Content analysing multi-level authority and cultural identity claims: a complement to the Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP) exemplified for Spanish regional manifestos

Volkens, Andrea; Alonso, Sonia; Gómez, Braulio

Andrea Volkens, Sonia Alonso,
and Braulio Gómez

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discussion paper

Abstract

This handbook describes a specific approach to content analyzing 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 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 CMP 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 multilevel manifestos can provide additional answers to questions of multilevel governance. This handbook, elaborated in collaboration with the Instituto de Estudios Sociales Avanzados de Andalucía (IESA-CSIC, Spain), presents a classical content analytical approach to identifying parties' multilevel preferences. It instructs coders on how to apply two combined content analytical classification schemes: first, the CMP classification of policy preferences developed for party manifestos at national levels and, second, a classification of cultural and 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 anhand 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 Daten der MRG 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.

Das CMP befasst sich ausschließlich mit Parteiprogrammen zu nationalen Wahlen. In dezentralisierten politischen Systemen geben Parteien aber auch lokale und regionale Wahlprogramme heraus; 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 wurde in Zusammenarbeit mit dem spanischen Instituto de Estudios Sociales Avanzados de Andalucía (IESA-CSIC) zur Identifikation von Parteienpositionen in Mehrebenensystemen verfasst. Es beschreibt, wie Coder zwei inhaltsanalytische Klassifikationsschemata anwenden können, die miteinander kombiniert sind: einerseits die CMP-Klassifikation politischer Positionen und andererseits eine Klassifikation von kulturellen und politischen Autonomieansprüchen auf verschiedenen Ebenen von Governance. Diese doppelte Klassifikation wird auf spanische Regionalwahlprogramme angewendet. Beispiele spanischer Regionalprogramme dienen auch der Ausbildung von Codern und der Überprüfung ihres Verständnisses der komplexen Konzepte von Parteipositionen in Mehrebenensystemen.

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1. Introduction

Programs of political parties play a major role in many theories of parties and party systems. The model of responsible parties in particular requires parties that offer clear programmatic alternatives for voters to choose between and 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 Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP) 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). The CMP classification covers 56 categories in seven policy domains. These categories specify general policy preferences towards specific issues that vary between parties, party systems, and over time.

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 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 content analytical classification schemes for analysing party preferences based on subnational, national, and supranational manifestos. It combines, first, the CMP classification of policy preferences developed for national political parties with, second, a classification of cultural identity claims for consensus- and nation-building and authority claims over decision-making 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.

In the following section, the CMP approach to measuring parties' policy preferences and the significance of the CMP data collection are introduced. Section 3 spells out general commandments for coding and specific decision rules and definitions for classifying policy and claim preferences in multilevel manifestos. Section 4 applies the double classification to regional-level manifestos and exemplifies its usage for 58 programs issued for elections to the 17 Spanish regional assemblies between 2004 and 2007. Section 5 provides references including CMP volumes, methods of content analysis, and theories of claim preferences. Finally, the appendix provides ready-to-use lists of categories and definitions of the two classification schemes, examples of documenting national and regional parties covered by content analyses, solutions to the blindfold exercises as well as coder training tests.

2. The Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP)

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 and continued as the WZB-hosted Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP), organised and supervised by Andrea Volkens, from 1989 onwards.

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 Co-operation and Development (OECD) and all member states of the European Union (EU).

In addition, CMP 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 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, CMP-data is widely used for testing all kinds of theories in which parties play a role (Budge/Bara 2001; Volkens 2002b). Since the instigation 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).

As is outlined in the introduction, there are many advantages of taking election programs as a source for identifying preferences of political parties. Nevertheless, 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).

CMP uses a conventional approach to content analysing election programs of parties. In such an approach, country experts identify units of texts and accord them to categories of a given classification scheme (Volkens 2002a). Thus, the programs are coded within the political context of and according to the status quo of their countries. The CMP classification scheme captures policy positions of parties as taken in their election programs (Budge 2001a, 2001b, 2002). Deductive (Budge/Farlie 1977) as well as inductive considerations (Budge 1993a, 1993b) have produced 56 Standard Categories covering all relevant policy areas and an average of 98 percent of program contents (Volkens 2001).

The unique strength of the CMP data is that it enables us to chart parties' movements over all elections in which the parties participate. All indicators, whether they are drawn

from single categories or from combinations of positions, can be represented graphically. In this instance, applications of the CMP data belong to the group of spatial models in which parties are located in a certain kind of policy space. Even the large number of parties in many of the new Central and East European party systems that tended to both merge and fragment after the founding elections can be sensibly mapped, although in many of these developing party systems the positions of the new parties are more erratic and 'leap-frogging' than in established party systems (Klingemann et al. 2006).

While many research topics have developed over time, the classification scheme has repeatedly been used to address two important aspects of political representation: First, on which policy dimensions do parties compete for voters and, second, do voters have a choice between programmatic alternatives? With respect to the first aspect, the MRG/CMP data substantiate the survey research results on the continuing predominance of the left-right dimension for party competition. Over the years, the group created several indexes based on different methods to derive left-right estimates from the Manifesto raw data, but one index has become some standard over the years. This left-right index (Laver/Budge 1992) is computed by simple additions and subtractions of percentages of 26 categories that are used to define the left and the right pole of the dimension. That about half of the program contents of European parties were continuously devoted to traditional left and right positions adds considerable evidence to the persistent importance of the left-right dimension for programmatic party competition (Volkens 2004).

The second aspect is of particular relevance because most theories of party development predict parties to converge at the position of the median voter whereas normative democratic theories require them to present programmatic alternatives for voters to choose between (Volkens 2003, 2006). Our data show that voters are usually given meaningful choices. The breadth of programmatic supplies declines somewhat in many of the long-term democracies when the post-World War II period is compared with the 1990s (Volkens/Klingemann 2002). But there was no long-term trend of convergence between positions of parties. Rather, alternating times of convergence and divergence paint a cyclical picture that seems to be largely independent of the number of relevant parties. Although voters were presented with meaningful choices in all 17 post-war democracies under study, programmatic offerings varied considerably in both range and distance (McDonald/Budge 2005; Budge/McDonald 2006). Irrespective of the numbers of parties, the programmatic supply was sometimes finely graded with a broad range of many alternatives similar to each other, sometimes sharply polarised between few programs.

The saliency theory of party competition (Robertson 1976; Budge/Farlie 1977, 1983) offers reasons as to why parties may still differ. Opposed to theories that assume parties to compete by taking opposite stands, the saliency theory argues that 'the key difference be-

tween parties is the varying extent to which they mention one-position issues' (Budge 2001a: 52). This proposition develops the general distinction between position and valence issues of spatial theories (Stokes 1963). While parties can take opposite positions on some issues such as being in favour or opposed to further European integration, there are many valence issues such as environmental protection to which no direct contra-position is feasible. Because valence issues are to some degree favoured by all voters, it would be electoral suicide to argue against these goals. In addition, parties 'own' certain positions on which they are judged as being competent so that they 'gloss over areas which might favour their rivals while emphasizing those on which they feel they have an advantage' (Budge 1987: 24). The saliency theory assumes that parties will take action if they can agree on a joint position and if this position is of some importance to the party. In coalition governments, unimportant positions can easily be horse-traded in exchange of more important goals.

Therefore, the CMP approach to measuring left-right positions of parties has always been a combination of positions and their saliencies. The CMP dataset gives each position of a party as a percentage of the program by standardizing the number of issues in each category according to the total number of arguments in a program. The more space is devoted to a position, the more important it is for the party. Thus, the percentage value is a combination of a particular position and its saliency, although some political scientists argue that 'position and salience are two distinct components of the policy of a given actor' (Laver 2001: 66). Separate measures for position and salience can easily be created because the dataset also states the total number of arguments (Volkens 2006).

3. Content Analysing Multilevel Manifestos

Many textbooks have been published to teach the methods of content analysis. We suggest Krippendorf (2006) for a comprehensive introduction to the various types and forms of content analyses. Krippendorf provides the following general definition: 'Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use' (2006: 18). This manual informs coders on how to assign units of meaning in party programs to categories of two comparative classification schemes. In order to do so, it highlights those aspects of the technique that are essential for coding multi-level election programs.

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 with an

average length of 25 pages 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 times. 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 pre-selected topics in newspapers. Due to such possible variations of texts, the general definition of content analysis calls for replication. For coders, the answer to this call is **Commandment No. 1**: *Document titles, sources, and all specificities of texts and do so in a readily comprehensible way*.

Even texts that comply with the definition have to be marked with identification numbers for countries, parties, and elections as given in Appendix 6.5 for Spanish national parties as well as with additional identifications for levels as given below in Appendix 6.6 for parties in the 17 Spanish Autonomous Communities. When documents are available in machine-readable form, typed versions of identification numbers and codings are to be preferred to hand-written ones. In case of codings on paper copies, handwritten codes must be eligible on scanned copies with the party and election date code identifying each program.

Most importantly, the general definition of content analysis demands drawing replicable inferences. Texts can be interpreted quite differently. In ordinary life, the number of inferences to be drawn from a text is tantamount to the number of readers. Using content analysis as a scientific instrument, each and every properly trained coder should come to the same conclusion about unitising, i.e., choosing the same coding unit, and scoring, i.e., selecting the same concept for a unit.

In the content analytical approach, inferences are to be drawn only in the context of the particular usage of the text. In general, election programs are used by political actors during election campaigns in a specific competitive situation at a certain level of governance. In particular, the contexts of the manifestos' use are the concepts which the scientific analysis sets out to measure. In this manual, the concepts are specified in the definitions of categories of the two classification schemes, and coding rules explain how to apply the policy preference and the claim concepts.

Content analysis is a research technique for which abidance to given instructions is of utmost importance in order to get replicable results. As with any other technique, learning and training is needed. Therefore, the handbook has to be studied thoroughly and all training tests have to be completed before production coding is being started. It is not sufficient to look at the handbook only once. Coders must read the manual several times and try to memorize all commandments, rules, and definitions of categories as far as possible. The

more a coder can memorize the rules and definitions, the faster the production coding will be. Thus, **Commandment No. 2** is *to memorize commandments, rules, and definitions as far as possible*.

Content analyses are valid if they measure what the principal investigators intend to investigate. We intend to measure preferences of parties voiced in competitive election campaigns. Comparisons of programs across parties, elections, countries, and levels are made possible by attributing specific issues and claims to more general, abstract concepts of preferences of parties. In comparative perspective, specific issues and claims vary between parties, regions, countries, and over time because all party systems differ to some degree in their status quo. Therefore, not all given concepts play a role everywhere all the time. And in case of such broad comparative concepts, their definitions can never cover every possible specific issue and claim coming up somewhere someplace. Instead, the definitions provide general descriptions of the comparative concepts. Applying these complex concepts for the first time requires particular attention. In addition, even experienced coders have to check the definitions and rules again and again during the production coding. Coder instructions are called manuals because they are needed as reference texts for repeated readings. Thus, **Commandment No. 3** is *to have the handbook at hand and use it whenever having the slightest doubt about unitising or scoring. In case of any remaining doubt, check with the principal investigators*. Only they can decide where an issue or claim not covered in a definition fits in.

Some manifestos may be easy to interpret because parties state clear arguments, i.e., those fitting easily to given definitions of categories, in simple sentences. Parties often repeat positions by treating lasting problems and hot topics in some detail. In these cases, a quick check of the definition may suffice for handling large parts of texts. But **Commandment No. 4** reads '*beware of your expectations.*' Publicly known positions of party elites may deviate from party program majorities. Although this difference may be small in elite-steered parties, even these parties can state opposite positions, even within one and the same sentence, when weighting the pros and cons of some topic.

3.1 Unitising the Content of Multi-level Manifestos

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. Whether parties use simple, short sentences or combine arguments into one long sentence is largely a matter of style. Because the results of our content analysis must be independent of style, long 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. Thus, **Commandment No. 5** defines *the coding unit as the quasi-sentence, given by a set of words containing one and only one political argument. It stops either at the end of an argument or at a full stop (period)*.

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 five 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 different issues in this 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, the same argument may be very long and may occupy a lot of space, but still be only one quasi-sentence.

Some parts of the platform, 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 platform is defined as any authoritative statement of a party. All the other parts of a platform constitute the basis of analysis. The total number of units of analysis equals the total number of quasi-sentences identified for the relevant text of a given platform.

3.2 Scoring the Content of Multi-level Manifestos

Our project aims at measuring three types of parties' programmatic preferences:

3.2.1 The Standard CMP Policy Preference Classification

Firstly, we want to measure the policy preferences of parties in all policy areas, i.e., welfare, education, economy, environment, etc. In all of these cases, policy preferences are defined as the currently held views, either positive or negative, on goals, positions, tasks, and issues of the political debate about material and ideational interests and conflicts. This type of statement is covered by the CMP Standard Classification scheme for policy preferences of national manifestos, made up of 56 Standard Categories in three-digit codes. Some of these 56 categories cover bipolar positions, such as (504) 'Welfare State Expansion' and (505) 'Welfare State Limitation', others are unipolar, such as (501) 'Environmental Protection: Positive' because no party openly opposes these valence issues.

3.2.2 The Classification of Cultural Identity Claims

Secondly, we want to measure the programmatic rhetoric of identity and nation building as a way of gathering support at a particular level. The Standard Classification Scheme comprises such rhetoric as solidarity and civil society (606), nationalism and patriotism (601), positions for and against multiculturalism (607 and 608), for minorities (705), as well as processes of identity building such as democratic participation (202). For capturing these topics in more detail for the Spanish political system, subcategories are created by adding a fourth digit to the three-digit Standard Codes. Appendix 6.1 and 6.2 provide lists and definitions of all 56 Standard Categories and 13 Subcategories used to code the Spanish regional programs.

3.2.3 The Classification of Authority Claims

Thirdly, authority claim preferences deal with the relationships of authority between higher and lower levels of governance, i.e., local, regional, national, European, and international.

These claims have two components: (1) the level for which a particular policy preference is articulated and (2) the direction of a claim, i.e., the demand for more or less authority at a particular level. Accordingly, this aspect is captured by a two-digit codification scheme elaborated for multilevel governance systems, preceding the CMP policy preference classification. This new two-digit codification scheme allows us to measure preferences concerning the multilevel structure and, in particular, the functioning of federal political systems.

3.2.1 The Standard CMP Policy Preference Classification

The CMP developed a coding system whereby each quasi-sentence of every election program is coded into one, and only one, of 56 standard categories, grouped into seven major policy domains:

Table 1: 56 Standard Policy 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   Social Harmony: 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

The coding categories are designed, as far as possible, to be comparable between parties, countries, and over time. Policy preferences range from pledges for action taking after the election during the upcoming legislative period to statements of some concern over the election campaign. Parties in government also include evaluations of their former deeds. **Commandment No. 6** defines such a *preference for a policy, long- or short-term, as constituting the main emphasis of a sentence*.

