oil search subsidies.

INDUSTRIES

Nothing contributes more to northern development than the sound and profitable expansion of the industries already located in the north.

What has been done for sugar, tobacco, beef and for mineral development is conscious major policy for northern development.

These are part of the whole pattern of policies for the development of the north and the balanced development of the whole of Australia.

I said at the beginning that we had a constant objective; to make Australia strong and safe; prosperous at home; respected and trusted throughout the world. I have spoken of some of the things we have done; of what we are doing.

These are not disjointed actions, independent of one another; thought up to get some votes, or some credit, or to appease some group.

They are all parts of a total; policies all designed for the one overriding purpose; to make Australia strong, safe, prosperous.

We can be proud of what has been achieved; of Australia's great and growing economic strength; of high and rising living standards; of the continuous improvements in education, housing, social services.

Because we have honoured our obligations and are playing our part in resisting aggression today we can be confident of our own future safety and security, of the strength of our alliances, of the assured protection of the United States should we ever be threatened.

The Australia of today is a base on which an even stronger, safer, more prosperous Australia will be built over the next decade.[1]

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[1] Notes: The particular countries with which Australia has a special relationship are defined as the Commonwealth countries. ANZUS is a regional security treaty.

7. Entry Test

This entry test has to be completed and sent to the supervisor before the production coding can be started. It's a final test of the coder's grasp of the classification scheme of the Manifesto project.

Country: USA
Name of the Party/Alliance: The Democratic Party
Year: 2008

Title: Democratic National Platform
(extracts)

Preamble
We come together at a defining moment in the history of our nation – the nation that led the 20th century, built a thriving middle class, defeated fascism and communism, and provided bountiful opportunity to many. We Democrats have a special commitment to this promise of America. We believe that every American, whatever their background or station in life, should have the chance to get a good education, to work at a good job with good wages, to raise and provide for a family, to live in safe surroundings, and to retire with dignity and security. We believe that each succeeding generation should have the opportunity, through hard work, service and sacrifice, to enjoy a brighter future than the last.

Over the past eight years, our nation's leaders have failed us. Sometimes they invited calamity, rushing us into an ill-considered war in Iraq. But other times, when calamity arrived in the form of hurricanes or financial storms, they sat back, doing too little too late, and too poorly. The list of failures of this Administration is historic.

So, we come together not only to replace this President and his party –and not only to offer policies that will undo the damage they have wrought. Today, we pledge a return to core moral principles like stewardship, service to others, personal responsibility, shared sacrifice and a fair shot for all –values that emanate from the integrity and optimism of our Founders and generations of Americans since. Today, we Democrats offer leaders – from the White House to the State House – worthy of this country's trust.

I. Renewing the American Dream

Jumpstart the Economy and Provide Middle Class Americans Immediate Relief

We will provide an immediate energy rebate to American families struggling with the record price of gasoline and the skyrocketing cost of other necessities – to spend on those basic needs and energy efficient measures. We will devote $50 billion to

jumpstarting the economy, helping economic growth, and preventing another one million jobs from being lost.

We support investments in infrastructure to replenish the highway trust fund, invest in road and bridge maintenance and fund new, fasttracked projects to repair schools. We believe that it is essential to take immediate steps to stem the loss of manufacturing jobs. Taking these immediate measures will provide good jobs and will help the economy today. But generating truly shared prosperity is only possible if we also address our most significant long-run challenges like the rising cost of health care, energy, and education.

Good Jobs with Good Pay

Democrats are committed to an economic policy that produces good jobs with good pay and benefits. That is why we support the right to organize. We know that when unions are allowed to do their job of making sure that workers get their fair share, they pull people out of poverty and create a stronger middle class. We will strengthen the ability of workers to organize unions and fight to pass the Employee Free Choice Act. We will fight to ban the permanent replacement of striking workers, so that workers can stand up for themselves without worrying about losing their livelihoods.

