

# Obtaining Party Positions on Immigration from Party Manifestos

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## ***Abstract***

Expert surveys are often considered the gold standard when it comes to positioning political parties. Alternative methods are necessary when expert surveys are not available, such as in regional contexts, or if a study is interested in past positions. Most commonly, researchers are concerned with relatively comprehensive issues, such as left-right positions, or social issues. This paper provides an agnostic assessment of different methods, with a focus on party positions on immigration as a specific dimension. The paper compares: a pooled expert survey with manual coding of manifestos using a conventional codebook, manual coding using checklists, automatic coding using Wordscores, and automatic coding using a dictionary of keywords. The results suggest that there are high correlations between expert data on the one hand, and manual coding using a codebook or checklist on the other hand. There are high correlations with Wordscores, but the associations are not consistent, whereas automatic dictionary coding seems to lead to poor results.

## ***Introduction***

The accurate measurement of the position of political parties on specific issues is important for many questions in political science, including questions of political representation and party competition. There are various methods to infer the positions of political parties on whatever issue or dimension of political competition — expert surveys, manual coding of party manifestos, ‘expert’ or ‘checklist’ global coding of party manifestos, automated coding of party manifestos, and the analysis of public statements or ‘claims’ — and there is a considerable methodological debate around the validity and reliability of each of these methods (cf. special issue edited by Marks 2007b).

Some scholars argue that expert surveys are probably one of the best approaches (Benoit and Laver 2007; Klemmensen et al. 2007): they are cost efficient, as data collection takes less time than with manual coding of manifestos and experts can position political parties in multiple issue domains; they are authoritative; and they do not require complex data processing. However, critics have argued that they are problematic because they are too fuzzy about what exactly is the unit of analysis (party leaders, party activists or party supporters), what the exact criteria used to place parties on any given scale are, whether the positions reflect preferences and intentions or behaviour (or a mix of both), and what the time period of reference exactly is (Budge 2000). At the same time, it is thought that experts are unable to position parties reliably in retrospect, and that over time expert judgements tend to show parties as more static in their ideological placement than they probably are (McDonald et al. 2007). It is for these reasons that content analyses of political texts are an obvious consideration where expert surveys are not available, and sometimes are regarded as a better option to arrive at more valid estimates of party preferences (Lowe et al. 2010; Benoit, Laver, and Mikhaylov 2009).

The direct coding of party manifestos is considered to provide more detailed and valid measurements of party positions that are independent to their behaviour (Budge 2000; Laver and Garry 2000). There are several ways to approach the coding of the manifestos (c.f. Laver and Garry 2000 for a detailed overview). One option is to manually code all the relevant units of text (word strings, quasi-sentences, or natural sentences), another is to code the whole manifesto as a single unit with the use of a coding scheme that resembles a questionnaire or a ‘checklist’ of policy dimensions to be evaluated (Harmel et al. 1995), and a final one is to use computers to perform automated coding, such as by using a dictionary of keywords. All these options have the advantage of allowing a fine-grained study of party intentions or proposals on multiple policy/issue dimensions relatively independently of their (eventual) behaviours and attribute them to a very specific time-point. However, they vastly differ in the extent to which they are subject to coding errors and problems of reliability, with human coding known to be subject to both error and bias (Benoit and Laver 2007; Gabel and Huber 2000; Laver et al. 2003; Marks et al. 2007; Marks 2007a). Yet, automated coding is still regarded by many scholars as somewhat controversial, with some questioning its validity (Budge and Pennings 2007b, 2007a).

A final approach has been to use public statements or claims-making — as reported by media outlets — as the source of the positions of political parties (Kriesi et al. 2006, 2008; Kriesi 2010). The rationale for this option is that party manifestos convey positions that are very much constrained by the electoral campaign and strategies and, hence, do not capture necessarily all the views that the parties hold on a number of issues, nor necessarily their

‘sincere’ positions on them. An additional reason to use this approach is related to the fact that citizens are more likely to react to the positions that parties publicly communicate and, hence, party platforms are substandard vehicles for this communication as the ordinary citizen rarely reads them. However, this approach has many problems of its own, the most important of which is that claims-making analysis rarely covers enough statements of all parties — especially the smaller ones — to reliably estimate party positions on a multiplicity of policy issues or dimensions (cf. Pellikaan and Walter 2010 for a forceful critique of this approach).

Regardless of one’s position in this on-going methodological debate, there are practical limitations to the use of the existing sources for estimating the policy positions of political parties on issues that are not central to the classical definitions of the left-right dimension of party competition. Most commonly, researchers have been concerned with party positions in relatively comprehensive issues, such as left-right positions, or social issues (though, increasingly, scholars have focused on positions on European integration Hooghe et al. 2010; Marks et al. 2007; Netjes and Binnema 2007; Ray 2007; Whitefield et al. 2007). However, sometimes positions on more specific issues or policy areas are of interest — such as, in our case, the broad range of issues related to immigration and migrant integration —, in which case existing data sources may not include relevant questions or codes because those issues or policy areas were not deemed critical for capturing the overall positions of parties on the left-right continuum.

This is, indeed, the case with the study of party positions around immigration. For a comparative project on the politicization of immigration — the project Support and Opposition to Migration (SOM)<sup>1</sup> —, we are seeking to measure in a valid and reliable way the positions of all relevant parties on immigration, covering changes over time. These data are necessary for testing some of the SOM hypotheses — namely, a hypothesis that connects politicization with mutually reinforcing cleavages — and to unequivocally identify anti-immigration parties. Yet, only recently expert surveys have begun to include questions on the position on immigration more systematically, hence they are of little use when one wants to study the matter over time. To some extent, expert judgements can be pooled, as is done in this paper, but there are also issues of comparison because of different wordings (Foddy 1993). All in all, expert surveys have not asked about party positions on immigration regularly enough to obtain a convincing time series, and they rarely coincided with national elections.

Equally, as we will explain at some length in the next section, the existing sources that derive positions directly from political texts — namely the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) dataset and coding scheme — is very deficient in its treatment of immigration-related issues, as the existing codes confound immigration issues with other political issues and are, therefore, unsuitable for the separate analysis of positions on immigration across countries and over time. And readily-available applications for the automated coding of party positions on the left-right axis, such as Laver and Garry’s English-language dictionary (2000), are not adapted to the study of a narrower set of issues.

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<sup>1</sup> *Support and Opposition to Migration (SOM)*, <http://www.som-project.eu/>

Given these limitations, this paper proposes, examines and compares several options for deriving party positions on a specific policy domain, namely the position on immigration, from political texts. In so doing, we follow the steps of other scholars in this subfield who have advocated the need to triangulate data from various sources and methods of data collection when deriving the positions of political parties on any ideological space (Marks et al. 2007; Marks 2007a). Thus, the paper considers four different methods of deriving positions from party manifestos — manual coding, checklist manual coding, automated coding with dictionary, and automated coding with Wordscores<sup>2</sup> — and examines the extent to which they lead to the same estimates of party positions — a test of correlational validity (Carmines and Zeller 1979). At the same time, we cross-validate each of them to an ‘exogenous’ standard: the 2002-2003 expert survey conducted by Benoit and Laver (2006). With these goals in mind, the paper proceeds as follows. The next section frames our study of the measurement of party positions on immigration in the wider methodological debate around how best to obtain party positions, and in the context of existing studies that have approached the measurement of this policy area previously. Then we present our data and methods, followed by an analysis of the results. We find that manual coding using a codebook or a checklist provide valid estimates. Wordscores also seem valid, although with significantly greater variance; whereas the automatic dictionary approach performs poorly.

### ***Obtaining Party Positions on Immigration: Methodological Framework and Debates***

When seeking to derive the positions of political parties on ideological or policy dimensions, the scholarship in political science has favoured a modified version of elite surveys — expert surveys — and the use of content analysis. In the first case, although the initial intention was to map policy/ideological positions with elite surveys, the difficulty in obtaining comparative data of a certain methodological quality led scholars to substitute them by the use of expert surveys (Mair 2001). These, on occasions, are limited to placing the political parties on the classic left-right scale (Castles and Mair 1984; Huber and Inglehart 1995), while other times the ideological positioning of parties in multiple dimensions of political competition is evaluated (Benoit and Laver 2006; Hooghe et al. 2010; Laver and Hunt 1992).

