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Measuring and Comparing Party Ideology in Nonindustrialized Societies: Taking Party Manifesto Research to Africa

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Legitimacy and Efficiency of Political Systems

Measuring and Comparing Party Ideology in Nonindustrialized Societies:

Taking Party Manifesto Research to Africa

Sebastian Elischer

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Measuring and Comparing Party Ideology in Nonindustrialized Societies: Taking Party Manifesto Research to Africa

Abstract

Despite a growing interest in African political parties, no comparative analyses of political ideology in Africa have been undertaken to date. This study addresses this shortcoming by applying the Manifesto Research Group's (MRG) coding scheme to a complete set of African party manifestos in three African countries. The study's main aim is to determine whether a research tool that has been seminal in the study of Western politics can be used to study political parties in nonindustrialized societies. In a first step the study examines the extent to which African manifestos advance programmatic ideas. Although most parties fail to do so, results indicate drastic differences between parties. The study subsequently investigates how African parties position themselves on a right–left spectrum. Most parties show a bias towards the political Left. Finally, the study examines the stance of individual parties on specific policy issues such as democracy and human rights, education, corruption, youth and women, and intercommunal relations. The study argues that although the MRG scheme has been designed against the historical background of European politics, it can be applied to advance the study of African parties.

Keywords: social cleavages, political parties, Ghana, Kenya, Namibia

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Zusammenfassung

Die Bewertung und der Vergleich von Parteiideologien in nicht-industrialisierten Ländern: die Anwendung des Party Manifesto Research auf Afrika

Trotz einer wachsenden Anzahl von Studien, die sich mit den politischen Parteien Afrikas beschäftigen, wurde bislang keine systematische Analyse von afrikanischen Wahlprogrammen vorgenommen. Die vorliegende Studie wendet das Kodierschema der Manifesto Research Group (MRG) auf alle politisch signifikanten Parteien in drei afrikanischen Ländern an. Das Hauptinteresse besteht darin, herauszufinden, ob ein eurozentrisches politikwissenschaftliches Instrument gleichfalls für die Analyse von politischen Parteien in nicht-industrialisierten Ländern geeignet ist. In einem ersten Schritt untersucht die Studie den Anteil von programmatischen Aussagen in Wahlprogrammen. Obwohl dieser bei den meisten Parteien niedrig ist, sind deutliche Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Parteien festzustellen. Ferner wird gefragt, wie sich Parteien im europäischen Links-Rechts Schema positionieren. Die meisten Parteien zeigen eine moderate Vorliebe für das linke Spektrum. Schließlich wird auch die Haltung einzelner Parteien zu spezifischen Politikfeldern, wie z.B. Demokratie, Menschenrechte, Bildung, Korruption etc., betrachtet. Das Fazit aus dieser Studie lautet, dass das MRG-Schema – obwohl es vor dem historischen Hintergrund der europäischen Politik entwickelt wurde –, durchaus für eine tiefere Analyse von afrikanischen Parteien geeignet ist.

Measuring and Comparing Party Ideology in Nonindustrialized Societies: Taking Party Manifesto Research to Africa

Sebastian Elischer

Article Outline

1 Introduction
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3 Analyzing African Election Manifestos
4 The MRG/CMP Coding Scheme in Africa: A Critical Evaluation
5 Conclusion

1 Introduction

The third wave of democratization in sub-Saharan Africa has led to a new wave of interest in African political parties and their role in the process of democratic consolidation.[1] However, while in the context of Western and Eastern European politics the analysis of party manifestos is frequently applied in the study of political parties, no studies that systematically compare party manifestos in Africa have been undertaken. This study rectifies this empirical void by applying the Manifesto Research Group's (MRG/CMP[2]) coding scheme to a complete set of election manifestos (Klingemann et al. 1994, Budge et al. 2006).

[1] The author wishes to thank Gero Erdmann, Matthijs Bogaards and Bert Hoffmann for their assistance with this paper.

[2] In the older literature the term Manifesto Research Group (MRG) is used. In the more recent literature reference is paid to the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP). To avoid confusion I have used both terms.

The study first provides a succinct review of previous and current approaches to the study of political ideology in Africa. This section illustrates that although there is scholarly agreement that programmatic ideas do not feature in African politics, this premise has not been verified. Subsequently, the study outlines the MRG/CMP coding scheme, the theory the scheme is based on, and how it has previously been applied. The main part of the study is dedicated to the application of the MRG/CMP scheme to all effective parties (Sartori 2005: 181) in Ghana, Namibia, and Kenya. These three countries have been selected because one can expect political ideology to affect party politics to different degrees in each of the countries.

The study's main aim is to determine whether the application of an analytical tool that has been constructed in order to analyze North American and European parties can be used to examine the programmatic content of parties in nonindustrialized societies. In order to account for the particularities of party competition in nonindustrialized societies, the study applies several tests, through which the validity of the coding results is ensured. The study further positions parties on a left–right spectrum. Ultimately it provides an in-depth analysis of the extent to which African parties care about several key topics: democracy and human rights, education, political corruption, women and youth, and intercommunal relations. At each stage the study compares the results from the coding exercise with knowledge gained from the nascent literature on African parties. This serves as an additional test of whether the MRG/CMP scheme reasonably supplements our understanding of African politics.

Overall, the study argues that the systematic examination of African party manifestos reveals new knowledge about the importance that African parties attach to programmatic ideas. Therefore, it concludes that the MRG/CMP coding scheme—if accompanied by the right validity checks—should be used as a research tool for the study of political parties in nonindustrialized societies.

2 The Study of African Parties and Political Ideology

Since the return of multiparty competition a new and still growing body of literature on African parties and party systems has emerged. Recent scholarship has focused on the interpretation of election results and on the extent to which party formation and voting behavior has been structured around communal boundaries.[3] This does not come as a surprise as party politics in ethnically segmented nonindustrialized societies is said to be driven by issues related to identity (ethnicity, regional, or religious) rather than programmatic ideas (Horowitz 2000, Randall 2001 and 2007, Erdmann and Weiland 2001). Horowitz summarizes this thinking when stating that in ethnically segmented societies "*parties organized non-ethnically are rare or nonexistent*" (Horowitz 2000:301). Accordingly, parties and party ideologies are not seen to

[3] For just a few examples see Basedau and Stroh 2009, Lindberg and Morisson 2008, Fridy 2007, Morrison 2004, Cowen and Laakso 2002, Daniel et al. 1999, Nugent 1999 and 2001, Kandeh 1998).

differ much. Election campaigns are characterized by slogans that anyone can empathize with such as demands for better infrastructure, more inclusive health care and education facilities, and anticorruption statements. Those scholars who have at least tentatively looked at the question of ideology have found that in most cases African political ideology is an eclectic mix of social democracy combined with political liberalism (Carothers 2006, Erdmann 2004, 2002, 1999, Bogaards 2004, van de Walle 2003, Schmidt 1997, Chaligha and Muya 1994, Hodgkin 1961). The reasons behind the absence of ideological underpinnings include the lack of an industrial revolution (Lipset and Rokkan 1967), the very weak links between African parties and auxiliary organizations such as trade unions (Widner 1997, Erdmann 2004), and African parties' weak degree of institutionalization (Basedau and Stroh 2008, Basedau 2007, Salih 2003).

