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Introduction: CMP and the Purpose of this Handbook

This is the handbook for the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP/MARPOR), which provides CMP coders with an introduction on how to apply the rules and definitions which constitute the data production process of the project. CMP's objective is to measure policy positions of all relevant parties competing in any democratic election in the post–World–War–II period for the following countries: OECD and EU members, Central and Eastern Europe, and (in the future) Latin America and South–East Asia. Analysing manifestos allows for measurement of party policy positions across countries and elections within a common framework. Manifestos are understood parties' only authoritative policy statements and, therefore, as indicators of the parties' policy preferences at a given point in time. For this reason, manifestos are chosen as the subject for quantitative content analysis.

This content analysis aims to discover party stances by quantifying their statements and messages to their electorate. A unified classification scheme with an accompanying set of rules was developed to make such statements comparable. This handbook provides coders with all of the relevant information, definitions, and sources needed to apply the coding scheme to their respective countries.

1. The Manifestos

Manifestos are chosen for the basis of this research from the various types of party–issued documents. 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. For the purposes of this handbook, the term "manifesto" is defined as text published by a political party in order to compete for votes in national elections.

1.1 Which Parties?

The Comparative Manifesto Project aims to measure the policy preferences of each relevant party running in an election which is included in the data collection. Relevant parties are defined as those parties that win seats in their respective election. For Central and Eastern Europe, every party winning at least two seats is included in the data collection process. All coders hired by MARPOR will receive a list of parties for whom manifestos (or their substitutes) have to be coded. Coders are asked to propose corrections or amendments to the list if necessary.

1.2 Collection of Manifestos

In most cases, coders are asked to collect the manifestos for the elections they are to code.

While the definition of 'manifesto' presented above may initially seem straightforward, manifestos can vary considerably across parties, elections, countries, and years. The title of a manifesto can differ considerably, from 'Election Program of Party X', 'Program', 'Platform' or 'Action Intentions' to statements such as 'We will make Australia prosper'. Furthermore, in the event that parties provide more than one version of a manifesto, whether a long and a short version or several otherwise different versions of the manifesto, all versions need to be collected and sent to the supervisors. This is also true for

instances where the party provides a machine–readable version (i.e. in doc or html format), a digital version (i.e. in pdf format), and/or a colour hard–copy including pictures. The ideal type of manifesto is the machine–readable format and should be collected whenever possible. For documentation reasons, however, the project also needs at least one fully formatted version of the manifesto, which is usually either in pdf or hard–copy format. If the former is not available, the latter is sufficient.

1.3 How to Find the Manifestos

The manifestos can often be gathered from the parties themselves and in particular their websites, special election newspapers of parties and/or regular newspapers. Furthermore, sources might be research and training institutes or publications, e.g. books with collections of programs, associated with the parties. If manifestos are not freely available, coders are asked to contact the party. In all cases, the ideal, machine–readable manifesto should be retrieved when possible.

In cases when no manifesto is available, this should to be reported back to the supervisors immediately. For instance, the only texts available may be newspaper summaries as a condensed form of the parties' election pledges. Sometimes, only reports of party spokesmen about policy preferences and goals for the upcoming legislature may be available. In case only such documents are available, all available information needs to be collected very carefully under the supervision of the training supervisor.

1.4 Filling in the Manifesto Information Table for Every Coded Election

When providing the original manifestos to the supervisors, coders are asked to fill in one manifesto information table (see p. 13) for each election for which coders have collected manifestos. This information is crucial for the Manifesto Project team to be able to manage and collect all necessary secondary information.

2. Preparation: The Training

All coders must take part in training before they are allowed to start the production coding, i.e. coding real manifestos. Coders who have already coded actual elections need to retake the training every two years in case of uninterrupted production coding or whenever they have not engaged in production coding for more than six months.

2.1 Purpose of Training

Of central concern to this coding procedure is the comparability of results. Hence, in principle, every coder should make the same decisions concerning the unitising and coding of any given manifesto. To ensure comparability, the project has defined a set of coding rules that all coders should follow. The training assures that all coders have a sufficient understanding of the coding process, enabling them to create reliable and comparable data.

2.2 Process of Training

In order to ensure maximum reliability and comparability of data, the training process is based on intensive communication between the prospective coders and the supervisor within the MARPOR team. Within this process coders learn how to code party manifestos, in particular how to deal with the coding scheme and which rules apply under which circumstances. Thus, coders learn the rules and gain valuable initial insight into the coding process.

2.2.1 Communication with the Supervisor

The core of this training is the close communication between coders and the training supervisor. Within the MARPOR project team, there is always one scholar who acts as training and coding supervisor. This supervisor administers the training and helps coders with any problems during the training and the production coding phase. These problems might range from questions regarding rules or definitions to single sentences with which coders have problems. Whenever coders need any advice or clarification, they are urged to contact the supervisor. The training and coding supervisor is currently Annika Werner (werner@wzb.eu).

2.2.2 Reading the Handbook

The basis of the training process is this handbook. The instructions must be studied thoroughly and followed closely. It is important to highlight that it is not sufficient to simply look at the handbook once. Coders should read the handbook several times and try to commit all coding rules and definitions of categories to memory as much as possible. The more coders can memorize, the faster the production coding will be.

2.2.3 Taking the Tests and Receiving Feedback

Central features of the training process are the successful completion of two tests by every coder: one training test and one entry test. The training procedure is as follows:

> 1) After examining the handbook, coders code the first training test and send it to the supervisor via email.
> 2) The supervisor sends extensive feedback on the training test.
> 3) Coders code the second test—the entry test—and send it to the supervisor.
> 4) The supervisor decides on the basis of the quality of coding whether coders have sufficient understanding of the coding process to begin production coding. With the decision that coders should a) commence production coding or b) receive more training, the supervisor sends feedback on the entry test to coders.

If necessary, each test can be taken twice.

3. A Two–Step Process: Unitising and Coding – Basic Rules

After coders have sent the original manifestos to the supervisor and have successfully completed the training, the supervisor provides coders with electronically codable versions of the manifestos. Coders are then asked to code this version of the manifestos.