The rationale for using expert surveys is quite simple: it is a relatively easy, quick and cheap way of obtaining information about political parties for a large number of parties and countries. In principle, the assumption is that experts (most of them, political scientists

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<sup>2</sup> We also considered party positions derived from a claims-making dataset. The SOM data cover 750 to 1200 randomly selected days per country between 1995 and 2009, which produces between 614 (Ireland) and 1319 (Netherlands) claims on immigration and integration. In Austria, this results in 146 data points for the SPÖ, 132 for the ÖVP, 117 for the FPÖ, 103 for the Greens, 20 for the BZÖ, and 7 for the LiF. In Spain, this results in 30 data points for the PSOE, 26 for the PP, 13 each for the IU and the CiU, and 11 for the CC. In Switzerland, this results in 51 data points for the SVP, 27 for the SPS, 19 for the FDP, 11 for the CVP, 7 for the Swiss Democrats, and 3 for the Greens. Parties with fewer than 3 data points are not listed. Given that the data are spread over 15 years, we did not consider these data sufficient for reliable positioning of parties over time beyond perhaps the largest ones.

specialized in party politics) are very knowledgeable of where the parties in their countries stand in a number of issues and dimensions of political competition. Including several experts per country will, additionally, provide estimates of error around the mean positions derived for the party. As such, expert surveys have become quite popular in the discipline and are widely used in the study of party competition and political representation.

However, the results of expert surveys also present serious limitations (see summaries in Benoit and Laver 2007; Budge 2000; Mair 2001; Marks et al. 2007; Ray 2007). First of all, their timing is problematic: there are a limited number of expert surveys, they only started in the 1980s (and they are not regarded as reliable for retrospective positioning) and do not necessarily coincide with election years. Their use for over-time positioning is also hindered by the fact that experts tend to discount short-term fluctuations of the parties and seem to report on the more stable placement of parties in the ideological space. Second, often, the positions of parties are attributed on the basis of a relatively small number of “expert” opinions, who might not even be sufficiently familiar with the smaller parties in the given political system. Additionally, expert surveys often are not explicit about which ‘face’ of parties the positions refer to — leaders, activists or core voters — and hence the interpretation about whose position is being measured is problematic. A further problem is that several expert surveys only ask for the general left-right position of political parties and it has been shown that experts across countries tend to interpret ideological dimensions differently unless the exact meaning is properly anchored (Gabel and Huber 2000; Huber and Inglehart 1995). A final limitation is related to the difficulties in studying the multidimensionality of the political space with expert data. Benoit and Laver (2006, 2007) report that in several countries the left-right dimension is also shaped to a large extent by additional issue dimensions that have not traditionally been regarded as constituent parts of that cleavage — e.g. decentralization and, critically for this paper, immigration — and they suggest that this may mean that the content of the left-right cleavage takes on new meanings as new issues emerge. However, as they also suggest, this could very well mean that experts conflate these new issues into the left-right dimension without this reflecting fully the reality. In fact, as handling multidimensionality of competition spaces is intellectually more challenging than collapsing all into a single dimension, it is quite likely that some of the overlap is exaggerated by experts’ evaluations.

Regardless of these considerations, the main problem with expert surveys for our study is the lack of a sufficient number of them that include questions on parties’ positions on immigration, and that when they do they are not very specific about the dimensions of immigration-related policy that they are evaluating (e.g. immigration flows management v. immigrant integration policy). Until recently, very few expert surveys enquired about immigration. Benoit and Laver (2006) included one such item (#19). This item asked experts to place parties on a 1-20 scale related to this statement: “Favours policies designed to help asylum seekers and immigrants... integrate into [country] society (1) / return to their country of origin (20)”. Though this was certainly a welcome addition, the way the positioning of parties was approached was, understandably, too general. A single item will not allow ascertaining different positions in relation to models of immigrant integration, or about how to manage immigration flows.

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey series also added in its 2006 survey — then carried forward into the 2010 survey — an item tapping at parties’ policy positions on immigration (item #25) that asked experts to place each of the parties on a 0-10 scale where 0 meant that the party strongly opposes a tough policy and 10 meant that the party strongly favours a tough policy, followed by a question (item #26) about the importance/salience of immigration policy for

each of the parties, also on a 0 (not important at all) to 10 (extremely important) scale. These two items were followed by another two (#27 and #28) on the parties' position on the integration of immigrants and asylum seekers (0=strongly favours multiculturalism & 10=strongly favours assimilation) and its importance/salience for the parties. This formulation improves on previous ones in several ways. First, it explicitly distinguishes the policy positions in relation to immigration flow management from the positions on immigrant integration, which is quite critical for any detailed study of immigration. Second, like Benoit and Laver, it presents an indicator of salience, which is essential for putting in perspective the overall relevance of the positions in the party competition space as a whole and for individual parties.

Overall, thus, the existing expert survey data offer a reasonable picture of party positions on immigration since around 2000 and one whose quality improves substantially since 2006. Yet, this still reduces the number of data points to three and our own research needs required looking back into at least the mid-1990s. A natural step, thus, was to turn our attention to the use of party manifestos as the main sources of data. There are many advantages to the use of party manifestos as the main source of party positions. Party manifestos are very useful to create time series of positions can be extended backwards as long as archival copies of the manifestos are available. They can also provide more detailed information than is reasonable to ask from experts, provided that the documents are long enough to contain information about multiple issues or dimensions.

There are two fundamental approaches for obtaining party positions from manifestos. On the one hand, the political text is perceived as data to be coded. Each statement or section of a manifesto — and in some cases the whole manifesto, as in Harmel et al. (1995) — is assigned a position on one or multiple political domains. A codebook is used, but the coders use their own judgements as to which wordings constitute evidence for a certain position. We will refer to this approach, broadly, as manual coding.

On the other hand, the relative frequency of words and expressions can be used as data. In this case, party positions are derived from the fact that the parties emphasize different issues in their manifestos. What is more, even where the same issues are treated, they tend to be framed in different ways, which is reflected in the words chosen. The underlying assumption is that a more frequent use of a word or expression associated with a particular position means that the party is closer to said position. Put differently, issue salience is used to obtain party positions. For instance, a party repeatedly referring to social inequalities is likely to be politically left, based on the observation that parties on the left tend to highlight issues of inequality.<sup>3</sup> Most of the instances of this second approach are conducted with the assistance of computer software, and hence we will broadly refer to them as automated coding.

Among the examples of manual coding approaches, the work of a European research group stands out: the *Manifesto Research Group* and the *Comparative Manifesto Project*

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<sup>3</sup> It is because of the different frames used to discuss an issue that the approach has merit over time. Were it not the case that parties used different words and expressions for the same issues, the reliance on salience to obtain party positions would be problematic since the salience of an issue can increase more generally. For instance, the politicization of immigration has increased in many Western European countries in the past decades.

(MRG/CMP hereafter) led by Ian Budge, David Robertson and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, the main results of which can be found in Budge, Hearl and Robertson (1987), Laver and Budge (1992), Klingemann, Hofferbert and Budge (1994) and Budge et al. (2001). Over the years, the MRG/CMP have collected manifestos from multiple parties in a large number of democracies, and has applied consistently a set of codes applied to quasi-sentences that are coded manually. The MRG/CMP data has been criticised on several accounts: the failure to expand its coding scheme, the use of only one coder per manifesto, the dominance of the saliency approach to party competition, and the heterogeneity of the documents used as texts for coding. For our own purposes, one important limitation of this dataset is that the cross-national comparison of the ideological spaces resulting from the analysis of electoral manifestoes can be highly problematic and, especially, that one can often find considerable fluctuations in the positions of parties in successive elections that are related more to what parties choose to emphasise in a given election than on real differences in their policy positions (see, e.g., Benoit and Laver 2006 & 2007).

More importantly, however, for our purposes is that the available codes in the MRG/CMP scheme are unsuitable to position parties on immigration. The codes available (607: multiculturalism positive,<sup>4</sup> 608 multiculturalism negative,<sup>5</sup> and 705 underprivileged minority groups<sup>6</sup>) confound immigration issues with other political issues and are therefore unsuitable. The codes 607-608 explicitly include a consideration of pillarization, which clearly refers to ‘internal’ or ‘autochthonous’ minorities, rather than foreign immigration-originated minorities. This is highly problematic, as several countries across Europe have sizeable internal ethno-national or regional minorities and the political parties that represent them are very likely to devote a considerable space to issues that fall within these two codes, and so might other non-regional parties in reaction. Equally problematic, code 705 makes no distinction between immigrants as minorities, national minorities, or minorities such as homosexuals and the disabled. As such, it is impossible to ascertain which of the coded sentences are particularly referring to immigrants or refugees. This means that any use of the MRG/CMP data to estimate specifically the positions of political parties on immigration over time is packed with a lot of measurement error and is quite likely to be measuring wider aspects of the GAL/TAN or libertarian/authoritarian divide (cf. e.g., Alonso and Claro da Fonseca 2011).

An alternative approach to the manual sentence-by-sentence coding of manifestos is to regard the whole manifesto as the unit to be coded. This was the approach used by Harmel et al. (1995) in the context of the Party Change Project (PCP) and, to the best of our knowledge, it has not been replicated for party manifestos until now. The difference between this approach and the MRG/CMP one is that the whole manifesto is considered the unit of analysis. Hence,

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<sup>4</sup> Literally described in the MRG/CMP codebook as “Cultural diversity, communalism, cultural plurality and pillarization; preservation of autonomy of religious, linguistic heritages within the country including special educational provisions.”

