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Using a Mixed Methods Approach to Study the Evolution of Party Platforms - 1960-2016

by

Artour Aslanian

Claremont Graduate University

2019

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APPROVAL OF THE DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

This dissertation has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Artour Aslanian as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in Political Science.

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Abstract

Using a Mixed Methods Approach to Study the Evolution of Party Platforms - 1960-2016

by
Artour Aslanian

Claremont Graduate University: 2019

Every four years, members of political parties convene in order to craft platforms in which they articulate the positions of the parties on a plethora of different issues. While not widely read, the importance of these platforms cannot be understated. They provide a lens for us in order to view the ideological shifts of the parties and often serve as a mechanism by which to guide the legislative agendas of the parties. This dissertation examines Republican and Democratic platforms written between 1960-2016 using a mixed methods approach in order to evaluate the value of using both quantitative and qualitative approaches. This mixed methods approach consists of using results from computer-assisted textual analysis software along with data from the Manifesto Project and a manual reading of the platforms. These analyses are performed on the overall platforms prior to being adapted to focus on a single issue in the platform – the environment. These different approaches allow us to get a big picture examination of how the parties utilize specific rhetorical tools to make their case to their party base and the general public while also giving insights as to how the parties have shifted ideologically and in the types of issues that the parties have focused on. Additionally, a manual reading of portions of the platform dealing with the environment point to shortcomings of relying solely on computer-assisted textual analysis tools as well as data from the Manifesto Project.

Dedication

It has been a long journey but along the way I have been blessed to have been surrounded by individuals who have helped me to get to this point. First, I am thankful to God for allowing me to accomplish this goal. To my loving wife, Alexa, who has been my rock throughout these years. I appreciate all that you have done for me. I know that I would not have gotten here if it were not for your love and encouragement along the way. To my mom and my sisters for always checking in on me and projecting confidence in my ability to get through graduate school. I owe a debt of gratitude to Raul Madrid for always taking the time to talk things through. Throughout the process, you were there to give me words of encouragement or feedback on the dissertation and for that I am forever grateful. To Michael Ezeoke and Ashton Ellis who have been great friends and mentors to me during this period. To Joseph Jablonski who always made himself available to chat about the dissertation and who always made me feel welcome on campus. To Christopher Wolfe who guided me at a critical point when my dissertation topic and committee makeup was in a very primitive state. To my co-workers at Crafton Hills College (Diana, Giovanni, Karen, Keith, Ruby, Veronica, and Yvonne) for being supportive of me as I reached the end of this process. Lastly, I want to thank my dissertation committee. Through the countless hours of phone calls and meetings during these past few years, you helped me turn what sometimes felt like an impossible task into a reality. Thank you for putting in the time and helping me to develop into the person that I am today.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Perceptions of Political Parties	1
Research Questions	6
The Structure of the Dissertation	8
Chapter 2. Political Party Platforms Considered	11
The Development of Political Party Platforms	11
Literature Review.....	14
Political Party Platforms	14
Partisan Realignment.....	19
Political Polarization	21
Political Party Behavior and Culture	23
Chapter 3. Methods.....	29
DICTION	31
Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC)	35
The Manifesto Project Database	37
Contextual Reading of Platforms	41
Chapter 4. Analysis of the Overall Party Platforms.....	43
1. Political Party Platform Overview	43
2. CATA analysis.....	46
DICTION Analysis:	46
LIWC Analysis:	51
3. Manifesto Project Data	54
Prominent Issues within Each Doman for Both Parties:	56
Issues Decreasing in Emphasis for Both Parties:	64
Issues Increasing in Emphasis for Both Parties	66
Issues Receiving Increased Emphasis by Democrats.....	71
Issues Receiving Increased Emphasis by Republicans	74
4. Putting it All Together	82
4.1 Democrats	82
4.2 Republicans.....	84
4.3 Next Steps	86
Chapter 5. Analysis of the Party Platforms on the Environment	87
Approach for this Chapter.....	87

Prominent Issues within Each Doman for Both Parties:	88
CATA Analysis of Environmental Language in the Platforms	89
Environmental Protection in the 1960s Platforms	97
Democrats:	97
Republicans	100
Environmental Protection in the 1970s Platforms	103
Democrats:	103
Republicans	105
Environmental Protection in the 1980s Platforms	107
Democrats:	107
Republicans:	110
Environmental Protection in the 1990s Platforms	112
Democrats:	112
Republicans:	114
Environmental Protection in the 2000s Platforms	116
Democrats:	116
Republicans:	119
Environmental Protection in the 2010s Platforms	122
Democrats:	122
Republicans:	124
Conclusion	128
Chapter 6. Conclusion.....	131
Avenues for Future Research.....	137
Bibliography	140
Appendix:.....	153

Chapter 1. Introduction

"I am not a Federalist, because I never submitted the whole system of my opinions to the creed of any party of men whatever in religion, in philosophy, in politics, or in any thing else where I was capable of thinking for myself. Such an addiction is the last degradation of a free and moral agent. If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all"

-Thomas Jefferson (1789)

Perceptions of Political Parties

The United States Constitution makes no mention of political parties. While this may seem strange today given the important role that parties play within our government, during the Founding era, many of the Founders expressed a great deal of concern or criticism towards political parties. For example, in his 1796 *Farewell Address*, George Washington lamented that political parties "tend to render Alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection." Madison (1792) expressed a similar disdain for parties by stating that "In every political society, parties are unavoidable. A difference of interests, real or supposed, is the most natural and fruitful source of them. The great object should be to combat the evil." During the Constitutional debates in Philadelphia, Madison (1787) mentions the way to combat the dangers of faction and parties is through the he Majority if united have always an opportunity. The only remedy is to enlarge the sphere, & thereby divide the community into so great a number of interests & parties..." Jefferson's quotation at the beginning of the chapter echoes a similar sentiment against political parties. Since the early 20th century, political party organizations have declined in influence with the institution of progressive reforms such as the implementation of primary elections. These among other reforms have led to a de-emphasis on the importance of political parties in favor of a more candidate-centered electoral system. It is

important to note that while the organizations themselves have declined in influence, party in the electorate and party-in-government have been increasing in strength (Brookings Institute, Vital Stats).

Yet in light of these developments, political parties remain relevant because of their many benefits to our political system. Historically, many scholars regarded parties as a good indicator of the health of our democratic system. As Dahl (1966) notes "...we take the absence of an opposition party as evidence, if not always conclusive proof, for the absence of democracy" (xiii). The existence of parties also allows for greater civic engagement by various interests at all levels of government. Indeed, political parties are seen as being essential for the working of democracy (E. Schattschneider, 1942). It also helps to provide accountability for office holders given that it is rare for people to assign blame to a particular member of Congress for example (Aldrich, 1995). Additionally, Aldrich notes that "Few factors are of greater importance for our national elections than the lasting attachment of tens of millions of Americans to one of the parties" (165). In addition, to this noted attachment to a particular political party, Americans tend to use political party labels as a heuristic for making more rational decisions at the ballot box (Popkin, 1994); The tendency of many Americans to engage in straight-ticket voting is simply an expression of the importance of party identification.

In light of the benefits that political parties contribute to our system, however, the cynicism towards political parties still persists and, in some cases, is getting even worse. To illustrate this point, in a 1998 survey, citizens expressed discontent with both parties with fewer than half choosing either the Democrats or Republicans as being capable of improving public safety, upholding family values, and maintaining national prosperity (White, 2001). An August 2016 Gallup poll found similar results with 36% of Americans viewing the Republican Party

favorably compared with 44% for the Democrats (Auter, 2016). By 2019, the support for the parties has not changed significantly with 37% of Americans viewing the Republican Party favorably and 45% viewing the Democrats favorably. Because of this cynicism, White notes that "the public has registered its discontent with politics-as-usual by giving unusually high support to unconventional office-seekers" (31). During the 2016 election, the rise in popularity of nontraditional candidates such as Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders for their party's nomination for the presidency and the eventual election of Donald Trump as President of the United States took many by surprise.

Trump's rise to power seems to confirm White's observation. In the aftermath of Trump's election to office, there were many calls to "drain the swamp" to eliminate the career politicians of either party. President Trump has not been silent about his own criticism of other members of his party, even threatening to take action in light of Congressional inaction by fellow Republicans (Collinson, 2017). Yet, even this development highlights the amount of discontent towards the political parties; following Trump's attack on McConnell on Twitter, McCarthy (2017) noted: "Republicans and Republican-leaning independents are twice as likely to view Trump favorably (80%) as McConnell." Yet even though Trump was seen as an outsider, Byler (2017) says that his subsequent performance has shaped the perceptions of the other members of his party: "Trump's approval has been equal to or greater than the GOP's share in generic ballot polls. In other words, the first few months of the Trump presidency have basically cohered with the theory that the president creates the in-party's ceiling." This becomes problematic given that approval of the GOP in Congress among members of the Republican Party has recently hit a new low of 16%, this is not to mention that the optimism among Republican voters about the party's future is declining in the aftermath of the 2016 election (Smith, 2017).

The Democrats are also struggling to figure out how to recover from their losses in 2016. As noted by Jim Manley, Democratic strategist, "I'm not convinced we know what the best thing is for the party right now...I'm not convinced we have the answers" (Parnes, 2017). This comes in the aftermath of a contentious party nomination contest in which supporters of Bernie Sanders turned into a battle between them and the establishment of the Democratic Party (Decker, 2016). This points to the fact that the parties that are struggling to forge a coherent path ahead. Political parties have to focus their efforts on uniting their members and gaining support among the mass public and interest groups; they have to work on crafting their identity.

Party platforms present an opportunity for parties to define their ideological stances on a variety of issues in a way that could help candidates and elites within the party to promote their party to a larger audience. These platforms represent a way for the parties to sell themselves to the average voter without compromising their image. The media, however, also have some sway here because platforms are largely unread by the average citizen (Shoaf, 2013). Parties, therefore, have to rely on media reporting on platforms as a way to reach the mass public (Erikson, MacKuen, and Stimson, 2002; Paddock, 2010); In this way, parties are at the behest of the media's reporting, which emphasizes limited coverage focusing on the differences surrounding the political parties (Seitz-Wald, 2016; "The Most Extreme Republican Platform in Memory", 2016). These points assume that parties look towards the platform as a way to sell themselves to the public in an effort to gain new constituencies. Monroe (1983) says that it may, in fact, be to continue to secure the support of constituencies it has already courted.

The platforms, while not widely read, can be useful to in different ways to different audiences. Among the party elites, platforms can serve many practical purposes. Platforms function as a tool to bind together a political party under defined common values. It is the only

document that spells out the entire program of the party. They also serve as an educational apparatus for political party members who interact with delegates during the process of crafting of the platform; this allows party members to gain a deeper understanding of public policy matters. Platforms may also serve as a point of reference for candidates while conducting their campaign or for elites while governing. Additionally, the platform can provide a way to measure the degree to which incumbents or candidates remain loyal to party principles. Finally, the platform is also used as a tool to make the political party marketable to interest groups and the electorate at large.

Among scholars, platforms can serve as a portrait to pinpoint the ideological beliefs of a political party as well as the ideological clashes within a party at the time of the writing of the platform; these platforms serve as a snapshot to highlight concerns, priorities, and compromises made among party insiders. As a result, platforms can also be used to focus on how a party has moved ideologically from previous points in the past; for example, scholars have also used the platforms to study the occurrences of partisan realignment and trends in polarization. According to Althusser (1971), political party statements such as platforms do not only describe the current ideological positions of the party, but actively help to affect them. This would help to explain the desire of activists in inserting their dogmas into the platforms in an effort to move the party into a specific direction (Brewer and Maisel, 2016). With regard to British parties, Adams et al.'s (2004) work examined party positions and found that public opinion prompted changes in party ideology although previous election results did not. In a similar fashion, Carmines and Stimson (1989) also examined how issue evolution worked with respect to race and found that the first step needed for a party to evolve on an issue was for the elites within the party to reorient themselves with regards to this issue. The next step would be for the mass public to react to these

reorientations. Given the influence of party activists with the drafting of the political platform process and the effect that platforms have on support for policies from the party itself (Pomper, 1972), scholars can use platforms to project the direction of the party going forward.

Research Questions

My objective within this dissertation is to take a deeper look at how these platforms have developed over time using a mixed methods approach. Political party platforms give us a snapshot as to what is important to the members of the party and gives us a window into the potential avenues in which the parties will continue to go. As the initial drafts of the platforms are drafted and designed by party staff or the staff of the presumptive nominee of the party prior to consideration and debate by the full platform committee and convention, this is where we can see attempts by the party to rally their base behind. If this was the only potential impact, then it might be an interesting side note, however each of the additions of the platform is not simply intended to be a moot rallying point but is an active attempt to shape the party going into the future. As Pomper (1972) demonstrated platforms highlight the differences between parties as well as give them a roadmap they follow with regards to the actual implementation of policies. Maisel (2012) also notes that “for activists and ideologues they are often a means to gain a foothold into party dogma” (265).

The focus of the dissertation will be to assess the value of using various approaches in examining party platforms. While some analyses have been performed to discuss how platforms have shifted, they have traditionally focused on analyzing platforms in a very specialized context and traditionally using a single approach (strictly through computer text analysis or more

traditional methods of content analysis). Relying solely on one method can be problematic as demonstrated by criticism levied against Kidd's (2008) research.

I seek to consider what we can learn about party platforms in a larger context using a multi-method approach of qualitative and quantitative approaches. As noted by Kidd (2008), recent advances in technology have given us the ability to analyze large portions of text with relative ease versus hand-coding methods such as those implemented in previous works (Klingermann, Hofferbert, and Budge, 1994; Budge et al., 2001). This will provide scholars with more valuable information in assessing the changes that have occurred within platforms and how these changes are impacted by political circumstances of the periods being considered. This part of the dissertation is primarily inspired by Coffey's (2011) analysis in which he warns against "as tempting as automation may be, these techniques place a heavy burden on researchers to show the accuracy of the results in capturing the meaning of political texts and not simply producing the same score every time" (336). Coffey argues that one should be cautious about the use of these techniques. My argument is that without a diverse methodological approach, one would expect to gain fewer insights that are also less reliable. By using the many methodological tools available to us along with the supplementary analyses based on a traditional reading of the platforms for content, I will be able to assess the degree to which discrepancies in the conclusion exist given the types of analyses used.

To this end, the research questions that I will answer are:

- *What unique insights can scholars receive from using a mixed methods approach to studying platforms?*
- *Does pursuing different methodological approaches to examining party platforms add anything of value to our understanding of how platforms evolve over time?*

To answer these questions, I will use a mixture of approaches to examine data from the national party platforms.

The Structure of the Dissertation

In chapter 2, I discuss what platforms are, how they are prepared, and why they would be important to study. Additionally, the literature involving political parties and party platforms, realignment, political polarization, and party culture will be reviewed. Included in the chapter will be a history of the political parties, and laying out how their constituencies changed over time, and highlighting key elections that are thought to be important turning points for the Democrats and Republicans. This chapter will lay a foundation for the following sections of the dissertation whose focus will be on the main points emphasized by parties over time and how they have changed. In light of these findings by scholars, I list the hypotheses of my dissertation.

In chapter 3, I cover the methodological approaches of this paper. A list of the platforms and data sources being analyzed is provided. Given that mixed methods are used, the different approaches are discussed along with how they link to the hypotheses mentioned in chapter 2. This includes a discussion of the various tools being used to analyze the platforms. I demonstrate how the various approaches yield valuable insights. I provide information regarding the dictionaries (word libraries) used and coding schemas that have been developed and used within the dissertation. At each stage, I will include as much information about the approach so that the research can be replicated by others within future research.

In chapter 4, I cover the use of computer-assisted text analysis (CATA) software and the Manifesto Project's database to study the content of political party platforms. These tools will help to gain an overall picture of some basic characteristics of the platform (e.g. the degree to

which parties use positive or negative emotional tone and the percent of quasi-sentences that are assigned a code for a specific issue area).

In order to begin this analysis, I examine the word count and ideology of the platforms to get an idea as to how the platforms have changed throughout time. This will allow me to tell if the parties truly have become polarized with regards to the language and issues discussed in the platform over time. Next, the text of the platforms will be cleaned and then run through computer-assisted text analysis software designed to analyze qualitative data; similar approaches were utilized by Jordan, Webb, and Wood (2014). Additionally, platforms for both major parties will be examined using the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) dataset which further analyzes political party positions by issue area and domain. My findings are briefly assessed against the relevant hypotheses. This chapter will also serve to set up the fifth chapter of the dissertation in which I select an issue area to study based on my findings in chapter 4.

In chapter 5, I will combine my approach of using CATA analysis with the more traditional approach of textual analysis which comes from a personal reading of the platforms. This follows the structure of works from Chester (1977), Kamieniecki (1995), and Hartzell (2013). This allows me to gain a deeper insight than by relying solely on CATA or other tools to examine the platforms. The selection of the topic for this chapter will be informed by the analysis done in chapter 4. The methodology of how the text was analyzed along with major insights will be discussed here.

Lastly, in chapter 6, I examine the results of my analysis to determine what we know about the evolution of political party platforms given the mixed methods approach used in this dissertation. Within this chapter, there is a discussion of the value of pursuing a mixed methods approach for studying party rhetoric as expressed in the platforms. An assessment is also

performed to highlight potential issues encountered within the analyses and how these may be avoided in future research on the platforms. Additionally, I cover additional prospects for future research.

Chapter 2. Political Party Platforms Considered

"No one today takes party platforms very seriously. They are collections of pious hopes and vague promises"

-James M. Burns and Jack W. Peltason (1966)

The Development of Political Party Platforms

Political party platforms are statements that demonstrate the values of associated interest groups, political party elites, and, more recently, presidential candidates. The practice of developing a political party platform originated with the drafting of ten resolutions by the National Republican Party of ten resolutions in 1832 in which the party expressed its support for Henry Clay its nominee for the presidency. This document was not adopted at a party convention, however, but it did demonstrate the wishes of the party (Maisel and Bassett, 1991).

The formal political party platforms were originally developed with the approval of the 1840 Democratic Party Platform. It was not until 1852 that both major parties adopted party platforms, a practice that has continued since then (Patch, 1952). The composition of the platform is initially handled by an executive committee. The executive committee receives assistance from research staff, academics, and staffers from the national party committee. During the drafting of the platform, the committee will typically meet with party activists from around the country and individuals from various interest groups. The research staff composes the platform and, in the process, may work to gather recommendations made by interest groups and party elites. The staff also will try to work with the various factions within the party each of which wishes to integrate their own program into the platform (Maisel and Bassett, 1991). There are differences also in the way that the parties handle the platform development process:

“The Democrats use the platform-writing process as a means to reach out to grassroots activists around the country. In many years, their platform committee, the composition of which reflects candidates’ strengths, has turned into a traveling road show, seeking advice from Democrats around the country. The Republican Platform Committee, on the other hand, normally only meets in the convention city on the weekend before the convention itself. It is not a road show, but perhaps a sideshow before the main event” (261).

The rules surrounding the platform writing process were not always the same. In the tumultuous Democratic National Convention of 1968, the nomination process worked against the wishes of those who voted in primaries. As described by Brewer and Maisel (2016), “Virtually no Democrats were pleased at how the 1968 convention played out, and many critics charged that the party was boss-controlled and argued vehemently that the selection process was undemocratic and unfair” (234). The point of contention within the convention was the winning of the nomination of Humphrey who had announced his candidacy in April 1968, which was too late to enter any of the primaries still open. While McCarthy and Kennedy continued their electoral contest for the remainder of the primary, the delegates at the 1968 convention coalesced their support behind Vice President Humphrey causing a schism in the party (Klinkner, 1994).

After the dust had settled following the adjournment of the committee and the Democrats subsequent loss to Nixon, the Democrats were afforded the opportunity to make major revisions to their procedures without having to worry about working with an incumbent president (Ranney, 1972). As a result of changes introduced after the 1968 convention, reforms were adopted regarding the delegate selection process and the availability of the platform to delegates within an earlier period by the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection (Chester, 1977; Brewer and Maisel, 2016); this was meant to alleviate the concerns of those who participated in

the 1968 convention. The goals were to open participation to underrepresented women, African Americans, and youth and to make the process of open up the process regarding the selection of delegates (Broder, 1974). Broder (1974) discusses the changes when he notes:

“As In 1969-70, the McGovern commission set out to "clean up" the presidential nominating process by scourging its most questionable machinery-the party caucuses and state conventions, where organization leaders frequently railroaded through handpicked delegate slates. The rules adopted for "opening up" the caucuses and the conventions were quite effective- so effective, in fact, that several states thought better of continuing to use the caucus- convention system for choosing national convention delegates. Since the question of the presidential nomination is of secondary importance to many state and local professional politicians, several states decided to separate the decisions on presidential politics from their own district and state conventions, where more important matters like nominations for sheriff and state treasurer are settled. The upshot was that after a long period of years in which the presidential primary had fallen into increasing disfavor and disuse, seven additional states-for a total of twenty-three- adopted or reactivated presidential primaries for 1972 (36).”

To assess what has been done within the fields of political parties and platforms, I will examine relevant political science scholarship in the areas of political party platforms, partisan realignment, political polarization, and political party behavior and culture.

Literature Review

Political Party Platforms

Political party scholarship has focused on diverse areas of research including partisan realignments, political polarization, party attachment, descriptive representation, among many other topics. While a majority of work has been dedicated to these areas, a smaller body of work has developed around party platforms. On the surface, it appears that political party platforms are quite valuable in producing information to many audiences. Yet, the value of these platforms is not readily apparent to others. This is not a new development either as Burns and Peltason's quotation at the beginning of the chapter demonstrates. Bradley (1969) mentions the criticisms of the platforms by the American Political Science Association, "By and large, alternatives between the parties are defined so badly that it is often difficult to determine what the election has decided even in the broadest terms" (338). It is worth noting, however, that because platforms are written for broad audiences, it is much more complex than had it been crafted for a specific audience (Harmel, Janda, and Tan, 1995). These cynical attitudes towards platforms do not simply apply to the value of the information that it could provide to voters, but it also applies to practical significance of the platforms in any real sense; for example, DiSalvo and Ceaser (2016) have raised the question as to whether these political party platforms still matter noting that the run up to the national conventions in 2016 highlighted intra-party conflicts.

The scholarship, however, has not yielded a conclusive view as to the utility of producing these party platforms (Brewer and Maisel, 2016). On the one hand, scholars have argued that the platforms do inform voters to the point that it could assist them in their selection of candidates either through a direct reading (Fine, 1994; Kidd, 2008; Simas and Evans, 2010) or indirectly

through media coverage (Pomper, 1967; Erikson, MacKuen, and Stimson, 2002; Paddock, 2010). Pomper (1967) discusses that the platforms fulfill a role of a "partial aid to voter rationality" (345). It is unclear as to how many voters read the entirety of the party platforms Maisel (1993). Nevertheless, scholars have noted that platforms can serve a purpose for other groups. Candidates can use the platform to gain support with constituencies that are prone to support them (Monroe, 1983). They can also be used as an agenda to follow once elected (Pomper and Lederman, 1980; Budge and Hofferbert, 1990).

Along these lines, scholarship has primarily focused on performance based on pledges in the party platform. An earlier study by Bradley (1969) assessed the performance of the political parties based on the promises made regarding the growth of social security. Based on the data, Bradley concluded that the link between platforms and party performance on Social Security was strong. Pomper and Lederman (1980) found that parties followed through with the pledges made in the platform more than 50% of the time. Monroe (1983) mentions that the platforms fulfill a partial role in the relationship between a party's actions and its promises as expressed in the platform while taking into consideration public opinion on the various issues being considered. Monroe found that both parties selected positions that the majority of the public desired. The cases in which the parties diverged from this behavior involved issues that were important to the party's base group of supporters. Monroe noted that the platforms were linked to policy decisions in cases where the majority of public opinion favored or opposed certain proposals demonstrating a linking function between the parties, public opinion, and government action. To demonstrate the degree to which parties use the platform, Budge and Hofferbert (1990) linked the party platform to the concept of a party mandate noting that the parties' use of a platform would attract votes and the eventual victory of a party would mean that it had received a

mandate. As a result, the victorious party would be "bound (both morally and by fears of retribution at the next election) to carry through the program on which it had been elected" (111). They examined government spending in areas of human services, defense and foreign policy, physical resources, and governance; the statistical tests demonstrated that the policies highlighted within the platform did affect the spending priorities of the parties in power. Royed and Borrelli (1999) examined economic policies and echoed Pomper and Lederman's (1980) findings by showing that parties could fulfill most of their pledges regarding economic policies and that they could do so even when they did not have institutional control, citing the success of both Democratic and Republican parties under George H.W. Bush and the Republicans under Carter's presidency.

Activists within the party can use the national party platform as a tool to hold presidential nominee accountable (Fishel, 1985). This approach makes sense given that they are the group that is the most involved in writing the party platform (Jewell, 1984; Pomper, 2003). Party activists also use the platform to integrate their vision into the party dogma (Brewer and Maisel, 2016). Consider the Tea Party's attempt to shift the Republican party into its preferred direction (Lorber, 2012; Brewer and Maisel, 2016). While the platform may be a barometer for the direction that activists within the party are attempting to take the party (Jeffrey and Teti, 1987), it is not always a clear indicator of where the parties are heading (Pitney, 1989). Pomper (1972) notes that the platforms do serve to demonstrate differences in the party and that most of the proposals within are implemented. The platform is important to interest groups (Reinhardt and Victor, 2012) and to highlight which officials the interest groups would have access to if they were to be elected (Morehouse, 1981).

Chester's (1977) work on political parties provided a comprehensive overview of the platforms written between from the 1832 to 1976. The focus was to bridge the gap of our understanding as to how the evolution of the platforms among different aspects but also to provide a general overview of the issues to be mindful of when studying platforms and information on key issues in analyzing platforms. Kamieniecki (1995) also did a study on platforms in which he examined the relationship between party and environmental policy by reading through the party platforms and supplementing that analysis with roll call votes within the Congress and the state legislatures, as well as public opinion polling to demonstrate attitudes. Kamieniecki shows that the parties approached environmental issues very differently within the party platform with Democrats calling for more spending and stronger government action to curb pollution while Republicans called for minimal intervention by the government opting for private ownership of these resources to slow down the degradation of the environment.

The content of platforms is thought to have changed in a substantive way following the substantial presidential nomination reforms that were adopted in 1972 which made caucuses and primaries the main way to choose delegates to the conventions. According to Maisel (1993), these reforms resulted in the platforms following the candidate's wishes. The platform, then, could be used to "bind party lawmakers to follow the president" (DiSalvo and Ceaser, 2016). One example of how this works was with regards to the Republicans and the support for U.S. assistance to Ukraine. In the 2016 platform, the language was originally stronger calling for arming the fighters in Ukraine to a general statement which mentioned "providing appropriate assistance to the armed forces of Ukraine..." This change was dictated by Trump (Johnson, 2017).

The rules guiding the construction of the platforms differ by party. The national party for the Republicans imposes fewer rules and restrictions on its state and local party organizations relative to the Democrats for example. The Democratic National Committee Chairman must appoint the chair of the platform committee who will then appoint other vice-chairs. Additional delegates which are apportioned among the states according to the strength of the party and the population of the state are added to the committee. The national chairman is also responsible for appointing a drafting committee to prepare a draft of the platform for the full committee. A public hearing is held in order to solicit a way of gathering information and allowing those who are interested in the platform an opportunity to be heard. Party staffers prepare an initial draft to structure discussion among the drafting committee. Upon meeting, the drafting committee suggests changes or additions along with drafting any platform language that is appropriate. Staffers from the candidate's campaign may be in attendance. After a draft is approved within the drafting committee it is sent out to consideration among the full committee which is influenced by the candidate's delegation. The Platform Committee will then present the committee to the National Party Convention for adoption (Maisel, 1993).

The Republican variant of the Platform Committee is called the Committee on Resolutions. While the chairman appoints the officers of the committee, the Republican rules provide that the individual states appointed the members of the committee. The Republicans opt to gather more of the information "in-house" rather than relying on primarily on hearings to do so. The draft of the platform is prepared by staff and is later reviewed by The Committee on Resolutions which reviews the draft platform and prepares the final version. As the final draft is being reviewed, the members of the committee join various subcommittees committee to debate and amend the draft of the platform. After the subcommittees work is complete, the full

committee reviews and debates the entire platform, submitting amendments in writing. The platform is then presented in front of the full convention and is pushed for adoption (Maisel, 1993).

Party platforms have been used to varying degrees in a variety of subfields within political science. In the following section, I will focus on the fields of partisan realignments, political polarization, and political party behavior and culture.

Partisan Realignments

Political party platforms are hypothesized to reflect shifts in a party's bases of support. While the defection of a key demographic or region during one election is an important development Partisan realignment literature is relevant as it involves "[shifts] in the distribution of basic party attachments, as distinct from a temporary alternation of voter behavior" (Sundquist, 1983, 6). The literature on partisan realignment found its origin in an article by Key (1955) who popularized the idea of critical elections claiming that these elections capture the attention of the electorate in a deep fashion which is evidenced by higher voting turnout and that results in a "sharp alternation of the pre-existing cleavage within the electorate." Key identified two critical elections as being the elections of 1896 between Bryan and McKinley and 1928 between Smith and Hoover. Key initially said that the results did not simply last for that present election but were thought to persist for subsequent elections.

Per MacRae and Meldrum (1960), it is more accurate to identify these realignments as mass adjustments within the base rather than singular occurrences. The period between realignments can also include different "party systems" (Schattschneider, 1960). Burnham (1970) advances the idea of critical elections by stating that "Some elections have more important long-

range consequences for the political system as a whole than others, and seem to "decide" substantive issues in a more clear-cut way" (1). Burnham notes the scholarly consensus on the elections of 1800, 1828, 1860, 1896, and 1932 as examples of "fundamental turning points" in the United States. He defines critical realignments as being distinct from secular realignments, stable alignments, and deviating elections (5-6). In the first case, these critical realignments are brief and intense disruptions of voting behavior. Second, an element of these elections is the "abnormally high intensity"; this would be reflected in the way in which the political party platforms are crafted and the shifts in power among the hierarchy in the political party. This intensity is also reflected in polarization on issues where the distances between the party increase and certain types of issues become highly salient. While not always consistent, these elections generally see an increase in voter mobilization. Third, Burnham claims that these critical shifts in favor of one party to another happen regularly, which demonstrates evidence in favor of critical realignment theory. Lastly, given that parties are constituent parties and "represent outcomes in general - not outcomes in particular," these realignments are accompanied by transformations in major areas of policy. This is due to the interplay and tensions present between officials and voters.

Mayhew (2002) evaluates the claims of realignment literature and determines that realignments are gradual processes rather than events within one election cycle that persists. Mayhew promotes the idea that short-term events such as wars and economic fluctuations do more to explain the changes in partisan identity than do other variables traditionally associated with realignment literature such as a shift in ideology. According to Mayhew, political parties are not stagnant organizations that make significant changes once every generation, but rather are

responsive organizations that make changes continuously as preferences within the electorate change.

Political Polarization

Researchers have examined party platforms as one indicator of polarization. Ginsberg (1976) analyzed the national political party platforms on the basis of seven issue areas (capitalism, internal sovereignty, redistribution, international cooperation, labor, and ruralism) and used the paragraph as a unit of analysis to examine to what degree electoral choices are translated to policy decisions. In this sense, the content of the platform and the cleavages within the party are linked to realignments in which the parties are seeking to attract new constituencies (Ginsberg, 1972; 1976). Abramowitz and Saunders (1998) argue that the Reagan and post-Reagan eras ushered in "secular realignment" of party loyalties along ideological lines originated starting with the election of Ronald Reagan and his successors. As the parties are more ideologically polarized, these differences between their ideological positions "make it easier for citizens to choose a party identification based on their policy preferences" (634); this contrasts with the notion that individuals inherited their party identification from their parents.

Kid (2008) concluded that the parties themselves were not ideologically polarized when it came to domestic issues, a conclusion that is subsequently called into question by Coffey's (2011) analysis. Ideological differences within the platforms can be accounted for by examining the closeness of party competition. According to Coffey's analysis of state party platforms, the closer the competition between the parties, the greater the tendency for the Democratic and Republican platforms to move further to the left and right respectively. In other words, competition increases polarization among the parties at the state level. Recent work by Jordan,

Webb, and Wood (2014) has focused on using content analysis tools to study national party platforms. In their study, Jordan, Webb, and Wood found that starting in 1980, the Republican Party became the primary source of polarization in the modern era largely in part due to the influence of Ronald Reagan whose conservative principles largely shaped the platform, particularly on economic issues.

Scholars have also examined polarization trends by studying state level party platforms (Paddock, 2010; Coffey, 2011). Paddock (1998) used state party platforms to measure interparty ideological differences among states. Paddock found that states with traditional party organization mechanisms would have less polarization relative to states that did not have them. This was also found to be linked to party activism within the states. This finding was reinforced by Hinchliffe and Lee (2015) in their examination of polarization and party competition in state legislatures.

In comparing state and national party platforms from 2008 to 2010, Shoaf (2013) found that state parties could exercise a great deal of independence from the national parties in the positions they advocate, an assertion that is line with Paddock's (1991; 2005) findings. Research has also indicated that state political parties enjoy a great deal of independence from the national party organization (Erikson, 2002). In addition, the state parties are becoming more independent over time suggesting that they have incentives to develop independent policy positions relative to the national party for electoral purposes (Gimpel, 1996; Gimpel and Schuknect, 2003). Analyzing variance among the state parties, Shoaf (2013) found that the Republican state political parties were more likely to show ideological variation state-by-state relative to the Democrats.

Political Party Behavior and Culture

The polarization literature can be enhanced by examining what we know about in-party versus out-party organizations. Lowi (1963) mentions that minority parties that have lost by a larger margin are likely to disrupt the structure of interests and the prevalent ideology within the party. The majority party may feel no need to innovate at all (Klinkner, 1994). In addition, the in-party organizations are more deeply constrained by the influence of a sitting president (Milakis, 1985). There is a great deal of reason to see the studying of out-parties important, but a primary reason is that these parties while facing electoral turmoil will likely end up being victorious in the future. These leaders have considerable power of the party-in-government and in the party-in-organization and that presidents are able to use this power to replace the national committee chairs for the purpose of promoting their own personal interests and their own policy agenda (Heersink, 2018).

