

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PARTICIPANTS

Please make sure you have carefully read these instructions before proceeding to code the test document.

Note: These instructions are largely taken from Appendix II of Klingemann et. al., *Mapping Policy Preferences II: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments in Eastern Europe, European Union and OECD 1990-2003* (Oxford University Press, 2006).

TEST OBJECTIVE

To establish empirical data on the reliability of the CMP coding scheme, by asking different human coders to code the same test manifesto. In order to eliminate the problem of different unitization of the text (different identifications of quasi-sentences), we present a manifesto for coding that is already broken into quasi-sentences.

BACKGROUND ON THE CMP CODING SCHEME

The object of content analysing election programmes as pursued by the MRG/CMP is to measure policy positions of parties across countries within a common framework. Election programmes are taken as indicators of party policy emphases and policy positions at a certain point in time. Therefore, election programmes are subjected to quantitative content analysis. A classification scheme was designed to allow for the coding of all the content of election programmes for the post World-War-II period in a variety of countries.

A first version of the classification scheme was developed by David Robertson (1976:73-75) for analysing modes of party competition in Britain. In 1979, the 'Manifesto Research Group' (MRG) was constituted as a research group of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) by scholars interested in a comparative content-analytic approach to policy positions of parties. During the period 1979-89, the classification scheme was extended and revised to fit additional countries.

Since 1989 the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) has provided resources for updating and expanding the MRG data set. This appendix forms an introduction to the application of the coding scheme for coders who may not have the background knowledge of the MRG-members. Moreover, it provides investigators in countries not covered by the MRG/CMP with all the relevant information, definitions, and sources to apply the coding scheme to their respective countries.

ESSENTIALS OF THE CMP CODING SCHEME

Manifestos are analysed by the CMP using a means of content analysis which is 'a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Berelson 1971:18). This kind of internal, quantitative analysis relates particularly to ideas, policies, issues, and concerns that parties stress in their platforms. The methods of coding are also designed to be comparable over a wide range of countries

irrespective of cultural and socio-economic differences. Therefore, a classification scheme with fixed general categories is used to cover the total content of election programmes by identifying the statements of preference expressed in the programmes. This classification scheme contains 56 different categories grouped into seven major policy domains: Each of the 56 categories summates related issues in such a way that changes over time can be measured both across parties and cultures. Thus, the coding procedure comprises a quantification (*how many* statements do parties make?) and a classification (*what kind of* statements do parties make?) of election programmes.

The coding unit in a given programme is the '*quasi-sentence*', defined as an argument - i.e. the verbal expression of one political idea or issue. These may be entire (natural) sentences, but more likely these will be parts of sentences containing different arguments which are easy to identify and to distinguish, that might have been separate natural sentences had the style of the author been slightly different. Normally, identifying these quasi-sentences would be the first important task of the human coder applying the CMP scheme to a manifesto. In the test example here, however, we have already parsed the test manifesto into quasi-sentences.

The Manifesto project, after much experimentation and discussion, developed a coding system, whereby each quasi-sentence of every election programme is coded into one, and only one, of the following 56 standard categories. The 56 standard categories are grouped into seven major policy areas or domains. The coding categories are designed, as far as possible, to be comparable between parties and countries, and over time.

The Standard Coding Frame: 56 Categories in Seven Policy Domains

Domain I: External Relations

- 101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive
- 102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative
- 103 Anti-Imperialism: Anti Colonialism
- 104 Military: Positive
- 105 Military: Negative
- 106 Peace: Positive
- 107 Internationalism: Positive
- 108 European Integration: Positive
- 109 Internationalism: Negative
- 110 European Integration: Negative

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy

- 201 Freedom and Human Rights: Positive
- 202 Democracy: Positive
- 203 Constitutionalism: Positive
- 204 Constitutionalism: Negative

Domain 3: Political System

- 301 Decentralisation: Positive
- 302 Centralisation: Positive
- 303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive
- 304 Political Corruption: Negative
- 305 Political Authority: Positive

