8

Using the Data

This chapter moves on to a discussion of the material contained in the CD-ROM and of the ways in which this may be utilized and extended. The CD-ROM contains the data described in the earlier chapters, organized so as to facilitate the further analyses suggested there or in other appropriate investigations. We begin by describing data organization, and continue with suggestions about how this could be utilized to answer questions about party policy positions within and among the countries discussed in the text. We conclude with procedures for coding other party manifestos or related documents for MRG-type analyses.

THE FILES

The CD-ROM holds four types of files. *Documentation* files describe the procedures used to create the policy indicators from the original party platforms and manifestos. These are in *Adobe pdf* format which can be accessed with the *Acrobat 7* reader supplied on the CD-ROM. *Data* files hold the policy preference indicators. These appear in three formats: (*a*) Comma-delimited text, (*b*) Excel spreadsheets, and (*c*) SPSS[1] portable files. *Text* files include samples of the original material used by the MRG to produce the substantive policy codes underlying the analyses reported earlier in this book. *Utility* files include two programs designed to facilitate use of the documentation and data files by readers who do not have computer programs that can access these files. Each set of files will be described in turn.

DATA FILES

The data files contained in the CD-ROM cover four topics related to the broad theme of policy preferences: (*a*) Party Policy Positions, (*b*) Party Mean Scores on Six Policy Scales, (*c*) Median Voter Preference, and (*d*) Government Policy Positions.

Three data formats are used for each topic area to enhance the material's accessibility by different computer programs. Files with an '.xls' extension are designed for the *Microsoft Excel* spreadsheet programs and are compatible

The CD-ROM included with the book is compatible with both MAC OS and Windows 95 (and above) computer systems.

Instructions for using the CD-ROM appear on the CD-ROM label.

WINDOWS

The CD-ROM will start automatically when inserted in a PC operating under Windows. To enter the CD-ROM's contents, click on Start.

MAC OS

A CD-ROM icon will appear when the CD-ROM is inserted. Click on the icon.

OTHER

The files described in Chapter 8 are stored in subdirectories on the CD-ROM. Subdirectory names are described in the section entitled 'The Files'. Individual file names are intuitively meaningful; it will be clear what each topic designates.

Fig. 8.1. Using the CD-ROM: System requirements

with releases 5 onwards of that program.[2] As the Excel format is becoming a de facto data transfer standard, users of other analysis programs will likely find that their programs will easily convert this file format. Files with a '.por' extension are designed for the SPSS analysis system, popular with many social scientists. Indeed, it is so commonly available, that files formatted for SPSS are often directly usable by other statistical analysis programs. Finally, files with a '.csv' extension are stored as text files in which each unit of information is set off (or delimited) by a comma. Files in this format should be accessible to any programs used to manipulate structured data.

The information is presented in a further two ways. Information for all the countries can be accessed simultaneously or the data for individual countries can be accessed separately. Individual country data are presented in straight character (ASCII) format with the separate fields delimited by commas. These files are provided for readers who cannot use the .xls or .por files. Because these readers may have difficulty in categorizing the observations by countries, separate country files were created.

PARTY POLICY POSITIONS

As Table 8.1 shows, this file contains the major country-by-country across-party over-time manifesto policy codes. These form the basis of all the analyses reported in the earlier chapters and lend themselves to further analyses.