There are three schools of thought on party behavior related to electoral defeats. The first sees parties as being "rational organizations" with unified leadership and priorities to continue winning elections; everything else is secondary (Schumpeter, 1942; Downs, 1957; McKenzie, 1964; Schlesinger, 1991). The second school of thought sees parties as being concerned with pursuing ideological goals independent of their ability to win elections; in these cases, the parties are still interested in winning but are not willing to compromise on their principles to do so (Chappell and Keech, 1986; Budge and Keman, 1990). The third school of thought focuses on the political culture of these political parties (Crotty, 1983; Freeman, 1986; Shafer, 1986; Baer and Bositis, 1993; Schwartz, 1990). In these cases, organizational history and experiences are a key to understanding responses to defeat. So, in situations where parties face electoral losses, they respond in a way consistent with their experiences. Different political parties drawing on

different experiences will react in different ways. This reaction is not limited to ideology.

Klinkner (1994) notes, "The memory of critical events, prior solutions to problems (both successful and unsuccessful), the preexisting cultural traits of an organization's recruits and the impact of strong leaders are among the other factors that contribute to the culture of an organization, be it a party or a business firm (8)."

Klinkner (1994) expands on the third school of thought by studying the parties that had lost the most recent presidential election. He analyzed their behavior on three dimensions, policy responses, organizational responses, and procedural responses. Policy responses consisted of the labors of the out-parties to modify the policies of the party or the presentation of these policies via platforms. Organizational responses represented the efforts by the parties to improve the efficiency with which they operated. This would not only represent possible changes within their hierarchical structure but would also be represented by the ways in which they collected and analyzed data, fundraised, and used media to get their message across. Lastly, Klinkner focused on procedural responses which he categorized as "changes in a party's procedure for internal governance, choosing its presidential candidates, and selecting the delegates to its national convention" (6).

Klinkner found that political party culture drives the behavior of party elites rather than ideological or electoral fortunes do. In this sense, Democrats are fascinated by procedural reforms and Republicans focus on organizational concerns. Part of this is historical given that the Democrats have historically had less financial support (particularly true given their previous dominance in the Congressional elections), whereas Republicans have had more of these resources meaning that they had been working on ways to increase their efficiency in gaining resources and support (Klinkner, 1994). The Republicans having a culture of organization boils

down to the sector of the population that they attract: those within business. As a result, there is a striking similarity between the culture of the Republican Party in their admiration for efficiency and what one would find within the culture of business organizations. By contrast, Democrats were largely unfamiliar with this cultural emphasis and were "more informal and disorganized" (Bone, 1958; Klinkner, 1994, 202). Freeman (1986) mentions party heterogeneity as being another factor contributing to the emphasis on organization as it promotes trust given that people within the party are like them. By extension, this leads to placing more trust within the party organization to a degree that the Democrats do not have. More recently, polarization has increased among the parties have fewer Americans are holding a mixture of Democrat and Republican beliefs instead. Kiley (2017) notes that "Reflecting growing partisan gaps across most of the individual questions in the scale – even those where both parties have shifted in the same direction – Republicans and Democrats are now further apart ideologically than at any point in more than two decades." Lastly, the party culture of the Republicans was shaped by their status starting in the 1930s of being the minority party. In order to overcome the electoral disadvantage that they faced at that point, party elites started looking to organizational efficiencies as a way to gain ground (Klinkner, 1994). The Democrats, on the other hand, stress procedural reforms as they see themselves as being an outlet for groups like gays, women, and minorities who have "traditionally perceived themselves as disempowered or locked out of American's important social and political decision-making processes" (Freeman, 1986, 338).

In his work, Lewis (2019) sets out to combat the idea that American party ideologies are simply static conservative and liberal principles but have evolved over time. He examines party control of the presidency and its impact on attitudes towards executive power and foreign interventions. Republicans were calling for fewer foreign interventions as a result of Obama's

two terms in office for example. He also examines how unified government changes impacts the party's ideas on economic interventionism. Lewis states, "When a party takes control of unified government, they tend to exercise the powers at their disposal to intervene in the economy (even if they campaigned on noninterventionist ideas and noninterventionist rhetoric)" (126-127).

Lewis points out that several ingredients are needed for the parties to change their ideologies but that their control of government typically expires before this can happen. Part of this analysis relies on the studying of political party platforms.

While these studies have given us valuable insight into how political parties have changed there is a gap in the literature about the effectiveness of applying different approaches in studying these documents. In discussing the pitfalls of relying solely on quantitative analysis, Chester (1977) stated:

"It would be most convenient for purposes of analysis if one were able to reduce every aspect of platform evaluation to quantitative terms, but this is not easily done, despite the impressive attempts of Gerald Pomper and other scholars. In fact, for some of these documents it is only with great foreboding that one ventures even tentative judgments (18-19)."

Along with Coffee's (2011) critique of Kidd's (2008) analysis which examined the platforms in quantitative terms, this points to a need for more nuance in quantitative analysis of political party platforms. This kind of in-depth analysis would integrate both CATA tools along with a contextual reading of the platform to knit together the insights that can be gathered by both. In this sense the work is an extension of the work presented by Chester (1977), Kamieniecki (1995), Kidd (2008), and Coffee's (2011) work to discuss how the platforms evolved; this is similar to the approach taken by Carmines and Stimson's (1989) research where

they linked changes to platforms with regards to references about race which were then linked to changes in public opinion (Noel, 2010).

Platforms are complicated documents. In drafting a platform, the parties not only have to consider different circumstances such as a shift in their base of support, but also have to play a balancing act by being proactive about gaining new constituencies and reactive in trying to address weaknesses evident in previous elections. While studying party platforms individually can yield insights, I wish to examine differences between the platforms over time using these different methodological tools.

My dissertation is going to be centered on answering the following research question: What insights can scholars receive from integrating a mixed methods approach to studying political party platforms?

This research question leads me to the following hypotheses:

- *H1: I expect that a mixed methods approach will allow for the identification of issues for a targeted study of the evolution of party platforms.*
- *H2: A mixed methods approach will provide more detailed results about how platforms have changed over time relative to the sole use of qualitative or quantitative approaches thus addressing weaknesses found in either approach independently.*

To answer this question, I will use a mixture of textual data from the national party platforms and researcher data from the Manifesto Project. This dissertation will tie together relevant areas of research in trying to understand how these platforms, which are not thought to hold much importance, have evolved in a strategic fashion to make political parties more viable electorally. Given the aftermath of the 2016 presidential election and the 2018 midterm election,

this analysis could be useful in helping us to understand how political parties try to use rhetoric or introduce positions to unite together around values in attempts to unify their base while making themselves more marketable to constituents who may feel disillusioned or disengaged with the parties.

Chapter 3. Methods

Since their inception, political party platforms have generally become longer over time. Part of the reason for this change can be explained by the fact that the government especially since the 1930s has been tasked with more responsibilities than it has had in the past. While informative, this does present challenges in doing a proper study of platform changes over time. To maximize the amount of insights that can be gained through examining these platforms over time, I will be utilizing computer text analysis software, the Manifesto Project database, and insights gathered from reading the text of the platforms. This will allow me to study the parties position on a diverse set of issues while, at the same time, examining issues that have been present throughout American history.

The political party platforms will be analyzed contextually using textual analysis software. I wish to take a varied approach to gain further insights as to how political parties have changed in substance and in tone. By analyzing the material in a contextual fashion, I will be able to understand how parties have shifted their presentation of their positions over time. As noted by Coffey (2011), using these approaches in tandem avoids pitfalls of previous studies ensuring more validity of the study. But analyzing the platforms using textual analysis software can contribute to a deeper level of understanding in how the platforms have utilized specific constructs in language to sell their vision.

Chapter 4 will be centered around providing a general overview of the political party platforms for both parties while chapter 5 will delve into the deeper textual context regarding differences within the party platform over time on a single issue and between parties. The analysis will consist of only the Democratic and Republican party platforms since 1960. The

election of 1960 culminated with the victory of John F. Kennedy over the incumbent vice president, Richard Nixon. The flaring up of tensions between Russia and the United States as a result of the Cold War, Kennedy's assassination in 1963, the expansion of government programs and responsibilities under President Johnson's call for a Great Society, and the diminishing trust of the American Electorate with the government which started in 1964 provide us with a baseline through which one could examine relevant changes in party platforms (Pew Research Center, 2015).

Chapter 4 will consider the results of a context analysis done primarily using three programs/sources: DICTION, Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC), and the Manifesto Project Database. In the past, CATA programs were used to study platforms (references) and a variety of other studies that examined agenda-building within various contexts (Roberts & McCombs, 1994; Carroll, 2004; Dunn, 2006; Dunn, 2009; Ragas, 2010; Lowry & Naser, 2010; Baker, 2011).

The platforms were obtained from the University of California, Berkeley's American Presidency Project. Among the other collection of written material, the American Presidency Project contains all major party platforms since 1840. While the analysis is limited to only Democrats and Republicans, the American Presidency project also contains the platforms of third parties. To analyze these platforms within the DICTION and LIWC, the headers and introductory materials were removed from each platform so that they would not interfere with the results generated.

DICTION

The first program that will be used is DICTION, a computer-assisted text analysis (CATA) program. Like other CATA programs, DICTION analyzes text files against internal preset dictionaries. DICTION's internal dictionary is set to examine the degree to which language is used that emphasizes five master variables: certainty, optimism, activity, realism, and commonality. In addition to these master variables, DICTION contains thirty-five other variables measuring linguistic concepts like aggression and praise. The following table taken from the DICTION manual outlines the definition of the master variables and how they are calculated:

Table 1: DICTION Master Variable Definition and Composition

Master Variable	Definition	Formula
Certainty	Language indicating resoluteness, inflexibility, and completeness and a tendency to speak ex cathedra	[Tenacity + Leveling + Collectives + Insistence] – [Numerical Terms + Ambivalence + Self Reference + Variety]
Optimism	Language endorsing some person, group, concept or event, or highlighting their positive entailments	[Praise + Satisfaction + Inspiration] – [Blame + Hardship + Denial]
Activity	Language featuring movement, change, the implementation of ideas and the avoidance of inertia.	[Aggression + Accomplishment + Communication + Motion] – [Cognitive Terms + Passivity + Embellishment]
Realism	Language describing tangible, immediate, recognizable matters that affect people's everyday lives	[Familiarity + Spatial Awareness + Temporal Awareness + Present Concern + Human Interest + Concreteness] – [Past Concern + Complexity]
Commonality	Language highlighting the agreed-upon values of a group and rejecting idiosyncratic modes of engagement.	[Centrality + Cooperation + Rapport] – [Diversity + Exclusion + Liberation]

The platforms will be run through DICTION to gather the frequencies and scores on each of these variables by party and by year. To normalize its results for each individual using the

program, DICTION has a standard of 500 words as a textual norm. According to the DICTION 7.0 Help Manual, this was instituted as "Research has found that it takes about 500 words to get a rough sense of a person's overall style or of an organization's general language habits" (21). Due to the length of party platforms and the desirability of being able to compare the results across the different years for each party, the averaged option was selected in analyzing the platform text. This option informs DICTION to analyze the party platforms in 500-word units and to generate output for each variable by taking an average of the score assigned across all 500-word units. This method works for texts that are as large as 500,000 words. The data for the master variables in Table 1 is included in the Appendix for each platform. For the purposes of this analysis, I replicated Aswad's (2019) approach in studying charismatic leadership rhetoric used during the 2016 presidential election. The reasoning for the inclusion of this approach is that it can help measure the degree to which the parties try to emotionally connect with the electorate and their members within the party and use language to inspire their followers to adopt their vision (Aswad, 2019). This approach uses DICTION variables but modifies them according to the formulas below.

Table 2: Charismatic Constructs as Described by Aswad (2019)

Construct	Formula	Sample Words
Collective focus	Collectives + people's reference – self reference	We, us, our, team, humanity
Follower's worth	Praise + satisfaction + inspiration	Terms of praise that point to positive emotional states, such as faithful, loyal, and good
Similarity to followers	Leveling + familiarity + human interest	Alignment, network, teamwork, sharing and consolidate
Cooperation	Cooperation	Alignment, network, teamwork, sharing and consolidate
Action-oriented	Aggressive + accomplishment – passivity – ambivalence	Action, change, speed, and momentum
Adversity	Blame + hardship + denial	Disaster, carnage, and injustice
Tangibility	Concreteness + insistence - variety	Concrete words such as buildings, homes, etc. and the repetition of key terms

Source: Aswad (2019)

Aswad (2019) breaks these charismatic constructs into three categories: communal, agentic, and neutral. The definitions of each can be found in Table 3:

Table 3: Charismatic Constructs Defined (Aswad 2019)

Communal Charismatic Construct: Rhetoric centered around the building of relationships and shared bonds between the individual espousing the rhetoric and their followers.	
Construct	Aswad's Definition
Collective focus	“This type of language builds trust around a shared social identity (e.g., social groupings, geographical entities), self-sacrifice, or pursuit of a common goal over individual self-interest”
Follower's worth	“This type of language illustrates confidence in a candidate's followers and uses affirmative language, building self-worth through flattery and ingratiation (Shamir, Arthur, and House 1994).”
Similarity to followers	“This type of language is different from the emphasis on collective identity or follower's worth described above. It more explicitly identifies the candidate as part of the same in-group as followers, downplays differences, and highlights congruence with followers along aspects such as values, family background, and financial background. At the same time, the leader belabors his/her fitness to be the head of the in-group (Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl 2004).”
Cooperation	“This type of language indicates commitment to a shared vision or interactions among people that result in group outcomes.”
Agentic Charismatic Constructs: This kind of rhetoric describes the need for individuals to go through difficulties in order to achieve their goal.	
Construct	Aswad's Definition
Action oriented	“This type of language communicates certainty about attaining a vision for the country (Conger 1991). It commonly takes the form of a call to action.”
Adversity	“This type of language emphasizes the desire to overcome intolerable current conditions and revolves around themes such as repression, inevitable need for change, and the urgency to change the status quo (Conger 1991).”
Neutral Charismatic Construct	
Construct	Aswad's Definition
Tangibility	“Tangibility describes references to intangible future goals as opposed to concrete, tangible outcomes. A number of scholars have suggested that a charismatic leader will use less tangible rhetoric in an attempt to broaden the appeal of his/her vision, instead of language grounded in specific, measurable outcomes (Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl 2004; Conger 1991; Shamir, Arthur, and House 1994; Willner 1984).”

Source: Aswad (2019)

Each of these constructs will be created using the DICTION data and the results will be reported in chapter 4. A difference of means test will also be used to determine whether either party uses these charismatic constructs significantly more than their opposition. These constructs will also be utilized in chapter 5's analysis.

Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC)

Additionally, I will also run the platforms to check for tone of the platforms (positive, negative, etc.) and whether the language used emphasizes the past, present, or future using LIWC. Originally developed in 1990, LIWC is a textual analysis program that uses a preset internal dictionary to analyze text files. Once the text has been imported, LIWC examines whether the target words contained within the document match its internal dictionary which is made up of about 6,400 words. For each word contained within the internal dictionary, it is mapped to specific entries that work to define the characteristics of that word. (<http://liwc.wpengine.com/how-it-works/>). Upon matching the target words against the LIWC internal dictionary, LIWC produces an output containing over 80 variables that are broken down as follows:

Table 4: LIWC Dataset Overview

Category Description	Quantity	Components of Category
Summary variables	4	Analytical thinking, clout, authentic, emotional tone
Language metrics	3	Words per sentence, words > 6 letters, dictionary words
Function words/other grammar	20	Total pronouns, personal pronouns, 1st pers singular, etc.
Affect words	5	Positive emotion, negative emotion, anxiety, anger, sadness
Social words	4	Family, friends, female referents, male referents
Cognitive processes	6	Insight, cause, discrepancies, tentativeness, etc.
Perpetual processes	3	Seeing, hearing, feeling
Biological processes	4	Body, health/illness, sexuality, ingesting
Drives and needs	5	Affiliation, achievement, power, reward focus, risk focus
Time orientations	7	Past focus, present focus, future focus
Relativity	3	Motion, space, time
Personal concerns	6	Work, leisure, home, money, religion, death
Informal speech	5	Swear words, netspeak, assent, nonfluencies, fillers
All punctuation	11	Periods, commas, colons, semicolons, question marks, etc.

To develop the internal dictionary, LIWC draws from a variety of external work to help craft the variables dealing with psychological processes which includes the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988), Roget's Thesaurus, and other standard English dictionaries. After this process, judges were brought in to generate word lists for each category and to brainstorm words that were relevant to the various scales developed. Words were then rated for a "goodness of fit". Words that could not be placed on an appropriate scale were removed. Following more evaluations that involved a base rate analysis, psychometric evaluations, and more judge input, the final dictionary was developed. Numerous researchers have tested the validity and reliability of LIWC to conclude that the tool is externally valid (Pennebaker and Francis, 1996; Kahn et al., 2007; Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010)

LIWC 2015, the version used for this study, uses a new dictionary. The benefit of using the newest version is that it includes the ability to comprehend numbers, short phrases and punctuation are used in addition to language commonly used in texting and social media. With the capability of the program being enhanced, additional categories have been included within LIWC that were not present in earlier versions. Also, categories that were less reliable have also been dropped (Pennebaker et al., 2015).

As shown in Table 4, there are numerous variables that could be included in the analysis. To demonstrate the importance of using this tool, I restricted my analysis to using the summary variable for emotional tone as well as the variables which categorize language as emphasizing a focus on the past, present, or future. These variables will provide interesting insights in thinking about the ways in which the language is crafted to appeal to its audience. Are the parties more forward thinking? Do they rely primarily on positive language to inspire their followers? The results of this analysis will be used in both chapters 4 and 5. A difference of means test will also be used to see which of the following variables are used to a more significant degree between the parties.

The Manifesto Project Database

Next, I will compare the language of the platforms to the analysis conducted by the Manifesto Project. The goal of the Manifesto Project is to provide a detailed content analysis of party platforms for over 1000 parties across 50 countries. This project is funded through the German Science Foundation continues the work started by the Manifesto Research Group and the Comparative Manifestos Project. The dataset is updated twice a year to include new platforms. For the purposes of this study, I will be analyzing platforms between the years 1960 to 2016.

One of the main features of the Manifesto Project dataset is its calculation of a "rile" index which is a measure of the left or right positions of parties based on the content written out in the party platforms ("Working with the Manifesto Project Dataset (Main Dataset)", 2018). The concept of a rile index was originally developed by Laver and Budge (1992). Various scholars have developed similar indices to examine issues involving voting behavior, institutional decision making and economic policy. In comparing the Manifesto Projects' rile index to a similar index created by Laver and Garry, Gabel and Huber (2000) found that the Manifesto Project's index consistently produced the least amount of error in predicting the left-right party placements. To create its rile index, the Manifesto Project used a factor analysis to develop and confirm twelve categories that constituted right positions and twelve that constituted left positions. To obtain the number that constitutes the rile index, the sum of the variables of the right-wing categories and subtract it from the sum of the left-wing categories ("Working with the Manifesto Project Dataset (Main Dataset)", 2018):

Table 5: Manifesto Left Right Positions

Left Position	Right Position
Anti-Imperialism	Military: Positive
Military: Negative	Freedom and Human Rights
Peace	Constitutionalism: Positive
Internationalism: Peace	Political Authority
Democracy	Free Market Economy
Market Regulation	Incentives: Positive
Economic Planning	Protectionism: Negative
Protectionism: Positive	Economic Orthodoxy
Controlled Economy	Welfare State Limitation
Nationalization	National Way of Life: Positive
Welfare State Expansion	Traditional Morality: Positive
Education Expansion	Law and Order: Positive
Labor Groups: Positive	Civic Mindedness: Positive

The rile calculation is made by taking the sum of the right positions within a party and subtracting it from the sum of left positions:

$$rile = R - L$$

The data that makes up the rile index is a subset of the data that is coded within the Manifesto Project. The full dataset which will be utilized for the purposes of this analysis will consist of the following elements: (“Manifesto Project Dataset Codebook, Version 2018a”, 2018):

Table 6: Manifesto Domains

Domain 1: External Relations	Domain 2: Peace and Democracy	Domain 3: Political System	Domain 4: The Economy	Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	Domain 6: Fabric of Society	Domain 7: Social Groups
Foreign Special Relations: Positive	Freedom and Human Rights	Decentralization	Free Market Economy	Environmental Protection	National Way of Life: Positive	Labour Groups: Positive
Foreign Special Relations: Negative	Democracy	Centralisation	Incentives: Positive	Culture: Positive	National Way of Life: Negative	Labour Groups: Negative
Anti-Imperialism	Constitutionalism: Positive	Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	Market Regulation	Equality	Traditional Morality: Positive	Agriculture and Farmers: Positive
Military: Positive	Constitutionalism: Negative	Political Corruption	Economic Planning	Welfare State Expansion	Traditional Morality: Negative	Middle Class and Professional Groups
Military: Negative		Political Authority	Corporatism/Mixed Economy	Welfare State Limitation	Law and Order: Positive	Underprivileged Minority Groups
Peace			Protectionism: Positive	Education Expansion	Civic Mindedness: Positive	Non-Economic Demographic Groups
Internationalism: Positive			Protectionism: Negative	Education Limitation	Multiculturalism: Positive	
European Community/Union: Positive			Economic Goals		Multiculturalism: Negative	
Internationalism: Negative			Keynesian Demand Management			
European Community/Union: Negative			Economic Growth: Positive			
			Technology and Infrastructure: Positive			
			Controlled Economy			
			Nationalisation			
			Economic Orthodoxy			
			Marxist Analysis			

To develop this data, each coder for the Manifesto Project assigned each quasi-sentence within the platform as belonging to a specific domain variable. For example, "President Obama has already signed into law \$2 trillion in spending reductions as part of a balanced plan to reduce our deficits by over \$4 trillion over the next decade" was assigned a code for 414 which refers to Economic Orthodoxy. Each domain will be compared across the period of study to gain insights as to how each party developed over time and the differences between the parties throughout the years. Unlike DICTION and LIWC that are meant to understand characteristics of language used within the platform, the Manifesto Project data will help to flesh out the analysis as it examines issue areas emphasized within the platform. The benefit of it using quasi-sentences for coding is that it is more nuanced relative to only considering sections or paragraphs. The data gathered by the Manifesto Project will inform the specific issue being selected for examination within chapter 5 for a narrative for how political parties evolved in their approach to the issue. After selecting this area, the same CATA analysis can be performed for text referencing this issue area as well as discussing how the platforms evolved through a manual reading of the platform text with regards to this area.

Contextual Reading of Platforms

Chapter 5 will consist of insights gained through the reading and reporting of changes present within the platforms over time with regards to an issue selected based on the analysis done in chapter 4. This analysis differs from that of chapter 4 in that CATA programs will be leveraged to gain insights on the relevant text of the platform pertaining to the topic selected in addition to the textual analysis mentioned above. For ease of analysis, the main data that will be reported on in this section are specific changes made to the platform by decade for each party to determine how parties have changed their focus over time. All analyses will be tied together to

examine the benefit gained from combining these approaches to this specific issue. This will culminate in chapter 6's discussion of the shortcomings of using this potential approach and potential avenues for future research given the findings that this study yields.

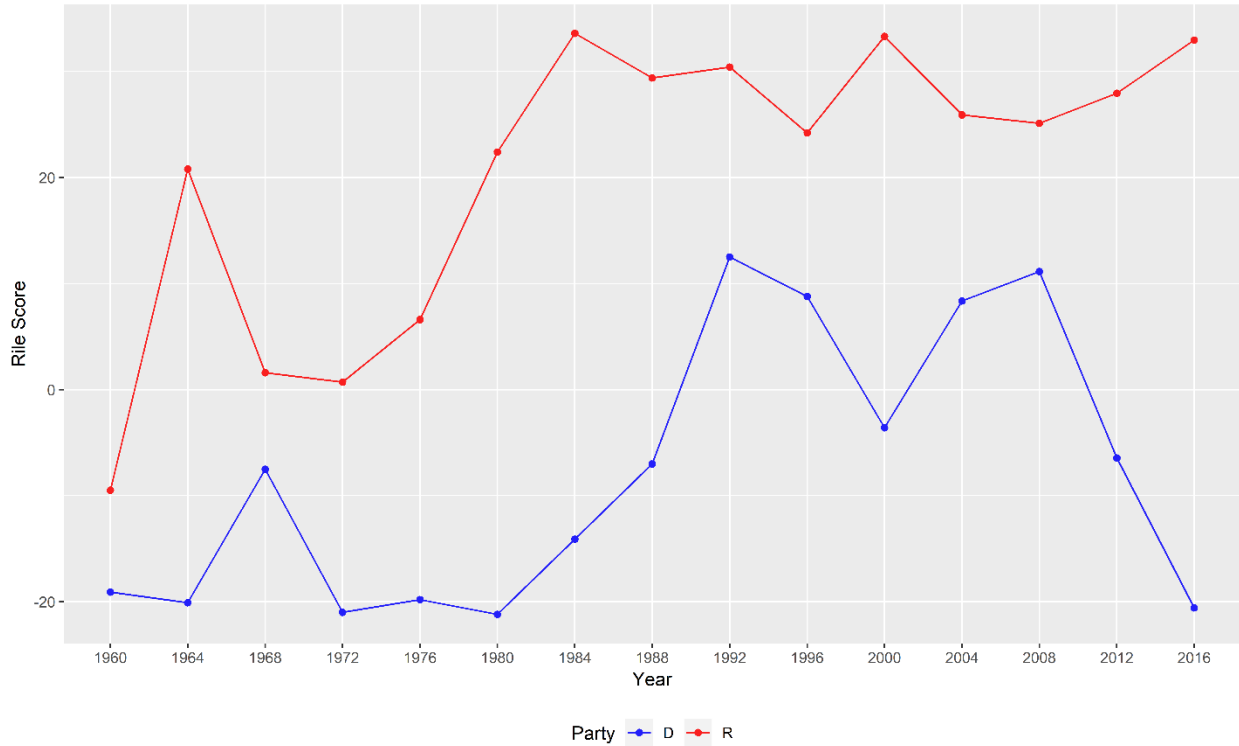
Chapter 4. Analysis of the Overall Party Platforms

1. Political Party Platform Overview

As mentioned within by chapter 3, the look into political party platforms will begin initially with an examination of the platforms via CATA tools. This will give me the ability to examine changes within the platform from a broader perspective by focusing on linguistic characteristics to analyze the presence or absence of charismatic leadership constructs in the platforms and the degree to which positive tone is emphasized or whether the parties focused most of their attention in the past, present, or the future. By performing these tests, I will also be able to contrast these general results with a similar approach applied to a particular issue area in chapter 5.

To start off the analysis on political party platforms and how they evolved over time, I examined the ideological positions of the political party using the Manifesto's rle scores. This measure is coded directly into the dataset examined the ideological position of the party platforms overall utilizing a score with lower values being more liberal and higher values being more conservative. Figure 1 demonstrates the ideological positions of both the Democratic and Republican platforms to detect how close they are ideologically from 1960-2016. What the Manifesto data demonstrates is that the parties are more polarized today than they have been at any point since 1984. The parties were relatively distant from each other ideologically in 1964, 1980, 1984, 2000, and 2016. Alternatively, the parties were relatively close ideologically in 1960, 1968, 1992, and 2008.

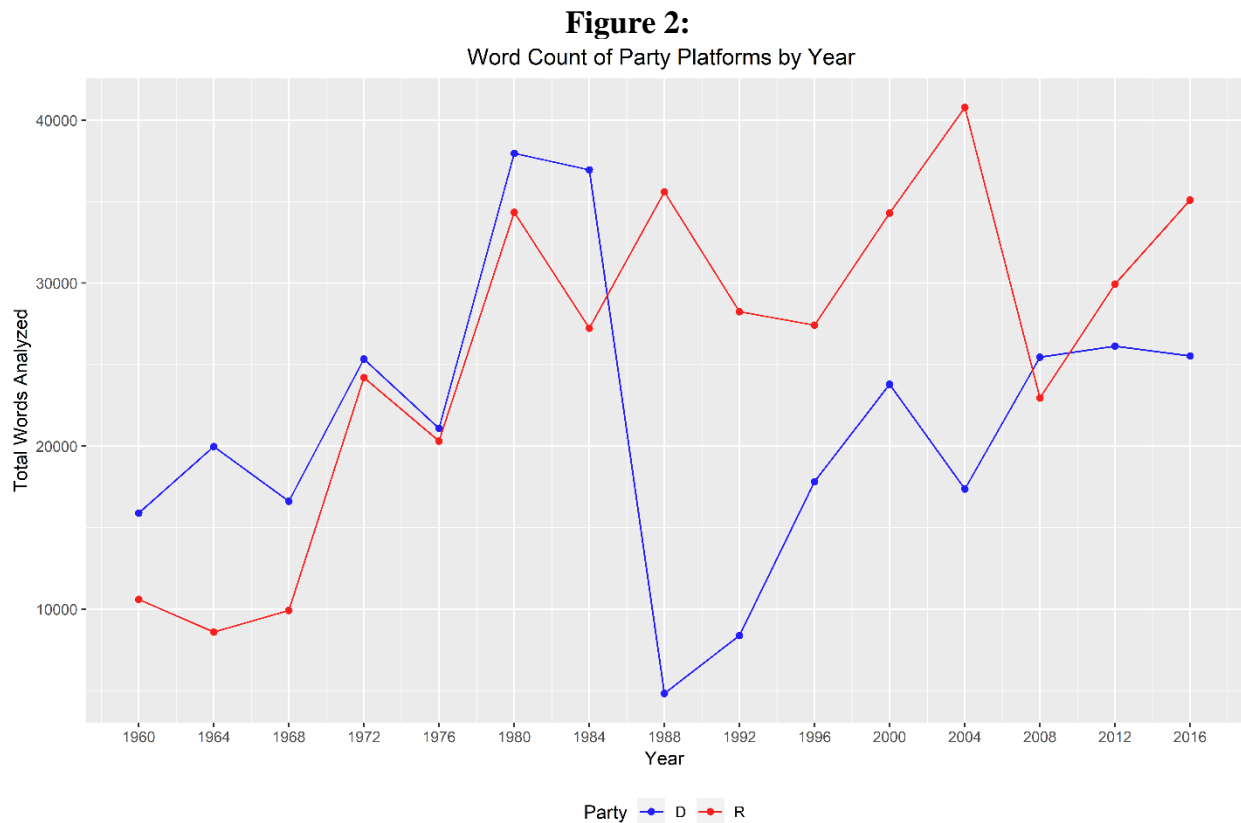
Figure 1:
Rile Scores by Party



Following Reagan's first term, the Democrats started to take on more conservative positions, a trend that lasted until the 2012 platform. The Republicans, on the other hand, started off taking more liberal positions (except for 1964) but following the 1976 platform, the positions espoused in the platforms have become more conservative; relative to the Democrats, the Republicans have been more consistent in this regard.

Figure 2 demonstrates the word count over time. The counts do not include text for headings and the dedications that are sometimes included at the beginning of party platforms. These counts were generated by using the word counts variable found in DICTION's output. Due to the way that computer programs process text and the specific words and characters counted, each program will generate a different word count.

Word counts have generally increased over time. This can likely be attributed to the increased responsibility and expectations of the federal government. The notable exception to this rule comes from the Democrats in 1988. This platform is an outlier not only in terms of length which points to a lack of detail relative to previous and subsequent platforms but also given its written structure which lacks headers to break down key areas. The platforms length became more consistent starting for Democrats in 1996. Republican platforms, on the other hand, started off more succinct have increased steadily over time except for the bigger drops in 1992, 1996, and 2008.



The CATA analysis of the party platform texts will start with the DICTION and LIWC results prior to discussing data from the Manifesto Project Database. This will allow me to understand the overall attributes of the party platforms as the first two analyses (DICTION and LIWC) are meant to provide an overall view of the linguistic characteristics of the platforms

themselves (tone) rather than the specific issue areas emphasized or positions taken within the platforms. The Manifesto Data Project database will fill in these gaps as it strictly deals positions taken in seven different domain areas which also made it possible to gauge the ideological positions of the parties by year as demonstrated in Figure 1. In the Manifesto section, the variables under consideration are broken up into four different categories of analysis to facilitate a more orderly discussion of the findings. Line graphs are used in this section to compare the prominence of issues or areas for each party. To make the data easier to interpret, the variables in each data table have had conditional formatting applied to them meaning that for each variable for both Republicans and Democrats, higher values are highlighted with a darker green fill while lower values have a lighter fill.

2. CATA analysis

DICTION Analysis:

To begin, the party platforms were individually saved as Word documents and cleaned with the dedications and the headers for each platform being removed prior to be analyzed. After this was done for each platform, the files were inserted into DICTION and LIWC for analysis. Both programs produced an excel file with output for multiple variables. A few variables were selected that represented overall attributes that were deemed appropriate for the insights they could give us regarding how parties use platforms to communicate to the members of the party. The CATA data included for both DICTION and LIWC are also calculated by decade and that data can be found in the Appendix.

As mentioned in chapter 3, the DICTION analysis here consisted of measuring the three charismatic concepts mentioned by Aswad (2019). Table 7 contains the results for the communal charismatic constructs of collective focus, follower's worth, similarity to followers, and

cooperation. The higher the values, the more prevalent these constructs were within the platforms.