In America, if someone is willing to work, he or she should be able to make ends meet and have the opportunity to prosper. To that end, we will raise the minimum wage and index it to inflation. We will modernize the unemployment insurance program to close gaps and extend benefits to the workers who now fall outside it.

Opportunity for Women

When women still earn 76 cents for every dollar that a man earns, it doesn't just hurt women; it hurts families and children. We will pass the "Lilly Ledbetter" Act, which will make it easier to combat pay discrimination. We will invest in women-owned small businesses and remove the capital gains tax on startup small businesses. We recognize that women are the majority of adults who make the minimum wage, and are particularly hard-hit by recession and poverty; we will protect Social Security, increase the minimum wage, and expand programs to combat poverty and improve education so that parents and children can lift themselves out of poverty. We will work to combat violence against women.

A World Class Education for Every Child

The Democratic Party firmly believes that graduation from a quality public school and the opportunity to succeed in college must be the birthright of every child–not the privilege of the few. We must prepare all our students with the 21st century

skills they need to succeed by progressing to a new era of mutual responsibility in education. We must set high standards for our children, but we must also hold ourselves accountable–our schools, our teachers, our parents, business leaders, our community and our elected leaders. And we must come together, form partnerships, and commit to providing the resources and reforms necessary to help every child reach their full potential.

Creating New Jobs by Rebuilding American Infrastructure

A century ago, Teddy Roosevelt called together leaders from business and government to develop a plan for the next century's infrastructure. It falls to us to do the same. We will start a National Infrastructure Reinvestment Bank that can leverage private investment in infrastructure improvements, and create nearly two million new good jobs. We will undertake projects that maximize our safety and security and ability to compete, which we will fund as we bring the war in Iraq to a responsible close. We will modernize our power grid, which will help conservation and spur the development and distribution of clean energy. We need a national transportation policy, including high-speed rail and light rail. We can invest in our bridges, roads, and public transportation so that people have choices in how they get to work. We will ensure every American has access to highspeed broadband and we will take on special interests in order to unleash the power of the wireless spectrum.

Support Small Business and Entrepreneurship

Encouraging new industry and creating jobs means giving more support to American entrepreneurs. We will exempt all start-up companies from capital gains taxes and provide them a tax credit for health insurance. We will help small businesses facing high energy costs. We will work to remove bureaucratic barriers for small and start-up businesses–for example, by making the patent process more efficient and reliable.

Real Leadership for Rural America

Rural America is home to 60 million Americans. The agricultural sector is critical to the rural economy and to all Americans. We depend on those in agriculture to produce the food, feed, fiber, and fuel that support our society. Thankfully, American farmers possess an unrivaled capacity to produce an abundance of these high-quality products.

All Americans, urban and rural, hold a shared interest in preserving and increasing the economic vitality of family farms. We will continue to develop and advance policies that promote sustainable and local agriculture, including funding for soil and water conservation programs.

Restoring Fairness to Our Tax Code

We must reform our tax code. We'll eliminate federal income taxes for millions of retirees, because all seniors deserve to live out their lives with dignity and respect. We will not increase taxes on any family earning under $250,000 and we will offer additional tax cuts for middle class families. We will dramatically simplify tax filings so that millions of Americans can do their taxes in less than five minutes.

II. Renewing American Leadership

At moments of great peril in the last century, American leaders such as Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and John F. Kennedy managed both to protect the American people and to expand opportunity for the next generation. They used our strengths to show people everywhere America at its best. Today, we are again called to provide visionary leadership. This century's threats are at least as dangerous as, and in some ways more complex than, those we have confronted in the past.

We will confront these threats head on while working with our allies and restoring our standing in the world. We will pursue a tough, smart, and principled national security strategy. It is a strategy that recognizes that we have interests not just in Baghdad, but in Kandahar and Karachi, in Beijing, Berlin, Brasilia and Bamako. It is a strategy that contends with the many disparate forces shaping this century, including: the fundamentalist challenge to freedom; the emergence of new powers like China, India, Russia, and a united Europe; and the spread of lethal weapons.

