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Manifesto Coding Instructions
(Second Revised Edition)

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Abstract

Since 1979, the Manifesto Research Group (MRG) has been collecting and coding election programs with the aim of estimating policy preferences of political parties. Detailed descriptions of this project can be found in Budge et al. (1987, 2001), Laver and Budge (1992), and Klingemann et al. (1994). During the first phase of the project, while the classification scheme was being developed, each group member was responsible for his or her own data collection. Reliability and validity of content analytic procedures had been secured through intensive group discussions. The second phase of the project started in 1989. In the context of its 'Comparative Manifestos Project' (CMP), the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) provided resources for updating and expanding the MRG data. Coders are now hired to do the content analysis according to this coding handbook. The handbook describes in detail how to select the documents, how to identify the coding units, and how to apply the classification scheme. A reliability test given in the handbook is used for training coders.

Zusammenfassung

Seit 1979 sammelt und analysiert die Manifesto Research Group (MRG) Wahlprogramme, um politische Positionen von Parteien komparativ zu messen. Detaillierte Darstellungen des Gesamtprojekts finden sich Budge et al. (1987, 2001), Laver and Budge (1992) und Klingemann et al. (1994). Während der ersten Phase des Projektes wurde das Klassifikationsschema entwickelt und jedes Mitglied der Gruppe brachte die Daten eines Landes in den komparativen Datensatz ein. Die zweite Phase des Projektes begann 1989 mit der Gründung der Abteilung 'Institutionen und sozialer Wandel' am Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB). Seither stellt das WZB Ressourcen zur Verfügung, um die Datensammlung zu vervollständigen und zu erweitern. Die Inhaltsanalysen werden heute von Codern in den Heimatländern anhand des vorliegenden Handbuchs vorgenommen. Das Handbuch führt die Coder umfassend in die Selektion der Programme, die Identifikation der Codiereinheiten und die Anwendung des Klassifikationsschemas ein. Ein dem Handbuch beigefügter Reliabilitätstest dient dem Codertraining.

Andrea Volkens

Manifesto Coding Instructions

1. Introduction

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

A first version of the classification scheme was developed by David Robertson (1976:73-75) for analysing modes of party competition in Britain. In 1979, the 'Manifesto Research Group' (MRG) was constituted as a research group of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) by scholars interested in a comparative content-analytic approach on policy positions of parties. During their work, the classification scheme was extended and revised to fit additional countries.

Since 1989 the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) provides resources for updating and expanding the MRG data set in the context of its 'Comparative Manifestos Project' (CMP). This discussion paper is an introduction into the application of the coding scheme. It provides coders who do not have the background knowledge of the MRG-members and investigators in countries not covered by the MRG/CMP with all the relevant information, definitions, and sources to apply the coding scheme to their respective countries.

2. Selection of Programs

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

Among the different kinds of programs which are issued in many countries, the basis for this research are **election programs**. The advantages of taking election programs as a source for identifying political goals of parties are manifold:

1. Election programs cover a wide range of political positions and themes and, therefore, can be seen as a 'set of key central statements of party positions' (Budge, Robertson, Hearl 1987:18).
2. Election programs are authoritative statements of party policies because the programs are usually ratified in party conventions.
3. Election programs are representative statements for the whole party, not just statements of one faction or group within the party or of individual party members.
4. Election programs are published before every election. Thus, changes of policy positions of parties over time can be studied.

According to the special significance of election programs, the documents to be collected are the platforms of parties which are published for the election of representatives in the national assembly of a respective country. The sources of gathering the programs may be the parties themselves, associated research and training institutes or publications in newspapers, magazines, or books.

In some countries parties do not distribute election programs. In this case, the above given description of election programs serves as an 'ideal type' of a document which is to be searched for. The only documents available may be newspaper summaries of the parties' election pledges or reports of party spokesmen about policy positions and goals for the upcoming legislature. In any case the ideal type of a document which summarises authoritative statements of the party's policy positions for electioneering should be achieved as far as possible.

3. Selection of Parties

The collection should cover all the significant parties which are represented in the national assembly. The significance of parties is defined as the coalition (governmental) or blackmail potential of a party in a given party system (Sartori 1976:121-125). Coalition potential is defined as 1. the actual or former membership in a government or 2. the possibility (feasibility) of becoming a government party. Blackmail potential is defined as the party's impact on 'the tactics of party competition particularly when it alters the direction of the competition - by determining a switch from centripetal to centrifugal competition either leftward, rightward, or in both directions - of the governing-oriented parties.' (Sartori 1976:123) These criteria for selection need consideration whether small parties, especially new ones like the Green Parties, affect party competition despite their small size.

4. The Coding Procedure

The election programs are analysed by methods of content analysis which is ‘a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication’ (Berelson 1971:18). The method can be applied to a wide range of different materials and research questions. The purpose of this section is to describe the specific form of content analysis to undertaken in Manifesto research.

The specific kind of internal, quantitative analysis is derived from the question as to what ideas, policies, issues, and concerns parties stress in their platforms. The methods of coding are designed to be comparable over a wide range of countries irrespective of cultural and socio-economic differences. Therefore, a classification scheme with invariant general categories is used to cover the total content of election programs by identifying the statements of preference expressed in the programs. This classification scheme contains 56 different categories grouped into seven major policy domains. Each of the 56 categories sums up related issues in a way that changes over time can be measured across parties and cross-culturally. Thus, the coding procedure comprises a quantification (how many statements do parties make?) and a classification (what kind of statements do parties make?) of election programs.

