

# **Social Progress at the Expense of Economic Equality?**

## **New Data on Left Parties' Equality Preferences**

### **--- APPENDIX ---**

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## Appendix A: Crowd-coding of equality concepts

### Appendix A1: English version of coding instructions (Amazon Mechanical Turk)

Does the statement include a positive reference to equality, social justice, and/or equal treatment of all people?

- If YES, which of the following categories (1 to 5) applies?
- If NONE apply, select category 6.
- If more than one category applies, decide which ONE you think is most clearly emphasized.
- Please read the six categories carefully!

1) **Economic equality:** In favor of more financial and economic equality. Examples: we criticize that ordinary citizens are doing poorly; economic inequality is on the rise in our country; we must redistribute more from the top to the bottom; the rich should bear a larger burden; society is drifting apart; we have to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor; wealth tax now; we should share the (economic) benefits of globalization fairly; unevenly distributed wealth threatens social cohesion; mobility/energy/housing/health care must be affordable for all.

2) **Equal chances and social mobility:** equal education, economic, and social opportunities. Examples: good education for all, higher education should be (more) accessible for low- and middle-income students; a child's social background/economic status should not determine their future; everyone must be given a fair chance - regardless of their parents' income.

3) **Equal Rights and anti-discrimination:** Against discrimination based on disability, race, color, religion, sex, gender; LGBTQ friendly. Includes statements on equal pay for women (gender pay gap). Examples: we are the party of diversity and inclusion; we want a diverse society; we support a quota for women on supervisory boards.

4) **Non-specific mention** of equality, (social) justice, and solidarity: example: we are the party of equality (or equity); we stand for (more) solidarity; towards a more just society.

5) **Other:** A reference to equality, but the statement does not fit into any of the previous categories. Example: global justice now; more development aid/international aid; reduce regional inequality (e.g., in terms of mobility, internet, environment), no region(s) left behind, climate and environmental justice, intergenerational justice.

6) **NO - no positive reference.** (e.g.: equality before the law, fair application of the rule of law, physical integrity, immigration/asylum, noise mitigation, or crime).

**Appendix Table A1: Local minimum wages and coder pay**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Wage (€)</b>	<b>Duration /unit (sec)</b>	<b>Estimate \$</b>	<b>Payment \$</b>
Australia	13.86	20	0.08	0.08
Austria*	9.07	20	0.05	0.08
Canada**	11.01	20	0.07	0.08
Denmark*	15.83	20	0.09	0.09
France	10.57	20	0.06	0.08
Germany	9.82	20	0.06	0.08
Ireland	10.50	20	0.06	0.08
New Zealand	13.24	20	0.08	0.08
Sweden*	10.34	20	0.07	0.1
Switzerland**	19.59	20	0.11	0.11
United Kingdom	11.45	20	0.06	0.08
United States	7.25	20	0.04	0.08

Notes: \* based on collective bargaining agreements for the service sector (countries without federal minimum wages); \*\* based on averaging local minimum wages and many tests of the duration/unit.

**Table A3: mTurk task settings**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Entry test % threshold</b>	<b>Experience (N tasks previously submitted)</b>	<b>Accuracy (% tasks previously approved)</b>	<b>IP restriction **</b>
Australia	70	500	99	English-native speaking OECD countries
Austria	60	-	-	German-native speaking European countries
Canada	70	500	99	English-native speaking OECD countries; French- native speaking countries
Denmark	70	-	-	Western-European countries
France	70	-	-	French- native speaking countries (Europe, French overseas regions)
Germany	60	-	-	German-native speaking European countries
Ireland	70			English- native speaking countries (Europe)
New Zealand	70	500	99	English-native speaking OECD countries
Sweden	70	-	-	Western-European countries

Switzerland	60	-	-	German-native speaking European countries; French- native speaking countries
United Kingdom	70	-	-	English- native speaking countries (Europe)
United States	70/80*	100/500*	92/99*	English-language (US)

Notes:

\* Settings in the US were adapted following quality monitoring.

- No additional qualifications necessary to obtain valid codings.

\*\* Sweden and Denmark are the only countries where we had to upload translations for the crowd. Two authors speak Danish and Swedish. In addition, we hired (native) RAs from both countries to ensure that the translations that the crowd coders coded were always accurate.

