
DIVIDED UNDER ONE ROOF: MORALITY POLICY AND STATE PARTY PLATFORMS

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ABSTRACT

Although most Americans are not well acquainted with state party platforms, the documents provide unique insight into the policy priorities and preferences of state party activists. Using a coding scheme adapted from the Comparative Manifest Project, this project uses party platforms to assess the variation between state and national political parties in the United States in light of issue ownership theory and morality politics in 2016 – in contrast to 2008, other state parties and the national party platforms.

INTRODUCTION

*Red folks are NASCAR-lovin', gun-ownin', God-fearin' Republicans who mostly inhabit the rural, suburban, and small-town heartland stretching from the Deep South through the Great Plains and into the mountain states. Blue types, by contrast, are highly secular, latte-sipping, diversity-embracing Democrats concentrated in the urban areas on the two coasts and around the Great Lakes.*³

When most Americans think about political parties, they think about national parties. The quotation above offers a stereotypical portrait of parties in America – one that is flattering to neither party. If this is how popular culture views parties based upon caricatures of the national organizations, some of the assumptions held regarding Democrats and Republicans may be seriously flawed. What it means to be typical differs in New Jersey, Montana, and Alabama. The meanings of liberal and conservative change from Mississippi to Massachusetts. As such, variation in state parties should not come as a surprise.

Academics have studied American political parties for decades, but have failed to account fully for their impact, in part, because the focus is limited too often to national parties. Discovering how state political parties behave is critically important to understanding the American party system. To what degree do state parties behave independently of the national party that shares their name? What issues do state parties care about? How do parties under the same partisan banner vary across the country, and what difference do these

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³ Jay Tolson, "How Deep the Divide?" US News & World Report, October 24, 2004 42-50.

deviations make? If there is variation in party values and interests across states and between national and state parties, we need to know what they are to fully understand what the labels *Democrat* and *Republican* mean.

In this project I examine how state party platforms tackle morality policies. Morality politics involves those issues that address the legal sanctioning of a particular set of values. These issues are tightly linked to core principles, are technically simple, are highly salient, and often spark intense policy debates – like the proper role of religion in the public sphere, gay rights, stem cell research, and abortion policy. Policies falling into this category are expected to inspire a set of political behaviors distinct from those stimulated by economic issues. In addition, issue ownership theory expects Republicans to address issues of morality politics more often than their Democratic counterparts because upholding traditional morality is seen as a Republican strength. However, the high saliency of morality policies places tremendous pressure on Democrats to address these issues as well. If we have “God-fearin’” Republicans and “highly secular” Democrats, what does this mean for discussions of public policy related to core moral principles?

STATE PARTY PLATFORMS AS DEMONSTRATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

Despite their limited resources, most state political parties opt to develop unique state party platforms every few years, rather than simply adopting the platform of their national counterparts. National platforms need to appeal nationally to a large and diverse constituency, whereas the audiences for state party platforms are smaller and more homogeneous. Moreover, the state political environment may not be favorable to some national planks. When state political interests have more extremist policy preferences, they may feel that the national party platform does not take strong enough stances. Conversely, more moderate or competitive states may find that the national party platforms are too severe in their policy stances. In either case, by developing their own platforms, state parties are able to articulate policy preferences that are more in line with the current political environment of the state.

Despite the open availability of state party platforms, these documents receive virtually no news coverage and little scholarly attention. In part, this is not surprising. News is big business and the media’s preference for sexy, dramatic material is well documented (Iyengar and Kinder 1987, for starters), and the practical impact of state party platforms is not well understood. Some older studies of state parties include mentions of state party platforms, but their treatment has been limited. Most studies are quite dated and most focus almost exclusively on measuring state party ideology. Boots (1923) suggests that the impact and character of platforms may depend upon how they are drafted and who is involved. Berry (1923) finds that

only a small portion of introduced legislation can be traced back to state party platforms. Key (1967) tells us that interest groups use platforms to gain insight into which party would grant them greater access and behave more consistently with their preferences. Morehouse (1981) suggests that governors take state party platforms seriously and intend to implement platform policies once in office. Paddock's (1990; 1991; 1992) analyses suggest that platforms reflect the interests and preferences dominant party forces, and offer a way to track changes in party preferences over time. Coffey's (2011) and Kidd's (2008) are more recent, but still focuses ideology over a more thorough analysis of platform content.

Although less sexy than other political sources, platforms do provide ample material for a compelling story. Within state party platforms we can see both extreme policy positions and stances so weak as to utter the party's position meaningless. Moreover, platforms often demonstrate intense focus on some issues while completely ignoring others. Analysis of these patterns offers a glimpse of the parties' hearts, exposing parties' values and policy priorities.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE PARTY PLATFORMS

Despite the conservative nature of the state, the 2004 Arkansas Democratic Party platform forcefully advocated for the legalization of gay marriage. When the committee met to draft the party's 2006 platform, they chose to remove the pro-gay marriage plank in its entirety, eliminating all mention of sexual orientation. Gay marriage was a frequent topic of discussion in the 2004 general election on the national stage and a contentious issue in the state of Arkansas. On the other hand, Arkansas Democrats on the platform committee recognized that in 2006 the political climate did not support a strong gay rights position and felt that the state had effectively settled the gay marriage issue less than two years prior with the passage of a constitutional amendment prohibiting same-sex marriage. Little could be accomplished by including a forceful gay rights plank, but there was ample opportunity for a strong plank to do the party damage. This internal struggle to decide what Arkansas Democrats stand for combines the forces of individual committee members, elected officials with their own agendas, party activists, public expectations and the news media. Consistent with the national Democratic Party, in 2004 Arkansas Democrats stood firmly in support of gay rights, but quickly shifted to apparent indifference just two short years later. The decision was made strategically, with little consideration for possible emotional blowback.

Platforms, crafted by activists and public officials, allow political elites to clarify and explicate shared values and policy preferences. This could help parties develop some level of internal consistency and coherence, as well as foster unity among those running for office. State political parties use a variety of

methods to develop state platforms, with varying patterns of centralization in the process and different degrees of elite control. Like many other state parties, Arkansas Democrats begin their bi-annual drafting process with a preference for the status quo. They begin with the previous platform as the first draft and make changes as necessary, taking into consideration the political positions of key Democratic candidates, as well as the political climate of the state. The platform committee breaks into smaller subcommittees to address various sections of the platform, debate changes, and consider input from interested groups. After subcommittees develop a draft, the full committee meets again to iron out any disagreements. Shortly before the state party convention, the committee releases the draft platform. Immediately prior to the convention a public hearing is held to elicit feedback from party delegates. A final round of changes is made after the public hearing and the final draft is presented to delegates at the convention and offered for approval.

The Arkansas Democrats use a process comparable to many other state parties; Maine Republicans use a similar system, and Missouri Democrats' newly adopted procedures establish a comparable process. However, not all state parties rely on a process as centralized as this. In Colorado, local committees participate in selecting members of the platform committee, and these delegates serve alongside elected Democratic officials on the state platform committee. The committee is responsible for drafting a platform and presenting it at the state party convention where only planks receiving support of two-thirds of delegates at the state convention are included in the final platform.

Some state parties use an even more decentralized process. The Texas Republican Party emphasizes participation at the precinct and county levels where the committees consider policy positions directly. Approved policy positions are sent up a level, and finally are considered at the state party convention where positions are voted on by all present delegates. Within each of these methods are internal debates and struggles for the party's attention. State party platforms cannot address every issue in full, and agreement on party positions is impossible at times. The big-tent nature of American parties, even at the state level, demands that they balance the needs of factions and these demands shape final platforms.

DATA & METHODS: PLATFORM INVENTORY

The primary data I analyze are from the platforms written by the Democratic and Republican state parties in 2008 and 2016. Most platforms were collected from state party websites, while a few others were obtained from direct email communication with state party officials. Not all state parties choose to develop

unique platforms each election season and this particular analysis contains 80 state party platforms from 2008 and 69 from 2016 – 36 Democratic and 33 Republican⁴.

In addition, a few other state parties prefer to simply adopt the national party platform as their own. In 2008, four state parties embraced a national platform and in 2016, 10 states did so, and these state parties are not included in the subsequent analysis.⁵ Other state political parties decline any involvement with party platforms. They do not develop their own platform, adopt a set of enduring principles, or formally adopt the national party's platform. It appears that in 2008, 16 state political parties choose this route, as did 16 in 2016⁶.

CODING SCHEME

I use a coding scheme adapted from the Comparative Manifesto Project (Volkens, et al 2011). The CMP is a large-scale effort to collect and analyze the party manifestos of countries around the world. Although the CMP began in 1979 as a relatively small project, it has ballooned and now regularly analyzes more than 3,000 party manifestos from over 50 countries (Werner and Lacerwell 2011). Because of the CMP's extensive data collection, patterns can be traced over time and the cross national dataset ensures that conclusions are not drawn from the peculiarities of a single nation. CMP data allow researchers to conduct empirical tests of formal and spatial theories, providing better insight into party behavior.