Mapping Policy Preferences II

Table 8.1. Party policy positions

Name	Meaning
COUNTRY	Country Code
COUNTRY NAME	Name of Country
EDATE	Day-Month-Year of Election
PARTY	Party Identification Number; These Are Structured to Identify Party Type. See Appendix II on the CD-ROM
PARTY NAME	Full Party Name
VOTEEST	Original or Estimated Figure for Votes: (0) Original and (1) estimated
PRESVOTE	Percentage of Votes in Presidential Elections
ABSSEAT	Absolute Number of Seats
TOTSEATS	Total Number of Seats in Parliament
PROGTYPE	Type of Program Data
DOMAIN 1	EXTERNAL RELATONS
PER101	Foreign Special Relationships: Positive
PER102	Foreign Special Relationships: Negative
PER103	Anti-Imperialism
PER104	Military: Positive
PER105	Military: Negative
PER106	Peace
PER107	Internationalism: Positive
PER108	European Community: Positive
PER109	Internationalism: Negative
PER110	European Community: Negative
DOMAIN 2	FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY
PER201	Freedom and Human Rights
PER202	Democracy
PER203	Constitutionalism: Positive
PER204	Constitutionalism: Negative
DOMAIN 3	POLITICAL SYSTEM
PER301	Decentralization
PER302	Centralization
PER303	Government and Administrative Efficiency
PER304	Political Corruption
PER305	Political Authority
DOMAIN 4	ECONOMY
PER401	Free Enterprise
PER402	Incentives
PER403	Market Regulation
PER404	Economic Planning
PER405	Corporatism
PER406	Protectionism: Positive
PER407	Protectionism: Negative
PER408	Economic Goals
PER409	Keynesian Demand Management
PER410	Productivity
PER411	Technology and Infrastructure
PER412	Controlled Economy
PER413	Nationalization

Table 8.1. (*Continued*)

Name	Meaning
PER414	Economic Orthodoxy
PER415	Marxist Analysis
PER416	Anti-Growth Economy
DOMAIN 5	WELFARE AND QUALITY OF LIFE
PER501	Environmental Protection
PER502	Culture
PER503	Social Justice
PER504	Welfare State Expansion
PER505	Welfare State Limitation
PER506	Education Expansion
PER507	Education Limitation
DOMAIN 6	FABRIC OF SOCIETY
PER601	National Way of Life: Positive
PER602	National Way of Life: Negative
PER603	Traditional Morality: Positive
PER604	Traditional Morality: Negative
PER605	Law and Order
PER606	Social Harmony
PER607	Multiculturalism: Positive
PER608	Multiculturalism: Negative
DOMAIN 7	SOCIAL GROUPS
PER701	Labour Groups: Positive
PER702	Labour Groups: Negative
PER703	Agriculture and Farmers
PER704	Middle Class and Professional Groups
PER705	Underprivileged Minority Groups
ADDITIONAL SUBCATEGORIES USED FOR CEE COUNTRIES	
	For Comparisons Between OECD and CEE Countries, Subcategories Can Be Aggregated into one of the fifty-six Standard Categories Used in all Countries
PER1011	Russia/USSR/CIS: Positive (Subcategory of PER101)
PER1012	Western States: Positive (Subcategory of PER101)
PER1013	Eastern European Countries: Positive (Subcategory of PER101)
PER1014	Baltic States: Positive (Subcategory of PER101)
PER1015	Nordic Council: Positive (Subcategory of PER101)
PER1016	SFR Yugoslavia: Positive (Subcategory of PER101)
PER1021	Russia/USSR/CIS: Negative (Subcategory of PER102)
PER1022	Western States: Negative (Subcategory of PER102)
PER1023	Eastern European Countries: Negative (Subcategory of PER102)
PER1024	Baltic States: Negative (Subcategory of PER102)
PER1025	Nordic Council: Negative (Subcategory of PER102)
PER1026	SFR Yugoslavia: Negative (Subcategory of PER102)
PER1031	Russian Army: Negative (Subcategory of PER103)
PER1032	Independence: Positive (Subcategory of PER103)
PER1033	Rights of Nations: Positive (Subcategory of PER103)

Mapping Policy Preferences II

Table 8.1. (*Continued*)

