

the decisions made by the supervisor. If coders doubt whether certain parts of the manifesto should be treated as text or not, they should seek immediate advice from the supervisor.

## 3.2 Unitising - Cutting Text into Quasi-Sentences

The coding unit is a quasi-sentence. One quasi-sentence contains exactly one statement or "message". In many cases, parties make one statement per sentence, which results in one quasi-sentence equalling one full sentence. Therefore, the **basic unitising rule** is that **one sentence is, at minimum, one quasi-sentence**. In no case can two or more sentences form a quasi-sentence<sup>2</sup>. There are, however, instances when one natural sentence contains more than one quasi-sentence, as discussed below.

### 3.2.1 When to Cut Sentences

**Only if** the natural sentence contains more than one unique argument should this sentence be split. There are two possibilities for unique arguments: 1) a sentence contains two statements that are totally unrelated; or 2) a sentence contains two statements that are related (e.g. they come from the same policy field) but address different aspects of a larger policy.

Clues to unique statements might be 1) semicolons; 2) the possibility to split up the sentence into a meaningful bullet point list; 3) general clues from codes. Regarding the third point, it is especially likely that the sentence includes two unique statements if a sentence contains codes from two or more domains (see Table 1, p. 6). An example would be:

"We need to address our close ties with our neighbours (107) ■ as well as the unique challenges facing small business owners in this time of economic hardship. (402)"

### 3.2.2 When Not to Cut Sentences

There are many instances when sentences should not be split into quasi-sentences. A good rule of thumb is that **one word** is most likely not a quasi-sentence. It is crucial to know that **examples, reasoning, explanations**, etc. are not unique arguments and are therefore no separate quasi-sentences.

Coders should also be careful when unitising based on sentence operators such as commas, colons, hyphens, etc. Such operators might be, but are not always, indicators of a quasi-sentence. Operators do not indicate two quasi-sentences if they do not separate two unique statements. Examples for this case are:

"The animal rights in our country must be improved; and we will do that. (501)"

"Our country's budget must be put on solid footing again, no matter the costs. (414)"

Coders should not split up a sentence just because they think they have discovered a code. For instance, the mere singling out of another country is not a unique argument and, therefore, a quasi-sentence. Only if the statement refers to a general or specific foreign policy goal should it be considered a separate quasi-sentence. Furthermore, references to policy areas such as education, agriculture, labour, and the environment should not automatically be separated simply because 'catch words' such as 'schools', 'farmers', 'unions' or 'environmentalists' are mentioned. Again, the sentence should only be cut if it is a statement about the issue. Here is an example of a sentence that seems to contain several arguments at first glance but, on closer inspection, is revealed to have only one unique message:

"We must force our unions to step back from their demands or their policies will result in the loss of thousands of jobs, closing of schools, and diminishing pensions. (702)"

In this example, jobs, schools, and pensions are only instances outlining the negative impact of what will happen if the party's central demand (unions reducing their demands) is not met.

<sup>2</sup>The only known exception is Greek, where what is otherwise considered a sentence can span over commonly used signs for the end of a sentence, esp. full stops.

### 3.3 Bottom-Up Approach to Coding - Finding the Right Code for a Quasi-Sentence

#### 3.3.1 The Categories

The Manifesto Project developed a category system whereby each quasi-sentence of every manifesto is coded into one, and only one, of 56 standard categories. The 56 categories are grouped into seven major policy areas and are designed to be comparable between parties, countries, elections, and across time. Furthermore, 12 categories are split up into 2 or more subcategories that capture specific aspects of these categories. In these cases, the coder needs to choose between the subcategories and may not use the main category.

#### 3.3.2 The Subcategories

Some of the categories above are further divided into two or more subcategories in order to, in particular, accommodate the specificities of the Latin American political competition. However, these subcategories should be used for all countries, without regard to the region – the only exceptions are 305.4, 305.5 and 305.6 which are only applicable for transitional, former authoritarian regimes.

**If a category has subcategories, the coder must only use the subcategories.** The main categories only remain as guidelines and for aggregation purposes, especially to enable the recreation of the original coding scheme.

