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The Content Analysis of Manifestos in Multilevel Settings. Exemplified for Spanish Regional Manifestos

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Abstract

This discussion paper describes a specific approach to content analysing multilevel party manifestos, building on a methodology that was originally developed in the context of the Manifesto Research Group (MRG). Since 1979, the MRG has been collecting and coding national-level election programs with the aim of estimating policy preferences of political parties. The second phase of the project started in 1989. In the context of its 'Comparative Manifestos Project' (CMP), the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) provided resources for updating and expanding the MRG data. Since then, country experts were hired to collect and code national election programs according to a handbook that describes how to identify the coding units and how to apply the classification scheme of policy preferences under central supervision. The third phase of the project took off in 2009. The Manifesto Project is now part of a long-term grant scheme of the German Research Foundation (DFG) which finances quality enhancement, updates, extensions, and distribution of the 50 country text and content analytical data collection under the title 'Manifesto Research on Political Representation' (MARPOR).

The MRG/CMP/MARPOR Project is solely concerned with national election programs. However, in decentralized political systems, parties also publish local and regional election programs and, in times of globalization, transnational party federations increasingly produce joint programs. Comparing these manifestos in multilevel settings can provide additional answers to questions of multilevel governance. This handbook presents a manual content-analytical approach to identifying parties' multilevel preferences. It instructs coders on how to apply two combined content analytical classification schemes: first, the classification of multilevel policy preferences, based on the MRG/CMP/MARPOR classification developed for national manifestos but adapted to multilevel elections and, second, a classification of territorial authority claims on multiple levels of governance. This double classification scheme is then applied to regional party manifestos in Spain, providing examples of multilevel analysis for training coders and testing their grasp of the complex concepts of parties' multilevel preferences.

Zusammenfassung

Der vorliegende Ansatz zur Inhaltsanalyse von Parteiprogrammen in politischen Mehrebenensystemen basiert auf einer Methodologie, die im Rahmen der Manifesto Research Group (MRG) entwickelt wurde. 1979 begann die MRG Parteiprogramme zu sammeln und zu analysieren, um politische Positionen von Parteien komparativ mittels eines klassischen inhaltanalytischen Ansatzes zu messen. Seit 1989 stellte das Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB) im Rahmen des „Comparative Manifestos Projects" (CMP) Mittel zur Verfügung, um die MRG-Daten zu aktualisieren und zu erweitern. Seither werden Länderexperten damit beauftragt, die Wahlprogramme unter zentraler Begleitung und Kontrolle

zu kodieren. Dabei erläutert ein Handbuch die Identifikation der Kodiereinheiten und die Anwendung des Klassifikationsschemas der politischen Positionen. Im Jahr 2009 nahm die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) das Projekt unter dem Titel „Manifesto Research on Political Representation" (MARPOR) in ihr Langzeitförderprogramm auf. Sie finanziert nun in einer dritten Phase des Projekts Qualitätsverbesserungen, Updates, Erweiterungen sowie die Distribution der Datensammlung, die Texte und inhaltsanalytische Daten für 50 Länder umfasst.

Das MRG/CMP/MARPOR-Projekt befasst sich ausschließlich mit Parteiprogrammen zu nationalen Wahlen. In dezentralisierten politischen Systemen geben Parteien aber auch lokale und regionale Wahlprogramme heraus und transnationale Parteienzusammenschlüsse verfassen in Zeiten der Globalisierung zunehmend gemeinsame Programme. Ein Vergleich solcher Programme für verschiedene Ebenen kann neue Einsichten in Governanceprobleme von Mehrebenensystemen ermöglichen. Dieses Handbuch stellt einen manuellen inhaltsanalytischen Ansatz vor, mit dem Parteipräferenzen auf verschiedenen Ebenen identifiziert werden können. Coder lernen, wie sie zwei inhaltsanalytische, miteinander kombinierte Klassifikationsschemata anwenden können: einerseits die Klassifikation von Politikpräferenzen auf verschiedenen Ebenen basierend auf der MRG/CMP/MARPOR-Klassifikation politischer Positionen, die für nationale Parteiprogramme entwickelt wurde, und andererseits die Klassifikation politischer Autonomieansprüche auf verschiedenen Ebenen von Governance. Diese doppelte Klassifikation wird anschließend auf spanische Regionalwahlprogramme angewendet. Daraus ergeben sich Beispiele einer Mehrebenenanalyse, die für die Ausbildung von Codern und für eine Überprüfung ihres Verständnisses der komplexen Konzepte von Parteipositionen in Mehrebenensystemen genutzt werden können.

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1.   Introduction

Programs of political parties play a major role in many theories of parties and party systems. In particular, the model of responsible party government assumes that parties offer clear programmatic alternatives for voters to choose between, and that they stick to their programmatic promises in case they win a majority or become part of a coalition government. While such theories directly touch on the contents of manifestos, there is a host of related research questions to which election programs can provide answers due to their specific features:

1.   Election programs are either issued by councils of elected party elites or legally ratified by party conventions. Thus, they are authoritative statements of party preferences and represent the whole party, not just one faction or politician.
2.   In all electoral democracies election programs are issued at regular intervals. Therefore, programmatic changes can be observed over parties' lifetimes.
3.   Election programs cover a wide range of issues. Accordingly, the parties' preferences towards these issues can be measured and compared to the positions of their competitors within party systems as well as of their sister parties across political systems.

Based on these three considerations, the classification scheme of the Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR) captures the whole content of manifestos issued for national elections in a comprehensive, reliable, and efficient way (Budge/Robertson/Hearl 1987; Budge et al. 2001; Klingemann et al. 2006; Volkens 2007). This classification covers 56 categories in seven policy domains. The categories specify general policy preferences towards specific issues that vary between parties, party systems, and over time.

   Some scholars are suspicious about election programs. They argue that no voter ever reads a program, that election programs are mere shopping lists to attract voters, or that they are too vaguely formulated to assume any binding character for decision-taking of parties in parliament (Hofferbert/Klingemann/Volkens 1995). However, the mass media communicate the contents of programs during election campaigns and inform voters on subsequent actions deviating from programmatic pledges. Quantitative analyses of election programs reveal that programs usually contain quite a number of concrete pledges and that, on average across parties, elections, countries, and policy areas, about 70 percent of

the concrete pledges of government parties are put into effect (Rallings 1987; Thomson 2001).

In decentralized political systems, parties also publish local and regional election programs and, in times of globalisation, transnational party federations increasingly produce joint programs. Comparing these multilevel manifestos[1] can provide additional answers to issues of multilevel governance:

1. Programs of parties at the national and the subnational level can be compared to study internal party functioning.
2. Subnational party positions can be contrasted with positions taken in other regions of the same national party system to analyse the politicization of center-periphery conflicts.
3. Manifestos from subnational, national, and supranational levels can be collated to study claims for cultural identity and authority on multiple levels of governance.

This manual instructs coders on how to apply two classification schemes of content analysis for the manual coding of party preferences as stated in subnational, national, and supranational manifestos. It combines the classification of policy preferences developed for national manifestos (MRG/CMP/MARPOR) with a classification of territorial authority claims on multiple levels of governance. The two classification schemes are united by way of double-coding each coding unit, i.e. each argument as given in each sentence of a manifesto.

2. The Manifesto Project Approach (MRG/CMP/MARPOR)

The Manifesto Project is a long-term cooperative endeavour that went through different phases of group composition, substantive research, and forms of funding. It was set up as the Manifesto Research Group (MRG) in 1979 by Ian Budge as a Standing Group of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), continued as the WZB-hosted Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP) under the directorship of Hans-Dieter Klingemann since 1989, and, in 2009, entered its third, DFG-funded, phase, now titled Manifesto Research on Political Representation (MARPOR) and headed by Andrea Volkens.

The project started at the beginning of the 1970s with the idea of comparing parties' programmatic strategies in Britain and the United States during the post-World War II period (Robertson 1976). Since then, the data collection has been continually updated for all new national elections and extended to 29 members of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and all member states of the European Union (EU). In addition, the project documented 23 Central and Eastern European (CEE) party systems in the making, including the Visegrad countries and Baltic States which all joined the EU, as

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1 We are aware of the fact that strictly speaking multilevel manifestos do not exist. Manifestos are written for one or another electoral arena and not for all electoral levels simultaneously. However, we will use the term multilevel manifestos as a shortcut to refer to manifestos written for different electoral levels: local, regional, national, and European/international.

well as the Balkan countries and the successor states to the Soviet Union for all parties taking two or more seats in the national parliaments. Because it emerged as the only basis for time-series estimates of parties' policy preferences across more than 50 countries and six decades, Manifesto data is widely used for testing all kinds of theories in which parties play a role (Budge/Bara 2001; Volkens 2002b). Since the beginning of the project, consolidated datasets have been released about every five years after major book publications (Budge/Robertson/Hearl 1987; Laver/Budge 1992; Klingemann/Hofferbert/Budge 1994; Budge et al. 2001; Klingemann et al. 2006). In 2003, the project received the Dataset Award of the American Political Science Association as 'an undertaking that is exceptional in each of the(se) respects' for which the award was established, namely 'to encourage the development of high-quality datasets that contribute to the shared base of empirical knowledge in comparative politics, to acknowledge the work that goes into their preparation, and to recognize data sets that have made important contributions to the field of comparative politics' (APSA 2003: 1). Since 2009, the project is part of a long-term grant scheme of the German Research Foundation (DFG) which finances quality enhancements, updates, and extensions of the 50 country text and content analytical data collection under the title 'Manifesto Research on Political Representation' (MARPOR). Data is now being made available instantly; updates of the content-analytical dataset can be downloaded, text can be received on request via http://manifestoproject.wzb.eu.

2.1. The saliency theory of party competition

The methodology of the Manifesto Project was initially developed to test the saliency theory of party competition although, through time, it extended its scope to other research questions and theories.

   The saliency theory of party competition argues that parties strive to increase the saliency of the issues from which they expect to benefit at election time, and not so much to emphasize their opposition to the positions of others (Budge/Farlie 1977; Budge/Robertson/Hearl 1987: 20). When a party disagrees with the position of its competitor, it may avoid discussing the issue in its manifesto and in public declarations. If we look at the contents of parties' electoral manifestos, we will see that parties seldom use negative statements. Rather, they tend to emphasize issues in positive terms ("we want more order in the streets") and, when the party has the opposite stance (for example, that order is not a priority and that resources should be redirected towards more urgent tasks), it tends to ignore the issue and emphasize, instead, its own priorities. If a left-wing party wants to convey a more centrist position to the electorate, it will change the emphasis on issues linked to left-wing policies (for example, wealth redistribution through progressive taxes) and instead increase the emphasis on more centrist issues (for example, the fight against crime). To sum up, the saliency theory argues that "the key difference between parties is the varying extent to which they mention one-position issues" (Budge 2001a: 52; see also Volkens 2002b).

2.2 Classification scheme of national–level manifestos

The starting point of the Manifesto Project classification scheme is to be found in the 21 issue categories developed by David Robertson (1976: 73-75) for analysing modes of party competition in Britain.