After identifying the coding unit, the next stage of the coding procedure is to decide which of the 56 categories of the Standard Coding Frame a respective quasi-sentence expresses. The definitions of the 56 Standard Categories, specified as a set of typical issues and political ideas, are given in Appendix 6.2 of this handbook. For the example given above, the category numbers (107) 'Internationalism: Positive', (106) 'Peace', (105) 'Military: Negative', (105) 'Military: Negative', (107) 'Internationalism: Positive', and (201) 'Freedom and Human Rights', are noted down at the margin of the election program:

107   In international policy we shall take new initiatives. We will:

106   - promote peace;

105   - ban chemical weapons;

105   - begin discussions for the removal of nuclear bases;

107   - increase aid to developing countries;

201   - take action to protect the status of refugees.

> ***Decision Rule No. 1: 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 on how to code an otherwise ambiguous argument. Look to see whether one of the 56 categories definitely captures the sense of the first identified quasi-sentence and note down the respective number of the category at the margin of the page. Repeat this procedure for all quasi-sentences of the first paragraph. Then proceed to the next paragraph.*

3.2.2 The Classification of Cultural Identity Claims

Subcategories are divisions of the Standard Categories for analysing some details that are otherwise hidden or merged in the broader categories. They can be attached to standard categories without destroying the overall comparability as long as they are subsumed under and can be aggregated into one of the standard categories. The typical three-digit code of the Standard Manifesto Coding Scheme takes on a four-digit structure in the subcategory. The last digit is telling us that we are dealing with a subcategory. The precedent three-digits are just the same as those of the standard categories. Subcategories must always be nested into the 56 Standard Categories so that they can be aggregated up to one of the 56 Standard Categories. For instance 1011 is nested into 101, 2011 is nested into 201.

Some quasi-sentences may contain country-specific issues which are not particularly mentioned in the definition of the category but can nonetheless be subsumed under it. Other quasi-sentences may have a country-specific bias too strong to be subsumed under one of the 56 Standard Categories. For these quasi-sentences a new subcategory may be developed to capture the content of these otherwise uncodable sentences. For content analysing the national-level election programs of the developing East European party systems the following subcategories have been used:

Table 2: Subcategories Used for Transitional Democracies

1011 ***Russia/USSR/CIS: Positive***
Favourable mentions of Russia, the USSR, the CMEA bloc, or the Community of Independent States (subcategory of 101).

1012 ***Western States: Positive***
Favourable mentions of Western states, including the USA and Germany (subcategory of 101).

1013 **Eastern European Countries: Positive**
Favourable mentions of Eastern European countries in general (subcategory of 101).

1014 **Baltic States: Positive**
Favourable mentions of the Baltic states, including other states bordering the Baltic Sea (subcategory of 101).

1015 **Nordic Council: Positive**
Favourable mentions of the Nordic Council (subcategory of 101).

1016 **SFR Yugoslavia: Positive**
Favourable mentions of countries formerly belonging to SFR Yugoslavia including special relationships with Montenegro, Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina (subcategory of 101).

1021 **Russia/USSR/CIS: Negative**
Negative mentions of Russia, the USSR, or the Community of Independent States (subcategory of 102).

1022 **Western States: Negative**
Negative mentions of Western states, including the USA and Germany (subcategory of 102).

1023 **East European Countries: Negative**
Negative mentions of Eastern European countries in general (subcategory of 102).

1024 **Baltic States: Negative**
Negative references to the Baltic states (subcategory of 102).

1025 **Nordic Council: Negative**
Negative references to the Nordic Council (subcategory of 102).

1026 **SFR Yugoslavia: Negative**
Negative mentions of countries formerly belonging to SFR Yugoslavia including negative references to Montenegro, Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina (subcategory of 102).

1031 **Russian Army: Negative**
Need to withdraw the Russian army from the territory of the manifesto country; need to receive reparations for the damage caused by the Russian army or other Soviet institutions (subcategory of 103).

1032 **Independence: Positive**
Favourable mentions of the independence and sovereignty of the manifesto country (subcategory of 103).

1033 **Rights of Nations: Positive**
Favourable mentions of freedom, rights and interests of nations (subcategory of 103).

2021 **Transition to Democracy**
General references to the transition process of one-party states to pluralist democracy (subcategory of 202).

2022 **Restrictive Citizenship**
Favourable mentions of restrictions in citizenship; restrictions in enfranchisement with respect to (ethnic) groups (subcategory of 202).

2023 **Lax Citizenship**
Favourable mentions of lax citizenship and election laws; no or few restrictions in enfranchisement (subcategory of 202).

2031 **Presidential Regime: Positive**
Support for current presidential regime (subcategory of 203); statements in favour of a powerful presidency (subcategory of 204 for parliamentary regimes).

2032 **Republic: Positive**
Support for the republican form of government as opposed to monarchy (subcategory of 203).

2033 **Checks and Balances**
Support for checks and balances and separation of powers, and specifically for limiting the powers of the presidency by increasing legislative/judicial powers or transferring some executive powers to the legislature or judiciary (subcategory of 203).

2041 **Monarchy: Positive**
Support for a monarchy, including conceptions of constitutional monarchy (subcategory of 204).

3011 **Republican Powers: Positive**
Favourable mentions of stronger republican powers (subcategory of 301).

3051 **Public Situation: Negative**
Negative references to the situation in public life after the founding elections (subcategory of 305).

3052 **Communist: Positive**
Co-operation with former authorities/communists in the transition period; pro-communist involvement in the transition process; and 'let sleeping dogs lie' in dealing with the nomenclature (subcategory of 305).

3053 **Communist: Negative**
Against communist involvement in democratic government; weeding out the collaborators from governmental service; need for political coalition except communist parties (subcategory of 305).

3054 **Rehabilitation and Compensation**
References to civic rehabilitation of politically persecuted people in the communist era; references to juridical compensation concerning communist expropriations; moral compensation (subcategory of 305).

3055 **Political Coalitions**
References to the need of broader political coalition; need for co-operation at the political level; necessity of collaboration among all political forces (subcategory of 305).

4011   **Privatisation: Positive**
Favourable references to privatisation (subcategory of 401).

4012   **Control of Economy: Negative**
Negative references to the general need for direct governmental control of the economy (subcategory of 401).

4013   **Property-Restitution: Positive**
Favourable references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners (subcategory of 401).

4014   **Privatisation Vouchers: Positive**
Favourable references to privatisation vouchers (subcategory of 401).

4121   **Social Ownership: Positive**
Favourable references to the creation or preservation of co-operative or non-state social ownership within a market economy (subcategory of 412).

4122   **Mixed Economy: Positive**
Favourable references to mixed ownership within a market economy (subcategory of 412).

4123   **Publicly-owned Industry: Positive**
Positive references to the concept of publicly-owned industries (subcategory of 412).

4124   **Socialist Property: Positive**
Positive references to socialist property, including public and co-operative property; negative references to privatisation (subcategory of 412).

4131   **Property-Restitution: Negative**
Negative references to the physical restitution of property to previous owners (subcategory of 413).

4132   **Privatisation: Negative**
Negative references to the privatisation system; need to change the privatisation system (subcategory of 413).

5021   **Private-Public Mix in Culture**
Necessity of private provisions due to economic constraints; private funding in addition to public activity (subcategory of 502).

5031   **Private-Public Mix in Social Justice**
Necessity of private initiatives due to economic constraints (subcategory of 503).

5041   **Private-Public Mix in Welfare**
Necessity of private welfare provisions due to economic contraints; desirability of competition in welfare service provisions; private funding in addition to public activity (subcategory of 504).

5061   **Private-Public Mix in Education**
Necessity of private education due to economic contraints; desirability of competition in education (subcategory of 506).

6011   ***The Karabakh Issue***
Positive references to the unity of Karabakh and Armenia or the recognition of the independent Republic of Karabakh; rendering assistance to Karabakh (subcategory of 601).

6012   ***Rebuilding the USSR***
Favourable mentions of the reunification of all republics and nations living on the former territory of the USSR into a new common (democratic) state or into a common economic space whereby the new union would be the guarantor of the manifesto country's sovereignty; negative references to the dissolution of the USSR and the respective treaties (subcategory of 601).

6013   ***National Security***
Support for or need to maintain national security in all spheres of social life; policies devoted to this goal (subcategory of 601).

6014   ***Cyprus Issue (to be coded for Cyprus, only)***
All references concerning the division of Cyprus in a Greek and a Turkish part (subcategory of 601).

6061   ***General Crisis***
Identification of a general crisis in the country (subcategory of 606).

6071   ***Cultural Autonomy: Positive***
Favourable mentions of cultural autonomy (subcategory of 607).

6072   ***Multiculturalism pro Roma***
Favourable mentions of cultural autonomy of Roma (subcategory of 607).

6081   ***Multiculturalism against Roma***
Negative mentions of cultural autonomy of Roma (subcategory of 608).

7051   ***Minorities Inland***
References to manifesto country minorities in foreign countries; positive references to manifesto country minorities (subcategory of 705).

7052   ***Minorities Abroad***
References to ethnic minorities living in the manifesto country such as Latvians living in Estonia (subcategory of 705).

7061   ***War Participants***
Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to people taking part in the war on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia (subcategory of 706).

7062   ***Refugees***
Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to people who left their homes because of the war (for instance, on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia) or were forcibly displaced (subcategory of 706).

Up to now, subcategories have been mainly created for East European parties to allow studying party systems in the making. For some party systems, subcategories were also coded for a more country-specific analysis of programmatic party competition. As such,

subcategories are part of the standard classification of policy preferences. But creating new subcategories should be avoided as far as possible, because the overall comparability of the manifesto data is reduced to the standard categories.

Decision Rule No. 2: Creating Subcategories

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

When analysing multi-level manifestos, subcategories are needed for studying specific cultural identity claims. For instance, the category 301 includes the support for keeping up local and regional customs and symbols. As this is an important position for identity and nation building at the regional level, this part of the standard category must be transferred into a specific subcategory when analysing regional and local programs (Agasøster 2001). The subcategories used to identify cultural authority claims in Spanish regional manifestos are described in detail in section 4.1.2 and listed in Appendix 6.1 and 6.2 together with the overarching Standard Categories.

Because cultural identity claims can vary between levels, countries, and parties, the list of subcategories used for Spanish regional programs between 2004 and 2007 is preliminary. Identification numbers of new subcategories must be accorded in line with given identification numbers of existing subcategories. Coders of programs from any level must comply with **Commandment No. 7**: *Never compile a new subcategory without previous discussion with the principal investigators.* This commandment is crucial since coders tend to diversify the existing standard categories into subcategories. Even trained coders tend to create too many subcategories, i.e. subcategories containing only one or two quasi-sentences. From more than 80 subcategories that had been created for transitional countries, 30 were re-aggregated into the main Standard Categories because they were almost empty and fitted to one the Standard Categories.

3.2.3 The Classification of Authority Claims

Each concept, such as 501 'Environmental Protection: Positive' can be attached to any level of authority. For instance, regional parties can mention environmental problems of local, regional, national, or international scope. This is captured by placing a two-digit code for multiple levels (authority claims) in front of the three-digit codes for standard categories (four-digit codes in the case of subcategories). The two codes are divided by a hyphen.

As already mentioned, authority claims have two components: first, the level for which a particular policy preference is articulated (local, regional, national, European, international), which is captured by the first digit of the code; and, second, the direction of the claim (more or less authority for the level at which the claim is directed), which is captured by the second digit of the code. These two components are discussed individually in the following sections.

3.2.3.1 Classifying Local, Regional, National, and Supra-national Levels

The point of view is always the party at a particular level of competition. For example, when analysing regional manifestos, the reference level of competition is the region. However, multilevel inferences depend on the state of federalism and supranational integration. In some highly decentralized systems it may be evident that the total content of a regional program deals with regional politics, but in others regional and local elections are considered 'second order elections,' in the sense of being driven by the national debate, and lower-level parties may be constituent members of national or supranational organisations.

Decision Rule No. 3: Identifying the Levels

Code only what is explicitly written down in the respective coding unit. Inferences to levels can cautiously be drawn based on titles of sections or chapters or on the context of the surrounding sentences. All other indirect codings of levels and claims must be approved by the principal investigators.

In case of doubt, choose level 00:

Code Zero Zero (00)

Choose this code for every unit that does not explicitly mention the town, the region, the country or the supranational entity.

If levels are explicitly mentioned, they are given one of the following five two-digit codes:

Codes	Levels
10	Local level
20	Regional level
30	National level
(40-70	For other supranational levels)
80	European level
90	International/global level

In addition to these five different levels, arguments can also mix several levels when the principles of the relationships between levels or the importance of general values such as justice are being discussed. There are four combinations of levels to be coded in two digits:

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	All levels addressed at the same time (example: justice everywhere)

Not all coders may be familiar with all the terms used in this handbook such as subsidiary. **Commandment No. 8** is to *check terms whenever the coder is in doubt about the meaning of a term*. In most cases, Wikipedia provides quick and comprehensive explanations.

3.2.3.2 Classifying the Direction of Authority Claims

Authority claims are defined as claims for final decision taking at a particular level of decision making. This includes all aspects of final decision taking such as decision-taking majorities and processes as well as command over material and financial resources. Authority claims are registered either when they are explicitly specified or when they are explicitly denied:

1	Less authority for the respective level
2	More authority for the respective level

Again, implicit inferences as to the direction of the claims are only allowed under specific titles of sections or in the context of the surrounding sentences. In case of any other cir-

cumstance that *indirectly* indicates a positive (more authority) or negative (less authority) claim, this specific inference has to be properly documented after approved by the principal investigators. In all of these cases, a 1 indicating a claim of less authority or a 2 indicating a claim of more authority is added as a second digit to the respective level code instead of the zero. Thus, taking into account the level codes together with the direction of the claim, five levels times two authority distinctions can be recorded:

Level of claim (first digit)	Direction of claim (second digit)	Explanation: type of authority claim
1	1	Less authority for the local level
1	2	More authority for the local level
2	1	Less authority for the regional level
2	2	More authority for the regional level
3	1	Less authority for the national level
3	2	More authority for the national level
8	1	Less authority for the European level
8	2	More authority for the European level
9	1	Less authority for the international level
9	2	More authority for the international level

However, many arguments do not contain any obvious direction of claim. They address a particular level by emphasizing a problem, such as regional welfare, that needs to be tackled. Basic attitudes, values, and orientations of the parties are cited in connection to particular levels; parties intend to act for, feel responsible for or are committed to certain local goals without claiming more or less authority over decision taking for it. In all of these cases, the second digit of the level variable remains a zero (10, 20, 30, 80, and 90). For example:

Level of claim (first digit)	Direction of claim (second digit)	Explanation: type of authority claim
1, 2, 3, 8 or 9	0	The sentence does not advance any claim for more or less authority to any level. Generally, it is just a statement about doing something, having done something, or intending to do something at some level, using the competencies that already belong to this authority level. It can also mean accepting the status quo.

3.3 Coding Problems and Difficulties

Coding problems may concern unitizing or/and scoring. As with uncodable sentences, all unclear statements should be marked and reread at the end of the coding procedure.

3.3.1 Problems with Unitising

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.

   To prevent unitising mistakes in multilevel codings, **Commandment No. 9** 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.