Despite these general considerations, no systematic examination of ideological differences has been carried out, even though the mainstream literature on political parties allocates great significance to ideological polarization (for the most prominent example see Sartori 2005). In an initial analysis of the relationship between party systems and democratic consolidation in Africa, Basedau asserts that "a meaningful test on ideological differences is impossible at this point in time" (Basedau 2007:126). Contemporary scholars' hesitant approach is all the more surprising since in the past a number of scholars have made sweeping statements about the content of African ideology: On the one hand scholars writing in the immediate aftermath of colonialism were firm in their belief that a fairly radical strand of socialism would become the dominant political ideology (McCain 1975). This conclusion was partly based on books written by the first generation of post-independence leaders (for some examples see Dia 1963, Nkrumah 1964, Mboya 1963, Senghor 1969) and partly based on the economic predicament of the continent. Others, by contrast, were convinced that the failure of the post-independent state to provide for its citizens in all areas of public policy would lead African politics into a free-market area (Neuberger 1971, Silvera 1976, Sklar 1988).

Overall very little is known about the role of political ideas in Africa. While contemporary scholars have not yet approached this topic in a systematic manner, the analyses of scholars of previous generations resemble personal predictions rather than empirically grounded research.

3 Analyzing African Election Manifestos

3.1 Salience Theory and the Manifesto Research Group's Coding Scheme

This study is first and foremost interested in evaluating the claim that political parties in nonindustrialized societies refrain from advancing programmatic ideas. In order to evaluate the extent to which programmatic ideas feature in African parties, it examines the various parties' election manifestos. This is done with the help of the Manifesto Research Group's

(MRG/CMP) coding scheme, which is based on the methods of content analysis (Berelson 1971).[4] The MRG/CMP coding scheme puts forward invariant general coding categories in order to cover the total content of election manifestoes. The scheme contains 56 coding categories, which are outlined in Annex I. The coding unit for every manifesto is the "quasi-sentence," defined as the verbal expression of one political idea or issue. A more detailed description of how the coding scheme identifies quasi-sentences can be found in Annex II. After a document is coded, each "quasi-sentence" is assigned to one of the 56 policy categories. Accordingly, the coding scheme allows for the quantification (how many statements do parties make?) and classification (what kinds of statements do parties make?) of election programs.

Based on salience theory, the MRG/CMP coding scheme is constructed around the notion that rival parties do not take opposite views on issues. Instead they endorse the same specific issues but prioritize them differently. For example, most voters benefit in one form or another from welfare services provided by the state. Simultaneously, voters are normally opposed to tax increases. It is rather unlikely that a party competing for political office will directly oppose a political rival that is advocating drastic tax cuts. Instead it will emphasize the need for better public services. In other words: parties do not engage in "yah-boo responses" (Budge 2001: 75) but rather emphasize those policy areas where the chance of picking up votes is high or those policy fields they claim to represent most (in our example either the high quality of welfare services or tax cuts). Accordingly, differences between parties consist of contrasting emphases on different policy areas. Extensive applications of the MRG/CMP coding scheme have confirmed these basic assumptions, which underpin salience theory (Budge 2001, Riker 1993, Laver and Budge 1992).

With the help of the MRG/CMP coding scheme, three types of comparisons are possible:

a) comparisons of changes in policy positions or in emphases over time within specific parties,

b) differences in policy positions or in emphases across parties, and

c) differences across countries.

The main focus of this study is the quantity of programmatic content in African election manifestoes. Therefore, I am particularly interested in those categories the MRG/CMP coding scheme denotes as programmatic categories. Out of the 56 categories overall, 26 are defined as programmatic categories, with 13 defined as left-wing and 13 as right-wing categories. An overview of these categories is provided in Table 1. The definition of these 26 variables as "right wing" and "left wing" is based on investigations of election programs in the Western world and subsequent factor analysis (Budge et al. 1987, Laver and Budge 1992, Budge and Klingemann 2001, Klingemann et al. 2006).

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[4] For an overview of the development of content analysis in political science see Budge and Bara 2001.

The MRG/CMP coding scheme has been chosen for a variety of reasons: firstly, of the three most frequently used approaches to the study of party positions—expert surveys, the MRG/CMP coding scheme, and computer-assisted content analysis of election programs (CACA)—the MRG/CMP coding scheme emerged as the most prominent method, analytically and in terms of the validity of its results. Secondly, the data set on political parties provided by the MRG/CMP is unparalleled in terms of the time series of data put forward. It is also unparalleled in terms of the number of robustness and validity checks it has undergone (Budge et al. 2001, Dinas and Gemenis forthcoming, Volkens 2007). As African party manifestos have to date not been analyzed systematically,[5] it seems only reasonable to apply a scheme that is of great relevance to the discipline as a whole in order to keep the results comparable across cultures.

Table 1 Overview of Categories the MRG/CMP Coding Scheme Defines as Programmatic

Left-wing Categories	Right-wing Categories
103: Anti-imperialism: Positive	104: Military: Positive
105: Military: Negative	201: Freedom and Human Rights: Positive
106: Peace: Positive	203: Constitutionalism: Positive
107: Internationalism: Positive	305: Political Authority: Positive
202: Democracy: Positive	401: Free Enterprise: Positive
403: Market Regulation: Positive	402: Incentives: Positive
404: Economic Planning: Positive	407: Protectionism: Negative
406: Protectionism: Positive	414: Economic Orthodoxy: Positive
412: Controlled Economy: Positive	505: Welfare State Limitation: Positive
413: Nationalization: Positive	601: National Way of Life: Positive
504: Welfare State Expansion: Positive	603: Traditional Morality: Positive
506: Education Expansion: Positive	605: Law and Order: Positive
701: Labor Groups: Positive	606: Social Harmony: Positive

Source: Budge et al. 2001, Klingemann et al. 2006.

Critics will argue that the application of a coding scheme designed during the Cold War and with the purpose of analyzing party politics in a Western context is ill-suited to illustrating the dynamics of African politics. The main purpose of this study, however, is exactly that: to verify the extent to which African parties care about issues that the conventional political science literature regards as "left wing" and "right wing." The application of the scheme has revealed that the MRG/CMP coding scheme covers on average 88 percent of all African mani-

[5] For some exceptions see Emminghaus 2003 and Hunter and Sherbourne 2004. These analyses are merely descriptive.

festoes. This illustrates that the scheme is highly applicable to nonindustrialized regions.[6] Critics with expertise in African studies will add that a study of African manifestos should put forward its own programmatic categories. These could, for example, include statements in favor of good governance, national unity, or the rule of law. Yet an analytical framework that examines African party manifestos from an area-specific perspective is lacking. To argue against the application of the MRG/CMP coding scheme in Africa before such an application has been conducted and before the results of such an exercise are known would do injustice to the whole notion of comparing historically diverse systems.[7] To see whether such an endeavor is possible with regard to the content of party manifestos is the major purpose of this study. The division of several categories into left and right is of course always contestable, even in a European context.[8] This has not stopped scholars working on European parties from applying the scheme. The sheer lack of manifesto-based research outside Europe suggests that the application of a Eurocentric analytical tool is a useful starting point.