Domain 4: Economy

- 401 Free Enterprise: Positive
- 402 Incentives: Positive
- 403 Market Regulation: Positive
- 404 Economic Planning: Positive
- 405 Corporatism: Positive
- 406 Protectionism: Positive
- 407 Protectionism: Negative
- 408 Economic Goals
- 409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive
- 410 Productivity: Positive
- 411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive
- 412 Controlled Economy: Positive
- 413 Nationalisation: Positive
- 414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive
- 415 Marxist Analysis: Positive
- 416 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

- 501 Environmental Protection: Positive
- 502 Culture: Positive
- 503 Social Justice: Positive
- 504 Welfare State Expansion: Positive
- 505 Welfare State Limitation: Positive
- 506 Education Expansion: Positive
- 507 Education Limitation: Positive

Domain 6: Fabric of Society

- 601 National Way of Life: Positive
- 602 National Way of Life: Negative
- 603 Traditional Morality: Positive
- 604 Traditional Morality: Negative
- 605 Law and Order: Positive
- 606 Social Harmony: Positive
- 607 Multiculturalism: Positive
- 608 Multiculturalism: Negative

Domain 7: Social Groups

- 701 Labour Groups: Positive
- 702 Labour Groups: Negative
- 703 Farmers: Positive
- 704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive
- 705 Underprivileged Minority Groups: Positive
- 706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive

The "coding" stage of the CMP coding procedure involves deciding which of the 56 categories of the Standard Coding Frame a respective quasi-sentence expresses. Always read the whole of a paragraph before you start coding the first quasi-sentence in the paragraph, because the context may give you hints how to code an otherwise ambiguous argument. Look to see whether one of the 56 categories definitely captures the sense of the first identified quasi-sentence and note down the respective number of the category at the margin of the page. Repeat this procedure for all the quasi-sentences in the paragraph. Then proceed with the next paragraph by repeating these steps.

CODING PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Three difficulties may arise appear in the process of applying the Standard Coding Frame:

- a. No category seems to apply.
- b. More than one category seems to apply.
- c. The statement seems unclear.

a. No category seems to apply

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

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

Decision Rule No 1: Checking Definitions of all Categories in Policy Domains Whenever tempted to treat a quasi-sentence as uncodable, read the definitions of categories in the relevant policy domains again because it might well be that the quasi-sentence contains a policy position that is taken only rarely. Therefore, the specific definition of the respective category may just have been forgotten.

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

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

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

Decision Rule No 2: Identifying Connecting Sentences
Some sentences, which may otherwise be uncodable, may just be connecting sentences between two arguments (for instance: Therefore, we are going to do three things.) These connecting sentences themselves do not constitute meaningful arguments but are part of an ongoing argument. Therefore, connecting sentences should be coded in the same category as surrounding sentences or as the bulk of the paragraph they appear in.

Because of the *general rule* to classify quasi-sentences if at all possible, all quasi-sentences treated as uncodable must be checked again after coding the total programme. Uncoded quasi-sentences may be biased in meaning, that is, they may have a common thrust. Some quasi-sentences may contain country-specific issues which are not mentioned specifically in the definition of the category but nonetheless be subsumable under one of the 56 Standard Categories. Should this be the case, it must be noted down in the coding protocol

according to step no. 3. Other quasi-sentences may have a country-specific bias too strong to be subsumed under one of the 56 Standard Categories.

Decision Rule No 3: Creating Subcategories

This rule does not apply to the coding exercise here.

b. More than one category seem to apply

The opposite difficulty of uncodable sentences is that more than one category seems to apply. This difficulty can be dealt with by applying the following decision rules:

Decision Rule No 4: Section Headings as Guidelines

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

If headings are not given or do not apply to the argument in question, a couple of decision rules are to be followed for the most common cases. The problem of choosing between two categories often occurs with respect to group politics, for instance: 'We want more social security for workers'. In this case, category (701) 'Labour Groups' or category (504) 'Welfare State Expansion' may apply.