3.3.2 Problems with Scoring

The coding frame was created to capture the total platform content. Nonetheless, it may happen 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. 10** is that *sentences should be coded if at all possible*. To follow this commandment there are a number of specific decision rules on how to tackle difficult coding decisions.

In many countries, some of the categories are seldom used (for instance (405) 'Corporatism' and (409) 'Keynesian Demand Management'), but they 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 it 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 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.

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 want to 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 Preferences "Beat" Polity and Politics Preferences.

Whenever there is a choice between policy preferences, on the one hand, and polity or politics preferences on the other, the policy position is to be chosen.

Decision Rule No. 7: Policy Goals "Beat" Polity and Politics 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. 8: 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. 9: 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' competencies and another policy category from Domains 1 to 7, the specific policy position is to be chosen.

The problem of choosing between two categories also occurs with respect to group politics:

> 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. 10: 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.*

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. 11: 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 position (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. 12: 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.

Scoring problems often occur with the introductory parts of long programs and 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 with introductory parts, 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.

Crucial decisions also have to be taken 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.

4. Content Analysing Regional Manifestos

4.1 Classifying Policy and Claim Preferences in Regional Manifestos

In order to adapt the existing CMP classification scheme of national manifestos to the regional level of elections, some of its Standard Categories have to be slightly re-defined or, most commonly, new subcategories have to be created that will allow us to capture certain issues that are typical of the regional, as opposed to the national, level of governance.

4.1.1   Regional-level Definitions of Standard CMP Policy Preference Categories

Some Standard Categories of the CMP national coding scheme take on particular meanings at different levels of authority and need to be readapted. For example, the following stan-

dard categories of the National Coding Scheme: **101 (Foreign Special Relationships: Positive)**, **102 (Foreign Special Relationships: Negative)**, and **301 (Decentralization)** (see section 3.2.1) have to be accommodated to regional-level issues.

For most decentralized multilevel systems of governance, 'foreign relations' is a competency that belongs to the central state. However, regions function within a network of neighbouring regions with which they establish special relationships, just as countries do with other countries. Therefore, the categories 101 and 102 are re-defined as follows:

101   *Interregional Foreign Special Relationships: Positive*
As in the original Standard Category 101, but with 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 (Galicia with her neighbouring region in Portugal, Catalonia with Languedoc-Roussillon, etc.).

102   *Interregional Foreign Special Relationships: Negative*
As in the original Standard Category 102, but with regions outside the manifesto country's borders.

The standard category 'decentralization' also needs to be adjusted to the regional level, since this category was thought to capture policy preferences for decentralization with respect to the national level, something which is now captured by the new two-digit coding scheme of authority claims. The redefinition of this standard category takes the following form:

301   *Decentralization: Positive*
Favourable statements or demands for the devolution of political competencies to the regional level or for the legislative development of existing ones. The explicit demand to reform the regional constitution (or any of its articles) does NOT belong to this category (see combination 22-204 below). Attention: the direction of claim coded with a "2" for either the local or the regional level (i.e., more authority for the respective level: 12, 22) is redundant when accompanying this category 301, but this is inevitable.

4.1.2   Subcategories for Regional Manifestos

The creation of subcategories is necessary when the standard categories of the CMP Standard Classification Scheme do not allow us to capture, with a sufficient degree of detail, issues that are of relevance for multilevel political dynamics. In decentralized countries with subnational parliaments, parties have diverse preferences concerning the desired degree of decentralization, the distribution of competences between the national and subnational levels and processes of nation-building and cultural protection and promotion. In

order to better capture this diversity of preferences, the following subcategories have been created for analysing regional level manifestos:

Specific subcategories for the regional level:

1017 *Interregional Special Relationships: Positive*
Favourable mentions of particular regions inside the manifesto country with which the manifesto region has a special relationship. Statements in favour of cooperation with other regions within the country in order to develop common policies.

1027 *Interregional Special Relationships: Negative*
Negative mentions of particular regions within the manifesto country; otherwise, as 101 but negative. For example, in the Spanish context we may find negative mentions in parties' manifestos from Navarre to particular behaviours or policies of the Basque Country.

2024 *Representative Democracy: Positive*
Statements in favour of improving the functioning and performance of representative institutions: parliament, parties, and elections.

2025 *Participatory Democracy: Positive*
Statements in favour of incorporating citizens into the democratic decision-making process, of extending the use of referenda, and of enhancing local participation mechanisms.

3012 *Regional Finance*
Statements concerning the necessary financial resources for a functioning regional administration.

3013 *Differential Treatment among Regions: Negative*
All statements that can be summed up in the following sentence: '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, competencies, etc. We want all the regions to be equal, on equal foot *vis-à-vis* the state. We are against an asymmetric federal state.'

3014 *Differential Treatment among Regions: Positive*
All statements that can be summed up in the following sentence: 'We do not want an equalization of regions that are different by history, culture, and identity. We are in favour of an asymmetric federal state. We do not want to be slowed down by other regions that do not want the same levels of autonomy that we want.'

6015 *Promotion and Protection of Regional (Vernacular) Language(s): Positive*
Protection and promotion of the vernacular language(s) of the region for use inside the region (by citizens and administration) and/or outside of it (in state institutions, such as the parliament). Demands for co-officiality of the regional vernacular(s).

6021 *Promotion and Protection of the Manifesto Country's Majority Language in the Manifesto Region*
As in 6015, but for the manifesto country's majority language.

6081 *Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants Inside the Region: Positive*

Need to integrate immigrants (coming from either another country or another region inside the manifesto country) by assimilating them into the regional culture, except for the learning of the regional language(s), which belongs to category 6015.

7053 *Immigrants Inside the Region: Positive*

Favourable references to immigrants in the manifesto region, in favour of extending the welfare state to immigrants.

7054 *Immigrants Inside the Region: Negative*

Statements in favour of controlling the number of immigrants settling in the manifesto region, the illegal immigration into the region, etc.

7055 *Cultural and Social Protection of the Region's Emigrants: Positive*

Statements in favour of keeping cultural, political, and economic links with emigrants that were born in the manifesto region or with their descendants. Promotion of the regional language(s) among emigrants. Support of policies for emigrants in areas of health, education, and social protection. Measures to help and encourage the return of emigrants.

4.1.3 Typical Combinations of Policy and Claim Preferences

In order to better understand the application of the double coding to the regional electoral level, we present some examples of combinations of policy and claim preferences in regional manifestos that the coder may come across. This is not meant to be an exhaustive exercise. It is simply meant as an illustration of the specific meanings that standard categories and multilevel subcategories attain when combined with particular authority claims. Therefore, **Commandment No. 11** for regional manifestos' coders is to *note down all new combinations that are not listed below and their specific meanings*. This commandment was also set up to avoid the temptation to create unnecessary subcategories. In many cases, combining standard policy preferences and claim preferences already serves the purpose.

22-107 *Direct External Relations of the Regions*

Standard category 107 is 'Internationalism: Positive.' Authority claim code 22 captures a demand for more authority for the region. The combination 22-107 is capturing statements and/or demands to establish direct diplomatic relations between the region and another sovereign state. Therefore, this combination captures a demand for more regional authority connected with any kind of international co-operation with either specific countries or international organizations. For example, a) proposals to start/improve bilateral relations and/or to engage in bilateral agreements with the governments of foreign sovereign states or b) demands to allow the presence of the regions in international organisations and the participation of the regions in the decision-making processes of international organisations. This combination avoids the creation of a new subcategory inside of 107.

20-203 *Regional Constitution: Positive, in Favour of Status quo*

Standard category 203 is 'Constitutionalism: Positive.' Authority claim code 20 captures the absence of claims for the region and, in this particular case, support for the regional status quo. We know this combination is referring to the regional constitution and not to the national one because the first digit of the two-digit coding (2) is telling us so. The combination 20-203 captures positive statements concerning the regional constitution, support for specific aspects of it, and the defence of regional constitutional values. No need to change the regional constitution in any direction: neither towards increased centralization nor towards increased decentralization.

30-203 *National Constitution: Positive, in Favour of Status quo*

As in national coding scheme 203 'Constitutionalism: Positive.' The authority claim code 30 captures support for the national (state) constitution as it is or for specific aspects of it. We know this combination is referring to the national constitution and not to the regional one because the first digit of the two-digit coding (3) is telling us so.

22-204 *Regional Constitution: Negative, in Favour of More Power for the Region*

The standard category code 204 is 'Constitutionalism: Negative' and the authority claim code 22 implies more authority for the regional level. We know this combination is referring to the regional constitution and not to the national one, because the first digit of the two-digit coding (2) is telling us so. This combination captures statements that explicitly mention the reform of the regional constitution (or any of its postulates) in order to give more power to the manifesto region. A simple rejection of the manifesto country's constitution must be coded 20-204.

32-204 *National Constitution: Negative, in Favour of More Power for the State*

As in 22-204, but in this case the direction of the proposed change is in favour of giving/returning more power to the state, as captured by the authority claim code 32. This combination will be much rarer in regional manifestos. A simple rejection of the manifesto country's constitution must be coded 30-204.

31-204 *National Constitution: Negative, in Favour of Less Power for the State*

The standard category code 204 is 'Constitutionalism: Negative' and the authority claim code 31 implies less authority for the national level. We know this combination is referring to the national constitution and not to the regional one, because the first digit of the two-digit coding (3) is telling us so. This combination captures statements that explicitly call for the reform of the national constitution in the direction of giving more power to the region. For example, appeals to reform the national senate in the direction of transforming it into a camera of territorial representation.

12-301 *Local Decentralization*

The standard category code 301 is 'Decentralization' and the authority claim code 12 means more authority for the local level. This combination is referring to favourable statements or demands for the devolution of competencies and/or of resources to the local level of government. This includes explicit mentions about the need to improve local finance and local fiscal autonomy.

22-601 *Recognition of the Region as a Nation*

Statements in favour of the recognition of the manifesto region and its population as a nation. Concrete demands to incorporate into the regional constitution and/or in the national

(state) constitution the definition of the manifesto regional population and territory as a nation (or a nationality, or similar expressions), in equal terms with the state constitution's recognition of the state population and territory as a nation.

20-601 *Regional Nation Building*

Promotion of regional culture, with specific policies to support regional art and sport and to establish regional institutions and foundations dedicated to such cultural promotion and protection. Promotion of autochthonous sports. Demands in favour of the establishment of regional sport teams. Promotion of regional symbols: flags, anthems, commemoration days, public holidays, etc. Return of cultural and/or historical art pieces to the region whenever they are located and/or exhibited somewhere else. Promotion of the manifesto region's history and traditions.

20-602 *Against Regional Nation Building, in Defence of State Nation Building in the Regions, of the Cultural Assimilation of the Regions into the National (State) Culture*

Favourable statements and support of the protection of the country's culture in the manifesto region. Defence of national (state) symbols in the manifesto region. Against the devolution of cultural and/or historical pieces to the region whenever they are located and/or exhibited somewhere else. And so on.

4.1.4   Examples from coded regional manifestos

At this point, it is useful to look at examples of the codification of policy and claim preferences. The following texts have been extracted from existing regional manifestos:

Example no. 1:

[Name of region] needs a new regional Constitution ▰ that will render the regional administration more effective ▰ and that will provide enhanced public services which contribute to the welfare of its citizens. ▰

This sentence is composed of three quasi-sentences. The codification of the first sentence is 20-204. In the first quasi-sentence, there is an explicit mention of the need to reform the regional constitution but we do not know exactly in which direction, so the code 20 must be chosen. The second quasi-sentence is a statement in favour of a more efficient regional government and is therefore a combination of 20 (regional level with no explicit claim for more –or less- authority to be transferred to that level) and the 303 Standard Category (Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive). The third quasi-sentence is a statement in favour of more welfare services (Standard Category 504) to be provided by the regional government. Here we have two possibilities. We can chose the code 22-301, since it is a claim for more competencies to be transferred to the regional administration. If we chose this code, however, we lose the information about the concrete policy preference: public services and welfare (Standard Category 504). We have established a rule for this

type of situation: policy beats polity. Therefore, we will capture the notion of regional authority enhancement with code 22 and the preference for public services with code 504.

Example no. 2:

> The regional government should assume all the competencies in the planification 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 litoral. ▟

This sentence is a coding unit in itself. The code is 22-301. The emphasis in this sentence is placed on the devolution of competencies. There is no explicit mention of the need to reform the regional constitution. This is the reason why Standard Category 301 should be used instead of Standard Category 204.

Example no. 3:

> We intend that local governments assume and exercise more competencies.▟ We understand that local administrations, which provide a large amount of public services, contribute to the development of a more cohesive, fairer and more advanced society if they are to have enhanced competencies. ▟

This text is made up of two coding units. The code for the first quasi-sentence is 12-301 because it explicitly demands more competencies for the local level and there is no reference to any concrete policy preference. The second quasi-sentence is 12-503 because it says that local governments will be better equipped to encourage social justice (Standard Category 503) if they are given more competencies (22- more authority for the regional level).

Example no. 4:

> 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. ▟

This sentence is one coding unit in itself. The corresponding code is 20-2024. The first two digits (20) tell us that it concerns the regional level of government and that there is no explicit claim for more or less authority. The subcategory 2024 is applied because the sentence is dealing with the performance of democratic institutions.

Example no. 5:

> The quality of a democracy is characterized by the facilitation and encouragement of citizen participation. ▟

This sentence is one coding unit. The corresponding code is 00-2025. The first two digits (00) tell us that it concerns no particular level of government and that therefore there is no explicit claim for more or less authority. The subcategory 2025 is applied because the sentence is talking about increased citizen participation in democratic decision-taking processes.

Example no. 6:

> To achieve this goal, we need equal participation of women and men in <u>all parliaments, gov-</u>
> <u>ernments, local, national and international institutions,</u> as well as in the decision-making bodies
> of political parties.

This sentence is one coding unit. The corresponding code is 09-706. The 09 code is chosen because the statement refers to a policy preference (706) that, according to the manifesto, should be applied at all levels of government, and not just the regional or any other particular level.

4.2 Exercises for Coding Regional Manifestos

The following samples from Spanish regional programs, translated into English, shall serve as exercises for production coding.

4.2.1 First Round of Training

The first example shows how unitising and scoring is done in case of a text that is simple to code. In this example, the same position is mentioned and the same level is addressed in almost all sentences. Neither authority nor cultural identity claims are being made.