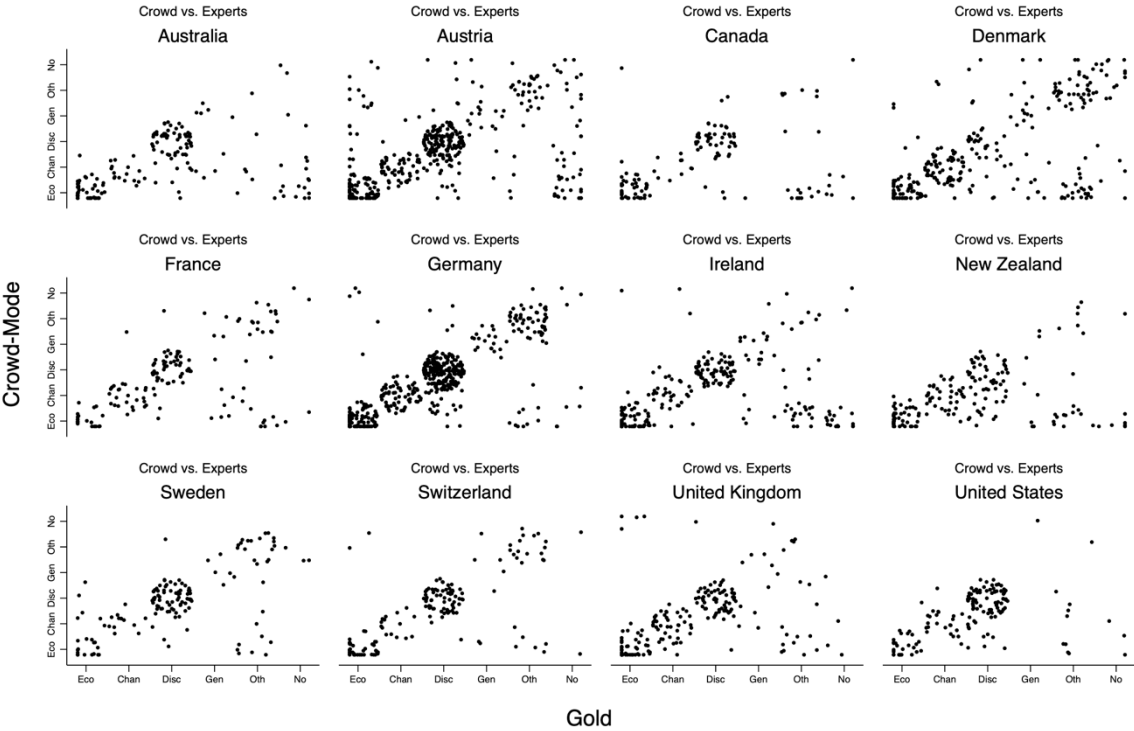
## Validation

Each test unit was unanimously coded by three expert coders (postdoctoral researchers). All agreement scores compare the aggregated crowd-coded majority decision against this gold standard at the unit-level (individual manifesto statements). These unit-level agreement scores exceed those from other applications to complex tasks (Horn 2019) and demonstrate that online crowds are able to match expert ratings – even/already at the statement-level.

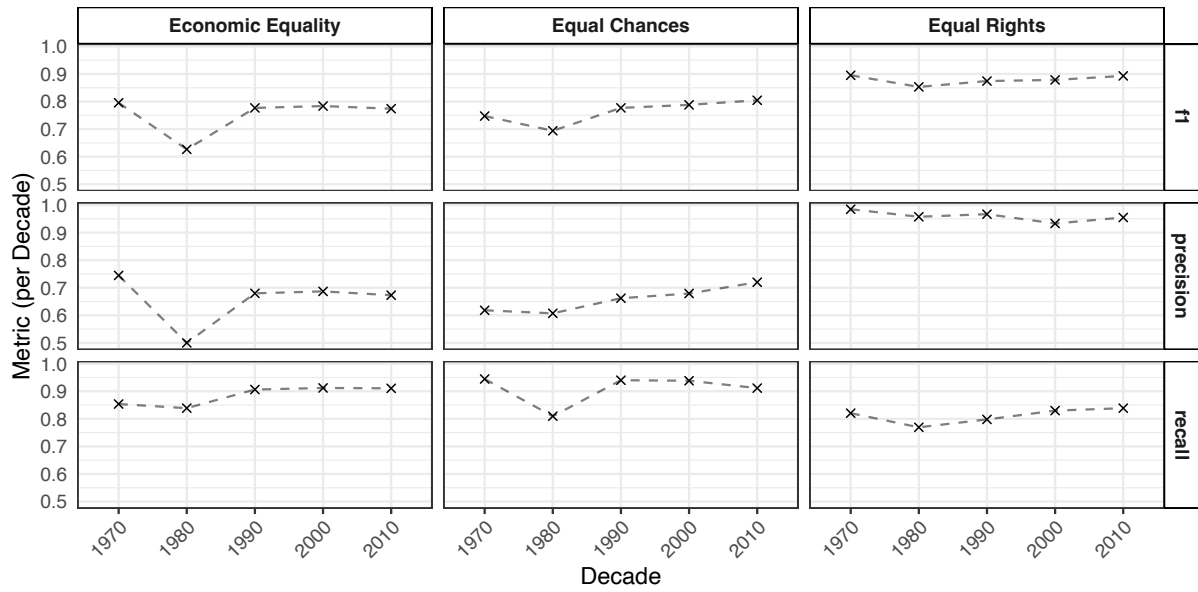
**Table A4: Unit-level agreement of expert coding and aggregated crowd (majority vote)**

<b>Country</b>	<b>N (gold)</b>	<b>Percentage agreement</b>	<b>Krippendorff's alpha</b>	<b>% without majority</b>
Australia	171	75	0.660	7.602
Austria	447	76	0.685	7.159
Canada	144	79	0.691	11.806
Denmark	325	73	0.654	14.769
France	159	80	0.733	10.063
Germany	509	87	0.824	4.322
Ireland	271	74	0.662	12.177
New Zealand	195	71	0.604	10.256
Sweden	161	80	0.712	12.422
Switzerland	159	90	0.853	3.774
United Kingdom	203	79	0.714	9.360
United States	160	80	0.687	9.375
Overall	2904	79	0.720	8.988

**Figure A1: Unit-level validation of aggregated crowd-scores (majority decision) vs. expert coding**



**Figure A2: Decade-wise metrics (F1, Precision, Recall) between expert coding and the crowd's majority decision**



**References**

Horn, A. (2019). Can the online crowd match real expert judgments? How task complexity and coder location affect the validity of crowd-coded data. *European Journal of Political Research*, 58(1), 236-247.

