

To cite **Kostadinova, Petia**. 2017. "Party pledges in the news: Which election promises do media report?", *Party Politics* 23(6) 636–645 Published online before print October 26, 2015, doi: 10.1177/1354068815611649

### **Coding scheme for content analysis of news stories**

The coding was conducted by the author and trained research assistants. Reliability analysis was performed on about 8% of the articles. The average level of agreement among the coders was 94%, which is within an acceptable range as per Krippendorff, (1980), Lacy and Riffe (1996), and Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005).

#### **Date**

1. Newspaper
  - (1) Dneven Trud
  - (2) 24 Chassa
  - (3) Duma
  - (4) Demokratsia
  - (5) Capital
  - (6) Pari
2. Title of story
3. Does the news article mention elections?
  - (1) Yes
  - (2) No
4. Does the news article mention one or more election promise?

*Use a broad definition of a promise, a statement that a Party A or a politician B **обещава, предлага, ще направи, ще промени, настоява, ще предложи**, or contains a statement on behalf of a party that has the following (or similar) words, **трябва да, би било добре да, да се вземат мерки, да се направи, правителството да се занимае**.*

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

**If the answer to #5 is (2) stop here**

**If the answer to #5 is (1) then address #s 6, 7, 8**

5. Type the pledge statements from the story into separate cells
6. To which party is this statement attributed?
8. Did the news article refer to the source of this pledge/promise statement
  - (1) Yes
  - (2) No

**If the answer to #8 is, then, address #9.**

9. What is the source

- (1) The party's platform
- (2) The party's political leader(s)
- (3) Another party's political leader(s)
- (4) Another politician
- (5) Media
- (6) Other (specify)
- (7) Not clear (use sparingly)

## **Pledges**

The definition of a 'pledge' used in this study is well-accepted among scholars of party platforms. All platforms of the parties included in this study are available in their original and were coded by native speakers. Both soft ('we should', 'we support') and hard ('we will', 'we must') types of statements are considered as pledges, and both action (e.g. 'we will abolish the secret ballot in parliament' by the SDS in 1997) and outcome (e.g. 'our goal is the creation of 240,000 new jobs' by the BSP in 2005) statements are included in the analysis. For additional discussion of how pledges are identified and studied in a number of contexts, refer to Artes (2013), Kostadinova (2013), Naurin (2014), and Royed (1996), as well as the references included in the main text.

## **Coding of variables.**

General media equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), if the pledge was published by either of the general dailies, *24 Chassa* and *Dneven Trud*.

Economic news equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), if the pledge was reported by one of the two economic newspapers, *Pari* and *Kapital*.

Duma equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), if the pledge was reported by the newspaper published by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

Demokratsia equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), if the pledge was published by the newspaper published by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), and its successors.

Outgoing government equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), for pledges is made by party(ies) in government (coalition) prior to the respective elections.

Main competitors equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), for pledges made by the main competitors at each election, identified as the two parties with the most legislative seats, post-election.

Economic policy equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), if the pledge is about any aspect of economic policy, such as spending, taxation, monetary policy, etc.

Economic reform equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), if the pledge is about any aspect of transition away from a command economy, such as price liberalization, privatization, legal changes related to building the institutions of capitalism, etc.

EU equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), if a pledge specifically mentions European Union membership or requirements for such.

Disagree others equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), when a pledge made by any party is in direct disagreement with a statement made by at least one other party during the same election campaign.

Expand government equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), if the pledge is about expanding government role or about tax increases.

Reduce government equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), if the pledge is about cutting government role or about tax cuts.

Left party equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), for pledges made by parties on the left of the political spectrum, i.e. whose CMPS *rile* scores are below the party system average for each election year.

Right party equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), for pledges was made by parties on the right of the political spectrum, i.e. whose CMP *rile* scores are above the party system average for each election year. Not included in statistical analysis as it correlates (negatively) perfectly with Left party. Right party variable used in interactive term with Reduce government (below).

Pro-market party equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), for pledges made by pro-market reform parties as defined in the main text.

Left party\*Expand government is an interaction term between the respective variables.

Right party\*Reduce government is an interaction term between the respective variables.

Pro-market party\*Economic reform is an interaction term between the respective variables.

Pledges by BSP equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), for pledges made by the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Pledges by SDS equals one (1), otherwise zero (0), for pledges made by the Union of Democratic Forces, and its immediate successors.

Pledges by BSP\*Expand government is an interaction term between the respective variables.

Pledges by SDS\*Reduce government is an interaction term between the respective variables.