4.1. *Quantification: The Coding Unit*

The coding unit in a given program is the ‘**quasi-sentence**’, defined as an argument. An argument is the verbal expression of one political idea or issue. In its simplest form, a sentence is the basic unit of meaning. Therefore, punctuation can be used as a guideline for identifying arguments. The starting point of coding is the sentence, but what we are aiming for is an argument. In its shortest form, a sentence contains a subject, a verb and an attribute or an adjective.

Examples: ‘We will cut taxes.’
 ‘We will reduce our military forces.’

Obviously, these two sentences contain two different arguments which are easy to identify and to distinguish. But unfortunately, languages are more complex, and it is a question of style how to express the same political ideas.

Example: ‘We will cut taxes and reduce our military forces.’

In this case, the two statements are combined in one sentence, but for our purposes are still treated as two different arguments. Long sentences are decomposed into ‘quasi-sentences’ if the sense changes within the sentence. In most cases, one sentence which covers two (or more) arguments can be easily transformed into two (or more) quasi-sentences by repeating substantives and/or verbs. Thus, a ‘quasi-sentence’ is a set of words containing one and only one, political idea. It stops either at the end of an argument or at a full stop (period).

In many cases, arguments are combined and related into one sentence.

Example: ‘Because we want freedom, we need strong military forces.’

These are two quasi-sentences, because there are two political goals, i.e. freedom and strength of military forces, which can be transformed into two quasi-sentences:

Examples: ‘We want freedom.’
‘We need strong military forces.’

Thus, long sentences may combine two or more arguments which are often contained by commas, semicolons or colons. A list of arguments, sometimes marked with hyphens or dots, is treated as if separated with full stops.

Example: ‘In international policy we shall take new initiatives. We will:
- promote peace;
- ban chemical weapons;
- refuse to deploy Cruise missiles;
- begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases;
- increase aid to developing countries;
- take action to protect the status of refugees.’

This text contains seven quasi-sentences. Three of the arguments (1. ban chemical weapons; 2. refuse to deploy cruise missiles; 3. begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases) express the same general idea, i.e. disarmament, but different issues in this policy field. Because distinct policies are mentioned for disarmament, three different quasi-sentences are identified. This list of policies may be given in the following way for which the same number of quasi-sentences is coded as for the list given above:

‘In international policy we shall take new initiatives. We will promote peace, ban chemical weapons, refuse to deploy Cruise missiles, begin discussions for the removal

of nuclear bases, increase aid to developing countries, and take action to protect the status of refugees.’

Thus, if different issues - however short - are dealt with in the same sentence they constitute different quasi-sentences even if they apply to the same policy field. On the other hand, the same argument may be very long and may occupy a lot of space, but still be only one quasi-sentence.

Step No 1: Identifying Quasi- Sentences

1. Xerox the respective party program. Then, 2. start with reading the first paragraph, 3. look at each sentence of the first paragraph, 4. identify the number of arguments by transforming them into quasi-sentences, and 5. mark all quasi-sentences in the first paragraph as shown in sample texts in section 5.

Some parts of the platform, like statistics, tables of content and section headings are not considered as text to be coded and, therefore, do not count as quasi-sentences. Introductory remarks by party leaders are equally ignored since the ideal-type of a platform is defined as authoritative statements of parties. All the other parts of a platform constitute the basis of analysis. The total number of units of analysis equals the total number of quasi-sentences identified for the relevant text of a given platform.

4.2. Classification: The Standard Coding Frame

In this project 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 basic data sought to support such comparisons are the shares of election programs devoted to each category in a set of standardised issue areas. Comparison requires standardisation. The Manifesto project, after much experimentation and discussion, developed a coding system, whereby each quasi-sentence of every election program is coded into one, and only one, of the following 56 standard categories. The 56 categories are grouped into seven major policy areas. The coding categories are designed, as far as possible, to be comparable between parties, countries and over time.

*Table 1: The Standard Coding Frame: 56 Categories in Seven Policy Domains***Domain 1: External Relations**

- 101 Foreign Special Relationships: positive
- 102 Foreign Special Relationships: negative
- 103 Anti-Imperialism
- 104 Military: positive
- 105 Military: negative
- 106 Peace
- 107 Internationalism: positive
- 108 European Community: positive
- 109 Internationalism: negative
- 110 European Community: negative

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy

- 201 Freedom and Human Rights
- 202 Democracy
- 203 Constitutionalism: positive
- 204 Constitutionalism: negative

Domain 3: Political System

- 301 Decentralisation
- 302 Centralisation
- 303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency
- 304 Political Corruption
- 305 Political Authority

Domain 4: Economy

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

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

- 501 Environmental Protection
- 502 Culture
- 503 Social Justice
- 504 Welfare State Expansion
- 505 Welfare State Limitation
- 506 Education Expansion
- 507 Education Limitation