## **Appendix B: Levels: heterogeneity of left parties (and comparison with right parties)**

To provide a baseline for our new data and to show that differentiation is particularly important for left parties, let us look at left-right differences before we zoom in on left parties' trajectories<sup>1</sup>. The T-tests in Table 1 verify that – while left parties are more egalitarian than right parties – on average, a holistic perspective on a unitary “Left” is misleading. Some differences between left party families can be as sizable as left-right gradients. Table 1 shows the mean emphasis on our equality concepts for party families as defined by MARPOR (socialist/communist, ecologist, social democratic; liberal, Christian-democrat, conservative, nationalist) and compares all party families with each other via t-tests. Off-diagonal values are the difference between the party family on the y-axis and the x-axis ( $y - x$ ). Values on the diagonal report the mean emphasis for each of the concepts. As an example, the first row labelled “Communists” informs us that this party family devotes 6.71% of the political texts to economic equality, which is 2.62 p.p. more than the Social-Democrats do. The black shading of positive values in the first row means that these positive differentials are also statistically significant. Though different aspects can be nuanced, it is not contentious that the T-tests support the view that left party families are heterogeneous.

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<sup>1</sup> Of course, this differentiation is neither always possible (too few cases) nor always theoretically instructive.

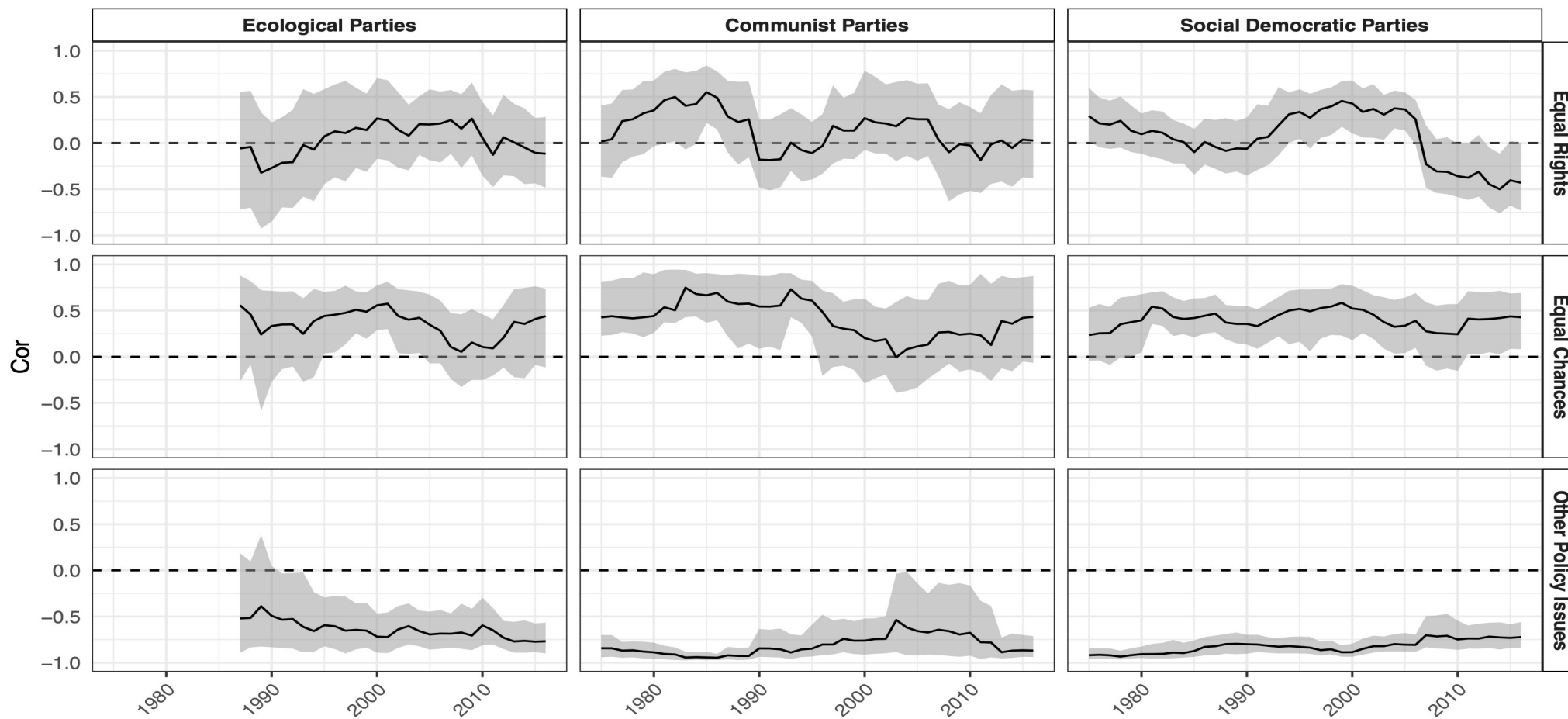
	Economic Equality							Equal Chances							Equal Rights						
Communists	<b>6.71</b>	3.79	2.62	4.24	4.26	4.33	4.65	<b>2.67</b>	1.3	0.59	0.68	1.49	1.23	2.03	<b>3.13</b>		0.8	1.59	1.66	1.95	2.16
Ecologists	-3.79	<b>2.92</b>	-1.18				0.86	-1.3	<b>1.37</b>	-0.71	-0.62			0.73		<b>3.34</b>	1	1.8	1.87	2.16	2.37
Social Democrats	-2.62	1.18	<b>4.1</b>	1.62	1.65	1.71	2.04	-0.59	0.71	<b>2.07</b>		0.89	0.63	1.44	-0.8	-1	<b>2.34</b>	0.79	0.86	1.15	1.36
Liberals	-4.24		-1.62	<b>2.47</b>				-0.68	0.62		<b>1.99</b>	0.81	0.55	1.35	-1.59	-1.8	-0.79	<b>1.54</b>		0.36	0.57
Christian Democrats	-4.26		-1.65		<b>2.45</b>			-1.49		-0.89	-0.81	<b>1.18</b>	0.54	-1.66	-1.87	-0.86		<b>1.47</b>	0.29	0.5	
Conservatives	-4.33		-1.71			<b>2.39</b>		-1.23		-0.63	-0.55		<b>1.44</b>	0.8	-1.95	-2.16	-1.15	-0.36	-0.29	<b>1.18</b>	
Nationalists	-4.65	-0.86	-2.04				<b>2.06</b>	-2.03	-0.73	-1.44	-1.35	-0.54	-0.8	<b>0.64</b>	-2.16	-2.37	-1.36	-0.57	-0.5		<b>0.98</b>
	Communists	Ecologists	Social Democrats	Liberals	Christian Democrats	Conservatives	Nationalists	Communists	Ecologists	Social Democrats	Liberals	Christian Democrats	Conservatives	Nationalists	Communists	Ecologists	Social Democrats	Liberals	Christian Democrats	Conservatives	Nationalists