UNIT OF ANALYSIS

Consistent with previous work done by the Comparative Manifesto Project, the coding unit is a “quasi-sentence” or clause. A quasi-sentence is a clause no longer than a sentence that addresses only one policy argument. A sentence is often coded as a single unit, but long, complex sentences and lists are broken into several quasi-sentences when multiple policy arguments are included. This technique is the preferred method

⁴ In 2016, five states did not draft platforms, but have platforms from previous election cycles. These were not included in this analysis: Utah Republicans (2010), South Carolina Republicans (2012), Massachusetts Democrats (2014), Massachusetts Republicans (2014), Wisconsin Republicans (2014).

⁵ State parties that formally adopted the national party platform as their own: (2008) Delaware Republicans, Kentucky Republicans, Ohio Democrats, and Rhode Island Republicans; (2016) Kentucky Democrats, New Jersey Democrats, Ohio Democrats, Pennsylvania Democrats, Virginia Democrats, Delaware Republicans, Kentucky Republicans, Louisiana Republicans, Michigan Republicans, Pennsylvania Republicans.

⁶ State parties that did not write platforms or formally endorse the national party platform: (2008) Florida Democrats, Illinois Democrats, Kentucky Democrats, Louisiana Democrats, Maryland Democrats, New Jersey Democrats and Republicans, New York Democrats and Republicans, North Dakota Democrats, Pennsylvania Democrats, Rhode Island Democrats, Tennessee Democrats and Republicans, and Ohio Republicans; (2016) Georgia Democrats, Illinois Democrats, Louisiana Democrats, Maryland Democrats, Missouri Democrats, New York Democrats, Oklahoma Democrats, South Carolina Democrats, Alabama Republicans, Florida Republicans, Georgia Republicans, Maryland Republicans, New Jersey Republicans, New York Republicans, Ohio Republicans, Tennessee Republicans.

for analyzing other political communications as well, including campaign advertisements and political speeches (Benoit 1999). Some political communication research relies on larger coding units of sentences or paragraphs, but this masks the variety of issues addressed and may lead to significantly biased results. The more precise quasi-sentence coding unit employed here allows for a more nuanced evaluation of state party platform content.

Computer coding programs have become increasingly popular in recent years, allowing for a single researcher to sift through enormous amounts of text quickly and with impressive reliability. However, with the use of computer programs, often context and an understanding of whether a particular word or phrase is positive or negative, liberal or conservative is lost. Most programs rely on simple word counts where the presence of specific words is used to measure content and the validity of the conclusions rest heavily on the quality of the coding dictionary. While this may be sufficient for some purposes, such methods fail to distinguish between policy positions or take into account the strength of policy statements. The incidence of the word “abortion” may be used as evidence of the topic’s prevalence in the document, but more precise measures are needed to distinguish between pro-life and pro-choice policy positions, as well as rigid versus moderate stances. This loss of validity limits the value of computer content analysis for this project. Due to these lingering limitations in commonly available coding programs, I employ traditional human coding. One of the primary drawbacks to manual content analysis is that it is extraordinarily time consuming. Coding requires reading each state party platform and breaking the content into discrete quasi-sentences. Then, each platform is reviewed a second time to assess the content of each quasi-sentence. Only then can a usable dataset be built.

Too often, human content analysis research suffers from what is known as the “one manifesto – one coder” problem, which can raise significant reliability concerns (Mikhaylov, Laver, and Benoit 2012). To guard against reliability issues, I underwent extensive training under the supervision of a CMP training advisor who introduced the CMP coding scheme and supervised my progress through the formal CMP training procedures. Once I completed the final training test I began to code the 2008 state party platforms used in this study. In addition to the training I received from the CMP staff, I also checked my coding against the coding results of two additional CMP-trained coders, with intercoder reliability .88. All 2008 state party platforms were coded

between March 2011 and September 2011. For the 2016 data, 6 additional coders were trained to apply codes to each quasi-sentence,⁷. Intercoder reliability for the 2016 platforms .86.

CODING CATEGORIES

I measure state parties' policy preferences using seven basic policy domain categories, with several subcategories within each to identify both the policy area mentioned in the quasi-sentence, as well as the direction of the policy preference. Once platforms are broken into a series of quasi-sentences, one of 56 policy codes from eight distinct policy domains can be assigned (Table 1).⁸

In the policy domain of "external relations," eight subcoding categories exist. Quasi-sentences addressing issues of external security, national defense, international cooperation, and international negotiation are considered external relations and receive a code between 101 and 109. The domain of "freedom and democracy" contains five subcategories for quasi-sentences addressing freedom, democracy, civil liberties, and constitutionalism. Codes between 200 and 204 are assigned to these issues, and statements related to the structure of government fall into this policy domain, "We must restore the balance of power among the... branches of our Federal government and completely restore Constitutional rights."⁹ The "political systems" domain covers policies related to federalism, governmental efficiency and political authority, and such references receive codes of 301 to 305. Often, state parties argue for increased state-level discretion and for a general federal hands-off approach to governance. California Republicans write "We believe the state, not the federal government, should govern and dictate criminal statutes,"¹⁰ and Nebraska Democrats "oppose efforts to take away the right of the people to determine education policy through their elected state and local boards of education."¹¹ These statements focus on traditional limits of federalism and emphasize state rights, and receive a code of 301. Concerns about governmental corruption also fall into the political systems policy domain. For example, "(We) demand the criminal prosecution of any State employee who lies or purposefully misrepresents facts at public meetings,"¹² and "We expect the swift impeachment and removal from office of officials who commit high crimes and misdemeanors."¹³

⁷ Six undergraduate students were trained to apply codes during the first 8 weeks of the spring 2017 semester as part of a special independent study course on content analysis methodology. More than 75 percent of platforms were coded by at least 2 coders.

⁸ See Appendix A for coding procedures and Appendix B for a full description of the modified CMP coding scheme.

⁹ 2010 Washington Democratic Party Platform.

¹⁰ 2008 California Republican Party Platform.

¹¹ 2010 Nebraska Democratic Party Platform.

¹² 2010 Wyoming Republican Party Platform.

¹³ 2010 Wisconsin Democratic Party Platform.

The economic policy domain contains a broad range of economic issues. Codes between 401 and 416 are assigned to policy statements related to the free market, economic growth, and trade protectionism. Quasi-sentences coded between 501 and 508 are part of the “welfare and quality of life” domain. This category contains a wide variety of policies related to environmental protection, the welfare state, social justice, and education. Policy statements supporting environmental protection, addressing climate change, reducing pollution, and the protection of wildlife fall into category 501.

DOMAIN 1: External Relations		411	Technology and Infrastructure
101	Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	412	Controlled Economy
102	Foreign Special Relationships: Negative	413	Nationalisation
103	Anti-Imperialism	414	Economic Orthodoxy
104	Military: Positive	415	Marxist Analysis
105	Military: Negative	416	Sustainability
106	Peace		
107	Internationalism: Positive		DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life
109	Internationalism: Negative	501	Environmental Protection
		502	Culture
	DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy	503	Equality
200	Libertarianism	504	Welfare State: Positive
201	Freedom and Human Rights	505	Welfare State: Negative
202	Democracy	506	Education Expansion
203	Constitutionalism: Positive	507	Education Limitation
204	Constitutionalism: Negative	508	The Myth of Global Warming
	DOMAIN 3: Political System		DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society
301	Federalism/States' Rights	601	National Way of life: Positive
302	Centralisation	602	National Way of life: Negative
303	Governmental & Administrative Efficiency	603	Traditional Morality: Positive
304	Political Corruption	604	Traditional Morality: Negative
305	Political Authority	605	Law and Order
		606	Civic Mindedness
	DOMAIN 4: Economy	607	Multiculturalism: Positive
401	Free Market Economy	608	Multiculturalism: Negative
402	Incentives		
403	Market Regulation		DOMAIN 7: Social Groups
404	Economic Planning	701	Labour Groups: Positive
405	Corporatism/ Mixed Economy	702	Labour Groups: Negative
406	Protectionism: Positive	703	Agriculture and Farmers: Positive
407	Protectionism: Negative	704	Middle Class and Professional Groups
408	Economic Goals	705	Underprivileged Minority Groups
409	Keynesian Demand Management	706	Non-economic Demographic Groups
410	Economic Growth		

Fabric of Society: The policy domain containing codes 601 through 608 addresses the “fabric of society” and patriotism, religion, morality policies, and multiculturalism fall into this policy domain. The fabric of society policy domain also includes all references to morality and religious policies. Mentions to policies related to abortion, gambling, homosexuality, and sexual education all fall into this policy domain. Policy statements supporting traditional moral or religious positions are coded as 603, and include statements

opposing the liberalization of sexual mores, opposition to contraception, disapproval of gambling, hostility towards homosexuality, condemnation of evolutionary teachings, and denunciation of abortion. Policy statements in opposition to traditional morality, or in support of a more liberal view of morality, are coded as 604. Support for access to abortion service, favorable references to stem-cell research, opposition to discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, support for comprehensive sexual education, and defense of full contraception access fall into this category.