Exercise 1: CHUNTA ARAGONESISTA,

Programa Electoral. Elecciones a Cortes de Aragón 2007
ID: 0233909: 2007

Section Heading: 'Health System'

CHA supports a health project that defends it as a free, universal, public service, implemented under conditions of equity and maximal accessibility for all citizens. ▰ Our **20-504** priority is the consolidation of a health system of quality, free, universal, efficient, and equal for all Aragonese citizens, that not only protects effectively the health of all but also functions as a mechanism of social and territorial cohesion and for the elimination of inequalities. ▰ **20-503**

However, within the Aragonese health system there are numerous deficiencies, shortages, and threats that we need to detect, correct, and avoid. ▰ Beside the continuous **20-504** growth of externalization, the insufficient financing leads to a mistreated and poorly resourced primary care, where our urban health centres suffer overcrowding, which in turn leads to the ill resolution, if not irresolution, of health problems. ▰ In the specialized care system things are not better, with very long waiting lists, at times unacceptably long, for all kinds of surgeries, tests, and surgical interventions. ▰ Meanwhile, we **20-504**

witness a process of dismantling of basic health care in our rural districts. ▟ 20-504

20-504

The users of our health system feel unsatisfied by the impersonal treatment they receive, by the lack of information, and by the generalized overcrowding of our health centres, ▟ while, at the same time, they perceive that many services associated with 20-504 new technologies and practiced in private centres are outside of the list of services provided by the public system. ▟ 20-504

In order to improve this reality, we propose the following measures: 20-504

− A sufficient and sustainable financing of the Aragonese health system will have priority within the regional budget. ▟ We aspire to give Aragón the necessary re- 20-504 sources to respond to a growing social demand and to situate ourselves in the average of the most developed EU countries with respect to the percentage of the GNP that they dedicate to health services. ▟ We will not accept proposals for direct or 20-504 indirect privatization, or for the externalization of health assistance. ▟ 20-504

− We will promote the primary care and the health centres. ▟ The family doctor will 20-504 not be assigned more than 1500 health card holders (1000 in the case of paediatricians) so that they can spend of at least 10 minutes with each patient. ▟ We will 20-504 reduce the bureaucracy during health visits and will present a law for the basic planning of the primary care resources in Aragón, in order to eliminate existing imbalances. ▟ 20-504

− The problem of long waiting lists will require a specific annual plan. ▟ We com- 20-504 mit ourselves to equilibrate the supply of health services with the demand. ▟ In 20-504 order to achieve this, we will invest enough resources so that the health centres and hospitals of Aragón will be fully operative both in the morning and in the afternoon/evening. ▟ 20-504

− In order to improve the accessibility of the health system and the quality of life in the rural areas of Aragón, we will realize the necessary investments in health centres and local surgeries, we will increase the number of paediatricians, and we will extend the number of basic medical specialities, the high resolution surgeries, and the ambulatory surgery to as many rural districts as possible. ▟ 20-504

− We will extend the list of public health services by the progressive incorporation of the laser surgery for grave problems of visual refraction, and we will increase the services relating to dental health, optometry, prosthesis, and others. ▟ 20-504

− We will develop the principle of patient autonomy by which the patient can take his own decisions relating to the whole health care process. ▟ In order to achieve 20-504 this, we will establish the right to a second medical opinion and the right to choose the doctor and the hospital. ▟ We will improve the patients' information and at- 20-504 tention systems and we will publish guides that will inform about the characteristics, organization, and utilization of the public health services and about the rights of the patients. ▟ 20-504

− We will progressively adapt our public hospitals to provide individual rooms for patients. ▟ 20-504

4.2.2 Second Round of Training

While it is easy to track given units and codes, coders will find it much more difficult to unitise and score all on their own. The following texts are blindfold examples that the coders shall first fill in and then compare to the correct solutions given in Appendix 6.4. Before looking up the correct solutions, all sentences should be coded, even those sentences coders may find very difficult to deal with and, thus, may hesitate to give any code to at all. Comparing the chosen codes to the correct ones is the fastest way to learn how to apply the classification schemes correctly. In each case of deviation, coders must consider why they chose the wrong category. Few coders will get all sentences right. Therefore, all coders shall re-code all blindfold texts a second time. In this second round of blindfold coding, coders must also check whether the codes correctly attributed during the first round of coding were selected again the second time around.

Exercise 2: Eight Blindfold Sections

1. Section: "The Balearic islands for peace, solidarity and development"
The Balearic Islands have an open attitude towards their neighbours. This may be the reason why we are a community with a dynamic and highly internationalized economy, very different from that of other islands all over the world. To present the Balearic Islands to the world, to project their image to the outside, a positive image, an image of openness and solidarity, does not only have an economic reason, but it also helps to improve our living conditions. It is important to make ourselves heard and to participate, within our possibilities, in the forums of decisions that have a direct effect on us.
Our commitment to society is to use office to influence all the institutional, economic, and social spheres that are within our reach, in order to contribute to the shared effort of building a better world, more just and more sustainable. We will give a cross-sectional orientation to the cooperation programs, by increasing the coordination, coherence, and complementarity of the different departments and policies.
The fight against poverty in the world calls for the implementation of public policies that are shared between the North and the South. In the North, it is necessary to have more complicity and shared policies among the different institutional agents and to obtain the consensus from civil society. In the South, it is necessary to select the best development programs, after listening to all the agents that work in the field, and to coordinate and monitor all programs and investments.
The Balearic Government's policy of solidarity, of cooperation, and of peace promotion will combine sector and territorial strategies with a cross-sectional vision of its activities, in order to generate synergies among the different policies and to guarantee coherence, complementarity, and efficacy to achieve the following objectives:
–   The promotion of a culture of peace and the education in values such as living together, dialogue, conflict resolution, as well as the establishment of peace in post-conflict scenarios.

- The promotion and protection of human rights as well as political, economic, social, and cultural rights inherent to human beings and to peoples [nations].
- The contribution to the eradication of poverty, particularly through the support of the "millennium objectives" and of the international agenda on development.
- The support of solidarity and cooperation initiatives that may emerge from the Balearic civil society.
- Increasing the degree of sensitivity, compromise, and education in solidarity and cooperation values among the population.
- Support solidarity and cooperation policies by local councils and by the *consells insulars* [intermediary level of government between local councils and the region].

The new socialist government will implement the necessary policies and instruments to fulfil these objectives. Our motto will be to guarantee the coherence between all the policies that project the image of the Balearic Islands to the developing world and to secure the coordination of all initiatives that will be adopted towards fighting poverty in the world and the developmental policies in this direction.

2. Section: "The active defense of the environment and of our water resources. A bet for our sustainable development"

The compromise of the Socialists regarding equality and solidarity can be extended to environmental responsibility.

It is increasing the degree of citizens' sensitivity, consciousness, and worry about a healthy environment; and we are incorporating uses and customs that are more respectful towards it.

Although we are advancing towards a model of sustainable development, we are conscious that there is still a lot to be done and this is why we support the establishment of a harmonic model of development that is keeping a balance between the existing systems and the territory of Aragón as a whole, a model that will be able to sustain the necessary development of the region.

We, the Socialists, commit ourselves to treat the environment as a cross-sectional issue that must be taken into account while implementing all the policies that concern the health and the quality of life of the Aragonese people: housing, urbanism, transport, residues, water and air quality, noise control. We do this because we have the responsibility to guarantee a healthy environment and quality of life to the present and future generations.

We commit ourselves to implement a necessary and deep reorientation of several policies: energy, land, tourism, industry, spatial planning, and fiscal policy. We want to incorporate sustainability values to our education policy.

The Socialists from Aragón are committed to the establishment of a model of sustained development, understood as a model that satisfies the needs of the people without compromising the welfare of future generations. It is necessary to give a second thought to our present models of development and to initiate the search for an equilibrium between economic, environmental, and social policies. It is necessary to introduce the following issues in all decisions that are taken regarding the use of land, planning, production, distribution, and consumption. To sum up, the criteria of sustainability will allow the demographic, economic, and cultural viability of Aragón in urban as well as in rural areas.

In order to achieve this, the dialogue with the social agents and the participation of society should be the foundations of a sustained development in our region, an environmental policy that will generate employment, that will stabilize the population, and that will increase the added value of our activities. An environmental policy that will make use of good practices concerning the use and the management of water, of energy, of residues and waste, of land … An environmental policy that will protect the complexity of our natural ecosystems (steppe, Mediterranean forest, alpine forest, rivers, and glaciers), their vegetation and fauna, as well as the harmonic development of rural areas.

The Agenda 21, as defined in the 1992 Río Summit, has become a basic instrument for the involvement of states, regions, cities, and municipalities in the processes of sustained development and has been reasserted by the UN Conference in Johannesburg.

We commit ourselves to implement the programs of the Agenda 21 through the establishment of two coordinated actions: the Agenda 21 of the Aragón Government and the Agenda 21 of the local councils of Aragón.

3. Section: "Reform for the democratic regeneration of Andalusia"

The Popular Party wants to improve the quality of the democratic system in Andalusia and to re-establish the role of political ethics in politicians' behaviour.

The "occupation" of institutions by the Socialist Party and its absolute interventionism in society have given way to an exercise of political power through non-transparent practices.

The Popular Party considers it basic for a democratic system that governments are responsive and accountable to the plural and free public opinion of civil society, i.e., freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and mass media pluralism.

For the Popular Party the regeneration of our institutions and the recovery of a democratic and liberal political ethos is urgent.

We have to recover the democratic principles that are essential such as the separation and balance of powers, showing the maximum respect to the autonomy of each power, the professionalism and neutrality of the public administration – irrespective of who is in government –, and the transparent management of the Andalusian government's tasks.

The facts are:

– Only one party has been in government for more than 25 years.
– The President of the *Junta de Andalucía* [prime minister of the Andalusian government] has been in this position for nearly 18 continuous years, without any changes.
– The elections to the Andalusian parliament are only rarely called separately from other electoral calls [national and local] and, as a result, the debate of Andalusian issues has been contaminated by issues from other electoral levels.
– There is an obvious inequality of opportunities between the electoral chances of the party in government and the rest of parties.
– The Andalusian public administration is not neutral, given that it has been conceived by the one party that has governed Andalusia with a majority that acted as if the region was an appendix of its political power. This has had the following effects:
– Discretionary nominations to positions in public administration.
– Application of the "funnel" theory: everything for our friends and nothing for those who dissent.

- Little transparency in political practices.
- Absolute interventionism in society.

Today there is fear in Andalusia of publicly expressing what we think and there is a generalized resistance to manifest ourselves against the official opinion, because the existing servile attitudes and the anticipated consequences oblige us to do so.

Mass media pluralism, both in public and privately owned media, is severely limited by the Socialist Party.

There have been serious cases of political corruption for which nobody has been made accountable and on which there has not been an adequate political debate in the corresponding parliamentary committees because the Socialist Party has blocked this debate systematically.

The main party of the opposition has been systematically and deliberately marginalized. Essential legislation has been passed without the desirable consensus between government and opposition.

These are our proposals:

- We will limit the mandate of the prime minister of Andalusia to eight years.
- We will guarantee that the Andalusian regional elections will not coincide with any other elections, as is being demanded by an immense majority of Andalusians. It is time that we, the Andalusians, have our own political debate, elections without interferences, and focused on the problems of Andalusia.
- We will reduce the positions of free nomination and all unnecessary positions in the Andalusian public administration.
- We will establish that no first grade family member of the prime minister, of other regional ministers or high-level administrators can occupy a directive position in the Andalusian public administration or can have access to contracts with the Andalusian administration.
- We will establish a public agency for the evaluation of the implementation of public policies.
- We will respect local autonomy and will apply, by law, the principle of equality to the relationship between the regional government and the local councils, so that all projects, transferences, agreements of cooperation, and subsidies to the local councils will be decided based on objective criteria and not according to the colour of the local government.

4. Section: "Fiscal policy"

According to the Spanish constitution, the Autonomous Communities [regions] will enjoy financial autonomy for the development and implementation of their respective competencies. This will be regulated following the principles of coordination with the state treasure department and of solidarity among all Spaniards. Thus, among the resources in the hands of the Autonomous Communities, we find all those taxes that have been partially or totally handed over by the state to the regions, as expressed in the Article 157.1.a of the constitutional text.

The constitution also establishes that all will contribute to the sustainability of public expenditure according to their economic capacity through a fair tax system, based on the principles of equality and progressivity, which, under no circumstances, will have requisition powers. The Statute of Andalusia has established the principles of the regional public funds.

Therefore, the Autonomous Community has enough tax competencies since 2001. The Autonomous Community has to take care that all Andalusians pay their taxes according to their income and that citizens of other Autonomous Communities with less pressure are not discriminated against.

Proposals:

– We will lower the tax load of Andalusian families:

Direct income tax: we will establish a deduction for every born or adopted child. The deductions will be 600 EUR for the first child, 750 EUR for the second one and 900 EUR for the third one. In case of multiple births or adoptions, these figures will be increased by 600 EUR for each child.

We will abolish the tax on inheritance and/or donations between parents and children.

– We will lower taxes for big families [three or more children] and we will establish the following deductions in their direct income tax:

190 EUR for big families that belong to the general category, i.e., with three or more children, or with two children if one of them is handicapped.

435 EUR for big families that belong to the special category, i.e., with five or more children, or with four children if at least three of them are born from multiple births and/or from adoptions. The application of this deduction is compatible with those deductions for child birth or adoption, for multiple child birth or adoption, and for birth or adoption of a handicapped child.

– We will lower the taxes of handicapped persons and their families, establishing the following deductions of their direct income tax:

Deduction of 300 EUR for those tax payers that are legally considered as handicapped, with a degree of incapacity of 33% or higher.

Deduction for the acquisition for or adaptation of housing to handicapped persons with a degree of incapacity of 33% or higher. 6.6% of the invested amount can be deducted if there has been no external financing. In those cases in which the person has received external funding, 9.75% of the first 4507 EUR invested can be deducted during two years after the acquisition or rehabilitation of the housing and 8.1% of the same amount can be deducted during the following years. For all cases in which the person has received external funding, 6.6% of the invested amount can be deducted if the total invested amount is 9015 EUR or more.

Deduction of 20% of housing rent paid by young people, handicapped persons or big families, up to a maximum of 840 EUR, within certain income limits.

600 EUR deduction for every person living with the tax payer for more than 183 days a year, who is older than 65 years or handicapped with a degree of incapacity of 33% or higher, and who has no family connection with the tax payer.

400 EUR deduction for the birth or adoption of handicapped children. This deduction is compatible with those deductions related to birth and adoption of a child or to multiple birth and adoption.

– We will lower housing taxes in order to facilitate the access to housing through the following deductions of the direct income tax:

Deduction of 6% of the amount paid to buy a house/apartment for Andalusians that are 40 years old or younger, within certain income limits.

Deduction of 20% of the amounts paid for rent during the taxing exercise by young people, handicapped persons, and big families, up to a maximum of 840 EUR, within certain income limits.

5. Section: "The deepening of self-government"

After a very slow process of a year and a half of parliamentary work, on June 21, 2006, the *Cortes de Aragón* [regional parliament] has finally approved the proposal for the reform of the Statute of Autonomy. In our opinion, it is a cautious and un-ambitious reform that, as a matter of fact, renounces to put our Autonomous Community at the same level as other Autonomous Communities. For the first time, a reform of the Statute left Aragón without a unanimous decision. After being debated in and approved by the *Congreso* [Spanish parliament], where the text was cut down further, it was approved by the Senate on April 18. Through this process, PSOE, PP, PAR, and IU agreed on a text that does not guarantee us a determined level of state investment in the region, that does not give us the necessary instruments to deal with the Ebro [river that crosses Aragón] transfer, that does not reach the maximum level of competencies that we could reach according to the constitution, and that does not explicitly recognize our history and our cultural and linguistic identity, among other renunciations. Aragón is again condemned to live with a second-rate Statute of Autonomy.