P-Value  n.s.  10%  5%  1%

Table B1: T-test on difference in means between (MARPOR) party family, broken down by equality concepts. The diagonal denotes the mean salience of a given equality concept per party family (in p.p.), while the off-diagonal squares show the difference in salience between party families (Y-X). Grey shading denotes level of significance.

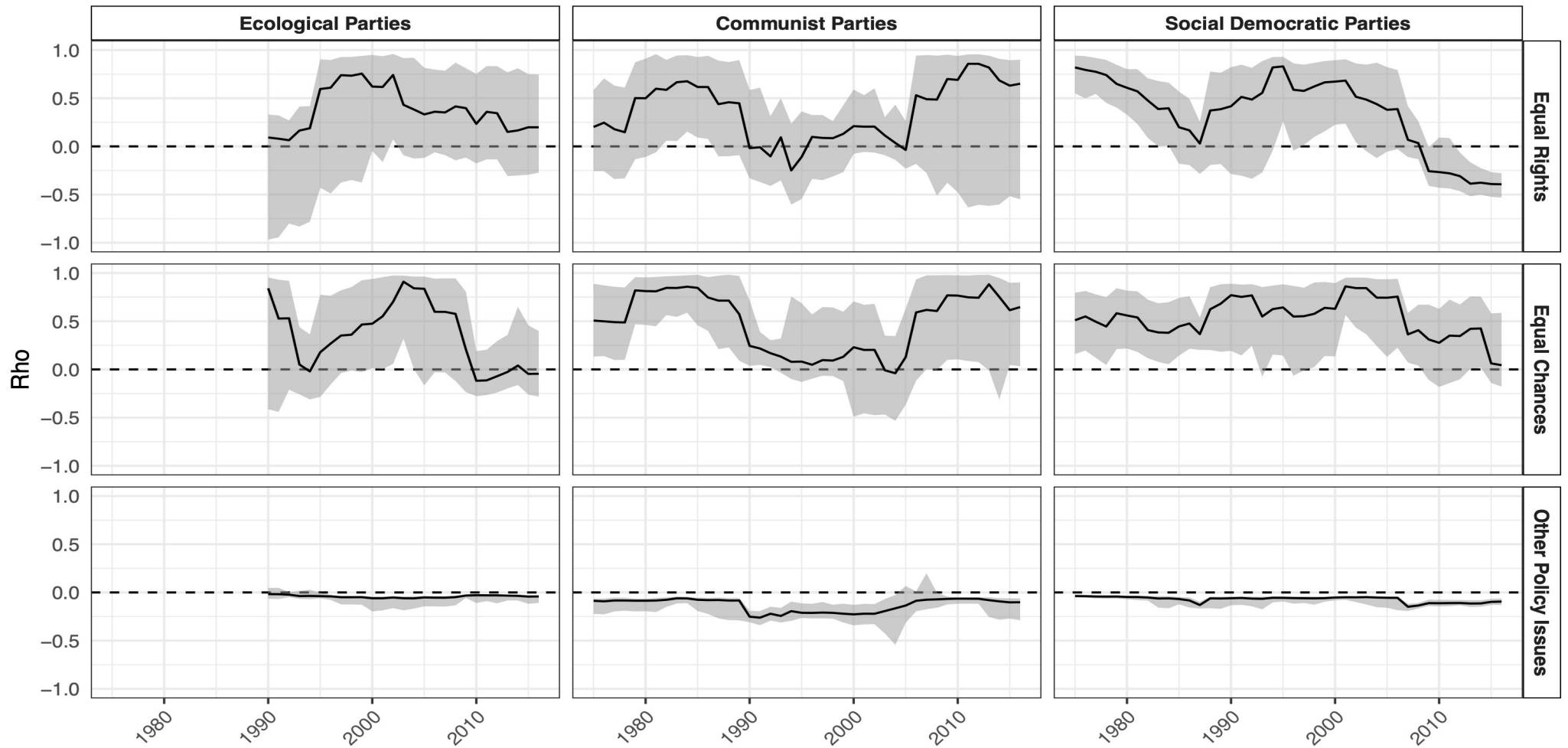
## APPENDIX C: Robustness

**Figure C1.** 10-year time window. Pearson's correlation coefficient



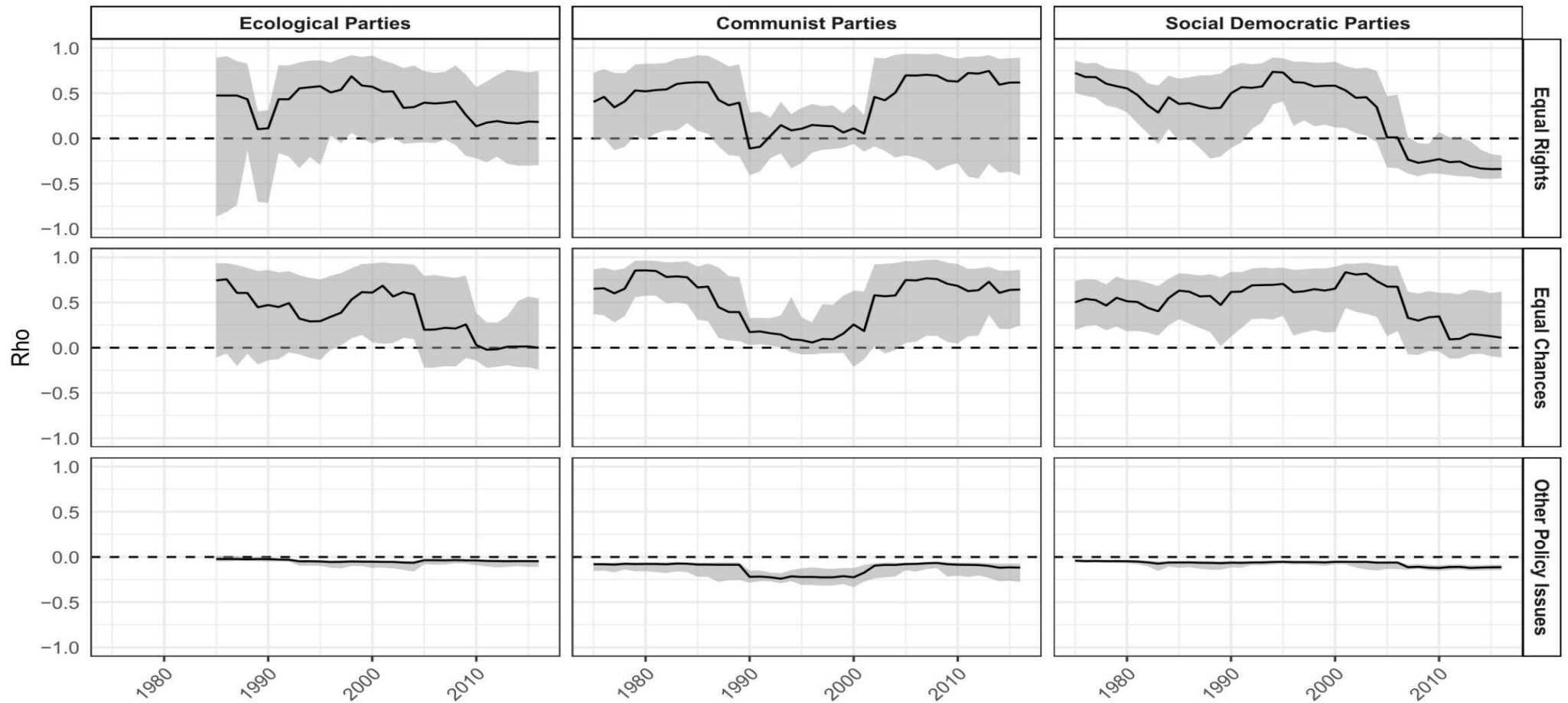
Directional proportionality (cor) of emphasis of economic equality with emphasis on equal rights, equal chances, and non-equality related policy issues. X-axis shows midpoints of 10 years time windows.