3.2 Case Selection and Additional Validity Checks

The MRG/CMP coding scheme is applied here to a complete set of 28 party manifestos collected by the author in three African countries. Only significant parties have been considered (Sartori 2005). Ghana, Namibia, and Kenya have been selected on the basis of existing party research, which indicates that political party competition is influenced by different factors in each country. The comparatively substantial literature on Ghanaian politics (for just a few examples see Apter 1955, Nugent 1995, 1999 and 2001, Morrison and Hong 2006, Elischer 2008) suggests that party formation is structured around two political traditions, "Busiaism" and "Nkrumaism." Both traditions are linked to a set of programmatic ideas, with Busiaism representing the political Right and Nkrumaism the political Left. Ghana is one of the few countries, if not the only one, in Africa where party leaders define their own views and the character of their party in terms of political ideology.[9] Therefore, Ghana serves as a case where programmatic content can most likely be expected. Namibia has been selected because its governing party, the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), received political backing from the Eastern powers during the Cold War while fighting the repressive apart-

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[6] This is below the 75 percent that the creators of the MRG/CMP scheme regard as the threshold for the applicability of the scheme.

[7] See also Schmitter and Karl 1994 and Bunce 1995.

[8] One might, for example, argue that support for constitutionalism and human rights should be associated with either the political Left or the political Right. The MRG/CMP coding scheme associates both with the political Right.

[9] This observation is based on interviews the author conducted with party leadership figures at the national and regional level in various regions of the country. The author would like to thank Gero Erdmann for sharing his findings with him when he was conducting his field research. Our experiences with party leaders in Ghana were identical.

heid system. During its time as a liberation army it espoused a strong socialist rhetoric. Even in its early stages as a political party SWAPO expressed its support for socialist nations such as China and Cuba. Thus, one can also expect to find that political ideology is a feature of Namibia's dominant party (Pütz et al. 1990). Finally, Kenya has been chosen because it is a case in which ethnicity is said to have particularly high salience (Throup and Hornsby 1998, Widner 1992, Anderson 2005, Elischer 2008). In sharp contrast to Ghana, programmatic orientations a priori do not appear to influence Kenyan parties.

As outlined in Table 1 above, the MRG/CMP coding scheme denotes 26 categories as left or right wing. Those familiar with the particularities of African politics will instantly note that several of these categories constitute political ideas that a large number of African voters might support. This is particularly true of categories 103 (Anti-imperialism: Positive), 201 (Freedom and Human Rights: Positive), 202 (Democracy: Positive), and 203 (Constitutionalism: Positive). It is also especially true for founding elections, that is, the first round of elections after a prolonged period of nondemocratic rule—in which case support for categories 201 and 202 might be exceptionally high. Thus in cases where our results indicate a high degree of programmatic content this might not be due so much to "genuine" programmatic preferences but to parties' excessive support for slogans that vast sections of the population can rally around. In order to control for these scenarios, this study checks the coding results of each manifesto for what this study calls "policy overstretch." This situation occurs if a party allocates an overly large amount of policy statements to a small set of categories which the MRG/CMP coding scheme regards as programmatic (left or right wing).[10] Testing for "policy overstretch" thus serves as a precautionary measure before judging a party's programmatic credentials. An additional assessment consists of calculating the effective number of relevant programmatic categories based on the formula used by Taagepera (1999, see also Taagepera and Grofman 1985). In cases where policy overstretch has been identified, the number of relevant programmatic categories should be low. An overview of all results for this test is provided in Annex IV. In a second step the paper shows how parties can be positioned on a right-wing/left-wing spectrum. This is done by subtracting the manifesto's right-wing content from its left-wing content. The section concludes by summarizing the extent to which parties focus on specific policy fields that have caught the attention of political scientists engaged with African politics. Eventually, the paper compares the results from the coding exercise with what is known about the respective parties from the secondary literature in order to see whether these results coincide with or diverge from the literature. If the results add reasonable and new insights, the coding scheme can be regarded as an adequate tool for the study of African parties.

[10] The same situation could occur in a European context where parties focus on one particular policy issue. An example here would be the Green parties in Germany and France.

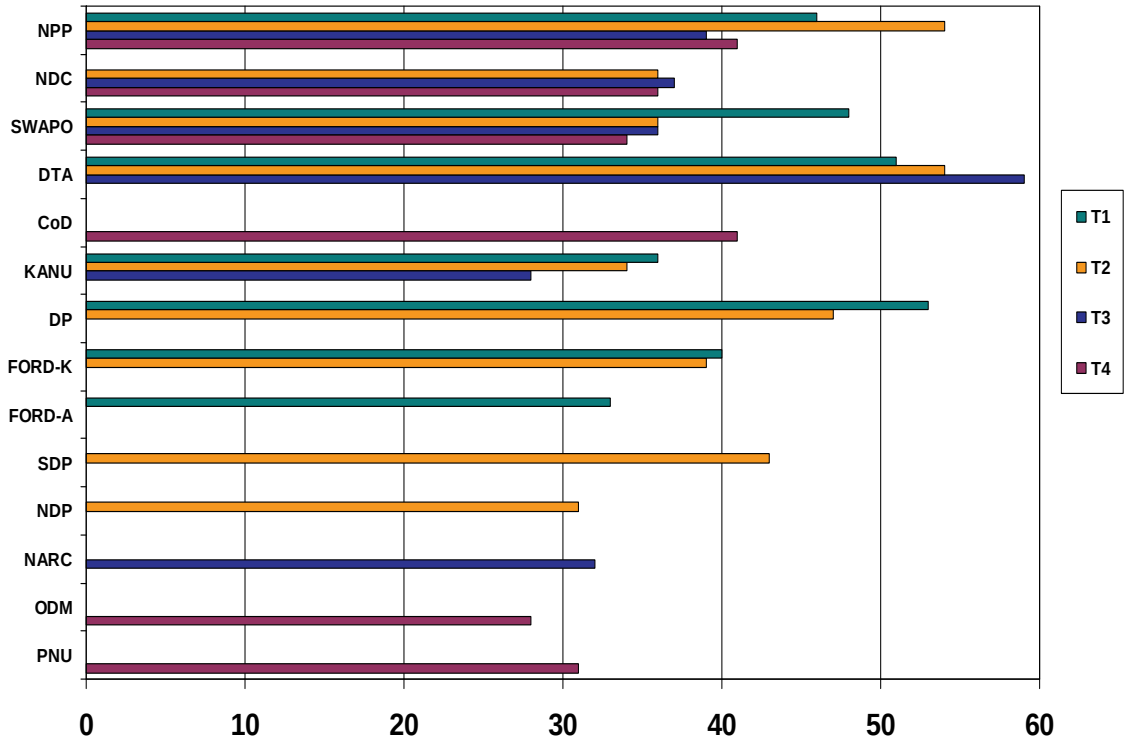
3.3 The Programmatic Content of African Election Manifestos