**Domain 1: External Relations**

- 101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive
- 102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative
- 103 Anti-Imperialism: Positive
  - 103.1 State Centred Anti-Imperialism
  - 103.2 Foreign Financial Influence
- 104 Military: Positive
- 105 Military: Negative
- 106 Peace: Positive
- 107 Internationalism: Positive
- 108 European/Regional Integration: Positive
- 109 Internationalism: Negative
- 110 European/Regional Integration: Negative

**Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy**

- 201 Freedom and Human Rights: Positive
  - 201.1 Freedom
  - 201.2 Human Rights
- 202 Democracy
  - 202.1 General: Positive
  - 202.2 General: Negative
  - 202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive
  - 202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive
- 203 Constitutionalism: Positive
- 204 Constitutionalism: Negative

**Domain 3: Political System**

- 301 Decentralisation: Positive
- 302 Centralisation: Positive
- 303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive
- 304 Political Corruption: Negative
- 305 Political Authority: Positive
  - 305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence
  - 305.2 Political Authority: Personal Competence
  - 305.3 Political Authority: Strong government
  - 305.4 Pre-Democratic Elites: Positive
  - 305.5 Pre-Democratic Elites: Negative
  - 305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation

**Domain 4: Economy**

- 401 Free-Market Economy: Positive
- 402 Incentives: Positive
- 403 Market Regulation: Positive
- 404 Economic Planning: Positive
- 405 Corporatism: Positive
- 406 Protectionism: Positive
- 407 Protectionism: Negative
- 408 Economic Goals
- 409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive
- 410 Economic Growth
- 411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive

- 412 Controlled Economy: Positive
- 413 Nationalisation: Positive
- 414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive
- 415 Marxist Analysis: Positive
- 416 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive
  - 416.1 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive
  - 416.2 Sustainability: Positive

**Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life**

- 501 Environmental Protection: Positive
- 502 Culture: Positive
- 503 Equality: Positive
- 504 Welfare State Expansion
- 505 Welfare State Limitation
- 506 Education Expansion
- 507 Education Limitation

**Domain 6: Fabric of Society**

- 601 National Way of Life: Positive
  - 601.1 General
  - 601.2 Immigration: Negative
- 602 National Way of Life: Negative
  - 602.1 General
  - 602.2 Immigration: Positive
- 603 Traditional Morality: Positive
- 604 Traditional Morality: Negative
- 605 Law and Order
  - 605.1 Law and Order: Positive
  - 605.2 Law and Order: Negative
- 606 Civic Mindedness: Positive
  - 606.1 General
  - 606.2 Bottom-Up Activism
- 607 Multiculturalism: Positive
  - 607.1 General
  - 607.2 Immigrant Integration: Diversity
  - 607.3 Indigenous rights: Positive
- 608 Multiculturalism: Negative
  - 608.1 General
  - 608.2 Immigrant Integration: Assimilation
  - 608.3 Indigenous rights: Negative

**Domain 7: Social Groups**

- 701 Labour Groups: Positive
- 702 Labour Groups: Negative
- 703 Agriculture and Farmers
  - 703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive
  - 703.2 Agriculture and Farmers: Negative
- 704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive
- 705 Minority Groups: Positive
- 706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive
- 000 No meaningful category applies

### 3.3.3 The Code Allocation

The following questions are central to the decision making of assigning codes to quasi-sentences: **What are the statements of the party/presidential candidate? Which policy positions does the party/presidential candidate convey?** In order to make this decision, coders need to make sure that they understand what the party/presidential candidate says. Therefore, it is essential to read every single quasi-sentence very carefully.

Often political actors are very clear in their statements and candidly say what they seek: more of one thing, less of another. In this case, assigning codes is straightforward: coders identify the message and assign the corresponding category. When consulting the category scheme it is important to keep in mind that the categories' definitions are not exhaustive. They are meant to give a general notion and some exemplary statements. The scopes of the categories are not constrained to the exact wording of the definition and it should be assigned to all issues that are related to the general idea conveyed.

There are, however, times when these statements are not very clear and are more difficult to code. When facing such an ambiguous sentence, the coders should always first think about the meaning of the quasi-sentence and double-check the quasi-sentence with all codes in the category scheme. This helps assure that the quasi-sentence does not simply fall into one of the lesser used, 'rare' categories.

In general, there are three possible factors which cause ambiguity: 1) *Language is often simply ambiguous.* Language is full of various styles, jargon, rhetorical meanings, colloquialisms, etc. Manifestos, therefore, often use language in manifold ways. 2) *Quite often political actors not only say what they want to achieve but also how they want to achieve it.* Sometimes, coders will find both statements within one natural sentence and will have to decide how to handle this high density of information. 3) *Many of the political issues included in manifestos are very complex and it is not possible to convey a clear message within one quasi-sentence.* Parties and presidential candidates often choose to build their arguments over several sentences, within a paragraph and/or sometimes even over the course of a whole chapter.