<sup>5</sup> The description in the codebook is: “Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration; otherwise as 607, but negative.”

<sup>6</sup> The full reference in the codebook is: “Favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms, e.g. the handicapped, disabled, homosexuals, immigrants, refugees etc.”

the expert coder is given the task of reading the full manifesto at once and then answer a detailed questionnaire or codebook that assigns an overall position to each party manifesto on a number of relevant policy or ideological positions. In the case of the PCP coding, 19 issues were identified on which the expert coders needed to assign one of 11 possible scores — on a -5 (identifying the most extreme leftist position) to + 5 (the most extreme rightist position) scale. In addition to the code itself, the coders had to provide a verbatim extract of the manifesto that justified or exemplified their choice of score. In the documentation provided by the PCP team this latter requirement was more unevenly met by the coders.

The PCP codebook did include an issue dimension on positions around ‘minority’ rights (item #16) — but, as in the MRG/CMP case, this confounded several types of minorities: racial, linguistic and regional — and another specifically on immigration policy (item #18) that focuses on the openness or restrictiveness of party positions around the entry of immigrants. However, the time span of this project (1950-1990) made it unsuitable for our own interests. Interestingly enough, these data are rarely used in the study of over-time party positions beyond the analyses carried out by the main investigators. The main advantage of this approach — which, for ease of reference, we will call the ‘checklist’ approach<sup>7</sup> — is that it is much less time-consuming than manual coding of individual sentences or quasi-sentence and provides a global consideration of the overall policy positions of the party in the manifesto, thus reducing the scope for random fluctuations due to writing styles or personal emphases of the manifesto author(s). The main disadvantage is that, in providing a global score it is much more subject to the biases of the expert coder who is more likely to let his/her personal opinions and prior information about the party interfere with an overall score than is likely to be the case when confronted with a number of shorter sentences or quasi-sentences.

Other approaches to manual or checklist coding of party manifestos in relation to the immigration issue can be found in the scholarly literature. Gudbrandsen (2010), for example, uses an approach similar to the ‘checklist’ one and provides an overall judgement of party positions on refugee immigration using three broad scores: restrictive, liberal and neutral (or no statements).<sup>8</sup> Odmalm (2012), instead, uses an approach that is more similar to the MRG/CMP one and focuses on quasi-sentences assisted with a word search on the basis of a dictionary. In addition to coding the manifestos of Britain and Sweden between the early 1990s and the mid-2000s on the ‘old’ left-right dimension and the ‘new’ libertarian-authoritarian dimension, Odmalm codes party positions on immigration on three-point scales (-1, 0, +1) that judge whether the party proposes that policies should be more liberal (-1) or

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<sup>7</sup> We thank Ken Benoit for suggesting the term and the method to us.

<sup>8</sup> For Gudbrandsen (pp. 254-255), a restrictive party describes its own policy as restrictive/ strict, or states that the number of immigrants should be reduced, or states that existing laws should be implemented ‘efficiently’, or wants to limit the right to immigrate, or states that asylum should only be given on the condition of return, or focuses on reducing the abuse of the right to asylum. A liberal party describes its own policy as liberal or humane, or states that the number of immigrants should be increased, or states that existing laws should be interpreted liberally or to the benefit of the doubt, or states that the right to immigration should be strengthened or extended to new groups. If none of these apply, the statements were considered neutral.



more restrictive (+1) for seven aspects: (1) Immigration (in general), (2) Labour immigration, (3) Asylum seekers and refugees, (4) Family reunification, (5) Unaccompanied minors, (6) Student migration, and (7) Retirement migration.<sup>9</sup>

By contrast, automatic approaches such as Wordscores are appealing because they automate much of the procedure, which makes them resource-friendly. Being automatic, such approaches are necessarily reliable, and there are many indications that estimates obtained using Wordscores are valid (Benoit and Laver 2008; Lowe 2008; Lowe et al. 2010; Martin and Vanberg 2008). The application to languages where words are not clearly divided may be more difficult (Chen 2011). A different problem particular to Wordscores stems from the fact that Wordscores often appear less reliable at the edges: the extreme positions (Lowe 2008). Depending on the research question, the exact positions at the edges are of crucial interest.

Yet, all automatic approaches require some input from humans. In contrast to the Wordscores approach, that only requires the identification of reference texts, the automatic dictionary approach requires a dictionary of keywords and associated scores – work akin to developing a codebook. Since the coding is done by a computer, the dictionary needs to be carefully thought through because there are no human coders involved who would spot the obvious false positives. Indeed, the quality of the dictionary is paramount. Wordscores might appear more to the point in this regard, although the choice of reference texts and the scores assigned to these reference texts is not a trivial task. One way is to rely on expert surveys (e.g. Benoit and Laver 2006 item 19; Hooghe 2005 items 25 and 27) to reference manifestoes, as we do in this paper. A challenge in the case of immigration is that it seems difficult to find clear pro-migration stances for reference: parties with more immigrant-friendly policies tend to include them as part of wider concerns for equality and diversity. By contrast, obtaining good reference texts for anti-immigration parties may be less difficult.

What is more, a challenge to all manifesto-based approaches is that when focusing on a single issue, it is conceivable that in certain years other issues dominate to the extent that the issue is not mentioned in the manifesto. This may affect all parties in a particular year, or specific parties in a particular year or more generally. It is unclear how Wordscores performs on texts that are not actually about the issue in question; manual coding and the automatic dictionary approach would result in a missing value. For this reason, we manually select parts of the manifestos that are about immigration and integration, and use these as the sources for Wordscores.

Of course different methods have been compared (e.g. Benoit and Laver 2005; Benoit and Laver 2007; Chen 2011; Rooduijn and Pauwels 2011), but these studies tend to focus on left-right positions. The difference to previous studies is that here we are interested in a specific issue domain – also over time. In contrast to generic issues such as political left and right, or social issues, it is possible that for some parties and some years the specific issue is not salient and thus absent from the manifestos. In many cases, much less space is dedicated to

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<sup>9</sup> We found no information on either Gudbrandsen or Odmalm's pieces about the number of coders and the exact protocols followed for the coding of manifestos, but we presume these were coded directly by themselves.

immigration than to other issues such as the economy. This means shorter relevant passages: less data to work with. With less data it might become difficult to obtain nuanced positions. Finally, particular to immigration is the issue that it may only be mentioned when it is opposed; the status quo of allowing certain immigrants may not be mentioned at all.

## ***Data and Methods***

In this paper, we compare expert positions, manual coding, the checklist approach, automatic dictionary coding, and Wordscores for seven European countries (Austria, Belgium, Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland). For these seven countries we provide a single cross-sectional snapshot for the election closest to 2002/3. This date was chosen to ensure a comparable time point with existing expert surveys, but also to make sure that the issue of immigration was sufficiently developed in all countries under study. In addition to this cross-sectional analysis, for Austria, Spain, and Switzerland, the main parties are covered over time between 1991 and 2011. Appendix 1 outlines in detail which party manifestos are considered, along with their word count.

In order to obtain expert data for the entire period, a range of expert surveys were pooled, and a moving average over 7 years is used to create a time series (e.g. Lubbers, Gijsberts, and Scheepers 2002; Benoit and Laver 2006; Ladner, Schwarz, and Fivaz 2009; Hooghe 2005, EU Profiler). The long time span for the moving average is necessary to bridge gaps in coverage, although the substantial results reported in this paper can be replicated with a moving average over 5 years. For the cross-sectional analysis, we use data from Benoit and Laver (2006), which refer to 2002-2004.

The manual coding of manifestos uses a conventional codebook applied to natural sentences. Perhaps a more common approach is to divide texts into individual quasi-sentences. Quasi-sentences are either natural sentences, or parts of a sentence judged to have an independent meaning. There is evidence that this additional effort is not necessary, since natural sentences also lead to valid estimates (Däubler et al. 2012). The task of coding sentences was made easier by using keyword search to identify parts of the manifesto likely to be about immigration. An inclusive dictionary of keywords was used to help coders identify parts of the manifesto that are about immigration (see appendix 5). The coders then manually selected relevant sections, filtering out false positives. This approach was piloted on British and Swiss-German manifestos to ensure that the keywords do not miss potentially relevant sections. The analyses reported in this paper use these selections — sections of the manifestos that are about immigration and integration. The relevant section of the codebook can be found in appendix 3. The positional question asks “what is the position toward the issue?” – ranging from “Strongly restrictive to migrants/ conservative/ pro-national residents/ mono-cultural” to “Strongly open to migrants/ progressive/ cosmopolitan/ multi-cultural”, and examples were included to aid coding. The (re-scaled) mean of the coded positions is taken as the party position. Because multiple sentences are coded in each instance, we can quantify deviations.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The current analyses in this paper only use point estimates.