Social Groups: Finally, codes 701 through 706 are reserved for policies related to social groups, including organized labor, farmers, the disabled, and the elderly. Policy statements supporting the rights of workers to organize, calls for improved treatments of workers, and positive references to pensions are coded as 701. For example, “We support the extension of bargaining rights with binding arbitration to all employees, public and private.”¹⁴ Statements opposing collective bargaining rights, opposition to pension plans, and support for right to work legislation are coded as 702 and include policy statements like, “We oppose collective bargaining for public employees in order that essential services are not interrupted”¹⁵ and “The Arizona Republican Party... supports state and national Right to Work legislation.”¹⁶ References to farmers and agriculture policy receive a code of 703, “We support those actions that would ensure the safety and protection of Montana's agriculture from predators, rodents, and wolves.”¹⁷

Unfortunately, not all quasi-sentences fit neatly into the 56 category coding scheme. The reliability of the data analysis depends heavily upon the accuracy of the coding and it is essential that the platforms have low numbers of uncoded quasi-sentences, especially in the shortest platforms (Budge, et al 2001; Kligemann, et al 2006). Fortunately, in this sample only about 2 percent of quasi-sentences received a code of “000” indicating that either the quasi-sentence addressed a policy area not covered by the coding scheme, or that the quasi-sentence did not contain any relevant policy.

2008/2016 STATE PARTY PLATFORM OVERVIEW

Republicans often argue in favor of a smaller government, leaner budgets, and personal freedom. As a result, I hypothesize that Republican state party platforms would be shorter than Democratic state party platforms. As measured by both raw word counts and coding units, hypothesis 1 has some support. In both

¹⁴ 2010 Idaho Democratic Party Platform.

¹⁵ 2008 West Virginia Republican Party Platform.

¹⁶ 2010 Arizona Republican Party Platform.

¹⁷ 2010 Montana Republican Party Platform.

2008 and 2016, Democratic platforms are, on average, significantly longer than Republican platforms. (Table 2) The shortest platforms for both parties in both elections are similar in length – approximately 15 coding units. When you look at the longest platforms, Democratic state party platforms are considerably longer. In 2008 and 2016 the longest Democratic platform was twice the length of the longest Republican platform, although the average Democratic platform in 2008 contained approximately 50 percent more coding units than the average Republican platform. In 2016, the average Democratic platform contains nearly twice as many coding units as the average Republican platform.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics

	2008 Word Count			2008 Coding Units		
	<i>Democratic</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Democratic</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>All</i>
Mean	5,237	3,867	4,501	265	174	216
Median	2,701	2,945	2,830	163	124	158
Minimum	380	214	214	19	14	14
Maximum	23,046	16,142	23,046	1,016	777	1,016

	2016 Word Count			2016 Coding Units		
	<i>Democratic</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Democratic</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>All</i>
Mean	6562	3021	896	292	154	227
Median	3768	2270	2997	193	133	170
Minimum	324	143	143	16	12	12
Maximum	39087	1110	9087	922	587	922

WHY MORALITY POLITICS?

In this initial analysis of the 2016 state party platforms, I have chosen to focus on a subset of policies known as morality politics. Morality politics are those based upon core principles on which everyone is able to form an opinion, with little need for technical expertise (Mooney 2001). These policies focus on the policy issues tied most closely with personal values or religion. Abortion, same-sex marriage, divorce, euthanasia, school prayer, drug policy, etc. all fall into the category of morality politics. I chose to focus my attention on morality politics for several reasons. First, morality politics are inherently interesting. They deal with fundamental issues of right and wrong, with fairness and equality, and with our notions of what constitutes the “right” way to live. These policies help dictate some of the most personal aspects of our lives – our childbearing decisions, our sexual relationships, our religious lives, our consciences, and our deaths. In addition, the technical simplicity of morality politics makes morality politics easy for lay persons to understand

the basics of the issues, even if some nuances elude them. Finally, morality policy battles are often fought most intensely at the state level.

EXPECTATIONS FOR MORALITY POLITICS IN STATE PARTY PLATFORMS

Protecting public morality is an issue typically perceived as being owned by Republicans (Petrocik 1996). As such, we should expect Republican state party platforms to address issues of morality politics more frequently than their Democratic counterparts. Simply identifying which parties address morality policies is not enough. Within the broad category of morality politics, we have two distinct policy tracks – conservative and progressive. In order to understand what mentions of morality politics mean, we must look at whether the policy mentions are supportive of conservative positions – anti-same-sex marriage, pro-life, or whether the positions are progressive – pro-same-sex marriage, pro-choice. Given the ideological leanings of the parties, I expect Republican platforms to include mostly conservative morality policy preferences and Democratic state party platforms to include mostly progressive morality policy preferences.

- Hypothesis 2: Republican state party platforms will address morality issues significantly more than Democratic state party platforms.
- Hypothesis 3: Mentions of morality politics in Republican state party platforms will emphasize traditional, conservative positions, while mentions of morality politics in Democratic state party platforms will emphasize progressive, liberal positions.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 are supported. In both 2008 and 2016, Republican state party platforms contained significantly more references to morality policy planks than their Democratic counterparts, and Republican references to morality policies were almost universally conservative (traditional) morality positions. (Table 3; Figures 1-4) More than 95 percent of all Republican state party platform mentions of morality policy are conservative positions. Democratic state party platforms demonstrate a similar, but slightly softer pattern, advocating progressive policies in 90 percent of cases. This result aligns with recent theories suggesting that modern Republicans are more ideological, whose supporters value doctrinal purity, compared to the more coalitional nature of Democrats (Grossman and Hopkin's 2015; Mann and Ornstein 2013).

Figures 5 and 6 contains only state parties for which I have 2008 and 2016 coded data, and shows the change in the proportion of state party platforms (measured in percentage of coding units). The average proportion of platforms dedicated to morality policies did not change significantly from 2008 to 2016 for most state parties – just a 1.2% increase overall, but it is worth noting that the average Democratic platform in 2016

contained fewer morality policy statements in 2016 than in 2008, while the average Republican platform contained more morality policy statements in 2016 than in 2008.

Table 3: Morality Policy in State Party Platforms

	<u>2008 % Morality Policy</u>			<u>2016 % Morality Policy</u>		
	<i>Dem</i>	<i>Rep</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Dem</i>	<i>Rep</i>	<i>All</i>
Mean	4.16	10.53	7.58	3.3	12.48	7.62
Median	3.88	9.09	5.34	2.84	10.89	4.79
Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maximum	13.19	25.64	25.64	5.08	30	30

	<u>2008 % Conservative Morality Policy</u>		<u>2016 % Liberal Morality Policy</u>	
	<i>Dem</i>	<i>Rep</i>	<i>Dem</i>	<i>Rep</i>
Mean	.43	.17	3.14	.07
Median	0	0	2.77	0
Minimum	0	0	0	0
Maximum	3.7	2.31	8.27	1.14

	<u>2008 % Conservative Morality Policy</u>		<u>2016 % Liberal Morality Policy</u>	
	<i>Dem</i>	<i>Rep</i>	<i>Dem</i>	<i>Rep</i>
Mean	3.72	10.35	.16	12.41
Median	3.33	9.09	0	10.89
Minimum	0	0	0	0
Maximum	13.19	25.64	5.08	30