Domain 6: Fabric of Society

- 601 National Way of Life: positive
- 602 National Way of Life: negative
- 603 Traditional Morality: positive
- 604 Traditional Morality: negative
- 605 Law and Order
- 606 Social Harmony
- 607 Multiculturalism: positive
- 608 Multiculturalism: negative

Domain 7: Social Groups

- 701 Labour Groups: positive
- 702 Labour Groups: negative
- 703 Agriculture
- 704 Middle Class and Professional Groups
- 705 Minority Groups
- 706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups

After identifying the quasi-sentences in the first paragraph, the next stage of the coding procedure is to decide which of the 56 categories of the Standard Coding Frame a respective quasi-sentence expresses. Each category of the Standard Coding Frame is specified by a set of typical issues and political ideas which are given in **section 7** of this handbook. Before starting the coding procedure, the coder should read through the Standard Coding Frame and its defining ideas and issues several times. With only 56 categories the Standard Coding Frame is reasonably scarce so that titles of categories and their defining characteristics can be easily memorised. The better the coder can memorise the categories and their specifications, the easier and faster the coding procedure will be.

For the example given above, the category numbers (105) 'Military: Negative', (106) Peace, (107) 'Internationalism: Positive' and (201) 'Freedom and Human Rights', are noted down at the margin of the copied election program:

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

Step No 2: Classifying the Quasi-Sentences

Read the whole of the first paragraph before you start coding the first quasi-sentence because the context may give you hints how to code an otherwise ambiguous argument. Look to see whether one of the 56 categories definitely captures the sense of the first identified quasi-sentence and note down the respective number of the category at the margin of the page. Repeat this procedure for all the quasi-sentences of the first paragraph. Then proceed with the next paragraph by repeating step no 1.

4.2.1 Categories with Country-Specific Meanings

In most of the cases, the categories have clear-cut meanings which are applicable to all countries. But some categories have country-specific contents or require country-specific definitions. The categories (101) 'Foreign Special Relations: Positive' and (102) 'Foreign Special Relations: Negative' have country-specific meanings. Here, the coder has to decide

in advance with which other country or countries the manifesto country (i.e. the country he or she is coding) has a ‘special foreign relationship’; for example, in the British case: former colonies, in the Swedish case: the rest of Scandinavia. Equally, the category (705) ‘Minorities’ requires a definition of what groups are considered as underprivileged in the manifesto country. The specific content of these categories must be spelled out as notes in a coding protocol.

Step No 3: Coding Protocol for all Country-Specific Categories and Codings

Note down definitions for all country-specific categories in a coding protocol. The coding has to be done in as uniform a way as possible. For comparative reasons, the greatest possible standardisation has to be achieved. Therefore, the coder must note down every coding decision he or she made if the procedure is not particularly mentioned in this handbook.

4.2.2 Coding Problems and Difficulties

Not all of the arguments are as clear as the examples given above. Three difficulties may appear in the process of applying step no 2:

- a. No category seems to apply.
- b. More than one category seem to apply.
- c. The statement seems unclear.

a. No category seems to apply

The coding frame was created to capture the total platform content. Nonetheless, it may be that no category is available for a particular problem in a particular country. These quasi-sentences are treated as uncodable (000). It is important to realize that ‘uncoded’ does not necessarily mean that a sentence is devoid of meaning (although of course it may be), only that it cannot be fitted into the present coding frame. However, the *general rule* is that sentences should be coded if at all possible. To follow this general rule there are a number of specific decision rules on how to tackle with difficult coding decisions.

In many countries some of the categories are not much used (for instance (405) ‘Corporatism’ and (409) ‘Keynesian Demand Management’), but are vital for comparative reasons. Therefore, some categories may be left empty at the end of the coding procedure. On the other hand seldom used categories are the most difficult to handle.

Decision Rule No 1: Checking Definitions of all Categories in Policy Domains

Whenever tempted to treat a quasi-sentence as uncodable, repeat reading the definitions of categories in the relevant policy domains because it might well be that the quasi-sentence contains a policy position that is taken only seldom. Therefore, the specific definition of the respective category may just have been forgotten.

A quasi-sentence may be without meaning but may nevertheless be part of the discussion of a problem and have a stylistic or linking function, for example:

‘The next government will do everything in its power to defend the interests of the farmers. To this end, we envisage several measures. Firstly, we will increase payments of all kinds to farmers. ...’

These are three quasi-sentences. The middle sentence itself is devoid of any policy-content but is a part of the same argument. Therefore, category (703) ‘Agriculture’ is coded three times.

Decision Rule No 2: Identifying Connecting Sentences

Some sentences, which may otherwise be uncodable, may just be connecting sentences between two arguments (for instance: Therefore, we are going to do three things.) These connecting sentences themselves do not constitute meaningful arguments but are part of an ongoing argument. Therefore, connecting sentences should be coded in the same category as surrounding sentences or as the bulk of the paragraph they appear in.

