A new expert coding methodology for political text

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ABSTRACT

There is a self-evident need, within the project of analyzing “spatial” models of political competition, to estimate “positions” of relevant agents in a well-defined common space. Even after automated text coding has made massive advances, there will be a methodological and epistemological requirement to validate and/or calibrate results generated by automated coding systems against systematically collected and characterized results generated by human experts. The current dominant source for expert text codings of political text is the Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP). While there are published suggestions for ways to fix some of the many problems with the CMP data, the core problems derive from fundamental features of how the raw data were generated. The first concerns the structure and content of the text coding scheme. The second concerns the use of single coders for each text, which fails to take account of the stochastic nature of human text coding. These problems are not amenable to retroactive fixes. Only a re-coding of the source texts, using a redesigned coding scheme and multiple coders for each text, can address them. Given the huge number of texts in many different languages coded by the CMP, the widespread assumption within the profession has been that a full-scale recoding of the entire text corpus using multiple expert coders is too large and expensive a project to contemplate. This has become a serious roadblock to intellectual progress.

We propose a solution to this problem. This involves, first, a new coding scheme designed to capture policy positions (as opposed to the CMP’s saliency-based emphases) set out in political texts, and express these positions in terms of a small number of policy scales and dimensions typically used by professional researchers in the field. Second, it involves using multiple expert coders for the same text and a more reliable and replicable method of data capture. We propose a series of preliminary studies to test and validate this new system, followed by a web-based wiki-like system that will facilitate the steady accumulation of new expert text codings, as opposed to a one-off gigantic new project to assemble and recode a huge number of documents written in a many different languages.

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MOTIVATION

1. There is a self-evident need, within the ubiquitous professional enterprise of specifying and analyzing “spatial” models of various aspects of political competition, to estimate the “positions” of relevant agents in some well-defined common space.

2. There is nonetheless considerable ambiguity about substantive interpretations of such positions.
   
a. They may represent “true” preferences, $\mu$, of the agent under investigation. These preferences are at best fundamentally unobservable (perhaps even to the agent herself) and at worst metaphysical.

   b. Or they may represent a position or signal, $\pi$, that the agent wants to communicate to others. This arises out of the agent’s “true” preferences, $\mu$, and some model, $M$, of politics that exists in the agent’s head. This is also fundamentally unobservable, though the intentions of the agent may be conscious.

3. Observation and analysis of the agent’s behavior can be used to draw inferences about the intended signal $\pi$ and, given a conjecture about $M$, possibly also the true preference $\mu$. Such behaviors include activities such as legislative voting, or the generation of verbal or written language, which can be imperfectly summarized in text form. (The summary is imperfect because aspects of a speaker’s delivery, facial expressions for example, may affect the interpretation of a given speech. The context and layout of written text, adjacent photographs for example, may also affect its interpretation. As a result, different agents listening to the same speech or reading the same text at the same time are likely to interpret this in different ways, even if they share the same conjecture about $M$.)

4. Text generation by human agents is a stochastic process, $T$. The same agent intending to communicate the same message at the same time has many different words and grammatical constructions to choose from. For example, an agent writing a speech on a computer that suffers a catastrophic hard disk crash, and setting out to rewrite exactly the same speech conveying exactly the same message, will likely use different words.

5. The actual generated text, $\tau$, is observable (if written, with a fairly high degree of certainty). A fundamental project within political science is thus to take some text corpus $\tau$ and analyze this in ways that allow inferences to be drawn about the text authors’ stated positions $\pi$, and even “true” preferences $\mu$, given conjectures about $M$ and $T$. All of this is summarized in the top half of Figure 1.
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Figure 1: Overview of processes of text generation and analysis.
Source: (Benoit et al. 2009)
6. The systematic analysis of a text corpus $\tau$ typically depends on a measurement instrument, $I$. This measurement instrument often but not invariably takes the form of a coding scheme with predefined coding categories that have some substantive meaning given the problem under investigation. Given a coding scheme $I$ and a text corpus $\tau$, there is a coding process, $C$, which allocates text units in $\tau$ to categories in $I$. This process may be deterministic, as with automated text coding using some “dictionary” based scheme. It may be fundamentally stochastic, as with the coding of texts by human experts. In this latter case different human coders, or the same coders on different days, will likely make somewhat different coding decisions about the same text.

7. Even after automated text coding has made massive advances and become the default method in this field, there will be a fundamental need to validate and/or calibrate results generated by automated coding against systematically collected and characterized input from human experts. Automated coding will extend the text coding project immensely, but it will never completely replace human coders. The need to calibrate automated techniques of text coding and analysis means that there will be at least as great a need as ever for reliable and valid human coding of key reference texts.

8. The current dominant source of human expert text codings in this field is the Comparative Manifestos Project (Budge et al. 2001; Budge et al. 1987; Klingemann et al. 2006; Laver and Budge 1992; Klingemann et al. 1994). As of 15 January 2010, these five books generated about 2350 citations between them on Google scholar. This citation rate is of the same order of magnitude as the DW Nominate method for the analysis of legislative roll-calls. The upside potential of text analysis is of course much greater than that of roll-call analysis since nearly all humans generate text, whereas only a tiny proportion of humans vote in legislatures. CMP data are currently used by top scholars, in work published in top journals. These data have just been made widely available to the profession, via the CMP website: http://manifesto-project.wzb.eu. The CMP project now has long-term funding from the German Science Foundation.

9. Benoit, Laver and Mikaylov, among many others, have described a series of problems with the CMP data (Benoit et al. 2009; Lowe et al. 2011; Mikhaylov et al. 2008). These concern, inter alia: coding scheme design; unitization of text; coder reliability and error; measurement model; scaling. While there are published suggestions for various ways to ameliorate some of these, fundamental problems derive from two features of how the data are generated. The first is the design of the CMP coding scheme, $I$. The second the use of single coders for each text, which fails to take account of the stochastic process of human text coding, $C$. These problems are not amenable to retroactive fixes of the CMP dataset. Only a full re-coding of the original source texts, using a redesigned coding scheme and multiple coders for each text, can address them.

10. A widespread assumption within the profession has been that, given the huge number of texts in many different languages coded by the CMP (compounded by the uncertain status and location of some of these texts, especially the early ones), a full-scale recoding using multiple coders is simply too large, expensive and, frankly, unsexy a project to contemplate. As a result, new party manifestoes that are published continue to be coded by this now well-
funded project using the widely-criticized CMP method, while CMP data remain the only recourse within the profession for time series party policy positions in a wide range of countries. Work continues to be published by top scholars who are using data in which they have little confidence, on the ground that these data are the best available.

11. This situation has become a serious roadblock to intellectual progress, especially given the growing role of dynamic models which require high quality time series data on the policy positions of key political agents.

12. The solution to this problem involves, first, developing a new coding scheme designed to capture policy positions (as opposed to the CMP’s saliency-based emphases) set out in political texts, and then expressing these positions in terms of (a small number of) policy scales and dimensions typically used by professional researchers in the field. Second, it involves deploying this new coding scheme using a more reliable and replicable method of data generation and capture for expert coded content analysis. This will involve generating data using multiple expert coders for the same text and capturing data using a computer assisted coding system.

A NEW EXPERT CODING SCHEME FOR POLITICAL TEXT: GENERAL PRINCIPLES

13. A new coding scheme for political text should be designed with the explicit intention of enabling the estimation of substantive policy positions of text authors, not emphases on particular policy areas.

14. Most users of positional data derived from text coding, including most users of CMP data, seek reliable and valid low-dimensional spatial representations of policy positions. The generation of high-dimensional data on detailed aspects of party policy may be of idiosyncratic substantive interest for particular scholars. For most scholars, however, the high dimensional data are simply a step on the road to a low dimensional representation. Most users of the CMP data, for example, do not use the full 56-dimensional data space, but use a single additive scale measuring a left-right dimension. This scale aggregates data from 26 of the CMP categories.

15. Any new coding scheme must therefore be capable of being aggregated to generate low-dimensional estimates of text authors’ positions using policy dimensions that are in widespread professional use.

16. The new coding scheme should be designed according to best practice for qualitative human text coding, which implies a hierarchical structure, with clear and simple coding decisions at each level of the hierarchy.

17. Laver and Garry (LG) devised a very (ridiculously) detailed hierarchical scheme for qualitative expert text coding, applied this using computer assisted human coding of party manifestos, and compared results of using this with dictionary-based computer coding of the same texts (Laver and Garry 2000). Any new scheme needs to be much simpler than this.
NEW CODING SCHEME: TOWARDS A FIRST DRAFT

18. Canvassing of the profession for sets of policy dimensions in wide professional use is already a feature of established expert survey methodology. For example, specification of the sets of policy dimensions used in expert surveys conducted by Laver and Hunt (LH), Benoit and Laver (BL), or the Chapel Hill group (CH) involved consultation with a range of local specialists on the politics of each country under investigation (Benoit and Laver 2006; Laver and Hunt 1992; Hooghe et al. 2010). The expert survey data thereby generated are almost as widely used as the CMP’s text-based estimates. (As of January 2011, there were about 1200 Google Scholar cites to either Laver-Hunt or Benoit-Laver).