Coders need to keep these sources of ambiguity in mind in order to fully understand the message conveyed. The following section addresses ways for coders to handle 'ambiguous' language and other problems during the course of coding.

#### 1) Ambiguity of Language

a) Often, political actors make policy statements by mentioning a negative aspect of an issue in order to highlight its importance. Take, for example, the following:

*"Our country's democracy does not work well enough anymore!"*

This sentence could be read and interpreted as a negative statement towards the country's democratic processes. However, it is rather clear that the party is not making a statement against democracy itself. The actual message of this sentence is one of concern about and criticism of the current state of democracy. Therefore, this is a positive statement towards the ideal principle of democracy.

b) Furthermore, political actors tend to use ambiguous or convoluted language to 'hide' certain statements often deemed politically incorrect or inadmissible viewpoints. Coders should try to understand the message while at the same time trying not to read too much into the quasi-sentence.

#### 2) Ambiguity of Quasi-Sentences because of Complexity - A Hierarchy of Context

When the quasi-sentence in itself does not convey an obvious message despite coders' best effort to find one, several levels of context might be helpful to decide how to code a quasi-sentence. These levels are hierarchical. Coders should keep in mind that it is imperative to consider the context level closest to the quasi-sentence first and only move to the next level in case the closer one was not helpful.

The context levels are, in sequence from the quasi-sentence level upwards:

1. the rest of the sentence in case the quasi-sentence is only part of a natural sentence
2. the previous and the following sentences
3. the whole paragraph
4. the whole chapter or section
5. the whole manifesto
6. the political discourse concerning the issue in the country at the time of the election

### 3) Statements Containing Several Messages

Sometimes more than one code seems to apply to a quasi-sentence because the party or presidential candidate wraps several statements up into one broad statement. Quite often, these statements come in the form of "We want to reach A by doing B and C" or "We are doing B and C because we want to reach A." In principle, the grand rule of 'code the message' applies. For these two examples, the message is that A is primarily important. B and C are simply means to achieve A. **Goals usually take precedence over means when assigning codes.** The following example claims that changing the constitution might serve the purpose of promoting animal rights. Since the constitution change is clearly only a tool, this sentence is not cut into two quasi-sentences and only the animal rights code applies.

*"To make sure that animal rights are universally recognised, we are going to add them to our constitution. (501)"*

However, there are instances where this logic does not apply. It might be possible that the party not only sends a message for A but also puts so much emphasis on B and C that B and C become messages in themselves. This is most apparent when the quasi-sentence states that B and C are the only means possible and there is an imperative to use them: "We want A, therefore we must employ B and C as the only feasible options." The following example is one where the means (leaving NATO and reducing the military) are such strong messages in themselves that they need to be coded separately from the goal (peace).

*"In order to achieve worldwide peace, (106) ■ our country must leave NATO (105) ■ and reduce the military to a minimum. (105)"*

### 4) Statements Containing No Message

There are instances when a sentence by itself does not make a statement. Often, the context helps in these cases and the rules mentioned above still apply. A special case is when sentences are used as a way to introduce or end an argument, or to connect two arguments. These introductory, terminal, or connecting sentences do not constitute meaningful statements themselves but are part of a continuous argument. Therefore, they should be coded in the same category as the corresponding argument or as the bulk of the paragraph in which they appear. If they end with a colon, they should be merged with the next quasi-sentence, often a bullet point.

### 5) Proximity of Contradicting Codes

Finally, a note of general caution: it is possible to have positive and negative codes on the same issue right next to each other. Manifestos often include contradictory statements. Coders should not try to assume 'hidden' meanings in a quasi-sentence just to make sense of the sentences around it. Manifestos are not codes to be deciphered. Instead, coders should be careful to only code what is written. The following examples are seemingly contradictory statements in close proximity:

*We will support our troops overseas, (104) ■ while working to end the current war. (105)  
Our constitution is a model for every truly democratic system (203) ■ but we need to change it (204).*

## 4 Specific Provisions Rules to Keep in Mind

There are several rules for the process of code allocation that stem from decades of experience with manifesto coders. There are certain habits and behavioural patterns which all coders (and especially new coders) should try to avoid. Therefore, while the following rules might seem trivial, coders are asked to keep them in mind.

## 4.1 Rare Occasions: When to Use the '000' Category

Generally, coders should try **to use a meaningful code (101 to 706) whenever possible**.

