



University
of Glasgow

Naheem, Saira (2015) *Issue emphasis and the ethnic minority vote: a comparative study of national and local party campaigns in the 2010 UK general election.*

[Undergraduate Degree]

Copyright © 2015 The Author

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, institution and date must be given

<http://endeavour.gla.ac.uk/32/>

Deposited on: 5 November 2015



**University
of Glasgow**

School of Social and Political Sciences

**Issue emphasis and the ethnic minority vote: A
comparative study of national and local party
campaigns in the 2010 UK general election.**

March, 2015

Student Number: 1105230

Word Count: 8515

**Presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for
the Degree of
M.A. in Politics**

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the relationship between the emphasis of issues by political parties and targeting of ethnic minority voters in the 2010 UK general election. Previous research has found some evidence to support the idea that such a relationship exists and has arguably become more noticeable in recent years. It was hypothesised that parties had tailored strategies in ethnically diverse constituencies in order to attract votes from ethnic minority communities. This was tested by employing both quantitative and qualitative content analysis to measure and compare the salience of issues in election campaign materials from national and local levels. The findings show that political parties only target ethnic minority voters to a certain extent as they largely emphasise the same issues at both levels. This study offers an insight into how parties interact with ethnic minority voters which may contribute in helping to further understandings of party behaviour during election campaigns.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction.....	p1
Chapter Two: Literature Review.....	p3
Chapter Three: Methodology	p13
Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion.....	p17
Chapter Five: Conclusion.....	p32
Bibliography.....	p35

Appendices:

Appendix 1 - List of Constituencies Examined

Appendix 2 - Comparative Manifesto Project Categories

Appendix 3 - Constituency Election Leaflets

Chapter One: Introduction

The way in which political parties compete with one another to attract votes is the subject of much debate within the discipline of political science. In his seminal work, 'An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy', Anthony Downs (1957) introduced the spatial model of party competition which assumes that parties compete by formulating policies and altering their ideological positions in order to appeal to the median voter. Other issue competition theories stress the idea of parties competing by emphasising issues that give them a perceived advantage over their rivals during election campaigns (Green and Hobolt, 2006: 461). The implicit presumption in both Downs' model and the issue competition theories is that parties are consistently emphasising the same issues to voters at both the national and local level. However, recent empirical research has found that this may not necessarily be the case (Harrison and McSweeney, 2008; Elmelund-Præstekær, 2011). This dissertation will contribute to this body of research by examining the idea that parties attempt to target specific voter groups within constituencies during election campaigns. The voter group that has been selected for examination is ethnic minority voters. The study of British ethnic minorities has primarily centred on their participation in electoral politics and representation in parliament (Saggar, 1998; Anwar, 2001; Heath et al, 2013) with little reference to how political parties have attempted to engage with this group of voters. Therefore, the scope of the dissertation is limited to addressing the following research question; how do issues emphasised by parties in their national election campaigns compare with issues emphasised in local campaigns in ethnically diverse constituencies? Is there evidence to indicate that parties emphasise different issues in local campaigns in order to attract ethnic minority votes?

Aims and Objectives

Following on from the above questions, the main aim of the dissertation is therefore to investigate the relationship between emphasis of issues by parties in election campaigns and targeting of ethnic minority voters.

The specific objectives are as follows:

- Party manifestos will be examined using quantitative and qualitative content analysis to identify what issues parties focus on nationally.
- More specifically, party election leaflets from constituencies with large concentrations of ethnic minority voters will be examined using quantitative and qualitative content analysis.
- Non-ethnically diverse randomly selected constituencies will also be examined.
- The results will be synthesised in order to determine if, and in what way, the agenda of local campaigns in ethnically diverse constituencies differed from what was being emphasised by parties nationally.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The research question draws on three separate, yet interlinked, streams of literature including the burgeoning literature examining trends in British election campaigns. This body of research traditionally focused on the impact of national campaigns including research undertaken in the Nuffield Election Studies which advanced the view that national campaigns were more important and effective than campaigns conducted in constituencies (Pattie and Johnston, 1998: 677). However, by 1992 a new school of thought that espoused the merits of constituency campaigning emerged (Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2008: 368). Several scholars have suggested that constituency campaigning has become centralised in recent years as parties target their campaign efforts on marginal seats (Pattie and Johnston, 2003; Whiteley and Seyd, 2003; Denver et al, 2004). The existence of these marginal constituencies can be explained as a by-product of the first past the post electoral system and consequently “most elections are won and lost by the decisions of a small percentage of the electorate (the ‘swing voters’) in a relatively small percentage of the constituencies” (Pattie and Johnston, 2013: 295). Evidence of targeting of key seats by political parties is supported by research examining constituency campaign spending which finds that parties concentrate their financial resources on these marginal seats (Pattie et al, 1995: 981). One aspect of the move towards centralisation of constituency campaigning which has been discussed in the literature is the targeting of individual voters in key marginals whereby national campaign messages have been adapted with local voters in mind (Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2008: 369). For example, as Denver and Hands (1992: 534) note, election leaflets that demonstrate local knowledge may be produced by parties as a means of appealing to specific voter groups. More recently, analyses

suggested that the targeting of marginal constituencies by all three main parties was most apparent at the 2010 general election (Pattie and Johnston, 2010: 505). These changes in campaigning have led to present day campaigns being termed “post-modern” due to the implementation of “techniques of strategic communications by political parties” (Norris, 1999: 2). Therefore, it can be said that there is a growing consensus among scholars on the importance of constituency campaigning and recognition of the developments in campaigning in terms of modern party strategy revolving around targeting of key seats.

However, there have arguably been few analyses of this targeting in terms of how it was communicated at both the local and national level. Scholars such as Pattie and Johnston (2009: 411) have highlighted the fact that parties have used national campaign messages to broaden their appeal as exemplified by efforts to target the 'Essex Man' and 'Worcester Woman' in previous election campaigns. However, they go on to argue that these campaign messages “also have a clear geographical dimension” (Pattie and Johnston, 2009: 412). It is this dimension that the dissertation aims to comparatively examine with the national dimension in order to address the research gap that has emerged relating to whether campaign messages differ at the national and local levels. This analysis may thus contribute in helping to further understandings of party behaviour. As Rohrschneider (2002) points out, little work has been done examining party campaign strategies and how parties rationalise campaign decisions.