19. Estimates of policy positions generated by any new content analysis coding scheme should be open to cross-validation against independent data sources. (CMP data are essentially “internally” validated and then informally checked for “face validity” against carefully curated accounts of party competition in each country under investigation.) Obvious sources of independent cross-validation of expert coded content analyses of party manifestoes, are independently generated expert survey estimates of the positions of the same parties on the same policy dimensions.

20. Both the need for reliable and valid estimates of positions on core policy dimensions in widespread professional use, and the need to cross-validate estimates generated by new methods against existing independent sources, are strong reasons to seek compatibility between categories in a new coding scheme and policy dimensions that can be generated from these, and policy dimensions used by existing expert surveys.

21. Given all of the above, source materials for a new content analysis coding scheme therefore include:

5. In addition to the Benoit-Laver surveys, there were analogous expert surveys by Laver and Hunt using similar policy dimensions and referring to 1988-89

22. Taking all of this into consideration, and taking account of the types of use to which data on party policy positions are put to use within the profession, the highest levels of the coding hierarchy for political texts should comprehend the following:

1. A general left-right “ideological” dimension
2. An economic left-right “policy” dimension
3. A “social” liberal-conservative “policy” dimension

23. These are all represented in the expert surveys, while b and c are top levels in the Laver-Garry hierarchy (together with “political system” and “external relations”).
24. Moving beyond these core dimensions, there may be less agreement within the profession, and more variation between country specialists, about important policy dimensions. Nonetheless, the following policy dimensions suggest themselves as possibilities:

1. Environmental policy. (BL; LG (1.4); not CH 2006. Added by CH for 2010?)
2. Foreign policy. (CH and LG (4) but not BL)
3. EU policy, where relevant. (BL, CH, and LG (4.2.x.2))
4. Centralization of decision making. (BL, CH, and LG (2.x.2))

25. **This suggests the following categories for top level of a new coding scheme**, equivalent to the top level in the Laver-Garry scheme:

1. Economic policy: left vs right
2. “Social” policy: liberal vs conservative
3. External relations
4. Political system
5. Other/uncodeable

26. Synthesizing all of this, Figure 2 on the following page proposes a new hierarchical expert coding scheme for political texts.

27. Above the dashed line are policy domains and potential scales, with the general left-right scale at the highest level and the five policy domains listed above at the next level. No text unit would be coded directly into these.

28. Below the line are eleven bipolar coding categories, all but one of which (4.2 Political/constitutional reform) have definitions that can be taken directly from established and field tested expert survey scales noted as BL and/or CH in the relevant boxes. There also two unipolar “junk” categories (uncodeable and “pap”). The net result is a hierarchical positional coding scheme with 24 base categories.

29. One possibility would to add four unipolar categories 1.5, 2.5, 3.5, 4.5 for “other” economic, social, external relations, or political system policy references, making a 28-category scheme in all. There would still be 22 categories with explicitly positional information.
Figure 2: A new hierarchical expert coding scheme for political texts

1. Economic policy
   - left vs right
   1.1 Tax-spend
      higher vs lower
      BL 1; CH 13
   1.2 Deregulation
      con vs pro
      BL 8; CH 15
   1.3 Redistribution
      pro vs con
      CH 17
   1.4 Environment
      environment vs growth
      BL 3

2. “Social” policy
   - lib vs con
   2.1 Personal morality
      lib vs con
      BL 2; CH 21
   2.2 Law and order
      civil liberties vs get tough
      CH 19
   2.3 Immigration
      lib vs con
      BH 7; CH 25

3. External relations
   - US power in world affairs
      con vs pro
      CH 35

4. Political system
   4.1 Decentralization
      pro vs con
      BL 4; CH 33
   4.2 Political/constitutional reform
      pro vs con

5. Other/uncodeable
   5.1 Campaign rhetoric
   5.2 Pap
NEW CODING SCHEME: COMPATABILITY WITH CMP

30. While the CMP coding scheme is ostensibly designed to measure the saliency of policy dimensions, all-but-one of the CMP category definitions in practice state a position on the issue in question – see the category definitions in Table A4. There is therefore no de facto incompatibility on this matter.

31. If the entire CMP coding scheme were to be opened up for discussion within the profession in light of political developments since the mid-1980s, many changes might well be made and it is almost certain that the same scheme would not emerge. Therefore we cannot take the CMP scheme as the “gold standard” with which all other schemes must forever conform. Nonetheless, other things being equal, we should where possible seek compatibility between the CMP scheme any new scheme.

32. Table A4 shows the 56 category CMP coding scheme, including coding categories and definitions. The 13 categories contributing to the left-hand side of the CMP’s left-right scale are shaded pink; the 13 categories contributing to the right are shaded blue.

33. The right-most column associates the CMP coding categories with the new categories proposed above. There are clearly some incompatibilities, notably in the CMP domains of “external relations” and “groups”. The substance of foreign policy, in particular, has changed fundamentally since the collapse of the Soviet Union, not foreseen when the CMP scheme was specified, and is also a matter on which to our knowledge there is no widely accepted policy scale.

   a. As it stands, 10 of the CMP categories in the CMP left-right scale do not have positional codings under the new scheme, while 14 CMP categories not in the left-right scale do have positional codings in the new scheme.

   b. What is of course unknown and unknowable is the extent to which different substantive coding decisions would have been made by CMP coders on specific text units, had the menu of choices been that offered by the new scheme we propose as opposed to the CMP scheme.

   c. In relation to external relations, the CMP positional categories that might possibly be added to the new scheme are per105/105: military positive/negative. There may be a need for something like a new “militarism: hawk-dove” dimension.

   d. In relation to groups, only per701 labour groups: positive was used in the CMP left-right scale, while “employers” were not mentioned in the CMP scheme. This raises the possibility of adding a new dimension measuring “support for workers/unions vs support for employers / business” to the new scheme.
NEW CODING METHOD: TEXT UNITIZATION

34. An important strand of preliminary methodological work concerns the specification of a text unit. One possibility is to specify the text unit as a “natural” sentence, a sequence of words that begins and ends with one of a predefined set of punctuation marks. In essence, the text’s author defines the text unit by inserting punctuation marks.

35. The CMP does not use natural sentences as text units. It uses “quasi-sentences” – segments of a natural sentence that are deemed by the coder to express a single policy idea or issue.

36. The motivation for using quasi-sentences is to allow for the possibility that (essentially) more long-winded authors who may tend to incorporate several distinct policy statements in a single natural sentence. For instance, the tenth natural sentence in the 2001 Australian National Party manifesto is:

“We know that the only way to create economic prosperity is to rely on individual enterprise [/] and we know that our future as a nation depends having strong families and communities.”

The CMP codes this as two text units, divided by the “/”, where the first is assigned to category 401 (Free Enterprise: Positive) and the second to category 606 (Social Harmony: Positive). But this approach is not applied consistently. Later in the same manifesto, for example, we find the natural sentence “There is no argument about the need for production sustainability and its matching twin, environmental sustainability.” This is coded as 501, Environmental Protection: Positive. But it might very well have been counted as two quasi-sentences divided by the “and”, with the first coded to 410 (Productivity: Positive) and the second to 501.

37. Rich variation in the literary styles of different authors makes quasi-sentence unitization difficult if not impossible to automate in a valid way using computerized tools.

38. When performed by humans, the specification of the fundamental unit of analysis text under this system is, axiomatically, a matter of subjective judgment. This raises the issue of coder reliability in determining the fundamental unit of text analysis, over and above the unreliability arising from assigning text units to coding categories. Indeed, it seems quite likely that subjective text unitization by human coders is endogenous to the specific coding scheme deployed. (If some coding scheme has two categories in a policy area where another scheme has only one category, this may encourage a coder to see two quasi sentences rather than one.) We consider all of this to be fundamentally undesirable.

39. This is a real as well as a potential problem. A hitherto unnoticed feature of the CMP data is that real human coders cannot agree on how to unitize a political text using this scheme, even when rigorously trained to follow explicit instructions. This introduces a large degree of unreliability into the unitization and coding process. Figure 3 shows a kernel density plot of the number of quasi sentences in a single training document, for which the “official” unitization had 163 quasi-sentences.¹ This is clearly an unsettling picture, given that this is a “best case” scenario in which quasi-sentence unitization took place in the context of very explicit coder training.

¹ We thank Andrea Volkens of the CMP for supplying these data.
Figure 3: Total number of quasi-sentences identified in a CMP training text by 67 trained coders

40. Our proposed solution is to specify natural sentences as the fundamental unit of text analysis. This is supported by ongoing coding experiments using party manifestos unitized and coded by the CMP. These are leading to the conclusion that the inherent unreliability arising from subjective definition of text units by human coders is not compensated by enhanced validity or reliability of the actual text codings, over and above codings of the same texts using natural sentences as the fundamental unit of text analysis (Benoit et al. 2011; Braun et al. 2011). Taking texts “officially” unitized into quasi-sentences by the CMP, and comparing codings of these texts that (i) use quasi sentences as the unit of text analysis with codings that (ii) use natural sentences as the text unit, there is no significant difference in substantive results.