The central question of manifesto coding is: **What message is the party trying to convey to voters? Which are the issues the party regards as important?**

The decision–making process of coding is described in the following sections. This procedure comprises two steps: a) unitising (how many unique statements do parties make?) and b) coding (what kind of statements do parties make?).

3.1 Which Parts of a Manifesto Should Be Unitised and Coded?

Each textual part of a manifesto needs to be unitised and coded. Some parts of the manifesto, such as statistics, tables of content, and section headings should not be considered as text. Introductory remarks by party leaders should be similarly ignored. These parts, however, should not be deleted but instead kept for documentation purposes.

When preparing the manifesto for coding, the supervisor earmarks those parts of the manifesto that should be ignored. Coders are asked to code in accordance with this tagging procedure but also to check the decisions made by the supervisor. If coders doubt whether certain parts of the manifesto should be treated as text or not, they should seek immediate advice from the supervisor.

3.2 Unitising – Cutting Text into Quasi–Sentences

The coding unit is a quasi–sentence. One quasi–sentence contains exactly one statement or "message". In many cases, parties make one statement per sentence, which results in one quasi–sentence equalling one full sentence. Therefore, the basic unitising rule is that one sentence is, at minimum, one quasi–sentence. There are, however, instances when one natural sentence contains more than one quasi–sentence, as discussed below.

3.2.1 When to Cut Sentences

Only if the natural sentence contains more than one unique argument should this sentence be split. There are two possibilities for unique arguments: 1) a sentence contains two statements that are totally unrelated; or 2) a sentence contains two statements that are related (e.g. they come from the same policy field) but address different aspects of a larger policy.

Clues to unique statements might be 1) semicolons; 2) the possibility to split up the sentence into a meaningful bullet point list; 3) general clues from codes. Regarding the third point, it is especially likely that the sentence includes two unique statements if a sentence contains codes from two or more domains (see Table 1, p. 6). An example would be:

> *"We need to address our close ties with our neighbours (107)* ▌ *as well as the unique challenges facing small business owners in this time of economic hardship. (402)"*

3.2.2 When Not to Cut Sentences

There are many instances when sentences should *not* be split into quasi-sentences. A good rule of thumb is that **one word** is most likely not a quasi-sentence. It is crucial to know that **examples, reasoning, explanations,** etc. are not unique arguments and are therefore no separate quasi-sentences.

Coders should also be careful when unitising based on sentence operators such as commas, colons, hyphens, etc. Such operators might be, but are not always, indicators of a quasi-sentence. Operators do not indicate two quasi-sentences if they do not separate two unique statements. Examples for this case are:

> *"The animal rights in our country must be improved; and we will do that. (501)"*
> *"Our country's budget must be put on solid footing again, no matter the costs. (416)"*

Coders should not split up a sentence just because they think they have discovered a code. For instance, the mere singling out of another country is not a unique argument and, therefore, a quasi-sentence. **Only if** the statement refers to a general or specific foreign policy goal should it be considered a separate quasi-sentence. Furthermore, references to policy areas such as education, agriculture, labour, and the environment should not automatically be separated simply because 'catch words' such as 'schools', 'farmers', 'unions' or 'environmentalists' are mentioned. Again, the sentence should only be cut if it is a statement about the issue. Here is an example of a sentence that seems to contain several arguments at first glance but, on closer inspection, is revealed to have only one unique message:

> *"We must force our unions to step back from their demands or their policies will result in the loss of thousands of jobs, closing of schools, and diminishing pensions. (702)"*

In this example, jobs, schools, and pensions are only instances outlining the negative impact of what will happen if the party's central demand (unions reducing *their* demands) is not met.

3.3 Bottom-Up Approach to Coding – Finding the Right Code for a Quasi-Sentence

3.3.1 The Categories

The Manifesto Project developed a category system whereby each quasi-sentence of every manifesto is coded into one, and only one, of 56 standard categories. The 56 categories are grouped into seven major policy areas and are designed to be comparable between parties, countries, elections, and across time.

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 Economic Growth

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 Equality: Positive
504 Welfare State Expansion
505 Welfare State Limitation
506 Education Expansion
507 Education Limitation

Domain 6: Fabric of Society
601 National Way of Life: Positive
602 National Way of Life: Negative
603 Traditional Morality: Positive
604 Traditional Morality: Negative
605 Law and Order: Positive
606 Civic Mindedness: Positive
607 Multiculturalism: Positive
608 Multiculturalism: Negative

Domain 7: Social Groups
701 Labour Groups: Positive
702 Labour Groups: Negative
703 Agriculture: Positive
704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive
705 Minority Groups: Positive
706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive

000 No meaningful category applies

3.3.2 The Code Allocation

The following questions are central to the decision making of assigning codes to quasi-sentences: **What are the statements of the party? Which policy positions does the party convey?** In order to make this decision, coders need to make sure that they understand what the party says. Therefore, it is essential to read every singly quasi-sentence very carefully.

Often parties are very clear in their statements and candidly say what they seek: more of one thing, less of another. In this case, assigning codes is straightforward: coders identify the message and assign the corresponding category. When consulting the category scheme it is important to keep in mind that the categories' definitions are not exhaustive. They are meant to give a general notion and some exemplary statements. The scopes of the categories are not constrained to the exact wording of the definition and it should be assigned to all issues that are related to the general idea conveyed.

There are, however, times when parties' statements are not very clear and are more difficult to code. When facing such an ambiguous sentence, the coders should always first think about the meaning of the quasi-sentence and double-check the quasi-sentence with **all** codes in the category scheme. This helps assure that the quasi-sentence does not simply fall into one of the lesser used, 'rare' categories.

In general, there are three possible factors which cause ambiguity: 1) *Language is often simply ambiguous*. Language is full of various styles, jargon, rhetorical meanings, colloquialisms, etc. Manifestos, therefore, often use language in manifold ways. 2) *Quite often parties not only say what they want to achieve but also how they want to achieve it.* Sometimes, coders will find both statements within one natural sentence and will have to decide how to handle this high density of information. 3) *Many of the political issues included in manifestos are very complex and it is not possible to convey a clear message within one quasi-sentence*. Parties often choose to build their arguments over several sentences, within a paragraph and/or sometimes even over the course of a whole chapter.