Barack Obama will focus this strategy on seven goals: (i) ending the war in Iraq responsibly; (ii) defeating Al Qaeda and combating violent extremism; (iii) securing nuclear weapons and materials from terrorists; (iv) revitalizing and supporting our military; (v) renewing our partnerships to promote our common security; (vi) advancing democracy and development; and (vii) protecting our planet by achieving energy security and combating climate change.

Recommit to an Alliance of the Americas

We recognize that the security and prosperity of the United States is fundamentally tied to the future of the Americas. We believe that in the 21st century, the U.S. must treat Latin America and the Caribbean as full partners, just as our neighbors to the south should reject the bombast of authoritarian bullies. Our relationship with Canada, our long-time ally, should be strengthened and enhanced.

Advancing Democracy, Development, and Respect for Human Rights

No country in the world has benefited more from the worldwide expansion of democracy than the United States. Democracies are our best trading partners, our most valuable allies, and the nations with which we share our deepest values. The Democratic Party reaffirms its longstanding commitment to support democratic institutions and practices worldwide. A more democratic world is a more peaceful and prosperous place. Yet democracy cannot be imposed by force from the outside; it must be nurtured with moderates on the inside by building democratic institutions.

III. Renewing the American Community

Service

The future of our country will be determined not only by our government and our policies but through the efforts of the American people. That is why we will ask all Americans to be actively involved in meeting the challenges of the new century. We will double the size of the Peace Corps, enable more to serve in the military, integrate service into primary education, and create new opportunities for experienced and retired persons to serve. And if you invest in America, America will invest in you: we will increase support for service–learning, establish tax incentives for college students who serve, and create scholarships for students who pledge to become teachers. We will use the Internet to better match volunteers to service opportunities. In these ways, we will unleash the power of service to meet America's challenges in a uniquely American way.

Federal Lands

We will create a new vision for conservation that works with local communities to conserve our existing publicly–owned lands while dramatically expanding investments in conserving and restoring forests, grasslands, and wetlands across America for generations to come. Unlike the current Administration, we will reinvest in our nation's forests by providing federal agencies with resources to reduce the threat of wildland fires and promote sustainable forest product industries for rural economic development. We will recognize that our parks are national treasures, and will ensure that they are protected as part of the overall natural system so they are here for generations to come. We are committed to conserving the lands used by hunters and anglers, and we will open millions of new acres of land to public hunting and fishing.

IV. Renewing American Democracy

Open, Accountable, and Ethical Government

In Barack Obama's Administration, we will open up the doors of democracy. We will use technology to make government more transparent, accountable, and inclusive. Rather than obstruct people's use of the Freedom of Information Act, we will require that agencies conduct significant business in public and release all relevant information unless an agency reasonably foresees harm to a protected interest.

We will lift the veil of secret deals in Washington by publishing searchable, online information about federal grants, contracts, earmarks, loans, and lobbyist contacts with government officials. We will put all non–emergency bills that Congress has passed online for five days, to allow the American public to review and comment on them before they are signed into law. We will require Cabinet officials to have periodic national online town hall meetings to discuss issues before their agencies.
Note: The USA has special relationships with the UK and Canada.

8. Definition of Standard 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 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 manifesto 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 de-colonisation; 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; importance external security.

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/Union: Positive
Favourable mentions of European Community/Union in general; desirability of

expanding the European Community/Union and/or of increasing its competence; desirability of expanding the competences of the European Parliament; 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/Union: Negative
Hostile mentions of the European Community/Union; opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities; opposition to the net-contribution of the manifesto country to the EU budget; 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; favourable mentions of the territorial subsidiary principle.

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.

305 Political Authority

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

406 Protectionism: Positive
Favourable mentions of extension or maintenance of tariffs to protect internal markets; other domestic economic protectionism such as quota restrictions; in favour of export subsidies.

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
Favourable mentions of 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 Economic Growth
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; 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). This also covers public spending on infrastructure such as streets and harbours.