41. Although results are preliminary, findings are all consistent with the view that there is no observable loss, and much to be gained in terms of inter-coder reliability and the potential for automation, by abandoning subjective text unitization and using the natural sentence, objectively defined by pre-specified punctuation marks, as the fundamental unit of text analysis.
NEW CODING METHOD: MULTIPLE CODERS

42. The expert coding of text is essentially the same research task as that in expert surveys. The latter ask for experts’ qualitative judgments about subjects’ positions on specified policy dimensions “taking everything into consideration”. The former asks for similar judgments by experts taking only a specific text unit into consideration. For an expert survey the unit of analysis is an expert-party pairing; for text analysis it is an expert-text unit pairing. Setting aside different units of analysis, both are in effect expert surveys.

43. The typical expert survey is based on a population, or representative sample, of experts on party politics in the country under investigation. The goal is to generate a mean estimate across experts for each quantity of interest, with an associated measure of the uncertainty of this estimate. Ideally, expert coded text analysis would do precisely the same thing. Sadly, since (sane) experts who respond to expert surveys would not devote months of their lives to coding party manifestos, this is not practically feasible.

44. The current CMP method uses a single expert for each text coding, with the result that the mean is a “mean” of a single observation and there can be no measure of uncertainty.

45. We have every reason to suspect, confirmed by coding experiments we have conducted (Mikhaylov et al. 2008), that different experts sometimes code the same text unit in different ways, generating uncertainty in any estimated mean coding. Put another way, if we gave 1000 coders the same text to code using the CMP scheme, we would be astonished and very suspicious if all codings were identical. In short, it is entirely typical for expert codings to differ across any substantial document. In order to derive a good estimate of the mean coding for any text for any coding category, and an associated measure of the uncertainty of this estimate arising from such inter-coder reliability issues, we must, axiomatically, have multiple human codings of the same document.

46. We hold this truth to be self-evident and say no more about it.
NEW CODING METHOD: DATA CAPTURE

47. The coding technology used to implement any new coding methodology must use current best practice to facilitate reliable human coding, capturing and storing the coding of every text unit by every coder in a systematic way. This should be scalable to facilitate as many human codings of the same text as the researcher requires, quite possibly in different geographic locations, and to facilitate the coding of additional texts as the demand arises or as these become available.

48. This implies a web-based computerized system for capturing text codings, broadly analogous to the system used by Benoit-Laver or the Chapel Hill group for capturing expert survey codings. This would capture every coding of every text unit by every coder, together with relevant information about each coder. Coders may well be widely scattered around the world.

49. Preliminary work on such a system for capturing manifesto text codings has been conducted at the University of Mannheim (Braun et al. 2011).

ROLL OUT

50. The new system will be rolled out progressively. For example, extensive design work will be done on one or two countries, Britain and Germany, to get two languages into play. This will lead, for example, to multiple codings of the same set of party manifestos for, say, the most recent 5-10 elections in each country. This would in effect be a demonstration experiment that would allow the system and associated diagnostics to be developed, refined, road tested, and the resulting estimates cross-validated against expert survey results.

51. Once a final version of the new system has been developed, it will be put in the public domain. Third party researchers will be encouraged to use it for the expert coding of texts of interest to them. Ideally these texts would include party manifestoes in the countries covered by the CMP.

52. All codings would cumulate in some central repository. This would need some “moderator”, or ideally committee of moderators, who would score each new contribution of text codings according to some agreed professional standard.

53. We would thereby develop a “wiki” approach to text coding that would free the profession from the notion that getting better policy estimates than the CMP involves a gigantic project that nobody want either to take on or to fund. It is our expectation that, once an easy-to-use and generally-accepted expert text coding system is freely available in the public domain, self-interested researchers will steadily populate the database with text codings, so that the underlying problem will solve itself in an incentive-compatible way. Eureka.
Appendix 1: Policy dimensions specified for use in the Benoit-Laver expert survey (Benoit and Laver 2006)

**General left-right scale**

Please locate each party on a general left-right dimension, taking all aspects of party policy into account. Left (1) Right (20)

**“Core four” dimensions**

1. Economic (Spending v. Taxes)
   - Promotes raising taxes to increase public services. (1)
   - Promotes cutting public services to cut taxes. (20)

2. Social
   - Favours liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, and euthanasia. (1)
   - Opposes liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, and euthanasia. (20)

3. Environment
   - Supports protection of the environment, even at the cost of economic growth. (1)
   - Supports economic growth, even at the cost of damage to the environment. (20)

4. Decentralisation
   - Promotes decentralisation of all administration and decision-making. (1)
   - Opposes any decentralisation of administration and decision-making. (20)

**EU**

5. EU: Authority (EU members only)
   - Favours increasing the range of areas in which the EU can set policy. (1)
   - Favours reducing the range of areas in which the EU can set policy. (20)

6. EU joining (E. Europe only)
   - Opposes joining the European Union. (1)
   - Favors joining the European Union. (20)
Throughout Western Europe and non-Europe

7. Immigration
   Favours policies designed to help asylum seekers and immigrants integrate into ______ society. (1)
   Favours policies designed to help asylum seekers and immigrants return to their country of origin. (20)

Most of Western Europe and non-Europe

8. Deregulation
   Favours high levels of state regulation and control of the market. (1)
   Favours deregulation of markets at every opportunity. (20)

Eastern Europe
   Privatization, Nationalism, Former communists, foreign land ownership, media freedom, religion, urban rural
Appendix 2: Policy dimensions used in the Chapel Hill 2002-2010 expert surveys (Hooghe et al. 2010)

EU (general)

1. How would you describe the general position on European integration that the party leadership took over the course of 2006?  
(Seven point scale: strongly opposed – strongly in favor)

4. Taking everything in consideration, does the party leadership think that its country has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?  
(No salience: Three point scale: benefitted - not)

Left-right (No salience)

10. Please tick the box that best describes each party’s overall ideology on a scale ranging from 0 (extreme left) to 10 (extreme right).

11. Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on economic issues. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Parties on the economic right emphasize a reduced economic role for government: privatization, lower taxes, less regulation, less government spending, and a leaner welfare state.  
(Eleven point scale: 0 extreme left – 10 extreme right).

Economy

13. Position (14. salience) on improving public services vs. reducing taxes  
(Eleven point scale: Strongly favors improving public services - Strongly favors reducing taxes)

15. Position (16. salience) on deregulation  
(Eleven point scale: Strongly opposes deregulation of markets - Strongly supports deregulation of markets)

17. Position (18. salience) on redistribution of wealth from rich to poor.  
(Eleven point scale: Strongly favors redistribution – Strongly opposes redistribution)
Social liberal-conservative

19. Position (20. salience) on civil liberties vs. law and order.
   (Eleven point scale: Strongly promotes civil liberties – Strongly supports tough
    measures to fight crime)

21. Position (22. Salience) on social lifestyle (e.g. homosexuality).
   (Eleven point scale: Strongly supports liberal policies – Strongly opposes liberal
    policies)

   (Eleven point scale: Strongly opposes religious principles in politics - Strongly
    supports religious principles in politics)

   (Eleven point scale: Strongly opposes tough policy – Strongly favors tough
    policy)

54. Position (30. Salience) on urban vs. rural interests.
   (Eleven point scale: Strongly supports urban interests – Strongly supports rural
    interests)

   (Eleven point scale: Strongly advocates cosmopolitanism – Strongly advocates
    nationalism)

33. Position (34. Salience) on political decentralization to regions/localities.
   (Eleven point scale: Strongly favors political decentralization – Strongly opposes
    political decentralization)

   (Eleven point scale: Strongly opposes strong US leadership in world affairs –
    Strongly favors strong US leadership in world affairs)

37. Position (38. Salience) towards ethnic minorities.
   (Eleven point scale: Strongly supports more rights for ethnic minorities - Strongly
    opposes more rights for ethnic minorities)
Appendix 3: Hierarchical manifesto coding scheme specified by Laver and Garry and implemented for computer-assisted expert coding using NUD*IST (Laver and Garry 2000)

(NUD*IST has been replaced by NVivo 9)

1 ECONOMY
Role of state in economy

1 1 ECONOMY/+State+</1 1 1 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget
Increase role of state

(This category includes statements in favour of an increased role of the state in the economy, which do not obviously belong in other ‘economy/state+’ categories. Such statements may be general statements in favour of state intervention, broad statements favouring the ‘socialist’ economy. The category also includes general criticism of the idea of the capitalist economy or criticism of the notion of favouring the free market or of making life as easy as possible for business interests)

1 1 1 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget
Budget

1 1 1 1 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Spending
Increase public spending

(This category includes general statements in favour of increased public spending which do not obviously belong to one or other of the more detailed categories in the ‘economy/state/budget/spending’ categories below. Statements arguing against reducing or capping public spending levels should be also included here.)