Coders need to keep these sources of ambiguity in mind in order to fully understand the message the party wishes to convey. The following section addressed ways for coders to handle 'ambiguous' language and other problems during the course of coding.

1) Ambiguity of Language

a) Often, parties make policy statements by mentioning a negative aspect of an issue in order to highlight its importance for the party. Take, for example, the following:

> "*Our country's democracy does not work well enough anymore!*"

This sentence could be read and interpreted as a negative statement towards the country's democratic processes. However, it is rather clear that the party is not making a statement against democracy itself. The actual message of this sentence is one of concern about and criticism of the current state of democracy. Therefore, this is a positive statement towards the ideal principle of democracy.

b) Furthermore, parties tend to use ambiguous or convoluted language to 'hide' certain statements often deemed politically incorrect or inadmissible viewpoints. Coders should try to understand the message while at the same time trying not to read too much into the quasi-sentence.

2) Ambiguity of Quasi-Sentences because of Complexity – A Hierarchy of Context

When the quasi-sentence in itself does not convey an obvious message despite coders' best effort to find one, several levels of context might be helpful to decide how to code a quasi-sentence. These levels are hierarchal. Coders should keep in mind that it is imperative to consider the context level closest to the quasi-sentence first and only move to the next level in case the closer one was not helpful.

The context levels are, in sequence from the quasi–sentence level upwards:

1. the rest of the sentence in case the quasi–sentence is only part of a natural sentence
2. the previous and the following sentences
3. the whole paragraph
4. the whole chapter or section
5. the whole manifesto
6. the political discourse concerning the issue in the country at the time of the election

3) Statements Containing Several Messages

Sometimes more than one code seems to apply to a quasi–sentence because the party wraps several statements up into one broad statement. Quite often, these statements come in the form of *"We want to reach A by doing B and C"* or *"We are doing B and C because we want to reach A."* In principle, the grand rule of 'code the message' applies. For these two examples, the message is that A is primarily important. B and C are simply means to achieve A. **Goals usually take precedence over means when assigning codes.** The following example claims that changing the constitution might serve the purpose of promoting animal rights. Since the constitution change is clearly only a tool, this sentence is not cut into two quasi–sentences and only the animal rights code applies.

> *"To make sure that animal rights are universally recognised, we are going to add them to our constitution. (501)"*

However, there are instances where this logic does not apply. It might be possible that the party not only sends a message for A but also puts so much emphasis on B and C that B and C become messages in themselves. This is most apparent when the party states that B and C are the only means possible and there is an imperative to use them: *"We want A therefore we must employ B and C as the only feasible options."* The following example is one where the means (leaving NATO and reducing the military) are such strong messages in themselves that they need to be coded separately from the goal (peace).

> *"In order to achieve worldwide peace, (106)* ▌ *our country must leave NATO (105)* ▌ *and reduce the military to a minimum. (105)"*

4) Statements Containing No Message

There are instances when a sentence by itself does not make a statement. Often, the context helps in these cases and the rules mentioned above still apply. A special case is when sentences are used as a way to introduce or end an argument, or to connect two arguments. These introductory, terminal, or connecting sentences do not constitute meaningful statements themselves but are part of a continuous argument. Therefore, they should be coded in the same category as the corresponding argument or as the bulk of the paragraph in which they appear.

5) Proximity of Contradicting Codes

Finally, a note of general caution: it is possible to have positive and negative codes on the same issue right next to each other. Party manifestos often include contradictory statements. Coders should not try to assume 'hidden' meanings in a quasi-sentence just to make sense of the sentences around it. Manifestos are not codes to be deciphered. Instead, coders should be careful to only code what is written. The following examples are seemingly contradictory statements in close proximity:

> *We will support our troops overseas, (104)* ▌ *while working to end the current war. (105)*
> *Our constitution is a model for every truly democratic system (203)* ▌ *but we need to change it (204).*

4. Specific Provisions – Rules to Keep in Mind

There are several rules for the process of code allocation that stem from decades of experience with manifesto coders. There are certain habits and behavioural patterns which all coders (and especially new coders) should try to avoid. Therefore, while the following rules might seem trivial, coders are asked to keep them in mind.

4.1 Rare Occasions: When to Use the '000' Category

Generally, coders should try to **use a meaningful code (101 to 706) whenever possible**.

However, there **are** instances when '000' is an applicable code. The instances are: 1) the statement is totally devoid of any meaning and cannot be coded within the context; 2) the statement refers to a policy position that is not included in the category scheme. This may be particularly true for modern issues or if the category scheme only includes codes in one direction (positive or negative) and the statement refers to the non-included direction. For instance: agriculture and environment are positive categories with no negative counterparts. If a statement can only be classified as "Agriculture Negative" it should be given a '000' code. All quasi-sentences treated as uncodable must be rechecked after the program has been coded in its entirety.

4.2 Catch–All Categories

303, 305, 408 and the 700-categories (except 703, see below) are meant to be catch-all categories for general policies that do not fit any specific coding category. They should always be **avoided** if a more specific policy category can be used. However, this does not mean that they are forbidden. Coders should double-check the usage of these categories to make sure they have not missed a specific policy.

4.3 Agriculture

When agricultural issues are mentioned, coders often have the choice between 703 'Agriculture: Positive' and another, often economic, category. In these instances, a special rule applies: **If coders can choose between 703 or any other category, then 703 should be chosen.**

However, this does not mean that the inclusion of the word 'farmer' automatically makes the category 703. This category should only be assigned if the statement is actually about agriculture and farmers and is positive.

4.4 Sub–Categories

During prior phases of the Manifesto Project a sub-category system was developed for problematic statements not fitting within the main CMP coding scheme because of their country or area-specific bias. This was primarily the case for Central and Eastern European countries during the post-communist transition period. These sub-categories are still in existence but their usage should be avoided as much as possible.