Chunta Aragonesista will continue to denounce the renunciations of the new Statute of Autonomy and the position of inferiority in which Aragón stays with respect to other Autonomous Communities. According to the responsibilities that the Aragonese citizens will entrust us, we commit ourselves to develop, to the full, the very limited contents gathered in the new Statute of Autonomy and to demand the elimination of the discriminations that it brings about through the establishment of bilateral agreements with the state. At the same time, we will not give up the defence of a new statute reform that will guarantee us full political and financial self-government in line with our historical rights and our national reality.

In this sense, we understand that this legislature must be one to reassess our historical rights, recognised by the Statute of Autonomy of Aragón in 1982 that have been but a decorative object for the successive Aragonese governments. Precisely now, on June 29, 300 years have gone since the passing of the *1707 Decreto de Nueva Planta* [a piece of legislation] that abolished our *fueros* [old medieval laws] and liberties by right of conquer, and now the time has come for Aragón to demand the devolution of those foral institutions that have not been recovered since the transition to democracy, among them, the *Hacienda foral* [an institution of regional financial autonomy that many regions in Spain had before the centralization reforms of the Spanish monarchy in the 18th and 19th centuries].

With this purpose in mind, we propose:

1. the defence of our own financial and fiscal model, that will preserve our financial autonomy, that will facilitate the territorial and demographic singularity of Aragón, and that will respect the historical rights of Aragón, recognised by the Statute of Autonomy of Aragón, in accordance with the Spanish constitution, and that will include:
   a) guarantees that the annual amount of the state investments in Aragón will be proportional to the size of Aragón with respect to the rest of the state.
   b) a compensation payment by the state for the accumulated deficit caused by a lack of infrastructures in Aragón and estimated to amount to 5000 million EUR.
   c) the establishment of Aragón's own fiscal agency, through an economic agreement with the state, by which Aragón will collect all the taxes within its terri-

tory paying the state an agreed percentage as the regional contribution to common state expenditure.

    d) the inclusion of Aragón as beneficiary of the Interterritorial Compensation Fund due to its low demographic density.

    e) the recognition by the state of its historic debt with Aragón, the result of taxes handed over to the state, of underfunded state transfers to the region, of the exclusion of Aragón from the European Funds Objective 1 regions and of the Interterritorial Compensation Fund, etc.

2. enhance the level of competencies to the maximum, exhausting all the existing possibilities of transfer of power from the state to the Autonomous Communities allowed by Art. 151 of the Spanish constitution, and taking for Aragón all the competencies that the constitution does not explicitly reserve for the State. Among those competencies, we would like to include the 15 competencies that have not been included in the recently reformed Statute of Autonomy of Aragón, although other Autonomous Communities have included these competencies in their recently reformed statutes (judicial fees, underage lawbreakers, work permits for foreign workers, intellectual and industrial property registration, electronic communications, etc.) and other competencies that have been reclaimed for a long time (work legislation, passive employment policies, airport management, etc.).

3. reclaim the transfer to the region of the adequate material and human resources for the administration of justice in Aragón, accompanied by an adequate economic forecast to face the challenges and needs of justice in Aragón: new buildings, new courts, computer modernization, personnel, … and to boost the transfer of pending competencies (social tourism, workers' continuous formation programmes, …).

4. Aragón must participate, within its territorial sphere, in the management of the totality of water resources existing in the region, which includes the approval by Aragón of any projects of water transfers between rivers.

5. to promote the establishment of a *Cuerpo de Policía Autonómica* [regional police force].

6. to establish a *Cuerpo Aragónes de Bomberos* [regional fire fighting department] which will centralize and reorganize the different departments that now exist (local, provincial).

7. to promote the administrative decentralization at the local level.

8. the explicit recognition of the tri-lingual reality of Aragón and of the linguistic rights of those who speak the two minority languages, Aragonese and Catalan.

6. Section: "Emigration"

In four years of Socialist government, our region has reached a privileged position with respect to our emigration policy.

Now that Asturias is recovering economically, we cannot and must not forget about our emigrants, many of whom, particularly in Latin America, are in a situation of hardship. Therefore, we will continue with our policy of approaching the Asturians abroad, strengthening social and cultural measures that will contribute to increase the links of the emigrants with Asturias, to improve the living conditions of those Asturians that have grown old in emigration, and to facilitate their return.

− In order to achieve this, we will increase the funds dedicated to emigration and we will develop a second four-year plan to support Asturian emigrants, in which we will give priority to social actions.

- We will maintain our offices abroad to provide information and social support, and we will extend their competencies to cultural, tourist, and entrepreneurship promotion.
- We will extend the number of beneficiaries of our social actions: individual economic support, temporal returns, residential places in Latin America, residential places in our region for returned emigrants, and specific formative actions for returned people, for children, or grandchildren of Asturian emigrants.
- We will continue to support the Asturian Centres and the Houses of Asturias abroad as places for meeting and communication with the Asturian collectives abroad and as entities of diffusion of our culture and values. We will facilitate the resources and the use of new technologies in order to improve and make more effective the communication among the Asturian people all over the world.

7. Section: "The future of the Asturian language"

The protection of the Bable/Asturian language, recognized by the Statute of Autonomy of Asturias, should not be an issue of constant confrontation but should, instead, be approached with a consensual attitude, searching for proposals and solutions that remain within the regional constitution and gather enough agreement among the people of Asturias. Language research and protection of the different dialects must go hand in hand with the teaching of the Bable in schools, always on a voluntary basis, and with its progressive introduction into the mass media. In this sense, we must continue with the complete development of the existing legal provisions of the Law about the Use and Promotion of the Asturian Language.

In collaboration with the *Academia de la Llingua* [Language Academy], the *Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* [the Royal Institute for Asturian Studies], and the *Museo del Pueblo de Asturias* [Museum of the People of Asturias], we will develop research programmes on the literary tradition, the recovery of texts, and the gathering of oral testimonies. And we will continue to work in the field of socio-linguistic research concerning the present situation of the Asturian language.

The presence of the Asturian language in the education system will be prioritized. We will implement programmes for the training of teachers and we will keep the existing criteria concerning the formation of teaching groups on the basis of a minimal number of students.

We will keep the existing subsidies to publications in Bable [Asturian language] and to its presence in the mass media.

We will promote literary, artistic, and intellectual creations that use the Asturian language by granting prizes and subsidies to the diffusion of these works, including film and music recording.

We will collaborate with local councils in the development of plans to promote the Bable/Asturian language and we will proceed to the development of the Decree for the Establishment of Place Names, accompanied by corresponding traffic signs.

8. Section: "Local councils"

We, the Socialists, want to lead the process of modernization of the local administration. Citizens identify with their local councils as the level of administration that is closer to them and more efficient than the state. This prestige [reputation] has been built on the basis of an intense and prompt management of people's real problems so

that the strong claim for the principle of subsidiarity, for reasons of political efficacy and of economic management, comes as no surprise.

Our commitment to the promoting of the transformation of the local administration is connected with the need to strengthen the quality of democracy. We must base democracy on a concept of participatory citizenship. Our concern is to arrive to a more civic society, with more solidarity, more committed to democratic values.

We, the Socialists, want to put the citizen at the centre of debate and we believe that local councils, from their commitment and capacity, must attend now and will attend in the future, at interventions in employment policies, in the socio-economic conditions of citizens, in problems connected with housing and land, in the sport and cultural lives, in problems of citizen security and in the quality of life of the citizens of Asturias, in the application of policies targeted at increased social cohesion and equal opportunities for all, and in the modernization of infrastructures.

We, the Socialists from Asturias, want to contribute to the necessary debate about the transformation of the local administration and about local financing.

For many years it has been claimed that local councils should participate more in public income and expenditure, and now it should be made come true, particularly as there is a growing discrepancy between the tasks allocated to local governments and their financial capacities.

We still need a model of local financing, after the failed and frustrating Law of Local Financing, as the necessary precondition for the correct application of the objectives included in the Local Pact, inextricably linked to the assumption of competencies and services by local councils. Competencies and financing are inseparably linked and only simultaneous actions from both spheres will make it possible to give the right answers to the future of local councils.

We believe that only the collaboration between different administrations can lead us to achieve the objectives of the local policies directed at the economic and social development of each territory. The formula to achieve a greater efficacy in the actions of the government in each territory is a shared strategic planning by the regional administration and the local one, following a method of institutional coordination and based on the principles of collaboration and cooperation.

4.2.3   Third Round of Training

Even after two rounds of training coders may still have difficulties with applying the two classification schemes for two reasons: Firstly, the two schemes combine complex concepts and, secondly, parties differ a lot in how they articulate policy preferences and claims. Because we need to be sure that all coders have a good grasp of all concepts and rules, the following text has to be coded as a final test. This text consists of seven sections, drawn from different programs of different parties. A copy of this text with the marked quasi-sentences and numbers of identified categories has to be sent to the supervisors. **Commandment No. 12** is that *no coder should start the production coding before the supervisor has replied to the test solution*. Replies to test solutions contain detailed lists of

deviations from our approach, including possible reasons as to why coders may have gone wrong, so that coders can avoid making certain mistakes in subsequent production codings.

1. Section: "Quality in education"

The objective of building a learning society, of establishing a quality education system that will reduce social inequalities requires the commitment of both civil society and governments in all spheres. Each child and each young person, irrespective of their family income and social origin, must get an education of the highest quality. And in order to obtain a quality education for all, the education administration must provide the human and material resources that are necessary to allow each person to learn according to her capacities and personal effort. With this objective in mind, we propose for the next four years:

– Consolidate the high schooling rates and increase even more the high level of academic performance already existing in Asturias, which is placed well above the national average;
– Continue to apply the measures that were initiated during the last legislature directed towards the amelioration of the quality of education: on reduction in the student/teacher ratio, the promotion of groups, shared teaching, support of diversity;
– Continue the improvement of the teaching of foreign languages, generalizing the initiation at the age of four and starting programmes for the qualitative improvement of foreign language teaching;
– Promote the progressive creation of bilingual centres, starting from pre-school education;
– Continue the introduction of new technologies to teaching. We will provide all pre-schools, primary schools and secondary schools with one computer for every 10 students and with internet connection;
– Reorganize and enhance artistic education, extending this possibility to all high schools in Asturias;
– Consolidate the regional curriculum of Asturias with the elaboration of new teaching materials and support to the teachers, in order to configure an educational framework for Asturias. In this context, we will promote the teaching of Bable/Asturian and Gallego/Asturian in all levels of the compulsory education system according to demand;

2. Section: "Self-government and Statute of Autonomy"

Proposals:

– The complete substitution of the present preamble [to the Statute of Autonomy of the Canary Islands] that is ahistoric, centralist and, in consequence, anti-Canarian. Nueva Canarias (NC) has formulated a new proposal to replace the existing one.
– In the territorial definition of the Canary Islands [in the Statute of Autonomy], we need to add the sea that connects the insular territories and the corresponding air space.
– The assumption of competencies over our domestic sea waters with respect to sea rescue, energetic and mining regimes, as well as environmental protection, including waste management and the protection of the sea fauna.
– Management of airports and ports, including inter-island air transport.

– Delimitation and management of the radio-electric space in the Canarian Autonomous Community.
– External trade/commerce and relations with our neighbouring countries.
– Services of public health including control over imported products and goods within our borders by the health authorities.
– A Canarian police force, with competencies over citizen security, traffic, vigilance, and control of the Autonomic [regional] legislation. Its functioning will be complementary to that of the National Police Force and the Guardia Civil [a special Spanish police force], but it will also have the capacity to replace these police bodies whenever necessary.
– The Canary Islands must have full competencies to organize referenda about issues that affect the region.
– The Canary Islands should be represented in the Spanish delegations to third countries, to European institutions and to other supranational organizations that are dealing with issues that have an effect on the interests of our archipelago.
– The Canary Islands will assume competencies with respect to the residence, immigration, and working permits for foreigners in the region, and the proposals approved by the Canarian parliament will be binding for the State Government.
– The creation of a Canarian fiscal agency that will collect all the taxes – state and regional, direct and indirect – within our territory.

3. Section: "Political principles about culture"

Our referent models are multiple. First, cultural democracy, that is to say, the access to all cultural goods and services, the recognition and diffusion of the plurality of possible cultural forms, the promotion of cultural practices and cultural consumption, and the defence of cultural diversity as opposed to the hegemony of the transnational culture. But also, second, our model of reference is the understanding of culture as a basic civic and social right, dignifying public services, encouraging creativity in social actors, stimulating cultural or multicultural integration, stimulating an intense cultural life, as well as decentralizing communications.

Other principles of our cultural policies include the promotion of minority cultures (in any of their forms: ethnic, generational, aesthetical, ideological, …), the communicative fluidity between cultures, the limitation of the processes of capital concentration, the autonomy of creators and communicators, and the self-organization of the users of communication.

Equally, these are also parts of our cultural principles, namely, the regular expression of dissent and of sociocultural diversity, the consideration of the cultural sector as a strategic sector, and the social education in the use of new technologies. Taking into account these principles, it is possible to design active cultural policies that are working in multiple directions:

– define priorities in order to orientate cultural agents;
– correct the undesirable tendencies of the market;
– facilitate access to resources and services;
– improve historical infrastructures;
– support those cultural values and productions that are not valued by the market, but have nonetheless an intrinsic value of their own;
– educate and promote new cultural consumptions that are not part of the minimum consumption circuit: television, radio, and press/magazines;

- guarantee the adequate equipment and infrastructure for a good administration of public goods;
- promote cultural tourism.

4. Section: "A new culture of water"

1. We will defend, at all legislative levels, the right of Aragón to the allocation and reservation of all the water flows that are necessary for its sustained development and for a balanced territorial planning.
2. We will assume the policies of planning that the Water Frame Directive dictates for hydrographical demarcations.
3. We oppose any transfer of waters from one basin to another, assuming the principle of Basin Unity.
4. We will demand that Aragón, within its territorial sphere, participates in the management of the totality of waters in their different states, as we understand that waters are a good in itself, as indicated by the Water Frame Directive, and we will promote its use under conditions of sustainability.
5. The use of Aragón's hydrographical resources must respect the environmental water basins' regime.
6. We understand that the planning exercise behind the Hydrological Plan for the Ebro Basin [an administrative plan for the management of the Ebro river] is the right instrument with which to record all the modifications that the Aragonese society will consider necessary to include.
7. We consider that the 1992 Water Pact has proved to be a useless, conflict generating pact and that it is necessary to initiate a new hydrological planning derived from the implementation of the Water Frame Directive. We must not enter a new pact by modifying the existing 1992 Water Pact but by revoking it completely.
8. We think it is necessary to impose a moratorium on those public works that are generating more conflict, given that they may turn out to be unacceptable or that there may be more sustainable alternatives, such as the re-growth of the Yesa reservoir.
9. It is indispensable to assume the principle of territorial equity when engaging in hydraulic works.
10. We will promote developing plans for those areas affected by hydraulic works, under the principles of no temporal restriction for what has been destroyed for good, and the inclusion, as a measure of restitution, of the basic citizen rights of the people who live in those areas.
11. We will ask for the establishment of an annual fee.