Because of the *general rule* to classify quasi-sentences if at all possible, all quasi-sentences treated as uncodable must be checked again after coding the total program. Uncoded quasi-sentences may be biased in meaning, that is, they may have a common thrust. Some quasi-sentences may contain country-specific issues which are not particularly mentioned in the definition of the category but nonetheless be subsumable under one of the 56 Standard Categories. Should this be the case, it must be noted down in the coding protocol according to step no. 3. Other quasi-sentences may have a country-specific bias too strong to be subsumed under one of the 56 Standard Categories. For these quasi-sentences a new subcategory may be developed to capture the content of these otherwise uncodable sentences. Examples of subcategories, used for coding the programs of parties in transitional democracies, are given in section 8. Subcategories must **always** be nested into

the 56 Standard Categories so that they can be aggregated up to one of the 56 Standard Categories. For instance 1011 is nested into 101, 2011 is nested into 201.

Decision Rule No 3: Creating Subcategories

Look at all uncoded sentences a second time and try to figure out whether some of these statements have an equivalent meaning. Make sure that there really is no related Standard Category that captures the sense of these quasi-sentences. Should many quasi-sentences contain the same arguments which are not subsumable under one of the 56 Standard Categories, note down a temporary 4-digit code and a temporary definition for a new subcategory and contact the supervisor. **Do not** create subcategories for each and every single issue because this is useless even when comparing parties from the same party system. **Never** create new categories without checking with the supervisor because you may destroy the comparability of the data.

Note that even trained coders tend to create too many subcategories, i.e. subcategories containing one or two quasi-sentences, only. From more than 80 subcategories that had been created for transitional countries, 30 were re-aggregated into the main Standard Categories because they were almost empty. The remaining 53 subcategories must be coded for all programs from parties in transitional democracies.

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

Domain 1: External Relations

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

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy

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

Domain 3: Political System

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

Domain 4: Economy

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

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

5021	Private-Public Mix in Culture
5031	Private-Public Mix in Social Justice
5041	Private-Public Mix in Welfare
5061	Private-Public Mix in Education

Domain 6: Fabric of Society

6011	The Karabakh Issue
6012	Rebuilding the USSR
6013	National Security
6061	General Crisis
6071	Cultural Autonomy: Positive
6072	Multiculturalism pro Roma
6081	Multiculturalism against Roma

Domain 7: Social Groups

7051	Minorities Inland
7052	Minorities Abroad
7061	War Participants
7062	Refugees

For Cyprus, the subcategory **6014 ‘Cyprus Issue’** was created, for Mexico, the subcategory **2033 ‘Checks and Balances’** was introduced. Definitions of all subcategories are given in Section 8.

b. More than one category seem to apply

The opposite difficulty of uncodable sentences is that more than one category seems to apply. This difficulty can be dealt with by applying the following decision rules:

Decision Rule No 4: Section Headings as Guidelines

Look at the section heading of the quasi-sentence in question. Then, take the category which covers the topic of the section or the heading. Thus, section headings are taken as guidelines for coding although section headings themselves are not to be coded.

If headings are not given or do not apply to the argument in question, a couple of decision rules are to be followed for the most common cases. The problem of choosing between two categories often occurs with respect to group politics, for instance: ‘We want more social security for workers’. In this case, category (701) ‘Labour Groups’ or category (504) ‘Welfare State Expansion’ may apply.

Decision Rule No 5: Specific Policy Positions ‘Beat’ Group Politics except Group (703) ‘Agriculture’

Whenever there is a choice between a specific policy position given in Policy Domains 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 on the one hand and a social group from Domain 7 on the other hand, take the specific policy position. **This rule does not apply to category (703) ‘Agriculture’.** All quasi-sentences devoted to agriculture are to be coded into category 703, even if a specific policy position such as (402) ‘Incentives’ or (410) ‘Economic Growth’ is taken to further the interests of farmers.

Decision Rule No 6: Specific Policy Positions ‘Beat’ (305) ‘Political Authority’

Whenever there is a choice between category (305) ‘Political Authority’, defined as the party’s **general** competence to govern or the **general** critique of opponent parties’ competence, on the one hand and another category from Policy Domains 1 to 7, the specific policy position is to be chosen.

Decision Rule No 7: Specific Policy Positions ‘Beat’ (408) ‘General Economic Goals’

Whenever there is a choice between a more specific policy position given in Policy Domains 1 to 7 and category (408) ‘General Economic Goals’, the specific policy positions (for instance (410) ‘Economic Growth’) is to be chosen instead of 408.

For all other cases in which more than one category seems to apply, the coder has to decide what the most important concern of the argument is since one, and only one, category has to be chosen for each argument. There is only one exception to the ‘one-and only one’ rule:

Decision Rule No 8: European Level and National/Regional Level

Policies at the European level may be discussed with respect to their impact at the national or regional level. In these cases, (108) ‘European Community: positive’ or (110) ‘European Community: negative’ as well as the specific national position in Policy Domains 2 to 7 have to be coded.

c. The statement seems unclear

Even after applying decision rules no 1 to 8, one may still not be sure where an argument is leading. Many of these problems may be solved by taking the context of the ambiguous quasi-sentence into account. Coders should first of all take into account the following sentences because the first (quasi-) sentence may be part of an argument which is explicated in the next sentences. Therefore, it is always useful to start the coding procedure by reading the whole paragraph.

In some cases, crucial decisions have to be made with respect to the manifest or latent content of statements. No inferences should be made with respect to the meaning of statements. The coder has to code what the statement says, not what he or she thinks it may lead to in the end. As with uncodable sentences, all unclear statements should be marked and reread at the end of coding .