Name	Meaning
PER2021	Transition to Democracy (Subcategory of PER202)
PER2022	Restrictive Citizenship: Positive (Subcategory of PER202)
PER2023	Lax Citizenship: Positive (Subcategory of PER202)
PER2031	Presidential Regime: Positive (Subcategory of PER203)
PER2032	Republic: Positive (Subcategory of PER203)
PER2033	Checks and Balances: Positive (Subcategory of PER203)
PER2041	Monarchy: Positive (Subcategory of PER204)
PER3011	Republican Powers: Positive (Subcategory of PER301)
PER3051	Public Situation: Negative (Subcategory of PER305)
PER3052	Communist: Positive (Subcategory of PER305)
PER3053	Communist: Negative (Subcategory of PER305)
PER3054	Rehabilitation and Compensation (Subcategory of PER305)
PER3055	Political Coalitions: Positive (Subcategory of PER305)
PER4011	Privatisation: Positive (Subcategory of PER401)
PER4012	Control of Economy: Negative (Subcategory of PER401)
PER4013	Property Restitution: Positive (Subcategory of PER401)
PER4014	Privatization Vouchers: Positive (Subcategory of PER401)
PER4121	Social Ownership: Positive (Subcategory of PER412)
PER4122	Mixed Economy: Positive (Subcategory of PER412)
PER4123	Publicly Owned Industry: Positive (Subcategory of PER412)
PER4124	Socialist Property: Positive (Subcategory of PER412)
PER4131	Property Restitution: Negative (Subcategory of PER413)
PER4132	Privatization: Negative (Subcategory of PER412)
PER5021	Private–Public Mix in Culture: Positive (Subcategory of PER502)
PER5031	Private–Public Mix in Social Justice: Positive (Subcategory of PER503)
PER5041	Private–Public Mix in Welfare: Positive (Subcategory of PER504)
PER5061	Private–Public Mix in Education: Positive (Subcategory of PER506)
PER6011	The Karabakh Issue: Positive (Subcategory of PER601)
PER6012	Rebuilding the USSR: Positive (Subcategory of PER601)
PER6013	National Security: Positive (Subcategory of PER601)
PER6061	General Crisis (Subcategory of PER606)
PER6071	Cultural Autonomy: Positive (Subcategory of PER607)
PER6072	Multiculturalism Pro-Roma (Subcategory of PER607)
PER6081	Multiculturalism Against Roma (Subcategory of PER608)
PER7051	Minorities Inland: Positive (Subcategory of PER705)
PER7052	Minorities Abroad: Positive (Subcategory of PER705)
PER7061	War Participants: Positive (Subcategory of PER706)
PER7062	Refugees: Positive (Subcategory of PER706)
ADDITIONAL STATISTICS	INFORMATION ABOUT CODING UNITS
PERUNCOD	Uncoded Quasi-Sentences
TOTAL	Absolute Number of Quasi-Sentences

Table 8.1. (*Continued*)

Name	Meaning
SUMMARY POLICY INDICATORS	SUMMARY PARTY POLICY STANDS
RIGHTLEFT	Left-Right Index
PLANECO	Planned Economy
MARKECO	Market Economy
WELFARE	Welfare References
INTPEACE	International Peace
EUROP	European Integration Index

Note: Extended field definitions are provided in Appendix I, 164.

Table 8.1 shows the layout of the material in the file. There are three distinct groups of estimates covered in the CD-ROM, all of which pertain to elections between 1990 and 2003. First, those for the twenty-four OECD countries and Israel, the countries which formed the subject matter of *Mapping Policy Preferences*, 2001. Second, estimates for CEE countries which have recently experienced a transition to democracy. (Eight of these countries are recent EU accession states.) Third, other countries which are EU accession states, notably Malta and Cyprus. (Particular elections in different countries for which no estimates are included are noted in Appendix I.) The file has the percentage of quasi-sentences[3] for each specific policy area in each party's manifesto for elections occurring between 1990 and 2003. Besides these specific policy preferences, individual party scores are given on the six general policy scales (market economy, planned economy, welfare provision, international peace, and European integration as well as the party's general Left-Right stance). This information is combined with details of each party's electoral success as indicated by the percentage of votes and seats gained in the election.

MEDIAN VOTER

These files contain estimates of median voter positions inferred from party positions and votes. The approach is fully described in the previous chapter which exemplifies how the basic policy estimates can be extended to new areas. Table 8.2 describes the file contents.