What is the overall programmatic content of African party manifestos? Annex II provides an overview of all coded manifestos; Figure 1 below displays the results across countries. The names of the parties are provided to the left of the figure; the full name of each party and its country of origin are outlined below it. The bottom axis of Figure1 displays the overall programmatic percentage share (the percentage share of right-wing plus left-wing statements) of each party's manifesto. The right side illustrates the number of each election after the (re)introduction of multiparty democracy in each country: T1 indicates the first election after the legalization of multiparty competition. In the case of Ghana T1 refers to the 1992 election. In the case of Namibia T1 refers the 1989 election, etc. In this manner we can compare the programmatic percentage shares over time. Some parties have only been analyzed at one election as these parties either existed only very briefly or failed to remain politically significant.

Initially we note that a wide variety of manifestos display seemingly high shares of programmatic content. The average programmatic share of all 28 manifestos is 40 percent. Because this study is particularly interested in manifestos with higher-than-average programmatic content, its primary focus is on those manifestos above the 40 percent threshold. Of 28 manifestos, twelve fulfill this criterion. Party manifestos above the 40 percent line include those of the DTA (T1 to T3), the CoD (in T4), and SWAPO (in T1) (all three from Namibia); the Kenyan DP (in T1 and T2) and SDP (in T2); and the Ghanaian NPP (T1 to T4).

Although the initial results indicate a consistently high level of programmatic content for the DTA, a deeper analysis of the various DTA manifestos falsifies this assumption. In T1—Namibia's founding election in 1989—24 percent of the party's programmatic content (51 percent) was due to three categories: 103 (Anti-imperialism: Positive), 201 (Freedom and Human Rights: Positive), and 202 (Democracy: Positive). The dominance of these particular categories can be explained by the historical context of the first Namibian elections, which occurred just after the end of apartheid. In subsequent manifestos none of these categories is even mentioned. The DTA's effective number of relevant programmatic categories just equals the cross-country average (8.9). In T2 the party's programmatic content is due to an overemphasis on categories 605 (Law and Order: Positive) and 506 (Education Expansion: Positive), which together account for 36 percent of its overall 54 percent programmatic content. In T2 the DTA's effective number of relevant programmatic categories is 6.3, well below the average number of all parties (8.9). The same is true of the manifesto in T3; 40 percent of its overall programmatic content (58 percent) can be accounted for by two categories, 504 (Welfare State Expansion: Positive) and 506 (Education Expansion: Positive). The amount of significant programmatic categories is 3.3, the lowest value identified in this study.

Figure 1: Programmatic Content of Election Manifestos Across Countries



NPP = New Patriotic Party (Ghana): in government in T4.
NDC = National Democratic Congress (Ghana): in government between T1 and T3.
SWAPO = South West African People's Organization (Namibia): in government between T2 and T4.
DTA = Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (Namibia): always in opposition.
CoD = Congress of Democrats (Namibia): always in opposition.
KANU = Kenya African National Union (Kenya): in government between T1 and T3.
DP = Democratic Party (Kenya)
FORD-K = Forum for the Restoration of Democracy Kenya (Kenya)
FORD-A = Forum for the Restoration of Democracy Assili (Kenya)
SDP = Social Democratic Party (Kenya)
NDP = National Democratic Party (Kenya)
NARC = National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (Kenya)
ODM = Orange Democratic Movement (Kenya)
PNU = Party of National Unity (Kenya)

Source: Author's compilation.

The same reasoning applies to the CoD manifesto in T4. Its programmatic underpinnings depend on 504 (Welfare State Expansion: Positive), which accounts for almost 20 percent of its programmatic share, which is itself just above the 40 percent cutoff line. The effective number of relevant policy categories covered is 3.9.

SWAPO's high level of programmatic content in T1 is due to the strong emphasis on categories 201 (Freedom and Human Rights: Positive) and 202 (Democracy: Positive), which together make up 18 percent of its 48 percent share. As is the case with the DTA manifesto in T1, SWAPO's overemphasis on two categories can be explained by the historical conditions Namibia found itself in at the time of the election: the end of apartheid and the general desire for democracy and human rights to become a reality (Lush 1993).

The SDP manifesto relies heavily on category 504 (Welfare State Expansion: Positive), which accounts for 13 percent of its 43 percent of programmatic content. The effective number of programmatic categories is also comparatively low (6.4). Thus six out of 11 party manifestos with a high programmatic content do not advance "genuine" programmatic platforms but rely on a small selection of categories which the coding scheme regards as programmatic.

However, in six cases the party manifestos are genuinely programmatic. Their programmatic share is above the 40 percent cutoff point and their programmatic content cannot be reduced to individual categories. This applies to the Kenyan DP (in T1 and T2) and the Ghanaian NPP (T1 to T4)[11]. Neither party's programmatic content can be reduced to a single of category or a small set of categories. The coding results for the NPP further indicate a relationship between being in government and the provision of programmatic content: when in government (T4) its programmatic content was visibly lower than during most of its time in opposition (in particular in T1 and T2). This is confirmed by SWAPO (the governing party of Namibia since independence in 1989) and KANU (the former governing party of Kenya during Kenya's one-party era and the governing party between T1 and T3), both of which became significantly less excited about programmatic ideas over time. It might well be that African parties share this phenomenon with their counterparts around the globe: when in government the pragmatism of day-to-day politics occurs at the expense of ideological preoccupations. These findings are of course only tentative given the short time period this study covers.