Fig 1: 2008 Percentage Morality Policy - Democrats

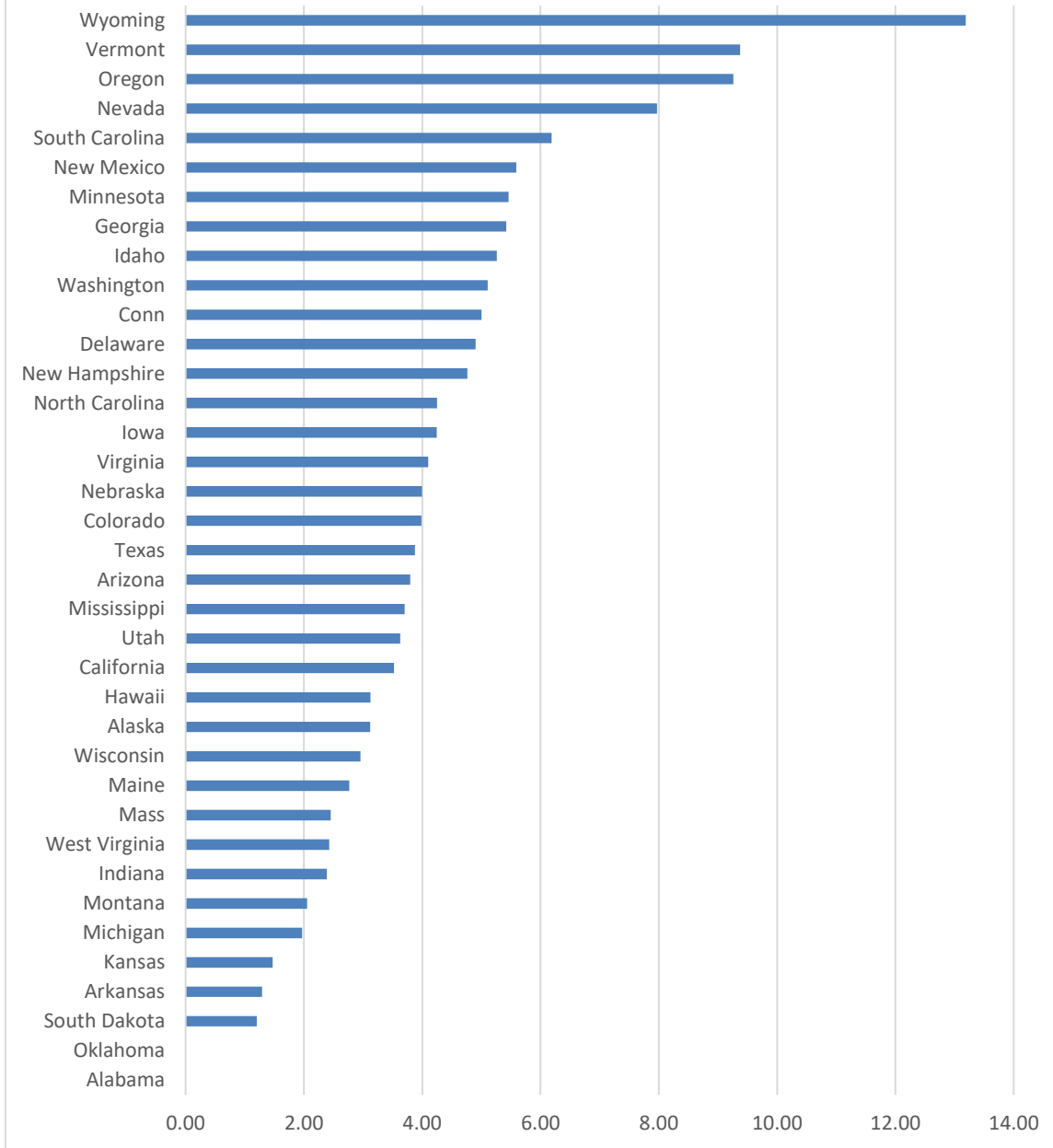
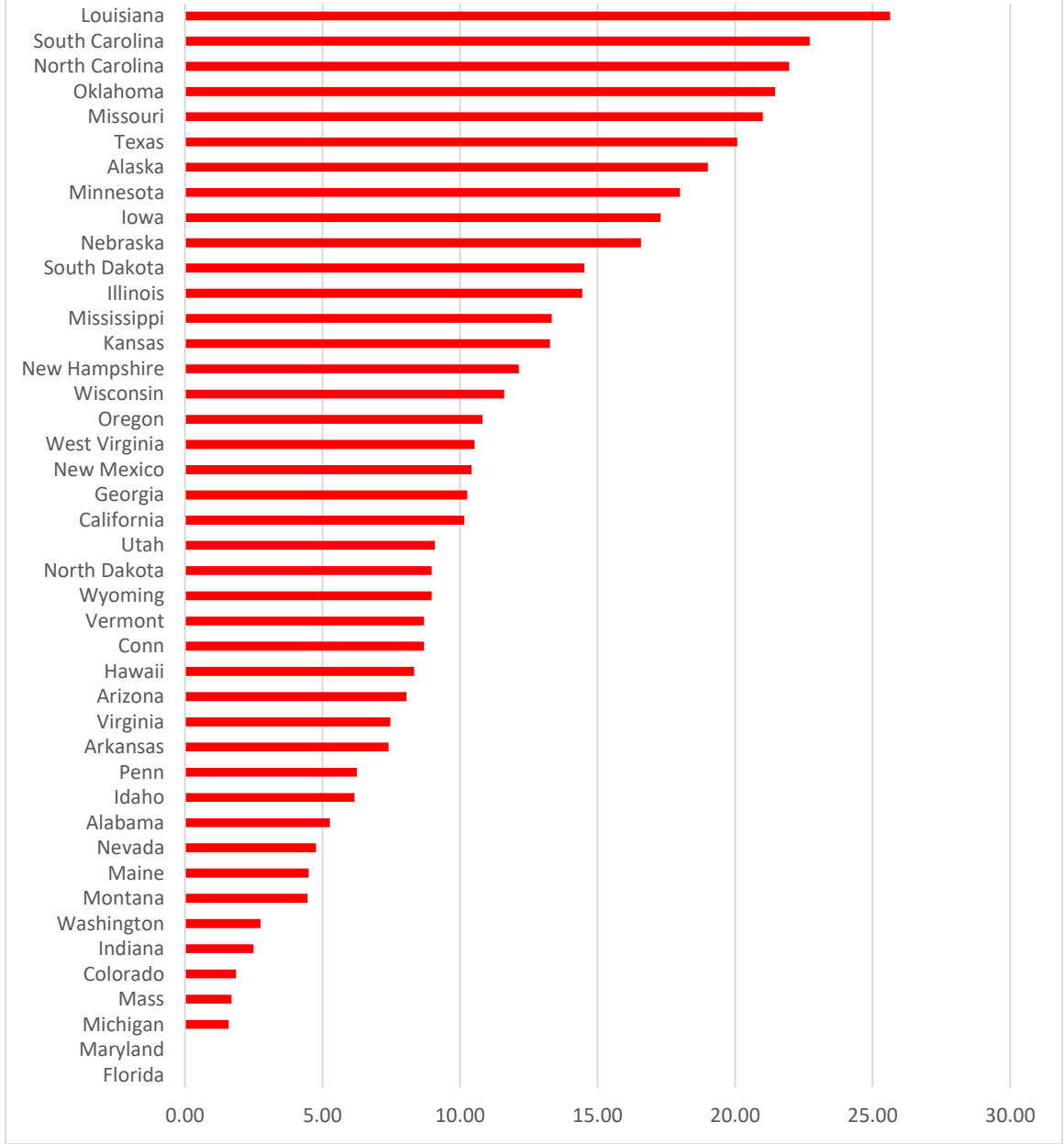
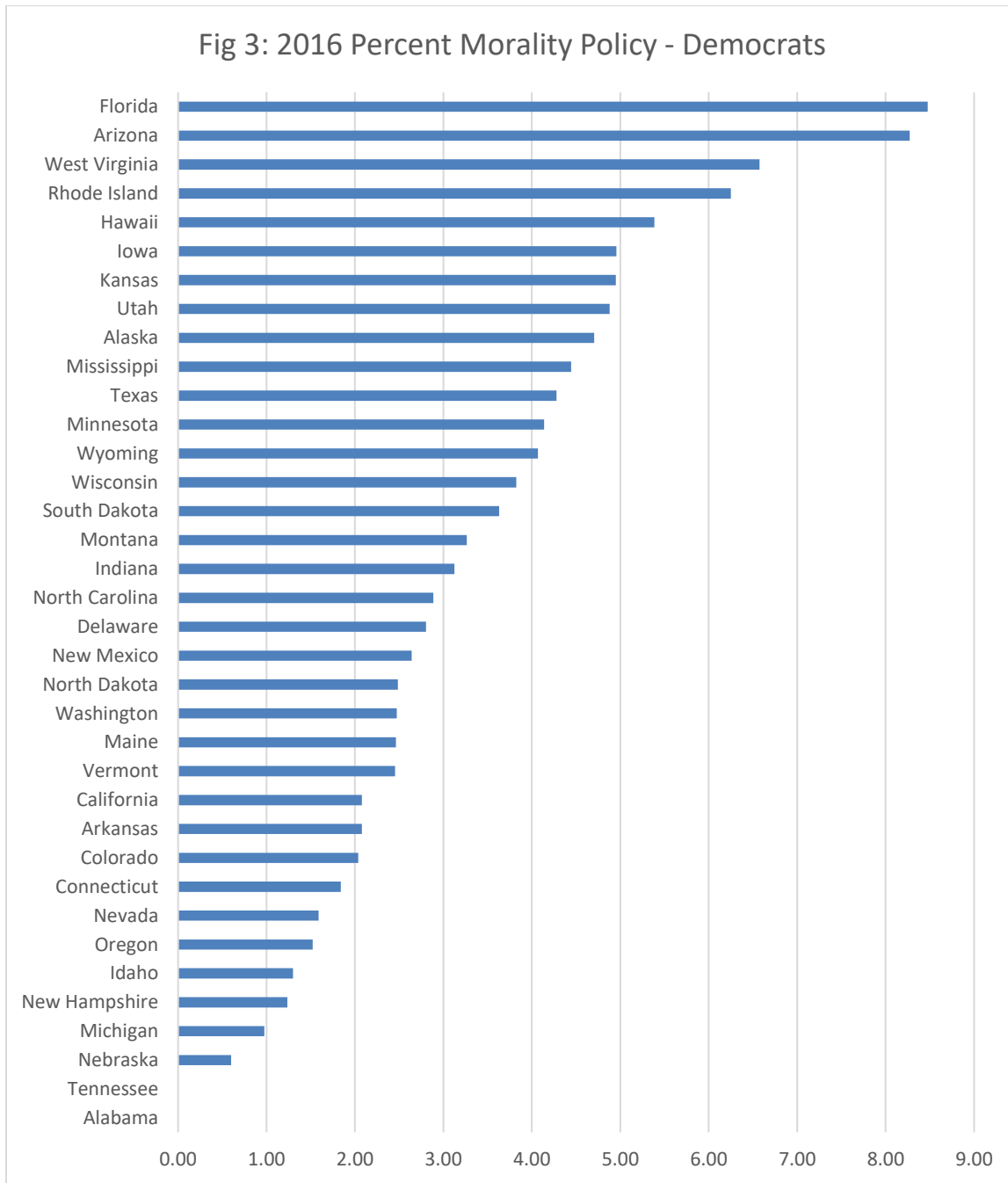