**Figure C2.** Rho. 8-year time window.



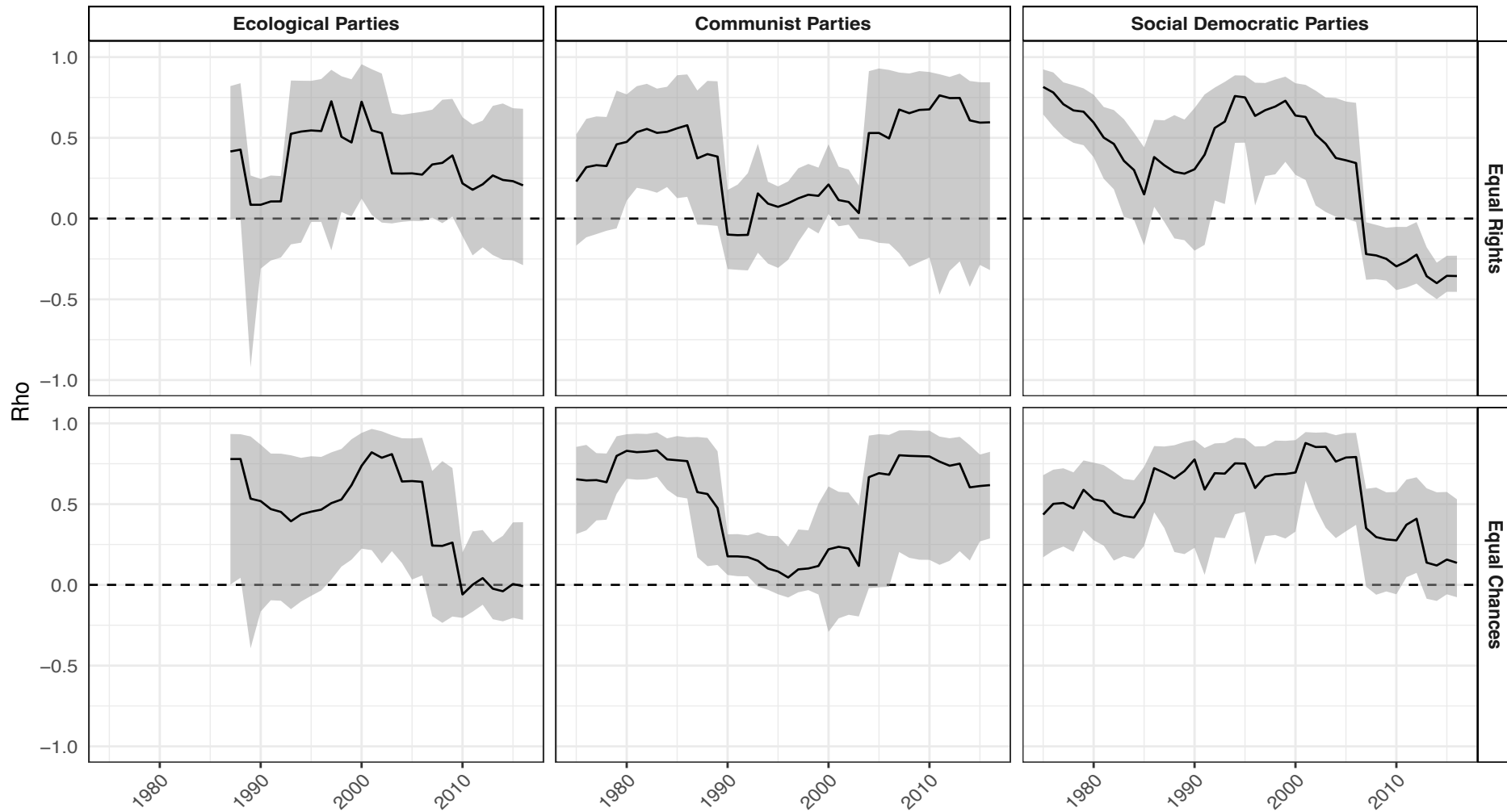
Directional proportionality ( $\rho$ ) of emphasis of economic equality with emphasis on equal rights, equal chances, and non-equality related policy issues.  $\rho$  ranges from  $[-1, 1]$ . X-axis shows midpoints of 12 years time windows.

Figure C3. Rho. 12-year time window.



Directional proportionality ( $\rho$ ) of emphasis of economic equality with emphasis on equal rights, equal chances, and non-equality related policy issues. Rho ranges from  $[-1, 1]$ . X-axis shows midpoints of 12 years time windows.

**Figure C4.** Rho. 10-year time window. Krippendorff's alpha > 0.65



Directional proportionality (rho) of emphasis of economic equality with emphasis on equal rights, equal chances, and non-equality related policy issues. Rho ranges from [-1, 1]. X-axis shows midpoints of 10 years time windows.

## APPENDIX D: Descriptives

	Ecological Parties	Social Democratic Parties	Communist Parties
Australia	1	3	0
Austria	2	1	1
Canada	1	1	0
Denmark	1	2	5
France	2	1	3
Germany	3	1	3
Ireland	1	2	6
New Zealand	1	2	0
Spain	0	1	3
Sweden	1	1	1
Switzerland	2	2	1
United Kingdom	1	3	1
United States	0	1	0