Some of the coding problems will be solved with growing experience. However, whenever the coder is unsure about which category is to be taken, the supervisor (volkens@medea.wz-berlin.de) should be contacted. The sentences in question can be translated into English and the coding decision is then taken and explained by the supervisor.

4.3 Coding Sheet

After finishing the coding of a platform, a tally is kept on a coding sheet given in this section. The coding sheet shows the respective country, party, and election year and gives the absolute number of quasi-sentences coded into each standard category of the standard coding frame as well as the total number of quasi-sentences. However, before even starting with Step No 1, first of all take the following step:

Step No 0: Do not start with Step No 1 before having done the reliability test given in section 6 of the handbook because the reliability test is used for identifying coding mistakes. Thus, wait for the reply of the supervisor or you might have to do it all over again!

Coding Sheet for 56 Standard Categories

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

Coding Sheet for 56 Standard Categories plus Subcategories

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

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

THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS: JOBS AND PRICES

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

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

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

We believe it can. // We propose a carefully devised and costed jobs programme aimed at reducing unemployment by 1 million over two years. // This programme will be supported by immediate measures to help those hardest hit by the slump - the disadvantaged, the pensioners, the poor. //

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

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STRATEGY FOR INDUSTRIAL SUCCESS

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

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

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

PARTNERSHIP IN INDUSTRY

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

PARTICIPATION AT WORK

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

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

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

GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY

Priority for Industry

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

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

A national innovation policy, to provide selective assistance for high-risk projects, // particularly involving the development of new technologies // and for research and development in potential growth industries; // 402
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Public purchasing policies to stimulate innovation, // encourage the introduction of crucial technologies // and aid small businesses; // 411
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we will establish a Cabinet Committee chaired by the Prime Minister at the centre of decision-taking on all policies with a bearing on the performance of industry. // 303

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

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

Extending the Loan Guarantee Scheme, in the first instance raising the maximum permitted loan to £150,000; // and the Business Start-Up Scheme, raising the upper limit for investment to £75,000; // and introducing Small Firm Investment Companies to provide financial and management help; // 402
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zero-rating building repairs and maintenance for VAT purposes // and reducing commercial rates by 10 per cent; // 402
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making sure the Department of Industry co-ordinates and publicises schemes for small businesses // and that government aid ceases to discriminate against small businesses; // 402
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Tailoring national legislation such as the Health and Safety Regulations to the needs of small businesses // and amending the statutory sick pay scheme to exclude small businesses. // 402
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Agriculture and Fisheries

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

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

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

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

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

Education and training

The third basic condition for industrial success is a people with the skills and self-confidence that will be needed for the challenges of new technology. // The education and training systems are not providing enough people with the skills necessary to make them employable and the country successful in competition with its rivals. // We are falling further behind. //Japan on present plans will be educating all its young people to the age of 18 by 1990. //More than 90 per cent of the 16-19 age group in Germany gain recognised technical qualifications. // And it is not just a matter of school-leavers. // Our managers are less professionally qualified than our main competitors. // From the bottom to top we are underskilled, and this has to be put right if we are to prosper in future. // To do this, to raise standards in education and training and to improve their effectiveness is the object of proposals set out in the next Section. // 411

NEW ZEALAND, National Party 1972

"A Guide to what the next National Government will do for New Zealand"

(Extracts)

THE ECONOMY

In 1972 New Zealand had, for the first time, more overseas reserves than total overseas debt. // Labour has dissipated these reserves, borrowed about \$2,00 million overseas and incurred annual interest charges mortgaging almost our total export earnings from butter and cheese. // 414

Inflation in 1972 was about 5 per cent, the second lowest of the Organisation for 414

Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations. // Today it is about 15 per cent, well above the OECD average, // and New Zealand has an external deficit per head of population second only to Iceland. // 414

The first three years of the coming National Government will be very largely devoted to restoring New Zealand's shattered economy. // 408

Continuous attention to economic trends and problems will replace stop-go and panic measures. // And the taxation system will be used to give incentives for desirable economic activity. // 408

We will take steps to stimulate savings. // Savings accounts, limited as to amount, will be established. // The deposits of individuals will earn an interest rate at least equal to the annual rate of inflation thus preserving the purchasing power of savings. // 414

We believe that continued double-figure inflation will destroy the basis of the New Zealand economy and cause untold misery. // The fight against increases in the cost of living is the most important single issue in economic management. // 414

People without jobs represent waste of productive effort: // National supports a policy of full employment // and the dignity of labour. // We do not accept unemployment as a balancing factor in economic management. // 410
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Finally, the National Development Council will be restored and consultation resumed between Government departments, academic specialists and private industry, including farming and organised labour. // The vital role of every section of productive industry will be recognised. // 405
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It is these moves which will put New Zealand on the way to economic recovery. // And reduce the spiraling rate of inflation. // 408
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SUPERANNUATION