Two considerations guided the further extension of the initial number of categories. On the one hand, the categories were expanded out of theoretical considerations of the saliency theory (Budge/Robertson/Hearl 1987). Since electoral programs include, beside policy preferences, preferences about the polity (i.e. the institutional dimension of political systems such as constitutions, electoral systems, etc.) and the politics (i.e. all processes of interest intermediation and governance) of the country, some categories were created to include polity and politics preferences (for example: positive and negative references to the constitution or to the efficiency of governmental and administrative procedures). This is what we refer to as deductively-derived categories. On the other hand, the classification scheme was enlarged to fit to the whole content of all programs under investigation. This process was inductive or empirical. The coding categories were designed to be comparable between parties, countries, and over time.

The final result was a classification scheme composed of 56 broad categories grouped into seven policy domains and presented in Table 1 (Volkens 2002; Werner/Lacewell/Volkens 2010). The definitions of all categories can be found in the Appendix.

Table 1: The Manifesto Standard Classification Scheme: policy, politics and polity preferences in seven policy domains

Domain 1: External Relations

101	Foreign Special Relationships: Positive
102	Foreign Special Relationships: Negative
103	Anti–Imperialism: Positive
104	Military: Positive
105	Military: Negative
106	Peace: Positive
107	Internationalism: Positive
108	European Integration: Positive
109	Internationalism: Negative
110	European Integration: Negative

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy

201	Freedom and Human Rights: Positive
202	Democracy: Positive
203	Constitutionalism: Positive

204   Constitutionalism: Negative

Domain 3: Political System

301   Decentralisation: Positive
302   Centralisation: Positive
303   Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive
304   Political Corruption: Negative
305   Political Authority: Positive

Domain 4: Economy

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

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

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

Domain 6: Fabric of Society

601   National Way of Life: Positive
602   National Way of Life: Negative

603	Traditional Morality: Positive
604	Traditional Morality: Negative
605	Law and Order: Positive
606	Civic-Mindedness: Positive
607	Multiculturalism: Positive
608	Multiculturalism: Negative

Domain 7: Social Groups

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

Despite the emphasis of the Manifesto Project classification scheme on issue saliency, many issue categories have a positional interpretation. This is so because many categories are split into a positive and a negative formulation. As an example, we find both categories 'Multiculturalism: Positive' and 'Multiculturalism: Negative.' In other cases, by contrast, the position is captured in the very definition of the issue category: 'Free Market Economy,' for example, is defined as 'favourable mentions of the free market and free market capitalism as an economic model (...)' (Werner/Lacewell/Volkens 2010: 17). Finally, some categories are unipolar, such as (501) 'Environmental Protection: Positive,' because no party openly opposes these valence issues.

These 56 categories are called the Standard Classification Scheme of policy, politics and polity preferences because party manifestos from all countries are coded according to the same scheme.

3. The Multilevel Approach for Manifestos in Multilevel Settings

In decentralized political systems parties publish local and regional election programs and, in times of trans-nationalisation, supra-national party federations increasingly produce joint programs. Multilevel party programs (i.e. local, regional, European) are expected to differ from national ones in at least two respects. On the one hand, multilevel programs may include, together with policy, politics, and polity preferences, claims concerning the distribution of competences and the relationship between the different levels of government. On the other hand, multilevel programs may deal with policy (politics, polity) preferences that are specific to the level of government for which they are written. For these reasons, the classification scheme that is valid for the content analysis of national mani-

festos needs to be adapted to multilevel manifestos in order to retain its validity at different electoral levels. This adaptation is our main objective here. As part of this adaptation, (1) we add a new classification scheme of territorial authority claims to be used in combination with the Standard Classification Scheme and (2) we create sub-categories within the national Standard Classification Scheme specific to each electoral level. We then apply the newly developed multilevel classification scheme to regional elections in Spain (Alonso/Gómez 2011; Alonso/Cabeza/Gómez 2011).

3.1 Territorial authority claims

Territorial authority claims in party manifestos refer to the level of administration that is addressed by the policy/politics/polity preference (i.e. local, regional, national, European, and international) or, alternatively, to the relationship between the levels (cooperation, subsidiary principle, exclusivity of competences, etc.). Territorial authority claims do not necessarily reflect the actually existing distribution of competences between the levels of government in the manifesto country at the time of the election. They only reflect the party's view about which level of administration is connected to which particular policy preference.

   A territorial authority claim is captured by a code made up of two digits: The first digit indicates the level of government for which the policy preference is articulated and the second digit signals the preferred degree of authority for that level (i.e. more/less competences to be devolved/returned to the level of government addressed in the first digit). When the sentence does not contain a claim for more or fewer competences for a particular level of government, the second digit is 0. This implies that the sentence is simply connecting a particular policy preference to a particular level of government (for example, the sentence says what the regional government is going to do to help single-parent families).

Level of government (first digit):

1	*The local level*
2	*The regional (provincial, state) level*
3	*The national level*
8	*The European level*
9	*The international/global level*

Preferred degree of authority (second digit):

1	*The text unit (i.e. the quasi–sentence) claims less authority for the respective level*
2	*The text unit (i.e. the quasi–sentence) claims more authority for the respective level*
0	*The text unit (i.e. the quasi–sentence) contains no authority claim. It only states the level of government addressed together with the policy preference, without claim–*

ing more or less competences for that particular level of government in that policy area.

Alternatively, when more than one level of government is addressed simultaneously and the relationship between the levels is made explicit, one of the following codes for territorial authority claims apply:

01   In favour of subsidiary principle
02   In favour of clear (jurisdictional) distinction between levels (accountability)
03   In favour of shared authority between some levels, including explicit calls for cooperation or coordination
09   More than one level addressed at the same time (including all levels addressed at the same time: for example, a statement defending justice at all levels of governance).

To sum up, the classification scheme of territorial authority claims is composed of 20 different codes:

Table 2: Classification scheme for territorial authority claims

Code	Explanation
11	Less authority for the local level
12	More authority for the local level
21	Less authority for the regional level
22	More authority for the regional level
31	Less authority for the national level
32	More authority for the national level
81	Less authority for the European level
82	More authority for the European level
91	Less authority for the international level
92	More authority for the international level
10/20/30/80/90	No explicit claim for more or less authority for the level of government addressed. It is just a statement about the level of government that is going to do something or that has done something in the past, concerning a particular policy preference.
00	No territorial authority claim is made (no level addressed, no direction).
01	In favour of subsidiary principle
02	In favour of clear (jurisdictional) distinction between levels (accountability)
03	In favour of shared authority between some levels, including explicit calls for cooperation or coordination between higher and lower levels (vertical cooperation)
09	More than one level addressed at the same time; all levels addressed at the same time

Each quasi-sentence of a manifesto, therefore, will be coded by assigning to it one and only one of the 56 policy categories and one and only one of the 20 territorial authority claims. The latter code is placed in front of the former. The two codes are divided by a hyphen.

3.2   Multi–level policy preferences exemplified for regional–level manifestos

The starting point for the definition of policy (politics, polity) preferences in a multilevel context is the Standard Classification Scheme for national-level manifestos of the Manifesto Project (Volkens 2002a; Werner/Lacewell/Volkens 2010). However, when analysing multilevel manifestos, subcategories are needed for studying level-specific claims. The form of these subcategories depends on the electoral level that the researcher is interested in. In the rest of this section, we exemplify this multilevel classification scheme for the manifestos of regional-level elections.

The Standard Classification Scheme subsumes everything that is related to decentralisation (be it political, financial, or administrative to the regional or the local level) under the code 301 ("Decentralisation: Positive"). All references to decentralisation are therefore captured by only one code. This is probably enough when analysing national elections. However, when our object of analysis is party platforms in regional elections we want to go beyond this black-box category (301) and be able to enter into more detail.

The first way of doing it, as we have already seen, is the new classification scheme of territorial authority preferences. This new classification scheme allows us to capture all party preferences concerning the levels of government that the party prioritises in each election and the relationships between them. The second way is to create subcategories, not just within the "Decentralisation" category (301) but also within every other category where it makes sense to create a subcategory. There are issues of particular relevance in regional elections that are not related to the distribution of competences between levels but to concrete policies and policy fields. In order to capture these issues we need to create sub-categories.

What happens then with the Standard Category "Decentralisation: Positive" (301)? According to this new multilevel classification scheme, 301 becomes a residual category applied to sentences that make positive references to decentralisation without specifying any concrete policy area. Let us look at the following example:

> "After thirty years of Estado Autonómico [decentralised state], we, the Socialists that from the onset participated in its establishment and that now feel protagonists of its evolution, continue to be its fundamental defenders" (30-301).

This sentence is a generic defence of the level of decentralisation reached in Spain after thirty years since the establishment of the *Estado de las Autonomías* (State of the Autonomies). It does not talk about any concrete aspect of decentralisation but about the decentralised form of the Spanish state. For this reason, the corresponding category is 301

("Decentralisation: Positive"). On the other hand, because the sentence is talking about the Spanish state (and not one particular region within it) and is not making an explicit claim for more or less authority for the state level, the territorial authority code to be applied is 30.

Here is an enumeration of some of the most relevant regional issues for which subcategories have been created:

1. **The financial arrangement of sub-state territorial units.** Politically decentralised states do not necessarily grant financial autonomy to their constituent territorial units. The arrangements for the financing of the regional level of administration vary a lot from country to country. This means that there are many alternatives concerning how regional finance is regulated and, therefore, parties are expected to have differentiated preferences in this respect. They may wish that the region would be able to raise its own taxes or they may prefer that the region receives transfers from the state; they may want the region to have full autonomy in deciding how to spend its money or they may not. In order to capture these party preferences, a "sub-state finance" subcategory (3012) has been created inside the decentralisation category (301).

2. **The rationale behind demands for further decentralisation.** Some parties claim that more competences should be devolved to their region because they want to level up with regions in the country that have a higher degree of autonomy. By contrast, other parties, particularly regionalist parties, want their regions to be differentiated from the rest and to have higher degrees of autonomy than all others. Some parties think that their regions are discriminated against by the state and that they are doing comparatively worse than others as a result of this discrimination. Other parties think that their regions are slowed down by the pace of the less developed regions and that they would be better off if they had more autonomy to deal with their own affairs. In order to capture these diverse rationales behind the parties' claims for more—or for less—decentralisation, we have created two subcategories, "Differential Treatment among Regions: Negative" (3013) and "Differential Treatment among Regions: Positive" (3014) inside the decentralisation category (301).

3. **Nationalism and nation-building policies at the regional level.** In decentralised states with geographically concentrated cultural minorities that speak their own vernacular language, nation-building policies are particularly relevant. The Standard Classification Scheme has a category dedicated to nationalism and nation-building issues, namely "National Way of Life: Positive" (601). This category, however, does not separate language policy from other symbols and representations of the nation. In order to capture the relevance of the language issue at the regional level, we have created the subcategories "Protection and Promotion of Vernacular Language(s)" (6015) and "Bilingualism: Positive" (6017) inside the category "National Way of Life: Positive" (601). As part of nation-building processes implemented by the regional administration, some parties give relevance to maintaining cultural links with their diaspora (i.e. persons born in the region that have migrated to other countries and their descendants). In order to capture this issue, the subcategory "Cultural Links with Diaspora" (6016) has been established inside the category "National Way of Life: Positive" (601).