Table 7: Communal Charismatic Constructs by Individual Platform

Year	Collective Focus		Follower's Worth		Similarity to Followers		Cooperation	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	14.87	12.35	21.31	21.49	144.87	142.8	7.78	11.99
1964	11.48	14.54	15.35	17.52	144.71	134.89	4.8	15.68
1968	12.41	13	23.09	20.65	156.64	128.47	8.46	4.81
1972	19.86	13.52	9.57	32.55	143.94	144.81	13.2	5.31
1976	11.02	7.4	10.6	17.62	124.45	133.4	14.6	16.34
1980	9.71	8.44	14.99	13.03	151.84	127.17	13.83	14.62
1984	8.68	10.97	14.9	19.82	144.74	122.74	8.38	10.28
1988	8.85	15.79	29.92	19.5	140.43	153.06	12.56	4.41
1992	12.3	13.52	18.61	24.31	131.23	137.03	8.3	6.08
1996	12.42	12.6	25.37	33.35	128.57	138.16	8.76	1.96
2000	10.06	12.27	21.26	16.23	133.06	132.02	10.49	12.31
2004	7.32	10.06	31.71	32.85	121.71	135.25	6.18	6.01
2008	9.52	17.22	23.68	18.96	121.63	128.63	8.61	8.07
2012	18.19	10.34	23.28	21.95	129.44	142.69	8.07	9.23
2016	27.94	7.22	18.99	16.7	117.53	111.31	8.61	4.93

To begin, on the variable collective focus which corresponds to language using a shared social identity, self-sacrifice or pursuit of a common goal to build trust, Democrats tended to score lower on this metric relative to the Republicans especially after 1980. It isn't until 2012 that Democrats started using this kind of rhetoric in a bigger way suggesting a major change in approach with regards to how they market themselves using the platform. This kind of trend does not exist with regards to follower's worth which is language used to build confidence in the followers reading the platform. This is done through the use of language meant to flatter the reader. In the 1972 and 1976 platforms, Republicans really embrace the use of this language relative to the Democrats, but the Democrats start using this in a bigger way starting in the 1988 platform. Although prevalent in the Republican's rhetoric as well, they have scored lower on this measure since 2008. With regards to how the Democrats have displayed communal charismatic

leadership in the platforms, these are the primary tools that they used. This language is meant to invigorate the party base and other readers of the platform around their candidate by helping to inspire vision in the followers and to build up the readers own sense of self-worth.

In recent years, if Democrats have used language to build trust around these shared social identities and through the flattery of their own followers, what have Republicans coalesced around in the platforms? Republicans have scored higher in the usage of language that helps the party and candidate appear similar to their followers through emphasizing the fact that they are in the same group as the followers or highlights similar values that they share with the followers, a similar background in family or finances among other similarities while downplaying any differences they have. This is especially true since 1988 where Republicans have scored higher on this measure on each platform written with the exception of the 2000 platform.

With regards to the charismatic construct of cooperation, which emphasizes “commitment to a shared vision or interactions among people that result in group outcomes” (Aswad, 2019, 61), the trends are less consistent. Initially Republicans score higher on this measure in 1960 and 1964 before Democrats start to score higher in the 1968 and 1972 platforms. In the 1996 platforms, the Republicans rarely use any of this language. In recent years, the parties have used this rhetoric in similar quantities with a bigger gap existing in 2016 with Democrats utilizing this language to a higher degree than Republicans. Table 8 shows the results of the difference of means test run on the same four communal charismatic constructs and demonstrates that while the parties may have differed in their usage of it over time, none of the differences were found to be statistically significant.

Table 8: Mean Comparisons and Difference of Means Results for Communal Charismatic Constructs

Measure	Party	Mean	SD	T-Test	P-Value
Collective Focus	Democrat	12.98	5.40	0.65	.5238
	Republican	11.95	2.91		
Follower's Worth	Democrat	20.18	6.40	-0.68	.4996
	Republican	21.77	6.36		
Similarity to Followers	Democrat	135.65	11.96	0.37	.7146
	Republican	134.16	10.05		
Cooperation	Democrat	9.51	2.84	0.51	.6137
	Republican	8.80	4.53		

Table 9 highlights the results from both the agentic and neutral charismatic constructs by individual platform. Starting off with action-oriented charismatic language, this is rhetoric that usually entails a call for action for the purposes of achieving the party's vision. With the exceptions of five platforms (1964, 1980, 2000, 2004, and 2008), Republicans scored higher on this measure for each platform hitting peaks in the usage of this language in 1988, 1992, and 2016. This means that their rhetoric is a bit more aggressive in its approach relative to the Democrats. The results from Table 10 also highlight that the usage of this kind of rhetoric is also statistically significant at a $p < .10$ level. Adversity has a different focus in that it pushes the need for us to move past the status quo and pushes urgency along with the need for change. Like Action-oriented language, rhetoric stressing this adversity construct is higher among Republicans. The difference here is that the Democrats only score higher than Republicans in the 1964 platform and the gap between the parties at that point is relatively small. Language emphasizing hardship, blame, and denial make up this construct and are in higher use in the platforms, particularly in 1984, 2000, and 2008. The difference between the parties on this measure is also statistically significant at $p < .01$. From the Republicans scores on these two constructs, it is apparent that while Democrats use language of trust around social identities and

emphasizing the worth of the followers in more recent platforms, Republicans have been taking an alternative approach surrounded by pushing the need for change and a call to action.

Tangibility is a neutral charismatic construct that emphasizes intangible, broader goals than more concrete ones. The gap between the parties on any given year is pretty large. There is not much of a pattern on either side with the usage of this construct. The caveat here is that depending on the document, DICTION will require the user to specify which terms should be considered in the insistence measure which will vary from user to user. In this case, the insistence measure is the cause of the massive variation between the results. In any case, the measure itself is not considered to be statistically significant between the parties as there is no visible trend of either party using it to a much higher degree than the other.

Table 9: Agentic and Neutral Charismatic Constructs by Individual Platform

Year	Action Oriented		Adversity		Tangibility	
	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	15.35	19.54	5.15	5.7	102.67	36.15
1964	19.75	15.17	9.61	9.37	74.16	48.59
1968	9.85	16.34	8.99	11.89	70.64	33.9
1972	8.21	16.03	7.67	11.17	86.11	53.61
1976	4.59	20.08	7.14	9.85	86.73	76.77
1980	27	20.69	10.88	7.01	54.32	185.81
1984	19.96	20.7	9.5	19.35	79.89	218.46
1988	11.18	29.61	10.34	14.92	115.41	48.62
1992	21.6	26.68	11.61	12.38	58.89	97.54
1996	16.51	20.63	8.05	8.44	128.62	62.04
2000	13.11	12.33	7.98	18.08	147.82	122.17
2004	8.36	7.24	8.89	14.02	54.01	100.07
2008	16.2	12.67	8.01	15.68	165.68	73.48
2012	13.77	19.08	11.31	14.43	86.57	46.39
2016	18.51	22.22	4.78	10.48	38.78	49.41

Table 10: Mean Comparisons and Difference of Means Results for Agentic and Neutral Charismatic Constructs

Measure	Party	Mean	SD	T-Test	P-Value
Action-oriented	Democrat	14.93	5.95	-1.74	.0935
	Republican	18.60	5.62		
Adversity	Democrat	8.66	2.02	-3.10	.0055
	Republican	12.18	3.91		
Tangibility	Democrat	90.02	36.15	0.38	.7048
	Republican	83.53	54.66		

LIWC Analysis:

The next part of the analysis turned towards an alternative CATA program, Linguistic Inquiry Word Count (LIWC), that measured different textual elements of the party platforms. Running the platforms through LIWC resulted in the production of a dataset that contained 96 variables. The analysis is restricted one of the four new summary variables that were included within LIWC 2015 which measures emotional tone. The scores are presented in the table below. These summary variables are constructed using composites based on previous research to convert scores on individual variables to a score ranging from 0-100 where 0 means that the scale is very low and with 100 being very high. Emotional tone is defined as “A high number is associated with a more positive, upbeat style; a low number reveals greater anxiety, sadness, or hostility. A number around 50 suggests either a lack of emotionality or different levels of ambivalence (Pennebaker et al., 2015). This helps to answer the question as to the overall approach taken for the party. This variable is important to include as it helps us to understand the overall presentation of the platform to its readers. If parties use negative emotional language, then the platform content is likely focused around the dangers of the opposing party and their policies or the dangers of doing nothing in light of potential threats.

LIWC also includes variables which measure the usage of rhetoric focusing on the past, present, and future. This proves to be important because it can help us to understand the degree to which the parties focus on prior accomplishments, current goals or accomplishments, and their future aspirations. Alternatively, looking to any of these time periods, they can highlight the failures of the opposing party.

Table 11 displays the data for tone, focus on the past, present, and future by party and platform year. The higher the value for tone, the more positive it is with values of 50 indicating indifference and lower values displaying more of a negative tone being present in the platforms. Initially, the Republicans started off using a more positive tone within the platforms and during the 1970s whereas the Democrats have consistently been more positive in their tone in the platforms since 1988. This does indicate that the more recent Republican platforms are more hostile and negative in tone relative to the Democrats. This is important as it may reflect the attitudes among the party staffers and those on the commission preparing the platforms which may also inspire the kinds of rhetoric and constructs used within the platform (e.g. Democrats used more inspiring language towards their followers which likely correlates with the tone used as well). The average by party is not much different between parties with Democrats scoring slightly higher (mean=77.94) compared to Republicans (74.80) which is not found to be statistically significant.

Table 11: LIWC Analysis for Platforms by Year

Year	Tone		Focus Past		Focus Present		Focus Future	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	75.43	92.86	1.27	0.98	5.75	5.55	2.17	1.05
1964	71.03	65.66	2.56	0.87	5.12	4.99	0.94	1.66
1968	80.47	82.17	1.41	1.19	5.82	5.33	1.21	1.79
1972	58.16	71.1	1.22	2	6.38	5.51	0.8	1.13
1976	77.31	82.07	1.15	1.07	6.26	7.16	1.03	1.16
1980	84.13	65.85	1.58	1.17	6.11	5.98	0.98	1.29
1984	61.26	78.4	1.33	1.7	6.33	5.72	1.51	1.19
1988	89.17	80.39	0.62	1.38	5.64	6.21	0.64	1.48
1992	78.1	76.78	1.14	1.52	6.61	6.37	1.32	1.3
1996	82.47	62.97	1.75	1.28	8.39	6.08	0.82	1.3
2000	78.52	71.93	1.57	1.34	8.35	6.59	0.89	1.38
2004	89.53	81.99	1.01	1.52	7.5	6.43	2.16	0.92
2008	81.19	78.98	1	0.85	7.14	6.73	2.57	0.99
2012	86.29	67.47	1.79	1.19	7.38	6.19	1.2	1.05
2016	76.08	63.36	0.73	1.36	6.88	6.3	2.23	0.84

With regards to the language used in the platform focusing on the past, we find a similar trend in the usage of this language with Democrats. In other words, Democrats have attempted to focus more on the past within the platform compared to Republicans since 1988. Prior to that, the prevalence in this language would shift between Democrats utilizing it more to Republicans depending on the year. When comparing these results to those in Table 12, we see that the results are not statistically significant on this measure. If this trend continues though, it is likely that it could become significant in the future.

In terms of rhetoric focusing on the present, both parties utilize this rhetoric to a larger degree relative to focusing on the past or the future as shown in Table 11. This being said, on 14 of the 15 platforms considered, Democrats scored higher than Republicans in this measure with 1976's platform being the exception. This combined with the lower score on focus past may make sense given that the Ford administration may not have wanted to reflect on prior events in the wake of the fallout of the Watergate scandal and the pardon of Nixon. The Democrats

utilized language indicating that they were more willing to focus on present-day topics of concern relative to the Republican platforms and this difference was significant at a $p < .10$ level.

In turning our attention towards the rhetoric emphasizing the future, initially Republicans spent more time in the platform focusing on the future. This was true from 1964-1988 with the exception of 1984 and again from 1996-2000. In more recent years, Democrats have taken on more of this language scoring higher than Republicans from 2004-2016. This difference, however, was not statistically significant between the parties meaning that we cannot say for certain that one party spent more time than the other delivering their vision for the future.

Table 12: Mean Comparisons and Difference of Means Results for LIWC Variables

Measure	Party	Mean	SD	T-Test	P-Value
Tone	Democrat	77.94	9.00	0.97	.3391
	Republican	74.80	8.70		
Focus Past	Democrat	1.34	0.48	0.32	.7500
	Republican	1.29	0.31		
Focus Present	Democrat	6.64	0.96	1.96	.0619
	Republican	6.08	0.58		
Focus Future	Democrat	1.36	0.62	0.74	.4660
	Republican	1.24	0.27		

3. Manifesto Project Data

The Manifesto Project Dataset contains party positions over time on seven different domain areas for each platform. The domains are as follows:

1. External Relations: External relations regards any mentions towards items involving the relationship of the United States to foreign partners as well as mentions of military power.

2. Freedom and Democracy: The domain dealing with democracy and freedom contains variables that were created when the parties would discuss the favorability of civil rights and personal freedom as well as support for democracy and the constitution.
3. Political System: The third domain in the Manifesto data concerns variables measuring whether the party supports decentralization and administrative efficiency as well as references to political authority and political corruption.
4. Economy: This domain deals with the economy and is the largest of the domains in the dataset originally consisting of 16 variables measuring support for economic planning, nationalization, free market economy and other variables.
5. Welfare and Quality of Life: The welfare and quality of life domain items cover the attitude of the parties with regards to education and welfare expansions and limitations as well as concern for equality and the passing on of the cultural heritage of the nation.
6. Fabric of Society: The Manifesto data contained five variables measuring the ways in which parties could use rhetoric to emphasize issues or elements of security and the need to gather together around common values.
7. Social Groups: The final domain group that will be examined relates to mentions of various social groups such as positive or negative mentions of labor groups or underrepresented minority groups.

The data downloaded from the Manifesto Project database includes platforms from 1920 to 2016. As this study will only be examining 1960 to 2016, the data has been limited to those years. To make the analysis more manageable, each party is analyzed using a subset of the variables available from each domain area. Variables are dropped from the analysis where they are not frequently discussed as indicated by a sum score of less than 10% across all platforms for

each party (e.g. positive or negative mentions of the European Union) or in cases where the variable could not be interpreted (e.g. economic goals). Additionally, variables were dropped from the primary analysis here if they were discussed sporadically or were not prominent in the platforms. The variables are taken from each of the domain areas listed above and the items from the Manifesto data are discussed:

1. Prominent Issues within Each Domain for Both Parties
2. Losing Emphasis Over Time Among Both Parties
3. Increasing Emphasis Over Time Among Both Parties
4. Party-Specific Issues/Domains (Not Covered in the First Three Categories)

Both parties will be compared on individual issues within each of the four categories from 1960-2016. Results from all three analyses will be synthesized at the end of the chapter with a discussion of the issue areas selected for further analyses. There is a caveat with the Manifesto data. At the time of this writing, the database that contains the coding of each quasi-sentence is limited to 1992, 2004, 2012, and 2016 for the Democrats and 2004-2016 for the Republicans. This means that while the scores for each of these categories is available for years dating back to the 1960, the coding of the sentences themselves is not available within the database for download.

Prominent Issues within Each Domain for Both Parties:

Table 3 lists variables in the Manifesto dataset that were featured to a more significant degree among both party platforms than other variables (e.g. Positive mentions of technology and infrastructure versus negative mentions of the European Union). This does not assume that

both parties emphasized the following issues or themes in equal amounts over time or by party.

The definitions are included for each variable listed below:

Table 10: Prominent Theme Variable Definitions

Variable	Definition
Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	“Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; the need for co-operation with and/or aid to such countries.”
Military: Positive	<p>“The importance of external security and defence. May include statements concerning:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need to maintain or increase military expenditure; • The need to secure adequate manpower in the military; • The need to modernise armed forces and improve military strength; • The need for rearmament and self-defence; <p>The need to keep military treaty obligations.”</p>
Internationalism: Positive	<p>“Need for international co-operation, including co-operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101. May also include references to the:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for aid to developing countries; • Need for world planning of resources; • Support for global governance; • Need for international courts; <p>Support for UN or other international organisations.”</p>
Governmental and Administrative Efficacy	<p>“Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration and/or the general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more efficient. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restructuring the civil service; • Cutting down on the civil service; • Improving bureaucratic procedures.”
Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	<p>“Importance of modernisation of industry and updated methods of transport and communication. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance of science and technological developments in industry; • Need for training and research within the economy (This does not imply education in general (see category 506); • Calls for public spending on infrastructure such as roads and bridges; • Support for public spending on technological infrastructure (e.g.:broadband internet, etc.).”

Variable	Definition
Environmental Protection	<p>“General policies in favour of protecting the environment, fighting climate change, and other “green” policies. For instance:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General preservation of natural resources; • Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.; • Protection of national parks; • Animal rights. <p>May include a great variance of policies that have the unified goal of environmental protection.”</p>
Law and Order: Positive	<p>Favourable mentions of strict law enforcement, and tougher actions against domestic crime. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto country’s law code. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing support and resources for the police; • Tougher attitudes in courts; • Importance of internal security.
Non-Economic Demographic Groups	<p>General favourable mentions of demographically defined special interest groups of all kinds. They may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women; • University students; • Old, young, or middle aged people. <p>Might include references to assistance to these groups, but only if these do not fall under other categories (e.g. 503 or 504).</p>

Both parties generally emphasized positive rhetoric with regards to our foreign relationships by discussing favorable partnerships, the need for cooperation, or foreign aid throughout almost all platforms except for the 1996 platforms. Compared to Republicans, Democrats have spent less time emphasizing positive foreign relationships across most of the years considered with Republicans having spikes in their emphasis as is shown in 1976, 1980, 2000 and 2004. In recent years, Republicans have spent less time discussing these relationships. This lack of emphasis of positive mentions of our foreign relationships does not imply that negative mentions of these relationships has increased.

Figure 1:
Positive Mentions of Internationalism by Party



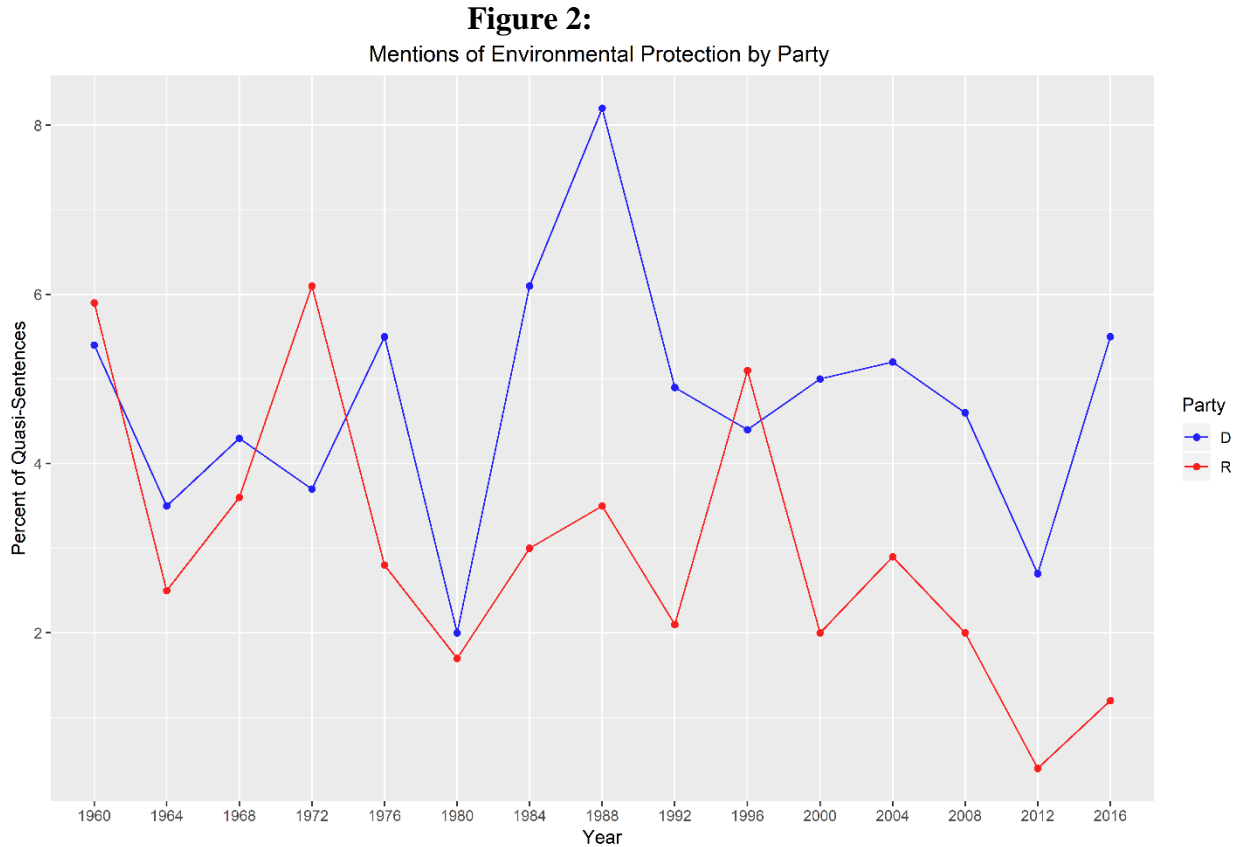
Positive mentions of the military start off relatively high for the Democrats before dipping starting in 1968 (going from 5% in 1964 to 3% in 1968). During the 1970s into the 1980s, the number stays around 2%. Except for a spike in positive mentions in 1992 (4%) and 2000 (3%), Democrats began emphasizing positive language towards the military to a larger extent starting in the 2004 platforms (5%). Republicans are more consistent throughout the years and have higher scores associated with positive mentions towards the military with a lack of emphasis being placed on the military in 1976 (4%) and 1992 (2%). Peaks in the positive mentions of the military in Republican platforms occurred in 1964 (16%), 1980 (14%), and 1984 (12%). These mentions have been relatively prominent throughout most platforms considered during this analysis.

Discussions of internationalism consist of cooperation with foreign nations and international bodies such as the United Nations. Both parties were emphasized positive rhetoric most years. Democrats emphasized these points in the platform greatly during the 60's taking up between 7% and 8% of all sentences coded which increased to 10% in 1976. This became less of a focus for the party within the 1996-2004 platforms. Republicans varied a bit more on this measure scoring higher in 1964 (8%), 1976 (11%), and 1996 (9%) while scoring lower on most years: 1972 (4%), 1984-88 (6%-7%), 2000-04 (4%-5%), and again in 2012 (10%).

When it comes to the discussion of governmental and administrative efficiency, there is a great degree of disparity among the parties depending on the years examined. The calls for this were initially higher among Democratic platforms taking up between 3% to 5% of the quasi-sentences coded between 1964 and 1980 and dropping off shortly after. Starting with the 1984 platform, Republicans began dedicating more space in the platforms to discussing the need for efficiency of government and administration. This emphasis increased in the 1992 platform where it took up 4% of the platform sentences coded and further increased to 7% in 1996.

Relative to positive mentions of foreign special relationships as well as governmental and administrative efficiency, the development of technological infrastructure has generally had more text dedicated to it throughout the years among both parties. For the Democrats, the push for advancements in technology and infrastructure took up 7% of all sentences coded from 1960 to 1968. Following a dip in emphasis, it rose to 14% of all content mentioned in the 1980 platform. While dipping to a lower level of emphasis in the following years, it has remained a consistent theme mentioned taking up 3-5% of the quasi-sentences coded in the platforms since 2000. While Democrats would have big dips and spikes in their emphasis of technology and infrastructure, Republicans have had a much more consistent focus on this sector across the years

except for a notable low point in 1968 (1%). Like the Democrats, in 1980 with 10% of the sentences coded discussing technology.



Of the 14 platforms under consideration, Democrats emphasized environmental protection to a greater degree in 12 of them (excluding 1980 and 2012). References to environmental protection among Republicans is lower than what was found for Democrats but there were periods where the party did dedicate more space in the platform on the issue compared to the Democrats, primarily in 1960 (6%), 1972 (5%), and 1996 (5%). The increase in mentions of environmental protection among Republicans in 1972 makes sense given the passage of the Environmental Policy Act in 1970 as well as amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (1972). A year later, the Endangered Species Act was also passed. In

discussing potential reasons why the environment was an issue of emphasis during this time, Schroeder (1998) notes:

“The environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s may also have benefited in comparison with other national issues and themes. America was displaying a significant dark side on other fronts, including a divisive war, urban unrest, campus violence, riots and strife over civil rights. Environmentalism’s ability to attract allegiance may have been enhanced by the favorable contrast of its positive image to these darker places in American society.”

Schroeder (1998) also notes that Dunlap (1992) called that environmentalism had resonated with many individuals and became a “consensual public policy issue in the early 70s.” Though according to the space dedicated to the issue in the platforms it can be ascertained that environmentalism has not maintained that momentum consistently in the platforms; Much like the Democrats, there is some fluctuation on the amount of space that the party was willing to dedicate to the issue as shown in Figure 1. However, except for a few periods, both parties followed a similar trend in emphases or deemphasis on the topic. For example, both Republicans and Democrats have used less space on their platforms to discuss the issue from 2004-2012 with a slight increase on the Republican side in 2016 and a more prominent increase on the Democrat side in 2016. Shipan and Lowry (2001) attribute this divergency of attitudes towards environmental issue is caused in part due to the regional differences in the parties, the presence of internal factions with strong opinions about the matter relative to the general party, and the introduction of new party members via election.

Rhetoric conveying the Democratic party’s tendency to be tough on crime or supportive of law enforcement was another variable that was found to be among the most prevalent in the platforms across the years. In the 1968, 8% of the quasi-sentences coded were positive mentions

of law and order; this was relatively consistent until it dropped off to 2% in 1980 and 1984. After an increased emphasis going from 5% of coded sentences in 1988 to 14% in 1996 and again 12% in 2004, it has dropped off immensely in emphasis reaching between 2% to 3% from 2008 onwards. For Republicans, the trend in support for the inclusion of statements supporting law and order followed a similar trend as the Democrats hitting highs in 1996 and 2004 and receiving less focus in 1980 and 2012. Like the Democrats, mentions of law and order did become a focal point of the platforms starting in 1968 (7%) dropping to 2% in 1980. Since 1980, the percent of sentences that were coded as having positive mentions of law and order has increased from 2% to 10% in 1996 and 13% in 2004. It did decrease since then going from the 13% in 2004 to 6% in 2008 and 3% in 2012. In the 2016 platform though, there was a slight uptick to 3%.

Non-economic demographic groups have been more consistently emphasized by Democrats throughout the years but like the other variables were initially more highlighted in the platforms hovering between 7%-8% of the quasi-sentences coded in platforms written between 1960 to 1972 until falling to a lower level of emphasis starting in 1988 (2%) with the lowest levels of focus being in the 2004 (1%) and the 2012 and 2016 platforms (3% each). That being said, a caveat needs to be made with regards to this variable. As noted in the description in Table 3, these are general statements made for defined special interest groups. If the parties shifted their support to making more statements about women, for example, and that aligned with other coding groups (for example, welfare state expansion), then it was not counted as part of this category. When it comes to non-economic demographic groups, positive mentions of these groups by Republicans were prominent in many of the platforms taking up 5% of all quasi-sentences coded in 1968 before hitting a high point in 1972 (11%) and hitting 10% in 1984. Since then, this number has dropped off significantly only reaching 9% again in 2008.

Issues Decreasing in Emphasis for Both Parties:

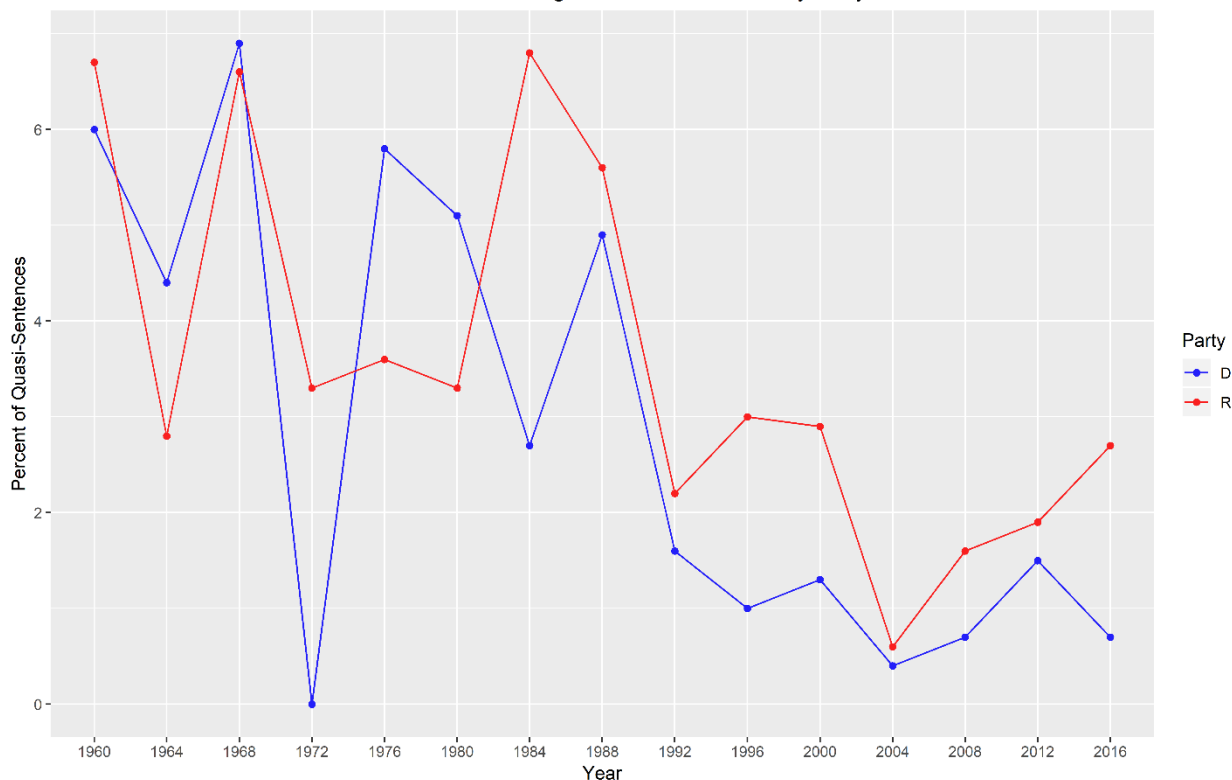
Table 4 lists variables in the Manifesto dataset that were once more prominent within platforms only to drop off to a high degree in more recent years among both parties. Like the previous section, this does not assume that both parties deemphasized the issues to the same degree, only that the trend was the same for both parties. The definitions are included for each variable listed in the table below:

Table 11: Issues Decreasing in Emphasis for Both Parties

Variable	Definition
Anti-Imperialism	<p>“Negative references to imperial behaviour and/or negative references to one state exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states. May also include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire; • Favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies; • Favourable mentions of de-colonisation.”
Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specific policies in favour of agriculture and farmers. Includes all types of agriculture and farming practises. Only statements that have agriculture as the key goal should be included in this category.
Underprivileged Minority Groups	<p>Very general favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms (e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants, indigenous). Only includes favourable statements that cannot be classified in other categories (e.g. 503, 504, 604, 607 etc.)</p>

Both parties also mirrored the same trend when it came to anti-imperialist rhetoric starting off more prominent in the 1960-1968 platforms and again in the 1976 platform but never becoming a significant focus of the platforms after. Republicans had used more sentences with this rhetoric present going from 4% in 1960 to 8% in 1964 prior to dropping off to 1% in 1969 and then being almost non-existent thereafter with the exception of 2% of quasi-sentences being coded in 1976.

Figure 3:
Positive Mentions of Agriculture and Farmers by Party



Among the earlier platforms written, Democrats used to place a higher emphasis in agricultural issues and farming going from 7% in 1960 and 1968 to 0% in 1972. After increasing the space in the platform that they dedicated to these positive mentions in 1976 (6%) and 1980 (5%) there was a decrease in space given to this rhetoric in 1984 with 3% of quasi-sentences being coded as positive mentions. After an increase in 1988, there was a drop in the amount of space given to these positive mentions beginning in the 1992 platform. Ever since, this number has never increased 3% of quasi-sentences coded and was barely mentioned in 2012 (1%) and 2016 (0%). Like Democrats, references to farmers was higher in earlier years and had remained relatively consistent from the period between 1960 to 1988 with peaks of 7% in 1960, 1968, and 1984 and a strong emphasis in 1988 (6%). Similar to the Democrats, this emphasis had dropped

off by 1992, reaching a low point in 2004 (1%). It has slightly increased since then reaching 3% in 2016.

Like the other variables mentioned above, Democratic platform discussion of underprivileged minority groups was also high earlier on reaching 6% in 1980 but decreased in focus starting in 1984 (2%) and reaching 1% in 2012 and 0% in 2016. When it comes to mentions within the Republican Party platform of underprivileged minority groups, mentions were quite high in 1960 (13%), 1972 (5%), and 1980 (5%) but quite low in the following years ranging from 0-2% reaching lows of 0% in 1984, 2012, and 2016. Much like the discussion of non-economic demographic groups, a caveat needs to be taken here. Namely that the category of underprivileged minority groups is a very general one that includes a subset of minority groups and favorable statements that do not fall under any other category meaning that the decreased emphasis we see here does not mean neglect of the groups in question (e.g. the disabled).