The little research that has been carried out on this topic suggests that parties do emphasise different messages at the local level in comparison to the national level. Harrison and McSweeney (2008) find that the local agendas of two main parties, the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, differed from their national agendas in the 2005 UK general election in terms of the issues emphasised by the parties. It should be noted that this was a fairly small study examining constituencies in one particular region of the UK and therefore the generalizability of the results is limited. Further research in this area has also sought to challenge the assumption in much of the literature that parties are communicating the same agendas to voters. Elmelund-Præstekær (2011: 38) argues that parties “emphasise different issues in different channels”. However, his research is restricted to Danish parties; therefore, it would be necessary to establish if these results are replicated in other countries such as Britain. Moreover, the author is not able to construct a theory that conclusively explains his findings and so only tentative conclusions can be drawn from the study. Thus, this dissertation aims to contribute to the research carried out by both Harrison and McSweeney and Elmelund-Præstekær and introduce another factor of analysis by way of specifically focusing on the ethnic minority voter group. Therefore, the main purpose of the dissertation will be twofold as, in addition to examining issue emphasis at different levels of communication from different sources, the dissertation will seek to establish whether there is a relationship between the emphasis of issues by parties and targeting of ethnic minority voters.

This newfound recognition of the influence of constituency campaigning has also led to a move away from “locally organised campaigning” to “nationally coordinated constituency campaigning” which has arguably led to a “much stronger relationship

between the national and local campaigns” (Fisher and Denver, 2008: 809). A mixed picture emerges in some studies such as one undertaken by Pogorelis et al (2005) examining differences in “issue profiles” of parties in general and regional election manifestos in Britain. The empirical results from this article indicate that in some instances there is evidence which shows that certain parties emphasise different sets of issues in different elections. However, there is also evidence which confirms the argument that “centrally coordinated campaigning” has led to greater similarity in “issue profiles” of parties when comparing national and regional manifestos (Pogorelis et al, 2005: 1006-1007). On the other hand, in terms of this specific question of the role of centralisation in campaigns, Libbrecht et al (2008: 75) find evidence from a study of Spanish political parties to support their hypothesis that “variation between regional issue profiles would be higher in a decentralised party compared to a more centralised party”. It is clear that more research is needed on this question of how parties tailor their issue strategies as the body of work dedicated solely to this topic is sparse and conflicting.

The second component of the dissertation research question centres on the role of issue emphasis in election campaigns. Therefore it is necessary to situate the dissertation within this body of literature. As stated in the introduction of this dissertation, the body of work on this topic can be traced back to Anthony Downs' (1957); 'An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy' in which he discussed the idea of parties competing with one another by means of their policy positions. This idea was further developed by Robertson (1976) and Budge and Farlie (1983) who introduced the concept of “selective emphasis” whereby they argued that parties compete by selectively emphasising issues that give them an advantage over

opposition parties. This line of thinking holds that the more a party emphasises a given issue “the more likely it is to attract voters who are concerned with this topic. If a party does not expect a considerable benefit from an issue, it will say very little about it, attempting instead to prioritise other issues” (Libbrecht et al, 2008: 60). However, this idea has been challenged by other studies in the field which have found that there is a degree of issue overlap, meaning that parties do not avoid issues that they do not own. This directly contradicts the party issue ownership argument (Green-Pedersen and Mortensen, 2009: 3).

Nevertheless the importance of the role of issue emphasis in election campaigns cannot be underestimated as exemplified by empirical evidence. Stefanie (2014: 19) finds “that non-partisan voters whose issue priorities were emphasised in the media during the campaign of the 2009 German federal election were more likely to participate in the election”. Furthermore, the argument that issue emphasis has an impact on vote choice is also largely supported by research although “analysis demonstrates that the influence of issue ownership on vote choice is conditional upon the perceived salience of the issue” (Bélangera and Meguidb, 2008: 491). It would be reasonable to conclude from this that issues which are prioritised by the electorate factor into voting decisions (RePass, 1971: 400). Therefore these discussions in the literature are useful in identifying how emphasis of issues by parties can potentially impact the electorate in terms of turnout and increasing vote share. Thus, in terms of the research question examined in this dissertation it would be logical to predict that parties would emphasise issues during an election campaign to make those issues salient in the minds of the electorate. However, whether they emphasise a particular set of issues in their party literature in order to appeal to a subset of the electorate, for

example ethnic minority voters will be the question underpinning the research conducted in this paper.

Lastly moving on to discuss the literature on ethnic minority (EM) voters, it can be said that work examining their inclusion in the political process in Britain is extensive. However, there are few studies analysing the relationship between mainstream political parties and their interactions with this group of voters. The trend in the literature seems to have been to predominantly study EM communities in terms of how they behave in a political capacity instead of examining the topic from the perspective of political parties. It is clear why there has been such an interest in ethnic minority voters as they constitute a sizable portion of the overall population of Britain. Estimates suggest that approximately 8 per cent of the electorate's "roots are to be found in the Caribbean, Africa, or South Asia" (Heath et al, 2013: 2). Mapping the relationship between political parties and EM voters reveals that it is the Labour Party which has historically been able to rely on the support of this group which can be explained by a number of reasons. One of the main explanations is that they have championed equality legislation such as the Race Relations Acts which "were all steered through parliament by Labour governments as explicit vehicles for protecting ethnic minority rights and interests" (Sanders et al, 2014: 232). This work by the party in advancing the interests of EM voters has resulted in what can be perceived as consistent endorsement across elections whereby "constituencies with relatively high levels of ethnic minority density have consistently tended disproportionately to vote Labour" (Sanders et al, 2014: 232). It can be said that even though the Labour Party has faced some competition from the other two parties in attracting the EM vote, it has largely been able to maintain its popularity with minority groups. This is

exemplified by the fact that the party has seen its vote fall “from 47 per cent to 29 per cent of White Britons, while the equivalent reduction among ethnic minorities was much smaller — from 82 per cent to 68 per cent” between 1997 and 2010 (Philips and Webber, 2014: 304). These figures reinforce the idea that the Labour party has been able to rely on an EM bloc vote. In contrast, it can be argued that the Conservative Party have traditionally failed to amass support from EM voters as successfully as the Labour Party have according to research data (Saggar, 1998: 48).