To make sure that no sub-category is used unnecessarily, coders **must** contact the supervisor whenever they consider using a sub-category. In particular Central and Eastern European coders should contact the supervisor about this issue.

4.5 Background Knowledge vs. Personal Bias

All coders are expected to be citizens of the country they code. We use citizen coders because they benefit from their background knowledge of their country. However, background knowledge should not be confused with a coder's personal characteristics, beliefs, and attitudes—all of which are potentially harmful to the comparability of coding.

Background knowledge is unique knowledge that only citizens of the country can have. It includes knowledge of the country's history, social problems and cleavages, electoral issues, party system, and party ideology. Personal biases, on the other hand, are coders' individual beliefs and attitudes concerning social and political issues, party ideologies, politicians and generally concerning what is 'right' and 'wrong'.

Coders should draw on background knowledge to help determine the code of ambiguous quasi-sentences only. However, coders should only do so if no other clues are available. In all cases, personal bias must be avoided! Such bias causes distortion. Coders should be especially careful when coding their most favourite and least favourite parties!

Furthermore, coders need to make sure that the statement is coded as it reads. If a party claims that their policy proposal has certain outcomes, this needs to be coded as it stands, even if coders think that these policies will lead to other or even opposing results. Again, the central focus of coding is to find out the policy positions and points of view of each party. Any personal judgements (of 'rightness' or 'wrongness', whether a statement is realistic or sensible, etc.) need to be avoided. The following sentence is a good example:

> *"We will increase the military expenditure to ensure peace*
> *in our region. (106)"*

This sentence might sound incorrect but, nevertheless, the party is conveying the message that they want to improve the region's prospect for peace (106).

5. In Case of Questions and Queries

A trouble-shooting system exists for cases of questions and queries. The **contracting supervisor** (currently Onawa Promise Lacewell) needs to be contacted for any issues concerning manifesto collection, training, and coding contracts. The **database supervisor** (currently Sven Regel) can be contacted for any questions and problems concerning the technical side of dealing with manifestos, especially on how to work with the online platform. The **training and coding supervisor** (currently Annika Werner) needs to be contacted for any issues regarding the coding, whether questions about coding rules, code definition or any other issues. Coders might also discuss the coding of special issues, in particular country specific issues. Furthermore, coders may translate single sentences or paragraphs to obtain advice on how to deal with them. All communication processes run trough the new online platform (http://manifesto-project.wzb.eu) or via email (manifesto-communication@wzb.eu). The coder is asked to indicate in the subject line to which supervisor the message is directed.

Manifesto Information

Election Year (yyyy):
Country Code:

Party Name in Original Language	International Party Name[1]	Party Acronym in Original Language	Manifesto Title in Original Language	Manifesto Title in English Language	Source of Manifesto	Remarks

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[1] Name the party is known internationally, which might be the original language or the English name.

Category Scheme

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

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

101   Foreign Special Relationships: Positive
Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; the need for co-operation with and/or aid to such countries.

102   Foreign Special Relationships: Negative
Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship.

These special relationships should be predetermined on a case by case basis. Refer to the supervisor for detailed information and attach a list of special relations to the coding protocol.

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

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

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

106   Peace

Any declaration of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises -- absent reference to the military. May include:

- Peace as a general goal;
- Desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries;
- Ending wars in order to establish peace.

107   Internationalism: Positive

Need for international co-operation, including co-operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101. May also include references to the:

- Need for aid to developing countries;
- Need for world planning of resources;
- Support for global governance;
- Need for international courts;
- Support for UN or other international organisations.

108   European Community/Union: Positive

Favourable mentions of European Community/Union in general. May include the:

- Desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member);
- Desirability of expanding the European Community/Union;
- Desirability of increasing the ECs/EUs competences;
- Desirability of expanding the competences of the European Parliament.

109   Internationalism: Negative

Negative references to international co-operation. Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty with regard to the manifesto country's foreign policy, isolation and/or unilateralism as opposed to internationalism.

110   European Community/Union: Negative

Negative references to the European Community/Union. May include:

- Opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities;
- Opposition to the net-contribution of the manifesto country to the EU budget.

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

201   Freedom and Human Rights

Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom and civil rights in the manifesto and other countries. May include mentions of:

- The right to the freedom of speech, press, assembly etc.;
- Freedom from state coercion in the political and economic spheres;
- Freedom from bureaucratic control;
- The idea of individualism.

202   Democracy

Favourable mentions of democracy as the "only game in town". General support for the manifesto country's democracy. May also include:

- Democracy as method or goal in national, international or other organisations (e.g. labour unions, political parties etc.);
- The need for the involvement of all citizens in political decision-making;
- Support for either direct or representative democracy;
- Support for parts of democratic regimes (rule of law, division of powers, independence of courts etc.).

203   Constitutionalism: Positive

Support for maintaining the status quo of the constitution. Support for specific aspects of the manifesto country's constitution. The use of constitutionalism as an argument for any policy.

204   Constitutionalism: Negative

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

DOMAIN 3: Political System

301   Federalism

Support for federalism or decentralisation of political and/or economic power. May include:

- Favourable mentions of the territorial subsidiary principle;
- More autonomy for any sub-national level in policy making and/or economics;
- Support for the continuation and importance of local and regional customs and symbols and/or deference to local expertise;
- Favourable mentions of special consideration for sub-national areas.

302   Centralisation

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

303   Governmental and Administrative Efficiency

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

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

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

304   Political Corruption

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

305   Political Authority

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

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

DOMAIN 4: Economy

401   Free Market Economy

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

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

402   Incentives

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

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

403   Market Regulation

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

- Calls for increased consumer protection;
- Increasing economic competition by preventing monopolies and other actions disrupting the functioning of the market;
- Defence of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses;
- Social market economy.

404   Economic Planning

Favourable mentions of long-standing economic planning by the government. May be:

- Policy plans, strategies, policy patterns etc.;
- Of a consultative or indicative nature.