Issues Increasing in Emphasis for Both Parties

Unlike the previous section, Table 5 lists variables in the Manifesto dataset that were largely ignored or not present in the earlier platforms among both parties. At some point, the parties started dedicating more space to the selected issues (this may not have been a consistent uptick in emphasis), although this effect was much higher for Democratic platforms relating to equality and welfare state expansion relative to Republican platforms. The definitions are included for each variable listed in the table below:

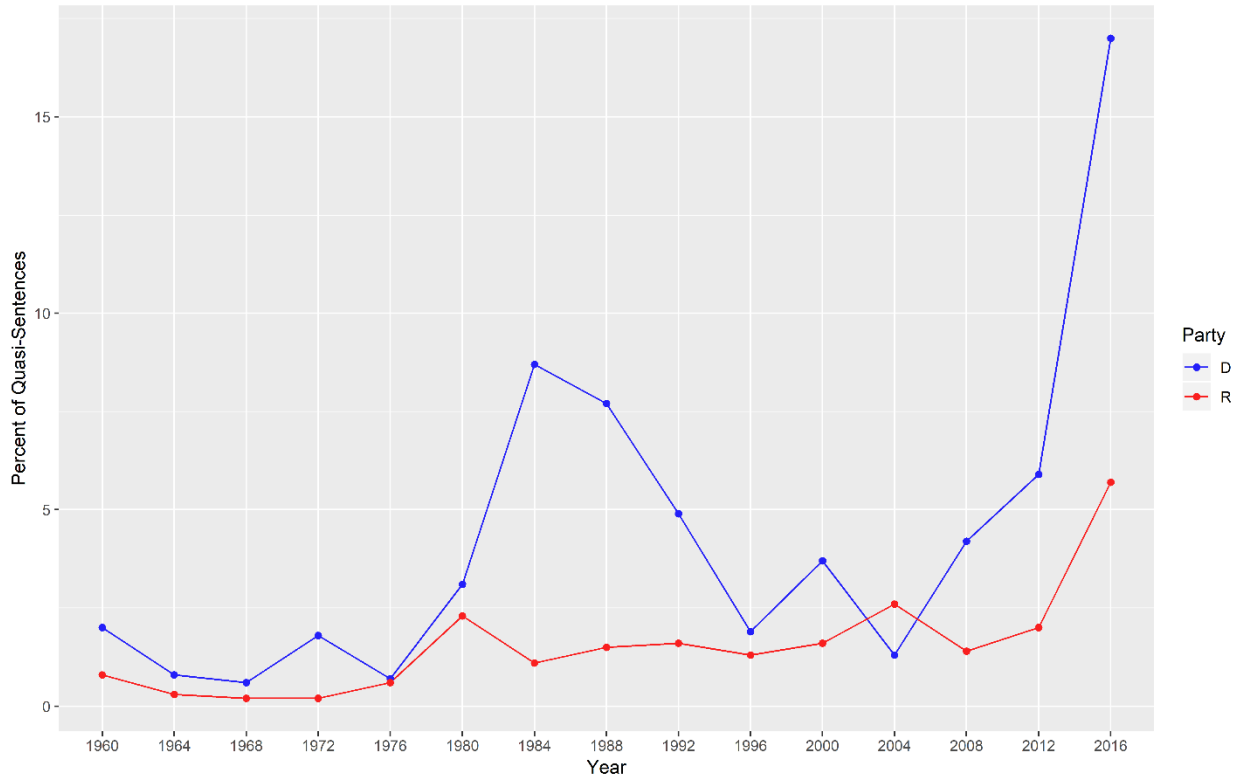
Table 12: Issues Increasing in Emphasis for Both Parties

Variable	Definition
Political Authority	“References to the manifesto party’s competence to govern and/or other party’s lack of such competence. Also includes favourable mentions of the desirability of a strong and/or stable government in general.”
Equality: Positive	<p>“Concept of social justice and the need for fair treatment of all people. This may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special protection for underprivileged social groups; • Removal of class barriers; • Need for fair distribution of resources; • The end of discrimination (e.g. racial or sexual discrimination).”
Welfare State Expansion	<p>“Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any public social service or social security scheme. This includes, for example, government funding of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health care • Child care • Elder care and pensions • Social housing <p><i>Note: This category excludes education.”</i></p>
National Way of Life: Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Favourable mentions of the manifesto country’s nation, history, and general appeals. May include: • Support for established national ideas; • General appeals to pride of citizenship; • Appeals to patriotism; • Appeals to nationalism; • Suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion.

Discussions of political authority, the party’s ability to govern and favorable mentions of a stable government for both parties, only came to be a consistent emphasis starting in 1992 indicating that there was a different approach in how both parties approached their platforms. Prior to 1992, Democrats rarely used language in the platform to achieve this purpose presumably without linking it to another issue. High points in the Democrats usage of language demonstrating political authority reached 3% in 1976 but in the years prior to that and after that it would range from 0% to 1%. From 1992 to 2008, the usage of this language took up anywhere between 8% to 11% of the quasi-sentences within the platform before dropping to 4% in 2012 and 2% in 2016. Republicans had used language indicating political authority in their 1964 (5%) and 1968 (3%) platforms but, like the Democrats, they did not focus in on this in a bigger way

until 1992 where the language took up 16% of the quasi-sentences coded. They were not as consistent in their usage of this language dropping to 4% in 2004 before jumping back up to 8% in 2008. In more recent platforms, that usage has once again dropped to 3% in 2012 and 2% in 2016.

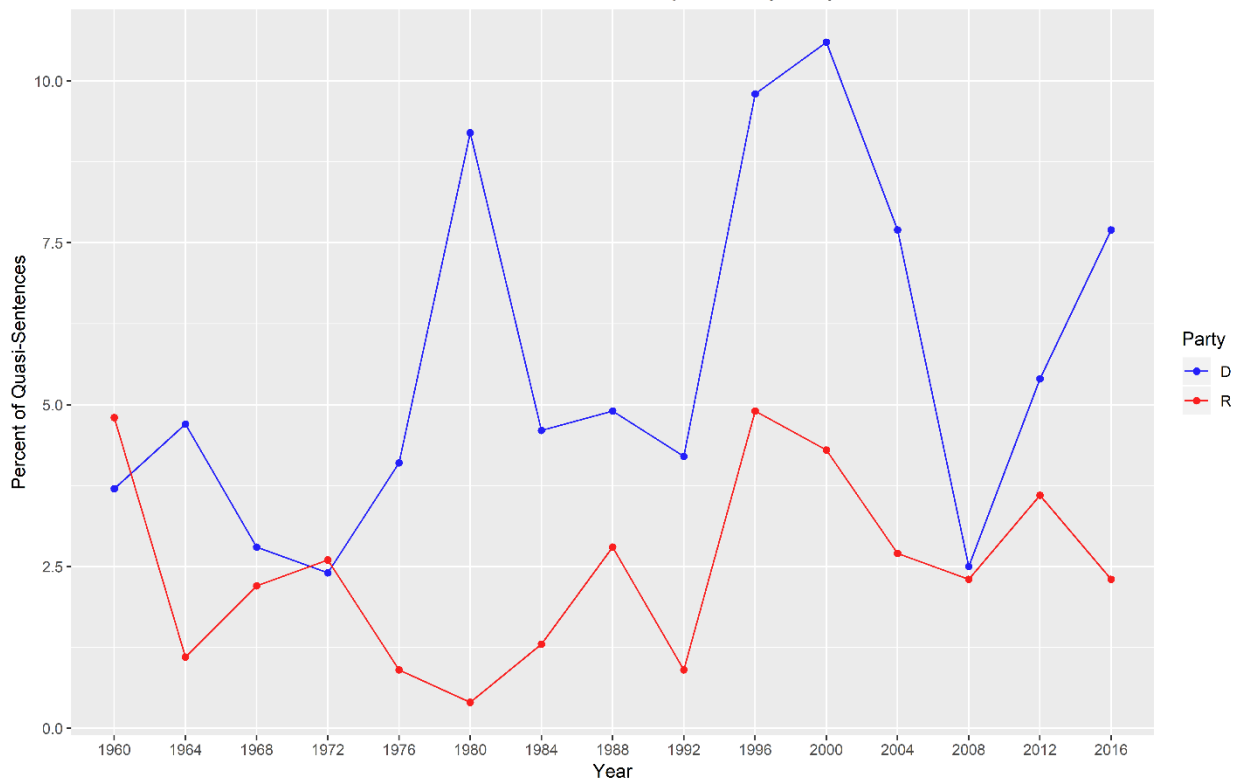
Figure 4:
Positive Mentions of Equality by Party



Moving onto positive mentions of equality, Democrats integrated language calling for equality in a bigger way starting in 1980. Prior to this time, the amount of space dedicated to these positive mentions ranged between 0% and 2%. Since then, there has been more of an emphasis with peaks of the usage of this language in 1984 (9%) and 1988 (8%), albeit it is not consistent reaching low points in 1996 (2%) and 2004 (1%). Since 2008, the amount of space dedicated to discussing equality in a positive light has increased going from 4% in 2008 to 17% in 2016. Relative to the Democrats, Republicans had a much lower focus on concepts of social

justice and equality. However, Republicans also placed a greater emphasis on equality starting in 1980 where the language had reached a total of 2% of the quasi-sentences coded whereas prior to this year it would go between 0% in most years and 1% in 1960 and 1976. Since 1980, this focus has remained relatively consistent reaching higher points in 2004 (3%) and 2016 (6%). As demonstrated in Figure 4, the Democrats have been using this language to a much larger degree relative to the Republicans but both parties have been integrating this language into the platforms in increasing quantities since 2008.

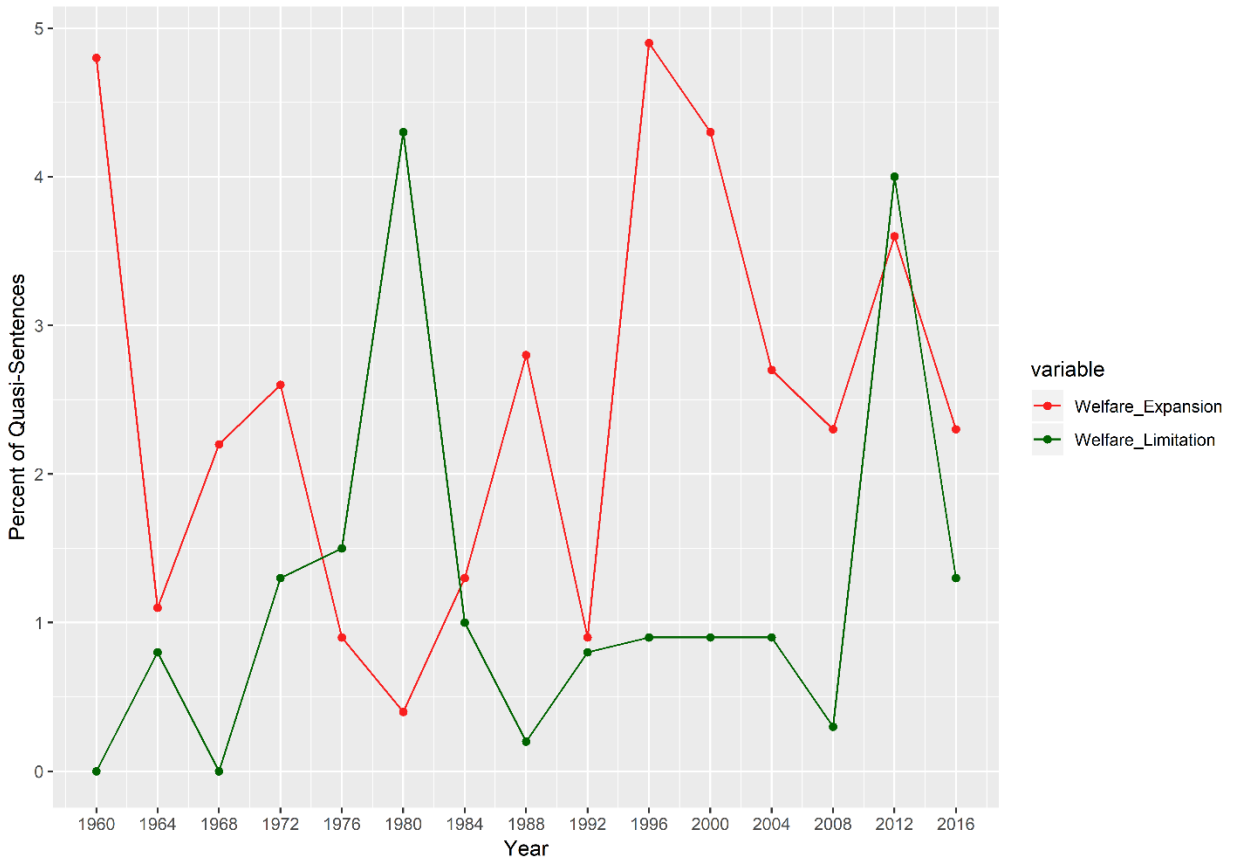
Figure 5:
Mentions of Welfare State Expansion by Party



Relative to other variables under consideration in this category, the expansion of welfare has always held a prominent spot in Democratic platforms but there has been an increase of that emphasis for platforms composed between 1976-2004 ranging from 4% to 11% of quasi-sentences coded compared to the years prior ranging from 2% to 4% with the exception of 1964

which had 5% of quasi-sentences coded in the platform dedicated to it. There was a drop in references to welfare state expansion in 2008 to 3% but this language has been on the incline in the platforms once again reaching 8% in 2016. As a result, there was little to no mention on efforts to limit welfare in any of the platforms (another variable included in the dataset).

Figure 6:
Welfare State Expansion Versus Limitation for Republicans



Republicans have been more selective in advocating for the expansion of welfare programs with a higher emphasis in 1960 than Democrats (4% for Democrats versus 5% by Republicans) and within the 1996 platform and onwards (ranging from a peak of 5% in 1996 to lows of 2%). While not significant increases, this represents an increase in the party compared to previous years where the references would sometimes reach 0% of the quasi-sentences coded such as in for the 1980 platform or 1% for platforms written in 1964, 1976, 1980 and 1992. The

limitation of the expansion of the welfare state was a greater point of emphasis for the party between 1972-1980 ranging from going from 1% to 4% of all quasi-sentences coded. Since then, the focus on the limitation has dropped off with a brief surge in 2012 to 4%. This combined with the higher numbers in the welfare state expansion category over time suggest that the Republicans are more open to discussing welfare state expansion relative to limitations within the platforms.

Beginning in 1988, Democrats started using language regarding positive mentions of the national way of life with it consisting of 4% of all quasi-sentences coded. Prior to this year this number was 1% in 1964 and 1984 but 0% in all other prior platforms. They continued including this in subsequent platforms with additional emphasis in 1996 (3%) and from 2004 (3%) and 2008 (7%). In 2012 and 2016, this dropped to 2%. Relative to Democrats, Republicans placed a greater emphasis on positive mentions of the history of the nation and its ideals though this was not consistent. Outside of the 1964 platform (4%), the party largely neglected this rhetoric from the platform until 1988 where it reached another 4% of all sentences coded. Since then it remained around 4% except for drops in 1996 (2%) and 2004 (1%) with a peak in 2000 (5%).

Issues Receiving Increased Emphasis by Democrats

Whereas the prior three categories contained variables that both parties either emphasized or de-emphasized, these next two sections contain variables only emphasized by one political party. Table 6 lists variables in the Manifesto dataset that were largely ignored by Republican platforms but emphasized to a greater degree within Democratic platforms. This only includes variables that did not fit in other categories (welfare state expansion, for example, is not included

here although it would qualify for inclusion here). The definitions for each variable of emphasis are included below:

Table 13: Issues Receiving Increased Emphasis by Democrats

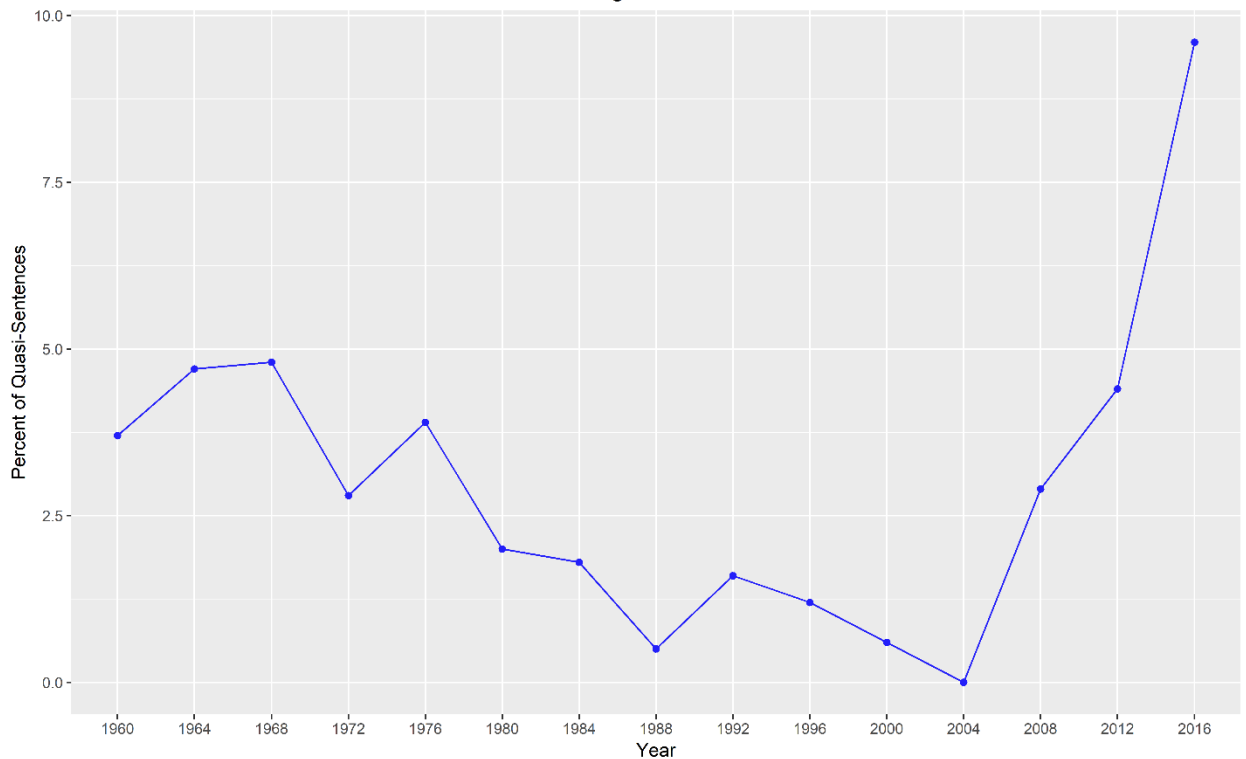
Variable	Definition
Military: Negative	<p>“Negative references to the military or use of military power to solve conflicts. References to the ‘evils of war’. May include references to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreasing military expenditures; • Disarmament; • Reduced or abolished conscription.”
Democracy	<p>“Favourable mentions of democracy as the “only game in town”. General support for the manifesto country’s democracy. May also include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democracy as method or goal in national, international or other organisations (e.g. labour unions, political parties etc.); • The need for the involvement of all citizens in political decisionmaking; • Support for either direct or representative democracy; • Support for parts of democratic regimes (rule of law, division of powers, independence of courts etc.)”
Market Regulation	<p>“Support for policies designed to create a fair and open economic market. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Calls for increased consumer protection; • Increasing economic competition by preventing monopolies and other actions disrupting the functioning of the market; • Defence of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses; • Social market economy.”

Although not very prominent in Democrat platforms overall, negative mentions of the military present to a higher degree compared to Republican platforms. These statements about the need for disarmament, abolishing conscription, and/or decreasing military expenditures made up a larger part of earlier platforms from 1960 (2%) to 1976 (6%). This language was mostly absent in 1980 (0%) before coming back up in 1984-1988. A similar pattern occurred after a lack of emphasis in 1992 (1%) prior to another period of the inclusion of this kind of language from 1996-2004 (going from 2% to 4%).

For Democrats, favorable mentions to Democracy as being the “only game in town” has been consistent in almost all platform starting with 1984 (except for 1996). Prior to this period, it

was largely absent from the 1960-1968 platforms (ranging from 0% to 1%) as well as the 1980 (1%) platform. Since 1984, it has become more prominent in use being in 4% of all quasi-sentences coded. Outside of 1996, this number has remained around 3% to 4%. Republicans had emphasized this theme to a much lower degree overall have made it more prominent in the 2012 and 2016 platforms consisting of 4% of sentences coded in those platforms.

Figure 7:
Mentions of Market Regulation In Democrat Platforms



As will be demonstrated in the section on issues receiving increased emphasis among Republicans, the parties differed quite a bit when it came to issues within the economic domain. Market regulation is a variable which was more prominent in Democratic platforms than in Republican platforms with Republicans having 0% of sentences being coded in favor of policies meant to create a fair market in eight out of the fifteen platforms being examined. favorable mentions for market regulations were largely absent for Republicans in most years. Democrats

did emphasize market regulation in their earlier platforms (1960-1976) ranging from 3-4% of all quasi-sentences in the platforms. Although a push for these policies had less visibility in the platforms afterwards it started to increase in prominence again starting in 2008 (3%) before increasing slightly in 2012 (4%) and hitting a peak across all platforms in 2016 (10%) demonstrating that it may be becoming a more central focus for their platforms going forward.

Issues Receiving Increased Emphasis by Republicans

Table 7 lists variables in the Manifesto dataset that were largely ignored by Democratic platforms but emphasized to a greater degree within Republican platforms. Like the previous section, this only includes variables that did not fit in other categories. Three out of the five variables included in table below are economic domain variables. The definitions for each variable of emphasis are included below:

Table 14: Issues Receiving Increased Emphasis by Republicans

Variable	Definition
Decentralization	<p>“Support for federalism or decentralisation of political and/or economic power. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Favourable mentions of the territorial subsidiary principle; • More autonomy for any sub-national level in policy making and/or economics, including municipalities; • Support for the continuation and importance of local and regional customs and symbols and/or deference to local expertise; • Favourable mentions of special consideration for sub-national areas.”
Free Market Economy	<p>“Favourable mentions of the free market and free market capitalism as an economic model. May include favourable references to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laissez-faire economy; • Superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems; • Private property rights; • Personal enterprise and initiative; • Need for unhampered individual enterprises.”
Incentives: Positive	<p>“Favourable mentions of supply side oriented economic policies (assistance to businesses rather than consumers). May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial and other incentives such as subsidies, tax breaks etc.; • Wage and tax policies to induce enterprise; • Encouragement to start enterprises.”

Variable	Definition
Economic Orthodoxy	“Need for economically healthy government policy making. May include calls for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction of budget deficits; • Retrenchment in crisis; • Thrift and savings in the face of economic hardship; • Support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system; • Support for strong currency.”
Traditional Morality: Positive	Favourable mentions of traditional and/or religious moral values. May include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour; • Maintenance and stability of the traditional family as a value; • Support for the role of religious institutions in state and society.

Support for the decentralization of political and economic power has rarely been discussed within the Democratic platforms during this period of analysis, the only exceptions were in 1992 (3%) and 1996 (2%). Outside of a few years, Republicans have emphasized the need for decentralization such as in the 1964 (4%) and 1968 (2%) platforms as well as platforms written between the years 1976-1984. During this period mentions of the support for decentralizing government functions started at 6% of all quasi-sentences in the platform to 3% in 1984. There was a renewed emphasis on decentralization in the platforms written between 1992-2000 (ranging from 2% to 3%). 2012 also represented an increase in emphasis on decentralization compared to platforms written after 1976 with 5% of all quasi-sentences including language related to decentralization.

Unlike other economic variables being considered, discussions falling under the realm of economic orthodoxy such as the reduction of budget deficits or support for strong currency were only emphasized to a large degree by one party during one period. In this case, the Republicans weaved policy discussions falling under economic orthodoxy from 1960-1988. From 1960-1980, the push for orthodox economic policies ranged from taking up 3% to 5% of all quasi-sentences

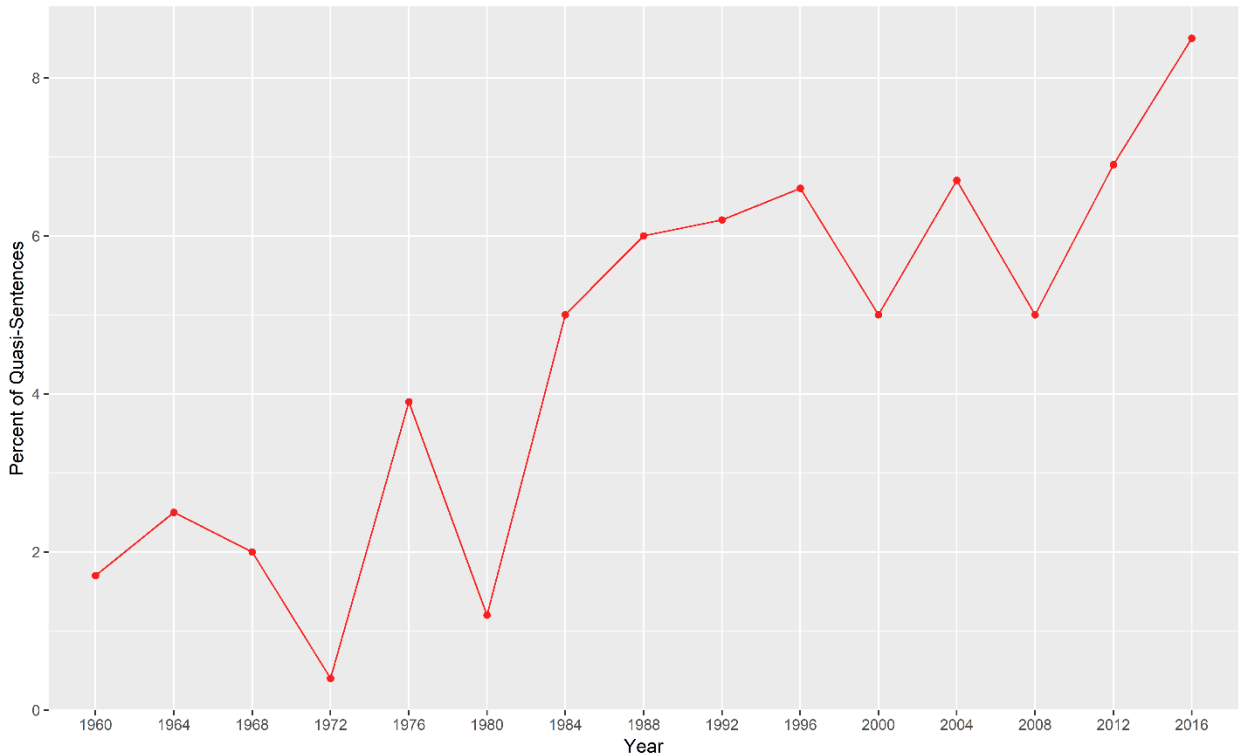
included. The peak of the discussion of this issue came in 1984 when it climbed to 8% of the platform sentences coded. After this period, the discussion swayed largely away from these issues but in 2012 there was an increased emphasis on these issues, though not as large as earlier platforms. Democrats, on the other hand, across most years were largely silent on these kinds of policies obtaining a 0% on five of the fifteen platforms being considered, one of which was the 2016 platform.

Moving onto topics where there was more variation across both parties, favorability of tax incentives such as assistance to businesses such as tax subsidies to businesses or farmers were largely absent before 1980 from both party platforms. Outside of the platforms in 2000 and 2012, Republicans used more of their platforms to emphasize these incentives starting with their 1980 platform which took up 4% of all quasi-sentences examined and in most platforms since this number has ranged from 3%-5%. These incentives have lost some visibility with platforms written in 2000 (1%) as well as those written in 2012 (1%) and 2016 (2%). Democrats first highlighted these incentives in a larger way starting in 1988 (4%) but it has dropped off and has been inconsistently discussed following that period.

The discussion of the favorability of a free market economy has been largely absent from Democratic party platforms during the period under examination with six platforms having 0% of the quasi-sentences containing any favorable reference to free market economy or principles while the remaining nine platforms reaching only 1%. This differs greatly from what is seen in Republican platforms where free market ideals have been touted in a larger way. Some peaks of the references to free market ideals can be seen in the 1964 (7%) and 1976 (4%) platforms. With the exception of 2008 (1% of quasi-sentences examined), the platforms written since 1984 have

made this a larger focus within their discussion of the economy with the 2016 platform dedicating the most space of any of the platforms since 1960 (10%).

Figure 8:
Positive Mentions of Traditional Morality In Republican Platforms



Positive mentions of traditional and religious moral values were reached a high point in the Democratic platforms during in the 1990s reaching 5% in 1992 and 6% in 1996 but were only really emphasized again in the 2008 platform reaching 4% of all sentences coded. In 1992, for example, the party emphasized the importance of the family such as parents being involved in their children’s education and a promise to “...return to the enduring principles that set our nation apart: the promise of opportunity, the strength of community, the dignity of work, and a decent life for senior citizens.” Apart from the 1972 platform, positive mentions of traditional morality have always been present in the platforms for the Republicans. As shown in Figure 8, the More attention has been given to rhetoric praising traditional morality starting with the 1984

platform reaching 5% of all sentences coded likely correlating to the creation of the conservative coalition under Reagan and this attention has been consistent since. It has remained high since reaching 9% in the 2016 platform.

The topics that fall under traditional morality have changed throughout the years with some topics only being introduced during later periods. Abortion is one example of how this works. The word “abortion” does not appear in any platform until 1976 when both parties mention it in reference to *Roe v. Wade*. On this topic, Democrats had used more cautious language when discussing the right to an abortion stating in the 1976 platform “We fully recognize the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subject of abortion. We feel, however, that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision in this area.” The language is completely absent in the 1984 and 1988 language before integrating language from the Clinton camp in which people should have a right to a “safe, legal abortion” (1992) which evolved into making abortion “less necessary, and more rare...” (1996 and 2000) language that was adopted as “safe, legal, and rare” in 2004. The word “rare” has been dropped in 2008 with the focus turning towards reducing unintended pregnancies and ensuring access to care and overturning the “global gag rule” to fund family planning organizations that either offered information on or access to abortions (2012).

Like the Democrats, the issue of abortion arises in the aftermath of *Roe v. Wade* in which they acknowledge the split within the party on the issue:

The question of abortion is one of the most difficult and controversial of our time. It is undoubtedly a moral and personal issue but it also involves complex questions relating to medical science and criminal justice. There are those in our Party who favor complete support for the Supreme Court decision which permits abortion on demand. There are others who share sincere convictions that the Supreme Court's decision must be changed by a constitutional amendment prohibiting all abortions. Others have yet to take a position, or they have assumed a stance somewhere in between polar positions.

The party notes that it supports efforts to enact a constitutional amendment to protect the right to life for the unborn (1976) which is again affirmed in 1980 along with support for efforts in Congress to restrict the use of taxpayer dollars for abortion. This is strengthened in 1984 with language stating, “As part of our commitment to the family and our opposition to abortion, we will eliminate all U.S. funding for organizations which in any way support abortion or research on abortion methods.” Later platforms introduce different concepts such as supporting refusal to fund international organizations involved in abortion (1988, 1992) and the opposition of birth control and abortion referrals in public schools (1988, 1992). Since 1992, the platform has been expanded to be included opposition to abortions in more sections of the platform than anything that had come prior to it. In the aftermath of Clinton’s veto of partial birth abortions in 1996, Republicans vowed to pass legislation banning partial birth abortion and to revoke Clinton’s executive orders regarding abortions. Republicans vow to fight against judicial activism in this area in the 2004 platform: “And while the vast majority of Americans support a ban on partial birth abortion, this brutal and violent practice will likely continue by judicial fiat. We believe that the self-proclaimed supremacy of these judicial activists is antithetical to the democratic ideals on which our nation was founded.” The 2008 platform contains even more language expressing opposition to abortion and upholding the Mexico-City Policy as well as parental

consent of “treatment involving pregnancy, contraceptives, and abortion.” In 2012, strong language was used in response to a potential threat to religious liberty posed by the Obama administration:

The most offensive instance of this war on religion has been the current Administration's attempt to compel faith-related institutions, as well as believing individuals, to contravene their deeply held religious, moral, or ethical beliefs regarding health services, traditional marriage, or abortion. This forcible secularization of religious and religiously affiliated organizations, including faith-based hospitals and colleges, has been in tandem with the current Administration's audacity in declaring which faithrelated activities are, or are not, protected by the First Amendment—an unprecedented aggression repudiated by a unanimous Supreme Court in its HosannaTabor v. EEOC decision.”

Additional pro-life language was used in 2016 to promote its approval of the passage of the Born-Alive Abortion Survivors Protection Act as well as to voice its support for banning abortions based on sex-selection and disabilities. There is also additional language in the platform to condemn the Democratic party’s stance on abortion:

“The Democratic Party is extreme on abortion. Democrats' almost limitless support for abortion, and their strident opposition to even the most basic restrictions on abortion, put them dramatically out of step with the American people. Because of their opposition to simple abortion clinic safety procedures, support for taxpayer-funded abortion, and rejection of pregnancy resource centers that provide abortion alternatives, the old Clinton mantra of "safe, legal, and rare" has been reduced to just ‘legal.’ We are proud to be the party that protects human life and offers real solutions for women.”

Another area that falls under traditional morality is homosexuality. Homosexuality is first mentioned in Republican platforms in 1992 with the statement that “Unlike the Democrat Party and its candidate, we support the continued exclusion of homosexuals from the military as a matter of good order and discipline.” This statement followed Bill Clinton’s announcement

during his campaign that he intended to remove the ban on homosexuals serving in the military (Baer 1992). This same argument is used in each platform up to the 2008 platform. Additionally, it is in 1992 platform that Republicans voice their opposition towards same-sex marriage or rights for same-sex couples to adopt or be foster parents. This is expanded in 1996 to include support for the Defense of Marriage Act to recognize marriage as being between one man and one woman. There was no mention of this in the 2000 platform. Republicans turned their attention towards judicial activism Opposition to activist judges was the framework within which this issue came up in the 2004 platform and this condemnation of judicial activism has continued in each platform since then:

“In some states, activist judges are redefining the institution of marriage... The sound principle of judicial review has turned into an intolerable presumption of judicial supremacy. A Republican Congress, working with a Republican president, will restore the separation of powers and re-establish a government of law. There are different ways to achieve that goal, such as using Article III of the Constitution to limit federal court jurisdiction; for example, in instances where judges are abusing their power by banning the use of "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance or prohibiting depictions of the Ten Commandments, and potential actions invalidating the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA). Additionally, we condemn judicial activists and their unwarranted and unconstitutional restrictions on the free exercise of religion in the public square.”

Support for traditional morality can be seen across all of the Republican platforms being considered from the support from the religious traditions of the Tibetans and support for the cessation against religious discrimination in the 1960 platform to the praise and support for Bush’s faith-based initiatives in 2004. Religious freedom, which was initially discussed within

an international relation context up until 2008, now has its own section in the platforms in the 2012 and 2016 platforms.

4. Putting it All Together

Within this chapter, three different approaches were taken to analyzing the text of the Democratic and Republican party platforms from 1960-2016. Each program used provided a distinct look at the differences in the platforms over time. Key differences for each party and the framework for chapter 5 will be discussed in the paragraphs below.

