The Means and Ends of Party Manifestos & Party Positions
Chair of Comparative Politics
Time: TBA, Room: TBA

Instructor: Daniel Bischof, Office building and number, politics.danielbischof@gmail.com

Office Hours: TBA

Course description:

- MA course

- 2 hours weekly

- Course language is English

- Grading: Term Paper (70 %); Research Proposal (15 %); Presentation (15 %).
  The research proposal is the groundwork for your presentation, which should be in the best case the groundwork for your term paper (more details in the first session).

Party positions are crucial in the study of comparative politics. Until today, political scientists derive data to locate the ideal positions of political actors from a vast amount of different sources: First, roll-call votes can be understood as the classical approach to estimate party positions (Poole and Rosenthal, 1985). A second source are surveys capturing the perception of experts or the public with regard to parties' positions on a given left-right scale. These surveys are then used to estimate an aggregated mean of party positions (See for instance: Benoit and Laver, 2007). Third, political scientists retrieve party positions by investigating political texts with party manifestos as the most common source. Such data can either be created by manual coding or automated coding via software such as wordfish or wordscores (Budge et al., 2001; Klingemann et al., 2006; Pennings and Keman, 2002; Laver et al., 2003).

In the first part of the course students will develop an understanding of sources used to estimate ideological party positions. Thereby, they are instructed to discuss the pros and cons of each of these sources (Debus, 2009, 286-287). The second part of the seminar will focus on positions derived from manifestos and future avenues in the analysis of political texts. Finally, students will learn how to use software packages to analyze political texts in three exercise sessions.

Key readings:

- **Conceptual:** the following conceptual readings shall be consulted as an introductorily reading **before** the first content-related session (Why Party Positions?). They are crucial for the discussions in all sessions:

  - Budge, I. and Hofferbert, R. I. (1990). Mandates and Policy Outputs: U.S. Party Platforms and Federal Expenditures. *American Political Science Review*, 84(1):111–131

  - Debus, M. (2009). Analysing Party Politics in Germany with New Approaches for Estimating Policy Preferences of Political Actors. *German Politics*, 18(3):281–300

  - Strøm, K. (1990). A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties. *American Journal of Political Science*, 34(2):565–598

  - Strøm, K. (2000). Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 37(3):261–289

- **Technical:** the following resources are of technical nature and useful to accompany the text mining process. It might be worthwhile to buy a copy of Jockers (2014).
  - Kenneth Benoit's homepage
  - Grimmer, J. and Stewart, B. M. (2013). Text as Data: The Promise and Pitfalls of Automatic Content Analysis Methods for Political Texts. *Political Analysis*, 21(3):267–297
  - Jockers, M. L. (2014). *Text Analysis with R for Students of Literature.* Springer, Cham, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, London

What you will learn:

- The roots and reasons for measuring party positions

- Key theoretical concepts standing behind manifestos and positions derived therefrom

- The meanings of manifestos in different institutional settings

- How to re-think positional measurements derived from party manifestos

- How to apply multifaceted quantitative text analysis

What I expect from you:

- Students are expected to **a)** give a presentation (15-20 minutes), **b)** hand in a research proposal (2-3 pages) on which the presentation is based upon and **c)** write a term paper (15-20 pages)

- Students are expected to attend classes regularly.

Prerequisites:

- BA in Political Science or equivalent qualification for visiting students

- Sufficient knowledge of standard regression techniques; basic knowledge of statistical packages (Stata and/or R)

Important Dates:
Deadline for research proposal . . . . **7 days** before presentation
Deadline for term paper . . . . **TBA**

Short Course Outline

Detailed Course Outline

For each session three texts will be listed in the outline below. Please make sure to always read the text marked with "read". Further reading is recommended, but up to your own cost benefit calculations. For your presentation you will need to read all texts listed for your slot. Text length is not a good predictor of the time you will spend reading and understanding a text. I tried to be as fair as possible to spread complexity and length equally across the sessions.

Introduction

Week 1: Introduction

- Logistics

- Allocation of presentations

- How to write a research proposal

- The style of writing an academic paper

read Whitesides, G. M. (2004). Whitesides' Group: Writing a paper. *Advanced Materials*, 16(15):1375–1377

  lit Przeworski, A. and Salomon, F. (1995). On the Art of Writing Proposals. *Social Science Research Council*

  lit Plümper, T. (2008). *Effizient Schreiben.* Oldenbourg, München, 2. edition

  lit King, G., Keohane, R. O., and Verba, S. (1995). *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey

Week 2: Why Party Positions?

- Why should political science care about parties?

- Why should political science care about party positions?

read Müller, W. C. (2000). Political Parties in Parliamentary Democracies: Making Delegation and Accountability Work. *European Journal of Political Research*, 37(3):309–333

    lit Chapter 1 in: Benoit, K. and Laver, M. (2006). *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. Routledge, London

    lit chapter 10 in: Schumpeter, J. A. (2003). *Capitalism, Socialism & Democracy*. Routledge, London & New York, 5 edition

Positions from What?

Week 3: Roll Call Votes & Ideology

- What are roll call votes?