Fig 2: 2008 Percentage Morality Policy - Republicans





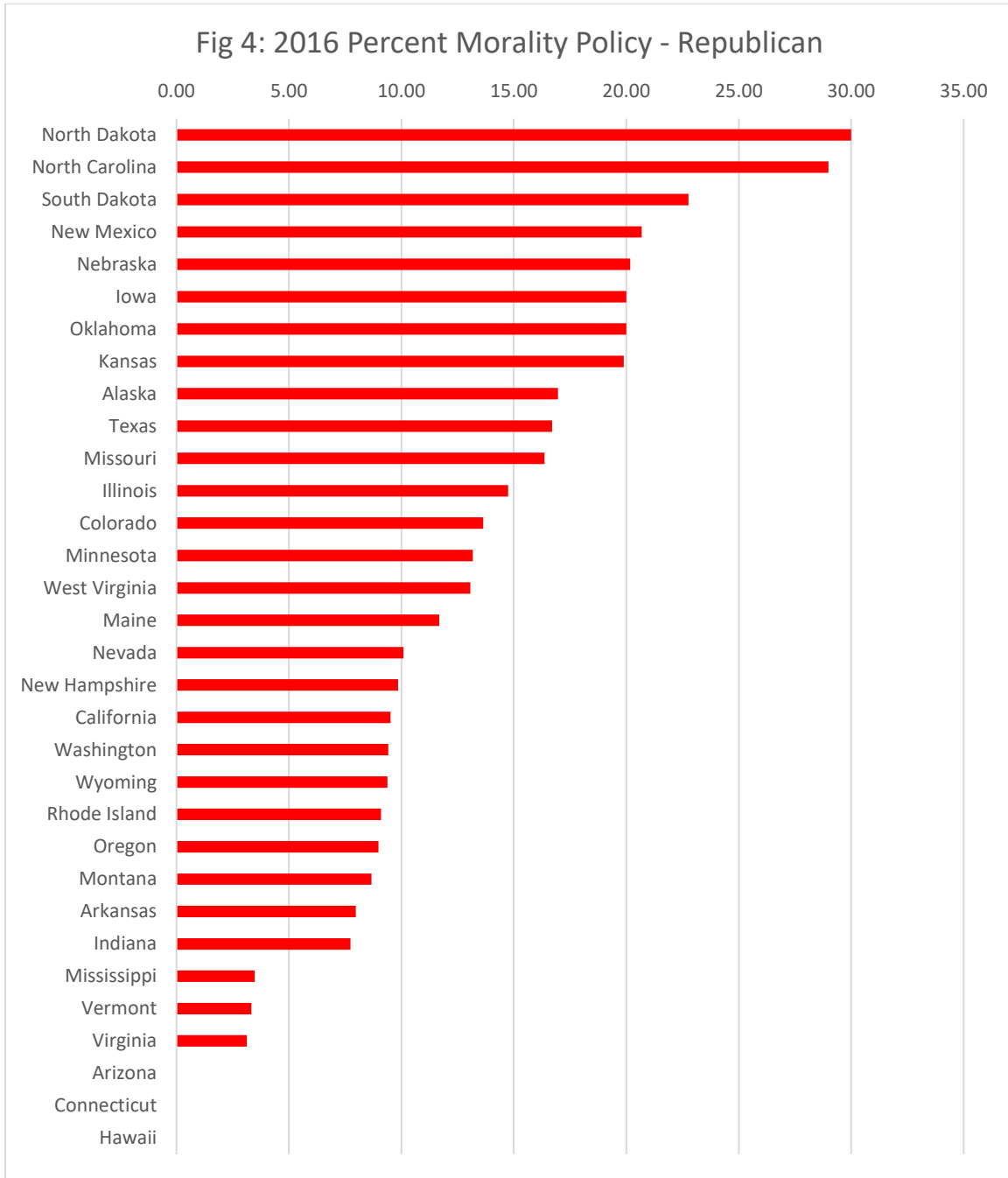
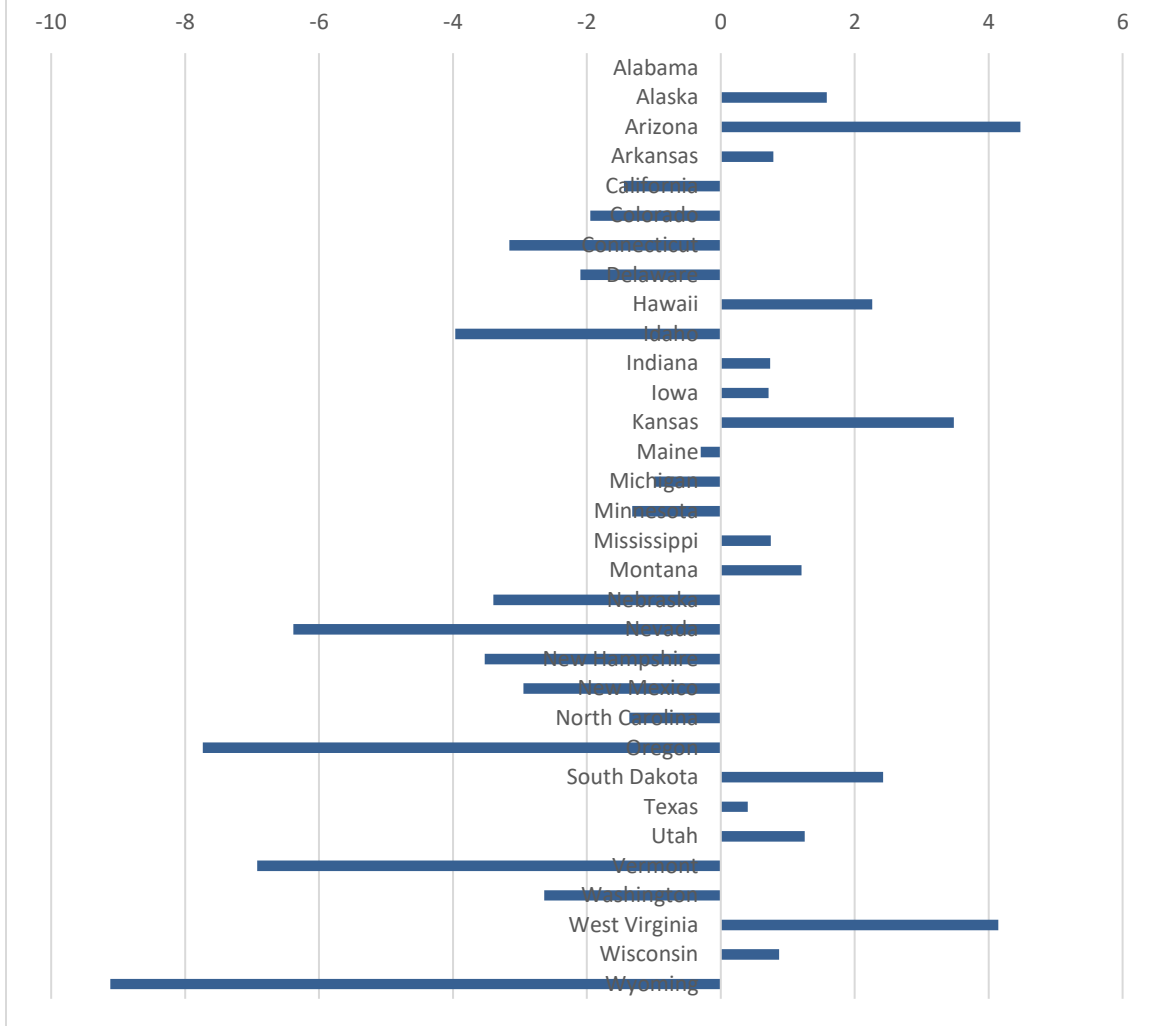
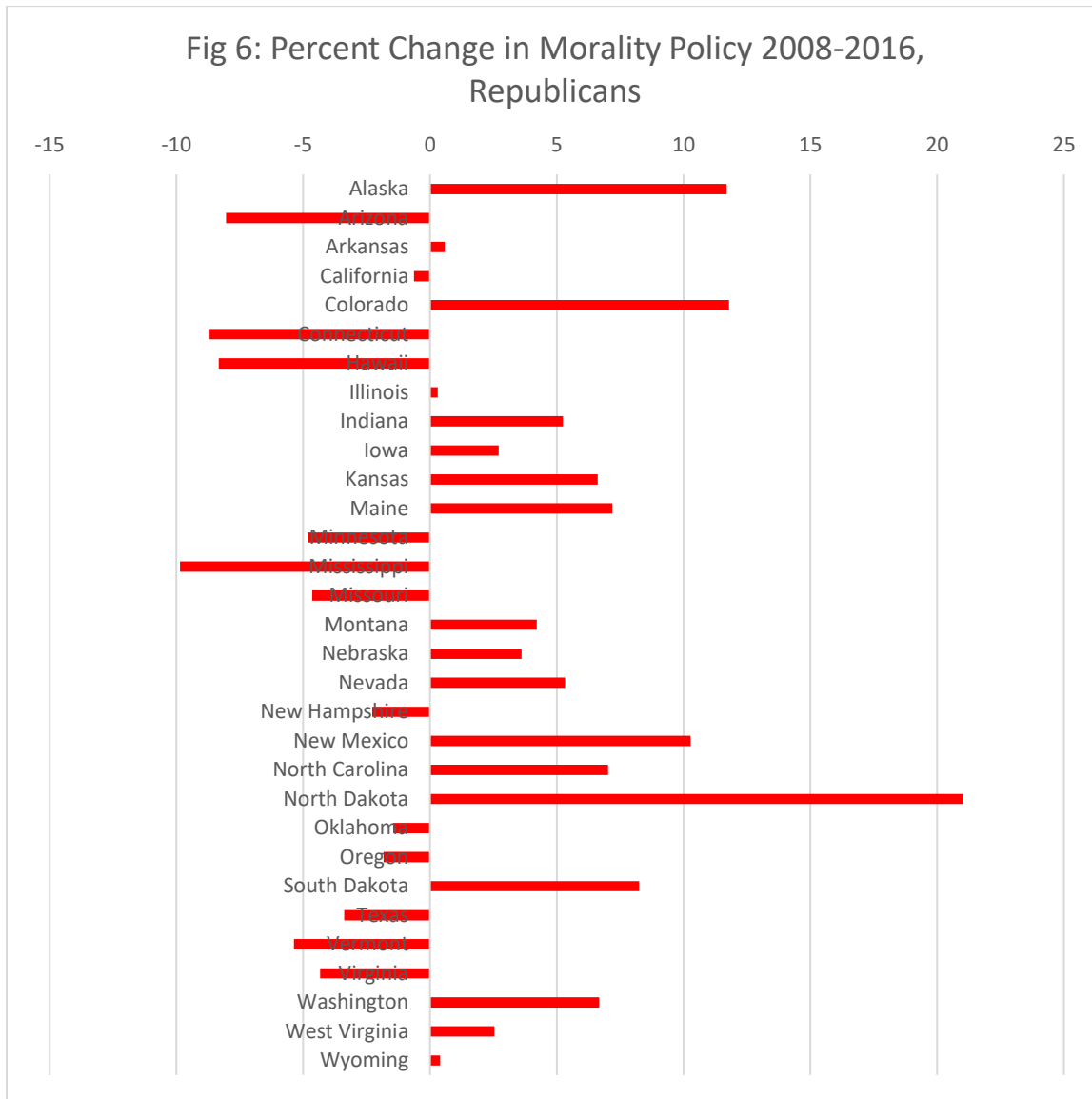