For the checklist approach, a questionnaire using 19 questions was created, with some of the questions drawing heavily on questions in the *Eurobarometer* and the *EU Profiler*. For the checklist approach, coders were asked to read the entire manifesto, and then answer the 19 questions as if it were a survey. Different coders were used for the checklists than for the manual coding, and the coders were asked to copy snippets from the manifestos as evidence. This was done to ensure their answers are based on information in the manifesto. Appendix 5 includes the checklist, although the analyses in this paper remove four items to ensure all items measure the same concept. The (re-scaled) mean of the coded positions is taken as the party position. Appendix 6 includes a limited reliability analysis.

The automatic dictionary coding was implemented using Will Lowe's *Yoshikoder*. The dictionary was developed in multiple stages. The initial plan to develop and refine the dictionary used by Laver and Garry (2000) was dropped, and word frequencies of the *British National Party* (BNP) manifesto were used as a starting point. Drawing on expert knowledge within the European Project SOM, this initial list of keywords was expanded and refined to create a first dictionary. The dictionary was then translated into Spanish, Dutch, French, and German, and back-translated to reduce translation effects (Behling and Law 2000) and to improve the dictionary. This version was then piloted on British, Spanish, and Swiss-German manifestos to further refine the keywords and assign scores to the keywords. By using sections of the manifesto known to be about immigration, scores could be assigned to some keywords that would otherwise be ambivalent. Party positions are calculated on the basis of scores assigned to keywords, based on the actual range of scores across all seven countries.

Wordscores were carried out using Will Lowe's *JFreq* software and *Austin* package in *R*. A stemmer was applied, and numbers and currencies were removed. The analyses in this paper use parties with relatively extreme positions on immigration (pro and anti) as reference texts, indicated in Table 1 as *Ref*. For the analysis over time, we used the manifestos of all parties in one year as reference texts: 2006 in Austria, 2004 in Spain, and 2003 in Switzerland. This leads to better results than using the two extreme parties as reference texts in all year. The reference texts were set to the expert positions.

There is no easy solution to infer party positions from manifestos when immigration is not a salient topic and thus not mentioned many times in a party manifesto. Where immigration is not mentioned, in this paper a party is considered as having no position, and no position is estimated or coded. It is likely that in such a case, experts use left-right positions or other information as heuristics to infer (expected) positions on immigration where in reality there might be no position. The same problem may apply to Wordscores if the manifestos are not restricted to sections of the manifestos known to be about immigration. By contrast, if the absence of immigration in the manifesto reflects parties avoiding the issue in the manifesto, possibly to avoid (potentially) alienating voters, experts would be able to position parties reliably.

## ***Findings***

### **Across Countries**

In a first step, we examine the association between estimated party positions in a cross-sectional analysis. This cross-sectional analysis compares party positions in the election closest to 2003 in seven countries: Austria, Belgium, Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain, and Switzerland. Table 1 presents the parties covered along with the estimated position derived using different methods.

**Table 1: Party Positions for the Election Closest to 2002/3**

Country	Party	Expert	Manual	Checklist	Wordscores	Dictionary
AT	Grüne	1.85	0.57	3.95	Ref.	4.90
AT	SPÖ	4.45	3.30	4.47	5.45	3.10
AT	ÖVP	6.80	5.33	5.53	5.55	3.35
AT	BZÖ		7.18	6.58	6.05	4.03
AT	FPÖ	9.25	9.39	7.11	Ref.	6.76
BE	Ecolo	0.95		3.16	Ref.	2.13
BE	PS	2.75		2.37	4.29	1.62
BE	CD&V	3.85		5.26	Ref.	2.87
BE	MR/FDF	4.85		2.11	4.31	1.10
BE	CDH	5.30		2.37	4.36	1.20
BE	AGALEV			3.42	6.70	2.36
BE	SP.A [Spirit]			3.95	6.70	3.49
BE	Vivant				6.80	4.19
BE	NV-A	6.35		5.00	6.90	4.02
BE	VLD	6.45		6.58	6.85	3.47
BE	FN	9.60	9.67	7.11	Ref.	2.17
BE	Vlaams Blok	9.90	8.96	7.37	Ref.	2.11
CH	SPS	1.60	1.35	3.95	Ref.	4.34
CH	GPS	2.85	1.82	3.68	2.85	4.03
CH	CVP	5.20	5.65	5.79	6.95	6.94
CH	FDP	6.50	6.03	4.21	7.10	6.01
CH	SVP	9.40	7.19	6.58	7.10	4.77
CH	FP/AP		8.59	7.37	7.15	6.63
CH	SD	9.85	8.97	7.63	Ref.	7.32
ES	IU	1.70	1.66	1.84	Ref.	1.98
ES	PSOE	3.70	2.86	3.95	4.20	2.60
ES	CIU	6.30	4.56	4.21	4.21	2.17
ES	CC		4.69	5.26	4.27	1.43
ES	PNV	6.45	2.09	4.74	4.29	3.22
ES	PP	8.30	4.87	4.74	Ref.	3.35
IE	G	2.90			Ref.	5.17
IE	LAB	3.35			5.45	4.24
IE	S	4.30			5.40	2.61
IE	SF	4.30			5.50	2.85
IE	FG	6.45	6.25		5.25	2.83
IE	PD	7.05			5.80	2.53
IE	FF	7.35	3.17		Ref.	3.55
NL	GroenLinks	1.65	4.31	3.68	Ref.	3.83
NL	D66	3.65	4.72	4.21	5.25	4.72
NL	PVDA	3.80	4.69	4.47	5.45	5.12
NL	ChristenUnie	4.80	5.00	5.79	5.65	4.16
NL	CDA	5.70	5.30			
NL	PVDD	7.80	5.00	5.00	5.40	3.66
NL	VVD	7.80			5.40	6.25
NL	LPF	9.15	7.09	6.84	Ref.	6.36
NL	PVV		8.06	6.32	5.80	5.52
UK	LibDem	3.00	2.13	3.95	Ref.	2.91
UK	Labour	4.50	5.61	4.47	5.05	1.92
UK	Cons	6.90	6.85	5.26	Ref.	1.80

Notes: Ref. indicates reference texts. For Belgium, two reference texts are necessary for each language region; for Switzerland, German manifestos were used exclusively, French manifestos are direct translations.

Table 1 illustrates that in most countries, the ranking of parties tends to be consistent across methods, especially once we discount the automatic dictionary approach. This is not the case in Ireland and Spain, the two countries where the issue of immigration was least salient at the time. However, while not all methods seem suitable for a precise placement of parties, all the methods are able to differentiate between parties that are clearly pro-immigrant and anti-immigrant.

**Table 2: Correlations in Cross-Sectional Analysis**

	<i>Expert</i>	<i>Manual</i>	<i>Checklist</i>
Manual	0.82		
Checklist	0.78	0.87	
Wordscores	0.57	0.65	0.51

Table 2 shows the correlations between party positions derived using different methods. There are high correlations between expert positions on the one hand, and manual coding, and the checklist on the other hand. The correlation with Wordscores is more moderate. By contrast, the automatic dictionary approach performed poorly ( $r = 0.23$ ). This result surprised us, given the amount of testing and refining we undertook. It might be that the automatic dictionary approach is unable to pick up differences in the vocabulary in different countries and over time.

**Figure 1: Associations between Estimated Party Methods, 7 Countries Pooled**

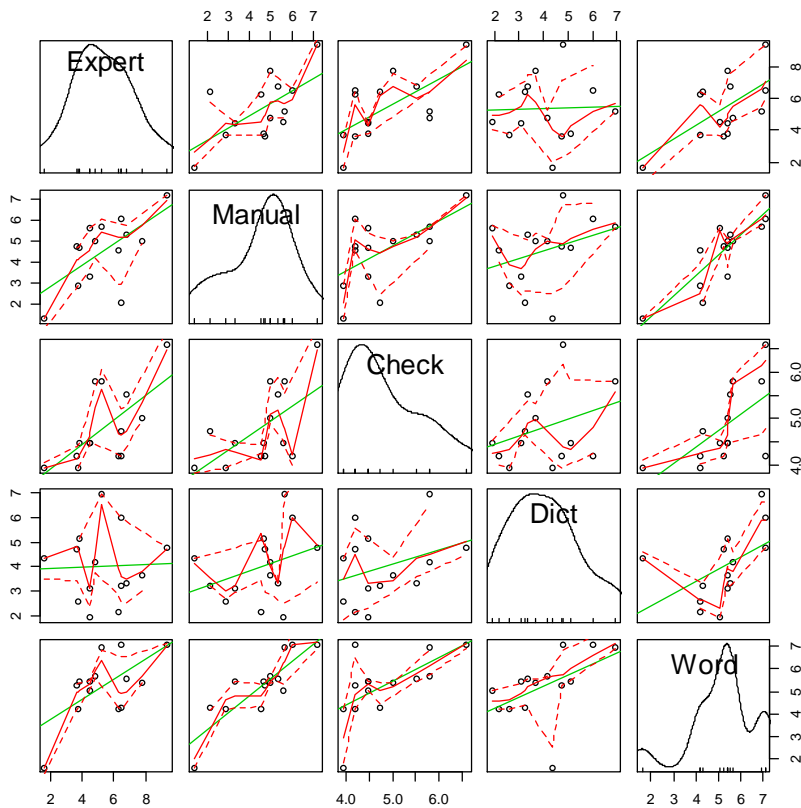


Figure 1 presents the associations between estimated party positions derived differently in graphical form. It visualizes the lack of association for the automatic dictionary approach, despite the general direction of the association being positive. The central boxes show the densities of the party positions. The density based on Benoit and Laver’s expert survey has a single peak at the centre. Despite the low correlations, the density based on the automatic dictionary approach is similar to the expert one. By contrast, both manual coding and Wordscores tend to position parties toward the anti-immigration end, whereas the checklist approach tends to produce estimates that are more pro-immigration.