However, there **are** instances when '000' is an applicable code. The instances are: 1) the statement is totally devoid of any meaning and cannot be coded within the context; 2) the statement refers to a policy position that is not included in the category scheme. This may be particularly true for modern issues or if the category scheme only includes codes in one direction (positive or negative) and the statement refers to the non-included direction. For instance: environment is a positive category with no negative counterpart. If a statement can only be classified as "Environment Negative" it should be given a '000' code. All quasi-sentences treated as uncodable must be rechecked after the program has been coded in its entirety.

## 4.2 Catch-All Categories

303, 305, 408 and the 700-categories (except 703, see below) are meant to be catch-all categories for general policies that do not fit any specific coding category. They should always be **avoided** if a more specific policy category can be used. However, this does not mean that they are forbidden. Coders should double-check the usage of these categories to make sure they have not missed a specific policy.

## 4.3 Agriculture

When agricultural issues are mentioned, coders often have the choice between 703 'Agriculture and Farmers' and another, often economic, category. In these instances, a special rule applies: **If coders can choose between 703 or any other category, 703 should be chosen.**

However, this does not mean that the inclusion of the word 'farmer' automatically makes the category 703. This category should only be assigned if the statement is actually about agriculture and farmers in a positive (703.1) or negative way (703.2).

## 4.4 Sub-Categories from Prior Project Phases

Apart from the sub-categories introduced in chapter 4.3.2 of this handbook, a set of sub-categories had been developed during prior phases of the Manifesto Project. These sub-categories dealt primarily with country specific issues of Central and Eastern European countries during the post-communist transition period. These sub-categories are still in existence, some of them have been incorporated into the category scheme presented above. The usage of all other, country-specific sub-categories should be avoided as much as possible.

To make sure that no sub-category is used unnecessarily, coders **must** contact the supervisor whenever they consider using any of the sub-categories from prior phases that are not part of the category scheme presented above.

## 4.5 Background Knowledge vs. Personal Bias

All coders are expected to be citizens or (long-term) residents of the country they code. This is because they benefit from their background knowledge of their country. However, background knowledge should not be confused with a coder's personal characteristics, beliefs, and attitudes all of which are potentially harmful to the comparability of coding.

Background knowledge is unique knowledge that only citizens or residents of the country can have. It includes knowledge of the country's history, social problems and cleavages, electoral issues, party system, and party ideology. Personal biases, on the other hand, are coders' individual beliefs and attitudes concerning social and political issues, party ideologies, politicians and generally concerning what is 'right' and 'wrong'.

Coders should draw on background knowledge to help determine the code of ambiguous quasi-sentences only. However, coders should only do so if no other clues are available. In all cases, personal bias must be avoided! Such bias causes distortion. Coders should be especially careful when coding their most favourite and least favourite parties!

Furthermore, coders need to make sure that the statement is coded as it reads. If a party claims that their policy proposal has certain outcomes, this needs to be coded as it stands, even if coders think that

these policies will lead to other or even opposing results. Again, the central focus of coding is to find out the policy positions and points of view of each party. Any personal judgements (of 'rightness' or 'wrongness', whether a statement is realistic or sensible, etc.) need to be avoided. The following sentence is a good example:

*"We will increase the military expenditure to ensure peace in our region. (106)"*

This sentence might sound incorrect but, nevertheless, the party is conveying the message that they want to improve the region's prospect for peace (106).

## 5 In Case of Questions and Queries

A trouble-shooting system exists for cases of questions and queries. The contracting supervisor (currently Pola Lehmann) needs to be contacted for any issues concerning manifesto collection, training and coding contracts. The database supervisor (currently Sven Regel) can be contacted for any questions and problems concerning the technical side of dealing with manifestos, especially on how to work with the Coding App. The training and coding supervisor (currently Lisa Zehnter) needs to be contacted for any issues regarding the training and coding, e.g. questions about coding rules, code definition or any other issues. All communication processes run via email at [manifesto-communication@wzb.eu](mailto:manifesto-communication@wzb.eu).

## Category Scheme

NOTE: Every negative category includes all references of the positive category but negative. For instance, 'Military: Negative' is the reversal of all 'Military: Positive' statements.

### ***DOMAIN 1: External Relations***

#### ***101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive***

Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; the need for co-operation with and/or aid to such countries.

#### ***102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative***

Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship.

*Note: These special relationships should be predetermined on a case by case basis. Refer to the supervisor for detailed information and attach a list of special relations to the coding protocol.*

\*\*\*\*\*

#### ***[103 Anti-Imperialism, comprised of:]***

##### ***103.1 State Centred Anti-Imperialism***

Negative references to imperial behaviour and/or negative references to one state exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states. May also include:

- Negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire;
- Favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies;
- Favourable mentions of de-colonisation.