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 necessary by communist parties) to the specific use of Marxist–Leninist terminology and analysis of situations which are otherwise uncodable.

416 Anti–Growth Economy

Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics and steady state economy; sustainable development.

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.
Note: This category excludes education.

505 Welfare State Limitation

Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; favourable mentions of the social subsidiary principle; 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 coded 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; importance of internal security.

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; favourable mention of the civil society (Note: This category neither captures what your country can do for you nor what you can do for your country, but what you can do for your fellow citizens.).

607   Multiculturalism: Positive
Favourable mentions of 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*
Negative references to trade unions such as 'abuse of power'; 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, homosexuals, immigrants, etc.

706 *Non–economic Demographic Groups*
Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to women, old people, young people, linguistic groups, etc; special interest groups of all kinds.

9. Definition of Subcategories

1011 *Russia/USSR/CIS: Positive*
Favourable mentions of Russia, the USSR, the CMEA bloc or the Community of Independent States (subcategory of 101).

1012 *Western States: Positive*
Favourable mentions of Western states, including the USA and Germany (subcategory of 101).

1013 *Eastern European Countries: positive*
Favourable mentions of Eastern European countries in general (subcategory of 101).

1014 *Baltic States: Positive*
Favourable mentions of the Baltic states, including other states bordering the Baltic Sea (subcategory of 101).

1015 *Nordic Council: Positive*
Favourable mentions of the Nordic Council (subcategory of 101).

1016 SFR Yugoslavia: Positive

Favourable mentions of countries formerly belonging to SFR Yugoslavia including special relationships with Montenegro, Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (subcategory of 101).

1021 Russia/USSR/CIS: Negative

Negative mentions of Russia, the USSR or the Community of Independent States (subcategory of 102).

1022 Western States: Negative

Negative mentions of Western states, including the USA and Germany (subcategory of 102).

1023 East European Countries: Negative

Negative mentions of Eastern European countries in general (subcategory of 102).

1024 Baltic States: Negative

Negative references to the Baltic states (subcategory of 102).

1025 Nordic Council: Negative

Negative references to the Nordic Council (subcategory of 102).

1026 SFR Yugoslavia: Negative

Negative mentions of countries formerly belonging to SFR Yugoslavia including negative references to Montenegro, Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina (subcategory of 102).

1031 Russian Army: Negative

Need to withdraw the Russian army from the territory of the manifesto country; need to receive reparations for the damage caused by the Russian army or other Soviet institutions (subcategory of 103).

1032 Independence: Positive

Favourable mentions of the independence and sovereignty of the manifesto country (subcategory of 103).

1033 Rights of Nations: Positive

Favourable mentions of freedom, rights and interests of nations (subcategory of 103).

2021 Transition to Democracy

General references to the transition process of one-party states to pluralist democracy (subcategory of 202).

2022 Restrictive Citizenship
Favourable mentions of restrictions in citizenship; restrictions in enfranchisement with respect to (ethnic) groups (subcategory of 202).

2023 Lax Citizenship
Favourable mentions of lax citizenship and election laws; no or few restrictions in enfranchisement (subcategory of 202).

2031 Presidential Regime: Positive
Support for current presidential regime (subcategory of 203); statements in favour of a powerful presidency (subcategory of 204 for parliamentary regimes).

2032 Republic: Positive
Support for the republican form of government as opposed to monarchy (subcategory of 203).

2033 Checks and Balances (to be coded for Mexico, only)
Support for checks and balances and separation of powers, and specifically for limiting the powers of the presidency by increasing legislative/judicial powers, or transferring some executive powers to the legislature or judiciary (subcategory of 203).

2041 Monarchy: Positive
Support for a monarchy, including conceptions of constitutional monarchy (subcategory of 204).

3011 Republican Powers: Positive
Favourable mentions of stronger republican powers (subcategory of 301).

3051 Public Situation: Negative
Negative references to the situation in public life after the founding elections (subcategory of 305).