1 1 1 1 1 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Spending/Health
Health care system (public and/or private)

(Includes statements in favour of increased spending and resources for the health system. Includes statements favouring investment in and expansion of services within the health system and statements arguing against cutbacks and in favour of maintaining spending levels in the face of threats of cutbacks)
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1 1 1 2  ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Spending/Educ.&training
Education and training

(Includes statements an favour of spending and investment in education and training, statements supporting the need to maintain spending levels in face of threat of cutbacks/limits on spending, statements supporting need for highly educated and trained population and for resources to deliver this aim. Includes need for technological investment in schools and training courses and for students/trainees to be taught latest scientific advances. NOTE: statements favouring technological and scientific advance in general terms and which are not related to education/training should be coded into category 143)

1 1 1 3  ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Spending/Housing
Housing

(Includes general statements favouring investment and spending on housing which do not obviously fall into either 111131 or 111132)

1 1 1 3 1  ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Spending/Housing/Public
Public/social housing

(Includes statements supporting need to invest in public housing, to increase resources in public housing or to defend spending levels against threats of cutback/limitation on spending.)

1 1 1 3 2  ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Spending/Housing/Private
Increase tax relief for owner occupiers

(Includes statements supporting government financial aid for private housing sector via tax breaks for individual private home owners)

1 1 1 4  ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Spending/Transport
Public (mass) transport system (buses, rail)

(Includes government support for mass public transport system – buses rail, trams. NOTE: not to be confused with 11115 which concerns the ‘infrastructure’ enabling mass transport)

1 1 1 5  ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Spending/Infrastructure
Infrastructure, (incl. roads, airports, utilities)

(Includes support for investment in basis infrastructure such as investment in roads, airports, ports)
11116 ECONOMY/State/Budget/Spending/Welfare
Income support (unemp., sickness, pensions, children)

(Includes statements supporting social welfare provision and the fight against poverty and help for the economically disadvantaged/less well off sections of the population. Includes support for increases – or defence of current levels of – social welfare payments, sickness benefit payments, state pensions, child benefit/welfare payments. Includes support for action addressing poverty, resources to combat economic deprivation in society. All statements directed at support for the economically poor should be coded here. Includes statements favouring a basic income or minimum wage. NOTE: Do not confuse this category with 3114 which captures concern with inequalities in society. If a statement is directed against economic inequality in general then code it in 3114. If the statement is directly concerned with ‘the poor’ or ‘economically deprived or disadvantaged’ then code it in 11116)

11117 ECONOMY/State/Budget/Spending/Police
Police, courts and prison service

(This category is only concerned with statements directly supporting more financial aid/increased financial spending on the policy, courts and prisons. All other statements promoting the need for/supporting the work of/need for expansion of police and courts and prisons should be coded under 313.....)

11118 ECONOMY/State/Budget/Spending/Defence
Defence services

(This category is only concerned with statements directly supporting more financial aid/increased financial spending on the army, navy and defence services. All other statements promoting the need for/supporting the work of/need for expansion of the defence/security forces should be coded under 43..)

11119 ECONOMY/State/Budget/Spending/Culture
Increase state support for arts and culture

(Includes statements advocating general support for investment in cultural matters which do not belong in any one of the somewhat more specific categories 111191, 111192 or 111193)

111191 ECONOMY/State/Budget/Spending/Culture/High
Increase state support for "high" culture

(This category includes statements advocating government resources for art, theatre, poetry, opera, literary matters, and other ‘high-brow’ or elite cultural interests. Includes defence of current spending levels if under threat of financial limitations/cutbacks)
111192 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Spending/Culture/Popular
Increase state support for popular culture

(This category includes statements advocating government resources for TV, video, film, popular music. Includes defence of current spending levels if under threat of financial limitations/cutbacks)

111193 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Spending/Culture/Sport
Increase state support for sport and other leisure

1112 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Taxes
Increase taxes

(General statements supporting need to increase taxation, which do not obviously belong in any of the somewhat more specific categories 11121, 11122, 11123, 11124, 11125, 11126. Includes need to defend current taxation levels against demands for taxation reductions.)

11121 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Taxes/Income
Income taxes, support increases or defend levels against demands for reduction

11122 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Taxes/Payroll
Payroll taxes, employers' levies, etc (e.g. Employers’ Pay Related Social Insurance in Ireland), support increases or defend levels against demands for reduction

11123 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Taxes/Company
Taxes on company profits, support increases or defend levels against demands for reduction

11124 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Taxes/Sales
VAT and other sales taxes, duties; support increases or defend levels against demands for reduction

11125 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Taxes/Capital
Taxes on capital holdings (incl. property), support increases or defend levels against demands for reduction

11126 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Taxes/Cap gains
Capital gains taxes, (capital acquisitions, death duties), support increases or defend levels against demands for reduction
1113 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Deficit
Increase budget deficit

11131 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Deficit/Borrow
Increase public borrowing

11132 ECONOMY/+State+/Budget/Deficit/Inflation
Increase money supply, allow inflation to rise

112 ECONOMY/+State+/Ownership
Increase range of industry and services in public ownership, or defend levels of ownership against demands for reduction/privatisation

113 ECONOMY/+State+/Regulation
Increase state regulation of private sector
Includes general statements favouring more state regulation

(NOTE: This category relates to government intervention in the PRIVATE economic sector. Bureaucratic matters in the state sector should be dealt with under 21)

1131 ECONOMY/+State+/Regulation/Prices
Increase state regulation of prices

1132 ECONOMY/+State+/Regulation/Incomes
Increase state regulation of incomes

1133 ECONOMY/+State+/Regulation/Finance
Increase state regulation of financial sector

1134 ECONOMY/+State+/Regulation/Industry
Increase state regulation of business and industry

(NOTE: A distinction should be made between this category and 3318 which seeks to promote the rights, interests and safety of consumers/customers – regardless of whether these are customers of the state or private sector. Statements relating to the demands/wishes of customers or consumers should be coded in 3318. Statements favouring more regulation of private business/industry/services that do not mention customers or consumers’ interests should be coded 1134),

1135 ECONOMY/+State+/Regulation/Trade
Increase state regulation of overseas trade (protectionism)
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1 1 4 ECONOMY/+State+/Action
Promote direct state action

1 1 4 1 ECONOMY/+State+/Action/Jobs
Promote state action on job creation

1 1 4 2 ECONOMY/+State+/Action/Interest
Promote state action on interest rates

1 1 4 3 ECONOMY/+State+/Action/Exchange
Promote state action on exchange rates

1 1 4 4 ECONOMY/+State+/Action/corporatism
(Includes statements promoting corporatist, trilateral arrangements with ‘social partners’. Relates to trade unions AND employers AND government coming together to plan economic matters such as wage levels. NOTE: statements advocating greater employee involvement in decisions but not specifically in this ‘trilateral’ context should be coded in 3311)

1 1 4 5 ECONOMY/+State+/Action/Other
Promote state action to solve other problems

(Can include desire for overall or overarching state plan for the economy and economic policy)

1 1 5 ECONOMY/+State+/Efficiency and Value for Money
Efficiency and thrift not a priority

(Captures statements arguing against the notion that the need for efficiency and efficient use of resources and ‘value for money’ should be prioritised over need for increased public spending. Statements directly emphasising the importance of spending RATHER THAN saving money or being primarily concerned with its efficient use should be coded here. NOTE: it is only statements specifically advocating the importance of spending over thrift which are coded here. General pro-spending statements are coded under 1111...)

1 2 ECONOMY/=State=
Neutral discussion of level of state involvement

1 2 1 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget
Neutral discussion of budget

1 2 1 1 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending
Neutral discussion of public spending

1 2 1 1 1 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Health
Health care system (public and/or private)
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12112 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Educ&training
Education and training

121121 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Educ&training/
Education

121122 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Educ&training/
Training

12113 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Housing
Housing

121131 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Housing/Public
Public/social housing

121132 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Housing/Private
Tax relief for owner-occupiers

12114 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Transport
Public (mass) transport system (buses, rail)

12115 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Infrastructure
Infrastructure, (incl. roads, airports, utilities)

12116 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Welfare
Income support (+unemp., sickness, pensions, children)

12117 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Police
Police, courts and prison service

12118 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Defence
Defence services

12119 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Culture
Neutral discussion of role of state in cultural sphere

121191 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Culture/High
Neutral discussion of role of state in "high" culture

121192 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Culture/Popular
Neutral discussion of role of state in popular culture

121193 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Spending/Culture/Sport
Neutral discussion of role of state in sport
1 2 1 2 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Taxes
Neutral discussion of tax policy

1 2 1 2 1 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Taxes/Income
Income taxes

1 2 1 2 2 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Taxes/Payroll
Payroll taxes, employers' levies, etc.