405   Corporatism/ Mixed Economy

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

406   Protectionism: Positive

Favourable mentions of extending or maintaining the protection of internal markets (by the manifesto or other countries). Measures may include:

- Tariffs;
- Quota restrictions;
- Export subsidies.

407   Protectionism: Negative

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

408   Economic Goals

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

409   Keynesian Demand Management

Favourable mentions of demand side oriented economic policies (assistance to consumers rather than businesses). Particularly includes increase private demand through
- Increasing public demand;
- Increasing social expenditures.

May also include:
- Stabilisation in the face of depression;
- Government stimulus plans in the face of economic crises.

410   Economic Growth: Positive

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

411   Technology and Infrastructure

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

412   Controlled Economy

Support for direct government control of economy. May include, for instance:
- Control over prices;
- Introduction of minimum wages.

413   Nationalisation

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

414 Economic Orthodoxy

Need for economically healthy government policy making. May include calls for:
- Reduction of budget deficits;
- Retrenchment in crisis;
- Thrift and savings in the face of economic hardship;
- Support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system;
- Support for strong currency.

415 Marxist Analysis: Positive

Positive references to Marxist–Leninist ideology and specific use of Marxist–Leninist terminology by the manifesto party (typically but not necessary by communist parties).
Note: If unsure about what constitutes Marxist–Leninist ideology in general or terminology in a particular language, please research.

416 Anti–Growth Economy: Positive

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

DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

501 Environmental Protection: Positive

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

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

502 Culture: Positive

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

503 Equality: Positive

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

504   Welfare State Expansion

Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any public social service or social security scheme. This includes, *for example*, government funding of:

- Health care
- Elder care and pensions
- Child care
- Social housing

Note: This category excludes education.

505   Welfare State Limitation

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

506   Education Expansion

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

507   Education Limitation

Limiting state expenditure on education. May include:

- The introduction or expansion of study fees at all educational levels
- Increasing the number of private schools.

DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society

601   National Way of Life: Positive

Favourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation, history, and general appeals. May include:

- Support for established national ideas;
- General appeals to pride of citizenship;
- Appeals to patriotism;
- Appeals to nationalism;
- Suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion.

602   National Way of Life: Negative

Unfavourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation and history. May include:

- Opposition to patriotism;
- Opposition to nationalism;
- Opposition to the existing national state, national pride, and national ideas.

603   Traditional Morality: Positive

Favourable mentions of traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:

- Prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour;
- Maintenance and stability of the traditional family as a value;
- Support for the role of religious institutions in state and society.

604   Traditional Morality: Negative

Opposition to traditional and/or religious moral values. May include:

- Support for divorce, abortion etc.;
- General support for modern family composition;
- Calls for the separation of church and state.

605   Law and Order: Positive

Favourable mentions of strict law enforcement, and tougher actions against domestic crime. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto country's law code. May include:
- Increasing support and resources for the police;
- Tougher attitudes in courts;
- Importance of internal security.

606   Civic Mindedness: Positive

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

607   Multiculturalism: Positive

Favourable mentions of cultural diversity and cultural plurality within domestic societies. May include the preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages within the country including special educational provisions.

608   Multiculturalism: Negative

The enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration. Appeals for cultural homogeneity in society.

DOMAIN 7: Social Groups

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

701   Labour Groups: Positive

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

702   Labour Groups: Negative

Negative references to labour groups and trade unions. May focus specifically on the danger of unions 'abusing power'.

703   Agriculture and Farmers: Positive

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

704   Middle Class and Professional Groups
General favourable references to the middle class. Specifically, statements may include references to:
- Professional groups, (e.g.: doctors or lawyers);
- White collar groups, (e.g.: bankers or office employees),
- Service sector groups (e.g.: IT industry employees);
- Old and/or new middle class.

Note: This is not an economical category but refers to the social group(s).

705   Underprivileged Minority Groups
Very general favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms (e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants). Only includes favourable statements that cannot be classified in other categories (e.g. 503, 504, 604 etc.)

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

Might include references to assistance to these groups, but only if these do not fall under other categories (e.g. 503 or 504).

000   No meaningful category applies
Statements not covered by other categories; sentences devoid of any meaning.

Procedure for Training and Entry Test

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

1. Insert the given separator to identify the quasi-sentences. You can do so easily by copying the two signs (▰|) in the document's preface. We need the separator to consist of two signs for processing reasons.
2. After you finished cutting the paragraph/document into quasi-sentences, convert it to the coding table by:
    i. Mark the text.
    ii. Menu>Table>Convert>Convert Text to Table
    iii. Fill out the table conversion dialog:
        1. Separate Text at>Other: | (be aware that sometimes the program unselects "Other" as a separator)
        2. Table Size>Number of Columns: 1
    iv. Now every quasi-sentence should be in a separate table row. Keep empty rows.
    v. Add another column to the created table (Menu>Table>Insert>Columns to the Right).
    vi. Adapt the size of new column to about 1,5cm.
3. Type in the codes.
4. Save the document and send it to the supervisor.

Training Test

Coder Name:

Date of Coding:

Country: Australia
Name of the Party/Alliance: National Country Party
Year: 1966
Title: We will grow, prosper (extracts)

Please use this separator ▰| to mark quasi-sentences.

'WE WILL GROW, PROSPER'

The Deputy Prime Minister (Mr McEwen) said last night all the Government's policies were aimed at building an Australia respected and trusted throughout the world. Mr McEwen, delivering the Country party policy speech at Sheparton, said: The country party, the Government, has one constant and continuing policy objective – to make Australia strong, safe, prosperous; to build a modern Australia, with equal opportunity for all: where the aged, and the infirm, are looked after; where the young are well educated, properly trained, to play their part in making the greater Australia of the future; where every man, woman and child – native-born Australians and migrants alike – can live in freedom, enjoying the rewards of their own efforts, obtaining their just share of the wealth of the community.