*Table D1: Numer of parties per party family and country.*

## Appendix D: 60 examples

previous statement	statement	equality category
<p>We would also have a guaranteed minimum income for Canadians to wipe out poverty for good, so that all of us, young and old, can live with self respect.</p>	<p>A fair tax system can make sure we don't tax people into poverty, or let some escape paying their fair share.</p>	<p>1 - Economic Equality</p>
<p>There are things in our society that are not working.</p>	<p>There are ever-increasing gaps between those who have; and those who have not.</p>	<p>1 - Economic Equality</p>
<p>measures against speculation in land, construction and building material production</p>	<p>Reduced food prices and rents are particularly important in improving the living standard of lower income earners.</p>	<p>1 - Economic Equality</p>
<p>We will also introduce an additional, higher rate of PPD on domestic flights if realistic alternative and less polluting travel is available.</p>	<p>Introducing a Mansion Tax at a rate of 1 per cent on properties worth over £2 million, paid on the value of the property above that level.</p>	<p>1 - Economic Equality</p>
<p>Under Labour's plans, 95 per cent of taxpayers will be guaranteed no increase in their income tax contributions, and everyone will be protected from any increase in personal National Insurance contributions and VAT.</p>	<p>Only the top 5 per cent of earners will be asked to contribute more in tax to help fund our public services.</p>	<p>1 - Economic Equality</p>
<p>A full employment economy, making full use of fiscal and monetary policy to stimulate employment.</p>	<p>Tax reform directed toward equitable distribution of income and wealth and fair sharing of the cost of government.</p>	<p>1 - Economic Equality</p>

I know the difference a great education can make.	I want every child growing up in Australia to have the opportunity of fulfilling their potential.	2 - Equality of Chances
It is also common sense; all of us will benefit when each of us is able to make a contribution.	The poverty trap of inadequate education, long term unemployment, and welfare dependence is a bitter inheritance passed from generation to generation in tens of thousands of families.	2 - Equality of Chances
Investment in our country—in energy, education, infrastructure, science.	A ladder of opportunity for all.	2 - Equality of Chances
YOUTH Young people are New Zealand's future.	Labour believes that all young people must have a real chance to reach their full potential.	2 - Equality of Chances
Everyone who is entitled to support should receive the help they need.	Increase the competence of schools, care and social services staff to be able to better support LGBTQ people,	3 - Inclusion / Nondiscrimination
Our Vision	The Green Party of Canada believes that it is time to treat Canadians with disabilities with dignity.	3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination
The proposal has been IMPLEMENTED.	2) Gender equality by appointing members to committees, boards and commissions.	3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination
and requiring police to wear body cameras in Section 60 areas, the establishment of which will require judicial sanction.	Boosting police recruitment from BAME groups.	3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

They should be punished with extra force.

Protections should include hate violence based on gender, disability or sexual orientation.

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

End the gender pay gap,

and require a minimum 40% of all members of public company and public sector boards to be women.

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

We support continued efforts, like the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, to end workplace discrimination against gay men and lesbians.

We support the full inclusion of gay and lesbian families in the life of the nation.

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

Supporting the 10:1 'fair pay campus' campaign.

We are committed to ending the scandal of Vice-Chancellors paying themselves £300,000 a year while cleaners on the national minimum wage have to resort to food banks.

1 - Economic Equality

In the next Parliament, we will continue to reward hard work:

raising the tax-free Personal Allowance so that those working 30 hours on the Minimum Wage pay no Income Tax at all

1 - Economic Equality

Plaid Cymru is committed to human rights.

We are a party that celebrates diversity and wants to create a fair and equal society in which difference is respected.

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

while introducing mandatory disability pay-gap reporting for companies with over 250 employees.

Irish family life has changed enormously over the past two decades, but changes in employment and legal rights have not kept pace.

We will not increase income taxes, the 12.5% rate of corporation tax or taxes on jobs (employers' PRSI).

To those who say that this is unreasonable, we say: it is much more reasonable than driving the poor into deeper poverty and driving tens of thousands into emigration.

We also pioneered the Skills to Work initiative which brought together key programmes and gave jobseekers access to training, work experience and job opportunities.

The emerging evidence of parents feeling forced to baptise their children to ensure a school place is a national scandal which must come to an end.

End disability discrimination and update the Equality Act to introduce new specific duties including disability leave, paid and recorded separately from sick leave.

Labour will legislate to guarantee that the State respects family life, whether based on marriage or not

We will, however, either eliminate or restrict all of the tax shelters and tax exemptions that allow the better off to avoid paying their fair share of taxes.  
(See section 18)

The Workers and Unemployed Action Group stands for a progressive taxation system.

Investing in people and giving them the right opportunities is critical to reducing inequality

Labour's Admission to Schools Bill will go a long way to improve the fairness of access to schools for all children.

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

1 - Economic Equality

1 - Economic Equality

2 - Equality of Chances

2 - Equality of Chances

As such, parents are our children's first and foremost teachers.

We support family literacy, which improves the literacy, language, and life skills of both parents and children along with the continued improvement of early childhood programs, such as Head Start, from low-income families.

2 - Equality of Chances

At a time of massive income and wealth inequality,

we believe the wealthiest Americans and largest corporations must pay their fair share of taxes. We will ensure those at the top contribute to our country's future by establishing a multimillionaire surtax to ensure millionaires and billionaires pay their fair share.

1 - Economic Equality

that will lead to millions of good-paying jobs.

1 - Economic Equality

And we will urge U.S. ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

Guaranteeing Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

Our Conservative Government has consistently stood up for, and supported, persecuted minorities around the world.

We've made a real difference in the lives of religious minorities and young girls and women.

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

I know the difference a great education can make.

I want every child growing up in Australia to have the opportunity of fulfilling their potential.

2 - Equality of Chances

There has been a dramatic increase in the number of homes covered by flood insurance, more than 78 per cent compared to just 3 per cent in 2006.