Seldom has any policy released by an opposition party had the impact that the National Superannuation scheme has had. // It is designed to give every New Zealander dignity and a decent income in retirement. // Here's how it will operate: // 504
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Anyone who is 60 years old, or more, and who has lived in New Zealand for at least ten years will receive National Superannuation, starting next year. // And with three big annual jumps in the rate of benefit it will be fully operating by 1978. // 504
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To guarantee our elderly retired folk a decent minimum income, the full rate of National Superannuation, for a married couple, will be 80% of the average weekly ordinary time 504
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wage. // It will be recalculated every six months. //

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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This means that the present age beneficiary will receive National Superannuation next year. // So will the retired Government servant (in addition to the pension from the Government superannuation fund which he had paid for). // And so will all the people who are drawing pensions from company and other private superannuation schemes. //

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

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WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Since 1975 is International Women's Year, it can be expected that all political parties will talk a great deal about their 'women's policies'. // Unfortunately most will be little more than window dressing. // National's plans go far beyond this. //	706 706 706
We will begin by introducing legislation to remove existing legal discrimination relating to women, // and to prohibit discrimination against any person by reason of sex. //	503 503
We will also establish a Human Rights Commission which will ensure that equal rights legislation is enforced and that women have an effective and inexpensive means of redress. // The Commission will investigate cases of discrimination presented to it and recommend civil action to the Attorney-General. //	503 503
Full consideration will be given to the recommendations of the Select Committee on Women's Rights. // We will set priorities for implementation, in consultation with women's organisations. //	706 706
We will legislate to ensure that all areas of discrimination in employment are removed // and that merit is the sole criterion in respect of job applications, selection and promotion. //	503 503
To encourage women who wish to enter, return to or remain in employment, National will encourage employers to establish flexible working patterns, such as glide time, part-time, job sharing, and multi-shift work. // Thus assisting women who undertake the dual role of worker and mother. //	706 706
We will give special attention to the problems associated with re-entry to the work force and ensure that greater job retraining opportunities are available. //	706
Maternity leave without pay will be available to women for a period of up to 12 weeks, without loss of job security, promotion or superannuation rights, providing this does not cause undue disruption to a business enterprise. //	706
The new National Government will appoint women to boards, commissions and tribunals and will give consideration to the appointment of women as industrial mediators. //	706
We will also support increased participation of women in the judicial system and recognise no sex barriers in the exercise of any judicial office. // Suitably qualified women will be given exactly the same consideration as men. //	503 503
National will ensure that early childhood education is generally available (where feasible) as an integral part of the education system. // Priority will be given to such areas as new housing suburbs and regenerated inner city areas. //	506 411
Financial assistance will be provided through approved voluntary agencies to establish	504

centres for those children who need day care but whose parents cannot afford to pay the full cost. //

National will also promote and encourage job training and retraining, "second chance" education // and promote a policy of life-long education for women. // **411**
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We will tackle the problems women face with housing. // Under National the Housing Corporation will not differentiate between men and women borrowers on grounds of sex. // **706**
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We will introduce a flexible principal repayment plan to meet those cases where the wife works, leaves the work force to raise a family and then returns to work. // **706**

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

6. Reliability Test

The following pages have to be coded for a reliability test. A copy of this text with the marked quasi-sentences and the number of identified categories in the margin of the pages has to be checked by the supervisor before the actual coding is started to check whether the correspondence in coding is sufficiently high.

AUSTRALIA, National Country Party 1966:

‘WE WILL GROW, PROSPER’

The Deputy Prime Minister (Mr McEwen) said last night all the Government’s policies were aimed at building an Australia respected and trusted throughout the world. Mr McEwen, delivering the Country party policy speech at Sheparton, said: The country party, the Government, has one constant and continuing policy objective - to make Australia strong, safe, prosperous; to build a modern Australia, with equal opportunity for all:

where the aged, and the infirm, are looked after;

where the young are well educated, properly trained, to play their part in making the greater Australia of the future;

where every man, woman and child - native-born Australians and migrants alike - can live in freedom, enjoying the rewards of their own efforts, obtaining their just share of the wealth of the community.

Under our coalition Government’s policies, Australia’s advance has been remarkable. Here are the results of the 17 years of our responsibility in Government:

3.5 million more people since we came to office - half of them migrants;

1.25 million new jobs (1.6 million new homes built);

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

The volume of exports more than doubled.

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

Mineral production more than doubled.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ALLIANCES

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

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

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

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

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

PRUDENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

uncertain ally.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CROP RECORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There are problems - in the apple and pear industry; in dairying; the British move

towards the European Common Market; the never-ending job of gaining access to markets. Much has been achieved in meeting these problems. We will never let up in our efforts.

EXPANSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FREIGHTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our Government acted through State Government to help those affected by the drought. So far \$57 million has been provided. Ways must be found to mitigate the

effects of drought; to reduce and alleviate the personal heartbreak and national losses which go with them.

BEEF ROADS

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

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

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

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

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

INDUSTRIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes:

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

7. Definition of Categories

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive

Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship. For example, in the British case: former colonies; in the Swedish case: the rest of Scandinavia; the need for co-operation with and/or aid to such countries.

102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative

Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; otherwise as 101, but negative.

103 Anti-Imperialism

Negative references to exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states; negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire; favourable mentions of de-colonisation; favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies; negative references to the imperial behaviour of the manifesto and/or other countries.