Despite Labour’s dominance in this area, the context of the 2010 general election arguably provided all three main parties with reason to increase their efforts of winning EM votes. The Liberal Democrats were seeking to retain EM protest voters who had supported them for their anti-Iraq War stance in the previous election and the reliance on the EM vote for Labour became even more important as the extent of their projected losses was revealed (Sobolewska et al, 2013: 3). Efforts by the Conservative Party to broaden their appeal to EM voters is evident from David Cameron’s pledge to field more minority candidates in “winnable seats” in the election (Dobbernack et al, 2012: 6). Therefore this idea of all three main political parties competing for the support of EM voters can be considered a recent trend (Dobbernack et al, 2012: 2). The argument that political parties have now begun to actively solicit EM votes during election campaigns is supported by evidence from survey data showing that at the last general election “both Labour and the Conservatives were more likely to specifically target ethnic minority voters with direct mail and telephone calls in constituencies with larger minority populations” (Sobolewska et al, 2013: 14). An investigation of campaign spending also reveals that parties do not disregard these constituencies and in fact in some instances “they actually spend more in those areas”

(Fieldhouse and Sobolewska, 2012: 4). However, one issue that has been highlighted by scholars in regards to this targeting strategy in ethnically diverse constituencies is the fact that minority voters who are living outside of these constituencies are being ignored by parties (Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2008; Sobolewska et al, 2013). Nevertheless this lends weight to the argument that, at least in ethnically diverse constituencies, minority voters are indeed subject to targeting by political parties. Moreover, this evidence supports the prevailing notion of political parties as “broad-based ‘catch-all’ parties that can appeal, potentially, to all segments of the UK electorate” (Sanders et al, 2014: 232). However, this idea requires further examination as it raises the important question of how this ‘catch-all’ strategy manifests itself during election campaigns in relation to certain sections of the electorate such as EM voters.

There are in fact conflicting ideas in the literature about whether EM voters are statistically important enough to warrant targeting by political parties. Initially the largely accepted view was that “the spatial concentration of ethnic minorities in some areas of Britain has greatly enhanced their statistical importance in the political process” (Anwar, 2001: 547). However, this argument has now largely been debunked by scholars for two important reasons. Firstly, the fact that EM voters are geographically dispersed throughout constituencies across the country means that there are few constituencies in which they represent a significant group (Fieldhouse and Sobolewska, 2012: 5). Secondly, it has been argued that “minority voters are less influential than white voters” as there is no evidence to suggest that enough EM voters would change their support from Labour in order to make them more influential (Sobolewska et al, 2013: 3). In fact research has shown that declining EM support for Labour at the 2010 election did not result in defection to other parties and

instead EM voters “were more likely to stay at home or even fail to register” (Heath et al, 2013: 168). Yet political parties have been incrementally increasing their focus on EM voters as exemplified both by the evidence discussed above and analysis of election programmes which provides “some evidence of political reprioritisation” marking a departure from “historical patterns...of marginalisation in the policy programmes of the main political parties” (Chaney, 2015: 181). Furthermore, questions have been raised about the Conservative Party’s ability to win a majority victory in upcoming elections if it does not increase its share of votes from EM voters (Philips and Webber, 2014: 304). Thus clearly EM voters do hold some degree of importance for parties and with Britain’s ethnic minority population set to increase substantially in the coming years, there is arguably a lot to be gained from securing their support. Therefore there appears to be reliable evidence indicating that political parties did target EM voters in the last general election. However, there has been little analysis of the content of this targeting and what form it took, which is the overarching question of concern tackled in this paper. Given the perceived increased influence of EM voters in determining election outcomes, it is expected that parties’ local campaign materials for constituencies with a high percent of EM voters will emphasise issues that are of relevance to these voters.

This dissertation aims to thread these three broad topics of targeting in elections, issue emphasis and ethnic minority voters together in order to contribute to understandings of party election strategies by focussing on campaign literature as a unit of analysis.

Hypotheses

Based on the theoretical discussion in the literature review, the following hypotheses will be tested:

1. The main issues emphasised in national election manifestos by the three main British political parties will differ from issues emphasised in local campaigns in ethnically diverse constituencies.
2. Local election campaign material in non-ethnically diverse constituencies will emphasise issues in line with national manifestos.
3. Local election campaign material in ethnically diverse constituencies will make specific reference to ethnic minority needs in that constituency.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Two methods of research will be employed in this dissertation; quantitative and qualitative content analysis, which will generate primary data against which hypotheses can be tested. Content analysis can be defined as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1278). It is a suitable method to employ for this study given that there is a fairly large collection of text from two sources that will need to be analysed. As well as the practical benefits of conducting content analysis, it is also arguably “useful for examining trends and patterns in documents” (Stemler, 2001). This should, in theory, allow the research objectives to be fulfilled as they centre on identifying the most emphasised issues from each source in order to determine what parties focused on in their respective campaigns. Therefore, as well as identifying patterns, content analysis will also help in ascertaining the saliency of the identified issues which makes it well suited to this type of research (Chaney, 2014: 6). The reasoning behind adopting a mixed method approach is that the quantitative research will uncover the salience of a given issue and a qualitative study of the sources will capture any relevant information that may have been missed by the quantitative coding scheme. Thus, this should theoretically provide a fuller picture of results that can be analysed in order to fulfil the research objectives.

Sources have been chosen for analysis based directly on the research question. In order to examine the issue emphasis of parties in national campaigns, party

manifestos from the 2010 general election have been chosen as the unit of analysis. These are readily accessible and most importantly will yield valid results as they were all produced by the parties with the sole purpose of attracting votes. Therefore, once the content from each has been analysed, a clear set of issues emphasised most from all three main political parties should be apparent. In terms of identifying issue emphasis in local campaigns, local level election leaflets have been chosen as the main source from which to identify salient issues. The focus of local campaigns will be on two types of constituencies; those with a high density of ethnic minority voters as the research question demands and a randomly selected sample of constituencies which will act as a control sample. Ethnically diverse constituencies are those with an ethnic minority population of more than 40 percent, as identified by Anwar (2009: 14) who based this on the results of the 2001 census (see Appendix 1). The election leaflets of three political parties, Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats, from 20 constituencies have been examined, thereby a total of 60 election leaflets have been analysed. The expectation, as outlined in hypothesis 3, being that there will be a focus on emphasis of EM needs in the leaflets from ethnically diverse constituencies. In this context, the definition of EM needs is based on existing literature which understands this to include things such as specific reference to ethnic backgrounds and inequality (Chaney, 2015: 158).