5. Section: "The integration of immigrants"

In Galicia, immigration begins to be an object of attention, given that an increasing number of persons are coming from other countries which are, in many cases, immersed in deep economic and social crises. These persons try to obtain jobs and to improve their living conditions.

On the other hand, we also find the return to Galicia of the descendents of Galicians that emigrated and who are now legally considered immigrants and, therefore, are part of the contingent of people that belong to the category of "foreigners. "

The settlement of foreign citizens is concentrated in a few Galician councils, usually around urban centres or corridors that connect urban centres, and also in the area of Mariña, in Lugo. In some cases, this geographical distribution reinforces the territorial imbalances of the Galician population settlements.

Immigrants come to Galicia to stay and this should cause us to reflect upon the need to implement a comprehensive policy of social intervention in order to achieve their social integration and to guarantee an intercultural living together. Moreover, the phenomenon of immigration has grown during the last years and will very likely increase even more. This must induce the Galician government to analyze the immigrants' social situation and to tackle the issue, even with the limited competencies that it has, from a comprehensive perspective, on immigration.

1. Our objectives are:

   The Galician Nationalist Bloc would like Galicia to design its own policy on immigration, according to the following objectives:

   – Guarantee the rights and freedoms of the immigrants that have settled in Galicia, making them equal to those of the citizens of Galicia;
   – Promote the knowledge and integration of immigrants within the Galician language and culture;
   – Facilitate the integration of immigrants in society and in the job market;
   – Fight against racism and xenophobia;
   – Keep a lively exchange with the representatives of immigrants' groups and with social agents.

2. In order to achieve these objectives, the Galician Nationalist Bloc will adopt the following governmental measures:

   – In order to develop a Galician policy on immigration, we will demand the transfer of competencies concerning the management of immigration to Galicia.
   – Articulate a Galician Plan for the Integration of Immigrants, that should include:
     a) Services of specialized information and counselling to all immigrants living in Galicia, setting up information points for immigrants in all Galician cities and also in all other places where there is a high concentration of immigrant population.
     b) An exchange of information and advice with all institutions and professional associations that work with immigrants.
     c) The establishment of a Galician Office for Intercultural and Social Mediation, conceived as an interdisciplinary space dedicated to the research, the formation, and the intervention in all spheres of migration, interethnic relations and social development.
   – Redefine and encourage the Galician Migrations Observatory in order to obtain an updated report of all population movements in their quantitative and qualitative aspects.
   – Promote, in collaboration with the central government, the creation of regional offices within the Spanish embassies and consulates abroad in order to facilitate the organization and implementation of job contracts.

6. Section: "Equality for emigrants"

The emigration phenomenon has been particularly intense in Galicia during the last two centuries. The majority of analyses on this issue estimate that more than one million Galicians emigrated to different places within the Spanish state, to Europe and to Latin America.

This is no phenomenon from the past as we can still observe that many people from Galicia must go away to look for a job and a dignified future. There are still Galicians that, due to the economic decline of Galicia, leave to work in other places within the state, but also in Andorra, Portugal, the United Kingdom, etc.

This new emigration affecting particularly young qualified people, educated and formed by Galicia, who are at their top productive capacity and who do not find opportunities for their professional development according to their level in our country.

We also must take into account that previous generations of Galicians that emigrated, particularly those that went to countries in Latin America, are now going through a period of economic stress due to the social and economic crisis that affects a majority of these countries, and should therefore be the object of permanent attention by the government of Galicia. This attention must go beyond the distribution of public resources among the Galician communities abroad, a strategy that only seeks electoral returns, as practiced by the Popular Party during the last years. This attention should move away from the application of personal and partisan criteria; it should substitute the concept of political charity by one of public policies in support of citizens that are subject to social and economic rights, in this case, those emigrated Galicians that find themselves in a situation of need abroad.

The BNG is committed to equality among all Galicians, irrespective of where they live. Therefore, if in government the BNG will start an emigration policy that seeks to equate the social, civic, and political rights of all Galician citizens living abroad with those of Galician citizens living in Galicia, by providing access to social services and social protection as well as by guaranteeing their free and democratic political participation.

Objectives:
– Promote an improvement of the level of social protection to those Galicians that emigrated and now find themselves in an emergency,
– Guarantee a basic level of social assistance to all emigrants that were born in Galicia by means of the establishment of a stable assistance network, in collaboration with the central administration;
– Establish a system of democratic dialogue and participation with the Galician communities abroad;
– Articulate a fair distribution of public support to Galician communities that is not based on political clientelism;
– Keep alive the linguistic and cultural links with those persons that have a Galician background and live outside of Galicia;
– Facilitate the return of emigrants and the social and economic integration of returned emigrants.

Governmental measures:
The BNG government will apply the following policies targeted at the Galician diaspora:
– Design a health and social assistance plan that will cover for the deficiencies of the social protection and health systems in the host countries where Galicians find themselves in an emergency;

–   Establish a program of return for emigrated Galicians according to the following lines: a) take into account the peculiarities of the different types of emigration; b) implement measures of professional information, retraining, and reorientation; c) concession of social and economic assistance equal to those living in Galicia.

–   Until the competencies over emigration have been incorporated into a new statute of autonomy, as the BNG keeps claiming, we will continue to pressure the central state to eliminate the existing obstacles to legislation in favour of giving emigrants access to social protection. In particular, we propose the reform of the unemployment benefit to allow the inclusion of emigrants.

–   Promote programs for the diffusion of the Galician language and culture in the Diaspora's Galician Centres and in the Spanish state agencies abroad (Cervantes Institute).

–   Diffusion of the Galician language and culture among emigrated people, in order to avoid its disappearance, promoting exchange programs, book editing and printing, music and audiovisual productions, conferences, exhibitions. This will also encourage the formation of Galician cultural products.

–   Insert the Galician language in the mass media broadcasting abroad.

–   Insert subjects such as Language, Literature and History of Galicia in Spanish education centres abroad.

7. Section: "Immigration and cooperation"

In a world in which inequalities are growing, and where the gap between rich and underdeveloped societies is widening, solidarity and the fight for a better Asturias cannot limit themselves to the persons that live in our country and our region, but, as a socialist government, we must extend them to those that come to us searching to escape from situations of conflict, war, or grave social injustices, and we must also extend them to support the less favoured countries, offering an opportunity to their people, so that they can get out of the cycle of poverty.

With respect to immigrants, our policy is directed to achieve their social integration in our community, working on the prevention of conflict, coordinating our administrative acts with those of the local administrations and with the initiatives of the NGOs. We will initiate an Integral Plan of Action for the immigrant population of Asturias, as part of which we will set up an office that coordinates all the actions directed to this collective of persons.

The elimination of poverty and the fight against inequalities is the great global goal of the Socialists, and a moral duty for all progressive-minded people in general.

During the last years that we have been in office in Asturias, we have generated a strong, solvent cooperation for development, backed by the population and based on the belief that a different world is possible. For this reason, we will continue to strengthen actions directed to satisfying basic human needs and promoting basic social services: education and health, to the protection of human rights, to sustainable development, to the deepening of democracy.

During the next legislature, we will reach the figure of 0.7% of our own resources dedicated to cooperation for development.

We will continue to strengthen the Cooperation for Development Council as a consulting and participation organ, favouring the consolidation of the solidarity movement for cooperation in Asturias as a necessary actor for social change.

Our cooperation will take place through Asturian NGOs, in coordination with agencies from the Spanish state, from Europe and from other Autonomous Communities. It will also take place through the direct institutional cooperation with governments and democratic powers. At the same time, we will develop our own humanitarian help whenever necessary.
And in order to regulate the cooperation for the development of our region with the aim of eliminating poverty, we will approve a Law on Cooperation that will give an answer to the worries of the Asturian solidarity movement.

4.3 Spanish Regions and Regional Parties

Spain is organized according to federal principles although, strictly speaking, it is not a federation. There are seventeen regions, called Autonomous Communities (*Comunidades Autónomas*), that rule themselves autonomously through their own parliaments and governments. Citizens participate in the institutions of the state as a whole, on the one hand, and in the institutions of the Autonomous Community, on the other.

According to the 1978 constitution, there are two main types of regional autonomy. The highest level of autonomy is granted to the 'historical nationalities,' i.e., those regions that already enjoyed a Statute of Autonomy during the Second Republic (before the civil war and the Franco dictatorship). These regions are the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia. The constitution offered the possibility that with time the rest of regions may acquire increasing competencies and level up with the Basques, the Catalans, and the Galicians. As a matter of fact, the constitution was implicitly allowing for a differentiation between 'fast-track' (Andalusia[1]), 'intermediary-track' (Valencia, Canary Islands), and 'slow-track' ordinary regions. The asymmetry does not end here. The Spanish constitution recognizes several different structural factors in the Autonomous Communities: official language, civil law, fiscal arrangements, intermediary representative institutions, and regional police. For example, there are six regions in Spain with two official languages, Spanish and the regional one: Galicia (Gallego), Basque Country (Basque), Navarre (Basque), Catalonia (Catalan), Valencia (Catalan), and the Balearic Islands (Catalan). Similarly, there are two regions with special fiscal arrangements by which they have the right to raise their own taxes independently, paying the state a percentage of the total amount of taxes collected in order to contribute to common public expenditure: Basque Country and Navarre.

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[1]   Andalusia was on the fast-track since the beginning of democracy. When the historical nationalities were given a higher degree of autonomy, Andalusia pressed, successfully, to achieve the same level of home rule during the negotiations over the Andalusian Statute of Autonomy.

Spain has not just one but seventeen party systems, as many as self-governing regions. Each party system is made up of state-wide parties and regional parties. State-wide parties are those whose territorial basis of action and mobilization is the whole country. In response to Spanish political decentralization, they tend to be organized according to an equally decentralized structure. This is particularly the case with the Socialist Party (PSOE), which is a federation of regional party organizations. Regional parties are those that organize themselves exclusively at the level of one or two regions. Regional parties only present candidates in the regions in which they are based and only mobilize the regional electorate, not the national one. Their scale, at all effects, is regional, although they may be strong enough to obtain representation in the national parliament and even to participate in national coalition governments. Most, though not all, regional parties in Spain defend a nationalist or a regionalist ideology.

The asymmetric nature of the Spanish federation as it was initially conceived by the 1978 constitution has triggered a process of competition among regions, fueled by two main principles: the differential fact and the comparative grievance. The premise of the differential fact was claimed by the nationalist parties of the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia which, at the time when the regional statutes were being established, envisaged only a limited degree of administrative decentralization for the other Spanish regions. However, starting with Andalusia and the socio-political mobilization of 1980 that allowed it to achieve the same level of autonomy as the 'historical nationalities,' the principle of comparative grievance has led the rest of the Spanish regions to compete in 'an ethno-territorial race in search of equal access to the institutions of self-government' (Moreno 2001: 215). Nationalist and regionalist parties are not the only ones to participate in this 'ethno-territorial race;' surprisingly, also the regional branches of state-wide parties do so.

The content analysis of Spanish regional election manifestos will allow us to study these dynamics, typical of the centre-periphery cleavage and of multilevel governance systems. For further readings on Spanish regionalism we suggest Aja 2003, Van Biezen/Hopkin 2006, Pallarés/Montero/Llera 1997, Roller/van Houten 2003, de Winter/Gómez-Reino/Lynch 2006, Fabre/Martínez-Herrera, and Maddens/Libbrecht 2009.

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6. Appendices

6.1 *The Regional-level Policy Preference Classification Scheme*

Domain 1: External Relations

101 Interregional Foreign Special Relationships: Positive

1011 Interregional Special Relationships: Positive

102 Interregional Foreign Special Relationships: Negative

1021 Interregional 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

2024 Representative Democracy: Positive

2025 Participatory Democracy: Positive

203 Constitutionalism: Positive

204 Constitutionalism: Negative

Domain 3: Political System

301 Decentralisation: Positive

3012 Regional Finance: Positive

3014 Differential Treatment among Regions: Negative

3015 Differential Treatment among Regions: Positive

302 Centralisation: Positive

3022 National Finance: 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

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

602   National Way of Life: Negative

6025   Promotion and Protection of the State's Official Language in the Region

603   Traditional Morality: Positive

604   Traditional Morality: Negative

605   Law and Order: Positive

606   Social Harmony: Positive

607   Multiculturalism: Positive

608   Multiculturalism: Negative

6081 Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants Inside the Region

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

7051 Immigrants in the Region: Positive

7052 Cultural and Social Protection of the Region's Emigrants: Positive

706   Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive

6.2 Definitions of Regional-level Policy Preference Concepts

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

101   Interregional Foreign Special Relationships: Positive.
Favourable mentions of all 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, for instance Galicia with her neighbouring region in Portugal, Catalonia with Languedoc Rousillon, etc.

1017   Interregional Special Relationships: Positive
Favourable mentions of particular regions inside the manifesto country with which the manifesto region has a special relationship. Statements in favour of cooperation with other regions within the country in order to develop common policies.

102   Interregional Foreign Special Relationships: Negative.
Negative mentions of regions outside the manifesto country's borders.

1027   Interregional Special Relationships: Negative
Negative mentions of particular regions within the manifesto country; otherwise, as 101 but negative. For example, in the Spanish context we may find negative mentions in parties' manifestos from Navarre to particular behaviours or policies of the Basque Country.

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

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

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

106   Peace: Positive
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; need for aid to developing countries; need for world planning of resources; need for international courts; support for any international goal or world state; support for UN.

108   ***European Integration: Positive***
Favourable mentions of European Integration in general; desirability of expanding the European Union and/or of increasing its competence; desirability of expanding or improving the representation of regions in European institutions.

109   ***Internationalism: Negative***
Favourable mentions of [national] independence and sovereignty as opposed to internationalism; otherwise as 107, but negative. Attention: this does not include regional independence and sovereignty, which are captured by other categories. The reason why this category can be applied to the regional electoral platforms is because regions can argue for limiting development aide or because regions talk in national, rather than, regional terms.

110   ***European Integration: Negative***
Hostile mentions of the European Union; opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities; otherwise as 108, but negative.

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

201   ***Freedom and Human Rights: Positive***
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 region or in the manifesto country and in other regions and countries.

202   ***Democracy: Positive***
Favourable mentions of democracy as a method or goal in local, regional, national and other organisations; involvement of all citizens in decision-making as well as generalised support for the manifesto country's or the manifesto region's democracy.

2024   ***Representative Democracy: Positive***
Statements in favour of improving the functioning and performance of representative institutions: parliament, parties, and elections.

2025   ***Participatory Democracy: Positive***
Statements 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 specific aspects of the constitution; use of constitutionalism as an argument for policy as well as general approval of the constitutional way of doing things.

204   ***Constitutionalism: Negative***
Opposition to the constitution in general or to specific aspects; otherwise as 203, but negative.

DOMAIN 3: Political System

301   ***Decentralization: Positive***
Favourable statements or demands for the devolution of political competencies to the regional level or for the legislative development of existing ones. The explicit demand to reform the regional constitution (or any of its articles) does NOT belong to this category (see

combination 22-204 below). Attention: the direction of claim coded with a "2" for either the local or the regional level (i.e., more authority for the respective level: 1<u>2</u>, 2<u>2</u>) is redundant when accompanying this category 301, but this is inevitable..