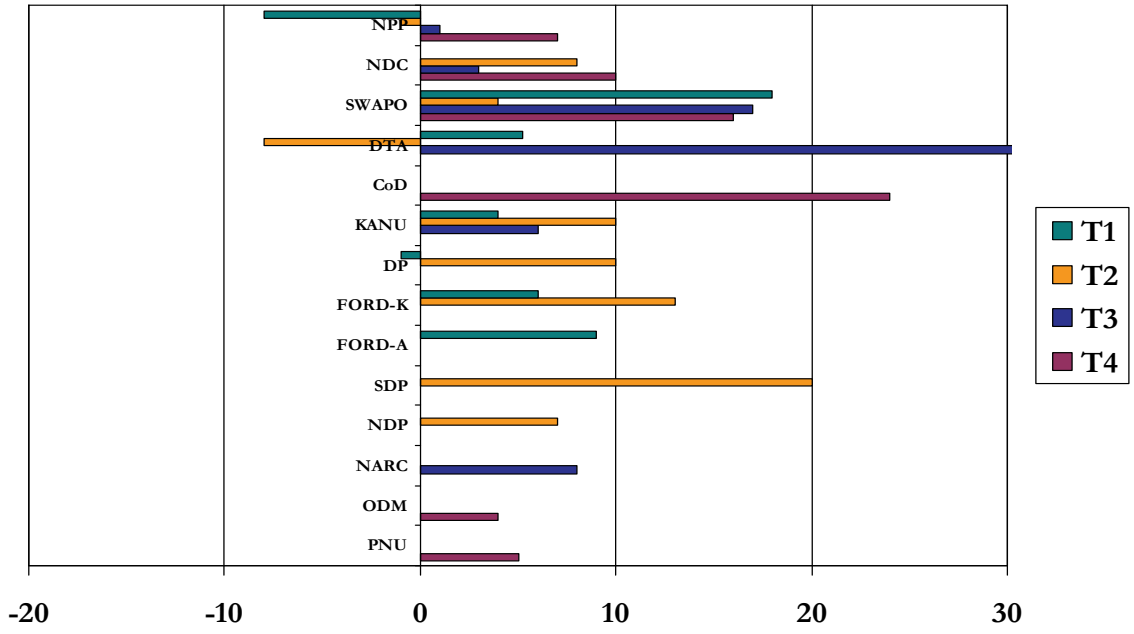
What can be said so far about party ideology in Africa on the basis of election manifesto coding? Although the initial results display a surprisingly large number of manifestos with programmatic content, only few party manifestos (five out of 28) contain significant programmatic content. This is further confirmed by a quick examination of which policy categories each party stresses most: out of our 28 manifestos, 17 stress category 411 (Technology and Infrastructure: Positive), four place the most emphasis on 410 (Productivity: Positive), two highlight 304 (Political Corruption: Negative), two are most interested in 504 (Welfare State Expansion: Positive), one gives preference to 506 (Education Expansion: Positive), one to 201 (Freedom and Human Rights: Positive), and one to 605 (Law and Order: Positive). With the exception of the last four categories, all of these topics are nonprogrammatic. Nevertheless, the MRG/CMP coding scheme reveals interesting differences between parties. The Ghanaian NPP and the Kenyan DP can clearly be distinguished from their political rivals in terms of the programmatic content they are putting forward.

[11] The NPP manifesto in T4 is arguably a borderline case as the relevant number of programmatic categories is just above the average number (see Annex III for details). Given the consistency of programmatic content, the NPP manifesto in T4 is counted as "genuinely" programmatic.

3.4 The Left-wing versus Right-wing Positioning of Parties in Ghana, Namibia, and Kenya

The location of parties on the right-to-left spectrum plays a prominent role in the application of the MRG/CMP coding scheme to European parties. The purpose of this section is to see whether or not African parties differ much in terms of the ideology they put forward (Erdmann 2004, Basedau 2007). As indicated above, the position of parties on the right-to-left spectrum is calculated by subtracting the right-wing content from the left-wing content. Figure 2 below contains the results for all parties.

Figure 2: Positioning of Parties on the Left-to-Right Spectrum



Source: Author's compilation.

The great majority of manifestos display a moderate inclination in favor of the political Left. The average position for all parties on the left-to-right spectrum is +9.4. Some parties—the DTA in T3, the CoD in T4, and the SDP in T2—pursue particularly pointed ideological stances. Again this is the result of their overemphasis on individual policy categories. Interestingly, both the NPP in T1 and T2 and the DP in T1, which were previously identified as the only genuinely programmatic parties, are the only parties which give preference to right-wing policies.

3.5 Selected Policy Issues

Based on salience theory, the MRG/CMP coding scheme facilitates an overview of which individual policy issues parties stress. This section examines the extent to which parties care about some topics that have loomed large in the political science and economic development

literature. These include first of all democracy and human rights, which the MRG/CMP coding scheme captures as separate categories. Given the continent's long history of autocratic rule, these two issues are undoubtedly at center stage. Secondly, the section looks at the need to extend educational facilities. Africa is the continent with the highest rate of illiteracy worldwide, which makes improvements in the provision of basic education an imperative. Sustainable growth rates are further contingent upon a well-equipped educational infrastructure. Thirdly, the discussion illustrates the extent to which parties tackle corruption. Corruption is the continent's greatest plague, as political scientists have emphasized for generations (Lemarchand 1972, Chabal and Dioz 1999, Bayart 1993). Fourthly, the importance party manifestos allocate to women and young people is examined. An ever-growing section of the literature focuses on the role of gender in third world societies. Both women and young people are frequently portrayed as being on the fringes of societies that are male dominated and that cherish age and experience. Unfortunately, the coding scheme does not distinguish separate categories for women and youth but puts forward one category that summarizes the extent to which parties care about both.

Finally, the subsequent section looks at the extent to which parties care about social harmony and multiculturalism. Both categories can be used as proxy for the extent to which parties wish to create a united nation. This is of particular importance in societies where ethnic identity has a high degree of political salience. By selecting these five topics the author does not claim that other subjects should be regarded as less important.[12] The list of issues that matter is potentially endless. Topic selection was first and foremost guided by the desire to illustrate how the MRG/CMP scheme can be used to establish differences between parties. The results for each topic are outlined in Table 2 below.

3.5.1 Democracy

Across countries, parties express great concern about democracy and human rights. Table 2 shows that in all three African states studied here pro-democracy and pro-human rights statements represent the second most emphasized policy issue of the five categories under scrutiny. This is not surprising as most African parties are the logical by-product of the democratic change of the early 1990s.

The initially high average values for Namibia constitute responses to the end of the apartheid system and the political articulation of the "never again" feeling that swept the country in the late 1980s. As already touched upon in the discussion above, the high programmatic share of Namibia's former liberation army SWAPO is another outcome of this. The longer SWAPO remains in government, however, the more its share of pro-democracy and human rights statements declines. On the one hand, this might be a result of the realiza-

[12] In addition to education the article could have looked at the issue of health provision. Unfortunately, no category offers itself as an appropriate proxy. Category 504 (Welfare State Expansion: Positive) covers the health service yet simultaneously a wide variety of other issues.

tion of SWAPO's long-held aspiration: the creation of a democratically governed Namibia. On the other, it corresponds to SWAPO's increasingly touchy relationship with the free media and political opposition in the face of ongoing corruption scandals. The above-average values of the CoD fit with the motive behind the party's formation. The CoD is a SWAPO breakaway group which left SWAPO in protest against former president Nujoma's desire to stay in office for an unconstitutional third term. From its inception it portrayed itself as a political force for good governance and constitutionalism (Hopwood 2007).