In terms of the quantitative phase of the study, the methodology employed is directly based on the approach of the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP). In order to determine the salience of an issue, statements in national manifestos are split into “quasi-sentences” and each of these is subsequently coded into one of 56 categories (see Appendix 2). The CMP has already conducted content analysis of the three main

party national manifestos from the 2010 general election and this is presented in the form of issue salience percentages. This data will be used in this dissertation as it is easily obtainable and comes from a reliable dataset that is widely used by third parties. In addition to using this data collected by the CMP from national manifestos, additional data from local election leaflets will be collected using the CMP approach of content analysis. This is made possible by the fact that the coding scheme and handbook are also readily available where the full list of categories and instructions on how to undertake the content analysis are outlined. Therefore each local election leaflet will be hand-coded using the CMP coding scheme in order to identify which issues were emphasised at the local level. As such, sentences in the leaflet will be divided into “quasi-sentences” and then assigned to the applicable category. Thereafter, the issue salience percentage will be determined by calculating how many times each category was mentioned as a percentage of the overall words in the leaflet. The resultant issue salience percentages will then be compared with the salience percentages from the national level. In sum, the importance given to an issue by a political party will be measured by the amount of references made to said issue in the election campaign material thereby making a comparison between national and local materials achievable.

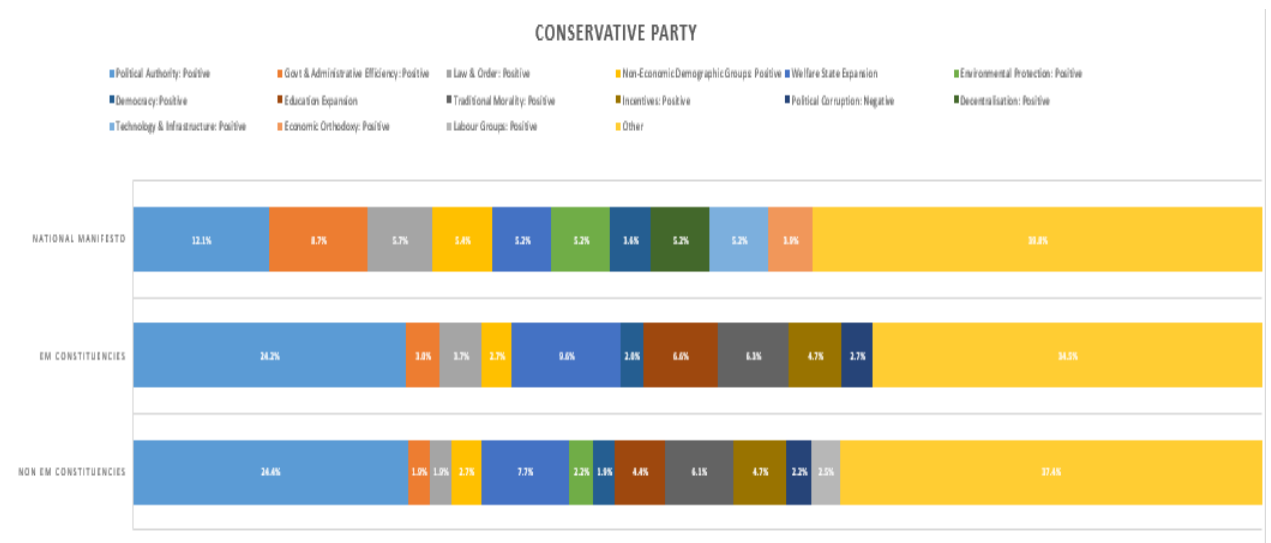
A number of reasons informed the decision to use this data and method, the main reason being that the CMP method is “directly based on the salience theory, which makes it suitable for analysing the salience aspect of party campaigning” (Pogorelis et al, 2005: 995). However, there are number of criticisms of the CMP approach including the argument that the coding scheme “has not been empirically validated” and that it uses “an unreliable hand-coding process” (Gemenis, 2013: 18).

Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study it is a suitable approach to employ as it categorises issues in an effective and comparable manner which is vital in the process of analysing two separate sources of campaign literature. Moreover, it can be said that the majority of the criticism directed at the CMP focusses on one particular component of the research data, that being the left-right party position scores, and not the issue salience percentages which are used in this dissertation (Benoit and Laver, 2007).

One particular drawback of using the CMP method for this paper is that only some of the categories are of direct significance to the question being studied in this paper, not all. In order to ameliorate this, qualitative analysis of both sources (party manifestos and local campaign materials) will also be conducted. A suitable coding scheme has been developed based directly on the research focus of this dissertation and this will simplify the task of analysis by making the data easier to collect, interpret and compare. The data will be thematically analysed whereby topics and issues that are recurrent throughout the data can be identified. This is appropriate for the purposes of this study as it will allow for salient issues to come to the forefront which will in turn form the basis of discussion in this paper. However, only those themes of relevance to the research focus will be examined in detail. Thus as stated previously, any direct references to EM voters and issues pertaining to EM needs including addressing ethnicity and inequality will be the main concern of this dissertation.

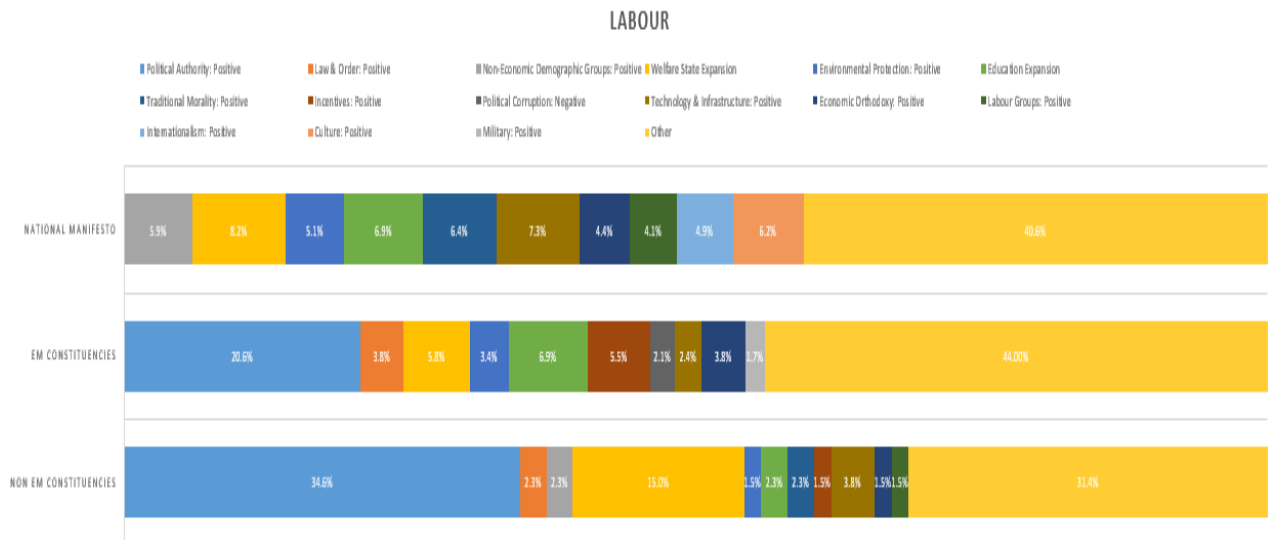
Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion

The top ten issues emphasised by the three main political parties at national and local levels as found in their campaign literature in the 2010 general election are shown in the three graphs below. It appears that by unpacking these issue salience percentages, a number of conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the main issues that were salient across both national and local levels were largely dispersed across a range of policy domains and this fact holds true for all three parties. Perhaps unsurprisingly, all three parties devoted a substantial amount of space in stressing their capability to govern or criticising the opposition which is exemplified by the high percentage of sentences falling under the Political Authority: Positive category at both the national and local levels for all parties. The only exception to this being the Labour Party who's most salient issue at the national level related to Welfare State Expansion which was incidentally the second highest salient issue in both types of constituencies and thus clearly a high priority for the party in this election. There were a number of categories that featured among the ten most salient issues in both national manifestos and leaflets



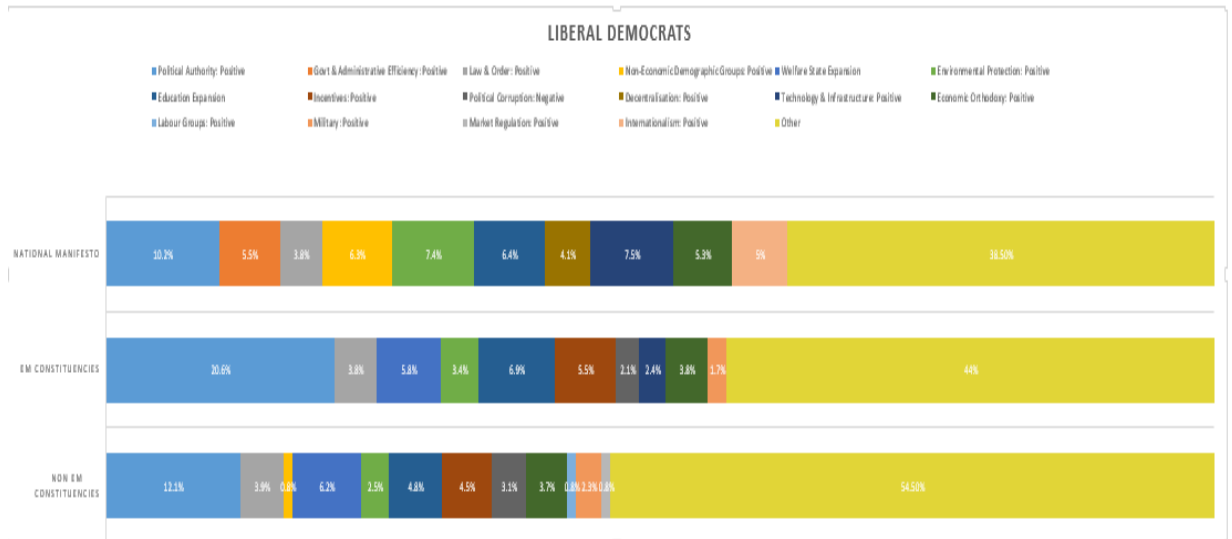
in ethnically diverse constituencies.

Graph 1: Conservative Party, Issue Salience Percentages.



Graph 2: Labour Party, Issue Salience Percentages.

Taking each party individually as Graph 1 illustrates, for the Conservatives as well as Labour, other categories that featured in both sources were positive mentions of Democracy, Government and Administrative Efficiency, Welfare State Expansion, Law and Order and Non-Economic Demographic Groups. For Labour, other categories salient in both sources of their campaign literature were positive references to Environmental Protection, Education Expansion, Traditional Morality, Labour Groups and Non-Economic Demographic Groups making five in total (see Graph 2). The Liberal Democrats had six categories in total, including Political Authority: Positive, that were their most salient issues at both the national and EM local level (see Graph 3). Therefore there does appear to be some degree of consistency in the emphasis of issues for parties in their national and local EM party literature albeit with a different degree of issue salience as illustrated by the percentage figures.



Graph 3: Liberal Democrats, Issue Salience Percentages.

On the other hand, there are a number of issues that are highly salient at one level but not the other. For example, in their local election material in constituencies with a high density of ethnic minority voters, the Conservative Party made positive references to Traditional Morality in 6.3 percent of the leaflets examined. However, at the national level the salience of issues related to this category is lower by around half at 3.2 percent and therefore is not one of the ten most salient issues. Interestingly in the party’s national manifesto, 3.9 percent of issues related to the need for Economic Orthodoxy whereas this only constituted 1 percent in their local party literature and was therefore not as salient at the local level. The party also emphasised the need for Welfare State Expansion more at the local level whereby 9.6 percent of issues mentioned in the local material related to this and the corresponding figure at the national level was 5.2 percent. The results for the Liberal Democrats indicated the same trend in relation to Welfare State Expansion whereby this was emphasised more in local constituencies than in their national manifesto. The figures were as follows: 5.8 percent at the local level and 3.7 percent in the national source. Likewise this was also the same for policies such as tax breaks falling under the Incentives: Positive category which had a percentage salience score of 5.5 at the local level and this was

higher than the 2.7 percent at the national level. Moreover, positive mentions of Internationalism was the eighth most salient issue at the national level. However, at the local level there were no policies outlined in the Liberal Democrat election leaflets examined that had any relevance to this category.