Decision Rule No 5: Specific Policy Positions 'Beat' Group Politics except Group (703)'Agriculture'

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

Decision Rule No 6: Specific Policy Positions 'Beat' (305) 'Political Authority' Whenever there is a choice between category (305) 'Political Authority', defined as the party's general competence to govern or the general critique of opponent parties' competence, on the one hand and another category from Policy Domains 1 to 7, the specific policy position is to be chosen.

Decision Rule No 7: Specific Policy Positions 'Beat' (408)'General Economic Goals'

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

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

Decision Rule No 8: European Level and National/Regional Level

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

c. The statement seems unclear

Even after applying decision rules 1 to 8, one may still not be sure where an argument is leading. Many of these problems may be solved by taking the context of the ambiguous quasi-sentence into account. Coders should first of all take into account the following sentences because the first (quasi-) sentence may be part of an argument which is explicated in the next sentences. Therefore, it is always useful to start the coding procedure by reading the whole paragraph.

In some cases, crucial decisions have to be made with respect to the manifest or latent content of statements. No inferences should be made with respect to the meaning of statements. The coder has to code what the statement says, not what he or she thinks it may lead to in the end. As with uncodable sentences, all unclear statements should be marked and reread at the end of coding.

FULL DEFINITION OF CATEGORIES

DOMAIN 1: External Relations

101 Foreign Special Relationships: Positive

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

102 Foreign Special Relationships: Negative

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

103 Anti-Imperialism: Positive

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

104 Military: Positive

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

105 Military: Negative

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

106 Peace: Positive

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

107 Internationalism: Positive

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

108 European Integration: Positive

Favourable mention of European integration in general; desirability of expanding the European Union and/or of increasing its competence; desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member).

109 Internationalism: Negative

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

110 European Integration: Negative

Hostile mention of the European Union; opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities; otherwise as 108, but negative.

DOMAIN 2: Freedom and Democracy

201 Freedom and Human Rights: Positive

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

202 Democracy: Positive

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

203 Constitutionalism: Positive

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

204 Constitutionalism: Negative

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

DOMAIN 3: Political System

301 Decentralisation: Positive

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

302 Centralization: Positive

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

303 Governmental and Administrative Efficiency: Positive

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

304 Political Corruption: Negative

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

305 Political Authority: Positive

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

DOMAIN 4: Economy

401 Free Enterprise: Positive

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

402 Incentives: Positive

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

403 Market Regulation: Positive

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

404 Economic Planning: Positive

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

405 Corporatism: Positive

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

406 Protectionism: Positive

Favourable mention of extension or maintenance of tariffs to protect internal markets; other domestic economic protectionism such as quota restrictions.

407 Protectionism: Negative

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

408 Economic Goals

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

409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive

Demand-oriented economic policy; economic policy devoted to avoiding depression, mitigating effects of depression and/or to increasing private demand through boosting public demand and/or through increasing social expenditure.

410 Productivity: Positive

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

411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive

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

412 Controlled Economy: Positive

General need for direct government control of economy; control over prices, wages, rents, etc.

413 Nationalisation: Positive

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

414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive

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

415 Marxist Analysis: Positive

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

416 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive

Favourable mention of anti-growth politics and steady state economy; ecologism/ "Green politics" especially as applied to economic policy; sustainable development.

DOMAIN 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

501 Environmental Protection: Positive

Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.; general preservation of natural resources against selfish interests; proper use of national parks; soil banks, etc; environmental improvement. "Ecologism" / "Green" politics as applied to environmental policy.

502 Culture: Positive

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

503 Social Justice: Positive

Concept of equality; need for fair treatment of all people; special protection for underprivileged; need for fair distribution of resources; removal of class barriers; end to discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, gender, disability, age, sexual orientation etc.

504 Welfare State Expansion: Positive

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

Note: This category excludes education.