### Across Time

In three countries, we compare the different methods for obtaining party positions from manifestos over time. In Austria, we observe high correlations between expert positions on the one hand and three of the methods on the other hand. Only the automatic dictionary approach leads to (wildly) different estimates of party positions. As visible in Table 3, the association for manual coding is consistently high; for the checklist approach very high correlations can be observed, including a near perfect one in 1995. However, the equivalent correlation in 2002 is considerably lower ( $r=0.72$ ), indicating at least some inconsistency. The correlations for Wordscores are also considerably high.

The correlations by method are reproduced graphically in appendix 2. It can be seen that the densities are quite similar to what we observed for the cross-sectional analysis. A difference

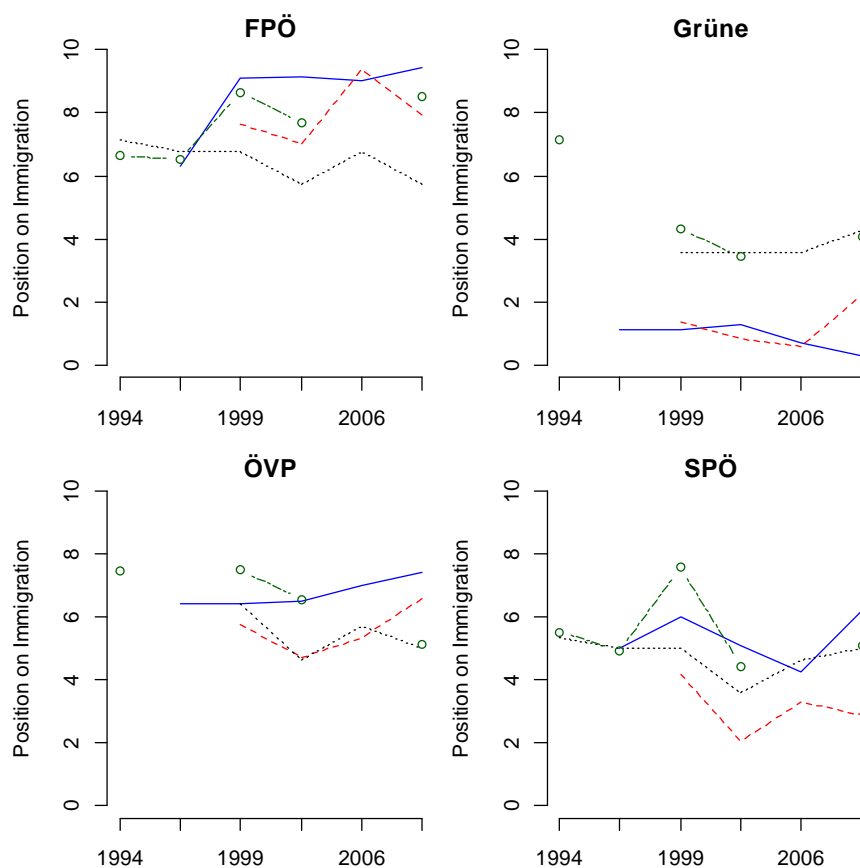
lies in the more centrist estimates based on manual coding – as opposed to a bias toward anti-immigrant positions.

**Table 3: Correlations with Expert Survey, Austria**

	1995	1999	2002	2006	2008
Manual		0.96	0.83	0.97	0.87
Checklist	1.00	0.91	0.72	0.99	0.95
Dictionary	-0.64	-0.26	0.38	0.41	-0.87
Wordscores	0.99	0.96	0.82	Ref.	0.82

Figure 2 shows the positions of four Austrian parties, as estimated in four different ways. Looking at the broad picture, the different methods agree: the FPÖ is anti-immigrant, the Greens are in favour of immigrants, and the ÖVP and SPÖ take more centrist positions. It also appears that the ÖVP takes somewhat more restrictive views than the SPÖ. It is this agreement in party ranking that accounts for the high correlations outlined. Indeed, when looking at the estimated positions of an individual party, we observe a significant range of about 4 points.

**Figure 2: Positions of Parties in Austria**



Methods used: pooled expert positions (blue), manual coding (red, dashed), checklist (black, dotted), and Wordscores (green, dash-dotted with circles)

The situation in Spain is not dissimilar to that in Austria for most of the years, although the correlation coefficients tend to be somewhat lower. We note an unexpected difference for 2011, for which year the expert position and the manual coding diverge greatly for the PP. A graphical representation of the correlations in Table 4 can be found in appendix 1. In contrast to the cross-sectional analysis, in Spain manual coding does not seem to position parties more toward the anti-immigrant end. The checklist approach, by contrast, tends to identify positions that are more pro-immigrant, although like the experts with a clear single peak.

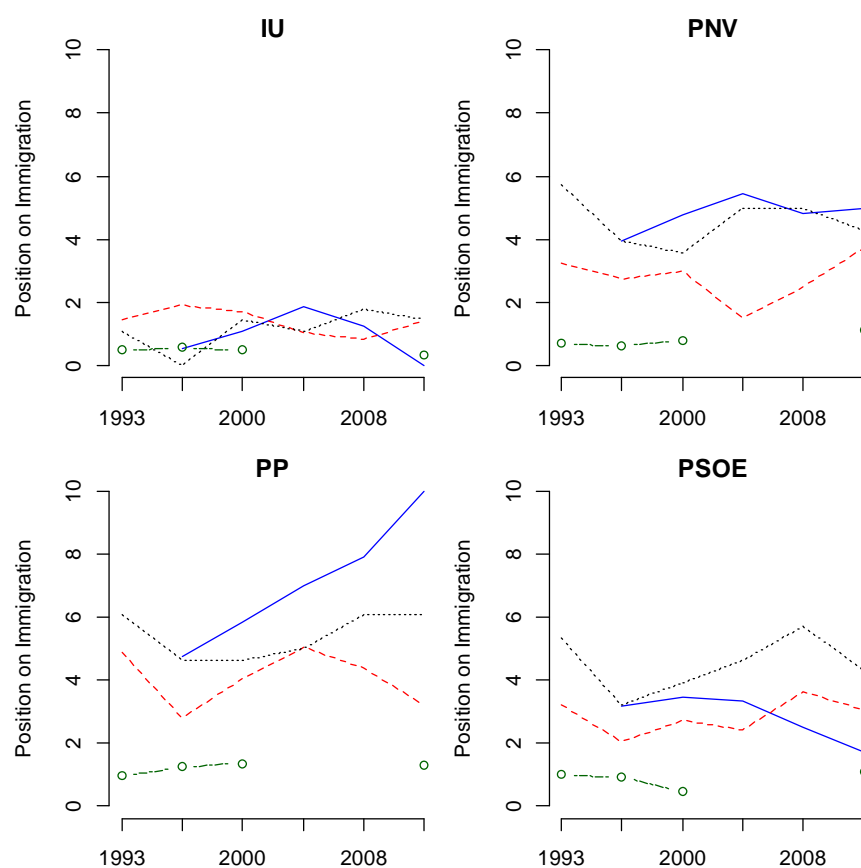
**Table 4: Correlations with Expert Survey, Spain**

	<i>1996</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2011</i>
Manual	0.71	0.87	0.78	0.70	0.38
Checklist	1.00	0.93	0.93	0.68	0.88
Dictionary	0.48	0.48	0.50		0.31
Wordscores	0.70	0.77	Ref.		0.74

With regard to estimated party positions, the different methods tend to agree in the ranking of the parties – as was the case in Austria. The PP is identified as the most anti-immigrant party, although most methods suggest a centrist position. Clearly centrist are the PSOE and the PNV, with the IU taking more pro-immigrant positions. The range of values appears to be somewhat larger than in Austria, although the different methods seem to agree quite well in the case of the IU. An unexpected result is the position of the PP in 2011. The pooled expert data in this case is dominated by an estimate that puts the PP at the extreme, whereas the manifesto-based approaches do not identify such a radicalization. We have reason to question the expert data in this case, and assume that by adding further expert data to the pooled survey – such as the latest Chapel Hill data –, this discrepancy will be reduced if not disappear.