Under our coalition Government's policies, Australia's advance has been remarkable. Here are the results of the 17 years of our responsibility in Government: 3.5 million more people since we came to office – half of them migrants; 1.25 million new jobs (1.6 million new homes built); tremendous increases in wool production; wheat, meat, sugar, dairy products, fruit and so on – with fewer workers. The volume of exports more than doubled. More than 20,000 new factories; factory production increased two and a half times. Mineral production more than doubled. 2,5 million more vehicles on the road – a car for every four people; unprecedented developments in community services; roads, dams, power houses, hospitals, schools. Industries everywhere are creating new wealth, ultimately distributed for all the people in better wages, social services and health, in education and defence.

In 17 years the total production of Australia, including all primary and secondary industries and the service industries which go with them, has doubled. If in 1949, in a policy speech I had said: 'Put the Country party and the Liberal party in power and our policies will double the size of the Australian economy in 17 years', this would have been treated with derision. But we have done it!

This is a story of growth; of increasing national strength; greater safety; higher prosperity; sharing the prosperity. Three years ago, we said our policies would produce

25 per cent growth over five years. Despite the disastrous drought, this objective is well in sight. I now say the next five years will see this rate continued. We are determined that successive generations of Australians will enjoy an even greater measure than we do, an Australian way of life of which we can be proud, and the rest of the world envy.

ALLIANCES

In today's world, no country can stand alone. Safety and security demand that our own growing strength be allied with that of others who share our beliefs in the right of free people to remain free. This is the basis of our foreign policy. We must be sure that if our freedom is threatened we will not be left to stand alone. So we are concerned with the integrity of other small, free countries.

The respect for Australia as a staunch and reliable ally has never been higher. Our great association with Britain and the Commonwealth have been strengthened. We have stood with Britain in preserving the security of Malaysia. Under the AZEUS Treaty we, with New England, have established a great alliance with the United States. Under SEATO we are linked with Britain, the United States and France, and with Asian countries from Pakistan to the Philippines.

PRUDENCE

We help the less-developed countries with aid, and we were the first in the world to give tariff preference to them. We strive constantly for peace, through the United Nations, and will do so unceasingly. But prudence and security demand that we work also for strong and lasting alliances. The most powerful country in the world – the United States – will be with us to protect our freedom if we are threatened with aggression, just as the United States today is protecting the freedom of the people of South Vietnam from communist aggression.

The United States seeks no material gain, fighting this distant war. Australia seeks only to prove that aggression will not succeed. And as Australia herself would expect help if in need, we now demonstrate that we are willing to extend our help to a small, free people under attack. We want to so conduct ourselves that the United States will not hesitate to stand between Australia and an aggressor. America is the one country that can do this. Our troops in South Vietnam earn for us the right to the protection of the United States and our other treaty allies, should Australia be threatened.

Voluntary recruiting has not produced the numbers of men required for the Army. The Government did try, long and hard, to enlist sufficient men as volunteers. Despite all its efforts not enough men came forward to enable us to play our present part with the British in Malaysia and the Americans in South Vietnam. So we have added to the ranks of our volunteer regular army the necessary numbers of national servicemen to meet the nation's requirements.

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

American conscripts have helped to save us once. No Australian would suggest that we were not grateful that they defended us in our day of peril. Surely no responsible Australian would suggest that, in the absence of sufficient volunteers, we should wait until war reaches Australia itself before we called conscripts to the protection of our homeland. We in the Government are sure that we have acted properly in bringing in National Service so that we may join with America in her stand to prevent the outward expansion of aggressive communism.

Of course, safety is not secured only by modern defence forces and alliances. There must be great economic strength – an industrial base capable of servicing and maintaining today's complex military operations; food and mineral production for our own needs, and to earn foreign exchange; good roads and railways; efficient ports. Defence security and economic strength go hand in hand. Our policies promote economic strength. Look at the primary industries.

By 1964, before the calamitous drought total farm output was 67 per cent higher than when we came to office. Wool, still the great foreign country earner, has nearly doubled in production since the war. Wool has been helped by the Japanese Trade Treaty; taxation incentives; huge expenditure on research and technology; and Government–supported promotion activity.

CROP RECORD

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

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

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

In my policy speech, three years ago, I said: 'If problems arise, we will be ready to help.' We have helped. The sugar industry, through no fault of its own, is in serious temporary difficulty. It asked for, and our Government has given a loan of $19 million to augment pool payments from this year's crop. For Australian beef producers, negotiated access to the United States market, and now to Japan, has been worth millions. We have legislated to give effect to marketing or stabilisation plans for canned and dried fruits, for eggs, and also for tobacco, which has been lifted from a peasant industry to one of high average incomes. Cotton is taking dramatic strides forward under the stimulus of our policies.

There are problems - in the apple and pear industry; in dairying; the British move towards the European Common Market; the never-ending job of gaining access to markets. Much has been achieved in meeting these problems. We will never let up in our efforts.

EXPANSION

Our policies for secondary industry are policies for growth, sound expansion, jobs, jobs for a growing, well-paid work force, more than 100,000 new jobs a year. Tariff machinery is continually improved to give prompt and adequate tariff protection; to prevent damage by dumping and disruptive imports. We give efficient secondary industry a secure grip on the home market. From this base we encourage it to develop exports with the help of a variety of export incentives. Investment in manufacturing has risen from $120 million a year to $1000 million a year. Great new industries are providing well-paid employment for more and more Australians. Average earnings in real `spending-power terms`, are up 50 per cent. Help is provided for the aged, the infirm, the sick; health and social-service payments lifted from $162 million to $1020 million a year. Australia can and must look after the needs of the aged and the infirm. They must be given a full share of benefit from the nation's growth.

FREIGHTS

We have initiated moves to stem overseas freight rises by rationalisation of overseas shipping services; for containerisation and other modern cargo-handling methods, and by establishment of modern port facilities. Industry stabilisation plans form part of the compensation to export industries for the burden of costs arising from fast national growth. So does the $28 million-a-year subsidy on superphosphate, and our new subsidy on nitrogenous fertilisers of $30 per ton nitrogen content.