505 Welfare State Limitation: Positive

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

506 Education Expansion: Positive

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

507 Education Limitation: Positive

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

DOMAIN 6: Fabric of Society

601 National Way of Life: Positive

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

602 National Way of Life: Negative

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

603 Traditional Morality: Positive

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

604 Traditional Morality: Negative

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

605 Law and Order: Positive

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

606 Social Harmony: Positive

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

607 Multiculturalism: Positive

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

608 Multiculturalism: Negative

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

DOMAIN 7: Social Groups

701 Labour Groups: Positive

Favourable reference to labour groups, working class, unemployed; support for trade unions; good treatment of employees.

702 Labour Groups: Negative

Abuse of power by trade unions; otherwise as 701, but negative.

703 Farmers: Positive

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

704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive

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

705 Underprivileged Minority Groups: Positive

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

706 Non-economic Demographic Groups: Positive

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

CODING EXAMPLE

The sample text with solutions for the identification of quasi-sentences and categories serve as an example for coding.

NEW ZEALAND, National Party 1972

"A Guide to what the next National Government will do for New Zealand"

(Extracts)

THE ECONOMY

In 1972 New Zealand had, for the first time, more overseas reserves than total overseas debt. □ Labour has dissipated these reserves, borrowed about \$200 million overseas and incurred annual interest charges mortgaging almost our total export earnings from butter and cheese. □ 414

Inflation in 1972 was about 5 per cent, the second lowest of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations. □ Today it is about 15 per cent, well above the OECD average, □ and New Zealand has an external deficit per head of population second only to Iceland. □ 414

The first three years of the coming National Government will be very largely devoted to restoring New Zealand's shattered economy. □ 408

Continuous attention to economic trends and problems will replace stop-go and panic measures. □ And the taxation system will be used to give incentives for desirable economic activity. □ 408

We will take steps to stimulate savings. □ Savings accounts, limited as to amount, will be established. □ The deposits of individuals will earn an interest rate at least equal to the annual rate of inflation thus preserving the purchasing power of savings. □ 414

We believe that continued double-figure inflation will destroy the basis of the New Zealand economy and cause untold misery. □ The fight against increases in the cost of living is the most important single issue in economic management. □ 414

People without jobs represent waste of productive effort: □ National supports a policy of full employment □ and the dignity of labour. □ We do not accept unemployment as a balancing factor in economic management. □ 410

Finally, the National Development Council will be restored and consultation resumed between Government departments, academic specialists and private industry, including farming and organised labour. □ 408

The vital role of every section of productive industry will be recognised. □ 408

It is these moves which will put New Zealand on the way to economic recovery. □ And reduce the spiraling rate of inflation. □ 414

SUPERANNUATION

Seldom has any policy released by an opposition party had the impact that the National Superannuation scheme has had. □ It is designed to give every New Zealander dignity and a decent income in retirement. □ Here's how it will operate: □ 504

Anyone who is 60 years old, or more, and who has lived in New Zealand for at least ten years will receive National Superannuation, starting next year. □ And with three big annual jumps in the rate of benefit it will be fully operating by 1978. □ 504

To guarantee our elderly retired folk a decent minimum income, the full rate of National Superannuation, for a married couple, will be 80% of the average weekly ordinary time wage. □ It will be recalculated every six 504