1 2 1 2 3 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Taxes/Company
Taxes on company profits

1 2 1 2 4 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Taxes/Sales
VAT and other sales taxes, duties

1 2 1 2 5 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Taxes/Capital
Taxes on capital holdings (incl. property)

1 2 1 2 6 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Taxes/Cap gains
Capital gains taxes, (capital acquisitions, death duties)

1 2 1 3 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Deficit
Budget deficit

1 2 1 3 1 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Deficit/Borrow
Neutral discussion of public borrowing

1 2 1 3 2 ECONOMY/=State/=Budget/Deficit/Inflation
Neutral discussion of money supply, inflation

1 2 2 ECONOMY/=State/=Ownership
Neutral discussion of industry and services in public ownership

1 2 3 ECONOMY/=State/=Regulation
Neutral discussion of state regulation of private sector

1 2 3 1 ECONOMY/=State/=Regulation/Prices
Neutral discussion of regulation of prices

1 2 3 2 ECONOMY/=State/=Regulation/Incomes
Neutral discussion of regulation of incomes

1 2 3 3 ECONOMY/=State/=Regulation/Finance
Neutral discussion of regulation of finance
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1 2 3 4  ECONOMY/=State/=Regulation/Industry
Neutral discussion of regulation of industry

1 2 3 5  ECONOMY/=State/=Regulation/Trade
Neutral discussion of regulation of trade

1 2 4  ECONOMY/=State/=Action
Neutral discussion of state action

1 2 4 1  ECONOMY/=State/=Action/Jobs
Neutral discussion of state action on job creation

1 2 4 2  ECONOMY/=State/=Action/Interest
Neutral discussion of state action on interest rates

1 2 4 3  ECONOMY/=State/=Action/Exchange
Neutral discussion of state action on exchange rates

1 2 4 4  ECONOMY/=State/=Action/corporatism
Neutral discussion of corporatist, etc arrangements

1 2 4 5  ECONOMY/=State/=Action/Other
Neutral discussion of state action to solve other problems

1 2 5  ECONOMY/=State/=Efficiency
Neutral discussion of efficiency and thrift

1 3  ECONOMY/=State-
Reduce role of state

(This category is the opposite of category 11. General statements in favour of a reduced role for the state in economic matters but which do not fit obviously into any of the ‘state-‘ categories below should be coded here. Statements broadly praising the free-market non-interventionist approach to economic matter. General statements criticising the ‘socialist’ or statist approach to economic life. General statements on need to make life as easy as possible for the business and enterprise to flourish in the competitive free market)

1 3 1  ECONOMY/=State-/Budget
Reduce scale of state budget

1 3 1 1  ECONOMY/=State-/Budget/Spending
Cut public spending

(This category is the opposite of category 1111)
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1 3 1 1 1  ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Health
Health care system (public and/or private)
(This category is the opposite of category 11111)

1 3 1 1 2  ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Educ&training
Education and training
(This category is the opposite of category 11112)

1 3 1 1 3  ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Housing
Housing
(This category is the opposite of category 11113)

1 3 1 1 3 1  ECONOMY/-State/Budget/Spending/Housing/Public
Public/social housing
(This category is the opposite of category 111131)

1 3 1 1 3 2  ECONOMY/-State/Budget/Spending/Housing/Priv.
Reduce tax relief for owner-occupiers
(This category is the opposite of category 111132)

1 3 1 1 4  ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Transport
Public (mass) transport system (buses, rail)
(This category is the opposite of category 11114)

1 3 1 1 5  ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Infrastructure
Infrastructure, (incl. roads, airports, utilities)
(This category is the opposite of category 11115)

1 3 1 1 6  ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Welfare
Income support (+unemp., sickness, pensions, children)
(This category is the opposite of category 11116)

1 3 1 1 7  ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Police
Police, courts and prison service
(This category is the opposite of category 11117)
13118 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Defence
Defence services

(This category is the opposite of category 11118)

13119 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Culture
Negative discussion of role of state in cultural sphere

(This category is the opposite of category 11119)

131191 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Culture/High
Negative discussion of role of state in "high" culture

(This category is the opposite of category 111191)

131192 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Culture/Popular
Negative discussion of role of state in popular culture

(This category is the opposite of category 111192)

131193 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Spending/Culture/Sport
Negative discussion of role of state in sport

(This category is the opposite of category 111193)

1312 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Taxes
Cut taxes

(This category is the opposite of category 11112)

13121 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Taxes/Income
Income taxes

(This category is the opposite of category 111121)

13122 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Taxes/Payroll
Payroll taxes, employers' levies, etc.

(This category is the opposite of category 111122)

13123 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Taxes/Company
Taxes on company profits

(This category is the opposite of category 111123)
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13124 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Taxes/Sales
VAT and other sales taxes, duties

(This category is the opposite of category 11124)

13125 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Taxes/Capital
Taxes on capital holdings (incl. property)

(This category is the opposite of category 11125)

13126 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Taxes/Cap gains
Capital gains taxes, (capital acquisitions, death duties)

(This category is the opposite of category 11126)

1313 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Deficit
Reduce deficit
General concern about budget deficit and having balanced budget

13131 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Deficit/Borrow
Reduce public borrowing

13132 ECONOMY/-State-/Budget/Deficit/Inflation
Control money supply, cut inflation.

(Desire for price stability as the basis for economic stability and statements against ‘boom and bust’ - or wild swings/fluctuations – in the economy.)

132 ECONOMY/-State-/Ownership
Reduce range of industry and services in public ownership

133 ECONOMY/-State-/Regulation
Reduce state regulation of private sector

(This category is the opposite of category 113)

1331 ECONOMY/-State-/Regulation/Prices
Reduce state regulation of prices

(This category is the opposite of category 1131)

1332 ECONOMY/-State-/Regulation/Incomes
Reduce state regulation of incomes

(This category is the opposite of category 1132)
1 3 3 3 ECONOMY/-State-/Regulation/Finance
Reduce state regulation of financial sector

(This category is the opposite of category 1133)

1 3 3 4 ECONOMY/-State-/Regulation/Industry
Reduce state regulation of business and industry

(This category is the opposite of category 1134)

1 3 3 5 ECONOMY/-State-/Regulation/Trade
Reduce state regulation of overseas trade (protectionism)

(This category is the opposite of category 1135. Includes state encouragement of free trade and exports)

1 3 4 ECONOMY/-State-/Action
Reduce scope of direct state action

1 3 4 1 ECONOMY/-State-/Action/Jobs
Oppose state action on job creation

1 3 4 2 ECONOMY/-State-/Action/Interest
Oppose state action on interest rates

1 3 4 3 ECONOMY/-State-/Action/Exchange
Oppose state action on exchange rates

1 3 4 4 ECONOMY/-State-/Action/corporatism
Oppose corporatist, trilateral arrangements with social partners

(This category is the opposite of category 1144)

1 3 4 5 ECONOMY/-State-/Action/Other
Oppose state action to solve other problems

1 3 5 ECONOMY/-State-/Efficiency
Favourable discussion of efficiency and thrift

(This category is the opposite of category 115. Encourages savings and value for money and efficiency and thrift.)

1 4 /ECONOMY/Env v growth
Economic growth and environmental protection
141 /ECONOMY/Env v growth/Environment

(This category captures concerns over the physical environment and a suspicion of economic growth and scientific and technological advance. It includes statements urging the protection of the physical environment such as forests, rivers, lakes and so on; protection of wildlife and animal rights. It includes statements favouring fuel free energy systems such as solar and wind power and statements critical of nuclear energy. It includes statements demanding the lowering of industrial and other pollution, statements critical of scientific and technological advance which undermines the ‘natural’ environment and statements suggesting that scientific/technological advance is not necessarily a good thing. It includes statements critical of the need for ever greater economic growth and statements favouring instead the notion of ‘sustainable economic development.’ Includes need to reduce traffic and congestion and favour pedestrians and cycling.)

142 /ECONOMY/Env v growth/Neutral
Neutral on balance between growth and environment

143 /ECONOMY/Env v growth/Growth

(on ‘growth’ this category includes statements calling for increased economic growth, more investment in the economy and higher output levels. NOTE: statements advocating a more competitive and enterprising economy should not be coded here, rather they belong in 13. This category is the opposite of category 141)

2 POLITICAL SYSTEM
The organisation of the political system

21 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Radical
Promote changes/radical approach to political system

211 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Radical/-Constitution-
Promote constitutional reform

212 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Radical/+Local+
Increase powers of local vis a vis central government

(This category includes statements encouraging decentralisation of decision making from central government to a less centralised – more regional or local – level. It also includes statements encouraging the power and involvement in political life of ‘local’ areas – local community
groups, local/regional organisations, statements emphasising need to listen to and act upon local needs and worries and take heed of local expertise. Statements encouraging more power to local and regional government.)