Labour had a higher percentage figure for the Traditional Morality: Positive category in their national manifesto with 6.4 percent and this was much lower at 1.3 percent in their local material. This was the opposite result to what was seen from the Conservatives. Most importantly, it was the Labour party who were the only party out of the three being studied who made any reference to issues which related to positive mentions of Equality in their local literature as is exemplified by 1.3 percent of issues falling under this category. However, this is still lower than the 3.4 percent figure in their national manifesto. It should be noted though that this is a broad category and as stated in the coding scheme includes the “need for fair distribution of resources and the end of discrimination (e.g. racial or sexual discrimination)” amongst other things (see Appendix 2). Therefore, although this is relevant in ascertaining whether parties were mentioning issues specific to ethnic minority needs, these figures do not on their own provide evidence of the Labour Party attempting to target ethnic minority voters by means of referring to discrimination. Thus, this will be examined in more detail in the qualitative results section of this paper.

In terms of hypothesis one then, it can be said that the evidence discussed above provides some support for the view that the main issues emphasised in national election manifestos by the three main British political parties diverged from issues

emphasised in local campaigns in ethnically diverse constituencies but only to a certain extent. However the point of divergence did not relate to any categories that referred to inequality for example, which was the expectation outlined earlier, and therefore ethnic minority voters were not explicitly addressed. Therefore although hypothesis one is partially confirmed, the specific research question on targeting of ethnic minority voters by parties is not supported by the evidence.

An examination of patterns across national manifestos and leaflets in non-ethnically diverse constituencies draws some similarities with emphasis of issues in constituencies with a high density of ethnic minority voters. For example, once again the Political Authority: Positive category was the most salient across both national and local sources with the exception of Labour who prioritised policies relating to the welfare state more at the national level as mentioned previously. The issues that were most salient covered a range of areas across a number of policy domains. Seven out of ten of the most salient issues were the same in both sources for the Conservatives. This figure was eight and six for Labour and the Liberal Democrats respectively. The fact that more than half of the most salient issues were the same for all three parties across both national and local levels lends weight to the argument that to a large degree the same issues were emphasised.

Having said this, as with the ethnically diverse constituencies there was a number of differences in how salient some of the issues were. The Conservative Party emphasised policies relating to Welfare State Expansion more in their local campaign material with 7.7 percent of all policies mentioned referring to this compared with 5.2

percent at the national level. The opposite is true for positive references to Law and Order whereby this was more salient in their national manifesto with 5.7 percent and much lower at 1.9 percent in local leaflets. In terms of the Labour Party, there were disparities in their emphasis of many issues such as the percentage of positive references to Traditional Morality which was lower at the local level at 2.3 percent and higher at the national level at 6.4 percent. There was also a noticeable difference in percentage salience for the Welfare State Expansion category whereby the figure was 15 at the local level and lower at 8.2 at the national level. Additionally, there were differences in the figures for the Liberal Democrats including policies related to Environmental Protection being mentioned more at the local level with a difference of 4.9 between the two sources. Furthermore, there was a clear difference in the category taking account of positive mentions of help to Non-Economic Demographic Groups. This was more salient in their national manifesto at 6.3 percent and significantly lower at 0.8 percent in the local election leaflets. Although there were also categories that were fairly even across the two sources such as Law and Order: Positive for the Liberal Democrats where the figure was 3.8 at the national level and 3.9 at the local.

Moreover in terms of the categories that featured in the top ten issues at one level but not the other, for the Conservative Party positive mentions of Traditional Morality once again emerged as a fairly salient issue, third most salient at the local level with 6.1 and 3.2 at the national level. This mirrors the result found in the ethnically diverse constituencies. The categories missing from one source but present in the other included positive references to Law and Order for Labour. However, although this category did not feature in the ten most salient issues for Labour at the national level, it was actually more salient at 3.8 percent than at the local level where the figure was

2.3 percent. The Liberal Democrat party emphasised Welfare State Expansion more at the local level with 6.2 and this figure was 3.7 at the national level. Likewise positive mentions of Incentives was more salient in the local source with 4.5 and this was lower at 2.7 in their national manifesto.

Therefore, it can be said that hypothesis two is largely confirmed for the Labour Party as eight of their most salient issues were the same across both national and local levels. In terms of the Conservatives the hypothesis was supported to a lesser extent as for them it was seven out of ten issues that were the same. The Liberal Democrats had the least consistency between their national manifesto and local leaflets with a figure of six but this was still more than half. Consequently taking all three parties as a whole, the pattern appears to be that local election campaign material in non-ethnically diverse constituencies emphasised issues in line with national manifestos to a large degree. Comparing these results with the figures from the ethnically diverse constituencies, it is the Liberal Democrats who maintained the same result across both types of constituencies with six out of ten issues matching with the national level results. In addition, there was only a difference of one for the Conservatives in terms of the categories most salient in election leaflets in the two different types of constituencies conforming to those in their national manifesto. It was the Labour Party who had the biggest difference in what issues were emphasised in the two different types of constituencies whereby in the non-ethnically diverse sample their emphasis of issues more closely resembled their national manifesto.

These results somewhat contradict certain aspects of the findings from a similar study by Harrison and McSweeney (2008) who found that it was the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats that had different national and local agendas in the 2005 UK general election when analysing issue salience. The results of this study suggest that it was the Labour party who, out of the three parties studied, had the least similarity between its national manifesto and local literature but only in the ethnically diverse constituencies. Taking into account the relatively small sample size of this study, these findings tentatively confirm previous conclusions that there is some degree of difference in the issues salient at the national level in comparison to the local level. However, the evidence presented thus far does not demonstrate a clear relationship between emphasis of issues by parties and targeting of ethnic minority voters which was the main question of concern in this dissertation.

Moving on to the qualitative results and to a discussion of the actual content of both local and national sources, there are a number of interesting findings that emerge. One theme in the local election leaflets for the Liberal Democrats was consistent mention of the Iraq War. However, this was generally evenly dispersed in leaflets in both types of constituencies with seven mentions of it in ethnically diverse constituencies and six for the non-ethnic control sample. The majority of these references to the war centred on criticising Gordon Brown (see Appendix 3) whereby it was stated that he:

“wrote the cheques for the Iraq War”

There was one example of criticism levelled at the sitting MP in the Tottenham constituency:

“The Labour MP voted for the Iraq War”

The remainder of the statements stressed the idea that the Labour party as a whole should be held responsible. For example:

“Labour took us into the war in Iraq costing billions of pounds and thousands of lives”