4. **The preferred treatment of immigrants.** Regions that constitute the territory of a cultural minority have a double challenge with respect to immigration. On the one hand, parties representing the region's cultural majority (which in turn constitutes a cultural minority inside the state) are only too aware of the difficulties entailed in belonging to the cultural minority as opposed to the state majority culture. However, the same parties may be inconsistent when they face the challenge of immigrants coming from foreign cultures to live and work in their region. Parties may defend the rights of cultural minorities at the state level while they ignore this defence inside their own region. In order to be able to capture these inconsistencies, we are going to create several subcategories dealing with the issue of immigration from its different perspectives: law and order, welfare state, social justice, education …. The importance of the immigration issue, however, goes well beyond regions that constitute a cultural minority inside the state. If affects all other regions as well. The immigration subcategories will further allow researchers to differentiate between different positions towards immigration of the same party across regions. A state party may be tougher on immigration in regions that host a larger proportion of immigrants or in regions that are poorer and for which the arrival of immigrants implies stretching already scarce resources in order to accommodate the newly arrived. These subcategories allow for testing this type of hypotheses.

5. **The aspirations of regional governments to establish autonomous foreign relations with other states and/or regions in neighbouring states.** This will be captured by the corresponding subcategories within the foreign relationships categories. Closely connected with this issue is that of the relationships between the region and the EU, also covered by the "European Union: Positive" category (107) in combination with the territorial authority claims.

Below is the complete list of subcategories that have been created for analysing regional level manifestos:

Domain 1: External Relations
1017   Interregional Relationships: Positive
1027   Interregional Relationships: Negative

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy
2024   Representative Democracy: Positive
2025   Participatory Democracy: Positive

Domain 3: Political System
3012   Sub-state Finance
3013   Differential Treatment among Regions: Negative
3014   Differential Treatment among Regions: Positive
3031   Administration of Justice

Domain 4: Economy
4111   Management of Natural Resources

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life
5032   Equal Treatment of Immigrants
5042   Welfare for Immigrants
5051   Welfare Limitations for Immigrants
5062   Education Expansion for Immigrants
5071   Education Limitation for Immigrants

Domain 6: Fabric of Society
6015   Promotion and Protection of Vernacular Language(s)
6016   Cultural Links with Diaspora
6017   Bilingualism: Positive
6051   Immigrants' Negative Impact on Law and Order

Domain 7: Social Groups
Immigrants: Positive
Diaspora: Positive

The definitions of these subcategories can be found in the appendix.

4.   How to Content-Analyse Manifestos in Multilevel Settings

"Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorf 2006: 18). This section teaches coders how to assign the units of text in party manifestos to the corresponding codes of the two classification schemes that we have just introduced. In order to do so, it highlights those aspects of the technique that are essential for coding multilevel election programs. Whatever is not specific of the multilevel approach can be found in the coding manual of the national Manifestos Project at: http://manifestoproject.wzb.eu.

4.1   *Selecting and collecting the manifestos*

The British label 'manifesto' refers to what the rest of the world dubs 'election program,' i.e. a text issued by political actors on the occasion of elections in order to raise internal and/or external support. In this manual, the term is used to define a text published by a political party in order to compete for votes in local, regional, national, or supra-national level elections.

While this definition may seem straightforward at first sight, many variations can occur across parties, elections, countries, levels, and time. Some parties may issue a long as well as a short version of a program for the same election; others may publish joint programs with competitor parties; still others may provide only short statements on preselected topics in newspapers. Variation is also at place concerning the titles of manifestos. Some include the word "manifesto" or the word "program" in the title but many do not. The sources that make manifestos available also vary considerably. For the newer manifestos, a main source is the party itself, through its webpage, although some parties remove the electoral programs from the webpage immediately after the elections. Libraries, party foundations, and research institutions are other common sources of manifestos, particularly in the case of older manifestos that are more difficult to collect than newer ones. Sometimes, parties do not publish a manifesto at all, but convey their programmatic agendas in campaign speeches and/or press releases.

Due to such possible variations of texts, the coder must document titles, sources, and all specificities of texts, and do so in a readily comprehensible way. This may be done by the coder herself or by the project supervisors. For example, the Spanish Regional Manifestos team provides coders with the manifestos or with their closest proxy (campaign speeches or press summaries). This means that the documentation and classification of the manifestos is not the responsibility of the coder. In the case of the Manifesto Project, by contrast, coders are responsible for finding the manifestos (or its proxies) and documenting them by way of filling in the manifesto information table (see Werner/Lacewell/Volkens 2010). Irrespective of who does this, all texts have to be marked with identification numbers for countries, parties, and elections as given in the Annex for Spanish national–level and regional–level manifestos.

Since the project aims to measure the preferences of all *relevant* parties in the polity, the sample of parties to be coded includes only parties with parliamentary representation. The Spanish Regional Manifestos project (SRM project) selects all parties winning at least two seats in the regional parliament for each of the 17 autonomous regions in Spain.

4.2   *Preparation: the training*

4.2.1   Purpose of training

A research method is *reliable* if the same results are obtained whenever the method is applied, irrespective of the circumstances of its implementation. Complete reliability is impossible to achieve. There are always random errors that can be big or small. Therefore, some degree of unreliability is always present. What we have to aim at is consistency between measurements. The more consistent the results obtained from repeated analyses are, the higher the reliability of the method. Reliability is a critical component of content analysis; without it, content analysis measures are useless (Neuendorf 2002: 141).

Abidance by coders to given instructions is of utmost importance in order to get replicable results. Each and every properly trained coder should come to the same conclusion about unitising (i.e. choosing the coding unit), and scoring (i.e. selecting the code for a text unit). As with any other research technique, in order to reach a good level of reliability, learning and training is needed. All coders must take part in training before they are allowed to start coding real manifestos. The training assures that all coders have a sufficient understanding of the coding process which enables them to create reliable and comparable data.

4.2.2   Process of training

The training of coders involves several steps:

1. Coders are sent the coding instructions (also referred to as handbook or manual). The handbook has to be studied thoroughly. It is not sufficient to look at the manual only once. Coders must read the manual several times and try to memorize it. After coders have read and studied the manual, they are asked to fill in a training test and send it to the supervisor via e-mail.
2. Coders with the best results in the training test (from the pool of all applicant coders) are then selected for a two-day training seminar. During the first day, coders are given extensive feedback on their test results; they are further given coding exercises (the same for everyone) that they have to code individually and independently until the next day. During the second day of the training seminar, the results of the exercises are discussed, correct and wrong codes are explained and, if necessary, additions are made to the coding manual in those cases where instructions turn out to be insufficient or not clear enough.
3. After the training seminar, coders are sent a second round of coding exercises with which to practice what they have learned at the seminar. As before, permanent feedback by the supervisors guarantees that coders find solutions in cases of doubt and that wrong responses to the exercises are thoroughly discussed and explained to the coders.
4. Once the formation process comes to an end, coders are asked to fill in a second test—the reliability test—and send it to the supervisor via e-mail.
5. Only those coders whose test results coincide at least in 85% with the correct codes are then selected for coding. The coders may repeat the reliability test three times before being rejected, and during this time they continue to receive feedback from the supervisor.

4.3   Unitising the content of manifestos

In content analysis *the coding unit* refers to the segment of text that is placed in a given category or code and *unitising* is the process by which the text is divided into coding units. The coding unit in any given manifesto is the '**quasi-sentence**,' defined as an argument. An argument is the verbal expression of one political idea or issue. The quasi-sentence stops either at the end of an argument or at a full stop (period). Therefore, in its simplest form, the quasi-sentence is equivalent to a sentence. This means that punctuation is used as the most important guideline for identifying arguments.

> *We want worldwide peace.*
> *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 than is conveyed in the previous examples and it is a question of style how to express the same political ideas:

> *We want worldwide peace and will reduce our military forces.*

In this case, the two statements are combined into one sentence but, for our purposes, they should still be treated as two different arguments. Whether parties use simple, short sentences or combine arguments into one long sentence is largely a matter of style. Since the results of our content analysis must be independent of style, sentences are decomposed into 'quasi-sentences' if the argument changes within the sentence. In most cases, one sentence that covers two (or more) arguments can be easily transformed into two (or more) quasi-sentences by repeating substantives and/or verbs as shown by the two examples above.

   A list of arguments, sometimes marked with hyphens or dots, is treated as if separated by full stops:

> *In international policy we shall take new initiatives.* ◢ *We will:*
> *– promote peace;* ◢
> *– ban chemical weapons;* ◢
> *– begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases;* ◢
> *– increase aid to developing countries;* ◢
> *– take action to protect the status of refugees.* ◢

This text contains six quasi-sentences. Two of the arguments (1. ban chemical weapons; 2. begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases) express the same general idea, i.e. disarmament, but they represent different issues of the same policy field. Because distinct policies are mentioned, two 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, ⁄begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases, ⁄increase aid to developing countries, ⁄and take action to protect the status of refugees. ⁄*

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, an argument may be very long and occupy a lot of space, but still be only one argument.

Because some sentences refer to more than just one preference in one way or another, some coders tend to overestimate the number of coding units by breaking them up into as many quasi-sentences as categories referring to the respective sentence. This tendency may become even more pronounced when the second dimension of multilevel authority claims is added to the first dimension of policy preferences.

Whenever coding units are in doubt, the respective sentence must be coded twice, in two consecutive rounds, and the two solutions for unitising have to be cross-checked before a final decision is taken on breaking up the sentence into quasi-sentences. In a first round, coders should choose one code for the overarching preference of the whole sentence and finish the coding of all the sentences of the whole paragraph or section. In the second round, a separate row of codes for the quasi-sentences will be added. The inference from both rows of codes should then be compared to the qualitative arguments. For example, let us suppose that a sentence-based coding of a paragraph or section produces 6 codes, 3 for welfare state expansion and 3 for environmental protection, whereas a quasi-sentence-based coding of the same paragraph or section produces 12 codes with 3 for welfare state expansion and 9 for environmental protection. The sentence-based coding paints the picture of a party that is equally in favour of welfare and environment, whereas the quasi-sentence-based coding leaves the impression of a party overwhelmingly concerned with the environment. These different impressions can then be compared to the arguments given in the whole section. The quantitative codes should give a balanced view; they should 'mirror' the qualitative arguments as far as possible.

On the other hand, enumerations of things that are meant as examples, and not as issues to be emphasised, should not be separated into quasi-sentences. For example, a sentence about "our European neighbours" that includes an enumeration of them ("France, Germany, Portugal, etc.") should be considered as just one coding unit.

Some parts of the manifesto, like statistics, tables of contents, 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 manifesto is defined as any authoritative statement of a party. All 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 manifesto.