The hypothesis that parties care increasingly less about democratic values once they are in power is confirmed by the results for Kenya. Kenya's opposition parties, such as the DP, FORD-K, the NDP and especially FORD-A, stress the need for democratic reform after several decades of KANU one-party rule (which continues until T3). KANU, by contrast, downplays the issue with its election manifesto statements, which are perfectly in line with former president Moi's cautionary stance on multipartyism (Throup and Hornsby 1998, Maupeu et al. 2005, Mutua 2008). Once political change has occurred and one parliamentary cycle under the new government elapses, the former champions of democracy—now represented by the PNU and the ODM, which are both heirs of the former NARC (a conglomeration of various opposition parties including the DP, the NDP, FORD-K, and the SDP) government—no longer share the same enthusiasm for democracy. Unfortunately, we can only partly test for the further validity of this relationship as Ghana's former governing party (the NDC in T1 and T2) did not produce a manifesto for the country's first election. It did, however, stress its commitment to democracy in government and opposition despite the fact that it grew out of a military government. The NPP displays far-above-average support for democracy and human rights in its second and third manifesto (when it is in opposition). This must be seen as the party's rhetorical response to Ghana's founding elections, which it perceived to be rigged in favor of the incumbent NDC (Jeffries and Thomas 1993).

Overall, there is evidence that African party manifestos care a great deal about democracy when the party in question forms the opposition, but that this commitment does not hold once a party claims power. However, this might equally be the result of democratic elections increasingly becoming the norm in all three countries chosen. Accordingly, the inclination to take a vocal stance against nondemocratic rule declines.

3.5.2 Education

Of the five topics selected, African parties care most about education. This constitutes a direct response to the failure of various post-independence governments to provide their populations with adequate primary, secondary and tertiary schooling. Although the DTA in T3 is an outlier, African opposition parties are very vocal about the need to expand education. The examples of Kenya's FORD-A, FORD-K, and NARC and Ghana's NPP (in T1 and T2) illustrate this. The parties' initial outspokenness on this topic corresponds to the fact that it is always easier for opposition parties to postulate improvements even though fiscal con-

straints will not allow for their realization. However, enthusiasm for the topic is not significantly lower among parties in government; further, it does not decrease the longer the party is in government.

Table 2: Percentage Share of Selected Policy Issues

Country	Party	T	Democracy: Positive (201) plus Freedom and Human Rights: Positive (202)	Education Expansion: Positive (506)	Political Corruption: Negative (304)	Women and Youth: Positive (706)	Social Harmony: Positive (606) plus Multiculturalism: Positive (607)
Ghana	NPP	T1	2.9	3.7	0.2	1.4	0.9
		T2	5.6	9.0	1.7	2.8	2.1
		T3	4.0	2.7	3.2	1.9	1.9
		T4	2	5.3	1.7	4.4	1.3
	NDC	T1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
		T2	3.3	5.2	0	3.5	1.5
		T3	3.7	5.1	0.9	3.4	2.7
		T4	3.1	4.1	2.7	2.6	1.1
	National Average		**3.1**	**5.0**	**1.5**	**3**	**1.6**
Namibia	SWAPO	T1	12.8	5.0	2.6	7.1	5
		T2	6.3	5.0	0.4	0	3.7
		T3	4.8	7.0	1.2	6.8	1.5
		T4	4.5	4.3	0.8	6.5	0.8
	DTA	T1	7.7	4.6	0.2	0.2	8.8
		T2	2.4	10.7	0	3.6	6
		T3	0	28.8	2.2	2.2	0
	CoD	T4	5.6	5.4	8.4	10.7	1.9
	National Average		**5.5**	**8.9**	**2.0**	**4.6**	**3.5**
Kenya	KANU	T1	1.2	5.4	0.9	8.6	2.4
		T2	2.6	6.6	2	5.5	1.3
		T3	4.2	1.5	1.6	3.9	1.9
	DP	T1	8.9	5.9	3.7	2.9	4
		T2	12.9	4.3	6	6	2.6
	FORD-A	T1	17	7.9	3.9	0	1.3
	FORD-K	T1	7	7.2	8.6	2.9	1.1
		T2	3.7	5.8	3	3	0.2
	SDP	T2	4.8	4.8	1.9	3.9	0
	NDP	T2	8.5	4.4	7.2	7.2	0
	NARC	T3	6	7.8	14.4	9.6	5.5
	PNU	T4	4.1	4.7	3.6	7.6	1.1
	ODM	T4	3.9	4.4	3.3	4.7	2.4
	National Average		**6.5**	**5.5**	**4.6**	**5.1**	**1.8**
	Total Average		**5.4**	**6.5**	**3.0**	**4.4**	**2.3**

Source: Author's compilation.

3.5.3 Corruption

African parties care significantly less about this topic than one might expect. With the exception of Kenya there is also no clear relationship between the strength of anticorruption statements and being in government or opposition. Kenyan opposition parties thrive on anticorruption statements, which is likely the result of the heritage of one-party rule. In a country where KANU appeared to be ruling forever, the need to throw "the rascals out" provided a strong rallying cry for opposition supporters. NARC is a particularly good example of this.

In Namibia only the CoD shows great enthusiasm for the topic of corruption—the endless corruption scandals of the governing SWAPO are among its raisons d'être. By contrast SWAPO ignores the issue almost completely; even before coming to power (in T1) it does not attach any importance to it. Namibia's long-term opposition, the DTA, is equally oblivious. Anticorruption statements also do not feature in any meaningful way in Ghana, where it only has only been picked up in recent years.

3.5.4 Women and Youth

The differences between individual Namibian parties are noteworthy: SWAPO displays great allegiance to these values, something which can be explained by the party's origins and initial purpose. In fighting apartheid and South African colonialism it always attached a premium to emancipation in general. As such it stood in stark contrast to the DTA, a party run by whites and traditional African leaders (Lush 1993, Pütz et al. 1990). This explains the latter party's low level of sympathy for equality issues. By contrast, the CoD was the first party to prescribe a women's quota for the party's hierarchy. Its very strong loyalty to gender equality can easily be linked to the party's history (Hopwood 2007).

Kenyan parties emphasize the topic before and after coming to power, albeit to different degrees. Ghana's former (and current) ruling party, the NDC, demonstrates above-average attention to these segments of society. Indeed, during the term of former military ruler J.J. Rawlings, the NDC's women's wing was publicly very visible and one of the strongest pillars of Rawlings and his regime (Oquaye 2004, Adedeji 2001, Nugent 1995).

3.5.5 Social Harmony and Multiculturalism

Social harmony and multiculturalism attract the lowest amount of attention of all selected policy categories. Support for these values is high for Namibia and in particular for SWAPO, which is one of the few parties in Africa with a truly nationwide composition. These results mirror the party's political slogan: "One Namibia, One Nation." Its former opponent the DTA has often accused SWAPO of favoring the interests of the Ovambo community, the largest Namibian ethnic group and SWAPO's electoral backbone (Geingob 2004, Cliffe 1994). Consequently, it has claimed that it is the true guardian of Namibian nationhood, a claim which is mirrored in the high value in favor of social harmony in T2.