4.1 Democrats

Based on the analyses in this chapter, the 2016 platform demonstrates that Democrats look to be heading towards a more liberal ideology reminiscent of levels seen in the 1960 platform and the platforms written between 1972 and 1980. The results of the CATA data shows that starting in 2012 Democrats have shifted towards using language in the platforms that communicates a shared social identity or goals to try and win support of their base and other readers of the platform. They have also used language in an attempt to inspire and build up their followers since the 1988 platform. In 2016, the Democrats also started using language to language that demonstrates their commitment to a broader, shared vision relative to Republicans. Democrats have also been more positive in the tone displayed in the platforms. This gives us an idea about the attitudes among the people writing the platform and how they planned on using this kind of language in communicating their vision to their base. When it comes to the focus on the past, since the 1988 platform, Democrats have spent more space in the platforms writing about the past whether it be past accomplishments, or the progress made since the prior platforms. In discussing the present, this was a clear distinction between the parties as the

Democrats were consistently the party using language indicating a focus on present-day issues and this difference was statistically significant. Lastly, the Democrats have started to use more of the platform to detail their vision for the future since the 2004 platform where they started scoring higher than Republicans on this measure indicating a shift in emphasis.

Turning our attention to the Manifesto data findings, within the period of analysis, Democrats have made sure to include references to supporting non-economic demographic groups. The period within which this message was the strongest is from 1960-1984 with lesser degrees of emphasis from 1988-2000. However, in 2008, the issue was broached again, and it remains to be seen to what degree the party will highlight this message. Starting in 1976, Democrats were pushing in a larger way for the expansion of welfare programs within the platforms and outside of 2008, this has been consistent. Positive mentions of equality have also started taking a central position within the platforms beginning with 1984 and consistently being emphasized outside of the 2004 platform. Also, since 1984, Democrats have been more expressive about their support for Democracy and while this was absent in much of the 1996 platforms, it continued in the platforms written since. Starting in 1992, Democrats focused the rhetoric in the platform around emphasizing their expertise as a party as well as desirability of stronger government generally. Like the 1960 and 1964 platforms, Democrats have started to include more positive mentions of the military, the need for security, and the importance of keeping our military obligations starting with the 2004 platform. Economically, Democrats have included messages in the 2008 and 2012 platforms pushing for more market regulation similar to pushes in the platforms written between 1960 and 1976.

Issues of consistent emphasis within the platforms for Democrats have been the need to invest in technology and infrastructure, the desire for greater protections for the environment and

positive mentions of the need for improving internal security and being tough on crime. The need for the governmental and administrative efficiency in government was also a relatively consistent message within the platforms. While these variables were not always emphasized at a high level in each platform, across the board they received more levels of focus compared to other issues. Democrats also highlighted their desire as a party to support foreign nations and the need for cooperation and providing aid to these countries as well as to the international community generally.

4.2 Republicans

Starting with the DICTION analysis, Republicans have been shown to favor language emphasizing a call to action to meet their goals as well as rhetoric emphasizing the need to change the status quo which likely means a repudiation of Democratic policies that have been implemented. Unlike the differences underscored in the Democratic platforms, these are found to be statistically significant meaning that the party has shown a larger degree of using this rhetoric relative to the Democratic Party. However, using the results from the LIWC analysis, it becomes apparent that relative to Democratic platforms written during the same period, Republican platforms since 1988 have been more negative in tone which likely corresponds to a tendency to spend more time reflecting on the negative direction the nation is going in or of the opposing party and their policies. . Compared to Democrats, prior to 1988, Republicans were more willing to focus on the past but that since 1988, the Democrats have scored higher on this measure. Republicans were more willing to focus on present-day issues in the 1976 platform but scored lower in every other year on this measure. Lastly, when it came to their focus on the future, like the focus on the past, the Republicans initially scored higher than Democrats on this measure

meaning that they used more language in the platform to outline their vision for the future, but that this has dropped off since 2004 with Democrats increasing the usage of their language in this area.

Like Democrats, Republicans also included favorable mentions of non-economic special interest groups from 1960-1984 with lessening degrees of emphasis from 1988-1992 prior to highlighting this again in a bigger way in 2008. In the economic realm, Republicans highlighted the need for responsible spending in government within the platforms written between 1960-1988. Environmental protection was also an area of emphasis in earlier Republican platforms written between 1960-1996 except for 1980 and 1992 but the platforms written since 1996 have declined in the support of these policies. Similar to the Democrats, the discussion of the political authority of the party and the need for more stable government became an emphasis for the party beginning with the 1992 platform.

More consistent issues of emphasis for the Republicans have been both positive mentions of cooperation with the international community generally (in a more consistent fashion compared to the Democrats) as well as with specific nations. Throughout the period of study, Republicans have been consistent in emphasizing their support for the military. Like Democrats, Republicans have also stressed internal security to a large degree within the platforms with lows appearing in 1980 and 2012. Investment in infrastructure and technology was also a consistent message across the platforms as well. In addition to their much stronger rhetoric in supporting the military, Republicans also stressed their support for the free market economy to a much larger degree than the Democrats.

4.3 Next Steps

While these analyses provide a lot of insights as to the overall characteristics of the platform, there is much information that is lost by simply relying on them such as the kinds of changes that occurred from year to year with regards to some of these issues. In order to test my hypotheses that a mixed methods approach can help us to tease out more interesting observations will be further explored within the next chapter in which I select an issue to study on the basis of my findings in this chapter. The main difference in the next chapter outside of the singular focus is that a majority of the analysis done will rely on a through manual reading of the platforms from 1960-2016. I wish to demonstrate the utility of combining the findings in this chapter to a more directed study of the text itself. However, the CATA tools used in this chapter will be reapplied to the relevant portions of the platform concerning this single topic to see if they can add another meaningful layer of information as to how the platform language has been constructed for its audience. In order to select the issue to be analyzed in the next chapter, I will use the following criterion to help demonstrate how the platforms have evolved for each party:

- **Prominent Issues within Each Domain for Both Parties:** I will examine a variable emphasized by both parties to draw out differences between their approach on the issue allowing me to compare one party evolved on this issue over time relative to the other party.

The specific issue selected along with a discussion as to how it met this criterion will be mentioned in the following chapter.

Chapter 5. Analysis of the Party Platforms on the Environment

Approach for this Chapter

Whereas chapter 4's primary focus was examining overall attributes of party platforms through CATA analysis and coded quasi-sentences within the Manifesto database, this chapter will be focusing on an analysis of party platforms by focusing on a single issue and tracking its evolution through the use of CATA tools and the actual text of the platform. I used the following criteria using the results of the analyses in Chapter 4 to select topic of focus for this chapter:

- **Prominent Issues Within Each Domain for Both Parties:** An issue that has been emphasized by both parties to a larger degree compared to other Manifesto variables.
 - a. Issue selected: Environmental protection

The Manifesto data analyzed in Chapter 4 was only a subset of the available data that could have been used to study different issues/areas of the platforms. In deciding on a topic for further discussion, I wanted to examine an issue that had been discussed by both parties to a larger degree relative to other variables, that was a topic of modern discussion, and that would allow for an interesting comparison across both political parties. The topic of environmental protection met these standards.

In order to discuss positions of both parties on the issue, I will begin by reviewing the Chapter 4 figures and graphs associated with this variable as well as how it was defined by the Manifesto Project. Then, prior to performing the textual analysis, I will be examining the relevant portions of the platform dealing with the environment using the same CATA approach that was used in Chapter 4. This will allow me to see how this methodology can help break down

the usage of specific types of appeals and language in the platforms in relation to their discussion of the environment. Lastly, I will be breaking diving into the platforms to examine the evolution of Democratic platforms on the issue of the environment by decade first followed by the Republican platforms.

Prominent Issues within Each Doman for Both Parties:

As defined by the Manifesto Project codebook, the variable on environmental protection consists of the following:

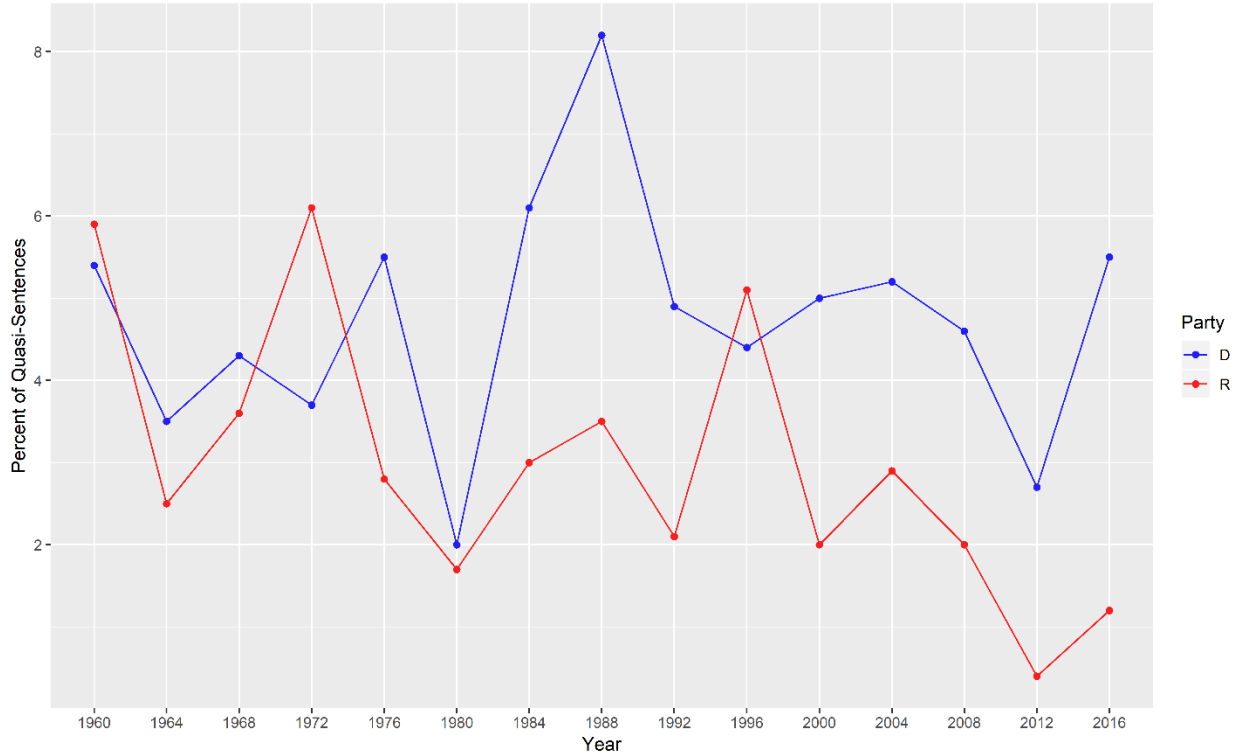
“General policies in favour of protecting the environment, fighting climate change, and other ‘green’ policies. For instance:

- *General preservation of natural resources;*
- *Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.;*
- *Protection of national parks;*
- *Animal rights.*

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

Figure 9 shows the percentage of quasi-sentences that both parties used in discussing the issue of environmental protection. Figure 9 demonstrates a few interesting insights. First, Republicans actually had more quasi-sentences dedicated to environmental protection in 1960 (6%), 1972 (6%), and 1996 (5%). Additionally, the parties looked to have similar trends in their emphasis on environmental protection as demonstrated by the way the percentage of sentences coded increases and decreases from 1960-1968, 1976-1992 and 2000-2016.

Figure 9:
Mentions of Environmental Protection by Party



To discuss the platforms, I went through both sets of platforms once to highlight portions that seemed relevant to the discussion at hand. My approach is not to duplicate 1:1 the exact findings of the Manifesto project, but to discuss how exactly the platforms evolved in their discussion of environmental protection. I will examine the evolution of the parties on this issue chronologically by decade. The focus of this chapter is also the way that the parties sell the issue of environmental protection and their party's credentials to it, the successes they list, the criticisms made towards the other party, and a sample of the pledges made to contribute towards protecting the environment.

CATA Analysis of Environmental Language in the Platforms

The CATA analysis in Chapter 4 examined the entirety of each individual platform to generate its results. While useful, this analysis replicated here in order to gain more insights

regarding specific how language was used regarding the environment among the platforms for both parties. The CATA data has also been broken down by decade and that data is included in the Appendix as a point of reference. Unlike the analysis in chapter 4, the word counts are included here to give an idea of the amount of text dedicated for each party within each platform. In this instance, it is important to note that if there is large gap between the amount of text dedicated to the environment (e.g. Republicans versus the Democrats in 1992), it will impact the findings as the charismatic approach translates word frequency into salience and if the gap is great enough, it is likely going to impact the results here (Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl, 2004; Aswad, 2019).

To begin the analysis, I extracted all the text from the platforms that discussed either as a main emphasis or in passing the environment. In sections where the main text of the paragraph dealt with environmental protections, the need to develop biofuels, or a party's general commitment to environmental issues of any kind, I included the entire paragraph for analysis. In other cases, I used the parts of sentences that dealt with the environment. The results of the CATA analysis are included in the tables below:

Table 15: Communal Charismatic Constructs by Individual Platform (Environmental Language Only)

Year	Word Count		Collective Focus		Follower's Worth		Similarity to Followers		Cooperation	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	1164	488	12.39	5.16	17.51	27.92	117.03	127.05	6.8	6.15
1964	1285	345	12.42	7.97	11.76	18.26	138.56	125.36	6.51	11.59
1968	939	678	11.36	9.52	16.93	20.29	135.71	115.92	3.85	11.15
1972	2075	2113	9.11	15.34	12.13	19.58	131.52	133.97	12.28	13.23
1976	1710	1884	14.4	12.44	21.66	16.54	129.05	123.05	6.57	5.01
1980	3009	2565	3.62	4.8	36.85	13.74	90.5	113.12	31.14	8.64
1984	2197	1301	7.82	9.53	19.79	23.93	117.77	126.44	13.86	4.54
1988	808	2547	6.07	4.31	22.41	27.93	132.11	109.59	7.56	3.91
1992	564	2446	5	9.94	21.88	17.68	108.69	123.4	11.31	7.79
1996	1498	2312	10.27	9.37	24.5	16.53	114.73	118.15	8.39	4.62
2000	2568	2532	15.56	5.69	27.17	40.4	121.66	140.25	13.82	19.55
2004	1768	1994	11.66	13.35	28.57	27.91	114.56	114.2	4.12	9.45
2008	2518	2185	4.71	15.42	36.19	20.01	99.07	112.01	5.03	4.83
2012	2534	2146	10.99	7.34	39.19	17.85	77.02	125.06	5	3.81
2016	3073	3103	14.24	13.72	15.08	19.51	112.53	132.06	13.73	3.14

Examining Table 15, if we take word count as being a proxy for emphasis in a platform, Democrats had more mentions of environmental issues in their 1960s platforms than did the Republicans. The opposite appears to be true in the 1990s. Both parties are similar in the word counts for these issues among the other years. The data in Table 15 also contains the scores for the communal charismatic constructs used by the parties with regards to environmental language used in the platform. In chapter 4, I mentioned that in recent years, the Democrats scored higher on the measures of collective focus and follower's worth compared to Republicans.

Republicans, on the other hand, scored higher on emphasizing the similarity of the party and their candidate to their group of followers. How do these findings hold up when we limit it only to environmental language? Well the findings are varied here with the Democrats scoring higher on collective focus relative to Republicans prior to the 1972 platform and again in 1976, 1988, from 1996-2000, and again from 2012-2016. The differences are bigger in certain years such as

1972 and 1992 where Republicans utilized this language to build trust on the environmental issue. From 1960-1972, Republicans did more to emphasize the worth of their followers in their text on the environment relative to the Democrats. While this fluctuates in the years between, from 2004-2012, Democrats have scored higher than Republicans on this measure as well indicating a potential shift in emphasis in how they word their language on the environment to inspire their followers. Mirroring the findings in chapter 4, in recent years, Republicans scored higher in recent years on language which emphasizes expressing the similarities among the party or the candidate of the party to the individuals reading the platform. Among the more interesting findings here is the gap between the parties when it comes to language indicating a commitment to a shared vision through cooperation among different individuals. From 1964-1968, in discussing the environment Republicans did so using these terms in a much bigger way relative to the Democrats. This occurred again from 2000-2004. From 1980-1996, Democrats used this language to a much larger degree than the Republicans did. In the most recent platform, we see a big gap between the parties with Democrats emphasizing this cooperative aspect to achieve their goal of environmental protection relative to Republicans. When examining the mean values for each of these measures along with the difference of means results, none of the measures turn out to be statistically significant.

Table 16: Mean Comparisons and Difference of Means Results for Communal Charismatic Constructs (Environmental Language Only)

Measure	Party	Mean	SD	T-Test	P-Value
Collective Focus	Democrat	9.97	3.78	0.28	.7844
	Republican	9.59	3.78		
Follower's Worth	Democrat	23.44	8.72	0.55	.5867
	Republican	21.87	6.78		
Similarity to Followers	Democrat	116.03	17.18	-1.33	.1992
	Republican	122.64	8.81		
Cooperation	Democrat	10.00	6.88	1.02	.3179
	Republican	7.83	4.55		

Table 17 contains the results for the agentic and neutral charismatic constructs for the portions of the platform regarding the environment. A key difference here between the results in chapter 4 and those in table 17 is that unlike the results before, the Democrats score higher in more of the platforms such as 1972 when it comes to both the action-oriented and the adversity constructs. In chapter 4's results of the language used generally across the platform, both of these constructs were used more heavily among Republicans. When we only consider the language regarding the environment, this picture changes with Democrats scoring higher in 11 of the platforms with some significant gaps between themselves and the Republicans (primarily in 1972, 2008, and 2016). This means when it comes to the environment, Democrats are more willing to use language to call their followers into action to achieve the party's goal on protecting the environment. As shown in Table 18, taken overall, the Democrats (mean=29.20) utilize this rhetoric to a larger degree in their platforms relative to the Republicans (mean=21.23) and the result is statistically significant at $p < .10$ level. Adversity follows the same kind of trend where the Democrats who had previously scored lower in this area when considering the overall platform language scored higher than Republicans in 10 of the 15 platforms considered (the exceptions being 1964, 1968, 1980, 1996, and 2008). This means that with the exceptions of those years, Democrats were more blatant in calling for a change to the status quo when it came to the environment and environmental protection relative to the Republicans. This difference stands out in platforms written in 1960, 1984, 1996, and 2012. However, more recently Republicans did stand out in their use of this rhetoric in the 2008 and 2016 platforms which may be a shift in how the Republicans start to call for action in this area going forward. Much like the analysis in chapter 4, the same caveat applies here for the analysis namely that the tangibility variable is determined, in part, by user input meaning that the results may vary from person to

person. The parties tend to go back and forth on employing this kind of rhetoric in the platform meaning that depending on the year, the parties may be using more broad language in framing their vision in hopes that they make that vision more universal. Democrats were more consistent in using this rhetoric from 1984-1996 whereas Republicans shifted their language to make these broader appeals in 2000-2008. The most recent platforms have Democrats using this language to a greater degree than Republicans. Among performing a difference of means test on both the adversity and tangibility constructs, neither came up as significant meaning that we cannot say for certain that the usage of this language differs greatly between parties as of yet.

**Table 17: Agentic and Neutral Charismatic Constructs by Individual Platform
(Environmental Language Only)**

Year	Word Count		Action Oriented		Adversity		Tangibility	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	1164	488	27.84	28.01	15.36	8.19	102.04	111.48
1964	1285	345	29.74	31.4	8.14	10.15	126.63	266.41
1968	939	678	31.46	25.2	7.92	10.62	87.95	95.49
1972	2075	2113	40.98	11.48	21.89	15.14	64.75	91.16
1976	1710	1884	24.03	20.91	19.16	7.91	116.44	101.34
1980	3009	2565	41.1	22.88	4.34	12.04	45.23	89.52
1984	2197	1301	14.02	6.45	19.51	10.64	127.23	112.25
1988	808	2547	13.43	31.12	15.74	7.53	99.77	39.5
1992	564	2446	24.46	20.48	11.91	9.29	63.31	50.1
1996	1498	2312	21.66	20.21	8.51	11.81	133.33	116.73
2000	2568	2532	19.92	11.46	13.31	5.95	30.28	51.75
2004	1768	1994	19.23	29.73	9.09	7.18	102.83	134.05
2008	2518	2185	69.47	19.27	5.86	14.57	76.53	98.94
2012	2534	2146	15.32	28.39	27.61	9.99	79.58	73.12
2016	3073	3103	45.32	11.39	9.84	17.94	77.49	55.33

Table 18: Mean Comparisons and Difference of Means Results for Agentic and Neutral Charismatic Constructs (Environmental Language Only)

Measure	Party	Mean	SD	T-Test	P-Value
Action-oriented	Democrat	29.20	14.96	1.82	.0828
	Republican	21.23	8.02		
Adversity	Democrat	13.21	6.59	1.38	.1837
	Republican	10.60	3.29		
Tangibility	Democrat	88.89	30.55	-0.64	.5287
	Republican	99.14	53.99		

The last of the CATA analyses for this chapter concerns the usage of language that is positive in tone and that focuses on the past, present, and future with regards to environmental issues. Table 19 contains word count, an important piece to note is that LIWC calculates word count in a different fashion than DICTION does so there will be minor discrepancies between both programs. When it comes to environmental issues, Republicans tended to use words associated with more of a positive tone than did Democrats. This was the case from 1960-1976 and again from 1992-1996. This shifted a bit as Democrats started adopting more of this language in the 1980, 1984, and 1988 platforms which is a stark contrast with the more negative tone displayed in the 1960 and 1964 platforms. Except for 2012, Democrats were more positive in tone relative to Republicans since the 2000 platform. So while Democrats are using language that is challenging the status quo and calls their followers to action, the language tends to be more positive in nature.

Shifting to the focus variables, in recent years, there has been an increased usage of language that focuses on the past with regards to the environment on the part of Republicans who scored higher than Democrats in 2000 and 2004 as well as 2016. During the 2008 and 2012 election, Democrats focused more on the past more relative to the Republicans when writing about environmental issues. Focusing on the present has less of a consistent pattern which

demonstrates that both parties are pretty close in using language to focus on present circumstances on this issue. The gaps between the parties using this rhetoric is pretty small with the exception of 1992 with the Republicans having more language emphasizing the present and the Democrats having more in 1996 and 2000. Lastly, When it comes to focusing on the future, Republicans initially adopted this rhetoric to a larger degree in the platforms written between 1968-1980 but more recently which makes sense especially given the appeal of environmental issues as a “consensual public policy issue” as noted by Dunlap (1992), Democrats have been looking to the future in their discussions of the environment having scored higher than Republicans in platforms written between 2000-2016. Given these differences highlighted between the parties, it is important to note that as demonstrated in Table 20, these results are not statistically significant.

Table 19: LIWC Variables for Environmental Language in Individual Platforms (Environmental Language Only)

Year	Word Count		Tone		Focus Past		Focus Present		Focus Future	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	1181	492	54.46	89.98	0.93	1.22	6.01	4.88	2.46	0.2
1964	1311	349	61.94	73.88	3.13	0	4.58	5.44	1.37	0.57
1968	945	687	83.91	96.57	0.85	0.29	4.87	4.22	1.48	2.04
1972	2093	2135	63.82	80.84	0.72	1.59	6.4	5.25	1	1.17
1976	1721	1909	84.29	91.4	1.1	0.58	6.33	6.97	1.22	1.57
1980	3033	2587	94.96	86.63	1.29	1.08	5.77	6.61	0.99	1.58
1984	2211	1309	89.82	78.87	0.86	2.29	6.2	6.04	1.81	1.38
1988	812	2561	74	72.55	0.74	0.98	5.42	5.31	0.74	2.23
1992	568	2462	55.65	79.17	0.88	1.3	4.23	6.13	2.11	1.3
1996	1507	2332	72.93	77.79	1.59	0.94	7.56	5.4	0.73	1.46
2000	2588	2549	87.42	75.31	1.2	1.65	7.81	6.59	1.16	1.1
2004	1786	2011	99	94.09	0.78	1.79	5.94	5.47	2.8	1.14
2008	2550	2206	89.81	89.49	0.86	0.73	5.18	6.8	3.25	1.81
2012	2550	2178	90.16	91.1	1.37	1.15	6.67	5.56	1.22	0.87
2016	3100	3126	80.22	66.92	0.71	1.41	5.65	6.11	2.1	1.18

Table 20: Mean Comparisons and Difference of Means Results for LIWC Variables (Environmental Language Only)

Measure	Party	Mean	SD	T-Test	P-Value
Tone	Democrat	78.83	14.31	-0.95	.3511
	Republican	82.97	8.95		
Focus Past	Democrat	1.13	0.61	0.00	.9976
	Republican	1.13	0.59		
Focus Present	Democrat	5.91	1.00	0.38	.7090
	Republican	5.79	0.77		
Focus Future	Democrat	1.63	0.77	1.34	.1911
	Republican	1.31	0.53		

With the knowledge of how the parties have used these different constructs, emotional tone, and a focus on the past, present, and future, we can now turn to a more in-depth examination of the platform to fill in the contextual gaps of what we would be missing if we were to solely rely on these textual analysis tools or the Manifesto database itself. The next portion of the chapter contains an analysis of the changes within the platform by decade and by party.

Environmental Protection in the 1960s Platforms

Democrats:

During this period, Democrats discussed their commitment to environmental protection by stating that “Sound public policy must assure that these essential resources will be available to provide the good life for our children and future generations” (1960). Natural resources were seen as “the birthright for all people” in contrast with the Eisenhower administration who “divert[ed] the benefits of the great natural energy resources from all the people to a favored few.” A sense of urgency is also established during this time, as stated in the 1960 platform: “We must act quickly to retain public access to the oceans, gulfs, rivers, streams, lakes and

reservoirs, and their shorelines, and to reserve adequate camping and recreational areas while there is yet time. Areas near major population centers are particularly needed.”

In 1964 platform, the appeal of the Democrats is made based on the conservation of resources to increase the quality of life of all Americans while considering needs given the increasing population. focused on the conservation of resources:

But these resources are not inexhaustible. With our vastly expanding population—an estimated 325 million people by the end of the century—there is an ever-increasing responsibility to use and conserve our resources wisely and prudently if we are to fulfill our obligation to the trust we hold for future generations.

By 1968, the appeal shifts more towards trying to control for the effects of industrialization and takes on a greater sense of urgency as environmental protection is identified as one of the elements of saving cities:

Democrats recognize that the race to save our cities is a race against the absolute of time itself. The blight that threatens their future takes many forms. It is the physical decay of homes and neighborhoods. It is poverty and unemployment. It is broken homes and social disintegration. It is crime. It is congestion and pollution.

According to the Democrats, the effects of the rapid industrialization experienced throughout the history of the United States has led to these negative consequences: “the nation's air and water resources have been degraded, the public health and welfare endangered, the landscape scarred and littered, and the very quality of our national life jeopardized.”

In the 1964 and 1968 platforms, Democrats focused on touting the success of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations environmental policies. Democrats note their “unsurpassed conservation record of the past four years” within the 1964 platform with mentions of the passage of the Wilderness Act of 1964, the development of river basins, outdoor recreation programs. The first of the major areas discussed is natural resources of which they reported on

the White House Conference on Conservation and the passage of the Wilderness Bill and the Land and Water Conservation Fund Bill. Other areas included water conservation and water project expansion, additional projects related to the development of atomic energy plants and electricity generating capacity, expansion of outdoor recreational areas, the creation of Waterfowl Refuges as a result of the Wetlands Bill of 1961, and pollution control through the Clean Air Act of 1963 and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1961.

In 1968, the Democrats noted their successes in different areas as well. One example of this could be seen in their statement on conservation efforts and recreational programs:

For every American family, unparalleled achievements in conservation meant the development of balanced outdoor recreation programs—involving magnificent new national parks, seashores, and lakeshores—all within an afternoon's drive of 110 million Americans. For the first time, we are beating the bulldozer to the nation's remaining open spaces.

The 1960 platform more criticism of Republicans focused around waste as Eisenhower's administration is blamed for retiring farm units under their administration of the Soil Bank program. The administration is also accused of giving away resources to private companies rather than securing these lands for future use. They are also condemned for turning against on urban and suburban communities and for vetoing stream pollution control. Eisenhower is also criticized for the "gradual of United States leadership in atomic development both at home and abroad." Lastly, Republicans also are attacked for their "no-start" policy which leads to the lack of development of increasing sources of electricity for rural communities and in the lack of development of atomic energy.

Democrats initially focused more of their attention on their plans for the nation which included water and soil conservation, controlling water and air pollution, the safe disposal of radioactive wastes, the accessibility and expansion of outdoor recreational areas and parks, the

desire to develop power systems of all kinds (water, tidal, and nuclear) for low-cost energy, and to support research in those sectors. Additionally, they wanted to bring about “balanced land and forest policies” based on “multiple-use” and “sustained-yield” principles.

Other proposed actions included increasing yield management of forests. An interesting observation here is that in discussing this issue, Democrats took the 1964 platform language of the Republicans word-for-word in stating “We support sustained yield management of our forests, and expanded research for control of forest insects, disease, and fires.” Additionally, Democrats wanted to expand the wilderness preservation system and the areas available to the public and to expand cooperative efforts to rehabilitate park systems and develop open spaces.

Within the 1968 platform, the focus of the Democrats was towards potential actions that could take going forward. This included actions to control air pollution, enhance quality of nation’s water, waste disposal, support governmental efforts to preserve cultural sights, assist in energy production and planning, and the need for reclamation of lands and the conservation of soil among other actions.

Republicans

In the 1960 platform, the Republicans do take a distinct approach to environmental protection. In the beginning of their discussion on natural resources they note, “A strong and growing economy requires vigorous and persistent attention to wise conservation and sound development of all our resources. Teamwork between federal, state and private entities is essential and should be continued. It has resulted in sustained conservation and resource development programs on a scale unmatched in our history” and that their goal towards is the “development and wise use of natural resources.” The importance of doing so is also covered in

the 1968 platform: “An expanding population and increasing material wealth require new public concern for the quality of our environment. Our nation must pursue its activities in harmony with the environment. As we develop our natural resources we must be mindful of our priceless heritage of natural beauty.”

Urgency is also established in 1968 with regards to actions against pollution with regards to urban communities, “The need is critical. Millions of our people are suffering cruelly from expanding metropolitan blight—congestion, crime, polluted air and water, poor housing, inadequate educational, economic and recreational opportunities.”

In 1960 to point to successes, Republicans discussed their actions in the rural community with regards to land conservation, conservation with regards to water and soil, and the continued implementation of the Great Plains Program. Republicans credited the cooperation between federal, state and private entities in the “wise conservation and the sound development of all our resources” stating that “our objective is for further growth, greater strength, and increased utilization in each great area of resource use and development.” Republicans credited their previous efforts during the past seven years in their developments of the areas of increased power capacity, forest management practices, flood control, among other projects.

Within the 1964 and 1968 platforms, their focus turned towards criticisms of the Democrats and their policies. In 1964, the Republicans took the approach of pointing out that the neglect of the nation’s natural resources blaming the administration for failing to protect the fishing industry and for hindering the development of the oil shale industry. Similarly, Republicans blamed the administration for neglecting to tackle air and water pollution desiring instead “...accelerating a trip to the moon.” Because of this, Republicans pushed for the “wise development and use of natural resources” on both the land and in the water.

The need for cooperation among different levels of government and the private sector is another prominent theme during this period whether it be through balanced use of nation's natural resources to meet the needs of the people (1964) or through tackling air and water pollution levels in the city centers by regional planning and the inclusion of industry through economic incentives (1968) or with regards to the development of mass transportation systems as well as the usage of airports and highways (1968).

Republicans also seemed a bit more intentional in how finances and regulations would be implemented. In discussing the development of waste disposal plants in the 1960 platform, Republicans noted that they would "only offer those federal grants in cases where there is a marked contribution to cleaning up polluted streams." Republicans were similarly cautious in coming up with an approach to tackling air pollution stating that they desired "Federal authority to identify, after appropriate hearings, air pollution problems and to recommend proposed solutions."

In thinking about potential actions that the party could take moving forward, the 1960 platform discusses the following potential actions: the expansion of water resource projects, preservation of domestic fisheries, balanced forest conservation efforts, and a full commitment towards preservation of outdoor recreational spaces utilizing resource and land management experts to examine federal lands and assess the future needs of the nation.

In 1964 public-land laws to bring about the development of mineral resources and the beneficial uses of public lands, water resource planning and development, tax incentives designed to encourage exploration of sources of minerals and metals domestically, fishing ground protections.

Other plans mentioned in the 1964 and 1968 platforms include plans to review public-land laws to bring about the development of mineral resources and the beneficial uses of public lands, water resource planning and development, tax incentives designed to encourage exploration of sources of minerals and metals domestically, fishing ground protections, and accelerated river base commission inventory studies. In 1968, Republicans also discuss the application of science and technology to solve the issue of environmental pollution.

Environmental Protection in the 1970s Platforms

Democrats:

Suffering a loss to Nixon in 1968, the tone of the 1972 platform resembles that of the 1960 platform. Democrats mention their charge

Every American has the right to live, work and play in a clean, safe and healthy environment. We have the obligation to ourselves and to our children. It is not enough simply to prevent further environmental deterioration and the despoilation of our natural endowment. Rather, we must improve the quality of the world in which we and they will live.

Environmental destruction is said to cause poor health, lower land productivity, and less recreational areas and opportunities. Acknowledging the cost will be high, Democrats state that it is worth it. In 1976, the Democrats develop a vision for a society that goes against that presented by previous administrations in which they aspire to be "...a society in consonance with its natural environment." In that same platform they also develop a sense of urgency in their discussion of energy sources, "If America, as we know it, is to survive, we must move quickly to develop renewable sources of energy."

Democrats are critical towards Republicans and the Nixon Administration due to their record on the environment, which they claim includes "Inadequate enforcement, uncertain

requirements, reduced funding and a lack of manpower have undercut the effort commenced by a Democratic Administration to clean up the environment.” Additionally, they criticize Republicans due to their national energy policy, the decline of scientific research, and the neglect of public lands stating that “Never before in modern history have our public lands been so neglected and the responsible agencies so starved of funds.” In the 1972 platform they state that economic growth and environmental compatibility do not have to be at odds, “A decent job for every American is a goal that need not, and must not, be sacrificed to our commitment to a clean environment. Far from slowing economic growth, spending for environmental protection can create new job opportunities for many Americans.” This is later reiterated in 1976 when they criticize the Republicans by stating that wish to debunk the false allegations made by Republicans that “economic growth and environmental protection are incompatible.”