This focus on the Iraq War by the Liberal Democrats appears to be a continuation of their strategy during the 2005 general election to attract votes on the basis of their opposition to the war. Placing the blame directly on the Labour Party would appear to suggest that the Liberal Democrats were trying to discredit the party by emphasising an unpopular policy decision. This proved to be a fairly successful approach in gaining support from groups who had previously not voted for the party during the previous general election campaign and hence it is perhaps unsurprising that they would raise this issue again in their 2010 election material (Sobolewska et al, 2013: 3). Interestingly although they mention the war a total of 13 times in their local election leaflets, only three references are made to it in their national manifesto:

“When it’s come to the big decisions – on the banks, on the environment, on the war in Iraq – we are the only party that has called it right, every time” (2010: 5)

“Britain’s reputation has been damaged by...the disastrous and illegal invasion of Iraq” (2010: 67)

“The Iraq War...highlight the dangers of a subservient relationship with the United States that neglects Britain’s core values and interests.” (2010: 63)

This implies that at the national level there was less priority given to the Iraq War and also less of an attempt to implicate Gordon Brown. Rather, the consequences of the war are highlighted and linked to Britain’s status in the world. The fact that the Liberal Democrats were firmly opposed to the war is also reinforced. In terms of whether the Liberal Democrats endeavoured to attract the ethnic minority vote by emphasising this issue more in the ethnically diverse constituencies is not proven by the available evidence as they mentioned the issue a similar number of times in their leaflets for both types of constituencies.

Another point of interest is explicit references to ethnic minority groups of which there was one example in the Conservative Party election leaflet distributed in Brent Central (one of the ethnically diverse constituencies):

“Conservative Party pledging to address unemployment, by offering real apprenticeships and job opportunities, of particular benefit to the many young black males in Stonebridge who Labour have left behind in their 13 years of Government”

It can be argued that this is a clear attempt to attract votes from this particular ethnic group by highlighting the employment challenges faced by this group. The suggestion that the Conservative Party could help alleviate these problems and that the Labour Party have overlooked this group during their time in office further supports this line of argument. In terms of direct mentions of ethnic minority voters at the national level, there is no reference to black voters or ethnic minority communities in general in the Conservative national manifesto. However, this does not hold for the Liberal Democrats or Labour. Labour stress the fact that they have:

“a higher proportion of female and black and ethnic minority MPs than any other party”(2010: 9:3)

This can be interpreted as the party positioning itself as being more inclusive than its competitors and more representative of the diverse makeup of Britain. It also speaks to the party’s longstanding reputation of selecting candidates from minority communities which has only served to increase their popularity among this voter group. They also make reference to their past record of protecting the interests of ethnic minority citizens:

“Labour is proud to be the party that legislated first to criminalise incitement to racial hatred” (2010: 5:4)

This shows that the party recognises its popularity with ethnic minority voters is attributable to their past efforts to legislate in the interests of this group and as such the above statement can be viewed as an attempt to capitalise on this accomplishment. Moreover it relates to the argument that the Labour Party have been able to amass support from EM voters which they have been able to successfully rely on in successive elections (Phillips and Webber, 2014: 304). This historically high level of support by ethnic minority voters to one party is only seen with Labour and not the Conservatives or Liberal Democrats (Saggar, 1998: 48). The Liberal Democrats can be seen to be addressing EM needs by choosing to mention the issue of inequality faced by ethnic minority communities in their national manifesto:

“People from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities are still more likely to suffer discrimination” (2010: 30)

By highlighting this fact in their manifesto, the party can be seen to be sympathising with ethnic minority voters and directly addressing issues of concern specific to this group. Again, this can be interpreted as an example of the party specifically focussing on ethnic minority needs by stressing that such groups are facing problems that should not be ignored. In the constituency of Brent Central there is a further example of what can be perceived as targeting of ethnic minority voters by the Conservative party. The prospective candidate mentions that he attended a talk held by a Hindu preacher on his visit to Britain:

“Sachin greets inspirational religious leader – on his second UK visit attracting thousands of listeners to Wembley Arena”

This is of particular relevance as this constituency has a significant Hindu population. Therefore this can be interpreted as a direct attempt by this particular candidate to appeal to voters from this group. Another example of targeting of ethnic minority subgroups was found in the Bethnal Green and Bow constituency where all three candidates had leaflets with some level of Bengali incorporated alongside the English text. Labour had a separate leaflet in Bengali while the Liberal Democrats and Conservatives had headings in Bengali on their leaflets. It is worth noting that all three of the candidates were of Bengali heritage which is perhaps an explanation as to why they decided to include this. There are what can be seen to be attempts to target ethnic minority voters in this constituency by all three parties:

Labour – *“The East End at its best is a place of courage, decency and unity. But our community has been divided for too long. I want to change this.”*

Liberal Democrat – *“To be the MP for all people of Bethnal Green and Bow”*

Conservative – *“Organised a delegation to Bangladesh...met with Prime Minister of Bangladesh on climate change and poverty...Organised visits for Richard Barnes Deputy Mayor of London to leading religious community organisations in Tower Hamlets such as the London Muslim Centre, the Bangladesh Welfare Association and Bricklane Mosque”*

The Labour and Liberal Democrat parties chose to stress the diversity of the constituency and the need to be mindful of this fact in their local election material.

Whereas the Conservative candidate took a different approach in that he made further references to the sizeable Bangladeshi community in stressing his credentials and past achievements in representing the interests of this community. The points mentioned by this candidate are clearly designed to resonate with members of the Bangladeshi population in the constituency. This finding is in line with previous research that finds that ethnic minority voters in ethnically diverse constituencies are targeted by the three main political parties (Sobolewska et al, 2014: 14). However, the way in which this targeting manifested itself in election material required further investigation and this dissertation has addressed this by showing how parties attempted to attract EM votes by referring to issues of relevance to this group of voters.

In comparison, in the non-ethnically diverse constituencies there was no similar trend of voicing concerns about inequality faced by minority communities in Britain aside from one mention of it by the Liberal Democrat candidate from the constituency of Battersea who stated:

“I care deeply about embracing diversity, community building and tackling social inequality”

The fact that only one of the candidates out of the randomly selected sample of constituencies chose to speak about diversity and inequality lends weight to the

argument in the literature that EM voters living outside of constituencies with high minority populations are being overlooked by parties (Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2008).