4.4   How to chose the right multilevel code: some rules and guidelines

After identifying the coding unit, the next stage of the coding procedure is to decide which of the 76 multilevel categories (56 standard categories plus 20 subcategories for the regional level) and which of the 20 territorial authority claims the quasi-sentence expresses. The rules for the application of the 56 standard categories are given in the Manifesto Project coding manual written by Werner, Lacewell and Volkens (https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu). Here we will just introduce rules and guidelines for coding the territorial authority claims and the regional-level subcategories.

a) Territorial authority claims containing more than one meaning

Most of the times, the territorial preferences declared in the manifesto's statements are pretty straightforward. The quasi-sentence may (a) explicitly claim more—or fewer—competences for one level of government, (b) state what will be done or has been done in the past at the addressed level of government, (c) refer to particular relations between levels or address several levels at the same time, (d) state a universal preference or principle not attached to any territorial level. Here are several examples:

(a) *"The regional government should assume all the competences for planning and management of the regional water basins, which amount to 45% of the territory, nearly half of the population and more than 75% of the littoral.*◢*(22–4111)"*

(a) *"We intend that local governments assume and exercise more competences.*◢*(12–301)"*

(b) *"We will maintain the present system of questions to the regional prime minister in order to guarantee the presence and accountability of the executive before Parliament.*◢*(20–2024)"*

(c) *"We need equal participation of women and men in all parliaments, governments, local, national and international institutions, as well as in the decision–making bodies of political parties.*◢*(09–503)"*

(d) *"Individual freedom is the fundamental basis of democracy.*◢*(00–201) Free persons must have the power to decide.*◢*(00–201)"*

There are times, however, when the territorial preference may convey two different meanings. It may refer, on the one hand, to the level of government that is thought to be responsible for the implementation of a particular policy; it may also refer, on the other hand, to the level of administration at which the policy is to be implemented. The levels

of government addressed by territorial preferences with two meanings usually coincide. For example, a statement might say that if the party would gain the regional government it would increase the pensions by 2%. Here, the level responsible of implementation and the level at which the policy is to be applied coincide: the regional government. Occasionally it happens that the levels addressed differ with each meaning. For example, a statement might say that the state (federal) government should make sure to support the protection of the minority language spoken at the regional level. In this example, the level responsible for implementation is the state level (code 30) whereas the level at which the policy should be implemented is the regional level (code 20). In such cases, the coder has two possibilities:

- **Attend to the definitions of the following categories 203, 204, 301, 3012, 601, 6015, 6016, 602 and 608**. In all these cases, the definition contains a note explaining that the territorial code must be used to capture the level of administration to which the institution or the group addressed belongs, dismissing any other considerations. For example, in countries that have national minorities concentrated in one or more regions, we may find a statement that declares the need to defend the national language of the state at the regional level by the regional administration ("i.e. the Spanish language needs to be protected in Catalonia by the Catalan government"). This statement should be coded 30—followed by the sub-category 6015 (protection of vernacular language)— because it refers to the state language (as opposed to the minority language spoken in the region). By using code 30 we are highlighting the main message: defending the official national language of the state. The rest of the information, namely, that this should be done by the regional administration, is not captured by the code. This information, however, is not totally lost. The fact that the manifesto has been written for the regional electoral arena necessarily implies that the protection of the national language of the state is to be implemented at the regional level, no matter which administration (state or region) is responsible for its implementation.
- For the rest of categories, give priority to the level of administration that is responsible for the implementation of the policy. When in doubt, use your common sense. What needs to be coded is the main message that is conveyed (i.e. the position of the party on that concrete issue), which usually lies on the side of the level of administration that is responsible for the policy. Look at this example of a regional manifesto written for the elections in the Basque Country to the Basque parliament:

  "We are going to build a hospital for intense care in Getxo [a town in the Basque Country], with an initial investment not inferior to 300 beds, in order to attend to the needs of the Margen Derecha area, levelling it up to the rest of Basque areas⟋ (20–504)".

In this example, the policy will be implemented in a small town of the Basque Country, but it is clear that this fact does not require a code 10 since the argument is not about what the local administration will do but about what the regional government will do.

b) Vertical coordination between levels (code 03)

Careful! Territorial code 03 refers to cooperation/coordination between different—and hierarchically connected—levels of government. This means that the code captures statements about relations between a region and the central state or between the regional administration and a local council. Therefore, it is all about vertical cooperation. It should not be confused with horizontal cooperation between the same levels of administration, for example among regions or among local administrations, for which the code 1017 should be used. Coders should also try to avoid confusion with other types of cooperation/coordination at the regional level, such as:

> – *between political parties: 20–2024 or*
> – *between trade unions and employers: 20–405.*

c) Several or all levels of government simultaneously addressed (code 09)

Territorial authority code 09 captures not just references to all levels of government addressed simultaneously (for example: "justice must be a priority for all administrations") but also references to different levels within the state (for example: "justice must be a priority of all Spanish administrations" or "all governments have to give cut expenses") and references to two levels (for example: "justice must be the priority of the Spanish state and the Autonomous Communities").

Territorial authority code 09 serves the further purpose of avoiding unnecessary cuts of sentences into quasi-sentences. For example, we may find a paragraph that starts with "the regional and the local governments together are responsible for guaranteeing law and order in the city" followed by sentences starting with "both administrations", or "both governments", followed by whatever policy is being proposed. Applying code 09 to the sentences in this paragraph avoids artificially dividing it into many quasi-sentences, one for each level of government simultaneously addressed, despite the concrete policy being the same. We could then use one code for each sentence (09-605) instead of splitting each sentence into two quasi-sentences, each identifying one of the levels addressed (20-605 and 10-605). Splitting the paragraph into quasi-sentences for the only reason that each time two levels of government are addressed at the same time would artificially increase the saliency of the concrete policy (law and order) in the election program.

d) Residual categories (codes 203, 204, 301, 302)

For the codification of multilevel manifestos, 203, 204, 301 and 302 should be considered as residual categories. They refer to constitutionalism (positive and negative) and to decentralisation (positive and negative) and should be used only for general statements about constitutions and decentralisation that don't link the constitutional or the decentralisation reference to one particular policy or objective. For example, if decentralisation is defended in connection to the pension system, category 504 should be chosen over category 301. The territorial code is the one capturing the demand for increased authority or competences (22-504), so this information (defense of decentralization) is not lost but captured by the territorial classification scheme. Only when more authority is claimed without further specifying for which policy area or when there is a concrete policy addressed that is not covered by any of the 56 categories or the 20 regional sub-categories should the coder apply code 301.

Please be aware that category 301 can also be used together with territorial codes that end with 0 (i.e. 10, 20, 30), which means that there is no explicit demand for more or less authority for the level addressed. For example, a complete code 20-301 could be applied to a quasi-sentence in which the party celebrates the level of autonomy already achieved by the region or a quasi-sentence in which a description is provided concerning the status quo of decentralisation at that particular moment ("This devolved competency was confirmed by the sentence 61/1997 of the Constitutional Court"). The complete code 30-301 could be applied, for example, to a quasi-sentence defending the decentralised form of state in the country of the manifesto. In turn, code 10-301 is used for generic or abstract statements about the level of competences already in the hands of the local administration

e) Comparative grievance (codes 3013 and 3014)

These codes should be used only for references about the treatment of the autonomous regions by the federal or central state, through its current Government. There are many statements such as "we are the region with the highest level of unemployment" or "we have a GNP that is lower than region X" or "education in Andalusía is worse than in any other region of the Spanish state." These statements should not be coded 3013 or 3014 since they are not talking about the differential treatment given by central government policies to the region of the manifesto. Some examples will serve to clarify the difference between a simple comparative statement and a "comparative grievance" statement:

  a) *We, andalusians, are below the Spanish average performance in education: 20–506.*
  b) *Government infrastructures investment is lower in our region than it is in Andalusia: 3013; Catalonia has more devolved competencies than we do: 20–3013.*

In a) there is no comparative grievance; only a factual statement argued in a comparative manner. In b) there is comparative grievance concerning the treatment by central government or by the state in the abstract. Here, what matters is the grievance of being treated worse and this is why, when coding these sentences, the comparative grievance is prioritised over the concrete policy (in the example, infrastructures).

f) Diaspora

When the diaspora is mentioned, coders often have the choice between 7054 'Diaspora: Positive' and another, often an economic, category. In these instances, a special rule applies: **If coders can choose between 7054 or any other category, then 7054 should be chosen.** Everything that refers to the diaspora, except cultural issues (6016), belongs into category 7054.

g) Vernacular languages

In decentralised states in which geographically concentrated cultural minorities speak their own vernacular languages, different from that of the state's majority, linguistic policies are usually relevant in parties' regional manifestos. The codification of language issues, however, may turn out to be difficult. In order to do it correctly, the coder must pay attention, as always, to the basic message that the party is trying to convey. The most commonly conveyed messages concerning language policy in Spain are the following:

- Defend/protect the Spanish language in those autonomous regions where a vernacular exists: Catalonia, Valencia, Balearic Islands, Galicia, Basque Country, Navarre, Asturias, and Aragon. Code 30-6015 should be used, irrespective of the level of government in charge of implementation. (The promotion of the Spanish language may also apply to regions where no other vernacular language exists, although it is less common.)
- Defend/protect the vernacular minority languages in those autonomous regions where they exist: Catalonia, Valencia, Balearic Islands, Galicia, Basque Country, Navarre, Asturias, and Aragon. Code 20-6015 should be used, irrespective of the level of government in charge of implementation.
- Defence of bilingualism (Spanish and regional language) in those regions where it applies. Code 20-6017 should be used.
- Defence of bilingualism overall in the Spanish state: code 30-6017.
- Teaching and promoting foreign languages among Spaniards: code 506 (the territorial code depends on the level of government addressed by the sentence).

h) Horizontal cooperation between levels of government (code 1017)

Do not miss calls for cooperation between regions. This is captured by regional subcategory 1017. There are probably few quasi-sentences dedicated to this issue but those should be recorded. For this reason, mentions of cooperation have priority over concrete policy areas in which cooperation is called for. For example, if the manifesto talks about the need for cooperation between regions concerning infrastructures, the code to be applied is 20-2017 instead of 20-411. Thus, we do not lose the reference to horizontal cooperation.

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6.   Appendices

6.1.   Classification scheme for national and regional manifestos

(Merged classification schemes: MARPOR (Werner/Lacewell/Volkens 2010) and Regional Manifestos Project (Alonso/Volkens/Cabeza/Gómez 2012))

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

000   *No meaningful category applies.*

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

101   *Foreign Special Relationships: Positive*
Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; the need for co–operation with and/or aid to such countries. [At the regional level, it also includes favourable mentions of regions outside the manifesto country's borders. For example, proposals from the manifesto region to form a cooperation area with neighbouring regions from neighbouring countries.].

1017   *Interregional relationships: Positive*
In favour of cooperation and coordination with other regions within the country in order to develop common policies. Solidarity between regions. Favourable mentions of particular regions inside the manifesto country with which the manifesto region has a special relationship.
Note: This category is a special case against a general rule. Even if the statement refers to cooperation in one particular policy area, the preference for cooperation will be coded, not the policy area. 1017 takes precedence over concrete policies.

102   *Foreign Special Relationships: Negative*
Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship. [At the regional level, it includes negative mentions of regions outside the manifesto country's borders.].

1027   *Interregional relationships: Negative*
Negative mentions of particular regions within the manifesto country; otherwise, as 1017 but negative.