The priorities in the 1972 platform is geared towards federal funding for waste management and recycling, purification and conservation of air and water, creation of strict emission standards as well as increased funding for the United States Forest Service. They also desire to promote taxes towards the industrial sector to provide incentives to avoid air pollution and wish to provide adequate staffing for regulatory and enforcement agencies to punish those that are not in compliance. In any cases where complying with the regulations may have negative impacts on older plants, they do note that assistance should be provided to those that are willing to modernize. Additionally, the desire to increase scientific research is mentioned, particularly the push for scientific progress that is in line with environmental protection standards. The promotion of research to find ways of minimizing pollution, increasing energy efficiency, and finding unconventional sources of energy and better coal technology is also mentioned. The management of food resources in the ocean and the push for international agreements to stop sea

pollution is also highlighted. Lastly, Democrats desire to expand public lands and the availability of recreational areas in areas in which people live.

1976's platform contains more pledges to develop alternative forms of energy (solar, wind, etc.) and regulatory actions to regulate strip mining in an effort to protect the environment. With regards to agriculture, Democrats desire to implement soil conservation programs locally and the push for more productivity on those lands "within the limits of good conservation practices, including the use of recycled materials..." The need for research is once again mentioned as it is needed to "build a society in which renewable and nonrenewable resources are used wisely and efficiently." Federal environmental anti-pollution requirement programs need to be revised to eliminate economic discrimination.

Republicans

In the 1972 platform, Republicans seem to be announcing a victory in environmental protection by claiming that "We have turned toward new paths for social progress—from welfare rolls to payrolls; from wanton pollution to vigorous environmental protection." There was a greater emphasis on averting an "advancing environmental crisis." In 1976, they emphasized that the federal government should have a role in combating pollution, "Those concerns of a national character—such as air and water pollution that do not respect state boundaries or the national transportation system or efforts to safeguard your civil liberties—must, of course, be handled on the national level."

Republicans highlighted their successes in this area: the creation of new agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Industrial Pollution Control Council to help work with the private sector to tackle environmental issues. To gain traction on the

environment, Republicans also highlight that that placed the environmental improvements at the top of the budget. Republicans discuss their foreign partnerships in conservation and environment such as partnering with Canada to restore water quality of Great Lakes and working with Moscow to implement environmental controls. They also mention working to create a body to deal with environmental issues through the UN and the creation of international funding for the environment.

The president's contributions to environmental protection include: the setting of new clean air standards, the launching of the Legacy of Parks program, and the assistance of the federal government in the creation of recreational trails. They also mention that the president has incorporated the use of low-lead gasoline and recycled paper to reduce overall environmental impact.

Congressional obstructionism is seen as a key reason why the country has not progressed as far as it could have in implementing environmental protection measures with the example of the failed proposal to create a Department of Natural Resources being just one instance. Additionally, Republicans noted that "...sweeping environment messages were sent to Congress in 1970, 1971 and 1972 covering air quality, water quality, toxic waste substances, ocean dumping, noise, solid waste management, land use, parklands and many other environmental concerns. Almost all of these proposals still languish in the opposition Congress." To drive this point further, the platform includes a list of measures that Congress has failed to act on such as the identification and protection of endangered wildlife species.

Goals that were set in the 1972 platform included the use of reusable or biodegradable containers for food, working to create environmental standards that do not cause undue burden on the parties trying to implement them, balancing environmental protection and environmental

growth needs, and the implementation of pollution control laws. In 1976, they mention their concern with bureaucratic overregulation, “We are intensely aware of the need to protect our environment and provide safe working conditions in American industry, while at the same time preventing the loss of jobs and the closing of small businesses through unrealistic or over-rigorous government regulations.” Meanwhile, recycling should also be promoted with as “We can no longer afford the luxury of a throw-away world. Recycling offers environmental benefits, economic expansion, resource conservation and energy savings. We support a policy which will reward recycling and economic incentives which will encourage its expansion.” With regards to energy, Republicans favor the expansion of research and development on alternative energy sources especially fusion as it can produce supply a limitless amount of clean energy.

Republicans are against price controls within the energy industry and against the creation of a nationalized oil company. Another goal is the promotion of research to identify environmental issues and their solutions and to hold a presidential panel to include environmental groups, scientists, and the public in developing priorities regarding environmental and energy issues.

Environmental Protection in the 1980s Platforms

Democrats:

In the 1980 platform, Democrats note that even with their successes in the 1970s, they face issues that are “more challenging and urgent than those of ten years ago” and therefore they need to move forward with progressive environmental policies. Echoing the theme in prior platforms, in the 1984 platform they once again set out to discount the idea that economic progress and environmental protection are inherently set against each other, “Sound resource management, careful planning, and strict pollution control enforcement will allow us to have a

prosperous economy and a healthy environment.” After their loss in 1988, Democrats link their mission to “build a secure economic future for all Americans” with the protection of the environment.

In the 1980 platform, Democrats did point to certain wins for environmental protection, namely the creation of incentives to seek new energy sources, oil production, and increasing energy research and development. Additionally, the party pointed to natural gas exploration and development and the increased use of solar energy and gasohol while gasoline consumption declined.

Outside of the 1980 platform, successes are not the focus in this set of platforms but rather Democrats spend much of the time either criticizing the Republicans and Reagan for their policies or putting forth their priorities. In their 1984 platform, Democrats were highly critical of President Reagan stating that “The President who destroyed the Environmental Protection Agency will decide whether toxic dumps get cleaned up” and that “The environmental legacy of Ronald Reagan will be long-lasting damage that can never truly be undone.” The Democrats protested Reagan’s promotion and subsidization of nuclear power. In the 1988 platform, the negative consequences of Republican policies are laid out:

We believe that the last seven years have witnessed an unprecedented assault on our national interest and national security through the poisoning of our air with acid rain, the dumping of toxic wastes into our water, and the destruction of our parks and shores; that pollution must be stopped at the source by shifting to new, environmentally sound manufacturing and farming technologies;

The main ideas promoted by the Democrats in 1980 are examining regulatory reform to reduce the burden on overregulated industries if it is consistent with environmental goals. Increasing energy conservation while also exploring for alternative sources of energy and the development of hydrogen and electric vehicles. Increasing oil exploration on federal lands if it

works with existing environmental protection procedures. The continuation and expansion of nuclear waste plans and shutting down unsafe plants that do not meet safety recommendations.

Going on to 1984, the party pledges to increase collaboration between all levels of government, tribal governments, and private interests to manage effective domestic energy production and its impact on the environment. Enhancing hazardous waste dump site clean ups. The party also mentions the need for an increased allocation of resources to the EPA and other agencies to carry out their mandates. Also mentioned is the need to for the desalination of sea water and the development of water resources in specific areas as well as enhancing agricultural activity by examining regulations in place and more conservation efforts and the protection and restoration of fish habitats. These conservation efforts extend to the protection of national parks and wildlife refuges which would be attained through the funding of federal programs designed for that purpose. Democrats also push for the reauthorization and strengthening the Clean Air Act to reduce emissions thereby controlling for air pollutants. Taking it out of the domestic context, Democrats also desire to increase our leadership on international environmental issues.

In the 1988 platform, there is still a push for a “coherent energy policy” will begin and that we will transition from “non-renewable sources to renewable sources...” Also, the Democrats mention that the party should promote recycling and enforce laws regarding toxic waste. The platform contains mentions for the calling of a summit, “regular world environmental summits should be convened by the United States to address the depletion of the ozone layer, the "greenhouse effect," the destruction of tropical forests and other global threats and to create a global action plan for environmental restoration.”

Republicans:

In the 1980 platform, Republicans affirm their commitment to energy production and conservation through the use of economic policies. There is a role for the government to play, mirroring the more cautious approach demonstrated in previous platforms, Republicans are concerned the cost of these regulations:

The nature of environmental pollution is such that a government role is necessary to ensure its control and the proper protection of public health. Much progress has been made in achieving the goals of clean air, clean water, and control of toxic wastes. At the same time, we believe that it is imperative that environmental laws and regulations be reviewed and, where necessary, reformed to ensure that the benefits achieved justify the costs imposed. Too often, current regulations are so rigid and narrow that even individual innovations that improve the environment cannot be implemented. We believe, in particular, that regulatory procedures must be reformed to expedite decisionmaking. Endless delay harms both the environment and the economy.

In the 1984 platform, Republicans state that the environmental challenges of the 1980s contain difficulties but that the well-being of the citizenry is the highest priority. The philosophy of the Republican party is tied to the protection natural resources, “The environment is not just a scientific or technological issue; it is a human one. Republicans put the needs of people at the center of environmental concerns. We assert the people's stewardship of our God-given natural resources.” This is reiterated in the 1988 platform in which the party expresses that it is everyone’s responsibility to safeguard these resources. Republicans also cite Theodore Roosevelt,

A great Republican President, Teddy Roosevelt, once characterized our environmental challenge as ‘the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us.’ Satisfying this imperative requires dedication and a commitment both to the protection of our environment and to the development of economic opportunities for all through a growing economy.

In 1984, Republicans pointed to successes in their efforts to protect coastal lands and create the Park Preservation and Restoration Program. Additionally, they mentioned increases in

funding towards research on acid rain and on cleaning up hazardous waste dumps. The aversion of a water crisis due to partnerships between states and federal government, the moderation of EPA standards on pesticides, and the decrease of energy consumption in light of economic growth. They also mentioned increases in air and water quality, “As a result, by almost any measure, the air is cleaner than it was 10 years ago, and fish are returning to rivers where they had not been seen for generations.” By 1988, they had another list of successes through the reduction of airborne lead contamination, the decreases in emissions, the increased amount of enforcement cases brought to polluters, the increases in wildlife refuges, and the decreases in the consumption of oil.

The criticisms towards the Democrats were located within the 1980 platform. The Republicans note that the lack of Cooperation between Congress and the President has led to conflict between the states and the Carter’s policies. Carter and the Democratic Congress are blamed for ignoring coal industry. Other areas of criticism for the Democrats are their failure to address the spent fuel problem, not developing energy from federal lands, the increasing dependence on foreign sources of energy due to Democrat policies of federal land management and taxation. Democratic conservation efforts are also rejected:

Conservation clearly plays a vital role in the consideration and formulation of national energy policy. Republicans reject, however, the position of the Democrats which is to conserve through government fiat, Republicans understand that free markets based on the collective priorities and judgments of individual consumers will efficiently allocate the energy supplies to their most highly valued uses.

In 1980, Republicans pledged to increase efforts to develop renewable energy sources, but in the interim, using coal gas and nuclear fission is a viable strategy. To this end, Republicans were willing to engage in regulatory reform to get reduce our reliance on foreign oil, “a comprehensive program of regulatory reform, improved incentives, and revision of

cumbersome and overly stringent Clean Air Act regulations. This program will speed conversion of utility, industrial, and large commercial oil-burning boilers to coal to the greatest extent feasible, thus substantially cutting our dependence on foreign oil.” Additionally, the party pledged to support research to speed up the development of these new energy technologies. Republicans push for the increase in incentives for new supply and conservation technologies. That being the case, the Republicans were eager to review environmental laws and regulations to see if the “benefits achieved justified the costs imposed” and that “...environmental protection must not become a cover for a "no-growth" policy and a shrinking economy. Our economy can continue to grow in an acceptable environment.”

By 1984, Republicans also pledged to remove the windfall profits tax and to permit for the mining of coal in an environmentally conscious way. With the establishment of a program for nuclear waste, Republicans also pledged to get rid of unnecessary regulatory procedure so that the nuclear plants can go into operation quickly but safely. They also wish to encourage recycling and programs to support rewarding those who conserve resources. In 1988, the Republicans had a long list of projects to work towards. Of this include, reductions in air and water pollution as well as acting against the threat of acid rain, the development of clean-coal technology, the protection of endangered species, and the strong enforcement of environmental laws.

Environmental Protection in the 1990s Platforms

Democrats:

The charge of the Democrats in the 1992 platform is centered around protecting the environment for all, both present and future generations. Democrats acknowledge the presence of

environmental crises and state that “Democrats know we must act now to save the health of the earth, and the health of our children, for generations to come.” With the election of Bill Clinton, the Democrats outlook became much more positive stating that the environment was now cleaner as a result. Democrats define their mandate in the 1996 platform as a sacred obligation to protect the environment:

Today's Democratic Party wants all Americans to be able to enjoy America's magnificent natural heritage -- and we want our people to know that the air they breathe is pure, the water they drink is clean, and the land they live on is safe from hazard. We understand we have a sacred obligation to protect God's earth and preserve our quality of life for our children and our children's children.

As the Democrats hadn't held the presidency since Carter, their list of accomplishments was peppered through the 1996 platform. One example of an accomplishment came in the form of the passage of the 1996 Farm Bill which brought about new conservation programs. They also brought up the Superfund program leading to the cleaning of toxic dumping sites and the Community-Right-to-Know efforts which focused around educating citizens about the chemicals being released into their vicinity through the air and water. They pointed to the reduction of air pollution from chemical plants as another victory.

Criticizing of the Republicans came in the form of once again rejecting the negative relationship between environmental protection and economic growth. They also disparaged Republican efforts to “gut” the Clean Air Act due to this “myth.” Republican efforts to weaken environmental protection provisions via the budget was also mentioned. Additional negative citations of the Republicans could be found with regards to the government shutdown, cutting of environmental enforcement resources, and neglecting to clean nuclear weapon sites.

In the 1992 platform, to bring about progress in environmental protection, Democrats pledged to oppose new offshore drilling projects, enforcement of laws against environmental

polluters, having private polluters clean up after their own waste, conservation of habitats and of our soil, water, and air. In 1996, Democrats committed to the preservation of wildlife refuges recycling efforts and pushed for further international cooperation in tackling environmental issues, “We will seek a strong international agreement to further reduce greenhouse gas emissions worldwide and protect our global climate. We are committed to preserving the planet’s biodiversity, repairing the depleted ozone layer, and working with other nations to stabilize population growth.

Republicans:

In the opening paragraph of their section on the environment, Republicans note that they have made the United States “the world’s leader in environmental progress.” This leadership in environmental progress brings about three lessons that are shown to the world, “First, environmental progress is integrally related to economic advancement. Second, economic growth generates the capital to pay for environmental gains. Third, private ownership and economic freedom are the best security against environmental degradation.” Republicans note that “Adverse changes in climate must be the common concern of mankind.” The Republican stewardship of the land is reiterated again in the 1996 platform as it had been in earlier platforms but this time with specific examples:

We are the party of America's farmers, ranchers, foresters, and all who hold the earth in stewardship with the Creator. Republican leadership established the Land Grant College System under Abraham Lincoln, the National Park System under Ulysses Grant, the National Wildlife Refuge System under Teddy Roosevelt, and today's legal protections for clean air and water in more recent decades. We reaffirm our commitment to agricultural progress, environmental improvement, and the prudent development of our natural resources.

In the 1992 platform, Republicans pointed out their successes over the past twelve years, Energy costs among the average household was lowered, in part, due to their conservation

efforts. They discussed their spending in environmental protection indicating that they spent more than any country on it and that the funds were used for efforts to clean water, air, and land. The passage of the Farm Land Bill of 1990 was mentioned along with the phasing out of substances that proved harmful for the ozone layer and reforestation efforts.

Criticism of the Democrats followed with the 1992 platform containing complaints regarding their approach to achieving clean air through a “command-and-control approach.” The push of an environmental agenda in getting rid of greenhouse gases that had a negative impact on jobs and economic growth. In 1996, Republicans also mentioned the failure of Democrats of reducing regulatory burdens on others, promoting the Endangered Species Act with its flaws encouraging landowners to remove habitats rather than preserving them, of their hands-off approach to management practices of forests, and their devastation of economy in communities in the Northwest that depended on Timber.

In 1992, Republicans were seeking to capitalize on their momentum of the successes of their environmental protection by allowing for the drilling of previously inaccessible areas under environmental safeguards, relying on partnerships with the private sector to push for the use of natural gas rather than relying on governmental controls. They also sought to develop more nuclear plants as it provides “one of the cleanest, safest, energy sources of all.” The party also sought to use peer-reviewed scientific analysis to replace to figure out how to further environmental protection by using the law in a flexible fashion thus condemning “knee-jerk reactions” based on “the politics of the moment.”

1996’s platform contains many potential actions to be taken. Among those listed, Republicans discuss the need to balance protecting wilderness and wetland areas with property rights, setting standards for environmental protection that is reasonable, flexible, and is

incentives for others to pursue new technologies, and the assurance of safe water supplies as well as public-private partnerships to construct or finance new infrastructure to that end. Additionally, the Endangered Species Act will also be strengthened to be more incentive-based and to encourage partnerships with regional government entities.

Environmental Protection in the 2000s Platforms

Democrats:

Democrats start off by discussing their role in terms that resemble that of previous Republican platforms: “Democrats know that for all of us there is no more solemn responsibility than that of stewards of God's creation.” Democrats state that taking care of the Earth is the “moral thing to do.” Urgency with regards to the situation is also established:

The disruption of the world's ecological systems - from the rise of global warming and the consequent damage to our climate balance, to the loss of living species and the depletion of ocean fisheries and forest habitats - continues at a frightening rate. We must act now to protect our Earth while preserving and creating jobs for our people.

The 2004 platform continues the stewardship rhetoric in which the Democrats describe the need to protect then environment as “God gave America extraordinary natural gifts; it is our responsibility to protect them.” By the 2008 platform, this language changes to bring into view the issue of climate change. The language in the platform raises the stakes from being about stewardship to one where inaction will lead to danger, “Global climate change is the planet's greatest threat, and our response will determine the very future of life on this earth.” Elsewhere in the platform, climate change is described as a “national security crisis.”

Within the context of the 2000 Democratic platform, Republicans faced a lot of criticism as they are linked with big business and the allowing of these private businesses to exploit

national parks with drilling activities to gather resources. Republicans are also accused of letting polluters off the hook and of putting at risk the protection of endangered species. In what has become a common message, Democrats criticize Republicans again for putting a false dichotomy of either choosing environmental protection or choosing economic growth. The Democrats present the outcomes in the following terms, “But there is a real choice to make in 2000: whether we will protect our environment in ways that are practical and achievable or go back to the policies that led to generations of environmental devastation and degradation.” In the 2004 platform, criticism was levied towards the Bush administration in much the same way as Republicans had been criticized in 2000, discussing the special interests and their privileges under the administration’s policies. In this scenario, polluters are the ones that write the environmental laws with Democrats pointing out that “the Bush Administration bowed to energy industry lobbying and rewrote rules to allow 20,000 facilities to spew more smog, soot, and mercury into the air.” Broken promises also occurred with the neglect of national parks and the lack of adequate funding for those parks.

Another narrative that was common during this period was that the Bush administration did not care about science which was made in the 2004 and 2008 platforms; in 2004, it was stated that the Bush administration cared more about the profits of oil companies than it did the science behind climate change. In a statement against the administration, the claim is made that “And even though overwhelming scientific evidence shows that global climate change is a scientific fact, this administration has rewritten government reports to hide that fact.” In 2008, Bush was also criticized, though not by name, for failing to take collective action to tackle the issue of climate change.

Within the 2000 platform, Democrats noted their past achievements regarding environmental protection. It included stopping development in recreational areas, improving the air quality, the cleanup efforts at toxic waste sites, the adoption of new standards to cover more pollutants such as smog and an avenue to combat global warming through the adoption of the Kyoto Protocols in 1997 to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases.

Starting with the 2000 platform, Democrats made pledges regarding the need for cooperation in the area of public lands with government entities and the community to protect wildlands, investment in fuel-efficient vehicles and appliances, cleanup of power plants, and the need to invest in mass transportation methods to reduce traffic and smog. In the international realm, Democrats pledged to raise environmental standards throughout the world to stop a competition between nations of production at the expense of the environment. With regards to the energy development and usage, Democrats mentioned the need for the safe disposal of nuclear waste and that by using the right kind of incentives, others can be encouraged to invest in the development and implementation of clean technology. This was also echoed in 2004 by using tax credits and utilizing ethanol credits for farmers to grow cleaner fuel. The 2004 platform also contained promises towards conservation, the alleviation of air pollution by the strengthening of the Clean Air Act, the establishment of environmental justice by focusing on areas that are typically neglected (low-income primarily), the cleaning polluted sites, and the restoration of public lands after the work on them is done by the companies leasing out the land.

In 2008, the Democrats advocate for investment in research and development for energy and the use of procurement policies to incentivize to produce clean energy. Democrats also want Americans to become more energy efficient. The conservation and restoration of federal lands is also discussed, and the platform text mentions that research would be promoted for habitats and

species located in the Great Lakes, Chesapeake Bay, and the Everglades. Additionally, the EPA will be supported in its mission to reduce pollutants with the statement included that they will “never sacrifice science to politics.” Water resources are discussed with regards to the needs of the Western United States.

Republicans:

Republicans again start off their discussion of environmental protection in the 2000 platform by summoning Theodore Roosevelt, “We approach both the national and individual stewardship of natural resources in the spirit of his maxim: ‘The nation behaves well if it treats the natural resources as assets which it must turn over to the next generation increased, and not impaired, in value.’” Going further into the 2004 platform, Republicans argue that their policies towards environmental protection are geared towards results and that these policies are linked to private property “because environmental stewardship has been best advanced where property is privately held. After all, people who live on the land, work the land, and own the land also love the land and protect it.”

The 2004 platform indicates Republicans are intent on combatting the effects of climate change, and the 2008 platform goes in that same direction by stated in the text:

The same human economic activity that has brought freedom and opportunity to billions has also increased the amount of carbon in the atmosphere. While the scope and long-term consequences of this are the subject of ongoing scientific research, common sense dictates that the United States should take measured and reasonable steps today to reduce any impact on the environment.

And that to focus on this issue, we need to increase our supply of energy and, in conjunction with this, reduce our dependence on foreign oil.

In the 2004 platform, Bush and the Republicans in Congress are credit with the reduction of air pollution, improvement in water quality, restoration of wetlands, the generation of jobs through the cleanup and restoration of industrial brownfields sites. Additional moments of praise come in the form of the passage of the 2002 Farm Bill which provided additional funds to assist farmers with conservation efforts and the Healthy Forests Restoration Act which was meant to reduce the risk of wildfires. The 2008 platform highlights the successes made towards cleaner air and water. The Republicans were able to conserve natural resources, create a healthier atmosphere and protect endangered species due to their ability to balance the goals of environmental protection with economic growth.

In the 2000 platform, Republicans levied criticism towards the opposing party. Congressional Democrats receive blame for their actions to block the deregulation of the electricity industry. Democrats are again referenced negatively in relation to their beliefs about economic growth versus environmental protection, “Unlike the Democratic minority in Congress, Republicans do not believe that economic growth is always the enemy of protecting the world's common environmental heritage.” By the 2008 platform, Republicans make their opposition to Democrats in their plans to obstruct the construction of new power plants based on coal. The argument that is made is any low-cost strategy will require the use of coal.

At the start of the decade, Republicans promote the use of peer-reviewed science in the crafting of environmental regulations. A principle put forth by the Republicans is to refrain from confrontational policy creation and enforcement to crafting environmental policies to meet the specific needs of geographic regions. Another principle put forth is that Republicans is that “Environmental policy should focus on achieving results — cleaner air, water, and lands — not crafting bureaucratic processes. Where environmental standards are violated, the government

should take consistent enforcement.” Harmful emissions are targeted again through the implementation of new technology. Cooperation with business using tax credits to promote renewable energy sources is another area that is discussed. To create an improved plan of managing existing land holdings by the federal government, a review of lands should be implemented.

In 2004, the goals for the party included supporting research and development for the use of hydrogen fuel and cars, developing oil domestically with the least environmental impact, extending the production tax to increase credit for alternative energies such as wind, and the construction of new nuclear power plants; the construction of nuclear power plants is also mentioned in the 2008 platform. Additional programs that were proposed were Bush’s Clear Skies proposal which would help in the reduction of emissions through a cap-and-trade system as well as the improvement of national parks using reforms designed to increase satisfaction of the visitors to the parks. The revision of the Endangered Species Act is mentioned again, this time with the statement that “As with other major federal environmental laws, ESA should require peer-reviewed science, so resources can be focused on the most pressing recovery efforts.”

In 2008, Republicans proposed the use of an energy tax credit to promote renewable power sources as well as attempts to provide better power systems through the modernization of the electric grids nationwide. The research into clean coal technology is also discussed as a goal. To alleviate the issues relating to climate change, the Republicans propose:

technology-driven, market-based solutions that will decrease emissions, reduce excess greenhouse gasses in the atmosphere, increase energy efficiency, mitigate the impact of climate change where it occurs, and maximize any ancillary benefits climate change might offer for the economy.

To that end, they also propose a “Climate Prize” for those who “solve the challenges of climate change. Also, incentives must be provided to help assist in the protection of endangered species and areas.

Environmental Protection in the 2010s Platforms

Democrats:

In 2012, the introductory statement for the environment portion of the platform began with the statement that Democrats have considered environmental protection a priority for the party and committed to the protection of our resources for future generations. On the discussion of climate change, the Democrats write:

We know that global climate change is one of the biggest threats of this generation - an economic, environmental, and national security catastrophe in the making. We affirm the science of climate change, commit to significantly reducing the pollution that causes climate change, and know we have to meet this challenge by driving smart policies that lead to greater growth in clean energy generation and result in a range of economic and social benefits.

The platform continues to discuss climate change as bringing about a national security threat.

The 2016 platform’s section on the environment opens with a statement describing climate change as an “urgent threat” and “a defining challenge of our time.” Later in that same paragraph, it is written that “The best science tells us that without ambitious, immediate action across our economy to cut carbon pollution and other greenhouse gases, all of these impacts will be far worse in the future. We cannot leave our children a planet that has been profoundly damaged.”

In the 2012 platform, the successes mentioned are within the areas of clean energy investment through the Recovery Act, the doubling of electricity generated from solar and wind

sources due to investments, new standards for emissions and fuel efficiency for vehicles and investment in water projects in rural communities. The platform cites that the number of acres of rural land being enrolled in conservation programs was increasing and the restoration of wilderness areas and the Great Lakes and Everglades was occurring. Due to safeguards for air and water, pollution was decreasing. In addition to these safeguards, Democrats also proposed limitations for carbon pollution based on emissions from power plants using new fossil fuels. In the 2016 platform, Democrats favorably mention Obama's rejection of the Keystone XL pipeline in which they state that "we must ensure federal actions do not 'significantly exacerbate' global warming. They also favorably mention Obama's "landmark Paris Agreement" which seeks to limit global warming.

In keeping with prior criticisms of the Republican party, primarily under Bush, Democrats criticized the party in their 2012 platform due to their energy policy which is stated to favor big oil companies relative to consumers. Another critical comment is made towards the Republicans regarding their environmental protection policies:

Our opponents have moved so far to the right as to doubt the science of climate change, advocate the selling of our federal lands, and threaten to roll back environmental protections that safeguard public health. Their leaders deny the benefits of the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts - benefits like job creation, health, and the prevention of tens of thousands of premature deaths each year. They ignore the jobs that are created by promoting outdoor recreation, cleaning up our air, and promoting a healthy environment.

In the 2012 platform, Democrats pledge to extend clean energy incentives for industry to assist with the creation for a clean energy economy along with the implementation of additional precautions to protect against pollution. Additionally, investments in infrastructure development would also assist with the transition to clean energy for transportation sector. Worker health would also be safeguarded as a part of this transition to clean energy. Democrats pledge to

expedite the process by which these oil and gas lines can be built to transport energy. They also note that they want to provide opportunities for the development of this energy through environmentally safe means. Domestically, Democrats wish to pursue a mixture of incentives and regulations to reduce emissions, but this is said to be linked with international leadership on the issue which would result in agreements to act on climate change policy. They also commit themselves to environmental justice on the issue by tackling climate change with regards to its impact on poorer communities. Democrats also support the conservation efforts for forests, wetlands, and national parks and support initiative to safeguard the nation's waterways.

Additional areas of emphasis for action suggested within the 2016 platform include providing support to the agricultural sector by promoting the expansion of our natural resources which will help combat climate change, the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, the convening of a climate change worldwide summit to discuss ways to tackle climate change and develop ways to support developing nations in their efforts to limit pollutants, and the expansion of clean energy research and development along with supporting government partnerships with government entities and the communities in order to give them the resources needed to move on this issue. Closing the "Halliburton loophole" was also a target for Democrats as it stopped the EPA from being able to perform needed regulations on hydraulic fracking.

Republicans:

Republicans start off the section on protecting the environment with an optimistic assessment of our progress, "The environment is getting cleaner and healthier. The nation's air and waterways, as a whole, are much healthier than they were just a few decades ago. Efforts to reduce pollution, encourage recycling, educate the public, and avoid ecological degradation have been a success." Echoing a familiar sentiment, Republicans also discuss their commitment to

conservation in terms of being “good stewards of the God-given natural beauty and resources of our country...” and that to tackle environmental issues, we need to guarantee private ownership of property. This move towards conservation is meant to preserve the bounties of the nation for future generations. In 2016, this concept is extended to explicitly state “...that the people, not the government, are the best stewards of our country’s God-given natural resources.” The discussion on environmental progress in the 2016 platform makes the same points that were covered in the 2012 platform. There is a point of difference though in the rhetoric used against climate change which is more direct than in other platforms, “Climate change is far from this nation's most pressing national security issue. This is the triumph of extremism over common sense, and Congress must stop it.” This skepticism is also displayed later in the platform when they state that,

The United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is a political mechanism, not an unbiased scientific institution. Its unreliability is reflected in its intolerance toward scientists and others who dissent from its orthodoxy. We will evaluate its recommendations accordingly. We reject the agendas of both the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement, which represent only the personal commitments of their signatories; no such agreement can be binding upon the United States until it is submitted to and ratified by the Senate.

While not naming themselves as the main catalyst, Republicans note in the 2012 platform that the reduction of pollution, the adoption of recycling practices and the avoiding of “ecological degradation” have and the encouragement to recycle have been successful. Republicans point to these same successes in environmental protection in 2016. Also in 2016, Republicans pointed to the improvement of waterways within the country due to bipartisan efforts in recent years. They applaud efforts by Republicans in Congress as they passed legislation to protect the electric grid from disruption and to modernize it and pipelines.

In 2012 Republicans were highly critical of Democrats reliance on regulations which damaged had harmful on citizens and businesses as well as agriculture. In 2016, the attention was turned towards highlighted the negative impact of command-and-control regulations and the politicization of the EPA who rewrite laws “to advance the Democrats’ climate change agenda.” In light of the successes of environmental protection that Republicans alluded to, they criticize Democrats for failing to acknowledge those successes stating, “These successes become a challenge for Democratic Party environmental extremists, who must reach farther and demand more to sustain the illusion of an environmental crisis.”

Additional criticism is levied towards the energy policy of the Democrats which is anti-coal policies such as the Clean Power Plan. “The Democratic Party does not understand that coal is an abundant, clean, affordable, reliable domestic energy resource. Those who mine it and their families should be protected from the Democratic Party's radical anti-coal agenda.” The permitting process is also targeted as it takes an extended period to get the relevant permits for the development of wells or the leasing of land. According to the Republicans, “The Keystone Pipeline has become a symbol of everything wrong with the current Administration's ideological approach. After years of delay, the President killed it to satisfy environmental extremists.” They also criticize the impact that the Democrats “no growth economy” energy policies have which hurt low-income families the most.

In 2012, the Republicans made pledges related to energy, conservation, science, private property, and the EPA. With regards to energy, Republicans stated that they were encouraging research, exploration, and production of diversified sources of energy in ways that would be economically and environmentally sound. They also pledged to “end the EPA’s war on coal” and encourage development in coal as it is a reliable source of energy; this development would be

conducted in an “environmentally responsible” way. More pledges with regards to energy include opening of the Outer Continental Shelf and the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for the exploration and development of energy in accordance with proper environmental regulations. The development of the Keystone XL Pipeline, creation of nuclear energy plants, and the development of private sector partnerships to encourage development of sources of renewable energy.

With regards to conservation, Republicans pledged support for a balance of “economic development and private property rights” and for the accessibility of public lands. Science was another topic of discussion, namely in its ability to provide costs and benefits of policies in dealing with resources. They also mention “We must restore scientific integrity to our public research institutions and remove political incentives from publicly funded research.” To that end, they also state that they will appoint individuals to the relevant federal agencies who will “correctly apply environmental laws and regulations, always in support of economic development, job creation, and American prosperity and leadership.” Lastly, Republicans want to bring about an analysis of EPA regulations and encourage transparency for decisions made by the EPA and mention that Congress could play a role in taking action to “prohibit the EPA from moving forward with new greenhouse gas regulations that will harm the nation's economy and threaten millions of jobs over the next quarter century.”

Pledges in 2016 followed a similar pattern with encouragements towards the development of alternative energy sources and an eye towards job creation, but Republicans mention that they wish to address the Obama administration’s “disregard of the Nuclear Waste Policy Act with respect to the long-term storage of nuclear waste.” Republicans also push to transfer ownership of certain public lands controlled by the federal to the state governments.

Republicans support the Endangered Species Act but do think that some inclusions of species that are more common in certain parts of the United States may impede unreasonably on the communities “impeding the development of lands and resources” and should be revisited. Republicans also mention the importance of objective data on climate change and its influence on individuals in government, “Information concerning a changing climate, especially projections into the long-range future, must be based on dispassionate analysis of hard data. We will enforce that standard throughout the executive branch, among civil servants and presidential appointees alike.”

Conclusion

In applying the same CATA analyses in this chapter as the preceding chapter, a few interesting points arose. First, given the diversity of the platforms document and its construction it is expected that different individuals will impact different areas of the document. As a result, the findings from chapter 4 which is based on the text of the entire platform is not indicative of what we would find once we applied the same analyses to a subsection of the platform involving the environment. Namely that in recent years, Democrats have adopted language to a larger degree emphasizing collective focus and the worth of their followers compared to the Republicans and this is a reverse of what we see in the overall analysis. Additionally, Democrats score higher on the agentic charismatic constructs being analyzed as well. This means that in more platforms, the language that the Democrats have utilized in recent years with regards to the environment contains appeals that try to emphasize the pursuit of a common group goal and to inspire and encourage their followers. Much like the findings of chapter 4, in recent years Republicans are more focused on highlighting similarities in different areas that they can use to connect with their followers. When it comes to tone, the Republicans were initially found to use

words associated with more positive emotional tone relative to the Democrats, but in recent years Democrats have scored higher than Republicans in this area meaning that their appeals take on a more positive tone than those levied by the Republicans. In their discussions of their visions and legislative goals for the environment, Democrats have increasingly turned their attention towards their future aspirations starting with the 2000 platform.