3012   Regional Finance: Positive.
Statements concerning the necessary financial resources for a functioning regional administration.

3014   Differential Treatment among Regions: Negative
Statements that can be summed up in the following sentence: '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, competencies, etc. We want all the regions to be equal, on equal foot *vis-à-vis* the state. We are against an asymmetric federal state.' In Spain, this is usually called, derogatorily, the 'coffee for all' doctrine.

3015   Differential Treatment among Regions: Positive
Statements that can be summed up in the following sentence: 'We do not want an equalization of regions that, by history, by culture, and by identity, are different. We are in favour of an asymmetric federal state. We do not want to be slowed down by other regions that do not want the same levels of autonomy that we want.'

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

3022   National Finance: Positive.
Statements in favour of returning the financial resources of the region back to the state, or in favour of recentralizing regional finances.

303   Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive
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: Negative
Need to eliminate corruption, and associated abuse, in political and public life.

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

DOMAIN 4: Economy

401   Free Enterprise: Positive
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: Positive
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: Positive*

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: Positive*

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

405   *Corporatism: Positive*

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 national or regional markets; other domestic economic protectionism such as quota restrictions.

407   *Protectionism: Negative*

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

408   *Economic Goals*

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

409   *Keynesian Demand Management: Positive*

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: Positive*

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: Positive*

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

412   *Controlled Economy: Positive*

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

413   *Nationalisation: Positive*

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

414 *Economic Orthodoxy: Positive*

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*

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: Positive*

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

DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

501 *Environmental Protection: Positive*

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: Positive*

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: Positive*

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

504 *Welfare State Expansion*

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

Note: This category excludes education.

505 *Welfare State Limitation*

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

506 *Education Expansion*

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

507 *Education Limitation*

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

DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society

601 *National Way of Life: Positive*

Appeals to patriotism and/or nationalism (whether state nationalism or minority –regional-level- nationalism will depend on the authority claim code); suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state or the region against subversion; support for established national or regional ideas.

6015 *Promotion and Protection of Regional (Vernacular) Language(s): Positive*

Protection and promotion of the vernacular language(s) of the region for use inside the region (by citizens and administration), and outside it (in state institutions, such as the parliament). Demands for co-officiality of the regional vernacular(s).

602 *National Way of Life: Negative*

Against patriotism and/or nationalism (whether against state nationalism or minority – regional-level- nationalism will depend on the authority claim code); opposition to the existing national state or regional administration; otherwise as 601, but negative.

6025 *Promotion and Protection of the Manifesto Country's Majority Language in the Manifesto Region*

As in 6015, but for the manifesto country's majority language.

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: Positive*

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

606 *Social Harmony: Positive*

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

607 *Multiculturalism: Positive*

Favourable mentions of cultural diversity, communalism, cultural plurality and pillarization.

608 *Multiculturalism: Negative*

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

6801 *Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants inside the Region: Positive*

Need to integrate immigrants (coming from either another country or another region inside the manifesto country) by assimilating them into the regional culture. For example, through the learning of the regional language.

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

704 *Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive*
Favourable references to middle class, professional groups, such as physicians or lawyers; old and new middle class.

705 *Underprivileged Minority Groups: Positive*
Favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms, e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants, etc.

7053 *Immigrants inside the Region: Positive*
Favourable references to immigrants in the regions.

7054 *Immigrants inside the Region: Negative*
Statements in favour of controlling the number of immigrants settling in the manifesto country or the manifesto region, the illegal immigration into the country/region, etc.

7055 *Cultural and Social Protection of the Region's Emigrants: Positive*
Statements in favour of keeping cultural, political and economic links with emigrants that were born in the region or with their descendants. Promotion of the regional language among emigrants. Support policies for emigrants in areas of health, education and social protection. Measures to help and encourage the return of emigrants.

706 *Non-economic Demographic Groups: Positive*
Favourable mentions of, or need for, assistance to women, old people, young people, non-autochthonous linguistic groups (from outside the manifesto country and region), etc; special interest groups of all kinds.

6.3 The Multilevel Authority Claim Classification Scheme

Codes for Levels and Principles of Governance:

00   no obvious level, no obvious direction of claim

10   local level
20   regional level
30   national level

80   European level
90   international/global level

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
09   all levels addressed at the same time (example: justice everywhere)

Codes for Authority Claims (Second Digit to Level):

1   explicitly less authority for the respective level
2   explicitly more authority for the respective level

6.4   Solutions to Blindfold Exercises for Coding Regional Programs

1. Section: "The Balearic islands for peace, solidarity and development"

The Balearic Islands have an open attitude towards their neighbours. ▰ This may be the reason why we are a community with a dynamic and highly internationalized economy, very different from that of other islands all over the world. ▰ To present the Balearic Islands to the world, to project their image to the outside, a positive image, an image of openness and solidarity, does not only have an economic reason, but it also helps to improve our living conditions. ▰ It is important to make ourselves heard and to participate, within our possibilities, in the forums of decisions that have a direct effect on us. ▰ **20-107** **20-107** **20-601** **20-107**

Our commitment to society is to use our office to influence all the institutional, economic, and social spheres that are within our reach, in order to contribute to the shared effort of building a better world, more just and more sustainable. ▰ We will give a cross-sectional orientation to the cooperation programs, by increasing the coordination, coherence, and complementarity of the different departments and policies. ▰ **20-107** **20-107**

The fight against poverty in the world calls for the implementation of public policies that are shared between the North and the South. ▰ In the North, it is necessary to have more complicity and shared policies among the different institutional agents and to obtain the consensus from civil society. ▰ In the South, it is necessary to select the best development programs, after listening to all the agents that work in the field, and to coordinate and monitor all programs and investments. ▰ **90-107** **90-107** **90-107**

The Balearic Government's policy of solidarity, of cooperation, and of peace promotion will combine sector and territorial strategies with a cross-sectional vision of its activities, in order to generate synergies among the different policies and to guarantee coherence, complementarity, and efficacy to achieve the following objectives: ▰ **20-107**

– The promotion of a culture of peace and the education in values such as living together, dialogue, conflict resolution, as well as the establishment of peace in post-conflict scenarios. ▰ **20-106**
– The promotion and protection of human rights as well as political, economic, social, and cultural rights inherent to human beings and to peoples [nations]. ▰ **20-201**
– The contribution to the eradication of poverty, particularly through the support of the "millennium objectives" and of the international agenda on development. ▰ **20-107**
– The support of solidarity and cooperation initiatives that may emerge from the Balearic civil society. ▰ **20-107**
– Increasing the degree of sensitivity, compromise, and education in solidarity and cooperation values among the population. ▰ **20-107**
– Support solidarity and cooperation policies by local councils and by the *consells insulars* [intermediary level of government between local councils and the region]. ▰ **10-107**

The new socialist government will implement the necessary policies and instruments to fulfil these objectives. ▰Our motto will be to guarantee the coherence between all the policies that project the image of the Balearic Islands to the developing world and ▰ to secure the coordination of all initiatives that will be adopted towards fighting poverty in the world and the developmental policies in this direction. ▰ **20-107** **20-601** **20-107**

2. Section: "The active defense of the environment and of our water resources. A bet for our sustainable development"

The compromise of the Socialists regarding equality and solidarity can be extended to environmental responsibility. ▰ **20-501**

It is increasing the degree of citizens' sensitivity, consciousness, and worry about a healthy environment; and we are incorporating uses and customs that are more respectful towards it. ▰ **20-501**

Although we are advancing towards a model of sustainable development, we are conscious that there is still a lot to be done and this is why we support the establishment of a harmonic model of development that is keeping a balance between the existing systems and the territory of Aragón as a whole, a model that will be able to sustain the necessary development of the region. ▰ **20-416**

We, the Socialists, commit ourselves to treat the environment as a cross-sectional issue that must be taken into account while implementing all the policies that concern the health and the quality of life of the Aragonese people: housing, urbanism, transport, residues, water and air quality, noise control. ▰ We do this because we have the responsibility to guarantee a healthy environment and quality of life to the present and **20-501** future generations. ▰ **20-501**

We commit ourselves to implement a necessary and deep reorientation of several policies: energy, land, tourism, industry, spatial planning, and fiscal policy. ▰ We also **20-416** want to incorporate sustainability values to our environmental education policy. ▰ **20-416**

The Socialists from Aragón are committed to the establishment of a model of sustained development, understood as a model that satisfies the needs of the people without compromising the welfare of future generations. ▰ It is necessary to give a second **20-416** thought to our present models of development and to initiate the search for an equilibrium between economic, environmental, and social policies. ▰ It is necessary to introduce the following issues in all decisions that are taken regarding the use of land, **20-416** planning, production, distribution, and consumption of our society. ▰ To sum up, the **20-416** criteria of sustainability will allow the demographic, economic, and cultural viability of Aragón in urban as well as in rural areas. ▰ **20-416**

In order to achieve this, the dialogue with the social agents and the participation of society should be the foundations of a sustained development in our region, an environmental policy that will generate employment, that will stabilize the population, and **20-416** that will increase the added value of our activities. ▰ An environmental policy that will make use of good practices concerning the use and the management of water, of **20-501** energy, of residues and waste, of land… ▰ An environmental policy that will protect the complexity of our natural ecosystems (steppe, Mediterranean forest, alpine forest, **20-501** rivers, and glaciers), their vegetation and fauna, as well as the harmonic development of rural areas. ▰

The Agenda 21, as defined in the 1992 Río Summit, has become a basic instrument for the involvement of states, regions, cities, and municipalities in the processes of sustained development and has been reasserted by the UN Conference in Johannesburg. ▰ **09-416**

We commit ourselves to implement the programs of the Agenda 21 through the establishment of two coordinated actions: the Agenda 21 of the Aragón Government ▰ and **20-416** the Agenda 21 of the local councils of Aragón. ▰ **10-416**

3. Section: "Reform for the democratic regeneration of Andalusia"

The Popular Party wants to improve the quality of the democratic system in Andalusia / and to re-establish the role of political ethics in politicians' behaviour. **20-202 20-304**

The "occupation" of institutions by the Socialist Party and its absolute interventionism in society have given way to an exercise of political power through non-transparent practices. / **20-304**

The Popular Party considers it basic for a democratic system that governments are responsive and accountable to the plural and free public opinion of civil society, /i.e., freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and mass media pluralism. / **20-2024 20-201**

For the Popular Party the regeneration of our institutions and the recovery of a democratic and liberal political ethos is urgent. / **20-202**

We have to recover the democratic principles that are essential such as the separation and balance of powers, showing the maximum respect to the autonomy of each power, the professionalism and neutrality of the public administration – irrespective of who is in government –, and the transparent management of the Andalusian government's tasks. / **20-202**

The facts are: / **20-202**

– Only one party has been in government for more than 25 years. / **20-202**

– The President of the *Junta de Andalucía* [prime minister of the Andalusian government] has been in this position for nearly 18 continuous years, without any changes. / **20-202**

– The elections to the Andalusian parliament are only rarely called separately from other electoral calls [national and local] and, as a result, the debate of Andalusian issues has been contaminated by issues from other electoral levels. / **22-202**

– There is an obvious inequality of opportunities between the electoral chances of the party in government and the rest of parties. / **20-202**

– The Andalusian public administration is not neutral, given that it has been conceived by the one party that has governed Andalusia with a majority that acted as if the region was an appendix of its political power. /This has had the following effects: / **20-304 20-202**

– Discretionary nominations to positions in public administration. / **20-304**

– Application of the "funnel" theory: everything for our friends and nothing for those who dissent. / **20-304**

– Little transparency in political practices. / **20-202**

– Absolute interventionism in society. / **20-202**

Today there is fear in Andalusia of publicly expressing what we think and there is a generalized resistance to manifest ourselves against the official opinion, because the existing servile attitudes and the anticipated consequences oblige us to do so. / **20-201**

Mass media pluralism, both in public and privately owned media, is severely limited by the Socialist Party. / **20-201**

There have been serious cases of political corruption for which nobody has been made accountable and on which there has not been an adequate political debate in the corresponding parliamentary committees because the Socialist Party has blocked this debate systematically. / **20-304**

The main party of the opposition has been systematically and deliberately marginalized. / Essential legislation has been passed without the desirable consensus between government and opposition. / **20-202 20-202**

These are our proposals: **20-202**

- We will limit the mandate of the prime minister of Andalusia to eight years. **20-202**
- We will guarantee that the Andalusian regional elections will not coincide with any other elections, as is being demanded by an immense majority of Andalusians. ◢ **20-202** It is time that we, the Andalusians, have our own political debate, elections without interferences, and focused on the problems of Andalusia. ◢ **22-301**
- We will reduce the positions of free nomination and all unnecessary positions in the Andalusian public administration. ◢ **20-303**
- We will establish that no first grade family member of the prime minister, of other regional ministers or high-level administrators can occupy a directive position in the Andalusian public administration or can have access to contracts with the Andalusian administration. ◢ **20-304**
- We will establish a public agency for the evaluation of the implementation of public policies. ◢ **20-303**
- We will respect local autonomy and will apply, by law, the principle of equality to the relationship between the regional government and the local councils, so that all projects, transferences, agreements of cooperation, and subsidies to the local councils will be decided based on objective criteria and not according to the colour of the local government. ◢ **10-301**

4. Section: "Fiscal policy"

According to the Spanish constitution, the Autonomous Communities [regions] will enjoy financial autonomy for the development and implementation of their respective competencies. ◢ This will be regulated following the principles of coordination with **20-3012** the state treasure department and of solidarity among all Spaniards. ◢ Thus, among **03-3012** the resources in the hands of the Autonomous Communities, we find all those taxes that have been partially or totally handed over by the state to the regions, as expressed in the Article 157.1.a of the constitutional text. ◢ **20-3012**
The constitution also establishes that all will contribute to the sustainability of public expenditure according to their economic capacity through a fair tax system, based on the principles of equality and progressivity, which, under no circumstances, will have requisition powers. ◢ The Statute of Andalusia has established the principles of the **03-414** regional public funds. ◢ **20-301**
Therefore, the Autonomous Community has enough tax competencies since 2001. ◢ **20-301**
The Autonomous Community has to take care that all Andalusians pay their taxes according to their income and that citizens of other Autonomous Communities with less pressure are not discriminated against. ◢ **20-414**
Proposals:
- We will lower the tax load of Andalusian families: ◢ **20-603** Direct income tax: we will establish a deduction for every born or adopted child. **20-504** ◢ The deductions will be 600 EUR for the first child, 750 EUR for the second one and 900 EUR for the third one. ◢ In case of multiple births or adoptions, these **20-504** figures will be increased by 600 EUR for each child. ◢ **20-504** We will abolish the tax on inheritance and/or donations between parents and children. ◢ **20-603**
- We will lower taxes for big families [three or more children] and we will establish the following deductions in their direct income tax: ◢ **20-603** 190 EUR for big families that belong to the general category, i.e., with three or more children, or with two children if one of them is handicapped. ◢ **20-504**