Two other aspects of this work can be mentioned under the broad heading of extensions. First, Table 8.2 shows how policy estimates can be combined to create new composite indicators. Second, median positions can be calculated for countries not presently in the data-set when new information becomes available. Government policy positions are structured in exactly the same manner with appropriate changes in terminology. These latter estimates use the same government identification system as that set out in Woldendorp, Keman, and Budge (2000) and are explained in Table 8.3.

Table 8.2. Median voter position file structure

Field name	Meaning
COUNTRY	Country Numeric Code
COUNTRY NAME	Country Name
ELECYR	Election Year
EDATE	Year-Month of Election
PEACEMED	Voter Position on Peace (Calculation: per102+per105+per106)
WELFMED	Voter Position on Welfare (Calculation: per503+per504)
PLANMED	Voter Position on Planned Economy (Calculation: per403+per404+per412)
MARKECOMED	Voter Position on Market Economy (Calculation: per401+per414)
RIGHTLEFT	Voter Position on Left-Right Spectrum (Code: left(−100) <- - -> right(+100)
EUROPMED	Voter Position on European Integration (per108 − per110)

Table 8.3. Government policy position

Field name	Meaning
COUNTRY	Country Number
COUNTRY NAME	
GOVID	Government ID after Woldendorp, Keman, and Budge (2000)
INAUGDAT	Day-Month of Government's Inauguaration
GOV POSITIONS	Estimated Government Policy Positions

TEXT FILES

The data files described above are based on substantive codes assigned to party manifestos by members of the CMP working to a common coding scheme. Inter-coder consistency was achieved by asking new coders to work on a sample manifesto with known substantive content. The new coder's work could then be compared to this standard. Sample manifesto text files are included on the CD-ROM to allow the reader to replicate this training, either because he or she wants reassurance about the procedure or, to code additional manifestos similarly.

The files contain, inter alia, extracts from two manifestos: (*a*) Great Britain's Liberal/SDP Alliance Party 1983 document 'Working Together for Britain' and (*b*) New Zealand's National Party 1972 document 'A Guide to What the Next National Government Will Do for New Zealand.' *Original Documents* holds the text as it originally appeared. *Quasi-Sentences* breaks this material into coding units, in preparation for the reader's own application of the coding rules. Appendix II: (Manifesto Coding Instructions) on this CD-ROM provides details of this. *Coded Sentences* contains the codes assigned by the CMP which can be used to verify the reader's codes.

DOCUMENTATION FILES

Documentation files contain supporting material for the analyses reported here and elsewhere. Moreover, they provide essential background for the further use of the Data files on the CD-ROM. The files and their contents are:

Appendix I: Description of manifesto data-set
  lists the contents of Policy Positions with more extensive detail about each indicator than is provided in Table 8.1.

Appendix II: Manifesto coding instructions[4]
  describes the MRG's coding procedure. It begins by describing how it developed over-time and then shows how it can be applied to a sample manifesto (contained on the CD-ROM in original documents). The file contains extensive definitions of the separate coding categories.

Appendix III: Political parties included in the data-set
  shows how the numeric party identifiers signify the party–family basis for classifying parties within each country and lists every party included in the data-set, both in English and in the original language—transliterating where necessary. The elections for which estimates are available for the parties are also provided.

Appendix IV: Missing party documents
  lists the active parties in the period 1990–2003 for which no party platforms are available. Consequently, these parties are excluded from the summary data-sets on the CD-ROM.

Appendix V: Party programmes, titles, and sources
  lists the programmatic documents on which each set of party policy estimates is based, together with the actual sources from which they were obtained.

UTILITY FILES

Program files will install utilities that allow browsing of the .xls data files, SPSS files, and the .pdf documentation files:

Adobe Reader 7.0
  To install 'Acrobat 7.0' click on Acrobat. Then follow the instructions that appear on the screen.