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

Special taxation allowance have been granted to primary producers; huge sums provided for agricultural research and extension; massive help for wool promotion. Suitable long-term credit at lower interest rates has been made available for rural and other development needs. The Commonwealth Development Bank, the trading banks, term loan fund of $246 million, adds a new dimension to the array of credit facilities available to farmers.

Decentralisation requires practical policies which make country area profitable locations for industry and attractive places for people to live. Housing must be available, so must phones and TV, air services - including freight. For Commonwealth Aid Roads grants we are providing $750 million in the current five-year period; $150 million this year, rising to $170 million the year after next and $126 million is being found for nearly 2000 miles of rail standardisation and reconstruction.

Our Government acted through State Government to help those affected by the drought. So far $57 million has been provided. Ways must be found to mitigate the effects of drought; to reduce and alleviate the personal heartbreak and national losses which go with them.

BEEF ROADS

We have given special attention to developing the North and 4000 miles of beef roads have been approved. More are under study and $57 million is being provided for beef roads in Queensland, Western Australia and the Northern Territory. We have found millions of dollars for port facilities in Western Australia and Queensland: at Weipa in Queensland, and help at Gladstone; in Western Australia more than $6 million for port improvements at Derby, Wyndham and Broome. We have found $12 million for stage one of the Ord irrigation project. In Queensland vast areas – 11 million acres – are being turned into high–productive pastures. We are finding $23 million for this and $1 million is being provided this year for research into tropical pastures. Freight on superphosphate to Darwin will be subsidised and tax concessions allowed for mining with $42 million for oil search subsidies.

INDUSTRIES

Nothing contributes more to northern development than the sound and profitable expansion of the industries already located in the north. What has been done for sugar, tobacco, beef and for mineral development is conscious major policy for northern development. These are part of the whole pattern of policies for the development of the north and the balanced development of the whole of Australia.

I said at the beginning that we had a constant objective; to make Australia strong and safe; prosperous at home; respected and trusted throughout the world. I have spoken of some of the things we have done; of what we are doing. These are not disjointed actions, independent of one another; thought up to get some votes, or some credit, or to appease some group. They are all parts of a total; policies all designed for the one overriding purpose; to make Australia strong, safe, prosperous.

We can be proud of what has been achieved; of Australia's great and growing economic strength; of high and rising living standards; of the continuous improvements in education, housing, social services. Because we have honoured our obligations and are playing our part in resisting aggression today we can be confident of our own future safety and security, of the strength of our alliances, of the assured protection of the United States should we ever be threatened. The Australia of today is a base on which an even stronger, safer, more prosperous Australia will be built over the next decade.

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

Entry Test

Coder Name:

Date of Coding:

Country: USA
Name of the Party/Alliance: The Democratic Party
Year: 2008
Title: Democratic National Platform (extracts)

Please use this separator ▰| to mark quasi-sentences.

Preamble

We come together at a defining moment in the history of our nation – the nation that led the 20th century, built a thriving middle class, defeated fascism and communism, and provided bountiful opportunity to many. We Democrats have a special commitment to this promise of America. We believe that every American, whatever their background or station in life, should have the chance to get a good education, to work at a good job with good wages, to raise and provide for a family, to live in safe surroundings, and to retire with dignity and security. We believe that each succeeding generation should have the opportunity, through hard work, service and sacrifice, to enjoy a brighter future than the last.

Over the past eight years, our nation's leaders have failed us. Sometimes they invited calamity, rushing us into an ill-considered war in Iraq. But other times, when calamity arrived in the form of hurricanes or financial storms, they sat back, doing too little too late, and too poorly. The list of failures of this Administration is historic.

So, we come together not only to replace this President and his party –and not only to offer policies that will undo the damage they have wrought. Today, we pledge a return to core moral principles like stewardship, service to others, personal responsibility, shared sacrifice and a fair shot for all –values that emanate from the integrity and optimism of our Founders and generations of Americans since. Today, we Democrats offer leaders – from the White House to the State House – worthy of this country's trust.

I. Renewing the American Dream

Jumpstart the Economy and Provide Middle Class Americans Immediate Relief

We will provide an immediate energy rebate to American families struggling with the record price of gasoline and the skyrocketing cost of other necessities – to spend on those basic needs and energy efficient measures. We will devote $50 billion to jumpstarting the economy, helping economic growth, and preventing another one million jobs from being lost.

We support investments in infrastructure to replenish the highway trust fund, invest in road and bridge maintenance and fund new, fasttracked projects to repair schools. We believe that it is essential to take immediate steps to stem the loss of manufacturing jobs. Taking these immediate measures will provide good jobs and will help the economy today. But generating truly shared prosperity is only possible if we also address our most significant long-run challenges like the rising cost of health care, energy, and education.

Good Jobs with Good Pay

Democrats are committed to an economic policy that produces good jobs with good pay and benefits. That is why we support the right to organize. We know that when unions are allowed to do their job of making sure that workers get their fair share, they pull people out of poverty and create a stronger middle class. We will strengthen the ability of workers to organize unions and fight to pass the Employee Free Choice Act. We will fight to ban the permanent replacement of striking workers, so that workers can stand up for themselves without worrying about losing their livelihoods.

In America, if someone is willing to work, he or she should be able to make ends meet and have the opportunity to prosper. To that end, we will raise the minimum wage and index it to inflation. We will modernize the unemployment insurance program to close gaps and extend benefits to the workers who now fall outside it.

Opportunity for Women

When women still earn 76 cents for every dollar that a man earns, it doesn't just hurt women; it hurts families and children. We will pass the "Lilly Ledbetter" Act, which will make it easier to combat pay discrimination. We will invest in women-owned small businesses and remove the capital gains tax on startup small businesses. We recognize that women are the majority of adults who make the minimum wage, and are particularly hard-hit by recession and poverty; we will protect Social Security, increase the minimum wage, and expand programs to combat poverty and improve education so that parents and children can lift themselves out of poverty. We will work to combat violence against women.