104 Military: Positive

Need to maintain or increase military expenditure; modernising armed forces and improvement in military strength; rearmament and self-defence; need to keep military treaty obligations; need to secure adequate manpower in the military.

105 Military: Negative

Favourable mentions of decreasing military expenditures; disarmament; 'evils of war'; promises to reduce conscription, otherwise as 104, but negative.

106 Peace

Peace as a general goal; declarations of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises; desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries.

107 Internationalism: Positive

Need for international co-operation; co-operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101; need for aid to developing countries; need for world planning of resources; need for international courts; support for any international goal or world state; support for UN.

108 European Community: Positive

Favourable mentions of European Community in general; desirability of expanding the European Community and/or of increasing its competence; desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member).

109 Internationalism: Negative

Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty as opposed to internationalism; otherwise as 107, but negative.

110 European Community: Negative

Hostile mentions of the European Community; opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities; otherwise as 108, but negative.

*DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy***201 Freedom and Human Rights**

Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom and civil rights; freedom from bureaucratic control; freedom of speech; freedom from coercion in the political and economic spheres; individualism in the manifesto country and in other countries.

202 Democracy

Favourable mentions of democracy as a method or goal in national and other organisations; involvement of all citizens in decision-making as well as generalised support for the manifesto country's democracy.

203 Constitutionalism: Positive

Support for specific aspects of the constitution; use of constitutionalism as an argument for policy as well as general approval of the constitutional way of doing things.

204 Constitutionalism: Negative

Opposition to the constitution in general or to specific aspects; otherwise as 203, but negative.

*DOMAIN 3: Political System***301 Decentralisation**

Support for federalism or devolution; more regional autonomy for policy or economy; support for keeping up local and regional customs and symbols; favourable mentions of special consideration for local areas; deference to local expertise.

302 Centralisation

Opposition to political decision-making at lower political levels; support for more centralisation in political and administrative procedures; otherwise as 301, but negative.

303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency

Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration; cutting down civil service; improving governmental procedures; general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more effective.

304 Political Corruption

Need to eliminate corruption, and associated abuse, in political and public life.

305 Political Authority

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

DOMAIN 4: Economy**401 Free Enterprise**

Favourable mentions of free enterprise capitalism; superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems; favourable mentions of private property rights, personal enterprise and initiative; need for unhampered individual enterprises.

402 Incentives

Need for wage and tax policies to induce enterprise; encouragement to start enterprises; need for financial and other incentives such as subsidies.

403 Market Regulation

Need for regulations designed to make private enterprises work better; actions against monopolies and trusts, and in defence of consumer and small business; encouraging economic competition; social market economy.

404 Economic Planning

Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning of a consultative or indicative nature, need for government to create such a plan.

405 Corporatism

Favourable mentions of the need for the collaboration of employers and trade union organisations in overall economic planning and direction through the medium of tripartite bodies of government, employers, and trade unions.

406 Protectionism: Positive

Favourable mentions of extension or maintenance of tariffs to protect internal markets; other domestic economic protectionism such as quota restrictions.

407 Protectionism: Negative

Support for the concept of free trade; otherwise as 406, but negative.

408 Economic Goals

Statements of intent to pursue any economic goals not covered by other categories in Domain 4. This category is created to catch an overall interest of parties in economics and, therefore, covers a variety of economic goals.

409 Keynesian Demand Management

Favourable mentions of demand-oriented economic policy; economic policy devoted to the reduction of depressions and/or to increase private demand through increasing public demand and/or through increasing social expenditures.

410 Productivity

Need to encourage or facilitate greater production; need to take measures to aid this; appeal for greater production and importance of productivity to the economy; the paradigm of growth.

411 Technology and Infrastructure

Importance of modernisation of industry and methods of transport and communication; importance of science and technological developments in industry; need for training and research. This does not imply education in general (see category 506).

412 Controlled Economy

General need for direct government control of economy; control over prices, wages, rents, etc.; state intervention into the economic system.

413 Nationalisation

Favourable mentions of government ownership, partial or complete, including government ownership of land.

414 Economic Orthodoxy

Need for traditional economic orthodoxy, e.g. reduction of budget deficits, retrenchment in crisis, thrift and savings; support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system; support for strong currency.

415 Marxist Analysis

Positive references (typically but not necessary by communist parties) to the specific use of Marxist-Leninist terminology and analysis of situations which are otherwise uncodable.

416 Anti-Growth Economy

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

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

Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.; general preservation of natural resources against selfish interests; proper use of national parks; soil banks, etc; environmental improvement.

502 Culture

Need to provide cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport; need to spend money on museums, art galleries etc.; need to encourage worthwhile leisure activities and cultural mass media.

503 Social Justice

Concept of equality; need for fair treatment of all people; special protection for underprivileged; need for fair distribution of resources; removal of class barriers; end of discrimination such as racial or sexual discrimination, etc.

504 Welfare State Expansion

Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any social service or social security scheme; support for social services such as health service or social housing.

Note: This category excludes education.

505 Welfare State Limitation

Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; otherwise as 504, but negative.

506 Education Expansion

Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels. This excludes technical training which is coded under 411.

507 Education Limitation

Limiting expenditure on education; otherwise as 506, but negative.

*DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society***601 National Way of Life: Positive**

Appeals to patriotism and/or nationalism; suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion; support for established national ideas.