Excel 97 Viewer (not for MAC OS)
  To install the 'Microsoft Excel 97 Viewer' under the Windows 95/98/ME operating system, click on MS Excel Viewer. Then follow the instructions that appear on the screen.[5]

SPSS Set-up for Data-Sets.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Several topics were explicitly suggested in the earlier chapters but many more will have occurred to the reader. Indeed, the motive for including our latest data in this text is to stimulate a continuation of the work begun by the original MRG in 1979.

The text itself synthesizes the work done to date by the original MRG and its successor, the CMP. This provides a launch pad for other analyses to advance our understanding of the policy process by replication and extension. The CD-ROM can fuel further exploratory trips through the data, further types of extension. Several possible analyses are described below. Readers however may also wish to add more party systems and/or new time periods to those covered here. Since they would need to start by coding new party manifestos, we also describe how the researcher can extend the material provided on the CD-ROM.

FURTHER ANALYSES

The data in the Party Policy Position file can be the basis for many further investigations. Examples are:

- Excel users can use the *correl* function to assess the extent to which particular policy stances move together within parties. For example, positive correlations among *per607: Multiculturalism-Positive* and *per705: Minority Groups* and *per606: Social Harmony* may reveal attitude structures underlying policy makers' assessment of this area. The inter-relationship between policy indicators can be visualized by using several of the multi-indicator charts provided by Excel. Indeed the different policy stands and indices included in Appendix VI are calculated in this way. Here, the emphasis is on the policy areas themselves—the parties are simple vehicles for these policy characteristics. However, within-country and/or over-time evaluation of the relationship among policy areas, showing the differences that time and place can make, are also feasible with these data, as the next example suggests.

- Showing time and place differences in relationships requires the judicious sorting of the individual observations (or parties) into either country groups or time periods or into within-time and country groups together. Multiple rearrangements of data are a particular strength of spreadsheet programs like Excel. The analyses can then be conducted on the data contained within these groupings.

- The impact of policy stances on electoral success can be gauged by regressing either the proportion of votes earned or the number of seats won onto one or more policy estimates. This can be done with Excel's *Regression analysis tool* (part of the analysis toolpack) or with Quattro Pro's *@Regression* function.

- Researchers interested in party strategy can also use these data and their program's regression functions, in conjunction with these programs' data transformation routines, to evaluate the success of different vote attraction strategies. For example, an analyst interested in the impact of a changing emphasis on minorities could score each party on how its emphasis on per705: Minority Groups changed between elections. Similarly, their changed success, say as measured by a new variable created by scoring inter-election changes on abseats ÷ totseats could be regressed on the 'change in per705' indicator.

- Profiles of any country's policy agenda for a particular year can be established by calculating the within-year policy scores. This will provide a description of the policy marketplace available to that country's electorate in a particular election—not every party has to offer Protectionism (per406: Protectionism Positive–per407: Protectionism Negative), but the elector interested in it should have at least one party purveying it in return for her vote. Changed emphases across time can then be plotted using one of the charting functions.

- Additional policy scales can be constructed which might be of particular interest for specific countries, groups of countries, or parties. For example, we could compare positive 'special foreign relations' between the fifteen West European members of the EU and the eight new CEE members by creating an index which subtracts per102 Foreign Relations Negative from per101 Foreign Relations Positive, which would also include the extensions constructed to catch the special interests of CEE countries.

ADDING OBSERVATIONS

The data in the Party Policy Position file also provide the basis for contextual analyses. Several authors, in works cited in this text's bibliographies, began with the MRG's policy estimates to establish similar ratings for parties operating in other countries and/or in other time periods. Indeed, several of the substantive contributions to this volume exemplify how the estimates can be extended by adding new types of data. This can be taken further, for example they could be pooled with survey and public opinion data (see, e.g. Adams et al. 2004), or new categories based on survey materials can be established (see, e.g. Bara 2006). Adding new party systems to the data-set requires a different approach, for the appropriate party documents have to be transformed to an MRG compatible form before they can be analysed. In other words, each new party document must be coded by applying the MRG coding frame *in the same way* that a member of the MRG would. Deviation in procedures would introduce incompatibilities which render subsequent comparisons invalid.