months. □	504
In 1976, to start the scheme, the rate will be 65% of the average wage; □ in	504
1977 it will be raised to 70% □ and in 1978 to the full 80%.□ The rate for	504
single persons, at all times, will be 60% of the married rate. □	504
The present average weekly wage is \$99 and so, if there is no increase at all	
in wage rates in the next three years, the rates of National Superannuation	
will be shown in the box* below (*box not shown). □	504
Next year, under National, the age and universal superannuation benefits	
will merge to form National Superannuation. □	504
At present both these benefits pay \$51.26 to a married couple and \$30.75 to	
a single person, so even in the first year of National Superannuation, a	
married couple over 60 who have no other income will have \$6.18 a week	
more to spend than they do now and a single beneficiary will receive, after	
tax, \$3.15 a week more than he now gets by way of age benefits, or	504
universal superannuation. □	
Of course those with other income will receive the benefit too, but they will	
pay more tax on their bigger incomes. □	503
By 1978 a married couple will receive a net \$18.06 a week more than the	
present age benefit or universal annuation and a single person will be	
receiving a net \$10.17 a week more. □ For the single person, that is a pay	504
rise of more than 33%.□	504
The big and comforting thing about National Superannuation is that	
everyone gets it, just so long as they have lived in New Zealand for ten	
years or more and are aged 60 or over. □	504
They will not, nor will anyone, be expected to make special contributions	
over a period of years, in order to qualify. □ The scheme is financed out of	504
ordinary taxation so there is nothing to be deducted from wages; no special	504
payments of any kind. □	
This means that the present age beneficiary will receive National	
Superannuation next year. □ So will the retired Government servant (in	504
addition to the pension from the Government superannuation fund which he	
had paid for). □ And so will all the people who are drawing pensions from	504
company and other private superannuation schemes. □	504
In recent weeks, the Government has been making moves to compensate for	
the weaknesses revealed in their own scheme, when compared with	
National's. □ But the fact remains that National's is the only	503
superannuation scheme that offers a fair deal to everyone in their years of	
retirement. □	503
<u>WOMEN'S RIGHTS</u>	
Since 1975 is International Women's Year, it can be expected that all	
political parties will talk a great deal about their 'women's policies'. □	706
Unfortunately most will be little more than window dressing. □ National's	706
plans go far beyond this. □	706
We will begin by introducing legislation to remove existing legal	
discrimination relating to women, □ and to prohibit discrimination against	503
any person by reason of sex. □	503
We will also establish a Human Rights Commission which will ensure that	
equal rights legislation is enforced and that women have an effective and	
inexpensive means of redress. □ The Commission will investigate cases of	503
discrimination presented to it and recommend civil action to the Attorney-	503

General. □	
Full consideration will be given to the recommendations of the Select Committee on Women's Rights. □ We will set priorities for implementation, in consultation with women's organisations. □	706 706
We will legislate to ensure that all areas of discrimination in employment are removed □ and that merit is the sole criterion in respect of job applications, selection and promotion. □	503 503
To encourage women who wish to enter, return to or remain in employment, National will encourage employers to establish flexible working patterns, such as glide time, part-time, job sharing, and multi-shift work. □ Thus assisting women who undertake the dual role of worker and mother. □	706 706
We will give special attention to the problems associated with re-entry to the work force and ensure that greater job retraining opportunities are available. □	706
Maternity leave without pay will be available to women for a period of up to 12 weeks, without loss of job security, promotion or superannuation rights, providing this does not cause undue disruption to a business enterprise. □	706
The new National Government will appoint women to boards, commissions and tribunals and will give consideration to the appointment of women as industrial mediators. □	706
We will also support increased participation of women in the judicial system and recognise no sex barriers in the exercise of any judicial office. □ Suitably qualified women will be given exactly the same consideration as men. □	503 503
National will ensure that early childhood education is generally available (where feasible) as an integral part of the education system. □ Priority will be given to such areas as new housing suburbs and regenerated inner city areas. □	506 411
Financial assistance will be provided through approved voluntary agencies to establish centres for those children who need day care but whose parents cannot afford to pay the full cost. □	504
National will also promote and encourage job training and retraining, "second chance" education □ and promote a policy of life-long education for women. □	411 706
We will tackle the problems women face with housing. □ Under National the Housing Corporation will not differentiate between men and women borrowers on grounds of sex. □	706 503
We will introduce a flexible principal repayment plan to meet those cases where the wife works, leaves the work force to raise a family and then returns to work. □	706
The National Party believes all women must have the opportunity to participate on the basis of full equality in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres of New Zealand society. □	503