- The relationship between political behavior and ideology

read Poole, K. T. and Rosenthal, H. (1985). A Spatial Model for Legislative Roll Call Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 29(2):357–384

    lit Thomas, M. (1985). Election Proximity and Senatorial Roll Call Voting. *American Journal of Political Science*, 29(1):96–111

    lit Clinton, J. D., Jackman, S., and Rivers, D. (2004). The Statistical Analysis of Roll Call Data. *American Political Science Review*, 98(02):355–370

Week 4: What Do Experts Know About Party Positions?

- What are expert surveys?

- When can we rely on expert judgments?

read Bakker, R., Vries, C. D., Edwards, E., Hooghe, L., Jolly, S., Marks, G., Polk, J., Rovny, J., Steenbergen, M. R., and Vachudova, M. A. (2012). Measuring Party Positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, 1999-2010. *Party Politics*

    lit Chapter 4-5 in: Benoit, K. and Laver, M. (2006). *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. Routledge, London

    lit Janda, K. (1980). *Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey*. Free Press, New York

Week 5: Exercise: Conducting Expert Surveys

- Where do these experts come from?

- How to get the survey right

- How to deal with the data

read & bring a copy: codebook Chapel Hill expert survey

Manifesto Data

Week 6: Why Manifesto Data?

- When are manifestos ideal?

- What can we get out of manifestos?

read Benoit, K. and Laver, M. (2007). Estimating Party Policy Positions: Comparing Expert Surveys and Hand-Coded Content Analysis. *Electoral Studies*, 26(1):90–107

  lit Adams, J., Clark, M., Ezrow, L., and Glasgow, G. (2006). Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976-1998. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(3):513–529

  lit Ezrow, L. (2010). *Linking Citizens and Parties.* Oxford University Press, Oxford

Week 7: The CMP Data

- What are the CMP data?

- Why the CMP data?

read xvi - xxiii in Klingemann, H.-D., Volkens, A., Bara, J. L., Budge, I., and McDonald, M. D. (2006). *Mapping Policy Preferences II - Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments in Eastern Europe, European Union, and OECD 1990-2003.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK

  lit Dinas, E. and Gemenis, K. (2010). Measuring Parties' Ideological Positions With Manifesto Data: A Critical Evaluation of the Competing Methods. *Party Politics*, 16(4):427–450

  lit Bischof, D. (2015). Towards a Renewal of the Niche Party Concept: Parties, Market Shares and Condensed Offers. *Party Politics*, page forthcoming

Week 8: Wordscores & Wordfish

- What is wordscores?

- What is wordfish?

read Proksch, S.-O. and Slapin, J. B. (2008). A Scaling Model for Estimating Time-Series Party Positions from Texts. *American Journal of Political Science*, 1(3):323–344

  lit Laver, M., Benoit, K., and Garry, J. (2003). Extracting Policy Positions from Political Texts Using Words as Data. *American Political Science Review*, 97(2):311–331

  lit Klüver, H. (2009). Measuring Interest Group Influence Using Quantitative Text Analysis. *European Union Politics*, 10(4):535–549

Week 9: Exercise: From a PDF to a data-set

- Getting .txt out of .pdf

- What to do with the .txt file in R?

- Packages to get info out of your corpus

read Part I in (3-57): Jockers, M. L. (2014). *Text Analysis with R for Students of Literature.* Springer, Cham, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, London

lit Benoit: How to batch convert pdf files to text

The Meanings of Party Manifestos

Week 10: Is It All Worth The Effort?

- The hows and whys of party manifestos

- Is a manifesto a manifesto a manifesto?

read Harmel, R. (2011). The How's and Why's of Party Manifestos: Some Thoughts for a Cross-National Research Agenda. Paper prepared for discussion at the Workshop on Why and How of Party Manifestos in New and in Established Democracies, ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, St. Gallen, Switzerland, 12-17 April, 2011

lit Chapter 1 in (1-49): Kitschelt, H. P. and Wilkinson, S. I. (2007). *Patrons, Clients, and Policies - Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK

lit Kavanagh, D. (1981). The Politics of Manifestos. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 34(1):7–27

Week 11: The External Meaning of Manifestos

- The meaning of manifestos for voters

- The meaning of manifestos for the media

read Däubler, T. (2015). What the UK General Elections of 2005/10 Tell Us about the Demand for Manifestos (and the Other Way Round). *Parliamentary Affairs*, 68(1):401–422

lit Bara, J. (2005). A Question of Trust: Implementing Party Manifestos. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 58(3):585–599

lit Helbling, M. and Tresch, A. (2011). Measuring Party Positions and Issue Salience from Media Coverage: Discussing and Cross-Validating New Indicators. *Electoral Studies*, 30(1):174–183

Week 12: Exercise: Bring a .txt and get to know it

- Bring a .txt file of your choice

- Use R to get the information you need

- Why Kollegah's language is as complex as Goethe's

read Part II in (59-99): Jockers, M. L. (2014). *Text Analysis with R for Students of Literature.* Springer, Cham, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, London

lit using the koRpus package for text analysis

lit Die Wortschätze Deutscher Rapper

References

Adams, J., Clark, M., Ezrow, L., and Glasgow, G. (2006). Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976-1998. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(3):513–529.