Yet with these CATA findings, it can give us a bigger picture examination as to some of the terminology that is used that would be a bit more difficult to track manually, it still does not tell us substantively about the changes occurring between platforms. By examining the party platforms on the issue of environmental protection by exploring their charge, successes, criticisms of the opposition party, and the policies and actions they pledged to implement, a few interesting insights developed. Both parties made environmental protection a mainstay of each platform written in 1960-2016, the real difference lies in how they see the situation and their main approach to the issue. On the issue of environmental protection, both parties seem to share a relatively similar view of their role in protecting the environment as being stewards of the environment or in wanting to preserve it for future generations.

The difference is in their view on how things have been coming along. Throughout most of the platforms, Democrats are clear to frame the situation as needed action and that this action is urgent to avert a crisis. This escalates in the 1990s and certainly in the platforms that follow with the mentions of global warming and climate change. Although Republicans did express concern over the condition of the environment stating that federal action was necessary to cut down on pollution, they were more likely to be optimistic about the progress on the environment stating in the later platforms that even if they did not provide additional actions to serve the needs of environmental protection that pollution would still decrease.

Democrats were also more critical of Republicans and claimed that their tendency was to equate environmental protections as actually harming economic growth. Also, Democrats were upset initially over Republican neglect of certain aspects of environmental protection such as encouraging the development of dams and other critical infrastructure. Also, Democrats equated the Republican policy on environmental protection as being pro-industry to the detriment of others. Republicans, on the other hand, tended to be skeptical of the science behind climate change and seemed to be frustrated by the tendency of the Democrats to be overregulating the environment and their tendency to push for alternative energy sources to replace rather than work in tandem with coal or nuclear energy.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

In chapter 1, I discussed the reasons why party platforms would be important for scholars in the field of political science to examine. Even if the average citizen does not consult platforms (Shoaf, 2013), party platforms, by the nature of their construction, garner the feedback of those within the party at different regional levels and represent a chance for relevant interested individuals to influence the direction of the party (Maisel 1993; Maisel and Brewer 2012). As a result, these platforms can serve to influence parties going forward (Althusser 1971) and determine where the party is headed (Pomper, 1972). These platforms can actively shape policy agendas and the implementation of policy moving forward (Pomper, 1972). With these points in mind, I set out to study the party platforms with the thought of combining traditional text-based approaches such as Chester's (1977) approach of a manual reading of the platform combined with approaches using text analysis software. For a more quantitative approach, one could use Kidd (2008) as an example. Instead of focusing on one or the other, I believed there was value in trying to combine a multitude of approaches. Shoaf's (2013) work on state party platforms is one of the closer examples to what I was trying to achieve with this project. I did, however, want to avoid going the route of focusing too much of my attention on the importance of the Manifesto data with its coding of quasi-sentences as, while that is a good metric for the focus of a party on the issue, it misses out on the greater context with which these statements are made. Using the proposed methodology allows us to leverage the strengths of the CATA analysis and Manifesto data with the systemic way of analyzing platform content through examining the mission, successes, criticisms, and pledges of parties within each issue of interest. I believe allows us to gain a deeper insight with regards to the evolution of the party platforms over time.

With a mind towards taking a mixed methods approach, I set out to answer the following questions:

1. What unique insights can scholars receive from using a mixed methods approach to studying platforms?
2. Does pursuing different methodological approaches to examining party platforms add anything of value to our understanding of how platforms evolve over time?

Which led to the hypotheses:

- *H1: I expect that a mixed methods approach will allow for the identification of issues for a targeted study of the evolution of party platforms.*
- *H2: A mixed methods approach will provide more detailed results about how platforms have changed over time relative to the sole use of qualitative or quantitative approaches thus addressing weaknesses found in either approach independently.*

Hypothesis 1 was met by incorporating the use of the Manifesto data which relied on coding quasi-sentences for the purposes of classifying different parts of the party platforms. Using a combination of the Manifesto data and a contextual reading of various parts of the platform along with the coding of the quasi-sentences that were available to view, I was able to construct the following table laying out potential variables in five distinct categories that would be promising to study:

Table 21: Viable Variables for Study

Prominent Theme	Decreasing in Emphasis	Increasing in Emphasis	Emphasis by Democrats	Emphasis by Republicans
Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	Anti-Imperialism	Political Authority	Military: Negative	Decentralization
Military: Positive	Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	Equality: Positive	Democracy	Free Market Economy
Internationalism: Positive	Underprivileged Minority Groups	Welfare State Expansion	Market Regulation	Incentives: Positive
Governmental and Administrative Efficacy		National Way of Life: Positive		Economic Orthodoxy
Technology and Infrastructure: Positive				Traditional Morality: Positive
Environmental Protection				
Law and Order: Positive				
Non-Economic Demographic Groups				

Each of the variables listed in Table 21 presented an opportunity to dive deeper to understand how contextually the parties introduced the issues or evolved on them over time. For example, in more recent years, Democrats have been using language that is more supportive of welfare state expansion, equality, and since 2008 a stronger desire for market regulation. Republicans, on the other hand, have dove into using language that expresses positivity towards traditional morality. In chapter 4, I discuss some of the nuances involved in the traditional morality piece, but this like the other topics mentioned are prevalent in the platforms and upon being studied help us to understand more about how the parties are shifting with regards to the issue, how that is reflected in the language, and how they intend on making the case to those

within their organization and within government. Other topics of interest include discussing technology and the need for infrastructure in a positive fashion, the need for governmental and administrative efficiency, environmental protection, and positive mentions of our need to work with the international community.

Hypotheses 2 was met through the merging of the use of the CATA software, Manifesto data, and a contextual reading of the platform. In chapter 4, I was able to use the rile score which is produced by the Manifesto Project to party ideology over time, characteristics of language written within the political party platforms and an overview of the issues that the parties focused on based on the Manifesto Project dataset. This will provide a broad overview of the significant findings for the chapter. First, the rile scores for the different political party platforms show that following the 2008 elections, the parties have gone in opposite directions ideologically with Republicans taking on more conservative positions on issues and the Democrats taking more liberal positions. The implication here is that if this particular trend continues, the political parties will be more polarized going forward than they have been at any point in the past 50 years according to the rile scores considered during this time period. Pomper's (1972) observation is relevant here in that if the platform itself is a blueprint for the parties to implement policy and they do use it for that purpose, the increased polarization that is evident in the platforms will likely shape key policies in the future fueling future increases in the gap between Republicans and Democrats.

Using the CATA analyses, some interesting findings were produced. Based on the analyses of the text of the platforms in chapter 4, the results of the CATA data showed a difference in approach as to how the Democrats used language to gain support for the issues mentioned in the platforms. In more recent years, Democrats started using that communicated a

shared social identity or goals along with language to inspire and build up their followers. Democrats also were more positive in the tone that they expressed in the most recent platforms. They also scored higher on focusing on present issues relative to Republicans, the difference being significant. In recent platforms, they have also started using language to indicate that they wish to focus on what they plan to do instead of solely focusing on their past accomplishments or their present concerns or successes. In 2016, the Democrats also started using language to language that demonstrates their commitment to a broader, shared vision relative to Republicans.

On the Republican side, the party was shown to favor language highlighting a call to action to meet their goals. Additionally, they ranked high for the usage of rhetoric emphasizing the need to change the status quo. However, using the results from the LIWC analysis, it becomes apparent that relative to Democratic platforms written during the same period, Republican platforms since 1988 have been more negative in tone which likely corresponds to a tendency to spend more time reflecting on the negative direction the nation is going in or of the opposing party and their policies. In more recent platforms, Republicans have moved away from explicitly writing the platform in a way to focus on the past or the future relative to Democrats. This could indicate that the platforms themselves are more technical in nature, discarding a sole focus on pledges to discuss policies and reasons for them.

In addition to the CATA analysis on these topics, it was shown that applying this same methodology to a specific platform sections on the environment could produce interesting results that stood separate from how the overall platform was written. For example, for sections dealing with the environment, Democrats took on more of the action-oriented and adversity constructs relative meaning that they took on the call to action and the need to challenge the status quo

while Republicans used language to try and establish a relationship with the reader in terms of using language to make the issue more personable and relatable.

Yet the CATA analysis by itself would be limiting in terms of the insights that can be obtained from them. This necessitated the textual analysis on the environment which made up the latter half of Chapter 5. The analysis in this chapter is broken down to examine the common characteristics of platforms through self-created categories. Platforms generally have four types of statements, a mission statement or charge, statements regarding their success, statements critical of the other party, and actions they plan on taking (pledges). Platforms were examined using these categories by party and by decade on the issue of environmental protection. Both parties use similar terms to describe their mission towards environmental protection as being stewards of the environment for future generations. The parties sometimes advocated for very similar actions while making different arguments. For example, across more of the recent platforms, Democrats framed the environmental situation in more urgent terms especially in platforms within the 1990s and after. Republicans did also express concern over the condition of the environment but were more cautious in recommending actions as they did not want to damage the economy through overregulation on the environment, especially if the policy in question was not known to positively impact the environment.

Democrats' criticism of Republicans revolved the rhetoric employed by the party about how environmental protections are harming economic growth. In addition to this, Democrats would complain about Republican obstruction of efforts to improve conservation and emission restrictions. Democrats equated the Republican policy on environmental protection as being pro-industry to the detriment of others. In more recent platforms, Republicans levied criticism towards Democrats regarding climate change and the science behind it. Republicans also

expressed frustration towards the overextension of action on the environment without any regard to the effectiveness of the policies at hand on the environment and towards the economy.

Republicans found Democrats to be obstructionist in regard to the types of energy that the party was willing to use and took issue with what it perceived to be the politicization of the Environmental Protection Agency and its operation.

Avenues for Future Research

The findings within this analysis do point to a potential way of evaluating political party platforms to gain further insights as to key areas of change. One interesting approach would be to get the best results from this kind of analysis going forward, it may be helpful to break up the platforms into two separate categories, platforms written by parties that are currently holding the presidency and those that are not. As I noticed within my analysis of the parties, when parties were not currently in power, they had more of a tendency to focus on their proposed actions and negative comments towards the current administration, so this would be an interesting approach to using those kinds of analyses.

Previous work done by Steiner and Martin (2012) examined the relationship between variables within the Manifesto Project. This could add an interesting dimension to future research on the topic to consider not just one variable at a time, but how movement on one area of research can also lead to the prominence or dismissal of a separate issue and then proceeding to do a contextual analysis of the text of the platform to gain deeper insights.

Additionally, this research could utilize Shoaf's (2013) approach to better understand the Comparative Manifesto Project coding through receiving training from the individuals who code help with the nuances of understanding the coding of the data. This would help with being able

to select relevant political positions in the party platforms for the content analysis in chapter 5 to be more in line with those selected by the Manifesto Project leading to a better connection between the data presented in the two chapters.

An additional avenue for future research that could be taken in order to further the potential insights that could be gathered from platforms is to tie it into Klinker's (1994) work on party losses and differences in approach. What, if any, positions do the parties emphasize more within the platform when they are the out-party rather than the party in power? How do their electoral fortunes correlate with the rile scores we see? When the margins between the parties with regards to vote share are higher, are parties encouraged to take more extreme positions and do they use more extreme language within the platform, or do they settle into what works? This could have large implications in that it can tell us more about the parties' approaches during times of defeat or times of triumph which will give us insight as to the next steps regarding the parties going into the 2020 presidential elections. The Manifesto Data does contain this information, but additional information such as the presence of divided versus unified government could be added to give greater granularity to the data.

Another path for innovation in this field would be to investigate the language of the platforms to see to what degree the language is similar across different years. Within the analysis that I have done here, the platform language is similar from year to year, but there are certain points and certain issues such as abortion that appear to reuse language in some years, but to what degree do these changes in language represent also a change in approach for the parties once they obtain power? This analysis would be interesting to examine in order to fully flesh out the Manifesto Project's data which Chapter 5 starts to do but more work needs to be done in this area.

While a variety of methods were utilized in compiling this study, another opportunity to expand this project comes in the form of using more advanced textual analysis packages to utilize text manipulation and cleaning, data scraping, supervised learning, and automated learning techniques that has been discussed by other scholars in the field (Collingwood and Wilkerson 2012, Jurka et al. 2013, Grimmer and Steward 2013). This would allow for the pulling and coding of textual data in a way that would require some manual work in setting up the conditions for the automation and the cleaning of data, but if refined could lead to deeper insights of how the platforms have changed and allow for a potentially more accurate and deeper analysis relative to the approach taken with the Manifesto data and would allow for a possible alternative to current CATA methods specific to political party platform language.

With these different approaches which would help to alleviate various shortcomings of the current approach, I hope that research into political party platforms will continue to grow and utilize diverse methods used to gain deeper insights as to how the parties use platforms to get buy-in from current members of party organizations and from the party-in-government as well as the ability to understand the impact that they may have on the parties and their policies going forward.

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Appendix:

Figure 1A:
DICTION Analysis for Democratic Platforms by Year

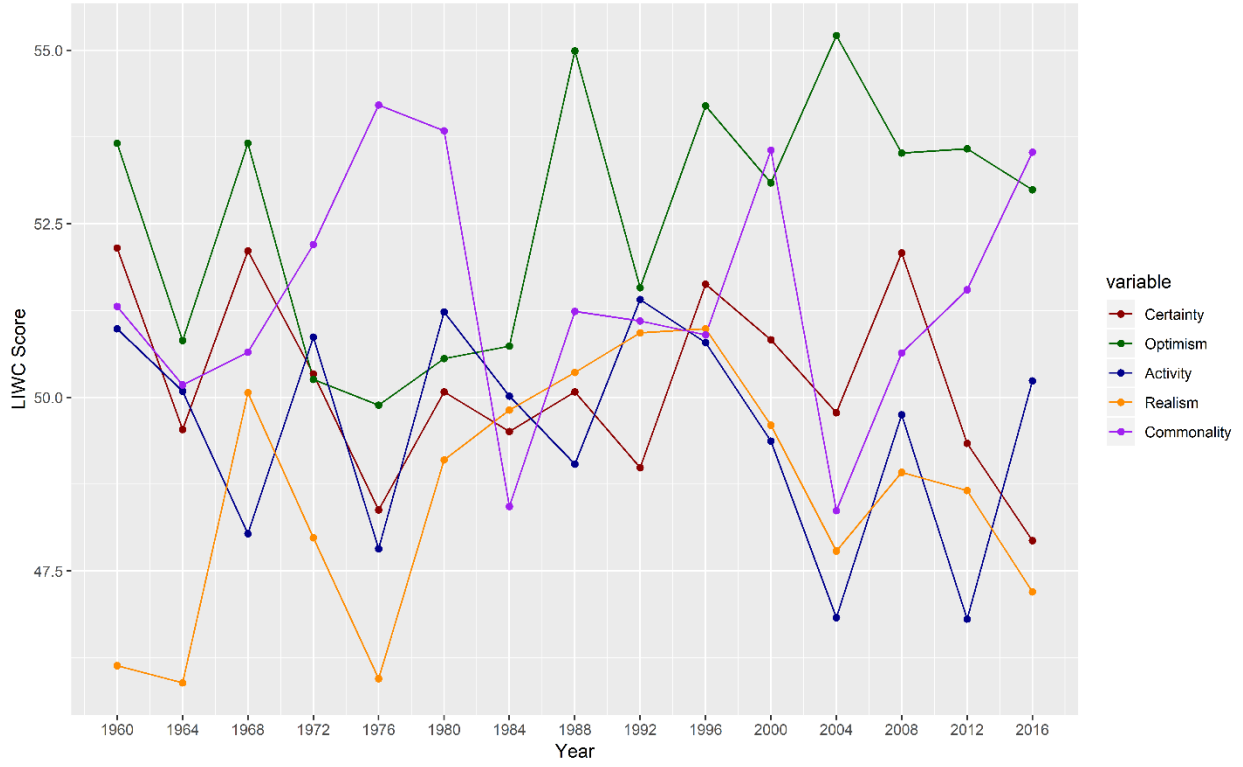


Figure 2A:
 DICTION Analysis for Republican Platforms by Year

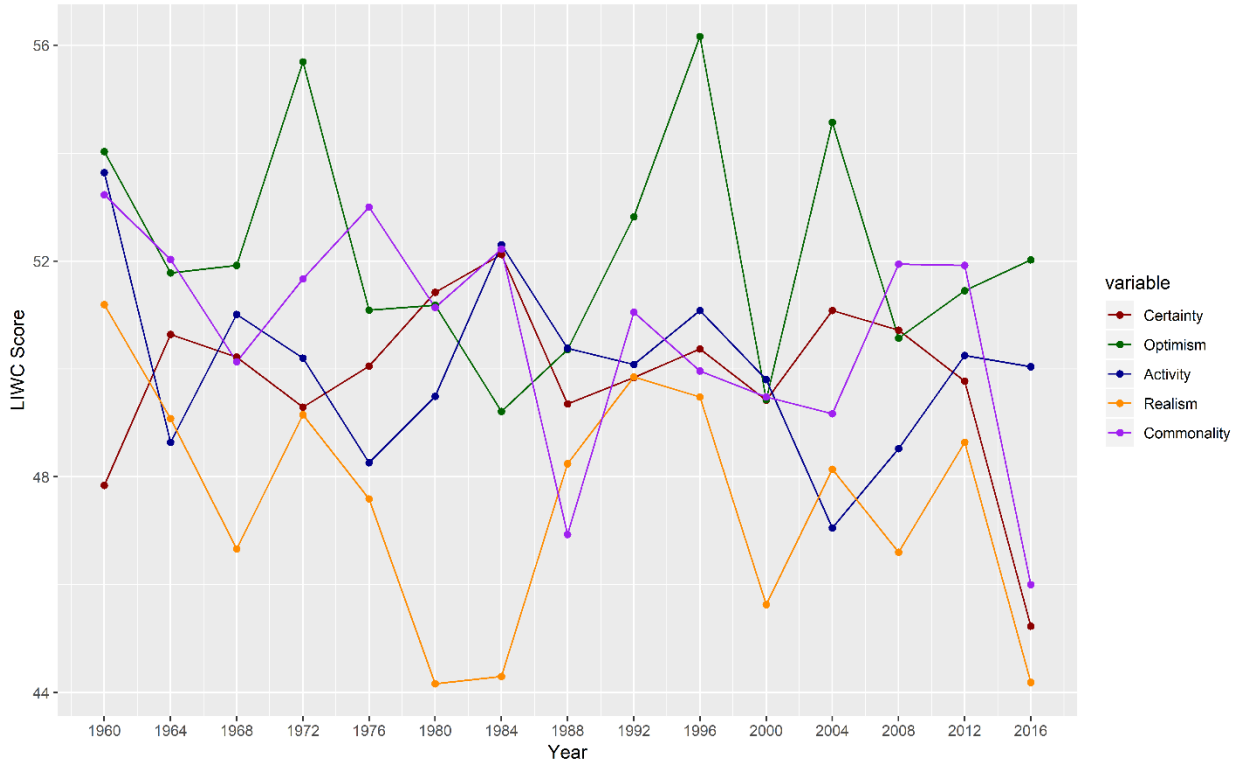


Figure 3A:

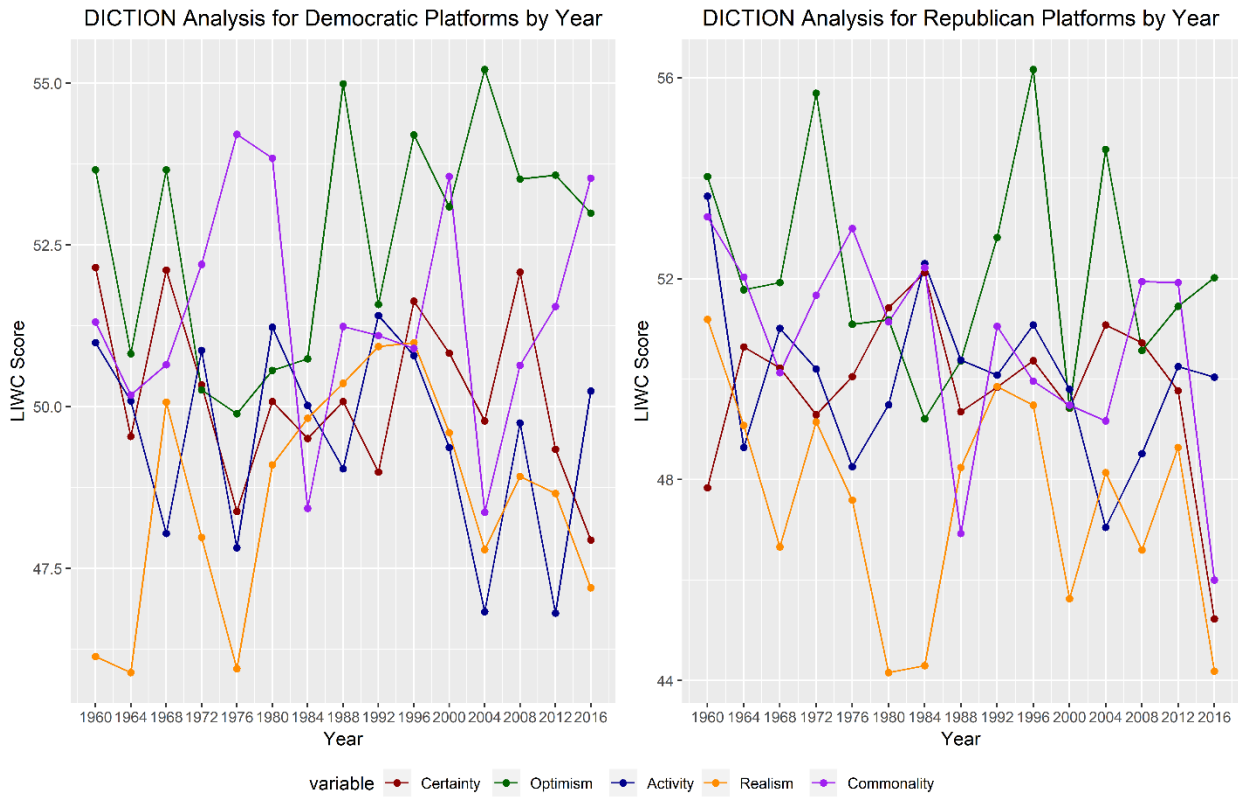


Table 1A: DICTION Analysis for Platforms by Year

Year	Certainty		Optimism		Activity		Realism		Commonality	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	52.15	47.84	53.66	54.03	50.99	53.64	46.14	51.19	51.31	53.23
1964	49.54	50.64	50.82	51.78	50.09	48.64	45.89	49.08	50.18	52.03
1968	52.11	50.22	53.66	51.92	48.04	51.01	50.07	46.66	50.65	50.13
1972	50.34	49.29	50.26	55.69	50.87	50.2	47.98	49.15	52.2	51.67
1976	48.38	50.05	49.89	51.09	47.82	48.26	45.95	47.59	54.21	53
1980	50.08	51.42	50.56	51.18	51.23	49.49	49.1	44.16	53.84	51.14
1984	49.51	52.12	50.74	49.21	50.02	52.3	49.82	44.3	48.43	52.22
1988	50.08	49.35	54.99	50.36	49.04	50.38	50.36	48.24	51.24	46.93
1992	48.99	49.84	51.58	52.82	51.41	50.08	50.93	49.85	51.1	51.05
1996	51.63	50.37	54.2	56.16	50.79	51.08	50.99	49.48	50.9	49.96
2000	50.83	49.42	53.09	49.43	49.37	49.8	49.6	45.63	53.56	49.48
2004	49.78	51.08	55.21	54.57	46.83	47.05	47.79	48.14	48.37	49.17
2008	52.08	50.72	53.52	50.57	49.75	48.52	48.92	46.6	50.64	51.94
2012	49.34	49.77	53.58	51.45	46.81	50.25	48.66	48.64	51.55	51.92
2016	47.94	45.23	52.99	52.02	50.24	50.04	47.2	44.19	53.53	46

Table 2A: Communal Charismatic Constructs by Decade

Decade	Collective Focus		Follower's Worth		Similarity to Followers		Cooperation	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960s	38.76	39.89	59.75	59.66	446.22	406.16	21.04	32.48
1970s	30.88	20.92	20.17	50.17	268.39	278.21	27.8	21.65
1980s	27.24	35.2	59.81	52.35	437.01	402.97	34.77	29.31
1990s	24.72	26.12	43.98	57.66	259.8	275.19	17.06	8.04
2000s	26.9	39.55	76.65	68.04	376.4	395.9	25.28	26.39
2010s	46.13	17.56	42.27	38.65	246.97	254	16.68	14.16

Table 3A: Agentic and Neutral Charismatic Constructs by Decade

Decade	Action Oriented		Adversity		Tangibility	
	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960s	44.95	51.05	23.75	26.96	247.47	118.64
1970s	12.8	36.11	14.81	21.02	172.84	130.38
1980s	58.14	71	30.72	41.28	249.62	452.89
1990s	38.11	47.31	19.66	20.82	187.51	159.58
2000s	37.67	32.24	24.88	47.78	367.51	295.72
2010s	32.28	41.3	16.09	24.91	125.35	95.8

Figure 4A:

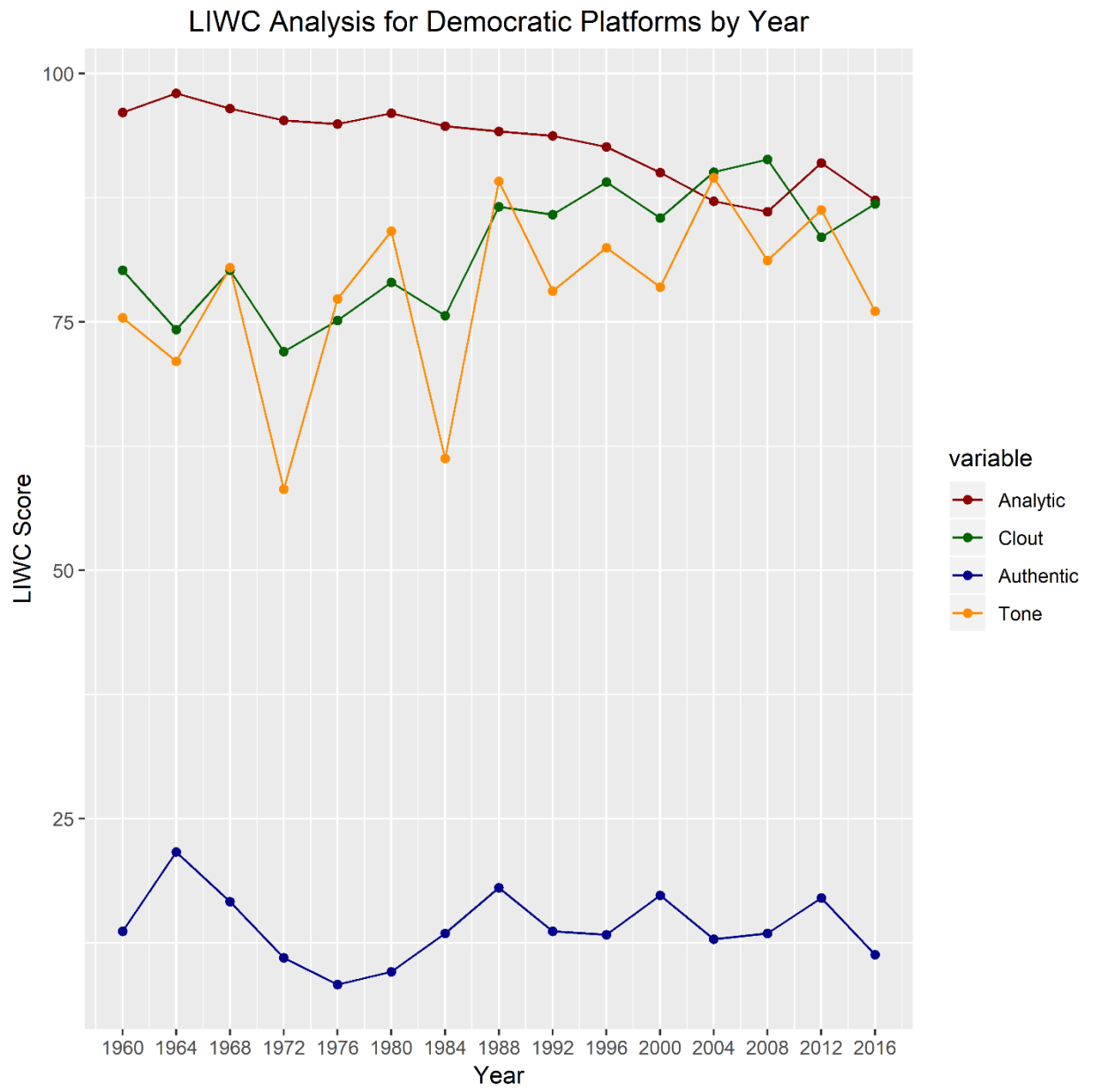


Figure 5A:

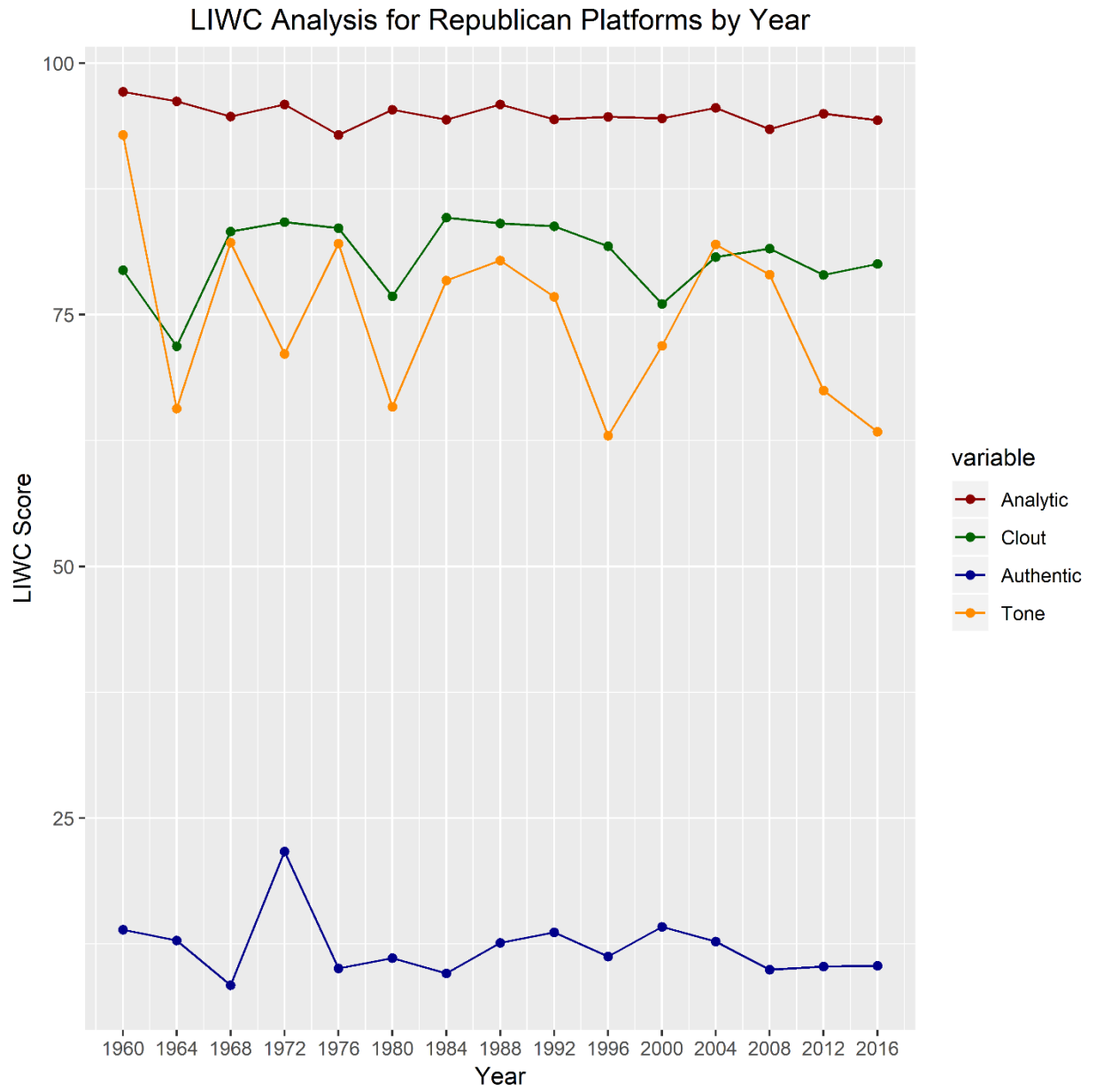


Figure 6A:

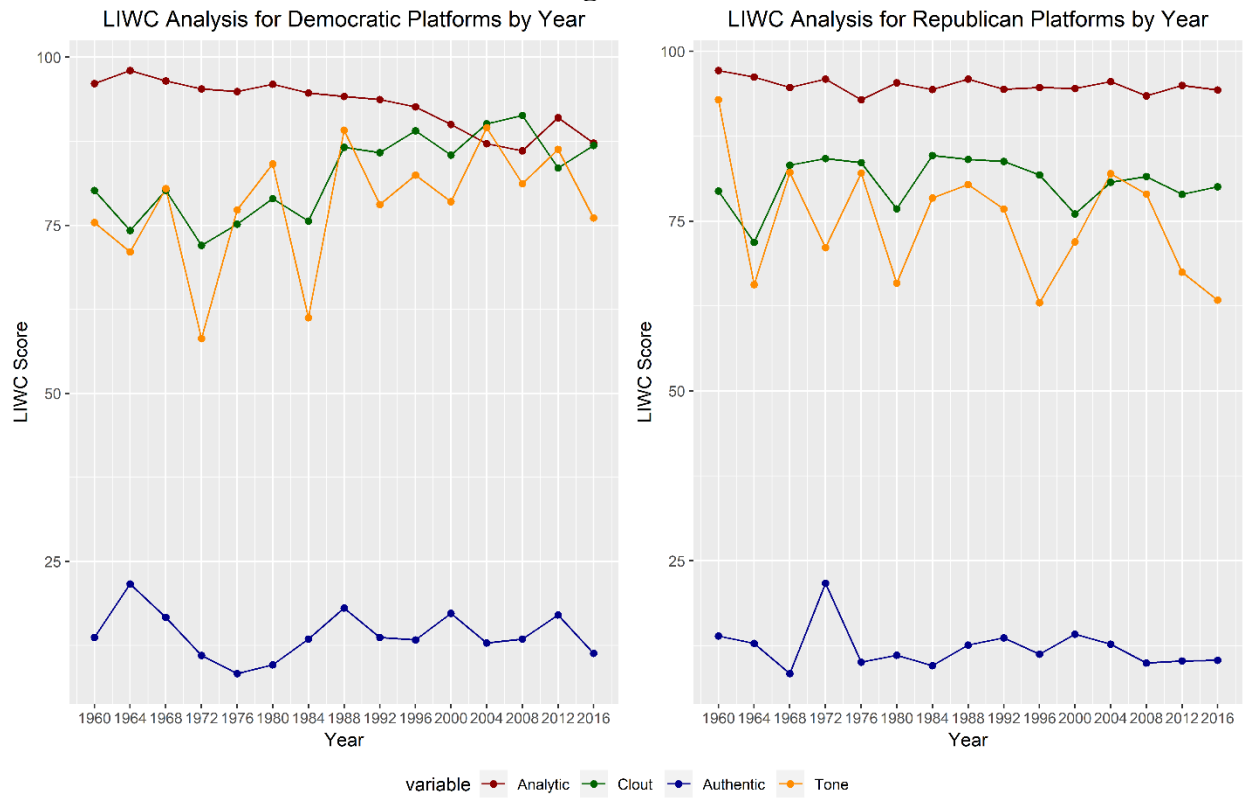


Table 4A: LIWC Analysis for Platforms by Year

Year	Analytic		Clout		Authentic		Tone	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	96.09	97.15	80.2	79.43	13.67	13.92	75.43	92.86
1964	98.02	96.19	74.22	71.86	21.64	12.85	71.03	65.66
1968	96.49	94.67	80.2	83.25	16.66	8.4	80.47	82.17
1972	95.3	95.89	72.02	84.19	11	21.69	58.16	71.1
1976	94.91	92.85	75.16	83.61	8.3	10.07	77.31	82.07
1980	96.01	95.37	78.98	76.82	9.61	11.1	84.13	65.85
1984	94.7	94.37	75.62	84.64	13.45	9.57	61.26	78.4
1988	94.18	95.89	86.59	84.08	18.05	12.61	89.17	80.39
1992	93.73	94.4	85.81	83.79	13.68	13.67	78.1	76.78
1996	92.61	94.66	89.07	81.79	13.32	11.25	82.47	62.97
2000	90.02	94.51	85.46	76.06	17.28	14.21	78.52	71.93
2004	87.15	95.54	90.09	80.72	12.87	12.74	89.53	81.99
2008	86.09	93.44	91.36	81.57	13.45	9.95	81.19	78.98
2012	91	94.96	83.54	78.95	17.01	10.26	86.29	67.47
2016	87.25	94.32	86.89	80.05	11.32	10.35	76.08	63.36

Table 5A: LIWC Analysis by Decade

Decade	Tone		Focus Past		Focus Present		Focus Future	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960s	226.93	240.69	5.24	3.04	16.69	15.87	4.32	4.5
1970s	135.47	153.17	2.37	3.07	12.64	12.67	1.83	2.29
1980s	234.56	224.64	3.53	4.25	18.08	17.91	3.13	3.96
1990s	160.57	139.75	2.89	2.8	15	12.45	2.14	2.6
2000s	249.24	232.9	3.58	3.71	22.99	19.75	5.62	3.29
2010s	162.37	130.83	2.52	2.55	14.26	12.49	3.43	1.89

Table 6A: External Relations Variable Definitions

Variable	Definition
Foreign Special Relationships: Positive	“Favourable mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship; the need for co-operation with and/or aid to such countries.”
Foreign Special Relationships: Negative	“Negative mentions of particular countries with which the manifesto country has a special relationship.”
Anti-Imperialism	<p>“Negative references to imperial behaviour and/or negative references to one state exerting strong influence (political, military or commercial) over other states. May also include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative references to controlling other countries as if they were part of an empire; • Favourable references to greater self-government and independence for colonies; • Favourable mentions of de-colonisation.”
Military: Positive	<p>“The importance of external security and defence. May include statements concerning:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need to maintain or increase military expenditure; • The need to secure adequate manpower in the military; • The need to modernise armed forces and improve military strength; • The need for rearmament and self-defence; • The need to keep military treaty obligations.”
Military: Negative	<p>“Negative references to the military or use of military power to solve conflicts. References to the ‘evils of war’. May include references to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreasing military expenditures; • Disarmament; • Reduced or abolished conscription.”
Peace	<p>“Any declaration of belief in peace and peaceful means of solving crises – absent reference to the military. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace as a general goal; • Desirability of countries joining in negotiations with hostile countries; • Ending wars in order to establish peace.”
Internationalism: Positive	<p>“Need for international co-operation, including co-operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101. May also include references to the:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for aid to developing countries; • Need for world planning of resources; • Support for global governance; • Need for international courts; • Support for UN or other international organisations.”
Internationalism: Negative	<p>“Negative references to international co-operation. Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty with regard to the manifesto country’s foreign policy, isolation and/or unilateralism as opposed to internationalism.”</p>

Table 7A: External Relation Variables for Party Platforms by Year

	Foreign Relationships						Military						Internationalism			
	Positive		Negative		Anti-Imperialism		Positive		Negative		Peace		Positive		Negative	
Year	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	2.3	2.5	0	0	2.3	3.6	3.6	8.6	1.6	0.6	1.7	1.7	7.9	5	0.1	0.6
1964	1.8	2.2	0	0	3.7	7.5	5.4	15.5	2.1	0	1.6	0.3	7.7	8.3	0.1	3.1
1968	3.2	3.2	0.5	0.4	2.3	1.4	2.8	6.4	2.9	0.6	1.7	2	6.9	5.2	0.9	0.6
1972	3.5	3.9	1.7	0.1	0.7	0	2.3	6.6	2.3	1.8	2.2	3.4	4	3.9	0	0.5
1976	3.3	6	0.5	0.1	3.6	2.1	2.4	4.3	5.8	1	0.9	1	10.4	10.5	1.3	0.9
1980	3.8	10.6	3.6	2.3	0	0	1.6	13.7	0	0	7	0.4	4.8	5.8	0	0
1984	1.5	3.8	0.5	1.1	1.2	0.8	2	12.2	2	0	6.6	2	5.8	1.6	0	1.1
1988	3.3	2.2	0	0.5	0.5	0.7	2.2	10	1.6	0.2	7.7	3.7	7.1	3.4	0	0.1
1992	1.6	2.8	0	0.2	0	0	3.6	2.1	0.5	1.2	1	1.1	8.1	4.7	0	0.3
1996	0.6	0	0	0	0.2	0	0.6	5.4	1.7	0	0.6	0.1	4.1	8.6	0.1	1.2
2000	2.4	5.4	0.9	4.2	0	0	3	7.3	1.7	1.1	2.1	1.1	4	3.6	0	1.2
2004	4	9	0.4	2.4	0	0	6.3	5.7	3.6	0.3	1.8	2.3	5	3.8	0.1	0.4
2008	2.4	1.5	0	0.2	0	0.1	6.4	5.2	0	0.2	1.6	0.9	11.1	6.1	0.5	3
2012	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.4	0	7	8.1	2.5	0.4	0.7	0.7	9.9	2	0	1.2
2016	0.6	1.1	0	0.2	0	0	4.9	6.7	1.1	0.4	0.8	0.5	5.5	3.8	0.6	2.9
Total	34.9	54.6	8.2	11.9	14.9	16.2	54.1	117.8	29.4	7.8	38	21.2	102.3	76.3	3.7	17.1

Table 8A: Democracy and Freedom Variables

Variable	Definition
Freedom and Human Rights	<p>“Favourable mentions of importance of personal freedom and civil rights in the manifesto and other countries. May include mentions of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The right to the freedom of speech, press, assembly etc.; • Freedom from state coercion in the political and economic spheres; • Freedom from bureaucratic control; • The idea of individualism.”
Democracy	<p>“Favourable mentions of democracy as the “only game in town”. General support for the manifesto country’s democracy. May also include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democracy as method or goal in national, international or other organisations (e.g. labour unions, political parties etc.); • The need for the involvement of all citizens in political decisionmaking; • Support for either direct or representative democracy; • Support for parts of democratic regimes (rule of law, division of powers, independence of courts etc.).”
Constitutionalism: Positive	Support for maintaining the status quo of the constitution. Support for specific aspects of the manifesto country’s constitution. The use of constitutionalism as an argument for any policy.

Table 9A: Democracy and Freedom Variables for Both Party Platforms by Year

Year	Freedom and Human Rights		Democracy		Constitutionalism: Positive	
	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	2.5	0.6	0.5	0.4	0	0.2
1964	0.1	1.4	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.3
1968	0	0.6	0.3	0	0.3	0
1972	2.2	0.3	2.4	0	0.7	0
1976	0.7	0.5	1.1	1.5	0.3	1
1980	6	1.8	0.5	1.7	0	0.1
1984	5.9	5.5	3.7	1.5	0.4	0.8
1988	8.7	3.3	4.4	2.1	1.1	1
1992	3.1	1.5	4.2	0.9	0	0.1
1996	0.8	1.8	1.6	0.4	0.3	1.4
2000	1.2	4.2	2.7	1.3	0.5	1
2004	3.5	1.8	3.6	1.9	0.2	0
2008	1.8	0.4	2.6	0.1	1.7	2.4
2012	3.4	3.8	3.3	3.9	0.4	2.4
2016	3.4	8.6	3.6	4.2	0	2.6
Total	43.3	36.1	35.2	20.7	6.6	13.3

Table 10A: Political System Variables

Variable	Definition
Decentralization	<p>“Support for federalism or decentralisation of political and/or economic power. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Favourable mentions of the territorial subsidiary principle; • More autonomy for any sub-national level in policy making and/or economics, including municipalities; • Support for the continuation and importance of local and regional customs and symbols and/or deference to local expertise; • Favourable mentions of special consideration for sub-national areas.”
Governmental and Administrative Efficacy	<p>“Need for efficiency and economy in government and administration and/or the general appeal to make the process of government and administration cheaper and more efficient. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restructuring the civil service; • Cutting down on the civil service; • Improving bureaucratic procedures.”
Political Corruption	<p>“Need to eliminate political corruption and associated abuses of political and/or bureaucratic power. Need to abolish clientelist structures and practices.”</p>
Political Authority	<p>“References to the manifesto party’s competence to govern and/or other party’s lack of such competence. Also includes favourable mentions of the desirability of a strong and/or stable government in general.”</p>

Table11A: Political System Variables for Party Platforms by Year

Year	Decentralization		Governmental and Administrative Efficiency		Political Corruption		Political Authority	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	0.3	1	5.1	1.9	1.2	0.2	0.5	0.2
1964	0.2	4.2	4.7	3.9	0.6	1.9	0.4	5
1968	1.4	2.2	4.8	5.2	0	0.6	0	3.4
1972	0.4	0.9	3.7	1.9	2.1	0	0.6	0.1
1976	0.3	6.4	5.4	3.9	2.1	0.9	2.5	0.8
1980	0.3	2.2	3.3	2.2	0.7	0.1	0	0
1984	0.6	3.1	1.5	2.2	1.6	0.3	0.4	0
1988	0	0.9	0.5	2.2	1.1	1.5	0	0
1992	2.9	1.6	2.1	3.6	0	1.4	7.8	15.5
1996	2.3	2.4	4.4	6.3	1.2	2.5	8.7	7.6
2000	1.2	3.1	1.7	4.2	0.2	0.2	10.6	11.2
2004	0	0.9	0.8	1.2	0	0	10.9	4.3
2008	0.9	1.2	1.6	3	2.1	0.2	9.2	8.3
2012	1.1	4.8	2.3	4.4	1.1	0.8	3.7	3.2
2016	0.9	2.9	1.1	1.2	1.1	0.4	1.7	1.9
Total	12.8	37.8	43	47.3	15.1	11	57	61.5

Table 12A: Economy Variables

Variable	Definition
Free Market Economy	<p>“Favourable mentions of the free market and free market capitalism as an economic model. May include favourable references to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laissez-faire economy; • Superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems; • Private property rights; • Personal enterprise and initiative; • Need for unhampered individual enterprises.”
Incentives: Positive	<p>“Favourable mentions of supply side oriented economic policies (assistance to businesses rather than consumers). May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial and other incentives such as subsidies, tax breaks etc.; • Wage and tax policies to induce enterprise; • Encouragement to start enterprises.”
Market Regulation	<p>“Support for policies designed to create a fair and open economic market. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Calls for increased consumer protection; • Increasing economic competition by preventing monopolies and other actions disrupting the functioning of the market; • Defence of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses; • Social market economy.”
Protectionism: Negative	<p>Support for the concept of free trade and open markets. Call for abolishing all means of market protection (in the manifesto or any other country).</p>
Economic Growth: Positive	<p>“The paradigm of economic growth. Includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General need to encourage or facilitate greater production; • Need for the government to take measures to aid economic growth.”
Technology and Infrastructure: Positive	<p>“Importance of modernisation of industry and updated methods of transport and communication. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance of science and technological developments in industry; • Need for training and research within the economy (This does not imply education in general (see category 506); • Calls for public spending on infrastructure such as roads and bridges; • Support for public spending on technological infrastructure (e.g.:broadband internet, etc.).”
Economic Orthodoxy	<p>“Need for economically healthy government policy making. May include calls for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction of budget deficits; • Retrenchment in crisis; • Thrift and savings in the face of economic hardship; • Support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system; • Support for strong currency.”

Table 13A: Economic Variables for Party Platforms by Year

Year	Free Market		Incentives		Market Regulation		Protectionism: Negative		Economic Growth		Technology and Infrastructure		Economic Orthodoxy	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	0.4	2.7	0.3	0	3.7	1	1.3	0.6	1.6	0.6	7.4	4.4	1.5	3.8
1964	0.7	6.9	0.8	0	4.7	0.3	1.6	0.3	0.5	0	7.4	1.1	0.5	3.9
1968	0.6	0.8	1.2	0.8	4.8	0.2	2	0.6	0.5	0	7.2	6.6	1.1	3
1972	0.3	1.2	0	0.1	2.8	0.2	1.4	0.7	0.1	1.3	1.8	4.7	0	4.3
1976	0.3	4.3	0.5	0.3	3.9	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.1	5.5	6.4	0	5.3
1980	0.2	2	0.8	3.9	2	0.8	0	1	0.4	0.7	13.8	9.6	0.6	3.9
1984	1	5.7	1.6	2.9	1.8	0.1	0.2	1.1	5.5	1.4	3.8	3.3	3.2	7.5
1988	0	5.8	4.4	4.6	0.5	0.2	0	1.5	2.2	2.4	1.6	8.3	1.1	3.3
1992	1	3.7	1	3.2	1.6	1.5	0	1	4.4	0.7	3.9	4.6	1.6	1
1996	0.4	3.4	0.2	2.1	1.2	1.7	1.5	0	1.7	3.3	1.9	4	1.5	2.1
2000	0.9	3.6	0.4	0.8	0.6	0.3	1	1.9	1.2	1	4.6	5.3	1.6	0.4
2004	0.9	3.8	1.6	8.9	0	0	0.9	0	0.1	0	3.5	5.3	0	0
2008	0.6	1.3	3	4.2	2.9	1.2	0.2	0.3	0	0.2	4.9	7.8	0.3	0.5
2012	0.6	5.9	2.9	1.4	4.4	1.1	1.9	1.1	2.4	3.1	3.2	3.6	0.9	2.2
2016	0.5	9.7	1	1.8	9.6	3.1	0.3	0.5	2	3.2	3	4.2	0.4	1.6
Total	8.4	60.8	19.7	35	44.5	12	12.6	10.9	23	18	73.5	79.2	14.3	42.8

Table 14A: Welfare and Quality of Life Variables

Variable	Definition
Environmental Protection	<p>“General policies in favour of protecting the environment, fighting climate change, and other “green” policies. For instance:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General preservation of natural resources; • Preservation of countryside, forests, etc.; • Protection of national parks; • Animal rights. <p>May include a great variance of policies that have the unified goal of environmental protection.”</p>
Culture: Positive	<p>Need for state funding of cultural and leisure facilities including arts and sport. May include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need to fund museums, art galleries, libraries etc.; • The need to encourage cultural mass media and worthwhile leisure activities, such as public sport clubs.
Equality: Positive	<p>Concept of social justice and the need for fair treatment of all people. This may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special protection for underprivileged social groups; • Removal of class barriers; • Need for fair distribution of resources; • The end of discrimination (e.g. racial or sexual discrimination).
Welfare State Expansion	<p>“Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any public social service or social security scheme. This includes, for example, government funding of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health care • Child care • Elder care and pensions • Social housing <p><i>Note: This category excludes education.”</i></p>
Welfare State Limitation	<p>“Limiting state expenditures on social services or social security. Favourable mentions of the social subsidiary principle (i.e. private care before state care);”</p>
Education Expansion	<p>“Need to expand and/or improve educational provision at all levels.</p> <p><i>Note: This excludes technical training which is coded under [Technology and Infrastructure: Positive].”</i></p>

Table 15A: Welfare and Quality of Life Variables for Party Platforms by Year

Year	Environmental Protection		Culture: Positive		Equality: Positive		Welfare Expansion		Welfare Limitation		Education Expansion	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	5.4	5.9	2	0.2	2	0.8	3.7	4.8	0	0	2	6.3
1964	3.5	2.5	1.8	0	0.8	0.3	4.7	1.1	0	0.8	4	0.8
1968	4.3	3.6	1.4	0.4	0.6	0.2	2.8	2.2	0	0	4.9	3.6
1972	3.7	6.1	2.3	1.7	1.8	0.2	2.4	2.6	0.1	1.3	5.1	5.3
1976	5.5	2.8	1.2	1.5	0.7	0.6	4.1	0.9	0	1.5	4.6	1
1980	2	1.7	0	0.4	3.1	2.3	9.2	0.4	0	4.3	4.9	0.1
1984	6.1	3	0.7	0.4	8.7	1.1	4.6	1.3	0	1	2.6	3.3
1988	8.2	3.5	0	0.4	7.7	1.5	4.9	2.8	0	0.2	6	2.7
1992	4.9	2.1	0.5	0.1	4.9	1.6	4.2	0.9	0.5	0.8	1.6	1.6
1996	4.4	5.1	0.7	0	1.9	1.3	9.8	4.9	0.6	0.9	8.3	2.6
2000	5	2	1.1	0.2	3.7	1.6	10.6	4.3	0	0.9	10.7	3
2004	5.2	2.9	0	0	1.3	2.6	7.7	2.7	0	0.9	6.8	5.5
2008	4.6	2	0.6	0.5	4.2	1.4	2.5	2.3	0	0.3	2.6	2.5
2012	2.7	0.4	0.5	0.1	5.9	2	5.4	3.6	0.1	4	2.2	1.9
2016	5.5	1.2	0.4	0.1	17	5.7	7.7	2.3	0.1	1.3	4.2	1.2
Total	71	44.8	13.2	6	64.3	23.2	84.3	37.1	1.4	18.2	70.5	41.4

Table 16A: Fabric of Society Variables

Variable	Definition
National Way of Life: Positive	Favourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation, history, and general appeals. May include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for established national ideas; • General appeals to pride of citizenship; • Appeals to patriotism; • Appeals to nationalism; • Suspension of some freedoms in order to protect the state against subversion.
Traditional Morality: Positive	Favourable mentions of traditional and/or religious moral values. May include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behaviour; • Maintenance and stability of the traditional family as a value; • Support for the role of religious institutions in state and society.
Law and Order: Positive	Favourable mentions of strict law enforcement, and tougher actions against domestic crime. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto country's law code. May include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing support and resources for the police; • Tougher attitudes in courts; • Importance of internal security.
Civic Mindedness: Positive	Appeals for national solidarity and the need for society to see itself as united. Calls for solidarity with and help for fellow people, familiar and unfamiliar. May include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Favourable mention of the civil society; • Decrying anti-social attitudes in times of crisis; • Appeal for public spiritedness; • Support for the public interest.

Table 17A: Fabric of Society Variables for Party Platforms by Year

Year	National Way of Life: Positive		Traditional Morality: Positive		Law and Order: Positive		Civic Mindedness: Positive	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	0.4	1	0.1	1.7	0.5	0.2	0.4	1
1964	0.7	3.9	0.8	2.5	1	0.3	3.4	3.3
1968	0.2	0	1.2	2	7.5	7	2.5	5.6
1972	0.2	1	0.5	0.4	8.1	7.1	0.9	2.4
1976	0	0.7	0.5	3.9	6.7	4.9	0.4	2.1
1980	0	0.2	0.2	1.2	2	2.2	0	0
1984	0.6	0.8	0.1	5	1.9	4.2	0.5	0.1
1988	3.8	4	0.5	6	4.9	5.7	1.1	0.3
1992	1.3	3.8	4.9	6.2	6.8	4.3	5.7	1.6
1996	2.6	1.5	5.6	6.6	13.5	10.2	3.3	0.5
2000	1.6	5.4	1.5	5	9.5	5.6	1.2	1.3
2004	3.1	1.2	0.8	6.7	12	13.1	0.3	0
2008	6.6	7.2	3.8	5	3	6	0.9	0.5
2012	2.4	3	1.3	6.9	2.9	2.8	1.4	0.7
2016	2.4	2.8	0.2	8.5	1.8	3.4	0.9	0.9
Total	25.9	36.5	22	67.6	82.1	77	22.9	20.3

Table 18A: Social Group Variables

Variable	Definition
Labour Groups: Positive	<p>Favourable references to all labour groups, the working class, and unemployed workers in general. Support for trade unions and calls for the good treatment of all employees, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More jobs; • Good working conditions; • Fair wages; • Pension provisions etc.
Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	<p>Specific policies in favour of agriculture and farmers. Includes all types of agriculture and farming practises. Only statements that have agriculture as the key goal should be included in this category.</p>
Middle Class and Professional Groups	<p>General favourable references to the middle class. Specifically, statements may include references to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional groups, (e.g.: doctors or lawyers); • White collar groups, (e.g.: bankers or office employees), • Service sector groups (e.g.: IT industry employees); • Old and/or new middle class.
Underprivileged Minority Groups	<p>Very general favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms (e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants, indigenous). Only includes favourable statements that cannot be classified in other categories (e.g. 503, 504, 604, 607 etc.)</p>
Non-Economic Demographic Groups	<p>General favourable mentions of demographically defined special interest groups of all kinds. They may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women; • University students; • Old, young, or middle aged people. <p>Might include references to assistance to these groups, but only if these do not fall under other categories (e.g. 503 or 504).</p>

Table 19A: Social Group Variables for Party Platforms by Year

Year	Labour Groups: Positive		Agriculture & Farmers: Positive		Middle Class & Professional Groups		Underprivileged Minority Groups		Non-economic Demographic Groups	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	7.1	6.5	6	6.7	4.6	0.8	6.1	13.2	7.4	3.6
1964	7	3.1	4.4	2.8	4.7	1.7	3.9	1.4	6.9	2.2
1968	0	11.2	6.9	6.6	3.2	0.4	4	1.6	7.2	5
1972	16.2	7.2	0	3.3	1.8	3.9	4.4	5.2	8.2	10.9
1976	0	4.8	5.8	3.6	2.3	2	1.6	1.1	6	7.2
1980	1.8	1	5.1	3.3	1.8	1.6	5.7	4.9	8.7	6.8
1984	3.1	2.1	2.7	6.8	2	0	1.8	0	4.3	9.8
1988	1.6	0.4	4.9	5.6	0	0.1	2.2	1.8	2.2	2.8
1992	1.6	0.9	1.6	2.2	0	0.3	1	1	3.1	2.1
1996	3.3	1.1	1	3	0.1	0.2	2.5	2	3.4	2.5
2000	3.8	0.1	1.3	2.9	0.2	0	2.1	0.8	2.7	1.6
2004	1.2	1.4	0.4	0.6	3.7	0	1.9	2.2	1.1	1.2
2008	1.8	2.7	0.7	1.6	0.8	2	2.1	2.4	5.8	9.1
2012	6.1	3.2	1.5	1.9	1	0.1	0.6	0.1	1	1.1
2016	5	1.6	0.7	2.7	0.3	0	0	0	1.9	2
Total	59.6	47.3	43	53.6	26.5	13.1	39.9	37.7	69.9	67.9

Table 20A: Issues Prominent for Both Parties in Each Domain

Year	Foreign Special Relationships: Positive		Military: Positive		Internationalism: Positive		Government and Admin Efficiency		Technology and Infrastructure: Positive		Environmental Protection		Law and Order: Positive		Non-Economic Demographic Groups	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	2.3	2.5	3.6	8.6	7.9	5	5.1	1.9	7.4	4.4	5.4	5.9	0.5	0.2	7.4	3.6
1964	1.8	2.2	5.4	15.5	7.7	8.3	4.7	3.9	7.4	1.1	3.5	2.5	1	0.3	6.9	2.2
1968	3.2	3.2	2.8	6.4	6.9	5.2	4.8	5.2	7.2	6.6	4.3	3.6	7.5	7	7.2	5
1972	3.5	3.9	2.3	6.6	4	3.9	3.7	1.9	1.8	4.7	3.7	6.1	8.1	7.1	8.2	10.9
1976	3.3	6	2.4	4.3	10.4	10.5	5.4	3.9	5.5	6.4	5.5	2.8	6.7	4.9	6	7.2
1980	3.8	10.6	1.6	13.7	4.8	5.8	3.3	2.2	13.8	9.6	2	1.7	2	2.2	8.7	6.8
1984	1.5	3.8	2	12.2	5.8	1.6	1.5	2.2	3.8	3.3	6.1	3	1.9	4.2	4.3	9.8
1988	3.3	2.2	2.2	10	7.1	3.4	0.5	2.2	1.6	8.3	8.2	3.5	4.9	5.7	2.2	2.8
1992	1.6	2.8	3.6	2.1	8.1	4.7	2.1	3.6	3.9	4.6	4.9	2.1	6.8	4.3	3.1	2.1
1996	0.6	0	0.6	5.4	4.1	8.6	4.4	6.3	1.9	4	4.4	5.1	13.5	10.2	3.4	2.5
2000	2.4	5.4	3	7.3	4	3.6	1.7	4.2	4.6	5.3	5	2	9.5	5.6	2.7	1.6
2004	4	9	6.3	5.7	5	3.8	0.8	1.2	3.5	5.3	5.2	2.9	12	13.1	1.1	1.2
2008	2.4	1.5	6.4	5.2	11.1	6.1	1.6	3	4.9	7.8	4.6	2	3	6	5.8	9.1
2012	0.6	0.4	7	8.1	9.9	2	2.3	4.4	3.2	3.6	2.7	0.4	2.9	2.8	1	1.1
2016	0.6	1.1	4.9	6.7	5.5	3.8	1.1	1.2	3	4.2	5.5	1.2	1.8	3.4	1.9	2
Total	34.9	54.6	54.1	117.8	102.3	76.3	43	47.3	73.5	79.2	71	44.8	82.1	77	69.9	67.9

Table 21A: Issues That Decreased in Emphasis for Both Parties

Year	Anti-Imperialism		Agriculture and Farmers: Positive		Underprivileged Minority	
	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	2.3	3.6	6	6.7	6.1	13.2
1964	3.7	7.5	4.4	2.8	3.9	1.4
1968	2.3	1.4	6.9	6.6	4	1.6
1972	0.7	0	0	3.3	4.4	5.2
1976	3.6	2.1	5.8	3.6	1.6	1.1
1980	0	0	5.1	3.3	5.7	4.9
1984	1.2	0.8	2.7	6.8	1.8	0
1988	0.5	0.7	4.9	5.6	2.2	1.8
1992	0	0	1.6	2.2	1	1
1996	0.2	0	1	3	2.5	2
2000	0	0	1.3	2.9	2.1	0.8
2004	0	0	0.4	0.6	1.9	2.2
2008	0	0.1	0.7	1.6	2.1	2.4
2012	0.4	0	1.5	1.9	0.6	0.1
2016	0	0	0.7	2.7	0	0
Total	14.9	16.2	43	53.6	39.9	37.7

Table 22A: Issues That Increased in Emphasis for Both Parties

Year	Political Authority		Equality: Positive		Welfare State Expansion		National Way of Life: Positive	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960	0.5	0.2	2	0.8	3.7	4.8	0.4	1
1964	0.4	5	0.8	0.3	4.7	1.1	0.7	3.9
1968	0	3.4	0.6	0.2	2.8	2.2	0.2	0
1972	0.6	0.1	1.8	0.2	2.4	2.6	0.2	1
1976	2.5	0.8	0.7	0.6	4.1	0.9	0	0.7
1980	0	0	3.1	2.3	9.2	0.4	0	0.2
1984	0.4	0	8.7	1.1	4.6	1.3	0.6	0.8
1988	0	0	7.7	1.5	4.9	2.8	3.8	4
1992	7.8	15.5	4.9	1.6	4.2	0.9	1.3	3.8
1996	8.7	7.6	1.9	1.3	9.8	4.9	2.6	1.5
2000	10.6	11.2	3.7	1.6	10.6	4.3	1.6	5.4
2004	10.9	4.3	1.3	2.6	7.7	2.7	3.1	1.2
2008	9.2	8.3	4.2	1.4	2.5	2.3	6.6	7.2
2012	3.7	3.2	5.9	2	5.4	3.6	2.4	3
2016	1.7	1.9	17	5.7	7.7	2.3	2.4	2.8
Total	57	61.5	64.3	23.2	84.3	37.1	25.9	36.5

Table 23A: Party Specific Issues/Areas - Democrats

Year	Military: Negative	Democracy	Market Regulation
1960	1.6	0.5	3.7
1964	2.1	0.7	4.7
1968	2.9	0.3	4.8
1972	2.3	2.4	2.8
1976	5.8	1.1	3.9
1980	0	0.5	2
1984	2	3.7	1.8
1988	1.6	4.4	0.5
1992	0.5	4.2	1.6
1996	1.7	1.6	1.2
2000	1.7	2.7	0.6
2004	3.6	3.6	0
2008	0	2.6	2.9
2012	2.5	3.3	4.4
2016	1.1	3.6	9.6
Total	29.4	35.2	44.5

Table 24A: Party Specific Issues/Areas - Republicans

Year	Decentralization	Free Market Economics	Incentives: Positive	Economic Orthodoxy	Traditional Morality: Positive
1960	1	2.7	0	3.8	1.7
1964	4.2	6.9	0	3.9	2.5
1968	2.2	0.8	0.8	3	2
1972	0.9	1.2	0.1	4.3	0.4
1976	6.4	4.3	0.3	5.3	3.9
1980	2.2	2	3.9	3.9	1.2
1984	3.1	5.7	2.9	7.5	5
1988	0.9	5.8	4.6	3.3	6
1992	1.6	3.7	3.2	1	6.2
1996	2.4	3.4	2.1	2.1	6.6
2000	3.1	3.6	0.8	0.4	5
2004	0.9	3.8	8.9	0	6.7
2008	1.2	1.3	4.2	0.5	5
2012	4.8	5.9	1.4	2.2	6.9
2016	2.9	9.7	1.8	1.6	8.5
Total	37.8	60.8	35	42.8	67.6

Table 25A: Communal Charismatic Constructs for Environmental Portions by Decade

Decade	Word Count		Collective Focus		Follower's Worth		Similarity to Followers		Cooperation	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960s	3388	1511	11.65	4.76	15.72	34.24	130.82	126.24	5.33	6.25
1970s	3785	3997	13.62	12.06	19.95	16.88	126	122.69	5.86	5.19
1980s	6014	6413	3.43	8.3	11.1	25.34	134.3	120.46	5.31	7.62
1990s	2062	4758	7.08	8.68	27.41	16.26	121.83	116.75	4	4.86
2000s	6854	6714	8.54	14.07	18.7	19.63	113.45	114	9.77	4.7
2010s	5607	5249	12.02	12.54	19.42	19.51	107.51	124.01	10.49	6.72

Table 26A: Agentic and Neutral Charismatic Constructs for Environmental Portions by Decade

Decade	Word Count		Action Oriented		Adversity		Tangibility	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960s	3388	1511	30.9	13.98	7.73	4.49	90.04	71.75
1970s	3785	3997	21.49	19.34	17.85	8.4	134.25	128.03
1980s	6014	6413	42.31	19.8	7.78	14.73	41.83	49.87
1990s	2062	4758	34.13	21.57	4.87	11.33	110.16	113.19
2000s	6854	6714	25.87	19.68	10.87	16.43	57.67	95.15
2010s	5607	5249	42.71	20.82	9.47	18.1	76.31	88.16

Table 27A: LIWC Variables for Environmental Language in the Platforms by Decade

Decade	Word Count		Tone		Focus Past		Focus Present		Focus Future	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
1960s	3437	1528	66.52	91.59	1.75	0.52	5.15	4.71	1.77	1.11
1970s	3814	4044	74.16	86.56	0.89	1.11	6.37	6.06	1.1	1.36
1980s	6056	6457	91.5	80.07	1.06	1.29	5.88	5.98	1.25	1.8
1990s	2075	4794	68.52	78.51	1.4	1.13	6.65	5.78	1.11	1.38
2000s	6924	6769	95.01	87.54	0.97	1.39	6.35	6.32	2.35	1.34
2010s	5650	5304	85.3	79.14	1.01	1.3	6.11	5.88	1.7	1.06