Fig 5: Percent Change in Morality Policy 2008-2016,
Democrats





MORALITY POLICY IN STATE PARTY PLATFORMS

Although these findings help us better understand how a state's political environment may influence the content of state party platforms, a purely numerical discussion ignores more nuanced differences that are difficult to quantify. Just as the wording and style of platforms influence their length, style and language choices significantly shape their content. Only by carefully reviewing the full text of state party platforms do we see some of these patterns. Sometimes what is most interesting is not which issues are addressed, but how the issues are spoken of. For example the 2008 national Democratic Party platform takes a clear position on abortion rights, while declaring support for programs that would reduce unwanted pregnancies and make it easier for women to raise children:

The Democratic Party strongly and unequivocally supports Roe v. Wade and a woman's right to choose a safe and legal abortion, regardless of ability to pay, and we oppose any and all efforts to weaken or undermine that right. The Democratic Party also strongly supports access to comprehensive affordable family planning services and age-appropriate sex education which empower people to make informed choices and live healthy lives. We also recognize that such health care and education help reduce the number of unintended pregnancies and thereby also reduce the need for abortions. The Democratic Party also strongly supports a woman's decision to have a child by ensuring access to and availability of programs for pre- and post-natal health care, parenting skills, income support, and caring adoption programs.

The states vary significantly on how they address the abortion issue, even within the Democratic Party. California Democrats opt for a strong, unambiguous position: "...Preserve confidential, unrestricted access to affordable, high quality, culturally sensitive health care services, including the full range of reproductive services, contraception and abortion, without requiring guardian, judicial, parental, or spousal consent or notification.¹⁸

In contrast, in many of our more conservative states, Democratic platforms seek a more restrained approach to reproductive rights – advocating for women's right to control their own bodies, without overtly advocating for unencumbered freedom: "*Texas Democrats: trust the women of Texas to make personal and responsible decisions about when and whether to bear children, in consultation with their families, physicians, personal consciences, and/or their faith*¹⁹" Other Democratic platforms take similar cautious approaches to reproductive freedom:

- *We support the continuation of Title X funding for family planning.... the right of patients who rely on federally funded services to receive comprehensive medical information in order to make informed decisions regarding their medical treatment.*²⁰

¹⁸ 2010 California State Democratic Platform.

¹⁹ 2016 Texas Democratic Party Platform.

²⁰ 2010 Nebraska State Democratic Platform.

- We support a woman's right to privacy in making her own health care decisions.²¹
- We believe that a woman's decisions regarding pregnancy should be her own choice and not that of the government.²²

Michigan Democrats seek to walk the line between supporting a core pillar of contemporary liberalism, and not ostracizing fellow partisans who hold a more conservative position, producing a platform that tip toes around a hot button issue:

- *We believe that women should have access to reproductive medical services and professional advice when they need it. We pledge our support for reproductive freedom, giving a woman the right to make her own choices in this matter. But we respect the individual conscience of each American on this difficult issue. We strongly support family planning, child care, and adoption programs such as those in Governor Granholm's pregnancy reduction initiative.*²³

The examples above highlight the variations seen in Democratic state party platforms regarding abortion. In the case of Republican state party platforms, the variation is more limited and the degree to which the states parties vary is more a case of emphasis, rather than policy. Some Republican state party platforms do not address the issue at all, while others provide only a simple statement declaring their belief in "life begins at conception." In 2008, references to life at conception, fetal personhood, applying the 14th amendment to fetuses, "natural death" vs. euthanasia, and direct reference to Planned Parenthood were relatively rare in Republican platforms. By the time we get to 2016, these are standard fare:

- *The California Republican Party is the party that protects innocent life because we believe life begins at conception and ends at natural death.*²⁴

Unlike with the variation seen in the Democratic platforms, when Republican state party platforms discuss reproductive rights in any length, the positions are unanimously, staunchly conservative: "*Recognizing that abortion is grievously harmful to women, men, families, and society at large, as well as fatal to the unborn child, we support and strongly encourage positive alternatives to abortion, such as adoption.*"²⁵

Minnesota Republicans in 2008 and 2016 included specific planks supporting spousal consent provisions: "*Action should be taken leading to legislative guarantees and protection of the father's inalienable right to decide against any unilateral or preemptive decision to terminate his child's developing life.*"²⁶ and "*(We) would protect a father's right to object to a unilateral decision to terminate his unborn child's life.*"²⁷

²¹ 2016 Mississippi Democratic Party Platform.

²² 2008 North Carolina Democratic Party Platform.

²³ 2010 Michigan State Democratic Platform.

²⁴ 2016 California Republican Party Platform.