##### ***103.2 Foreign Financial Influence***

Negative references and statements against international financial organisations or states using monetary means to assert strong influence over the manifesto or other states. May include:

- Statements against the World Bank, IMF etc.;
- Statements against the Washington Consensus;
- Statements against foreign debt circumscribing state actions.

#### ***104 Military: Positive***

The importance of external security and defence. May include statements concerning:

- The need to maintain or increase military expenditure;
- The need to secure adequate manpower in the military;
- The need to modernise armed forces and improve military strength;
- The need for rearmament and self-defence;
- The need to keep military treaty obligations.

#### ***105 Military: Negative***

Negative references to the military or use of military power to solve conflicts. References to the 'evils of war'. May include references to:

- Decreasing military expenditures;
- Disarmament;
- Reduced or abolished conscription.



**106 Peace**

Any declaration of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises – absent reference to the military. May include:

- Peace as a general goal;
- Desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries;
- Ending wars in order to establish peace.

**107 Internationalism: Positive**

Need for international co-operation, including co-operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101. May also include references to the:

- Need for aid to developing countries;
- Need for world planning of resources;
- Support for global governance;
- Need for international courts;
- Support for UN or other international organisations.

**108 European Community/Union or Regional Integration: Positive**

Favourable mentions of European Community/Union or African Union; and regional integration within Latin American countries, e.g. CELAC, MERCOSUR, UNASUR; African countries, e.g. EAC, ECOWAS, COMESA, SADC. May include the:

- Desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member);
- Desirability of expanding the specific Community/Union or regional integration;
- Desirability of increasing the Community's/Union's competences;
- Desirability of expanding the competences of the European Parliament or the Pan-African Parliament.

*Note: This category is concerned with Regional Integration Organizations or Communities/Unions that manifest cooperation between countries of a region through common institutions and rules. Free Trade Agreements or other multilateral agreements or organisations are thus not included.*

**109 Internationalism: Negative**

Negative references to international co-operation. Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty with regard to the manifesto country's foreign policy, isolation and/or unilateralism as opposed to internationalism.

**110 European Community/Union or Regional Integration: Negative**

Negative references to the European Community/Union or African Union; and regional integration within Latin American countries, e.g. CELAC, MERCOSUR, UNASUR; African countries, e.g. EAC, ECOWAS, COMESA, SADC. May include:

- Opposition to specific policies which are preferred by authorities of the Community/Union;
- Opposition to the net-contribution of the manifesto country to the EU or AU budget.
- Opposition to the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member);
- Opposition to expanding or deepening the integration.

**DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy****[201 Freedom and Human Rights, comprised of:]****201.1 Freedom**

Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom in the manifesto and other countries. May include mentions of:

- Freedom from state coercion in the political and economic spheres;
- Freedom from bureaucratic control;
- The idea of individualism.

### ***201.2 Human Rights***

Favourable mentions of importance of human and civil rights in the manifesto and other countries, including the right to freedom of speech, press, assembly etc.; supportive refugee policies.

### ***[202 Democracy, comprised of:]***

#### ***202.1 General: Positive***

Favourable mentions of democracy as the "only game in town". General support for the manifesto country's democracy. May also include:

- Democracy as method or goal in national, international or other organisations (e.g. labour unions, political parties etc.);
- The need for the involvement of all citizens in political decision-making;
- Support for parts of democratic regimes (rule of law, division of powers, independence of courts etc.).

#### ***202.2 General: Negative***

Statements against the idea of democracy, in general or in the manifesto country. Calls for reducing or withholding democratic rights from all or certain groups of people. Calls for the introduction or maintaining of a non-democratic regime, e.g. monarchy or rule of the military.

#### ***202.3 Representative Democracy: Positive***

Favourable mentions of the system of representative democracy, in particular in contrast to direct democracy. This includes the protection of representative institutions and actors against direct democratic elements.

#### ***202.4 Direct Democracy: Positive***

Favourable mentions of the system of direct democracy, in particular in contrast to representative democracy. This includes the call for the introduction and/or extension of referenda, participatory budgets and other forms of direct democracy.

### ***203 Constitutionalism: Positive***

Support for maintaining the status quo of the constitution. Support for specific aspects of the manifesto country's constitution. The use of constitutionalism as an argument for any policy.

### ***204 Constitutionalism: Negative***

Opposition to the entirety or specific aspects of the manifesto country's constitution. Calls for constitutional amendments or changes. May include calls to abolish or rewrite the current constitution.