In Kenya, where ethnic grievances are most advanced, social harmony is neglected. Only the DP in T1 (and to a lesser degree in T2) and NARC in T3 show visibly above-average concern with the issue. The results for NARC coincide with the party's composition: For the first time in Kenyan history all major communities united under the roof of one party (Kadima and Owuor 2006). Its appeal to social harmony is a direct consequence of the rationale that led to its formation: the formation of a nationwide political movement against KANU. The DP's somewhat strong inclination towards social harmony is surprising given its status as a (predominantly) Kikuyu party (Throup and Hornsby 1998). Under its appeal to national unity hide the grievances of an ethnic group that felt marginalized throughout the decades of Daniel arap Moi's rule.

In Ghana the results are equally disappointing. Intercommunal relations in Ghana might not be free of tension, but they are certainly more amicable than in Kenya (Elischer 2008, Apter 1972, Austin 1964, Hettne 1980). The issue of ethnic relations has never featured as strongly as in other countries, which might in turn explain why appeals to national unity feature less than elsewhere.

4 The MRG/CMP Coding Scheme in Africa: A Critical Evaluation

The results from the application of the coding scheme now need to be set in context with a priori assumptions about the relationship between programmatic ideas and African parties. The results illustrate that, in general, African parties do advance programmatic ideas. Yet the programmatic content of party manifestos is in most instances either very limited or confined to a few categories. Therefore, the general assumption that political polarization in Africa is not driven by ideological divisions is confirmed—for the first time with concrete data. This fact notwithstanding, parties differ significantly in terms of the extent to which they adhere to programmatic ideas. Ghana's NPP and Kenya's DP are remarkable exceptions as they are the only two parties which consistently put forward manifestos in which the programmatic content is not due to an overemphasis on a few issues the MRG/CMP coding scheme regards as programmatic. In the case of the Ghanaian NPP, these results are in line with the party's history. As outlined at the beginning of this paper, the Busia tradition in Ghana has been associated with the political Right. In contemporary Ghana the NPP represents that tradition. It is noteworthy that the lack of programmatic content among the three manifestos of the Ghanaian NDC is equally in line with Ghanaian history: the NDC has recruited its leadership from the ranks of Ghana's former military dictatorship under Jerry J. Rawlings. For a

long time its election campaigns were focused on Rawlings's personal achievements (Nugent 1995, Oquaye 2004).[13]

The literature on Kenyan politics has consistently stressed the high salience of ethnicity in Kenyan party politics. The DP's adherence to programmatic content and in particular its slight bias towards the political Right can be explained by its core ethnic clientele. The DP represents the interests of the Kikuyu community, which is well established in Kenya's economic sector (Throup and Hornsby 1998, Elischer 2008). Although polarization in Africa is not driven by ideology, an in-depth analysis of party manifestos provides additional information about African parties that supplements the existing literature. The examination of individual policy categories has laid bare hitherto unknown facts about the attitudes of parties to specific issue areas. Again, these are in line with the historical trajectory of each party under scrutiny.

To many scholars the most contentious issue will be the application of our coding scheme itself. Their criticism will be threefold: Firstly, many will contest the empirical validity of a coding scheme which was developed for the analysis of Western party manifestos during the Cold War. Testing for "policy overstretch" and comparing the results with the secondary literature on African parties have proven to be appropriate analytical safeguards in order to ensure a reasonable interpretation of the results. These results do indeed indicate "difference," yet that difference manifests itself in content—the lack of clear-cut political positioning; the lack of a notable political Right; the tendency to favor issues devoid of ideology, such as infrastructure—rather than in difference that cannot be captured analytically.

Secondly, many might argue that given the heavy dependence of African governments on donor aid, the analysis of manifestos is ill-suited to the study of African parties. In a variety of African countries party regulations prescribe the production of a manifesto in order for parties to be legally registered.[14] In cases where this is not necessary manifestos might serve the purpose of appealing to the donor community. While in a Western context parties dedicate much time to the drafting of manifestos, this clearly is not the case in Africa. In none of the three countries was it possible to identify the individuals in charge of drafting manifestos. Information on whether or not manifestos were ever passed by a national party congress is equally not available.[15] Based on the facts, scholars might argue that manifestos either correspond to the impulsive whims of the party leadership or have been drawn up in order to appease donors. While the personalistic nature of African politics cannot be denied, these criticisms can be discarded. In order to appease donors, parties would probably stress issues such as social harmony or the need to fight corruption to a much greater extent than they do.

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[13] Country experts have long argued that the Rawlings's military intervention and subsequent formation of a political party ("Rawlings revolution") replaced Nkrumahism, the political tradition that in the post-independence period was associated with the political Left.

[14] This, however, is not the case in the three countries analyzed here.

[15] Based on interviews with leading party members in all three countries. These were conducted in 2008.

In terms of their election manifestos African parties are surprisingly straightforward: in general they are oblivious to the need to fight corruption and negligent of social –harmony, and the longer they stay in power the less they care about human rights and democracy. If manifestos were written without any political considerations, how can the long-term survival of political ideas that have their origins in the pre-independence period—again the case of the Ghanaian NPP comes to mind—be explained? Opposition parties' emphasis on democratic government and their failure to maintain this once they gain power as well as all parties' general neglect of issues such as social harmony do fit perfectly with our understanding of African politics.

Thirdly, critics will doubt the political relevance of African party manifestos as they do not play a noteworthy role in election campaigns. Political electioneering is instead characterized by mass rallies and the appearance of the parties' respective presidential candidate.[16] On hardly any occasion do party politicians pay reference to their party's manifesto. The only written documents that feature in election campaigns are leaflets outlining some key demands of parties—but even the distribution of leaflets rarely takes place.[17] While these observations are correct, they should not distract from the fact that the results generated from this study have shown that political parties use manifestos as an opportunity to outline their stance on issues. The fact that the results from this study are by and large in line with findings about these parties in the secondary literature illustrates this. However, it would be wrong to reduce an analysis of African parties to election manifestos alone. The purpose of this study has from its inception been more modest: to examine whether African party manifestos can be used for the study of African parties. While the results from the coding exercise prove this to be true, an in-depth analysis of African parties certainly requires the inclusion of a variety of additional aspects of party life.

5 Conclusion

This study has made a new contribution to the study of political parties in nonindustrialized societies by analyzing a complete set of election manifestos over the course of three to four successive African elections. It has applied a coding technique that so far has only been utilized in the context of Western and Eastern European politics. The results indicate that programmatic ideas—as conventionally understood in terms of the left–right cleavage model—do feature in African party politics, albeit generally at a low level. Most manifestos demonstrate little concern with programmatic ideas. Generally, parties put great emphasis on issues devoid of ideology such as infrastructure improvements or increases in productivity. Even in

[16] This observation is based on the author's attendance at political party rallies in several African countries, including the three countries covered in this study. The same observation can be found in the extant literature on multiparty elections in Africa.

[17] The only country where the author has made this observation is Namibia.

those instances where programmatic content is high, this is due to parties' overemphasis on individual programmatic categories. Interestingly, two parties that put forward several manifestos with a high level of programmatic content were identified. In addition, the majority of parties position themselves on the political Left, though there are again notable exceptions.