2 1 3 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Radical/-Bureaucracy-
Promote reforms of administration/bureaucracy and favour accountable politics

Code into either 2131 or 2132

2 1 3 1 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Radical/-Bureaucracy/-/Structure
Reorganise structure of system/administration

(This category captures the desire to restructure or reorganise in some way the political administration or the bureaucracy government. It includes discussion of reorganisation of political system at Cabinet and sub-Cabinet level. For example the structure of a government department may be changed – it may be dropped altogether or merged with another department or its title/functions/powers may be changed It includes changes in administrative organisation at sub-Cabinet or ‘Minister of State’ level. A new position at sub-Cabinet level may be desired or an amendment of the remit/functions/title of existing sub-Cabinet level political positions may be desired. As well as the reorganisation of the structure of government this category also captures the desire to reform at the bureaucratic level in government departments. For example there may be ways suggested for the Department of Health to reorganise its structure of administrative set-up in some way. Administrative reforms – and the need for – included here. NOTE: change in structure or organisation which is directly aimed at achieving greater openness or public accountability should not be coded here but instead in 2132)

2 1 3 2 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Radical/-Bureaucracy/-/Openness and accountability
Propose more open / less secretive bureaucracy and greater public accountability in the political system.

(This includes the desire to publish details of the workings of government and make the decision making process as transparent as possible for the public. It also includes the need to make elected representatives as responsible for their actions as possible and to encourage people to hold politicians to account for their actions. The need for more information about the governing process so that information can be used to increase political accountability. Need for system of government to be above suspicion of corruption. Need for ‘unsleazy’, ‘clean’ political system.)

2 1 4 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Radical/+Democracy+
Positive discussion of democratic decision-making

(Includes need for more democratic system of government, greater levels of participation by and involvement of the electorate. NOTE: if the participation desired is at the local level then code under 212. Do not code need for involvement under 1144 unless directly relates to trilateral corporatism or ‘social partnership’ in the corporatist sense. Code it in 214 instead.)
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2 2 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Neutral
Neutral discussion of workings of political system

2 2 1 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Neutral/=Constitution=
Neutral discussion of constitution

2 2 2 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Neutral/=Local=
Neutral discussion of central-local relations

2 2 3 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Neutral/=Bureaucracy=
Neutral discussion of administration/bureaucracy

2 2 3 1 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Neutral/=Bureaucracy/=Structure
Neutral discussion of administrative structure

2 2 3 2 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Neutral/=Bureaucracy/=Open
Neutral discussion of administrative information flows

2 2 3 3 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Neutral/=Bureaucracy/=Account
Neutral discussion of administrative accountability

2 2 3 4 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Neutral/=Bureaucracy/=Other
Neutral discussion of other aspects of administration

2 2 4 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Neutral/=Democracy=
Neutral discussion of democratic decision-making

2 3 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Conservative
Oppose change to existing political system

2 3 1 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Conservative/+Constitution+
Defend constitution and/or system of government

2 3 2 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Conservative/+Central+
Promote increased powers for central over other levels of government
*(Opposite of 212)*

2 3 3 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Conservative/+Bureaucracy+
Defend administrative/bureaucratic system
*(Opposite of 213)*

2 3 3 1 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Conservative/+Bureaucracy+/Structure
Defend structure of system
*(Opposite of 2131)*
2 3 3 2 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Conservative/+Bureaucracy+/Openness and accountability
   Oppose more open / less secretive bureaucracy
   (opposite of 2132)

2 3 4 /POLITICAL SYSTEM/Conservative/-Democracy-
   Negative discussion of democratic decision-making
   (Opposite of 214)

3 SOCIETY
   Role of state in society

3 1 SOCIETY/Values
   Public action on social norms and values

3 1 1 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal
   Liberal, permissive or non-traditional social values

   (Includes general statements in favour of liberal non-traditional values that do not neatly fit into any of the somewhat more specific categories in this 311... section. General need for the freedom of the individual in society and freedom of individual expression.)

3 1 1 1 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Sexual
   Liberal, permissive or non-traditional sexual values

3 1 1 1 1 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Sexual/Heterosexual
   Liberal or non-traditional values on heterosexuality

   (Includes statements accepting more liberated/permissive sexual relations and defending right of people to have sexual relations with whoever they like)

3 1 1 1 2 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Sexual/Homosexual
   Liberal or non-traditional values on homosexuality

   (Includes statements promoting gay rights and defending homosexual liberties, lowering age of consent and criticising anti-gay discrimination)

3 1 1 1 3 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Sexual/Abortion
   Support women's right to choose; pro-abortion attitudes

3 1 1 2 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Family
   Liberal discussion of role of family life

3 1 1 2 1 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Family/Divorce
   Liberal discussion of divorce and family breakdown
31122 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Family/Non-trad.
Liberal discussion of families other than nuclear families, e.g. one parent families

3113 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Crime
Liberal attitude to dealing with criminals, crime and the causes of crime.

31131 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Crime/Prisons
Stresses rehabilitation and liberal prison regime

(Liberal attitude to punishment of criminals. Need to rehabilitate rather than simply punish the criminal. Need to have non-authoritarian non-draconian prison regime providing the criminal with decent standards of prison accommodation. Encourage education and training of criminal while in prison and other kinds of rehabilitation. Concern for ‘miscarriages of justice’.)

31132 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Crime/Police
Stresses community policing, crime prevention

(Emphasis on crime prevention rather than on crime detection. Provide community policing and educational programmes so that crimes may be prevented rather than cured.)

31133 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Crime/Causes
Stresses social causes of crime

(Crime is a product of poor social conditions. Deprivation and alienation in society leads to, or at least is an important cause of, criminal activity because the deprived and alienated individual has few other choices than the choice of crime. Thus, it is necessary to tackle social problems in the fight against crime. ‘criminal’ is just as much a victim as the conventional victim.)

3114 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/Equality and Social Justice
Promote equal treatment of individuals

(Includes statements promoting equal opportunities for all in society and equal treatment of all. Idea of fairness and inclusion of all citizens in society. Everyone should have the same opportunities in society and general statements critical of discrimination broadly in society. The alienated should be brought into society and feel involved in and a part of society. Society should not have major divisions in it between the haves and the have-nots. Also includes general statements in favour of basic human rights. Statements favouring charity and charitable organisations NOTE: This category is concerned with reducing the level of inequality in society and this includes reducing levels of economic inequality. BUT STATEMENTS ADDRESSED TO THE ECONOMICALLY POOR IN SOCIETY SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN 11116 AND NOT HERE)
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3 1 1 5 SOCIETY/Values/Liberal/-Nation-
Negative discussion of national feeling and pride
(emphasises benefits of downplaying or downgrading nationalist and patriotic feeling. Need to
be not isolationist, rather to be internationalist in outlook.)

3 1 2 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral
Neutral discussion of social values

3 1 2 1 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral/Sexual
Neutral discussion of sexual values

3 1 2 1 1 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral/Sexual/Heterosexual
Neutral discussion of heterosexuality

3 1 2 1 2 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral/Sexual/Homosexual
Neutral discussion of homosexuality

3 1 2 1 3 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral/Sexual/Abortion
Neutral discussion of abortion

3 1 2 2 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral/Family
Neutral discussion of family life

3 1 2 2 1 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral/Family/Divorce
Neutral discussion of divorce and marriage breakdown

3 1 2 2 2 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral/Family/Non-trad.
Neutral discussion of non-traditional families

3 1 2 3 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral/Equality
Neutral discussion of equality

3 1 2 4 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral/=-Nation=
Neutral discussion of national feeling

3 1 2 5 SOCIETY/Values/Neutral/=-Nation=
Neutral discussion of national feeling
313 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative
Conservative, restrictive and/or traditional social values
(Includes statements promoting conservative values which do not fit neatly into the somewhat more specific categories in this 313.. section.)

3131 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Sexual
Conservative, traditional social values on sexual behaviour

31311 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Sexual/Heterosexual
Traditional social values on heterosexuality

(opposite of 31111)

31312 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Sexual/Homosexual
Traditional social values on homosexuality

(opposite of 31112)

31313 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Sexual/Abortion
Oppose abortion.

(opposite of 31113)

3132 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Family
Conservative and/or traditional attitudes to family life

31321 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Family/Divorce
Opposition to divorce; support for restriction of divorce

(opposite of 31121)

31322 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Family/Non trad.
Support for nuclear, hostility to non-traditional, family

(opposite of 31122)

3133 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Crime
Conservative attitude to dealing with criminals, crime and the causes of crime

31331 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Crime/Prisons
Stresses punishment and tough prison regime

(opposite of 31131)

31332 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Crime/Police
Firm policing, more police, crime detection
(opposite of 31131. Includes concern for upsurges in or rising levels of crime)

3 1 3 3 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/Crime/Causes
Presents criminals as bad individuals

(opposite of 31133)

3 1 3 4 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/-Equality and social justice
Negative discussion of equality and social justice for individuals

(opposite of 3114)

3 1 3 5 SOCIETY/Values/Conservative/+Nation+
Positive discussion of national feeling and pride, and patriotism.