## ***DOMAIN 3: Political System***

### ***301 Decentralisation: Positive***

Support for federalism or decentralisation of political and/or economic power. May include:

- Favourable mentions of the territorial subsidiary principle;
- More autonomy for any sub-national level in policy making and/or economics, including municipalities;
- Support for the continuation and importance of local and regional customs and symbols and/or deference to local expertise;
- Favourable mentions of special consideration for sub-national areas.

**302 Centralisation: Positive**

General opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels. Support for unitary government and for more centralisation in political and administrative procedures.

**303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency**

Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration and/or the general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more efficient. May include:

- Restructuring the civil service;
- Cutting down on the civil service;
- Improving bureaucratic procedures.

*Note: Specific policy positions overrule this category! If there is no specific policy position, however, this category applies.*

**304 Political Corruption**

Need to eliminate political corruption and associated abuses of political and/or bureaucratic power. Need to abolish clientelist structures and practices.

**[305 Political Authority, comprised of:]****305.1 Political Authority: Party Competence**

References to the manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence.

**305.2 Political Authority: Personal Competence**

Reference to the presidential candidate's or party leader's personal competence to govern and/or other candidate's or leader's lack of such competence.

**305.3 Political Authority: Strong government**

Favourable mentions of the desirability of a strong and/or stable government in general.

**305.4 Pre-Democratic Elites: Positive**

Co-operation with pre-democratic authorities in the transition period; amnesty for former, non-Democratic elites; and 'let sleeping dogs lie' in dealing with the nomenclature of the former, non-Democratic regime.

**305.5 Pre-Democratic Elites: Negative**

Against pre-democratic elite's involvement in democratic government; weeding out the collaborators of former, non-Democratic regime from governmental service; for truth commissions and other institutions illuminating recent history.

**305.6 Rehabilitation and Compensation**

References to civic rehabilitation of politically persecuted people in the authoritarian era; references to juridical compensation concerning authoritarian expropriations; moral compensation.

*Note: Specific policy positions overrule all subcategories of 305! If there is no specific policy position, however, these subcategories may apply.*

*305.4, 305.5 and 305.6 should only be used for transitional, former authoritarian regimes.*

**DOMAIN 4: Economy****401 Free Market Economy**

Favourable mentions of the free market and free market capitalism as an economic model. May include favourable references to:

- Laissez-faire economy;
- Superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems;
- Private property rights;
- Personal enterprise and initiative;
- Need for unhampered individual enterprises.

#### **402 Incentives: Positive**

Favourable mentions of supply side oriented economic policies (assistance to businesses rather than consumers). May include:

- Financial and other incentives such as subsidies, tax breaks etc.;
- Wage and tax policies to induce enterprise;
- Encouragement to start enterprises.

#### **403 Market Regulation**

Support for policies designed to create a fair and open economic market. May include:

- Calls for increased consumer protection;
- Increasing economic competition by preventing monopolies and other actions disrupting the functioning of the market;
- Defence of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses;
- Social market economy.

#### **404 Economic Planning**

Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning by the government. May be:

- Policy plans, strategies, policy patterns etc.;
- Of a consultative or indicative nature.

#### **405 Corporatism/ Mixed Economy**

Favourable mentions of cooperation of government, employers, and trade unions simultaneously. The collaboration of employers and employee organisations in overall economic planning supervised by the state.

#### **406 Protectionism: Positive**

Favourable mentions of extending or maintaining the protection of internal markets (by the manifesto or other countries). Measures may include:

- Tariffs;
- Quota restrictions.

#### **407 Protectionism: Negative**

Support for the concept of free trade and open markets. Call for abolishing all means of market protection (in the manifesto or any other country).

#### **408 Economic Goals**

Broad and general economic goals that are not mentioned in relation to any other category. General economic statements that fail to include any specific goal.

*Note: Specific policy positions overrule this category! If there is no specific policy position, however, this category applies.*

#### **409 Keynesian Demand Management**

Favourable mentions of demand side oriented economic policies (assistance to consumers rather than businesses). Particularly includes increase private demand through

- Increasing public demand;
- Increasing social expenditures.

May also include:

- Stabilisation in the face of depression;
- Government stimulus plans in the face of economic crises.

#### ***410 Economic Growth: Positive***

The paradigm of economic growth. Includes:

- General need to encourage or facilitate greater production;
- Need for the government to take measures to aid economic growth.