602 National Way of Life: Negative

Against patriotism and/or nationalism; opposition to the existing national state; otherwise as 601, but negative.

603 Traditional Morality: Positive

Favourable mentions of traditional moral values; prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour; maintenance and stability of family; religion.

604 Traditional Morality: Negative

Opposition to traditional moral values; support for divorce, abortion etc.; otherwise as 603, but negative.

605 Law and Order

Enforcement of all laws; actions against crime; support and resources for police; tougher attitudes in courts.

606 Social Harmony

Appeal for national effort and solidarity; need for society to see itself as united; appeal for public spiritedness; decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis; support for the public interest.

607 Multiculturalism: Positive

Favourable mentions of cultural diversity, communalism, cultural plurality and pillarization; preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages within the country including special educational provisions.

608 Multiculturalism: Negative

Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration; otherwise as 607, but negative.

DOMAIN 7: Social Groups**701 Labour Groups: Positive**

Favourable references to labour groups, working class, unemployed; support for trade unions; good treatment of manual and other employees.

702 Labour Groups: Negative

Negative references to trade unions such as 'abuse of power'; otherwise as 701, but negative.

703 Agriculture and Farmers

Support for agriculture and farmers; any policy aimed specifically at benefiting these.

704 Middle Class and Professional Groups

Favourable references to middle class, professional groups, such as physicians or lawyers; old and new middle class.

705 Underprivileged Minority Groups

Favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms, e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants, etc.

706 Non-economic Demographic Groups

Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to women, old people, young people, linguistic groups, etc; special interest groups of all kinds.

8. Subcategories used for Transitional Democracies

1011 Russia/USSR/CIS: Positive

Favourable mentions of Russia, the USSR, the CMEA bloc or the Community of Independent States (subcategory of 101).

1012 Western States: Positive

Favourable mentions of Western states, including the USA and Germany (subcategory of 101).

1013 Eastern European Countries: positive

Favourable mentions of Eastern European countries in general (subcategory of 101).

1014 Baltic States: Positive

Favourable mentions of the Baltic states, including other states bordering the Baltic Sea (subcategory of 101).

1015 Nordic Council: Positive

Favourable mentions of the Nordic Council (subcategory of 101).

1016 SFR Yugoslavia: Positive

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

1021 Russia/USSR/CIS: Negative

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

1022 Western States: Negative

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

1023 East European Countries: Negative

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

1024 Baltic States: Negative

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

1025 Nordic Council: Negative

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

1026 SFR Yugoslavia: Negative

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

1031 Russian Army: Negative

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

1032 Independence: Positive

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

1033 Rights of Nations: Positive

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

2021 Transition to Democracy

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

2022 Restrictive Citizenship

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

2023 Lax Citizenship

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

2031 Presidential Regime: Positive

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

2032 Republic: Positive

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

2033 Checks and Balances (to be coded for Mexico, only)

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

2041 Monarchy: Positive

Support for a monarchy, including conceptions of constitutional monarchy (subcategory of 204).

3011 Republican Powers: Positive

Favourable mentions of stronger republican powers (subcategory of 301).

3051 *Public Situation: Negative*

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

3052 *Communist: Positive*

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

3053 *Communist: Negative*

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

3054 *Rehabilitation and Compensation*

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

3055 *Political Coalitions*

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

4011 *Privatisation: Positive*

Favourable references to privatisation (subcategory of 401).

4012 *Control of Economy: Negative*

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

4013 *Property-Restitution: Positive*

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

4014 *Privatisation Vouchers: Positive*

Favourable references to privatisation vouchers (subcategory of 401).

4121 *Social Ownership: Positive*

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

4122 *Mixed Economy: Positive*

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

4123 *Publicly-Owned Industry: Positive*

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

4124 Socialist Property: Positive

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

4131 Property-Restitution: Negative

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

4132 Privatisation: Negative

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

5021 Private-Public Mix in Culture

Necessity of private provisions due to economic constraints; private funding in addition to public activity (subcategory of 502).

5031 Private-Public Mix in Social Justice

Necessity of private initiatives due to economic constraints (subcategory of 503).

5041 Private-Public Mix in Welfare

Necessity of private welfare provisions due to economic constraints; desirability of competition in welfare service provisions; private funding in addition to public activity (subcategory of 504).

5061 Private-Public Mix in Education

Necessity of private education due to economic constraints; desirability of competition in education (subcategory of 506).

6011 The Karabakh Issue

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

6012 Rebuilding the USSR

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

6013 National Security

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

6014 Cyprus Issue (to be coded for Cyprus, only)

All references concerning the division of Cyprus in a Greek and a Turkish part (subcategory of 601).

6061 *General Crisis*

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

6071 *Cultural Autonomy: Positive*

Favourable mentions of cultural autonomy (subcategory of 607).

6072 *Multiculturalism pro Roma*

Favourable mentions of cultural autonomy of Roma (subcategory of 607).

6081 *Multiculturalism against Roma*

Negative mentions of cultural autonomy of Roma (subcategory of 608).

7051 *Minorities Inland*

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

7052 *Minorities Abroad*

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

7061 *War Participants*

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

7062 *Refugees*

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

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