**Figure 3: Positions of Parties in Spain**



Methods used: pooled expert positions (blue), manual coding (red, dashed), checklist (black, dotted), and Wordscores (green, dash-dotted with circles)

In Switzerland, we observe very high correlations for most methods and years (Table 5). Somewhat different is the only moderately high correlation between expert positions and manual coding in 2011. The fact that the Socialists (SPS) did not mention immigration in 2011 and thus do not contribute to the correlation cannot explain this difference, since the Socialists did not mention immigration in their 1995 manifesto either, for which year there is a near-perfect correlation.

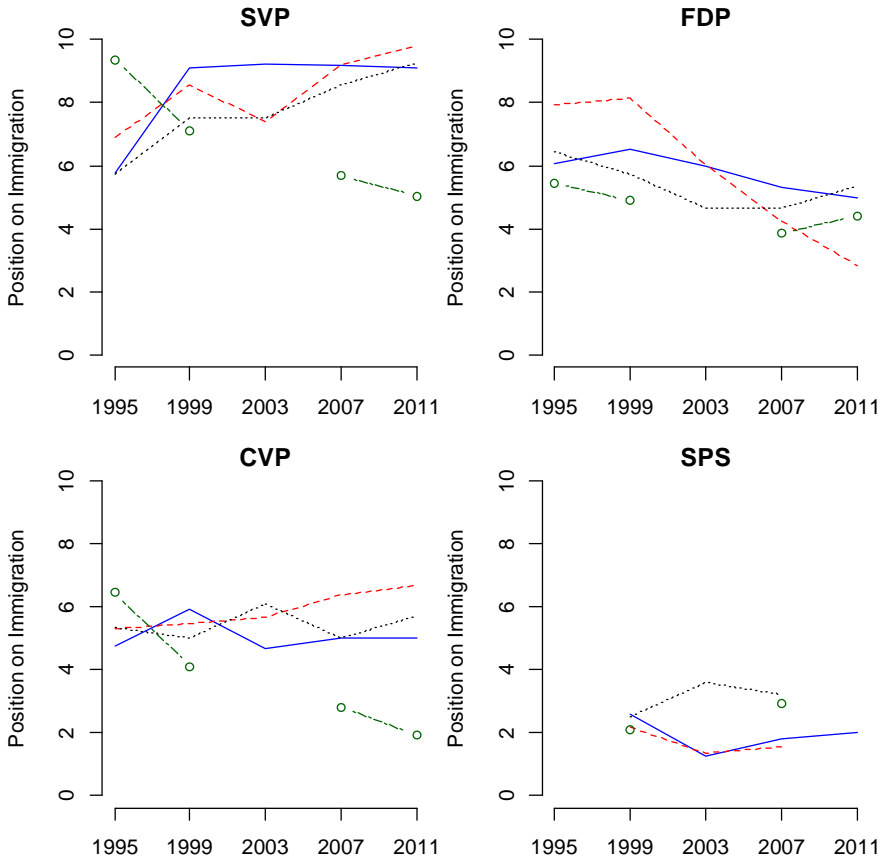
**Table 5: Correlations with Expert Survey, Switzerland**

	1995	1999	2003	2007	2011
Manual	0.99	0.96	0.96	0.97	0.73
Checklist	0.98	0.96	0.90	0.98	1.00
Dictionary	-0.04	0.42	0.87	0.19	-0.09
Wordscores	0.81	0.92	Ref.	0.93	0.88

As in the other two countries examined over time, the different methods agree on the ranking of parties (Figure 4). The SVP is consistently placed at the anti-immigrant end, whereas the SPS takes the opposite position. The FDP and CVP take centrist positions. In contrast to the

other two countries, the range of values in Switzerland is relatively narrow if one only considers expert positions, manual coding, and checklists. Interesting are the SVP and the FDP, since for both parties all the methods identify a change over time. For the SVP, the experts seem to suggest a sudden change in the 1990s, whereas the other methods suggest a more gradual radicalization. Wordscores estimates, however, seem to fail in this case, suggesting the inverse change. By contrast, for the FDP all the different methods are in agreement with regard of the direction of change.

**Figure 4: Positions of Parties in Switzerland**

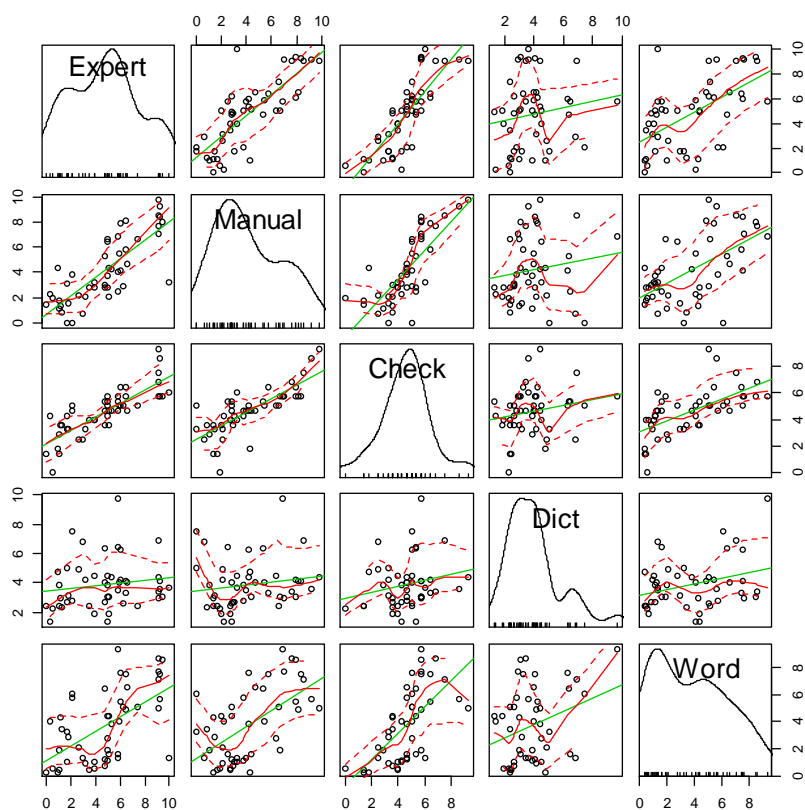


Methods used: pooled expert positions (blue), manual coding (red, dashed), checklist (black, dotted), and Wordscores (green, dash-dotted with circles)

In an additional step, we examine three countries jointly. With more data points, the associations between expert positions on the one hand, and manual coding and checklists on the other hand are immediately apparent (Figure 5). There is also a clear association with Wordscores ( $r=0.57$ ), although there is more variation. It may simply be the case that the sections in the manifestos dealing with immigration are so short that scoring words becomes difficult. The high correlation between expert positions and manual coding is important, since the pooling of expert data makes it less clear, whether expert data should (still) be considered the gold standard. What is more, reliability on specific issues may not be so clear-cut, given the relatively short sections that deal with immigration. In the absence of expert data, manual

coding is often considered the next best approach; and the high correlations suggest that either approach seems warranted.

**Figure 5: Correlations between Estimated Party Positions, Countries Pooled**



The densities in Figure 5 do not all resemble those in the cross-sectional analysis. Rather than placing parties toward the anti-immigrant end, manual coding in the over-time analysis seems to place them slightly toward the pro-immigrant side. The same is the case for Wordscores. The checklist approach estimates more centrist positions than in the cross-sectional analysis, and it is more clearly unimodal.

The associations in Figure 5 are less encouraging for the automatic dictionary approach than for the other approaches – as outlined in the cross-sectional analysis. The absence of significant correlations is surprising, given the extensive preparation of the dictionaries used. In contrast to (Chen 2011), we find that the automatic dictionary approach never fares well, and certainly does not outperform Wordscores in terms of high correlations with expert positions. The dictionary approach aside, it does appear that the different methods capture the same thing. Encouragingly, there is a high correlation between the pooled expert positions and the manual coding.

## Discussion

This paper asked whether valid party positions on a specific domain can be obtained from political texts. More specifically, it examined whether party manifestos can be used to

estimate the position of parties on immigration. This was tested using manifestos from seven countries, both in cross-sectional and temporal analyses, covering 1991 to 2011. In the literature left-right positions are examined foremost, and it remained unclear where different methods are able to obtain party positions on a specific domain, in this case immigration. In contrast to generic positions such as political left and right, or economic issues, party manifestos tend not to include sections on immigration that are comparable in length: less data to work with.

We were agnostic as to which method would work, and it turns out that manual coding and the checklist approach consistently result in similar party positions than obtained by expert data. This is also true for Wordscores, although the variation is noticeably larger, making a precise positioning of parties more difficult. By contrast, the automatic dictionary approach does not seem to capture positions on immigration in the same way than the other methods do. The high correlations presented in this paper should not distract from the variation that exists in all methods. Future research needs to consider this aspect in more detail, making use of measures such as standard deviations. Leaving variation aside, we could not identify clear biases between methods, although the different densities suggest that this is a line of research worth pursuing.