435 EUR for big families that belong to the special category, i.e., with five or more children, or with four children if at least three of them are born from multiple births and/or from adoptions. / The application of this deduction is compatible **20-504** with those deductions for child birth or adoption, for multiple child birth or adoption, and for birth or adoption of a handicapped child. / **20-504**
– We will lower the taxes of handicapped persons and their families, establishing the following deductions of their direct income tax: / **20-705**
Deduction of 300 EUR for those tax payers that are legally considered as handicapped, with a degree of incapacity of 33% or higher. / **20-504**
Deduction for the acquisition for or adaptation of housing to handicapped persons with a degree of incapacity of 33% or higher. / 6.6% of the invested amount can **20-504** be deducted if there has been no external financing. / In those cases in which the **20-504** person has received external funding, 9.75% of the first 4507 EUR invested can be deducted during two years after the acquisition or rehabilitation of the housing and 8.1% of the same amount can be deducted during the following years. / For all **20-504** cases in which the person has received external funding, 6.6% of the invested amount can be deducted if the total invested amount is 9015 EUR or more. / **20-504**
Deduction of 20% of housing rent paid by young people, handicapped persons or big families, up to a maximum of 840 EUR, within certain income limits. / **20-504**
600 EUR deduction for every person living with the tax payer for more than 183 days a year, who is older than 65 years or handicapped with a degree of incapacity of 33% or higher, and who has no family connection with the tax payer. / **20-504**
400 EUR deduction for the birth or adoption of handicapped children. / This de- **20-504** duction is compatible with those deductions related to birth and adoption of a child or to multiple birth and adoption. / **20-504**
– We will lower housing taxes in order to facilitate the access to housing through the following deductions of the direct income tax: / **20-504**
Deduction of 6% of the amount paid to buy a house/apartment for Andalusians that are 40 years old or younger, within certain income limits. / **20-504**
Deduction of 20% of the amounts paid for rent during the taxing exercise by young people, handicapped persons, and big families, up to a maximum of 840 EUR, within certain income limits. / **20-504**

5. Section: "The deepening of self-government"

After a very slow process of a year and a half of parliamentary work, on June 21, 2006, the *Cortes de Aragón* [regional parliament] has finally approved the proposal for the reform of the Statute of Autonomy. / In our opinion, it is a cautious and un-ambitious **22-204** reform that, as a matter of fact, renounces to put our Autonomous Community at the same level as other Autonomous Communities. / For the first time, a reform of the **22-3014** Statute left Aragón without a unanimous decision. / After being debated in and ap- **20-202** proved by the *Congreso* [Spanish parliament], where the text was cut down further, it was approved by the Senate on April 18. / Through this process, PSOE, PP, PAR, **22-204** and IU agreed on a text that does not guarantee us a determined level of state investment in the region, / that does not give us the necessary instruments to deal with the **22-3012** Ebro [river that crosses Aragón] transfer, / that does not reach the maximum level of **22-301** competencies that we could reach according to the constitution, / and that does not explicitly recognize our history and our cultural and linguistic identity, among other **22-204**

renunciations. � Aragón is again condemned to live with a second-rate Statute of Autonomy. �

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Chunta Aragonesista will continue to denounce the renunciations of the new Statute of Autonomy and the position of inferiority in which Aragón stays with respect to other Autonomous Communities. � According to the responsibilities that the Aragonese citizens will entrust us, we commit ourselves to develop, to the full, the very limited contents gathered in the new Statute of Autonomy and to demand the elimination of the discriminations that it brings about through the establishment of bilateral agreements with the state. � At the same time, we will not give up the defence of a new statute reform that will guarantee us full political and financial self-government in line with our historical rights and our national reality. �

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22-3014

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In this sense, we understand that this legislature must be one to reassess our historical rights, recognised by the Statute of Autonomy of Aragón in 1982 that have been but a decorative object for the successive Aragonese governments. ▍ Precisely now, on June 29, 300 years have gone since the passing of the *1707 Decreto de Nueva Planta* [a piece of legislation] that abolished our *fueros* [old medieval laws] and liberties by right of conquer, and now the time has come for Aragón to demand the devolution of those foral institutions that have not been recovered since the transition to democracy, among them, the *Hacienda foral* [an institution of regional financial autonomy that many regions in Spain had before the centralization reforms of the Spanish monarchy in the 18th and 19th centuries]. ▍

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With this purpose in mind, we propose:

1. the defence of our own financial and fiscal model, that will preserve our financial autonomy, ▍ that will facilitate the territorial and demographic singularity of Aragón, and that will respect the historical rights of Aragón, ▍ recognised by the Statute of Autonomy of Aragón, in accordance with the Spanish constitution, and that will include: ▍

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   a) guarantees that the annual amount of the state investments in Aragón will be proportional to the size of Aragón with respect to the rest of the state. ▍

   22-3014

   b) a compensation payment by the state for the accumulated deficit caused by a lack of infrastructures in Aragón and estimated to amount to 5000 million EUR. ▍

   31-3014

   c) the establishment of Aragón's own fiscal agency, through an economic agreement with the state, by which Aragón will collect all the taxes within its territory paying the state an agreed percentage as the regional contribution to common state expenditure. ▍

   22-3012

   d) the inclusion of Aragón as beneficiary of the Interterritorial Compensation Fund due to its low demographic density. ▍

   22-3014

   e) the recognition by the state of its historic debt with Aragón, the result of taxes handed over to the state, of underfunded state transfers to the region, of the exclusion of Aragón from the European Funds Objective 1 regions and of the Interterritorial Compensation Fund, etc. ▍

   31-3012

2. enhance the level of competencies to the maximum, ▍exhausting all the existing possibilities of transfer of power from the state to the Autonomous Communities allowed by Art. 151 of the Spanish constitution, and taking for Aragón all the competencies that the constitution does not explicitly reserve for the State. ▍Among those competencies, we would like to include the 15 competencies that have not been included in the recently reformed Statute of Autonomy of Aragón,

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although other Autonomous Communities have included these competencies in their recently reformed statutes (judicial fees, underage lawbreakers, work permits for foreign workers, intellectual and industrial property registration, electronic communications, etc.) ▰ and other competencies that have been reclaimed for a long time (work legislation, passive employment policies, airport management, etc.). ▰ **22-3014**

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3. reclaim the transfer to the region of the adequate material and human resources for the administration of justice in Aragón, accompanied by an adequate economic forecast to face the challenges and needs of justice in Aragón: new buildings, new courts, computer modernization, personnel, … ▰ and to boost the transfer of pending competencies (social tourism, workers' continuous formation programmes, …). ▰ **22-3012**

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4. Aragón must participate, within its territorial sphere, in the management of the totality of water resources existing in the region, which includes the approval by Aragón of any projects of water transfers between rivers. ▰ **22-301**

5. to promote the establishment of a *Cuerpo de Policía Autonómica* [regional police force]. ▰ **22-605**

6. to establish a *Cuerpo Aragónes de Bomberos* [regional fire fighting department] which will centralize and reorganize the different departments that now exist (local, provincial). ▰ **22-301**

7. to promote the administrative decentralization at the local level. ▰ **12-301**

8. the explicit recognition of the tri-lingual reality of Aragón and of the linguistic rights of those who speak the two minority languages, Aragonese and Catalan. ▰ **22-6015**

6. Section: "Emigration"

In four years of Socialist government, our region has reached a privileged position with respect to our emigration policy. ▰ **20-305**

Now that Asturias is recovering economically, we cannot and must not forget about our emigrants, many of whom, particularly in Latin America, are in a situation of hardship. ▰ Therefore, we will continue with our policy of approaching the Asturians abroad, **20-7052**
strengthening social and cultural measures that will contribute to increase the links of the emigrants with Asturias, to improve the living conditions of those Asturians that have grown old in emigration, and to facilitate their return. ▰ **20-7052**

– In order to achieve this, we will increase the funds dedicated to emigration and we will develop a second four-year plan to support Asturian emigrants, in which we will give priority to social actions. ▰ **20-7052**

– We will maintain our offices abroad to provide information and social support, and we will extend their competencies to cultural, tourist, and entrepreneurship promotion. ▰ **20-7052**

– We will extend the number of beneficiaries of our social actions: individual economic support, temporal returns, residential places in Latin America, residential places in our region for returned emigrants, and specific formative actions for returned people, for children, or grandchildren of Asturian emigrants. ▰ **20-7052**

– We will continue to support the Asturian Centres and the Houses of Asturias abroad as places for meeting and communication with the Asturian collectives abroad and as entities of diffusion of our culture and values. ▰ We will facilitate **20-7052**
the resources and the use of new technologies in order to improve and make more effective the communication among the Asturian people all over the world. ▰ **20-7052**

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7. Section: "The Future of the Asturian language"

The protection of the Bable/Asturian language, recognized by the Statute of Autonomy **20-6015**
of Asturias, should not be an issue of constant confrontation but should, instead, be **20-203**
approached with a consensual attitude, searching for proposals and solutions that remain within the regional constitution and gather enough agreement among the people
of Asturias. Language research and protection of the different dialects must go hand in **20-606**
hand with the teaching of the Bable in schools, always on a voluntary basis, and with
its progressive introduction into the mass media. In this sense, we must continue with **20-6015**
the complete development of the existing legal provisions of the Law about the Use
and Promotion of the Asturian Language. **20-6015**

In collaboration with the *Academia de la Llingua* [Language Academy], the *Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* [the Royal Institute for Asturian Studies], and the *Museo del Pueblo de Asturias* [Museum of the People of Asturias], we will develop research
programmes on the literary tradition, the recovery of texts, and the gathering of oral
testimonies. And we will continue to work in the field of socio-linguistic research con- **20-6015**
cerning the present situation of the Asturian language. **20-6015**

The presence of the Asturian language in the education system will be prioritized. We
will implement programmes for the training of teachers and we will keep the existing **20-6015**
criteria concerning the formation of teaching groups on the basis of a minimal number
of students. **20-6015**

We will keep the existing subsidies to publications in Bable [Asturian language] and to
its presence in the mass media. **20-6015**

We will promote literary, artistic, and intellectual creations that use the Asturian language by granting prizes and subsidies to the diffusion of these works, including film
and music recording. **20-6015**

We will collaborate with local councils in the development of plans to promote the
Bable/Asturian language and we will proceed to the development of the Decree for the
Establishment of Place Names, accompanied by corresponding traffic signs. **20-6015**

8. Section: "Local councils"

We, the Socialists, want to lead the process of modernization of the local administration. ▟Citizens identify with their local councils as the level of administration that is **10-303**
closer to them and more efficient than the state. ▟This prestige [reputation] has been **10-303**
built on the basis of an intense and prompt management of people's real problems so
that the strong claim for the principle of subsidiarity, for reasons of political efficacy
and of economic management, comes as no surprise. ▟ **01-303**

Our commitment to the promoting of the transformation of the local administration is
connected with the need to strengthen the quality of democracy. ▟We must base de- **10-202**
mocracy on a concept of participatory citizenship. ▟Our concern is to arrive to a more **10-2025**
civic society, with more solidarity, more committed to democratic values. **10-606**

We, the Socialists, want to put the citizen at the centre of debate ▟ and we believe that **10-202**
local councils, from their commitment and capacity, must attend now and will attend in
the future, at interventions in employment policies, ▟in the socio-economic conditions **10-701**
of citizens, ▟in problems connected with housing and land, ▟in the sport and cultural **10-504**
lives, ▟in problems of citizen security ▟and in the quality of life of the citizens of **10-504**

Asturias, ▰in the application of policies targeted at increased social cohesion ▰and equal opportunities for all, ▰and in the modernization of infrastructures. ▰ **10-502**
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We, the Socialists from Asturias, want to contribute to the necessary debate about the transformation of the local administration and about local financing. ▰ **10-303**
For many years it has been claimed that local councils should participate more in public income and expenditure, and now it should be made come true, particularly as there is a growing discrepancy between the tasks allocated to local governments and their financial capacities. ▰ **10-3012**
We still need a model of local financing, after the failed and frustrating Law of Local Financing, as the necessary precondition for the correct application of the objectives included in the Local Pact, inextricably linked to the assumption of competencies and services by local councils. ▰Competencies and financing are inseparably linked and **10-3012**
only simultaneous actions from both spheres will make it possible to give the right answers to the future of local councils. ▰ **10-301**
We believe that only the collaboration between different administrations can lead us to achieve the objectives of the local policies directed at the economic and social development of each territory. ▰The formula to achieve a greater efficacy in the actions of **03-303**
the government in each territory is a shared strategic planning by the regional administration and the local one, following a method of institutional coordination and based on the principles of collaboration and cooperation. ▰ **03-303**

6.5 List of Spanish Parties

	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 Parties in the 17 Spanish Regions

The identification code for the regional parties is based on the party codes used for the national-level parties (see Appendix 6.5). 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 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. In the following table, these new party codes are highlighted.

Region:		Party:			
ID	**Name**	**Acronym**	**Name**	**ID**	**Year**
01	**Andalucía**				**2004**
		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**				**2007**
		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**				**2007**
		IU	Izquierda Unida	0333220	
		FSA-PSOE	Federación Socialista Asturiana-PSOE	0333320	
		PP	Partido Popular	0333610	
04	**Canarias**				**2007**
		PSC-PSOE	Partido Socialista de Canarias-PSOE	0433320	
		PP	Partido Popular	0433610	
		CC	Coalición Canaria	0433907	
05	**Cantabria**				**2007**
		PSC-PSOE	Partido Socialista de Cantabria-PSOE	0533320	
		PP	Partido Popular	0533610	
		PRC	Partido Regionalista de Cantabria	0533910	
06	**Castilla-La Mancha**				**2007**
		PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	0633320	
		PP	Partido Popular	0633610	
07	**Castilla y León**				**2007**
		PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	0733320	
		PP	Partido Popular	0733610	
		UPL	Unión del Pueblo Leonés	0733911	
08	**Cataluña**				**2006**
		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**				**2007**
		IU	Izquierda Unida	0933220	
		PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	0933320	
		PP	Partido Popular	0933610	
10	**Comunitat Valenciana**				**2007**
		PSPV-PSOE	Partit Socialista del País Valencià-PSOE	1033320	
		PP	Partido Popular	1033610	
		Compromis	Compromis per el Pais	1033913	
11	**Extremadura**				**2007**
		PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	1133320	
		PP	Partido Popular	1133610	
12	**Galicia**				**2005**
		PSG-PSOE	Partido Socialista de Galicia-PSOE	1233320	
		PP	Partido Popular	1233610	
		BNG	Bloque Nacionalista Galego	1233908	
13	**Illes Balears**				**2007**
		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**				**2007**
		PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	1433320	
		PP	Partido Popular	1433610	
		PR	Partido Riojano Progresista	1433916	
15	**Navarra**				**2007**
		PSN-PSOE	Partido Socialista de Navarra-PSOE	1533320	
		UPN	Unión del Pueblo Navarro	1533917	
		NB	Nafarroa Bai	1533918	
16	**País Vasco**				**2005**
		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**				**2007**
		IU	Izquierda Unida	1733220	
		PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	1733320	
		PP	Partido Popular	1733610	

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