(opposite of 3115)

3 3 SOCIETY/Sectional interests
Attitudes to particular sectional groups and interests

3 3 1 SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote
Promote interests of:

3 3 1 1 SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Workers
Workers and organised labour

(Includes statements promoting the ‘unemployed’ as a group in society. NOTE: Does not include desire to reduce tax burden on workers. Rather this goes into 131....’)

3 3 1 2 SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Employers
Employers and employers' federations

(Includes statements promoting interests of employers’ organisations. NOTE: this category only relates to employers as organised groups or federations. It does not include general statements in favour of business and the business sector. Such statements should be coded under 13 as should general statements aiding businesses and companies.)

3 3 1 3 SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Farmers
Farmers and other rural interests

(Includes statements promoting farmers and the agricultural sector in general. Also statements promoting fishing and the marine sector and the forestry sector. Includes statements promoting the rights and the lifestyle of rural folk. NOTE: statements advocating the ‘local’ involvement of rural people in their area should be coded under 3313 rather than 212)
3 3 1 4  SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Women
   Women and women's groups

3 3 1 5  SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Religious
   Particular religious groups

3 3 1 6  SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Linguistic
   Particular linguistic groups

(all statements in a minority language in a manifesto should be coded under 3316)

3 3 1 7  SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Ethnic
   Particular ethnic groups

(includes travelling community in Ireland, gypsy and other ethnic groups in other countries.
Includes statements favouring multi-culturalism, multi-ethnic society and statements supportive
of immigrants)

3 3 1 8  SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Consumer
   Promote interests of consumers

(promote interests of customers and consumers. Charters of rights for customers. Need to raise
standards of service - e.g. Hygiene, safety or service standards - to high levels expected by
customers and consumers in relation to either the private or the public sector. Any statements
promoting regulations of the private sector which do not relate to customer/consumer rights
should be coded under 113...)

3 3 1 9  SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Old
   Promote interests of elderly

(NOTE: Does not include pension promotion which should be coded under 11116)

3 3 1 10  SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Youth
   Promotion of children and young people

3 3 1 11  SOCIETY/Sectional/Promote/Disabled
   Promotion of disabled people

3 3 2  SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral
   Neutral discussion of position of:

3 3 2 1  SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/Workers
   Workers and organised labour
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3 3 2 2 SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/Employers
Employers and employers' federations

3 3 2 3 SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/Farmers
Farmers and other rural interests

3 3 2 4 SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/Women
Women and women's groups

3 3 2 5 SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/Religious
Particular religious groups

3 3 2 6 SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/Linguistic
Particular linguistic groups

3 3 2 7 SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/Ethnic
Particular ethnic groups

3 3 2 8 SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/Consumers
Neutral discussion of consumers

3 3 2 9 SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/Old
Neutral discussion of elderly

3 3 2 10 SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/youth
neutral discussion of youth and children

3 3 2 11 SOCIETY/Sectional/Neutral/disabled
neutral discussion of disables

3 3 3 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose
Oppose interests of:

3 3 3 1 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/Workers
Workers and organised labour

3 3 3 2 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/Employers
Employers and employers' federations

3 3 3 3 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/Farmers
Farmers and other rural interests
Including priority of urban over rural

3 3 3 4 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/Women
Women and women's groups
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3 3 3 5 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/Religious
Particular religious groups

3 3 3 6 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/Linguistic
Particular linguistic groups

3 3 3 7 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/Ethnic
Particular ethnic groups

3 3 3 8 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/Consumer
Negative discussion of interest of consumers

3 3 3 9 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/Old
Negative discussion of interests of the elderly

3 3 3 10 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/youth
Negative discussion children and youth

3 3 3 11 SOCIETY/Sectional/Oppose/disabled
Negative discussion of disabled

4 EXTERNAL
Role of state in external relations

4 1 EXTERNAL/Bilateral
Bilateral relations with other states

4 1 1 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Pro
Support position of / advocate closer relations with:

4 1 1 1 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Pro/USA
United States

4 1 1 2 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Pro/(ex-)USSR
(Former) Soviet Union

4 1 1 3 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Pro/China
China

4 1 1 4 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Pro/Israel
Israel

4 1 1 5 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Pro/Britain
Britain
4116 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Pro/Other
Other (N. Ireland in Irish context)

412 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Neutral
Neutral discussion of relations with:

4121 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Neutral/USA
United States

4122 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Neutral/(ex-)USSR
(Former) Soviet Union

4123 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Neutral/China
China

4124 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Neutral/Israel
Israel

4125 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Neutral/Britain
Britain

4126 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Neutral/Other
Other (N. Ireland in Irish context)

413 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Con
Oppose position of / advocate cooler relations with:

4131 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Con/USA
United States

4132 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Con/(ex-)USSR
(Former) Soviet Union

4133 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Con/China
China

4134 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Con/Israel
Israel

4135 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Con/Britain
Britain

4136 EXTERNAL/Bilateral/Con/Other
Other (N. Ireland in Irish context)
4.2 EXTERNAL/Multilateral
Relations with international organisations

4.2.1 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Pro
Support position of / advocate closer relations with:

4.2.1.1 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Pro/UN
United Nations

4.2.1.2 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Pro/EC
European Community/Union

4.2.1.3 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Pro/EFTA
European Free Trade Area

4.2.1.4 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Pro/GATT
GATT

4.2.1.5 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Pro/NATO
NATO

4.2.1.6 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Pro/Warsaw
Warsaw Pact

4.2.1.7 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Pro/Commonwealth
Favourable discussion of Commonwealth

4.2.1.8 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Pro/IMF
IMF

4.2.1.9 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Pro/OECD
OECD

4.2.2 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Neutral
Neutral discussion of relations with:

4.2.2.1 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Neutral/UN
United Nations

4.2.2.2 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Neutral/EC
European Community/Union

4.2.2.3 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Neutral/EFTA
European Free Trade Area
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4 2 2 4  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Neutral/GATT
       GATT

4 2 2 5  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Neutral/NATO
       NATO

4 2 2 6  EXTERNAL/Organisations/Neutral/Warsaw
       Warsaw Pact

4 2 2 7  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Neutral/commonwealth
       Commonwealth

4 2 2 8  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Neutral/IMF
       IMF

4 2 2 9  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Neutral/OECD
       OECD

4 2 3  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Con
       Oppose position of / advocate cooler relations with:

4 2 3 1  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Con/UN
       United Nations

4 2 3 2  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Con/EC
       European Community/Union

4 2 3 3  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Con/EFTA
       European Free Trade Area

4 2 3 4  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Con/GATT
       GATT

4 2 3 5  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Con/NATO
       NATO

4 2 3 6  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Con/Warsaw
       Warsaw Pact

4 2 3 7  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Con/commonwealth
       Commonwealth

4 2 3 8  EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Con/IMF
       IMF
4 2 3 9 EXTERNAL/Multilateral/Con/OECD
OECD

4 3 EXTERNAL/Security
Discussions of national/international security

4 3 1 EXTERNAL/Security/Nuclear
Discussion of nuclear arms

4 3 1 1 EXTERNAL/Security/Nuclear/Anti
Oppose nuclear weapons/ propose nuclear disarmament

4 3 1 2 EXTERNAL/Security/Nuclear/Neutral
Neutral discussion of nuclear weapons / disarmament

4 3 1 3 EXTERNAL/Security/Nuclear/Pro
Support nuclear weapons/ oppose nuclear disarmament

4 3 2 EXTERNAL/Security/Conventional
Discussion of conventional weapons

4 3 2 1 EXTERNAL/Security/Conventional/Anti
Oppose conventional weapons/ propose disarmament

4 3 2 2 EXTERNAL/Security/Conventional/Neutral
Neutral discussion of conventional weapons / disarmament

4 3 2 3 EXTERNAL/Security/Conventional/Pro
Support conventional weapons/ oppose disarmament

4 3 3 EXTERNAL/Security/War
Military engagement with other states

4 3 3 1 EXTERNAL/Security/War/Anti
Oppose military engagement with other states

4 3 3 2 EXTERNAL/Security/War/Neutral
Neutral discussion of military engagement with other states

4 3 3 3 EXTERNAL/Security/War/Pro
Support military engagement with other states

4 3 4 EXTERNAL/Security/Neutrality
Attitudes to neutrality
4 3 4 1  EXTERNAL/Security/Neutrality/Pro
Support neutrality in international disputes

4 3 4 2  EXTERNAL/Security/Neutrality/Neutral
"Neutral" discussion of neutrality in international disputes

4 3 4 3  EXTERNAL/Security/Neutrality/Anti
Oppose neutrality in international disputes

4 4 EXTERNAL/Aid
Attitudes to development aid

4 4 1  EXTERNAL/Aid/Pro
Support increases / oppose cuts in development aid

4 4 1  1  EXTERNAL/Aid/Pro/Ex-Comm.
Promote aid to former communist states

4 4 1  2  EXTERNAL/Aid/Pro/Developing
Promote aid to developing world

4 4 2  EXTERNAL/Aid/Neutral
Neutral discussion of development aid

4 4 2  1  EXTERNAL/Aid/Pro/Ex-Comm.
Neutral discussion of aid to former communist states

4 4 2  2  EXTERNAL/Aid/Pro/Developing
Neutral discussion of aid to developing world

4 4 3  EXTERNAL/Aid/Anti
Oppose increases / support cuts in development aid

4 4 3  1  EXTERNAL/Aid/Pro/Ex-Comm.
Oppose aid to former communist states

4 4 3  2  EXTERNAL/Aid/Pro/Developing
Oppose aid to developing world

4 5 EXTERNAL/Talks and Peace Resolution
Discussion of talks as a way to resolve conflict

4 5 1  EXTERNAL/Talks and Peace Resolution/Pro
Positive discussion of role of talks in trouble spots and promotion of peace resolution
4 5 2 EXTERNAL/Talks and Peace Resolution/Neutral.
Neutral discussion of role of talks in trouble spots and peace resolution

4 5 3 EXTERNAL/Talks and Peace Resolution/Con
Negative discussion of role of talks in trouble spots and peace resolution.