103   *Anti–Imperialism*
Negative references to imperial behaviour and/or negative references to one state exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states. May also include:
- *Negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire;*
- *Favourable references to greater self–government and independence for colonies;*
- *Favourable mentions of de–colonisation.*

104 **Military: Positive**

The importance of external security and defence. May include statements concerning:
- *The need to maintain or increase military expenditure;*
- *The need to secure adequate manpower in the military;*
- *The need to modernise armed forces and improve military strength;*
- *The need for rearmament and self–defence;*
- *The need to keep military treaty obligations.*

105 **Military: Negative**

Negative references to the military or use of military power to solve conflicts. References to the 'evils of war'. May include references to:
- *Decreasing military expenditures;*
- *Disarmament;*
- *Reduced or abolished conscription.*

106 **Peace**

Any declaration of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises—absent reference to the military. May include:
- *Peace as a general goal;*
- *Desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries;*
- *Ending wars in order to establish peace.*

107 **Internationalism: Positive**

Need for international co–operation, including co–operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101. May also include references to the:
- *Need for aid to developing countries;*
- *Need for world planning of resources;*
- *Support for global governance;*
- *Need for international courts;*
- *Support for UN or other international organisations.*

108 **European Community/Union: Positive**

Favourable mentions of European Community/Union in general. May include the:
- *Desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member);*
- *Desirability of expanding the European Community/Union;*
- *Desirability of increasing the EC's/EU's competences;*
- *Desirability of expanding the competences of the European Parliament;*
- *[At the regional level, it includes the desirability of expanding or improving the representation of the manifesto region in European institutions and positive references to the benefits for the manifesto region of belonging to the EU.].*

109 **Internationalism: Negative**

Negative references to international co–operation. Favourable mentions of maintaining state independence and sovereignty with regard to the international community, isolation and/or unilateralism as opposed to internationalism.

Note: Please notice that a preference for independence of a region from the existing nation-state does not belong here but in 22-601.

110   European Community/Union: Negative

Negative references to the European Community/Union. May include:
- *Opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities;*
- *Opposition to the net-contribution of the manifesto country to the EU budget*
- *[At the regional level, it includes opposition to the representation of the manifesto region in European institutions and negative references to the benefits for the manifesto region of belonging to the EU.].*

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

201   Freedom and Human Rights

Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom and civil rights in the manifesto and other countries. May include mentions of:
- *The right to the freedom of speech, press, assembly etc.;*
- *Freedom from state coercion in the political and economic spheres;*
- *Freedom from bureaucratic control;*
- *The idea of individualism.*

202   Democracy

Favourable mentions of democracy as the "only game in town." General support for the manifesto territory's democracy. May also include:
- *Democracy as method or goal in national, international, or other organisations (e.g. labour unions, political parties etc.);*
- *Support for parts of democratic regimes (rule of law, division of powers, independence of courts etc.).*

2024   Representative Democracy: Positive

In favour of improving the functioning and performance of representative institutions: parliament, parties, and elections.

2025   Participatory Democracy: Positive

In favour of incorporating citizens into the democratic decision-making process, of extending the use of referenda, and of enhancing local participation mechanisms.

203   Constitutionalism: Positive

Support for maintaining the status quo of the constitution. Support for specific aspects of the manifesto territory's constitution. The use of constitutionalism as an argument for any policy.
Note: Please notice that whether the sentence speaks of the national or the regional constitution is given by the territorial authority code.

204   *Constitutionalism: Negative*

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

Note: please see note in 203 and apply accordingly.

DOMAIN 3: Political System

301   *Decentralisation: Positive*

General statements in favour of all types of decentralisation (political, fiscal, administrative). Residual category to be used when decentralisation is mentioned in abstract terms, not connected to any other specific category.

Note: Please notice that whether decentralisation refers to the local or regional level is given by the territorial authority code.

3012   *Sub–state Finance*

References to the financial system that regulates the financing of sub–state administrations.

Note: Please notice that whether the sentence speaks of regional or local financing is given by the territorial authority code (the two–digit code).

3013   *Differential Treatment among Regions: Negative*

Statements that argue in favour of decentralisation in the following terms:

- *"We are in a position of inferiority with respect to other regions. We do not want to have less than other regions, in terms of rights, recognition, competences, etc."*
- *"We want all the regions to be equal in terms of competences or financial resources or support from the state."*
- *"We are against an asymmetrically decentralised state."*
- *"We are in favour of symmetrical decentralisation."*

3014   *Differential Treatment among Regions: Positive*

Statements that argue in favour of decentralisation in the following terms:

- *"We do not want an equalization of regions that, by history, by culture, and by identity, are different".*
- *"We are in favour of an asymmetrically decentralised state".*
- *"We do not want to be slowed down by other regions that do not want the same levels of autonomy that we want."*
- *References to an alleged "historical debt" of the state with the region.*

302   *Centralisation*

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

303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency

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

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

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

3031 Administration of Justice

All statements that refer to the administration of Justice in the territory: functioning of courts, selection and nomination of judges, etc.

304 Political Corruption

Need to eliminate political corruption and associated abuses of political and/or bureaucratic power.

305 Political Authority

References to the manifesto party's competence to govern and/or other party's lack of such competence. Also includes favourable mentions of the desirability of a strong and/or stable government in general.

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

DOMAIN 4: Economy

401 Free Market Economy

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

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

402 Incentives

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

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

403 Market Regulation

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

- *Calls for increased consumer protection;*

- *Increasing economic competition by preventing monopolies and other actions dis–rupting the functioning of the market;*
- *Defence of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses;*
- *Social market economy.*

404 Economic Planning

Favourable mentions of long–standing economic planning by the government. May be:
- *Policy plans, strategies, policy patterns etc.;*
- *Of a consultative or indicative nature.*

405 Corporatism/Mixed Economy

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

406 Protectionism: Positive

Favourable mentions of extending or maintaining the protection of internal markets (by the manifesto or other countries). Measures may include:
- *Tariffs;*
- *Quota restrictions;*
- *Export subsidies.*

407 Protectionism: Negative

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

408 Economic Goals

Broad and general economic goals that are not mentioned in relation to any other category. General economic statements that fail to include any specific goal.
Note: Specific policy positions overrule this category! If there is no specific policy po–sition, however, this category applies.

409 Keynesian Demand Management

Favourable mentions of demand–side oriented economic policies (assistance to con–sumers rather than businesses). Particularly includes increase private demand through
- *Increasing public demand;*
- *Increasing social expenditures.*
May also include:
- *Stabilisation in the face of depression;*
- *Government stimulus plans in the face of economic crises.*

410 Economic Growth: Positive

The paradigm of economic growth. Includes:
- *General need to encourage or facilitate greater production;*
- *Need for the government to take measures to aid economic growth.*

411 Technology and Infrastructure

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

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

4111 Management of Natural Resources

Statements concerning the government's management of the territory's natural resources (water, coal, wind, etc.).

412 Controlled Economy

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

- *Control over prices;*
- *Introduction of minimum wages.*

413 Nationalisation

Favourable mentions of government ownership of industries, either partial or complete. May also include favourable mentions of government ownership of land.

414 Economic Orthodoxy

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

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

415 Marxist Analysis: Positive

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

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

416 Anti–Growth Economy: Positive

Favourable mentions of anti–growth politics. Rejection of the idea that all growth is good growth. Opposition to growth that causes environmental or societal harm. Call for sustainable economic development.

DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

501 **Environmental Protection: Positive**

General policies in favour of protecting the environment, fighting climate change, and other "green" policies. For instance:
- General preservation of natural resources;
- Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.;
- Protection of national parks;
- Animal rights.

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

502 **Culture: Positive**

Need for state funding of cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport. May include:
- The need to fund museums, art galleries, libraries etc.;
- The need to encourage cultural mass media and worthwhile leisure activities, such as public sport clubs.

Note: Please notice that everything related to culture as "national culture," as the embodiment and expression of a nation (cultural nationalism, nation building) does not belong here but to 601.

503 **Equality: Positive**

Concept of social justice and the need for fair treatment of all people. This may include:
- Special protection for underprivileged social groups;
- Removal of class and gender barriers;
- Need for fair distribution of resources;
- The end of discrimination (e.g. racial, sexual or gender discrimination).

5032 **Equal Treatment of Immigrants**

Need for fair treatment of immigrants; removal of social and economic barriers for immigrants; end of discrimination against immigrants; in favour of the social and economic integration of immigrants.

504 **Welfare State Expansion**

Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain, or expand any public social service or social security scheme. This includes, for example, government funding of:
- Health care;
- Child care;
- Elder care and pensions;
- Social housing.

Note: This category excludes education.

5042 **Welfare for Immigrants**

Statements in favour of access of immigrants to social services (health, housing, etc.).

505 *Welfare State Limitation*

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

5051 *Welfare Limitations for Immigrants*

Statements that portray immigrants as a burden on the welfare system; immigrants portrayed as contributing less that what they are taking from the welfare support system; references to autochthonous citizens to have priority in welfare policies.

506 *Education Expansion*

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

5062 *Education Expansion for Immigrants*

Need to improve the provision of education to immigrants; need to respond positively to their special educational needs.
Note: Learning the vernacular language (state or regional, depending on the territorial two–digit code) does not belong here but in cultural assimilation of immigrants, code 608.

507 *Education Limitation*

Limiting state expenditure on education. May include:
- *The introduction or expansion of study fees at all educational levels;*
- *Increasing the number of private schools.*

5071 *Education Limitation for Immigrants*

Negative references to the effect of immigration on the education system; need to re–duce the provision of education to immigrants.

DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society

601 *National Way of Life: Positive*

Favourable mentions of the manifesto territory's nation, history, and general appeals. May include:
- *Support for established national ideas;*
- *General appeals to pride of citizenship;*
- *Appeals to patriotism;*
- *Appeals to nationalism;*
- *Suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion;*
- *[At the regional level, support for the existing region, for its self–declared status as a nation, for the region's "national" pride and the region's "national" ideas.].*

Note: Please notice that whether the statement is talking about the state nation or one of the minority nations at the regional level is given by the territorial authority code.

6015 *Promotion and Protection of Vernacular Language(s)*

Protection and promotion of the vernacular language(s) of the manifesto's territory. Demands for co–officiality of the vernacular(s).

Note: Please notice that whether the statement is talking about the state majority language or one of the regional minority languages is given by the territorial authority code.

6016   Cultural Links with Diaspora

In favour of keeping cultural and linguistic links with the territory's diaspora (people born in the territory who migrated to other countries and their descendants).
Note: Please notice that the promotion of the mother tongue among the diaspora belongs to this category and not to 6015. Whether the statement refers to the state's diaspora or the region's diaspora is given by the territorial authority codes.

6017   Bilingualism: Positive.

In favour of bilingualism in the two vernacular languages of the manifesto's territory. Against giving priority or preponderance to one vernacular language over the other.

602   National Way of Life: Negative

Unfavourable mentions of the manifesto territory's nation and history. May include:
- *Opposition to patriotism;*
- *Opposition to nationalism;*
- *Opposition to the existing national state, national pride, and national ideas;*
- *[At the regional level, opposition to the existing region, to its self–declared status as a nation, to the region's "national" pride and the region's "national" ideas and culture.].*

Note: please see note in 601 and apply accordingly.

603   Traditional Morality: Positive

Favourable mentions of traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:
- *Prohibition, censorship, and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour;*
- *Maintenance and stability of the traditional family as a value;*
- *Support for the role of religious institutions in state and society.*

Note: Only mentions to the family in terms of traditional values, with the family (husband, wife, and children) appearing as the basis of society and the transmitter of moral and national values, belong to this code. Other references to the family might belong to other categories, for example 706.