A World Class Education for Every Child

The Democratic Party firmly believes that graduation from a quality public school and the opportunity to succeed in college must be the birthright of every child–not the privilege of the few. We must prepare all our students with the 21st century skills they need to succeed by progressing to a new era of mutual responsibility in education. We must set high standards for our children, but we must also hold ourselves accountable– our schools, our teachers, our parents, business leaders, our community and our elected leaders. And we must come together, form partnerships, and commit to providing the resources and reforms necessary to help every child reach their full potential.

Creating New Jobs by Rebuilding American Infrastructure

A century ago, Teddy Roosevelt called together leaders from business and government to develop a plan for the next century's infrastructure. It falls to us to do the same. We

will start a National Infrastructure Reinvestment Bank that can leverage private investment in infrastructure improvements, and create nearly two million new good jobs. We will undertake projects that maximize our safety and security and ability to compete, which we will fund as we bring the war in Iraq to a responsible close. We will modernize our power grid, which will help conservation and spur the development and distribution of clean energy. We need a national transportation policy, including high-speed rail and light rail. We can invest in our bridges, roads, and public transportation so that people have choices in how they get to work. We will ensure every American has access to highspeed broadband and we will take on special interests in order to unleash the power of the wireless spectrum.

Support Small Business and Entrepreneurship

Encouraging new industry and creating jobs means giving more support to American entrepreneurs. We will exempt all start-up companies from capital gains taxes and provide them a tax credit for health insurance. We will help small businesses facing high energy costs. We will work to remove bureaucratic barriers for small and start-up businesses–for example, by making the patent process more efficient and reliable.

Real Leadership for Rural America

Rural America is home to 60 million Americans. The agricultural sector is critical to the rural economy and to all Americans. We depend on those in agriculture to produce the food, feed, fiber, and fuel that support our society. Thankfully, American farmers possess an unrivaled capacity to produce an abundance of these high-quality products.

All Americans, urban and rural, hold a shared interest in preserving and increasing the economic vitality of family farms. We will continue to develop and advance policies that promote sustainable and local agriculture, including funding for soil and water conservation programs.

Restoring Fairness to Our Tax Code

We must reform our tax code. We'll eliminate federal income taxes for millions of retirees, because all seniors deserve to live out their lives with dignity and respect. We will not increase taxes on any family earning under $250,000 and we will offer additional tax cuts for middle class families. We will dramatically simplify tax filings so that millions of Americans can do their taxes in less than five minutes.

II. Renewing American Leadership

At moments of great peril in the last century, American leaders such as Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and John F. Kennedy managed both to protect the American people and to expand opportunity for the next generation. They used our strengths to show people everywhere America at its best. Today, we are again called to provide visionary leadership. This century's threats are at least as dangerous as, and in some ways more complex than, those we have confronted in the past.

We will confront these threats head on while working with our allies and restoring our standing in the world. We will pursue a tough, smart, and principled national security

strategy. It is a strategy that recognizes that we have interests not just in Baghdad, but in Kandahar and Karachi, in Beijing, Berlin, Brasilia and Bamako. It is a strategy that contends with the many disparate forces shaping this century, including: the fundamentalist challenge to freedom; the emergence of new powers like China, India, Russia, and a united Europe; and the spread of lethal weapons.

Barack Obama will focus this strategy on seven goals: (i) ending the war in Iraq responsibly; (ii) defeating Al Qaeda and combating violent extremism; (iii) securing nuclear weapons and materials from terrorists; (iv) revitalizing and supporting our military; (v) renewing our partnerships to promote our common security; (vi) advancing democracy and development; and (vii) protecting our planet by achieving energy security and combating climate change.

Recommit to an Alliance of the Americas

We recognize that the security and prosperity of the United States is fundamentally tied to the future of the Americas. We believe that in the 21st century, the U.S. must treat Latin America and the Caribbean as full partners, just as our neighbors to the south should reject the bombast of authoritarian bullies. Our relationship with Canada, our long-time ally, should be strengthened and enhanced.

Advancing Democracy, Development, and Respect for Human Rights

No country in the world has benefited more from the worldwide expansion of democracy than the United States. Democracies are our best trading partners, our most valuable allies, and the nations with which we share our deepest values. The Democratic Party reaffirms its longstanding commitment to support democratic institutions and practices worldwide. A more democratic world is a more peaceful and prosperous place. Yet democracy cannot be imposed by force from the outside; it must be nurtured with moderates on the inside by building democratic institutions.

III. Renewing the American Community

Service

The future of our country will be determined not only by our government and our policies but through the efforts of the American people. That is why we will ask all Americans to be actively involved in meeting the challenges of the new century. We will double the size of the Peace Corps, enable more to serve in the military, integrate service into primary education, and create new opportunities for experienced and retired persons to serve. And if you invest in America, America will invest in you by increasing support for service–learning. We will use the Internet to better match volunteers to service opportunities. In these ways, we will unleash the power of service to meet America's challenges in a uniquely American way.

Federal Lands

We will create a new vision for conservation that works with local communities to conserve our existing publicly–owned lands while dramatically expanding investments in conserving and restoring forests, grasslands, and wetlands across America for

generations to come. Unlike the current Administration, we will reinvest in our nation's forests by providing federal agencies with resources to reduce the threat of wildland fires and promote sustainable forest product industries for rural economic development. We will recognize that our parks are national treasures, and will ensure that they are protected as part of the overall natural system so they are here for generations to come. We are committed to conserving the lands used by hunters and anglers, and we will open millions of new acres of land to public hunting and fishing.

IV. Renewing American Democracy

Open, Accountable, and Ethical Government

In Barack Obama's Administration, we will open up the doors of democracy. We will use technology to make government more transparent, accountable, and inclusive. Rather than obstruct people's use of the Freedom of Information Act, we will require that agencies conduct significant business in public and release all relevant information unless an agency reasonably foresees harm to a protected interest.

We will lift the veil of secret deals in Washington by publishing searchable, online information about federal grants, contracts, earmarks, loans, and lobbyist contacts with government officials. We will put all non-emergency bills that Congress has passed online for five days, to allow the American public to review and comment on them before they are signed into law. We will require Cabinet officials to have periodic national online town hall meetings to discuss issues before their agencies.

Note: The USA has special relationships with the UK and Canada.