All people are entitled to respect, dignity and the opportunity to participate fully in society regardless of their sexuality.

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

<p>Labor’s plan for inclusive growth will invest in people.</p>	<p>Our responsible and fair approach ensures that middle and working class families are not left behind.</p>	<p>1 - Economic Equality</p>
<p>- giving serious priority to the environmental aspects of actions and policy changes at the earliest possible stage;</p>	<p>- creating one nation will also require positive action to tilt the balance more in favour of disadvantaged and depressed minority groups and to focus assistance on inner city areas.</p>	<p>3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination</p>
<p>The Alliance wants to see more women in Westminster.</p>	<p>Changing the electoral system to a form of proportional representation will increase the opportunities for women to be elected to Parliament.</p>	<p>3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination</p>
<p>We are now putting in place a comprehensive and ambitious strategy to help everyone get on at work:</p>	<p>All adults to get free access to basic skills in literacy, language and numeracy.</p>	<p>2 - Equality of Chances</p>
<p>ADULT EDUCATION</p>	<p>We are determined to give priority to adults who have been denied educational opportunity on leaving school.</p>	<p>2 - Equality of Chances</p>
<p>Over those four years an SNP Government will also introduce a national minimum wage.</p>	<p>This will equal half the median male earnings, which on present rates would mean that no one in Scotland will earn less than £3.40 an hour.</p>	<p>1 - Economic Equality</p>
<p>WOMEN</p>	<p>Women in Ireland suffer from systematic and institutionalised sexual discrimination.</p>	<p>3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination</p>

As economic activity is increasingly skills-based, individual and community success depends on access to adult educational opportunities.

New apprenticeship scholarships will enable the best apprentices to go on to higher education.

In the meantime husbands and children from Uganda should be allowed to join refugees who have settled here.

At the same time, there should be a community-funded joint parent/child-minder regulated child-care service for pre-school children and an after-school minding service.

The National Party supports policies which.

They will remind us that the Howard Government invested millions in the privileged Category One schools, but did nothing to help the public schools attended by 70 percent of Australian children.

It could also be extended to those who choose early retirement.

Opportunities have to be widened to include sections of society traditionally excluded and under-represented.

We will open up opportunity for people from families on low incomes to enter professions like the media and law, expanding paid internships for students.

We are opposed to all forms of racial discrimination.

We must ensure equality of opportunity at all levels in education.

- Encourage people with disabilities to live as normal a lifestyle as possible.

And why should ordinary Australians get a second-class education while the well off get first class?

We will provide relief to those who need it most by continuing to reduce income taxes for low-income families.

2 - Equality of Chances

2 - Equality of Chances

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

2 - Equality of Chances

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

2 - Equality of Chances

1 - Economic Equality

Vocational programs for young women in our high schools and colleges will be equalized and expanded.

The nation must continue to ensure that our colleges and universities can provide quality higher education in the coming period of declining enrollment and rising operating costs.

Creating new tax credits and deductions to help low- and middle-income Americans.

And far too many of our young people, especially minorities, do not have the training and skills they need to get their first job.

We reaffirm the President's pledge earlier this year: "The Administration will ... continue its strong efforts to open equal opportunities for women, recognizing clearly that women are often denied such opportunities today.

Fields traditionally reserved to men ... from construction to engineering ... must be opened to women, a goal which must be promoted through government incentives and federally-sponsored training programs.

We are especially interested in extending post-secondary opportunities to students from low and middle income families, older students, and minorities.

These tax credits would be available in the form of vouchers for low-income people who work.

Democrats believe that it is a national responsibility to ensure that the burdens of change are fairly shared and that every young American can take the first step up the ladder of economic opportunity.

While every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes - and an equal chance to pursue it.

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

2 - Equality of Chances

1 - Economic Equality

2 - Equality of Chances

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

The cost of government must be distributed more fairly among income classes.

We need to invest in our schools and our childrens' futures.

We support continued efforts, like the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, to end workplace discrimination against gay men and lesbians.

The Employment Action Plan devised by the outgoing Government at the behest of the European Commission does not offer the type of remedial intervention required to break the cycle of intergenerational and long-term unemployment.

It would be possible to replace current exemptions with tax credits in such a way that most Canadian taxpayers would be better off or at least as well off.

Allow citizens to nominate Presidential candidates

We will ease the tax burden on the average worker, including those who are self-employed,

We reaffirm the long-established principle of progressive taxation - allocating the burden according to ability to pay - which is all but a dead letter in the presently code.

High-quality pre-school should no longer be a luxury.

We support the full inclusion of gay and lesbian families in the life of the nation.

The plan must be refocused on the longterm unemployed, as well as other vulnerable and disadvantaged groups such as lone parents.

Under such a system, the major advantage would be shifted from the rich to the lower income and average income taxpayers.

Change to gender-neutral language and uphold equality between all genders

and asking those who earn the most to pay their fair share.

1 - Economic Equality

2 - Equality of Chances

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

2 - Equality of Chances

1 - Economic Equality

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination

1 - Economic Equality

The DUP wants to see effective action to ensure the disabled have full access to buildings, amenities and public transport.

No artificial barriers should be put in the way of people with disabilities taking their proper place in the education and employment sectors.

3 - Inclusion/Nondiscrimination