604   Traditional Morality: Negative

Opposition to traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:
- *Support for divorce, abortion etc.;*
- *General support for modern family composition;*
- *Calls for the separation of church and state.*

605   Law and Order: Positive

Favourable mentions of strict law enforcement and tougher actions against domestic crime. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto territory's law code. May include:
- *Increasing support and resources for the police;*

- *Tougher attitudes in courts;*
- *Importance of internal security.*

6051 *Immigrants' Negative Impact on Law and Order*

Statements in favour of controlling the number of immigrants; statements in favour of more controls over illegal immigration (seclusion, expulsion, etc.); references to immigrants' negative impact on law and order; negative references to immigrants as troublemakers, lawbreakers, etc.

606 *Civic–Mindedness: Positive*

Appeals for national solidarity and the need for society to see itself as united. Calls for solidarity with and help for fellow people, familiar and unfamiliar. May include:
- *Favourable mention of the civil society;*
- *Decrying anti–social attitudes in times of crisis;*
- *Appeal for public spiritedness;*
- *Support for the public interest.*

607 *Multiculturalism: Positive*

Favourable mentions of cultural diversity and cultural plurality within domestic societies. May include the preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages of persons arriving to the territory from different cultures, including special educational provisions.

Note: Learning foreign languages as part of an expansion of the manifesto's territory's academic curriculum does not belong here but in the education category, code 506.

608 *Multiculturalism: Negative*

The enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration and/or assimilation. Appeals for cultural homogeneity in society. Enforcement or encouragement of persons arriving at the territory from different countries and cultures to learn the vernacular language(s).

Note: Please notice that whether the statement is talking about assimilation into the regional or the state national culture is given by the territorial authority code.

DOMAIN 7: Social Groups

Note: Specific policy positions overrule this domain (except 703 and 7054)! If there is no specific policy position, however, these categories apply.

701 *Labour Groups: Positive*

Favourable references to all labour groups, the working class, and unemployed workers in general. Support for trade unions and calls for the good treatment of all employees, including:
- *More jobs;*
- *Good working conditions;*
- *Fair wages;*
- *Pension provisions etc.*

702 *Labour Groups: Negative*
Negative references to labour groups and trade unions. May focus specifically on the danger of unions 'abusing power.'

703 *Agriculture and Farmers: Positive*
Specific policies in favour of agriculture and farmers. Includes all types of agriculture and farming practises. Only statements that have agriculture as the key goal should be included in this category.
Note: Statements that should be categorized as "Agriculture: Negative" are coded as "000".

704 *Middle Class and Professional Groups*
General favourable references to the middle class. Specifically, statements may include references to:
- *Professional groups, (e.g. doctors or lawyers);*
- *White collar groups, (e.g. bankers or office employees),*
- *Service sector groups (e.g. IT industry employees);*
- *Old and/or new middle class.*
Note: This is not an economical category but refers to the social group(s).

705 *Underprivileged Minority Groups*
Very general favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms (e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants). Only includes favourable statements that cannot be classified in other categories (e.g. 503, 504, 604, etc.).
Note: Very often parties propose a reduction of taxes to handicapped people. Although the reduction of taxes belongs to fiscal policy, it has no specific policy category and, therefore, all proposals of a fiscal nature to help this group have to be applied this category.

7053 *Immigrants: Positive*
This is a residual category for positive abstract/general statements about immigrants that cannot be coded in any of the policy categories referred to immigrants.

7054 *Diaspora: Positive*
Need to help the territory's diaspora in their countries of residence through public assistance; support of those members of the diaspora that want to return. All references to the diaspora that are not related to culture and cultural links belong to this category.

706 *Non-economic Demographic Groups*
General favourable mentions of demographically defined special interest groups of all kinds. They may include:
- *Women;*
- *University students;*
- *Old, young, or middle-aged people.*

*Might include references to assistance to these groups, but only if these do not fall un–
der other categories (e.g. 503 or 504).*
Note: please refer to note in code 705 and apply accordingly.

Territorial Authority Claims

Code	Explanation
11	Less authority for the local level
12	More authority for the local level
21	Less authority for the regional level
22	More authority for the regional level
31	Less authority for the national level
32	More authority for the national level
81	Less authority for the European level
82	More authority for the European level
91	Less authority for the international level
92	More authority for the international level
10/20/30/80/90	No explicit claim for more or less authority to the level of government addressed.
00	No territorial authority claim is being made (no level addressed, no direction)
01	In favour of subsidiary principle
02	In favour of clear (jurisdictional) distinction between levels (accountability)
03	In favour of shared authority between some levels, including explicit calls for cooperation or coordination between higher and lower levels (vertical cooperation)
09	More than one level addressed at the same time; all levels addressed at the same time

6.2 Procedure for training and reliability test

Please copy the test into an empty word document or use the template provided from the supervisor. Then follow these steps to unitise and code the test:

1. Insert the given separator to identify the quasi-sentences. You can do so easily by copying the two signs (◢|) in the document's preface. We need the separator to consist of two signs for processing reasons.
2. After you finished cutting the paragraph/document into quasi-sentences, convert it into the coding table by the following procedure:
    I. Mark the text.
    II. Menu>Table>Convert>Convert Text to Table
    III. Fill out the table conversion dialog:
        1. Separate Text at>Other: |
           (be aware that sometimes the program unselects "Other" as a separator)
        2. Table Size>Number of Columns: 1
    IV. Now every quasi-sentence should be in a separate table row. Keep empty rows.
    V. Add another column to the created table (Menu>Table>Insert>Columns to the Right).
    VI. Adapt the size of new column to about 1.5 cm.
3. Type in the codes.
4. Save the document and send it to the supervisor.

6.3 Training test

Country: Spain
Region: Basque Country
Name of the Party: Socialist Party of the Basque Country (ID: 163332009)
Year of regional election: 2009
Title: *Programa Electoral. Autonómicas 2009.*

Please use this separator ▟| to mark quasi–sentences.

La Modernidad y la construcción social de Euskadi

El PSE–EE se propone impulsar medidas para avanzar en la construcción social de Euskadi. Medidas que garanticen más bienestar y más calidad de vida. Desde el Gobierno lideraremos proyectos que aprovechen todas nuestras potencialidades, nuestros recursos y nuestro capital humano para conseguir estos objetivos. Nos comprometemos a impulsar los derechos de ciudadanía en los ámbitos de igualdad para la mujer, la Justicia, la seguridad, la diversidad, la cultura y las lenguas.

- Impulsar un gran pacto económico, social y político para hacer frente a la crisis económica y apoyar a las empresas, los autónomos y las familias.
- Establecer un nuevo modelo de desarrollo económico basado en la mejora de la productividad, el I+D+i, la sociedad del conocimiento y el desarrollo medioambiental sostenible.
- Recuperar el diálogo social para alcanzar un pacto por el empleo y el desarrollo económico.
- Trabajar por un empleo decente, igualitario y de calidad.
- El Gobierno Vasco asumirá las Políticas Activas de Empleo.
- Redoblar esfuerzos contra la siniestralidad laboral y crear una comisión vasca de seguridad y salud laboral.
- Convertir Euskadi en un centro de decisión económica.
- Apuesta por la Industria como sector clave para relanzar la economía vasca.
- Potenciar la creación de empresas en los sectores emergentes.
- Conseguir que la inversión empresarial en I+D alcance el 2% del PIB en 2010.
- Reformar la Ley del Sistema Educativo Vasco para devolver a la Universidad la autonomía que tiene reconocida constitucionalmente.
- Aportar más recursos cuantitativos y cualitativos a la Investigación Básica y trabajaremos de manera específica para impulsar la inserción profesional adecuada de los doctores en los distintos sectores productivos.
- Avanzar significativamente en la oferta en inglés de áreas de conocimiento.

- Crear una Agencia de Bibliometría Científica.
- Crear un programa de préstamo-renta para másteres universitarios oficiales a interés cero y con opción a incluir una renta mensual de hasta 800 euros/mes, con un límite de veintiún mensualidades.
- Facilitar la contratación estable de investigadores por las empresas Spin-Off, potenciando programas como Torres Quevedo, Ikertu, Galilei y otros.
- Promover la creación de empresas desde la Universidad con capital riesgo en sectores de alto valor estratégico.
- Impulsar la coordinación de la investigación vasca con las principales líneas estatales de actuación en I+D.
- Fomentar un País de Emprendedores. Apoyo al colectivo de Autónomos.
- Crear el Consejo Vasco del Trabajador Autónomo.
- Apoyar la Economía Social, las Pymes y la empresa familiar.
- Apoyar la extensión de la cultura de la Responsabilidad Social Corporativa de las Empresas.
- Internacionalizar la empresa vasca.
- Consolidación económica y democratización de las cajas de ahorros.
- Coadyuvar a la candidatura española para la instalación de la Fuente de Neutrones por Espalación en Bilbao, así como, si se consiguiera, la colaboración para su desarrollo posterior.
- Conseguir que el 40% del total de las viviendas de protección pública y de los alojamientos dotacionales se promocionen en alquiler.
- Desarrollar un plan de vivienda para rentas bajas, dentro de las viviendas de alquiler, de forma que al menos un tercio serán viviendas sociales y/o alojamientos dotacionales destinados a jóvenes y mayores.
- Creación de un fondo que garantice la compra de terrenos y la construcción de Viviendas de Protección Pública y para reducir el riesgo de las entidades financieras en las hipotecas que concedan a los compradores, facilitando así el acceso al crédito de estos últimos.
- Creación de un fondo que permita, transformando terrenos con usos para dotaciones de equipamientos, construir viviendas para alquiler.
- Incrementar el nivel máximo de ingresos fijado a las familias y unidades para que puedan optar a las viviendas sociales en alquiler; a la VPO de régimen general en venta y en alquiler, y en el caso de las viviendas tasadas.
- Establecer un convenio con las obras sociales de las cajas de ahorro para la creación de una "hipoteca autonómica joven" para menores de 35 años.
- Invertir del 2,2% del PIB vasco en gasto social en familia, en la media europea.
- Crear el Consejo Vasco de Mayores como órgano consultivo de la Administración.
- Establecer estructuras de apoyo para las personas mayores que son cuidadoras de personas dependientes.
- Impulsar la Atención Sanitaria, "Hospital en Casa", para los mayores.