Adding new parties is a two-stage process. First, the researcher must become operationally conversant with MRG procedures. Second, these procedures must be applied. Each stage will be discussed in turn.

LEARNING TO CODE

File 'Appendix II Manifesto Coding Instructions' on the CD-ROM is the best starting point for the training process. This material, in conjunction with Chapter 4 of *Mapping Policy Preferences*, 2001,[6] establishes the MRG's guiding ethos.

Having read the material, we suggest that the sample manifesto material, extracts from the 1983 British Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance and the 1972 New Zealand National Party programmes, be coded using the MRG procedures. This will require, first, that the text be edited into quasi-sentences, the basic MRG coding unit. The MRG coding framework, presented in file 'Appendix II: Manifesto Coding Instructions', can then be applied. Finally, the results of the reader's own coding can be compared to the MRG-applied codes. Any deviations can be reasoned through by looking at the MRG procedures for further guidance.

Three files on the CD-ROM support this training exercise. As mentioned earlier, *Original Documents* holds the extracts in their published formats, *Quasi-Sentences* shows what the document looks like after the MRG rules have been applied to produce the coding units, and *Coded Sentences* shows the grouping of sentences into the MRG topic codes.

The structure of these three files lead to our recommendation about how the second stage of the addition of new parties should be organized. Budge, Tanenbaum, and Bara (1999) found that the spreadsheet format eased the coding of new party documents, reduced clerical errors, and facilitated the analysis of the coded material. It also facilitated comparisons between manual and computerized coding, such as that discussed in Chapter 6.

Using this approach clearly requires that the party documents be in computer-readable format. While this may entail scanning printed documents, our experience is that recent party documents are available on the World Wide Web sites maintained by many parties or at the Zentralarchiv Cologne (za@za.uni-koeln.de). Consequently they can be downloaded as electronic files.[7]

They may, however, have embedded formatting instructions. These will be immediately recognizable when the document file is opened with a word processor and can therefore be easily removed with the word processor's 'find and replace' function. The word processor can also be used to transform the original document into the quasi-sentences demanded by the MRG's coding procedure. Essentially, this just means inserting a physical line break by doing a 'carriage return'[8] at the appropriate point in the text. If the resulting file is saved as a text file, it will be straightforward to input it to a spreadsheet programme.

SUMMARY

When the MRG began its work in the 1970s, it did not imagine that the work would launch such an extensive, open-ended investigation into the democratic policy making process. This book is evidence that it has. This chapter has shown

how investigations might be extended even further. Its discussion of the CD-ROM included as an intrinsic part of the book suggests how the data can be analysed and developed, by independent researchers in totally new directions, which will enrich and enhance the collection in future years.

NOTES

1. Statistical package for the social sciences (also now known as statistical product and service solutions).
2. These files can also be viewed, but not manipulated, with the XLViewer programs supplied on the disk.
3. Extended field definitions are given in Appendix III.
4. The MRG's coding procedures are described in Andrea Volkens 'Quantifying the Election Programmes: Coding Procedures and Controls,' in Budge et al. (2001) *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments, 1945–98*.
5. Although comments are directed to Microsoft Excel users, the functions that are described are generic and will have equivalent implementations in *any* spreadsheet programs. The suggestions have been tested with Quattro Pro 9 and Lotus 1-2-3.
6. Volkens (2001) ibid.
7. As stated in the introductory chapter, it is also the case that digitalized party manifestos for the OECD countries are made available on request by the Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung, Univesität zu Köln, under certain conditions regarding their usage (the contact address is za@za.uni-koeln.de). The textual data are part of the Comparative Electronic Manifestos Project (http://research.fsw.vu.nl/DoingResearch) directed by Paul Pennings and Hans Keman, Vrije Universitat, Amsterdam, in collaboration with Ekkehard Mochmann of the ZA.
8. On some keyboards, this key is labelled *Enter*; on others it is called *Return*.