3052 Communist: Positive
Co-operation with former authorities/communists in the transition period; pro-communist involvement in the transition process; and 'let sleeping dogs lie' in dealing with the nomenclature (subcategory of 305).

3053 Communist: Negative
Against communist involvement in democratic government; weeding out the collaborators from governmental service; need for political coalition except communist parties (subcategory of 305).

3054 Rehabilitation and Compensation

References to civic rehabilitation of politically persecuted people in the communist era; references to juridical compensation concerning communist expropriations; moral compensation (subcategory of 305).

3055 Political Coalitions

References to the need of broader political coalition; need for co-operation at the political level; necessity of collaboration among all political forces (subcategory of 305).

4011 Privatisation: Positive

Favourable references to privatisation (subcategory of 401).

4012 Control of Economy: Negative

Negative references to the general need for direct governmental control of the economy subcategory of 401).

4013 Property–Restitution: Positive

Favourable references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners (subcategory of 401).

4014 Privatisation Vouchers: Positive

Favourable references to privatisation vouchers (subcategory of 401).

4121 Social Ownership: Positive

Favourable references to the creation or preservation of co-operative or non–state social ownership within a market economy (subcategory of 412).

4122 Mixed Economy: Positive

Favourable references to mixed ownership within a market economy (subcategory of 412).

4123 Publicly–Owned Industry: Positive

Positive references to the concept of publicly–owned industries (subcategory of 412).

4124 Socialist Property: Positive

Positive references to socialist property, including public and co-operative property; negative references to privatisation (subcategory of 412).

4131 Property–Restitution: Negative

Negative references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners (subcategory of 413).

4132 Privatisation: Negative
Negative references to the privatisation system; need to change the privatisation system (subcategory of 413).

5021 Private–Public Mix in Culture
Necessity of private provisions due to economic constraints; private funding in addition to public activity (subcategory of 502).

5031 Private–Public Mix in Social Justice
Necessity of private initiatives due to economic constraints (subcategory of 503).

5041 Private–Public Mix in Welfare
Necessity of private welfare provisions due to economic constraints; desirability of competition in welfare service provisions; private funding in addition to public activity (subcategory of 504).

5061 Private–Public Mix in Education
Necessity of private education due to economic constraints; desirability of competition in education (subcategory of 506).

6011 The Karabakh Issue
Positive references to the unity of Karabakh and Armenia or the recognition of the independent Republic of Karabakh; rendering assistance to Karabakh (subcategory of 601).

6012 Rebuilding the USSR
Favourable mentions of the reunification of all republics and nations living on the former territory of the USSR into a new common (democratic) state or into a common economic space whereby the new union would be the guarantor of the manifesto country's sovereignty; negative references to the dissolution of the USSR and the respective treaties (subcategory of 601).

6013 National Security
Support for or need to maintain national security in all spheres of social life; policies devoted to this goal (subcategory of 601).

6014 Cyprus Issue (to be coded for Cyprus, only)
All references concerning the division of Cyprus in a Greek and a Turkish part (subcategory of 601).

6061 General Crisis
Identification of a general crisis in the country (subcategory of 606).

6071 Cultural Autonomy: Positive
Favourable mentions of cultural autonomy (subcategory of 607).

6072 Multiculturalism pro Roma
Favourable mentions of cultural autonomy of Roma (subcategory of 607).

6081 Multiculturalism against Roma
Negative mentions of cultural autonomy of Roma (subcategory of 608).

7051 Minorities Inland
References to manifesto country minorities in foreign countries; positive references to manifesto country minorities (subcategory of 705).

7052 Minorities Abroad
References to ethnic minorities living in the manifesto country such as Latvians living in Estonia (subcategory of 705).

7061 War Participants
Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to people taking part in the war on the territory of ex–Yugoslavia (subcategory of 706).

7062 Refugees
Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to people who left their homes because of the war (for instance, on the territory of ex–Yugoslavia) or were forcibly displaced (subcategory of 706).

10. Literature

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