- Conseguir que ningún médico de Osakidetza tenga a su cargo una población superior a 1.500 personas, reduciendo este número en el caso de centros con gran carga de enfermos crónicos.
- Asegurar, en colaboración con los Ayuntamientos, que todas las zonas de salud dispongan al menos de un centro de salud homologado para realizar actividades comunitarias sanitarias.
- Poner en funcionamiento un Hospital de Agudos en Getxo, y con una dotación inicial no inferior a 300 camas, con el fin de cubrir las necesidades de la Margen Derecha, igualándola al resto de las comarcas de Euskadi.
- En el marco del espacio sociosanitario y en colaboración con las Diputaciones Forales, desplegar gradualmente hospitales de media y larga estancia en comarcas el Bajo Deba (Eibar), comarca Interior de Bizkaia (Amorebieta-Etxano) y Margen Izquierda (Barakaldo-Portugalete).
- Hacer realidad la Enfermería Familiar y Comunitaria como un componente fundamental de la atención primaria.
- Aumentar las plantillas de Osakidetza, entre 2008 y 2012, con no menos de 1.800 médicos especialistas y 2.000 nuevas plazas de trabajadores y trabajadoras que incrementen el personal sanitario.
- Incorporar la planificación familiar a la atención primaria.
- Desarrollar programas de prevención y rehabilitación, fundamentalmente dirigidos a los grupos de población más necesitados (como enfermos crónicos o mayores con dependencia).
- Favorecer la formación continuada del personal y su participación en programas de investigación aplicada y clínica.
- Modernizar del Sistema Educativo Vasco. Los Centros Educativos Vascos serán autónomos y trilingües. La Escuela Pública será su referente.
- Crear el Consejo Social de la Escuela Pública.
- La "Enseñanza personalizada" adecuada a las necesidades de cada alumno/a será el objetivo principal de la educación vasca. Se liberarán recursos orientados a este objetivo.
- La educación formará parte de los grandes proyectos estratégicos del país. Conectaremos la educación vasca con la sociedad. Conseguiremos que las escuelas vascas sean auténticas comunidades educativas, en las que todos sus estamentos y miembros actúen en perfecta interacción.
- Poner los medios para rebajar el fracaso escolar a los niveles de los países más desarrollados del mundo en materia educativa, tomando como referencia alcanzar las tasas de Finlandia.
- Una Ley de Educación convertirá la escolarización infantil de la etapa 0-3 años en un derecho.
- Impulsar una Formación Profesional de calidad adecuándola a las necesidades del tejido industrial y a sus demandas para su mejor inserción laboral.
- Promover las enseñazas universitarias de acuerdo a las nuevas realidades de la sociedad del siglo XXI.

- Garantizar que ningún profesor o profesora sufrirá ningún perjuicio laboral por la evolución lingüística de los métodos de enseñanza.
- Rejuvenecimiento del profesorado: reducción de la jornada lectiva a los mayores de 55 años, sin merma de sus retribuciones.
- Una Ley de Educación Permanente conectará la Educación con el empleo, haciendo posible la formación de las personas a lo largo de toda la vida.
- Desarrollar un plan estratégico de igualdad efectiva entre mujeres y hombres.
- Garantizar la plena ciudadanía de las mujeres, amenazada por la violencia sexista y por la discriminación, especialmente en el plano laboral.
- Crear un observatorio sobre igualdad de género en el ámbito laboral y empresarial.
- Fortalecer los servicios vinculados al Sistema de Atención a la Dependencia, buscando la máxima cooperación entre instituciones.
- Impulso decidido a las políticas de igualdad dirigidas al sector de la discapacidad.
- Promover viviendas accesibles y adaptadas para discapacitados.
- Aprobación de la Ley Municipal Vasca.
- Celebrar sesiones plenarias exclusivas de control al Gobierno en el Parlamento Vasco a través de interpelaciones y preguntas cada quince días.
- Asumir competencias penitenciarias.
- Instaurar la mediación penal, así como extender progresivamente la mediación social, familiar, comunitaria y escolar.
- Impulsar la prevención y las medidas educativas en la Justicia juvenil.
- La Ertzaintza actuará en plena coordinación con las Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad del Estado y se incrementará la coordinación entre la Ertzaintza y las Policías Locales, tanto en los organismos internos como en la operatividad conjunta.
- Potenciar la Comisión Vasca para la Seguridad, con representación de los principales cuerpos de Policía Local.
- Favorecer un Plan de Ciudadanía e Integración de inmigrantes con alcance para todas las Administraciones Públicas de Euskadi.
- Poner en marcha un Plan de Equipamientos Culturales, una Red Vasca de Instituciones Culturales y un plan de ayudas a la producción cultural.
- Elaborar el plan para la Libertad de Creación para todos los Creadores.
- Impulsar la reforma de la Ley de Creación de EITB.
- Apostar por la pluralidad de una EITB abierta y participada.
- Desarrollar una Ley de Publicidad Institucional.
- Propiciar el consenso en Política Lingüística desde el Parlamento Vasco.
- Redefinir las funciones del Consejo Asesor del Euskera.
- Trabajar por el traspaso de titularidad al Gobierno Vasco de los servicios ferroviarios de cercanías, para dar así los primeros pasos de la implantación de un servicio de metro interurbano que unirá el interior de Euskadi, atravesando sus núcleos principales.
- Desdoblar el 50% de la red de EuskoTren, antes de que finalice la Legislatura.
- Estudiar la posibilidad de construir una línea de cercanías en Álava.
- Conseguir la implantación y el desarrollo de la línea 3 del metro entre Otxarkoaga y Rekalde.

- Aprobar la Ley Vasca del Cable y poder así transferir a los ayuntamientos la gestión de los elevadores urbanos.
- Poner en marcha una plataforma reservada para el transporte público en San Sebastián y crear una segunda línea de tranvía en Vitoria.
- Apuesta por el Puerto Exterior de Gipuzkoa y la regeneración urbanística y medioambiental del actual Puerto.
- Reducir la dependencia de los hidrocarburos en la generación de electricidad.
- Situar a Euskadi en la vanguardia de la investigación y la innovación del nuevo desarrollo de tecnologías de baja emisión de carbono.
- Construcción de un Centro Integrado para la descontaminación de los suelos.
- Implantar un Plan Renove en la industria para sustituir equipos obsoletos que condicionen la productividad de las empresas.
- Planificación territorial para la movilidad sostenible.
- Fomentar la investigación y la incorporación de nuevas tecnologías para un mejor uso del agua.
- Apuesta por un sistema tributario más justo y equitativo, que refuerce el principio de progresividad para que paguen más quienes más tienen y garantice la suficiencia de recursos para hacer frente a los gastos que el buen funcionamiento de los servicios públicos precisa.
- Se aumentará el control fiscal para evitar el fraude a las haciendas públicas.
- Potenciar las asociaciones de consumidores.
- Nueva Ley de Política Agroalimentaria para el Primer Sector.
- Defensa de una pesca responsable y acorde con los criterios científicos.
- Crear el Consejo Superior de Deportes del País Vasco.
- Regular los clubes y agrupaciones deportivas y su personal directivo, aprobar el Estatuto del Deportista de Alto Nivel y el Reglamento de Disciplina Deportiva.
- Potenciar la Escuela Vasca del Deporte y regular los cometidos del Centro de Alto Rendimiento de Vitoria-Gasteiz.
- Fomentar la práctica deportiva y el patrocinio privado del deporte.
- Divulgar la Historia del País Vasco desde una perspectiva científica.
- Apoyar la candidatura de Donostia-San Sebastián como capital europea de la cultura en 2016.

6.4   Reliability test

Coder Name:
Date of Coding:

Country: Spain
Region: Canary Islands
Name of the Party: Nueva Canarias (ID: 0433921)
Year of regional election: 2007
Title: *Programa Electoral de Nueva Canarias. Un programa para cambiar Canarias.*

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Autogobierno y estatuto nacional

Propuestas:
- La sustitución completa del actual preámbulo por ser ahistórico, centralista y, en consecuencia, anticanario. A esos efectos, NC tiene formulada una propuesta concreta de sustitución del actual preámbulo.
- En la definición territorial de Canarias, a los territorios insulares habrá que añadir el mar que los conecta y el espacio aéreo correspondiente.
- La asunción de competencias sobre nuestras aguas interiores en lo referente a salvamento marítimo, régimen energético y minero, y protección del medio ambiente, incluidos los vertidos y la protección de la fauna marina.
- Gestión de puertos y aeropuertos, así como del transporte aéreo interinsular.
- Delimitación y gestión del espacio radioeléctrico de la Comunidad Autónoma de Canaria.
- Comercio exterior y relaciones con los países de nuestro entorno geográfico y sociocultural.
- Una policía integral canaria, con funciones en seguridad ciudadana, tráfico, vigilancia y control de la normativa autonómica. Su función será esencialmente complementaria con la actuación de la guardia civil y la policía nacional, pero con capacidad de sustituir a estos cuerpos cuando así se precise.
- Que Canarias disponga de competencias plenas para el establecimiento de consultas populares relativas a asuntos que afecten a intereses de las Islas.
- Canarias deberá estar representada en las delegaciones españolas ante terceros países, órganos comunitarios europeos y otros organismos supranacionales en los que se debatan o decidan cuestiones que afecten a los intereses de nuestro Archipiélago.
- Canarias asumirá nuevas competencias en materia de residencia, inmigración y trabajo de extranjeros en las Islas, y las propuestas de su Parlamento tendrán carácter vinculante para el Gobierno del Estado.
- La creación de una Agencia Tributaria Canaria que recaude todos los impuestos estatales y autonómicos, directos e indirectos, en el Archipiélago.

Country: Spain
Region: Catalonia
Name of the Party: Convergence and Unity (ID: 0833611)
Year of regional election: 2006
Title: *Programa de Govern Convergència i Unió. Eleccions Nacionals 2006.*

Nuestros valores y nuestras actitudes

AMAMOS A CATALUÑA, AMAMOS A SU GENTE
Como nacionalistas personalistas, nuestra prioridad máxima es Cataluña y, **por** tanto, la libertad y el bienestar de todos los catalanes. Por eso buscamos la eficacia y el prestigio de nuestras instituciones de autogobierno.

CATALANIDAD
La voluntad de ser la casa común del catalanismo nos hace trabajar **para** la consolidación de la personalidad nacional de Cataluña, **para** su conciencia colectiva
y para el progreso y el servicio a sus ciudadanos.

DIGNIDAD DE LA PERSONA. CONFIANZA EN LA GENTE
Confiamos en la capacidad de la sociedad catalana para organizarse **por** sí misma y por lo tanto, en la sociedad civil. Creemos que el respeto a la dignidad de las personas es también el respeto a su libertad y a su capacidad de iniciativa.

LIBERTAD Y IGUALDAD: DERECHO A ESCOGER
La libertad individual es el **fundamento** primero de la democracia. Las personas libres tienen que poder decidir. Evidentemente, con su voto. Pero también en ámbitos de fuerte presencia del sector público como la enseñanza o la sanidad.

RESPONSABILIDAD: DERECHOS Y DEBERES
Creemos en una sociedad de personas responsables, que garantice los mismos derechos básicos para todo el mundo, pero que sea capaz de exigir también a todo el mundo los deberes elementales de convivencia.

JUSTICIA SOCIAL, EQUIDAD
Tenemos que garantizar la igualdad de oportunidades para todos los ciudadanos.Por lo tanto, la administración se tiene que fundamentar en principios de equidad y de solidaridad, para combatir la desigualdad y evitar la marginación.

CULTURA DEL ESFUERZO
La sociedad –no sólo la administración– tiene que dar valor al esfuerzo personal, al deseo de superación y a la capacidad emprendedora. El progreso de Cataluña y su capacidad de integración en los últimos siglos nace de la moral del trabajo y del esfuerzo.

CULTURA DEL SÍ

La política y la vida social piden actitudes constructivas y capacidad de pensar en el bien común, por encima de intereses individuales y sectoriales. Por lo tanto, no participamos de lo que se ha llamado la cultura del no sistemático y la cultura de la confrontación.