We chose immigration as a specific domain, but it would be interesting to test whether the reported findings could be replicated with an issue that is not so closely aligned with left-right positions, or in countries where immigration and left-right positions do not largely coincide. Given that in order to use party manifestos we need issues that are salient enough and crystallized to actually appear in the manifestos, this seems a difficult task. Indeed, a major challenge facing all methods of obtaining party positions from political texts is that certain issues may simply not be treated. Obviously, this is more of a problem for specific issues such as immigration than for generic concepts such as political left and right or social issues. Indeed, the lack of coverage in manifestos is not just a hypothetical issue. In the analyses for this paper, lack of coverage occurred several times, including for many Irish parties – in which case the issue of immigration overall probably was not salient –, but also for the Socialists in Switzerland in 1995 and 2011. Certainly for 2011 it can be ruled out that immigration was not mentioned for the lack of salience.

## ***Conclusion***

This paper examined whether valid party positions on a specific domain – namely immigration – can be obtained from political texts. Using party manifestos from seven countries, both in cross-sectional analysis and over time between 1991 and 2011, the result is positive for several of the methods considered. There are high correlations between expert positions, manual coding, checklists, and to a lesser extent Wordscores. The automatic dictionary approach never fared well.

The results suggest that findings from the literature on left-right positions also apply to specific issue domains, despite the much shorter sections in the manifestos that treat immigration in this case. It was noted that there is high variance, and the associations were not always consistent across time. However, the rank of parties could reliably be identified by three of the four manifesto-based approaches: manual coding, checklists, and Wordscores. In contrast to generic concepts such as political left and right, research on party positions in specific domains may face the challenge that manifestos do not mention the issue under study. We have discussed several possible causes for lack of coverage, and suggested that in some

instances experts may actually make up for the lack of data by using heuristics even where assigning no position to a party may be the most appropriate step.

### ***Acknowledgements***

The research leading to these results was carried out as part of the project SOM (Support and Opposition to Migration). The project has received funding from the European Commission's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement n°225522. We would like to thank the SOM partners for their contributions, particularly coding party manifestos. For their support in coding manifestos, we would like to thank *Teresa Peintinger* (Vienna), *Virginia Ros* (Manchester), *Joanna Menet* (Neuchâtel) and *Silvia Schönenberger* (Neuchâtel). We are indebted to *Ken Benoit* (LSE) for his time and general advice on the matter.

## Appendices

### 1. Manifestos Included

<i>Country</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Full Length (Words)</i>	<i>Parts on Immigration (Words)</i>
Austria	BZÖ	2006	7287	1555
		2008	3976	450
	FPÖ	1994	12387	994
		1995	1279	206
		1999	13415	1666
		2002	27691	1832
		2006	3980	1021
		2008	4979	720
	Grüne	1994	11488	1526
		1995	1433	0
		1999	10286	1065
		2002	7043	336
		2006	8533	640
		2008	5334	283
	LiF	1994	2634	163
		1995	1911	296
		1999	3029	24
		2002	14105	584
		2008	5848	596
	ÖVP	1994	19111	1273
1995		3726	0	
1999		30095	690	
2002		27734	1270	
2006		18709	1504	
2008		5848	596	
SPÖ		1994	10876	491
		1995	3771	270
	1999	9051	82	
	2002	12086	803	
Belgium	AGALEV	2003		
		2003		
	CD&V	2003		
		2003		
	NV-A	2003		
		2003		
	SP.A	2003		
		2003		
	Vivant	2003		
		2003		
Vlaams Blok	2003			
	2003			
Ireland	VLD	2003		
		2003		
	CDH	2003		
		2003		
	Ecolo	2003		
		2003		
	FN	2003		
		2003		
MR/FDF	2003			
	2003			
Ireland	PS	2003		
		2003		
	G	2002		
		2002		
	FF	2002		
		2002		
FG	2002			
	2002			
Ireland	LAB	2002		
		2002		
	PD	2002		
		2002		
S	2002			
	2002			
Ireland	SF	2002		
		2002		
Netherlands	CDA	2003		

<i>Country</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Full Length (Words)</i>	<i>Parts on Immigration (Words)</i>
	ChristenUnie	2003		
	D66	2003		
	GroenLinks	2003		
	LPF	2003		
	PVDA	2003		
	PVDD	2003		
	PVV	2003		
	SP	2003		
	VDD	2003		
Spain	BNG	1993	1392	0
		1996	3293	0
		2000	18089	26
		2004	34267	562
		2008	32668	
		2011	15833	38
	CC	1993	10281	37
		1996	8240	0
		2000	19280	541
		2004	24276	545
		2008	39839	
		2011	24037	167
	CIU	1993	63348	0
		1996	83075	581
		2000	61542	795
		2004	126434	4165
		2008	5514	
		2011	45975	704
	IU	1993	66062	3535
		1996	157073	4862
		2000	166750	4489
		2004	49199	3738
		2008	52599	
		2011	44575	2340
	PNV	1993	64576	979
		1996	70654	490
		2000	76463	456
		2004	14606	117
		2008	56878	
		2011	10497	85
	PP	1993	42872	803
		1996	55060	631
		2000	54972	1322
		2004	88965	1630
		2008	45616	
		2011	45616	1046
	PSOE	1993	33474	711
		1996	68817	752
		2000	33418	1200
		2004	88541	2376
		2008	104036	
		2011	61884	1002
	PxC	2004	9792	3808
Switzerland	CVP	1995	1426	150

<i>Country</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Full Length (Words)</i>	<i>Parts on Immigration (Words)</i>
		1999	22721	756
		2003	1311	348
		2007	2621	220
		2011	2265	88
	FDP	1995	2771	103
		1999	4689	300
		2003	5714	688
		2007	5015	280
		2011	2952	130
	FP/AP	2003		
	GPS	1995	2526	159
		1999	3575	210
		2003	9298	188
		2007	13582	530
		2011	7533	445
	SD	2003		
	SPS	1995	3832	0
		1999	8280	430
		2003	9298	549
		2007	21149	392
		2011	1582	0
	SVP	1995	6699	39
		1999	11665	373
		2003	17913	2041
		2007	4458	1081
		2011	23444	2067
	Cons	2005		
	LibDem	2005		
	Labour	2005		