#### ***411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive***

Importance of modernisation of industry and updated methods of transport and communication. May include:

- Importance of science and technological developments in industry;
- Need for training and research within the economy (This does not imply education in general, see category 506);
- Calls for public spending on infrastructure such as roads and bridges;
- Support for public spending on technological infrastructure (e.g.: broadband internet).

#### ***412 Controlled Economy***

Support for direct government control of economy. May include, for instance:

- Control over prices;
- Introduction of minimum wages.

#### ***413 Nationalisation***

Favourable mentions of government ownership of industries, either partial or complete; calls for keeping nationalised industries in state hand or nationalising currently private industries.. May also include favourable mentions of government ownership of land.

#### ***414 Economic Orthodoxy***

Need for economically healthy government policy making. May include calls for:

- Reduction of budget deficits;
- Retrenchment in crisis;
- Thrift and savings in the face of economic hardship;
- Support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system;
- Support for strong currency.

#### ***415 Marxist Analysis: Positive***

Positive references to Marxist-Leninist ideology and specific use of Marxist-Leninist terminology by the manifesto party (typically but not necessary by communist parties).

*Note: If unsure about what constitutes Marxist-Leninist ideology in general or terminology in a particular language, please research.*

#### ***[416 Anti-Growth Economy and Sustainability, comprised of:]***

##### ***416.1 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive***

Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics. Rejection of the idea that growth is good.

**416.2 Sustainability: Positive**

Call for sustainable economic development. Opposition to growth that causes environmental or societal harm.

**DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life****501 Environmental Protection**

General policies in favour of protecting the environment, fighting climate change, and other green policies. For instance:

- General preservation of natural resources;
- Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.;
- Protection of national parks;
- Animal rights.

May include a great variance of policies that have the unified goal of environmental protection.

**502 Culture: Positive**

Need for state funding of cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport. May include:

- The need to fund museums, art galleries, libraries etc.;
- The need to encourage cultural mass media and worthwhile leisure activities, such as public sport clubs.

**503 Equality: Positive**

Concept of social justice and the need for fair treatment of all people. This may include:

- Special protection for underprivileged social groups;
- Removal of class barriers;
- Need for fair distribution of resources;
- The end of discrimination (e.g. racial or sexual discrimination).

**504 Welfare State Expansion**

Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any public social service or social security scheme. This includes, for example, government funding of:

- Health care;
- Child care;
- Elder care and pensions;
- Social housing.

*Note: This category excludes education.*

**505 Welfare State Limitation**

Limiting state expenditures on social services or social security. Favourable mentions of the social subsidiary principle (i.e. private care before state care);

**506 Education Expansion**

Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels.

*Note: This excludes technical training, which is coded under 411.*

**507 Education Limitation**

Limiting state expenditure on education. May include:

- The introduction or expansion of study fees at all educational levels;
- Increasing the number of private schools.

**DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society****[601 National Way of Life: Positive, comprised of:]****601.1 General**

Favourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation, history, and general appeals. May include:

- Support for established national ideas;
- General appeals to pride of citizenship;
- Appeals to patriotism;
- Appeals to nationalism;
- Suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion.

*Note: This category excludes separatist parties that appeal to 'nationalism' for a certain part of a country, e.g. Scotland/Wales in the UK or support for independence of Palestine from Israel. Please see 602.1 in that case.*

**601.2 Immigration: Negative**

Statement advocating the restriction of the process of immigration, i.e. accepting new immigrants. Might include statements regarding,

- Immigration being a threat to national character of the manifesto country,
- 'the boat is full' argument;
- The introduction of migration quotas, including restricting immigration from specific countries or regions etc.

*Note: This category is only concerned with the possibility of new immigrants. For negative statements regarding immigrants already in the manifesto country, please see 608.1.*

**[602 National Way of Life: Negative, comprised of:]****602.1 General**

Unfavourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation and history. May include:

- Opposition to patriotism;
- Opposition to nationalism;
- Opposition to the existing national state, national pride, and national ideas.

*Note: This category includes separatist parties that appeal to 'nationalism' for a certain part of a country, e.g. Scotland/Wales in the UK or support for independence of Palestine from Israel.*

**602.2 Immigration: Positive**

Statements favouring new immigrants; against restrictions and quotas; rejection of the 'boat is full' argument. Includes allowing new immigrants for the benefit of the manifesto country's economy.

*Note: this category is only concerned with the possibility of new immigrants. For positive statements regarding immigrants already in the manifesto country, please see 607.1.*

**603 Traditional Morality: Positive**

Favourable mentions of traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:

- Prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour;
- Maintenance and stability of the traditional family as a value;
- Support for the role of religious institutions in state and society.