Bakker, R., Vries, C. D., Edwards, E., Hooghe, L., Jolly, S., Marks, G., Polk, J., Rovny, J., Steenbergen, M. R., and Vachudova, M. A. (2012). Measuring Party Positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, 1999-2010. *Party Politics*.

Bara, J. (2005). A Question of Trust: Implementing Party Manifestos. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 58(3):585–599.

Benoit, K. and Laver, M. (2006). *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. Routledge, London.

Benoit, K. and Laver, M. (2007). Estimating Party Policy Positions: Comparing Expert Surveys and Hand-Coded Content Analysis. *Electoral Studies*, 26(1):90–107.

Bischof, D. (2015). Towards a Renewal of the Niche Party Concept: Parties, Market Shares and Condensed Offers. *Party Politics*, page forthcoming.

Budge, I. and Hofferbert, R. I. (1990). Mandates and Policy Outputs: U.S. Party Platforms and Federal Expenditures. *American Political Science Review*, 84(1):111–131.

Budge, I., Klingemann, H.-D., Volkens, A., Bara, J., and Tanenbaum, E. (2001). *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments, 1945-1998*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Clinton, J. D., Jackman, S., and Rivers, D. (2004). The Statistical Analysis of Roll Call Data. *American Political Science Review*, 98(02):355–370.

Däubler, T. (2015). What the UK General Elections of 2005/10 Tell Us about the Demand for Manifestos (and the Other Way Round). *Parliamentary Affairs*, 68(1):401–422.

Debus, M. (2009). Analysing Party Politics in Germany with New Approaches for Estimating Policy Preferences of Political Actors. *German Politics*, 18(3):281–300.

Dinas, E. and Gemenis, K. (2010). Measuring Parties' Ideological Positions With Manifesto Data: A Critical Evaluation of the Competing Methods. *Party Politics*, 16(4):427–450.

Ezrow, L. (2010). *Linking Citizens and Parties*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Grimmer, J. and Stewart, B. M. (2013). Text as Data: The Promise and Pitfalls of Automatic Content Analysis Methods for Political Texts. *Political Analysis*, 21(3):267–297.

Harmel, R. (2011). The How's and Why's of Party Manifestos: Some Thoughts for a Cross-National Research Agenda. Paper prepared for discussion at the Workshop on Why and How of Party Manifestos in New and in Established Democracies, ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, St. Gallen, Switzerland, 12-17 April, 2011.

Helbling, M. and Tresch, A. (2011). Measuring Party Positions and Issue Salience from Media Coverage: Discussing and Cross-Validating New Indicators. *Electoral Studies*, 30(1):174–183.

Janda, K. (1980). *Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey*. Free Press, New York.

Jockers, M. L. (2014). *Text Analysis with R for Students of Literature*. Springer, Cham, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, London.

Kavanagh, D. (1981). The Politics of Manifestos. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 34(1):7–27.

King, G., Keohane, R. O., and Verba, S. (1995). *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Kitschelt, H. P. and Wilkinson, S. I. (2007). *Patrons, Clients, and Policies - Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Klingemann, H.-D., Volkens, A., Bara, J. L., Budge, I., and McDonald, M. D. (2006). *Mapping Policy Preferences II - Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments in Eastern Europe, European Union, and OECD 1990-2003*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.

Klüver, H. (2009). Measuring Interest Group Influence Using Quantitative Text Analysis. *European Union Politics*, 10(4):535–549.

Laver, M., Benoit, K., and Garry, J. (2003). Extracting Policy Positions from Political Texts Using Words as Data. *American Political Science Review*, 97(2):311–331.

Müller, W. C. (2000). Political Parties in Parliamentary Democracies: Making Delegation and Accountability Work. *European Journal of Political Research*, 37(3):309–333.

Pennings, P. and Keman, H. (2002). Towards a New Methodology of Estimating Party Policy Positions. *Quality & Quantity*, 36(1):55–79.

Plümper, T. (2008). *Effizient Schreiben*. Oldenbourg, München, 2. edition.

Poole, K. T. and Rosenthal, H. (1985). A Spatial Model for Legislative Roll Call Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 29(2):357–384.

Proksch, S.-O. and Slapin, J. B. (2008). A Scaling Model for Estimating Time-Series Party Positions from Texts. *American Journal of Political Science*, 1(3):323–344.

Przeworski, A. and Salomon, F. (1995). On the Art of Writing Proposals. *Social Science Research Council*.

Schumpeter, J. A. (2003). *Capitalism, Socialism & Democracy*. Routledge, London & New York, 5 edition.

Strøm, K. (1990). A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties. *American Journal of Political Science*, 34(2):565–598.

Strøm, K. (2000). Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 37(3):261–289.

Thomas, M. (1985). Election Proximity and Senatorial Roll Call Voting. *American Journal of Political Science*, 29(1):96–111.

Whitesides, G. M. (2004). Whitesides' Group: Writing a paper. *Advanced Materials*, 16(15):1375–1377.