5 GENERAL
General political cut and thrust

5 1 GENERAL/Partisan
General partisan point scoring. The manifesto party is a better party than the rival party. The manifesto party; negative campaigns in the manifesto against the rival party. Eg. Rival party broke promises etc.

5 2 GENERAL/Policy
Substantive policy positions not classifiable elsewhere.

5 3 GENERAL/Personal
General personal attacks, eulogies: ‘I’m a better leader than you are, Mr/Ms Rival Party leader.’

5 4 GENERAL/Pap
General empty discussion / pap – the bullshit box.
## Appendix 4: CMP coding scheme for party manifestos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CMP code</th>
<th>CMP category definition</th>
<th>New category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Domain 1: External Relations</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per101</td>
<td><em>Foreign Special Relationships: Positive</em></td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per102</td>
<td><em>Foreign Special Relationships: Negative</em></td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As 101, but negative.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per103</td>
<td><em>Anti-Imperialism: Positive</em></td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative references to exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per104</td>
<td><em>Military: Positive</em></td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; modernising armed forces and improvement in military strength; reararmament and self-defence; need to keep military treaty obligations; need to secure adequate manpower in the military.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per105</td>
<td><em>Military: Negative</em></td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As 104, but negative.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per106</td>
<td><em>Peace: Positive</em></td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per107</td>
<td><em>Internationalism: Positive</em></td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Need for international cooperation; 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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per108</td>
<td><em>European Integration: Positive</em></td>
<td>3.2 pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favourable mentions of European integration in general; desirability of expanding the European Union and/or of increasing its competence; desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per109</td>
<td><em>Internationalism: Negative</em></td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty as opposed to internationalism; otherwise as 107, but negative.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per110</td>
<td><em>European Integration: Negative</em></td>
<td>3.2 con</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As 108, but negative.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>per201</td>
<td>Freedom and Human Rights: Positive</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per202</td>
<td>Democracy: Positive</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per203</td>
<td>Constitutionalism: Positive</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per204</td>
<td>Constitutionalism: Negative</td>
<td>Opposition to the constitution in general or to specific aspects; otherwise as 203, but negative.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Domain 3: Political System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>per301</td>
<td>Decentralisation: Positive</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per302</td>
<td>Centralisation: Positive</td>
<td>Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels; support for more centralisation in political and administrative procedures; otherwise as 301, but negative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per303</td>
<td>Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per304</td>
<td>Political Corruption: Negative</td>
<td>Need to eliminate corruption, and associated abuse, in political and public life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per305</td>
<td>Political Authority: Positive</td>
<td>Favourable mentions of strong government, including government stability; manifesto party’s competence to govern and/or other party’s lack of such competence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Domain 4: Economy</strong></td>
<td><strong>New category</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| per401 *Free Enterprise: Positive*  
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.  
| 1.2 pro |
| per402 *Incentives: Positive*  
Need for wage and tax policies to induce enterprise; encouragement to start enterprises; need for financial and other incentives such as subsidies.  
| 1.5 |
| per403 *Market Regulation: Positive*  
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.  
| 1.2 con |
| per404 *Economic Planning: Positive*  
Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning, need for government to create such a plan.  
| 1.5 |
| per405 *Corporatism: Positive*  
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.  
| 1.5 |
| per406 *Protectionism: Positive*  
Favourable mentions of extension or maintenance of tariffs to protect internal markets; other domestic economic protectionism such as quota restrictions.  
| 1.2 con |
| per407 *Protectionism: Negative*  
Support for the concept of free trade; otherwise as 406, but negative.  
| 1.2 pro |
| per408 *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.  
| 1.5 |
| per409 *Keynesian Demand Management: Positive*  
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.  
<p>| 1.5 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>per410</td>
<td><em>Productivity: Positive</em></td>
<td>1.4 growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Need to encourage or facilitate greater production; need to take measures to aid this; appeal for greater production and importance of productivity to the economy; increasing foreign trade; the paradigm of growth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per411</td>
<td><em>Technology and Infrastructure: Positive</em></td>
<td>1.4 growth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>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).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per412</td>
<td><em>Controlled Economy: Positive</em></td>
<td>1.2 con</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General need for direct government control of economy; control over prices, wages, rents, etc; state intervention into the economic system.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per413</td>
<td><em>Nationalisation: Positive</em></td>
<td>1.2 con</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favourable mentions of govt ownership, partial or complete, including govt ownership of land.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per414</td>
<td><em>Economic Orthodoxy: Positive</em></td>
<td>1.1 lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Need for traditional economic orthodoxy; 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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per415</td>
<td><em>Marxist Analysis: Positive</em></td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per416</td>
<td><em>Anti-Growth Economy: Positive</em></td>
<td>1.4 envir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics and steady state economy; ecologism; “Green politics”; sustainable development.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>New category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>per501</td>
<td>Environmental Protection: Positive</td>
<td>Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.; general preservation of natural resources against selfish interests; proper use of national parks; soil banks, etc; environmental improvement.</td>
<td>1.4 envir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per502</td>
<td>Culture: Positive</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per503</td>
<td>Social Justice: Positive</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td>1.3 pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per504</td>
<td>Welfare State Expansion: Positive</td>
<td>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. Excludes education.</td>
<td>1.1 high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per505</td>
<td>Welfare State Limitation: Positive</td>
<td>Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; otherwise as 504, but negative.</td>
<td>1.1 low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per506</td>
<td>Education Expansion: Positive</td>
<td>Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels. This excludes technical training which is coded under 411.</td>
<td>1.1 high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per507</td>
<td>Education Limitation: Positive</td>
<td>Limiting expenditure on education; otherwise as 506, but negative.</td>
<td>1.1 low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Domain 6: Fabric of Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>New category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>per601</td>
<td>National Way of Life: Positive</td>
<td>Appeals to patriotism and/or nationalism; suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion; support for established national ideas.</td>
<td>2.2 con</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per602</td>
<td>National Way of Life: Negative</td>
<td>Against patriotism and/or nationalism; opposition to the existing national state; otherwise as 601, but negative.</td>
<td>4.2 pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per603</td>
<td>Traditional Morality: Positive</td>
<td>Favourable mentions of traditional moral values; prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour; maintenance and stability of family; religion.</td>
<td>2.1 con</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per604</td>
<td>Traditional Morality: Negative</td>
<td>Opposition to traditional moral values; support for divorce, abortion etc.; otherwise as 603, but negative.</td>
<td>2.1 lib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per605</td>
<td>Law and Order: Positive</td>
<td>Enforcement of all laws; actions against crime; support and resources for police; tougher attitudes in courts.</td>
<td>2.2 con</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per606</td>
<td>Social Harmony: Positive</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per607</td>
<td>Multiculturalism: Positive</td>
<td>Cultural diversity, communalism, cultural plurality and pillarisation; preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages within the country including special educational provisions.</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per608</td>
<td>Multiculturalism: Negative</td>
<td>Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration; otherwise as 607, but negative.</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Domain 7: Social Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>New Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>per701</td>
<td><em>Labour Groups: Positive</em></td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favourable references to labour groups, working class, unemployed; support for trade unions; good treatment of manual and other employees.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per702</td>
<td><em>Labour Groups: Negative</em></td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abuse of power of trade unions; otherwise as 701, but negative.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per703</td>
<td><em>Farmers: Positive</em></td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Support for agriculture and farmers; any policy aimed specifically at benefiting these.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per704</td>
<td><em>Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive</em></td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favourable references to middle class, professional groups, such as physicians or lawyers; old and new middle class.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per705</td>
<td><em>Underprivileged Minority Groups: Positive</em></td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms, e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per706</td>
<td><em>Non-economic Demographic Groups: Positive</em></td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to women, old people, young people, linguistic groups, etc; special interest groups of all kinds.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