## 2. Associations by Country

Figure 6: Austria

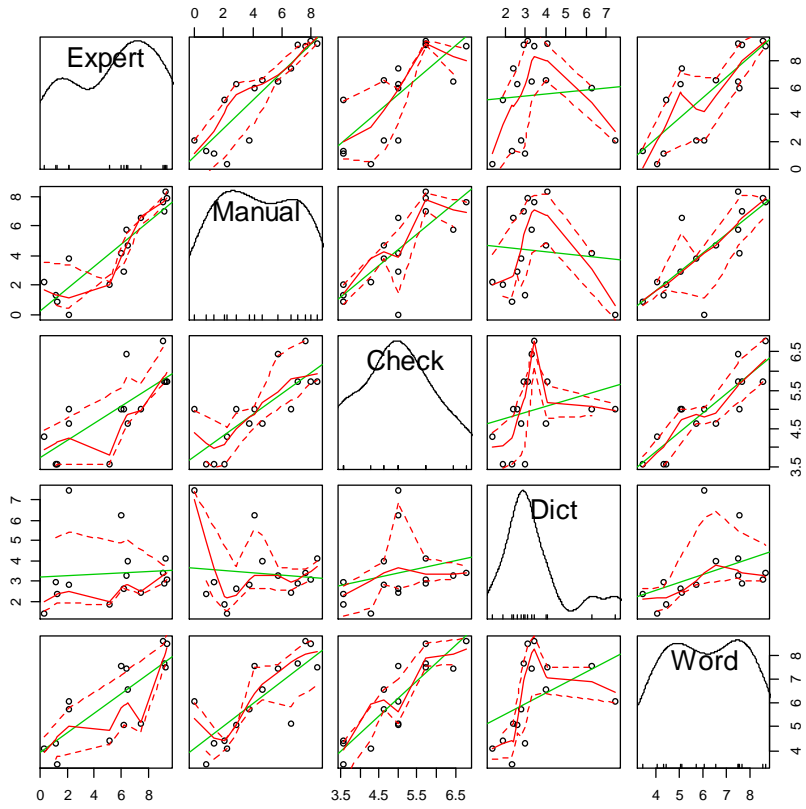
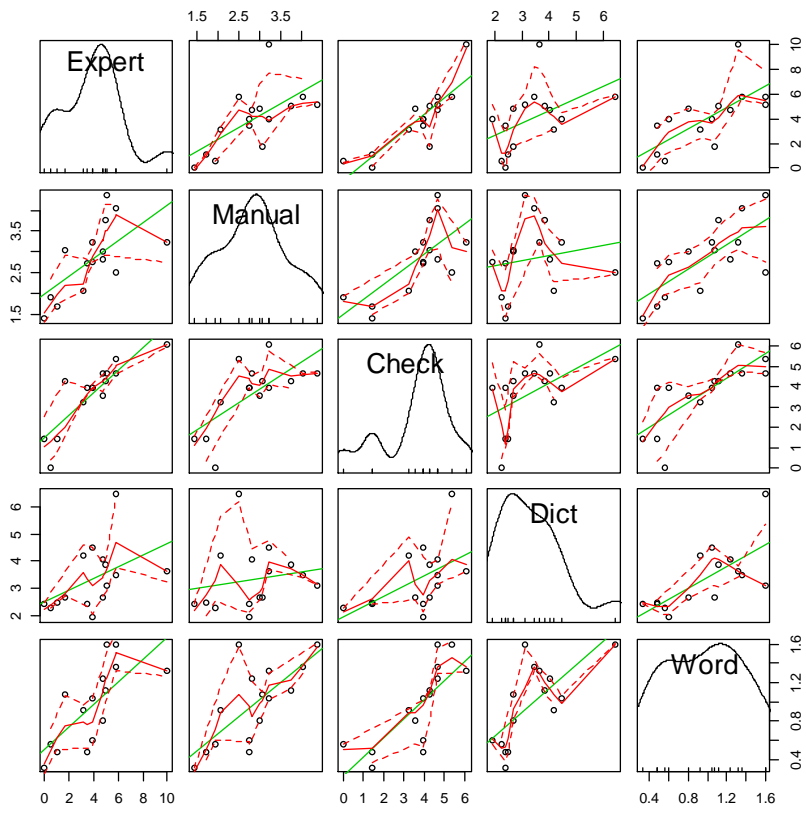
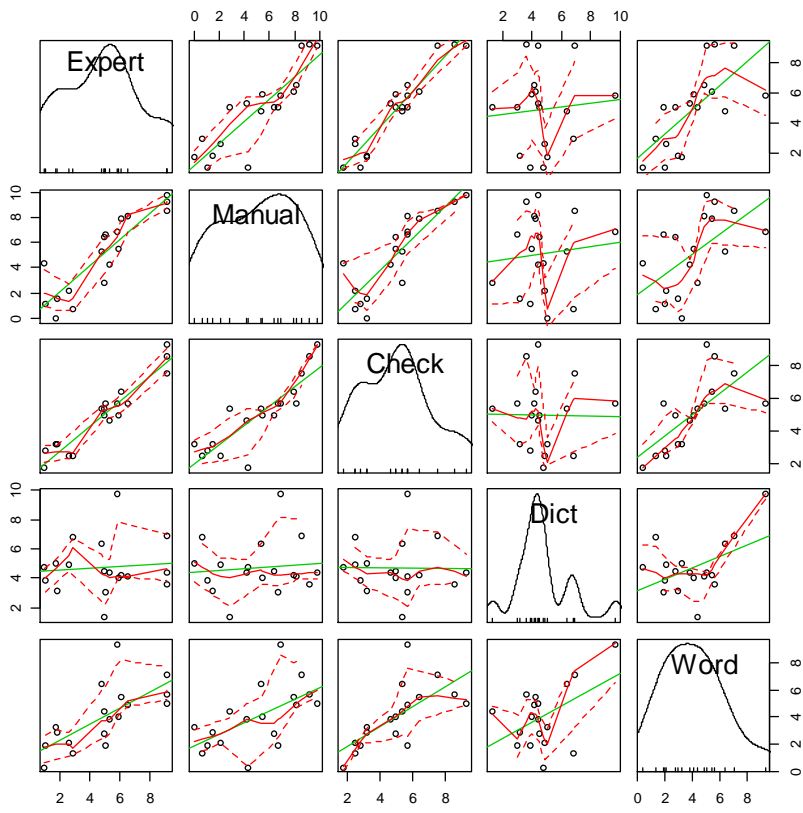


Figure 7: Spain



**Figure 8: Switzerland**



### 3. Codebook for Manual Coding

1. What is the position toward the issue?
  - a. Strongly restrictive to migrants/conservative/pro-national residents/mono-cultural → Code POSIT -1
  - b. Somewhat restrictive to migrants/conservative/pro-national residents/mono-cultural → Code POSIT - 0.5
  - c. Neutral/ambivalent/technocratic/pragmatic → Code POSIT 0
  - d. somewhat open to migrants/progressive/cosmopolitan/multi-cultural → Code POSIT 0.5
  - e. Strongly open to migrants/progressive/cosmopolitan/multi-cultural → Code POSIT 1
  - f. Unclassifiable → Code POSIT 9

## 4. Codebook for Checklist

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Major topical areas to which related</i>
Immigration policies oriented towards skilled workers should be encouraged as a means of fostering economic growth.	Skilled	EU Profiler
Immigration into the country should be made more restrictive.	Restrict	EU Profiler
Immigrants from outside Europe should be required to accept our culture and values.	Accept	EU Profiler
International terrorism is not linked to immigration.	No Terror	11: International crime, illegal migration
All illegal immigrants should be removed from the country.	Illegal	11: International crime, illegal migration
There are too many refugees (numbers).	Many	12: Refugee support, guest workers, 'economic' migration
Immigrants are necessary to meet the demands of the economy.	Economy	12: Refugee support, guest workers, 'economic' migration
It is too easy for immigrants to acquire citizenship.	Easy	13: Acquisition of citizenship or refugee status
There are too many obstacles for refugees to get recognized (status).	Obstacles	13: Acquisition of citizenship or refugee status
Rights to family reunion lead to uncontrollable immigration.	Reunion	14: Family reunion, links with countries of origin
Immigrant maintaining links with their country of origin enrich local culture.	Links	14: Family reunion, links with countries of origin
Immigrants who are found guilty of crimes should be removed from the country.	Crimes	21: Anti-social behaviour, crime, political violence
Crime is not directly about immigration status (e.g. poverty, class).	Poverty	21: Anti-social behaviour, crime, political violence
Immigrants lower wages and worker's rights.	Workers	22: Labour market integration, welfare state
Immigrants contribute more to the welfare state than they take out.	Welfare	22: Labour market integration, welfare state
Immigrants should not get voting rights.	No Vote	23: Voting rights, participation
Immigrants should be entitled to participate in public life on an equal footing to nationals in all forms (including strikes and protest).	Participate	23: Voting rights, participation
More should be done to combat racism.	Racism	24: Racism, social cohesion, identity
Immigrants undermine local culture and traditions.	Tradition	24: Racism, social cohesion, identity

The analyses in this paper exclude the codes *skilled*, *economy*, *links*, and *no terror*, as they do not appear to tap into the same concept, especially the former two.

## 5. Yoshikoder Dictionary

<i>Match</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>Match</i>	<i>Score</i>
*toleran*	1.0	migrant*	0.0
Anglo-Saxon	-1.0	minaret	-1.0
British	0.0	minorit*	0.0
English	0.0	mosque	-1.0
Islam*	-1.0	motherland	-1.0
Jihad*	-1.0	multicultur*	0.0
Scottish	0.0	muslim*	-1.0
Welsh	0.0	nation*	-1.0
abuse	-1.0	native	-1.0
assimil*	-1.0	naturalis*	0.0
asylum*	0.0	naturaliz*	0.0
border	0.0	permit	0.0
burqa	-1.0	race	0.0
chrstian	-1.0	raci*	0.0
citizen*	0.0	radical	-1.0
cultur*	0.0	refug*	0.0
custom*	-1.0	religious	0.0
deport*	0.0	reunion	0.0
discriminat*	1.0	sharia	-1.0
diversity	1.0	shariah	-1.0
ethnic*	0.0	shelter	1.0
extremis*	-1.0	temple	0.0
foreign*	0.0	terroris*	-1.0
fraud	-1.0	tradition*	-1.0
halal	0.0	traumatished	1.0
hallal	0.0	traumatized	1.0
headscarf	-1.0	unauthorised	0.0
housing	0.0	unauthorized	0.0
human	1.0	unity	0.0
identity	0.0	veil	-1.0
illegal*	-1.0	western	-1.0
immigr*	0.0	xenophob*	1.0
indigenous	-1.0		
integrat*	0.0		
inter-cultural*	1.0		
inter-racial	1.0		
invasion	-1.0		

## 6. Coder Reliability

Checklist, 2003, Switzerland, 2 coders

<i>Party</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>% Agree</i>	<i>Alpha</i>
CVP	T	F	F	T	F	T	F	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	F	74	0.22
FDP	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	F	T	F	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	89	0.62
GPS	T	F	F	T	T	T	F	T	F	F	T	T	T	T	F	F	T	T	F	58	0.16
SVP	T	T	F	F	T	T	T	T	F	T	T	T	F	T	F	T	T	F	F	63	0.25

*Notes: T designates agreement between coders, F denotes disagreement between coders: Chronbach alphas are for binary (agree/disagree)*

Opposite coding (coder A chooses +1, coder B chooses -1): none.

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