²⁵ 2008 Louisiana State Republican Platform.

²⁶ 2010 Minnesota State Republican Platform.

²⁷ 2016 Minnesota Republican Party Platform.

Republican platforms in 2016 also include a variety of references to revoking women's access to emergency contraception, allowing pharmacy workers to refuse to sell medications they feel are immoral, and limiting the jurisdiction of the US Supreme Court, presumably to ensure states have the ability to further restrict abortion and contraception access without legal interference:

- *We oppose sale and use of the dangerous "Morning After Pill".*²⁸
- *We support the right of pharmacists to refuse to dispense abortion inducing drugs.*²⁹
- *Further, we urge Congress to withhold Supreme Court jurisdiction in cases involving abortion, religious freedom, and the Bill of Rights.*³⁰

Sex Education

Reproductive rights are not the only morality policy address in modern state party platforms – sex education plays a prominent role in morality discussions. Democratic platforms that address the issue almost universally call for age-appropriate, comprehensive sexual education in public schools, although some stop short of advocating for the dispensing of contraception in schools. Republican platforms vary a bit more, with some advocating for comprehensive sex ed – with parental opt-in. More commonly, Republican platforms advocate for abstinence based sex ed, or call for no sex ed at all, insisting that such discussions should be handled by parents in the home, rather than public schools:

- *The North Dakota Republican Party supports teaching about the true risks regarding pre-marital sexual activity for both men and women.*³¹
- *We oppose holding out the myth of "safe sex" to our teens as it is morally debasing and medically questionable.*³²
- *We support legislation that would prohibit any organization, (in example, Planned Parenthood), from entering public school properties for the purpose of promoting promiscuous behavior and abortion products, videos, or printed material.*³³
- *Finally, we support accessibility of public school students to comprehensive, accurate, age-appropriate sex education, including information to help stem the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and to prevent teen pregnancy.*³⁴

²⁸ 2010 Texas Republican Party Platform.

²⁹ 2016 North Carolina Republican Party Platform.

³⁰ 2016 Texas Republican Party Platform.

³¹ 2010 North Dakota Republican Party Platform.

³² 2010 South Carolina Republican Party Platform.

³³ 2016 Iowa Republican Party Platform.

³⁴ 2016 Arkansas Democratic Party Platform.

Gay Rights

Between 2008 and 2016, we saw substantial shifts with regard to gay rights in the US. Public opinion with regard to employment non-discrimination, military service and marriage equality all shifted. The US military abandoned “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” and the Supreme Court ruled states could not discriminate against same sex couples in marriage policy. Democratic platforms frequently call for legal equality, non-discrimination in the economy, equal rights to adopt, etc., but again the real interest lies in the Republican platforms. Given the strides made 2008-16, some of the language in 2016 state party platforms is surprising – not only for the positions, but for the flourish with which the parties advocate for policy rollbacks. Many 2016 Republican platforms advocate for rolling back marriage equality – some advocating for a more comprehensive return to “traditional” families, and others more focused: *We embrace the definition of marriage in our State constitution as the union of one man and one woman and support reserving marriage benefits to this union alone.*³⁵ When you move beyond discussions of marriage equality (and a surprising number of references to freedom to deny service), we see several bold calls for removing gay Americans from the US military:

- *Whereas the presence of on-duty, heterosexual or homosexual romance in the military may greatly weaken the effectiveness of the military; and Whereas a vigorous pro-homosexual agenda in the military may incite violence and therefore weaken the military; and Whereas social engineering and social experimentation have no proper place in the military environment; and Whereas a return to the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy would mitigate the open perpetuation of homosexuals in the military; now, therefore, Be It Resolved, that the Wyoming Republican Party demands the reinstatement of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” Policy of the US Armed Forces.*³⁶
- *We support a return to the policy of the United States military to exclude homosexuals as a matter of good order, morale, and discipline.*³⁷

Gender Identity

One of the most interesting things we see when comparing the 2008 and 2016 platforms is the incorporation of gender identity issue. Issues of same-sex marriage and employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation were common in 2008 platforms, it is not until 2016 that we begin to see significant reference to gender non-conformity and transsexuals. Not all platforms contain references to these issues, but when they are addressed, the policy patterns are unsurprising. Republican platforms in 2016 stake out clear,

³⁵ 2016 Alaska Republican Party Platform.

³⁶ 2016 Wyoming Republican Party Platform.

³⁷ 2016 Nebraska Republican Party Platform.

conservative positions – usually with references to ensuring people are not required to do anything that violates their personal beliefs or with misguided references for safety:

- *We oppose federal efforts to force doctors and hospitals to treat patients according to self-perceived gender identity...*³⁸
- *...and the blurring of gender distinctions which threaten the personal safety and privacy of opposite gender children and adults in public toileting or bathing facilities.*³⁹

Democratic platforms reference gender identity issues most often with general calls for non-discrimination, although a few take bolder stances: *We support the full implementation of a law that allows members of the transgender community to amend their birth certificates to accurately reflect their self-identified genders.*⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

This represents an early draft analysis of the 2016 state party platforms, in comparison to those drafted in 2008. Although the development of state party platforms is a bit haphazard – not all state parties do it, those that do vary in their methodology – we can see some patterns. Democratic platforms are a little longer on average, but small-government Republicans often have much to say about less government. Although most of the platform text is not devoted to morality, these policy issues are common inclusions and the passion these issues inspire is reflected in the language used in the policy planks.

This first look finds that contemporary Republican platforms focus more on morality policies and are more ideologically consistent than their Democratic counterparts. When state parties seek to define themselves, they do so in varied ways and further analysis should examine connections between platforms and policy. For example, how often do state legislators propose and governors support legislation consistent with specific policy planks? Does it vary depending upon partisan control or unified government? How supportive are state legislators of their state party platform? Even if state legislators are not familiar with the platforms, do they behave in a manner that is consistent with the platform's definition of "Republican" or "Democrat"? Does the content of platforms change significantly when there is a change in partisan control of the legislature or governorship?

³⁸ 2016 Arkansas Republican Party Platform.

³⁹ 2016 Washington Republican Party Platform.

⁴⁰ 2016 Hawaii Democratic Party Platform.

APPENDIX A

CODING PROCEDURES FOR US STATE PARTY PLATFORMS

The coding unit in any given program is the ‘quasi-sentence,’ defined as an argument. An argument is the verbal expression of one political idea or issue. In its simplest form, a sentence is the basic unit of meaning. Therefore, punctuation is used as the most important guideline for identifying arguments. In its shortest form, a sentence contains a subject, a verb, and an attribute or adjective:

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, 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 be still treated as two different arguments.

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.*

“Now a new historical period has begun – a period in which Russia should be cleansed from obscurantism and evil foreign and inner forces, a period of its revival as a great superpower, strong and peaceful, and democratic, free and prosperous, setting the whole world an example of real civilization and strong spirituality.”(Russia, LDPR 2003).

At first sight, this sentence seems to contain arguments about peace, democracy, freedom, prosperity and various others. However, the overall argument here is patriotism. Accordingly, this sentence is not cut up.

DECISION RULE NO 1: IDENTIFYING QUASI- SENTENCES

1. Copy the respective party program into the left column of a table with 2 columns, leave the right column for the codings (see section 5). Then, 2. start with reading the first paragraph, 3. look at each sentence of the first paragraph, 4. identify the number of arguments and transform them into (quasi-)sentences, and 5. mark all (quasi-)sentences in the first paragraph as shown in sample texts in section 5. Always think twice before you cut a sentence into several quasi-sentences. Always read the sentence again and consider whether there is a comprehensive argument that catches the meaning of those aspects that could be considered separately.

Some parts of the manifesto, like statistics, tables of content and section headings are not considered as text to be coded and, therefore, do not count as quasi-sentences. Introductory remarks by party leaders are equally ignored since the ideal-type of a manifesto is defined as authoritative statements of parties. All the other parts of a manifesto 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.

DECISION RULE NO 2: CLASSIFYING THE QUASI-SENTENCES

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

To prevent unitising mistakes, *Commandment No. 1 spells out that whenever coding units are in doubt, the respective sentence must be coded twice, in two logically different rounds, and the two solutions for unitising have to be cross-checked before a final decision is taken on breaking up a 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.

A. NO CATEGORY SEEMS TO APPLY

The coding frame was created to capture the total manifesto content. Nonetheless, it may be that no category is available for a particular problem in a particular country. These quasi-sentences are treated as uncodable (000). It is important to realize that 'uncoded' does not necessarily mean that a sentence is devoid of meaning (although of course it may be); only that it cannot be fitted into the present coding frame. However, *Commandment No. 2 is that sentences should be coded if at all possible.* To follow this there are a number of specific decision rules on how to tackle with difficult coding decisions.