**604 Traditional Morality: Negative**

Opposition to traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:

- Support for divorce, abortion etc.;
- General support for modern family composition;

- Calls for the separation of church and state.

**[605 Law and Order, comprised of:]**

**605.1 Law and Order General: Positive**

Favourable mentions of strict law enforcement, and tougher actions against domestic crime. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto country's law code. May include:

- Increasing support and resources for the police;
- Tougher attitudes in courts;
- Importance of internal security.

**605.2 Law and Order General: Negative**

Favourable mentions of less law enforcement or rejection of plans for stronger law enforcement. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto country's law code. May include:

- Less resources for police;
- Reducing penalties;
- Calls for abolishing the death penalty;
- Decriminalisation of drugs, prostitution etc.

**[606 Civic Mindedness: Positive, comprised of:]**

**606.1 General**

General appeals for national solidarity and the need for society to see itself as united. Calls for solidarity with and help for fellow people, familiar and unfamiliar. May include:

- Favourable mention of the civil society and volunteering;
- Decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis;
- Appeal for public spiritedness;
- Support for the public interest.

**606.2 Bottom-Up Activism**

Appeals to grassroots movements of social change; banding all sections of society together to overcome common adversity and hardship; appeals to the people as a united actor.

**[607 Multiculturalism: Positive, comprised of:]**

**607.1 General**

Favourable mentions of cultural diversity and cultural plurality within domestic societies. May include the preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages within the country including special educational provisions.

**607.2 Immigrant Integration: Diversity**

Statements favouring the idea that immigrants keep their cultural traits; voluntary integration; state providing opportunities to integrate.

*Note: Only concerned with immigrants already in the manifesto country. For positive statements regarding the possibility of new immigrants, please see 602.2*

**607.3 Indigenous rights: Positive**

Calls for the protection of indigenous people, strengthening their rights, may include:

- Protection of their lands;
- Introduction of special provisions in the democratic or bureaucratic process;
- Compensation for past grief.

**[608 Multiculturalism: Negative, comprised of:]**

**608.1 General**

The enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration. Appeals for cultural homogeneity in society.



**608.2 Immigrant Integration: Assimilation**

Calls for immigrants that are in the country to adopt the manifesto country's culture and fully assimilate. Prohibition or exclusion of "foreign" labelled cultural traits of immigrants, such as language or a certain religion.

*Note: Only concerned with immigrants already in the manifesto country. For negative statements regarding the possibility of new immigrants, please see 601.2*

**608.3 Indigenous rights: Negative**

Rejection of idea of special protection for indigenous people.

**DOMAIN 7: Social Groups**

*Note: Specific policy positions overrule this domain (except 703)! If there is no specific policy position, however, these categories apply.*

**701 Labour Groups: Positive**

Favourable references to all labour groups, the working class, and unemployed workers in general. Support for trade unions and calls for the good treatment of all employees, including:

- More jobs;
- Good working conditions;
- Fair wages;
- Pension provisions etc.

**702 Labour Groups: Negative**

Negative references to labour groups and trade unions. May focus specifically on the danger of unions 'abusing power'.

**[703 Agriculture and Farmers, comprised of:]****703.1 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive**

Specific policies in favour of agriculture and farmers. Includes all types of agriculture and farming practises. Only statements that have agriculture as the key goal should be included in this category.

**703.2 Agriculture and Farmers: Negative**

Rejection of policies favouring agriculture and farmers. May include:

- Cap or abolish subsidies;
- Reject special welfare provisions for farmers.

**704 Middle Class and Professional Groups**

General favourable references to the middle class. Specifically, statements may include references to:

- Professional groups, (e.g.: doctors or lawyers);
- White collar groups, (e.g.: bankers or office employees),
- Service sector groups (e.g.: IT industry employees);
- Old and/or new middle class.

*Note: This is not an economical category but refers to the social group(s).*

**705 Underprivileged Minority Groups**

Very general favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms (e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants, indigenous). Only includes favourable statements that cannot be classified in other categories (e.g. 503, 504, 604, 607 etc.)

**706 Non-economic Demographic Groups**

General favourable mentions of demographically defined special interest groups of all kinds. They may include:

- Women;
- University students;
- Old, young, or middle aged people.

Might include references to assistance to these groups, but only if these do not fall under other categories (e.g. 503 or 504).

***000 No meaningful category applies***

Statements not covered by other categories; sentences devoid of any meaning.