FAMILIA

La familia es primordial en la organización de la sociedad, es la primera "célula" y es fundamental para la consistencia social. Consideramos prioritaria aquélla que tiene o quiere tener hijos. Las políticas de familia son esenciales para el estado del bienestar y como apuesta de progreso.

INCLUSIÓN SOCIAL

No podemos aceptar que en una sociedad haya personas excluidas. Ningún sector social y ninguna persona tienen que quedar al margen de los servicios y los recursos básicos. Hace falta aplicar políticas activas para la inclusión y la integración de los sectores menos favorecidos.

ASCENSOR SOCIAL

Una parte del éxito social y económico de la Cataluña contemporánea nace del buen funcionamiento del llamado ascensor social: una sociedad permeable **donde** cada uno puede progresar a partir de sus méritos y de su esfuerzo, permitiendo, desde las instituciones que el entorno lo haga posible.

COHESIÓN SOCIAL Y CONVIVENCIA: UN SOLO PUEBLO

La convivencia y la cohesión social son bienes esenciales para las sociedades. El objetivo del catalanismo es que esta convivencia y esta cohesión se construyan en el marco de la propia identidad y con unos lazos de pertenencia fuertes. Cataluña ofrece oportunidades, pero pide compromiso.

UN **LUGAR** EN EL MUNDO

Tenemos la ambición de ocupar un **lugar** propio, como país, como economía y como cultura, en un mundo globalizado. Cuando los proteccionismos ya son imposibles, eso pide tener una visión universal, ser capaces de competir y definir nuestro propio papel, convertirse en un referente.

SITUARNOS ENTRE LOS MEJORES

Cataluña tiene que querer ser una referencia **por** su progreso económico y **por** su progreso social. Queremos un país con ambición, que valore la excelencia y la creatividad y que incentive las vocaciones emprendedoras y de **investigación**.

EQUILIBRIO TERRITORIAL

A todos los ciudadanos del país se les tiene que garantizar un acceso igualitario a los bienes y servicios, y eso exige un país territorialmente equilibrado y un gobierno que piense en

todo el territorio. Exige también que las actuaciones a favor del progreso económico sean compatibles con el respeto al medio ambiente.

DETERMINACIÓN, CORAJE, LIDERAZGO
Los gobiernos y las administraciones tienen que evitar la frivolidad y el populismo a la hora de tomar las grandes decisiones sobre el futuro colectivo. Los gobiernos no tan sólo gestionan, sino que también lideran y lo tienen que hacer con serenidad, pero sin miedo ni superficialidad.

LOS LÍMITES DE LA ADMINISTRACIÓN
Una administración eficaz es exactamente el contrario de una administración pesada, burocrática e intervencionista. El objetivo de la administración no es sustituir ni **encorsetar** la iniciativa social, sino complementarla y darle herramientas.

BUEN GOBIERNO
Un buen gobierno tiene que gestionar bien y resolver las necesidades inmediatas de los ciudadanos, pero además, tiene que transmitir un proyecto de país y tiene que generar ilusión, fundamentándolo en la confianza en las propias fuerzas y la autoestima. Un buen gobierno trabaja **por** la dignidad y **por** el prestigio de las instituciones, tanto de cara a los propios ciudadanos como de cara al exterior.

Nuestro comercio

Haremos frente a las consecuencias del tripartito:
El modelo catalán de comercio en peligro a causa de los proyectos impulsados por el Gobierno tripartito que permitirán un espectacular crecimiento de los grandes establecimientos comerciales en todo el territorio catalán.
Crecimiento desmesurado de las grandes superficies. El tripartito prevé que los próximos años estas grandes superficies crezcan 400.000 metros cuadrados. Todo un ataque contra el equilibrio entre las diferentes formas de comercio.
Supeditación a la legislación estatal en materia de horarios comerciales. Aunque la Generalitat dispone de competencia exclusiva en materia de comercio, ha renunciado a decidir la regulación de los horarios comerciales de todos los establecimientos del país, supeditándose claramente a aquello que dispone la Ley estatal, conocida como "ley **Montilla**" que vulnera las competencias de Cataluña tal como manifiesta el Consejo Consultivo.
Sin ayudas para el comercio urbano. No se ha dotado el **Plan** de Dinamización del Comercio Urbano que tenía que contener las ayudas al pequeño comercio de ciudad y de barrio.

Nuestras relaciones exteriores

Situaremos Cataluña en el mundo, con una política propia de relaciones exteriores, priorizando Europa y el Mediterráneo.

Integraremos todas las oficinas de Cataluña en el exterior en una gran red de representación del país en el mundo.Esta red tendrá prioritariamente oficinas en Nueva York, Hong Kong, **Casablanca**, Roma, Bruselas, Buenos Aires y México DF.

Gestionaremos la incorporación inmediata de Cataluña en la UNESCO de acuerdo con el nuevo Estatuto.

Garantizaremos que Cataluña esté representada en todos los Consejos de Ministros de la UE, en aquellos asuntos que son competencia de la Generalitat o que afecten a los intereses de Cataluña.

Favoreceremos la proyección exterior de las organizaciones sociales, económicas, culturales y deportivas de Cataluña, y su afiliación a las entidades afines de ámbito internacional.

Defenderemos que Cataluña sea circunscripción electoral en las elecciones en el Parlamento Europeo.

6.5 List of Spanish parties in the MARPOR dataset

	Parties	Elections		MDS–ID
		first–last	no	
PCE/PSUC	Partido Communista de España (Communist Party)	1977–2000	8	33220
IU	**renamed:** Izquierda Unida (United Left)	in 1989		
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)	1977–2000	8	33320
UCD	Unión de Centro Democrático (Union of the Democratic Centre/Centrist Bloc)	1977–1982	3	33430
PDP	Partido Demócrata Popular (Popular Democratic Party)	1982+1986	2	33438
PL	Partido Liberal (Liberal Party)	1986	1	33439
CDS	Centro Democrático y Social (Centre Democrats)	1982–1993	4	33512
AP	Alianza Popular (Popular Alliance)	1977–2000	8	33610
PP	**renamed:** Partido Popular (Popular Party)	in 1989		
CiU	Convergència i Unió (Convergence and Union)	1979–2000	7	33611
EE	Euzkadiko Ezkerra (Basque Left)	1977–1989	5	33901
PNV/EAJ	Partido Nacionalita Vasco/Eusko Alderdi Jeltzalea (Basque Nationalist Party)	1977–2000	8	33902
EA	Eusko Alkartasuna (Basque Solidarity)	1989–2000	4	33903
PAR	Partido Argonés Regionalista (Aragonese Regionalist Party)	1977–2000	6	33904
ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Catalan Republican Left)	1977–2000	8	33905
PA	Partido Andalucista (Andalusian Party)	1993+2000	2	33906
CC	Coalicion Canaria (Canarian Coalition)	1993–2000	3	33907
BNG	Bloque Nacionalista Galego (Galician Nationalist Bloc)	1996+2000	2	33908
Total number of cases			79	

6.6 List of Spanish parties in the Regional Manifestos Project dataset

The identification code for the regional parties is based on the party codes used for the national-level parties. The national-level party identification code consists of five digits. The first two digits repeat the country code (33 in case of Spain). The third digit gives a (tentative) party family code, the fourth and fifth digits are running numbers. Parties are grouped into the following party families:

1	Ecology parties
2	Communist parties
3	Social democratic parties
4	Liberal parties
5	Christian democratic parties
6	Conservative parties
7	Nationalist parties
8	Agrarian parties
9	Ethnic and regional parties

To distinguish between regional parties, a two-digit code for the 17 Spanish regions is added in front of the five-digit code used for the national parties. These additional two-digit codes are running numbers accorded in line with the alphabetical order of the regions.

Some regional-level parties either do not compete at the national level or are not covered at the national level due to their insignificance. These regional parties are given five-digit codes in the order of the identification numbers used for the parties at the national level.

Region:		Party:		
ID Name		Acronym	Name	ID
01 Andalucía				
		IU	Izquierda Unida–Los Verdes–Convocatoria por Andalucía	0133220
		PSA–PSOE	Partido Socialista de Andalucía–PSOE	0133320
		PP	Partido Popular	0133610
		PA	Partido Andalucista	0133906
02 Aragón				
		IU	Izquierda Unida	0233220
		PSA–PSOE	Partido de los Socialistas de Aragón–PSOE	0233320
		PP	Partido Popular	0233610
		PAR	Partido Aragonés Regionalista	0233904
		CHA	Chunta Aragonesista	0233909

03 Asturias			
	IU	Izquierda Unida	0333220
	FSA–PSOE	Federación Socialista Asturiana-PSOE	0333320
	PP	Partido Popular	0333610
04 Canarias			
	PSC–PSOE	Partido Socialista de Canarias-PSOE	0433320
	PP	Partido Popular	0433610
	CC	Coalición Canaria	0433907
	NC	Nueva Canarias	0433921
05 Cantabria			
	PSC–PSOE	Partido Socialista de Cantabria-PSOE	0533320
	PP	Partido Popular	0533610
	PRC	Partido Regionalista de Cantabria	0533910
06 Castilla–La Mancha			
	PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	0633320
	PP	Partido Popular	0633610
07 Castilla y León			
	PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	0733320
	PP	Partido Popular	0733610
	UPL	Unión del Pueblo Leonés	0733911
08 Cataluña			
	PSC–PSOE	Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya-PSOE	0833320
	PP	Partido Popular	0833610
	CIU	Convergència i Unió	0833611
	ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	0833905
	IC–V	Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds	0833912
09 Comunidad de Madrid			
	IU	Izquierda Unida	0933220
	PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	0933320
	PP	Partido Popular	0933610
10 Comunitat Valenciana			
	PSPV–PSOE	Partit Socialista del País Valencià-PSOE	1033320
	PP	Partido Popular	1033610
	Compromis	Compromis per el Pais	1033913
11 Extremadura			
	PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	1133320
	PP	Partido Popular	1133610

12 Galicia			
	PSG–PSOE	Partido Socialista de Galicia–PSOE	1233320
	PP	Partido Popular	1233610
	BNG	Bloque Nacionalista Galego	1233908
13 Illes Balears			
	PSIB–PSOE	Partido de los Socialistas de las Islas Baleares–PSOE	1333320
	PP	Partido Popular	1333610
	BI	Bloc de izquierdas	1333914
	UM	Unió Mallorquina	1333915
14 La Rioja			
	PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	1433320
	PP	Partido Popular	1433610
	PR	Partido Riojano Progresista	1433916
15 Navarra			
	PSN–PSOE	Partido Socialista de Navarra–PSOE	1533320
	UPN	Unión del Pueblo Navarro	1533917
	NB	Nafarroa Bai	1533918
16 País Vasco			
	IU–EB	Izquierda Unida– Ezker Batua	1633220
	PSE–PSOE	Partido Socialista de Euskadi– PSOE	1633320
	PP	Partido Popular	1633610
	EA	Eusko Alkartasuna	1633903
	PCTV	Partido Comunista de las Tierras Vascas	1633919
	PNV	Partido Nacionalista Vasco	1633920
17 Región de Murcia			
	IU	Izquierda Unida	1733220
	PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	1733320
	PP	Partido Popular	1733610

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