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

DECISION RULE NO 4: CHECKING DEFINITIONS OF ALL CATEGORIES IN POLICY DOMAINS

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

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

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

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

DECISION RULE NO 5: IDENTIFYING CONNECTING SENTENCES

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

Because of the general commandment to classify quasi-sentences if at all possible, all quasi-sentences treated as uncodable must be checked again after coding the total program.

B. MORE THAN ONE CATEGORY SEEMS TO APPLY

The opposite difficulty arises if more than one category seems to apply. The Standard Classification Scheme was developed to cover the whole content of election programs. Election programs do not only mention policy preferences, but also include preferences about the polity and the politics of the country. The term 'polity' refers to the institutional dimension of political systems, covering all political institutions such as electoral rules and principles of decision making as well as the organisations of interest intermediation and governance. The term 'politics' refers to all processes of interest intermediation and governance. A classification scheme covering the whole content of national election programs should also allow for coding these polity and politics preferences. Some categories such as (203) 'Constitutionalism: Positive' and (204) 'Constitutionalism: Negative' address the polity, others such as (303) 'Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive' address politics, still others such as (301) 'Decentralisation: Positive' and (302) 'Centralisation: Positive' include polity, politics, as well as policy issues.

The problem of multiple coding solutions occurs when polity, politics, and/or policy arguments are combined into one sentence:

'Because we want worldwide peace, we will add this goal to our constitution.'

In this case, the polity is merely a means to achieve a policy goal. This difficulty can be dealt with by applying the following decision rules:

DECISION RULE NO 6: POLICY GOALS "BEAT" POLITICS, POLITY, AND POLICY MEANS

Whenever a sentence combines the means with the achievement of a policy goal, the policy goal is to be chosen.

These general decision rules often apply to the following specific choices:

DECISION RULE NO 7: SPECIFIC POLICY POSITIONS "BEAT" (303) 'EFFICIENCY'

Whenever there is a choice between category (303) 'Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive', defined as the need for efficiency and economy in government and administration, and another policy category from Domains 1 to 7, the specific policy position is to be chosen.

DECISION RULE NO 8: SPECIFIC POLICY POSITIONS 'BEAT' (305) 'POLITICAL AUTHORITY'

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

And example for the rule that policy goals beat policy means is provided by the following sentence:

“We will achieve world wide peace by disarmament.”

The argument in this sentence is ‘Peace’ (106), not ‘Military Negative’ (105). The problem of choosing between two categories also occurs with respect to group politics, for instance: ‘We want more social security for workers’. In this case, category (701) ‘Labour Groups’ or category (504) ‘Welfare State Expansion’ may apply.

DECISION RULE NO 9: SPECIFIC POLICY POSITIONS ‘BEAT’ GROUP POLITICS EXCEPT GROUP (703) ‘AGRICULTURE’

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

In addition to the aforementioned cases of choice, there is one category, (408) ‘General Economic Goals’, which is non-positional and should, therefore, be avoided if possible.

DECISION RULE NO 10: SPECIFIC POLICY POSITIONS ‘BEAT’ (408) ‘GENERAL ECONOMIC GOALS’

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

Even after applying these decision rules, one may still not be sure where an argument is leading. In many cases, section headings can be used to make a decision:

DECISION RULE NO 11: SECTION HEADINGS AS GUIDELINES

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

Many of these problems may be solved by taking the context of the ambiguous quasi-sentence into account. Coders should first of all study the sentences that follow because the first quasi-sentence may be part of an argument explicated in the next sentences. Therefore, it is always useful to start the coding procedure by reading the whole paragraph.

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

DECISION RULE NO 12: EUROPEAN LEVEL AND NATIONAL LEVEL

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

Just as with unitising (see p. 8), scoring problems often occur with the introductory parts and the summary of long programs as well as with short programs. In both cases, many arguments are typically condensed into very few sentences, often containing numerous commas and semicolons. In case of such difficulties, the rest of the manifesto should be coded before the introductory part is tackled as this will give hints on how to solve the riddles of the introductory sentences.

In case of very short programs with just one to five pages, unitising and scoring decisions concerning a few sentences can change the result of the content analysis. Therefore, the following decision rule should be applied:

DECISION RULE NO 13: DOUBLE-CHECK EACH CODE CHOSEN FOR SHORT MANIFESTOS

Short manifestos have to be coded twice because each coding decision is particularly crucial. In case of short programs, make sure that no argument is neglected due to decision rules 6 to 10. Make sure that the numerical coding solution mirrors all qualitative arguments given in such short programs, even if they are hidden in subordinate clauses

C. THE STATEMENT SEEMS UNCLEAR

Even after applying Decision Rules No 1 to 13, one may still not be sure where an argument is leading. Many of these problems may be solved by taking the context of the ambiguous quasi-sentence into account. Coders should first of all take into account the following sentences because the first (quasi-) sentence may be part of an argument which is explicated in the next sentences. Therefore, it is always useful to start the coding procedure by reading the whole paragraph.

In some cases, crucial decisions have to be made with respect to the manifest or latent content of statements. No inferences should be made with respect to the meaning of statements. The coder has to code what the statement says, not what he or she thinks it may lead to in the end. Thus, if a party claims that a measure favours employees, (701) ‘Labour Groups: Positive’ has to be coded although you may feel sure that it is to their detriment.

As with uncodable sentences, all unclear statements should be marked and reread at the end of coding. The reason is that many statements which may be uncodable at first sight may become clear in the context of the whole program.

APPENDIX B

CODING SCHEME FOR US STATE PARTY PLATFORMS

POLICY DOMAIN 1: EXTERNAL RELATIONS

101 FOREIGN SPECIAL RELATIONSHIPS: POSITIVE

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

102 FOREIGN SPECIAL RELATIONSHIPS: NEGATIVE

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

103 ANTI-IMPERIALISM

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

104 MILITARY: POSITIVE

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

105 MILITARY: NEGATIVE

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

106 PEACE

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

107 INTERNATIONALISM: POSITIVE

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

109 INTERNATIONALISM: NEGATIVE

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

POLICY DOMAIN 2: FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

201 FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

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

202 DEMOCRACY

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

203 CONSTITUTIONALISM: POSITIVE

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

204 CONSTITUTIONALISM: NEGATIVE

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

POLICY DOMAIN 3: POLITICAL SYSTEM

301 DECENTRALISATION

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

302 CENTRALISATION

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

303 GOVERNMENTAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY

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

304 POLITICAL CORRUPTION

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

305 POLITICAL AUTHORITY

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

POLICY DOMAIN 4: ECONOMY

401 FREE ENTERPRISE

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

402 INCENTIVES

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

403 MARKET REGULATION

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

404 ECONOMIC PLANNING

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

405 CORPORATISM

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

406 PROTECTIONISM: POSITIVE

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

407 PROTECTIONISM: NEGATIVE

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

408 ECONOMIC GOALS

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

409 KEYNESIAN DEMAND MANAGEMENT

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

410 PRODUCTIVITY

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

411 TECHNOLOGY AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Importance of modernisation of industry and methods of transport and communication; importance of science and technological developments in industry; need for training and research. This does not imply education in general (see category 506). This also covers public spending on infrastructure such as streets and harbours.

412 CONTROLLED ECONOMY

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

413 NATIONALISATION

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

414 ECONOMIC ORTHODOXY

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

415 MARXIST ANALYSIS

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

416 ANTI-GROWTH ECONOMY

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

POLICY DOMAIN 5: WELFARE AND QUALITY OF LIFE

501 ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

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

502 CULTURE

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

503 SOCIAL JUSTICE

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

504 WELFARE STATE EXPANSION

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

505 WELFARE STATE LIMITATION

Limiting expenditure on social services or social security; favourable mentions of the social subsidiary principle; otherwise as 504, but negative.

506 EDUCATION EXPANSION

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

507 EDUCATION LIMITATION

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

POLICY DOMAIN 6: FABRIC OF SOCIETY

601 NATIONAL WAY OF LIFE: POSITIVE

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

602 NATIONAL WAY OF LIFE: NEGATIVE

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

603 TRADITIONAL MORALITY: POSITIVE

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

604 TRADITIONAL MORALITY: NEGATIVE

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

605 LAW AND ORDER

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

606 SOCIAL HARMONY

Appeal for national effort and solidarity; need for society to see itself as united; appeal for public spiritedness; decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis; support for the public interest; favourable mention of the civil society (Note: This category neither captures what your country can do for you nor what you can do for your country, but what you can do for your fellow citizens.).

607 MULTICULTURALISM: POSITIVE

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

608 MULTICULTURALISM: NEGATIVE

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

POLICY DOMAIN 7: SOCIAL GROUPS

701 LABOUR GROUPS: POSITIVE

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

702 LABOUR GROUPS: NEGATIVE

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

703 AGRICULTURE AND FARMERS

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

704 MIDDLE CLASS AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

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

705 UNDERPRIVILEGED MINORITY GROUPS

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

706 NON-ECONOMIC DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS

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

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