Shifting its focus from these general considerations, the paper then examined the extent to which parties care about concrete policy issues such as democracy and human rights, corruption, gender and youth equality, and social harmony. While parties care greatly about democracy, this tendency declines once the respective parties are in government. Parties care much more about gender and youth equality than they do about political corruption and social harmony, though in Kenya parties care more about corruption than in Ghana and Namibia. The emphasis on social harmony and multiculturalism is equally low in all countries.

All findings derived from the coding exercise correspond to the historical or political circumstances the respective party has faced. This proves that party election manifestos are genuine expressions of political will rather than mere responses to donor pressure. The application of the MRG/CMP coding scheme has overall been very successful, with only a small amount of statements falling outside its realm. The scheme can thus serve as a useful tool in examining political parties. Even though political polarization in Africa is not of a programmatic nature, the systematic and comparative analysis of party manifestos with the help of the MRG/CMP coding scheme can be used to derive new knowledge for the study of political parties in nonindustrialized, ethnically segmented societies. There is therefore no reason why comparative scholars should not make use of this tool. Further studies should not only be dedicated to the application of the scheme to nonindustrialized societies but should also try to compare the results with the content of Western manifestos. Such studies might be of particular interest to scholars engaged with Western politics as results will display the extent to which parties in the Western world can be regarded as programmatic (or catchall) when compared to parties worldwide.

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Annex I

The Standard MRG/CMP Coding Frame

Domain 1 External Relations	Domain 2 Freedom and Democracy	Domain 3 Political System	Domain 4 Economy	Domain 5 Welfare and Quality of Life	Domain 6 Fabric of Society	Domain 7 Social Groups
101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	201 Freedom and Human Rights: Positive	301 Decentralisation: Positive	401 Free Enterprise: Positive	501 Environmental Protection: Positive	601 National Way of Life: Positive	701 Labor Groups: Positive
102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative	202 Democracy: Positive	302 Centralisation: Positive	402 Incentives: Positive	502 Culture: Positive	602 National Way of Life: Negative	702 Labor Groups: Negative
103 Anti-imperialism: Positive	203 Constitutionalism: Positive	304 Political Corruption: Negative	403 Market Regulation: Positive	503 Social Justice: Positive	603 Traditional Morality: Positive	703 Farmers: Positive
104 Military: Positive	204 Constitutionalism: Negative	305 Political Authority	404 Economic Planning: Positive	504 Welfare State Expansion: Positive	604 Traditional Morality: Negative	704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive
105 Military: Negative			405 Corporatism: Positive	505 Welfare State Limitation: Positive	605 Law and Order: Positive	704 Underprivileged Minority Groups: Positive
106 Peace: Positive			406 Protectionism: Positive	506 Education Expansion: Positive	606 Social Harmony: Positive	705 Non-economic Demographic Groups: Positive
107 Internationalism: Positive			407 Protectionism: Negative	507 Education Limitation: Positive	607 Multiculturalism: Positive	
108 European Integration: Positive			408 Economic Goals		608 Multiculturalism: Negative	
109 Internationalism: Negative			409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive			
110 European Integration: Negative			410 Productivity: Positive			
			411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive			
			412 Controlled Economy: Positive			
			413 Nationalism: Positive			
			414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive			
			415 Marxist Analysis: Positive			
			416 Anti-growth Economy: Positive			

Annex II

Data and Data Collection

	Time	Effective/ Significant Parties	Did Party Produce Manifesto?	Data Available?	Comments
Ghana	T1	NPP NDC	Yes No	Yes n/a	
	T2	NPP NDC	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	
	T3	NPP NDC	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	
	T4	NPP NDC	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	
Namibia	T1	SWAPO DTA	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	Yes
	T2	SWAPO DTA	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	
	T3	SWAPO DTA	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	
	T4	SWAPO CoD	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	
Kenya	T1	KANU FORD-A FORD-K DP	Yes Yes Yes Yes	Yes No Yes Yes	Policy platforms printed in national newspaper used as proxy data
	T2	KANU FORD-K DP NDP SDP	Yes Yes Yes Yes unknown	Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes	2002 manifesto used as proxy data; according to party headquarters the two are the same
	T3	KANU NARC	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	
	T4	PNU ODM	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	

Each manifesto was coded by the author of the article twice over the course of 12 months.

Annex IIII

Quasi-sentences and MRG/CMP Coding Procedures

The coding procedure is outlined below. The text is an abridged version of:
Klingemann et al. 2006, pp.165-166 and pp.174-175.
The coding unit in a given manifesto is the "quasi-sentence," defined as an argument—that is, the verbal expression of one political idea or issue.
Example I:

- "We will cut taxes."
- "We will reduce our military forces."

In this example two sentences contain two different arguments which are easy to identify and distinguish. Each sentences equals a "quasi-sentence."
Example II:

- "Because we want freedom, we need strong military forces."

In this case two arguments are combined in one sentence. Long sentences therefore need to be transformed into "quasi-sentences."

- "We want freedom."
- "We need strong military forces."

The following sample texts, which contain solutions for the identification of quasi-sentences and categories, display how coding works in practice. The first example is taken from Klingemann et al. 2006. Quasi-sentences are separated using a slash, and the respective category is indicated in brackets ().
Party manifesto: Great Britain, The Liberal/SDP Alliance 1983

> Our Alliance wants to call a halt to confrontation politics /(606). We believe we have set an example by working together as two separate parties within an alliance of principle/ (606). Our whole approach is based on cooperation: not just between our parties but between management and workers, between people of different races and above all between government and people/ (202).

Party manifesto: Ghana, The National Patriotic Party 1992, p.1
The NPP holds that:

- The key to creating prosperity for all is the unleashing of the energies of the private sector/ (401)
- The business of government is not business, and the NPP will create a climate that will allow the private entrepreneur to flourish/ (401) […]

[…]
The NPP pledges to achieve political, economic and administrative decentralization in Ghana/ (301).

Annex IV

Number of Effective Programmatic Categories Covered by Parties

NPP		Effective Number of Relevant Programmatic Categories
	T1	12.3
	T2	10.9
	T3	13.8
	T4	9
NDC	T1	n/a
	T2	7.3
	T3	13.3
	T4	11.2
SWAPO	T1	8.3
	T2	6.1
	T3	6.6
	T4	7.7
DTA	T1	8.9
	T2	6.3
	T3	3.3
CoD	T4	3.9
KANU	T1	12.5
	T2	9.9
	T3	9.8
DP	T1	11
	T2	10.8
FORD-K	T1	8.6
	T2	7.7
FORD-A	T1	4.9
SDP	T2	6.4
NDP	T2	9.2
NARC	T3	7.8
PNU	T4	11.7
ODM	T4	9.4
Average total	T1-T4	**8.9**
Average of truly programmatic	T1-T4	**11.8**
Average of those with policy overstretch	T1-T4	**6.4**

The effective number of programmatic shares is calculated by taking the inverse of the sum of the squared proportions of each category's share of the party's overall programmatic content.

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