Therefore, based on this qualitative analysis, it can be said that hypothesis three is supported to a large extent as local election campaign material in ethnically diverse constituencies did make specific reference to ethnic minority needs in ethnically diverse constituencies. This suggests that there was targeting of ethnic minority voters as exemplified by the local election leaflets and confirmed by the fact that this level of targeting was not found in the national manifestos of parties.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This dissertation has compared issues emphasised by parties in national and local campaign material from the 2010 general election. The focus has been on investigating the relationship between emphasis of issues and targeting of ethnic minority voters. There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from the results of this study. It can be said that there is some evidence to indicate that ethnic minority voters were more directly targeted by parties at the constituency level. However, this is only supported by the qualitative results which provide specific examples of what can be interpreted as attempts to attract EM votes. The quantitative analysis returned largely negative results and therefore did not provide evidence of parties adapting content based on concentration of minority communities. In both ethnically and non-ethnically diverse constituencies, there was a large degree of overlap between issues emphasised in national manifestos and local election leaflets. Although this result was slightly less pronounced in the constituencies with a high density of ethnic minority voters. These findings have implications when related to the literature in this field as they suggest that political parties are largely consistent in their election campaign literature in terms of issue salience. However as mentioned before, the little research that has been undertaken examining this particular area has found that there are differences in the agendas of parties when local and national election materials are compared (Harrison and McSweeney 2008 and Elmelund-Præstekær, 2011).

Therefore, this study contributes to this body of research by providing evidence that contradicts some of these previously established findings. The expectation that the political parties being studied would target ethnic minority voters, as outlined at the outset of this paper, was perhaps an oversimplification of how parties conduct their

election campaigns. Any strategy of attracting votes from certain groups clearly has to be balanced by the fact that political parties would be concerned with ensuring that their appeal stretches to as wide a group of voters as possible. This presents a challenge for parties and is perhaps one explanation as to why the first two hypotheses were largely unsupported by the evidence. The implications of the qualitative results are significant for different reasons in that they reveal more about how political parties communicated with ethnic minority voters during the election campaign. The existing theoretical discussion focuses on the extent to which ethnic minority voters are subject to targeting (Fieldhouse and Sobolewska, 2012; Sobolewska et al, 2013). The qualitative analysis presented here though, sheds further light on what form this targeting may take and how political parties are addressing EM needs in their election material.

It should be noted that there were a number of limitations to this dissertation which confines the generalizability of the results. This includes the fact that only party literature from the most recent general election was examined due to time constraints and availability of sources. It would have been interesting to study campaigns from past election campaigns and analyse changes across time as this would have added another dimension to the research. In addition, conducting interviews with party strategists would have been an effective means of supplementing the findings of this study and ameliorating one drawback of content analysis, that being the descriptive nature of the results, by allowing for an explanation of party motives during campaigns. Moreover, the sample size of sources analysed was fairly small and only manifestos were analysed at the national level although other sources such as party election broadcasts could have been looked at. Further research should consider an

analysis of a wider number of sources including more sources from the local level.

More research is also needed in ascertaining how ethnic minority communities can be most effectively reached by parties and involved in the political process.

Bibliography

Anwar, M. (2001) 'The Participation of Ethnic Minorities in British Politics', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27 (3): pp. 533-549.

Anwar, M. (2009) 'Ethnic Minorities and Politics: The British Electoral System', Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing.

Bélangera, E. and Meguidb, B. M. (2008) 'Issue Saliency, Issue Ownership and Issue-Based Vote Choice', *Electoral Studies*, 27 (3): pp. 477-491.

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

Budge, I. and Farlie, D. (1983) 'Explaining and Predicting Elections: Issue Effects and Party Strategies in Twenty-three Democracies', London: Allen & Unwin.

Chaney, P. (2015) 'Manifesto Discourse and the Substantive Representation of Ethnic Minorities: Analysis of UK State-Wide and Meso Elections, 1964-2011', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 68 (1): pp. 154-181.

Conservative Party (2010) 'Invitation to Join the Government of Britain', London: Conservative Party.

Denver, D. and Hands, G. (1992) 'Constituency Campaigning', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 45 (4): pp. 528-544.

Denver, D., Hands, G. and MacAllister, I. (2004) 'The Electoral Impact of Constituency Campaigning in Britain, 1992-2001', *Political Studies*, 52 (2): pp. 289-306.

Dobbernack, J., Meer, N. and Modood, T. (2012) 'The 'Muslim Vote' in Britain in 2010 Misrecognition and Political Agency', European University Institute: pp. 1-27.

Downs, A. (1957) 'An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy', *The Journal of Political Economy*, 65 (2): pp. 135-150.

Elmelund-Præstekær, C. (2011) 'Mapping Parties' Issue Agenda in Different Channels of Campaign Communication: A Wild Goose Chase?', *Javnost – The Public*, 18 (1): pp. 37-52.

Gemenis, K. (2013) 'What to Do and What (and Not to Do) with the Comparative Manifestos Project Data', *Political Studies*, 61 (S1): pp. 3-23.

Fieldhouse, E. and Cutts, D. (2008) 'Mobilisation or Marginalisation? Neighbourhood Effects on Muslim Electoral Registration in Britain in 2001', *Political Studies*, 56 (2): pp. 333-354.

Fieldhouse, E. and Cutts, D. (2009) 'The Effectiveness of Local Party Campaigns in 2005: Combining Evidence from Campaign Spending and Agent Survey Data', *British Journal of Political Science*, 39 (2): pp. 367-388.

Fieldhouse, E. and Sobolewska, M. (2012) 'Introduction: Are British Ethnic Minorities Politically Under-represented', *Parliamentary Affairs*: pp. 1-11.

Fisher, J. and Denver, D. (2008) 'From Foot-Slogging to Call Centres and Direct Mail: A Framework for Analysing the Development of District-Level Campaigning', *European Journal of Political Research*, 47 (6): pp. 794-826.

Green, J. and Hobolt, S. B. (2008) 'Owning the Issue Agenda: Party Strategies and Vote Choices in British Elections', *Electoral Studies*, 27 (3): pp. 460-476.

Green-Pedersen, C. and Mortensen, P. B. (2009) 'Issue Competition and Election Campaigns: Avoidance and Engagement', ECPR Conference, Available at:

<<http://www.agendasetting.dk/papers/uploaded/115201044905PM.pdf>> (accessed 9 September 2014).

Harrison, L. and McSweeney, D. (2008) 'National and Local Party Election Agendas', *Representation*, 44 (1): pp.1-13.

Heath, A. F., Fisher, S. D., Rosenblatt, G., Sanders, D. and Sobolewska, M. (2013) 'The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain', Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hsiu, H. and Shannon, S. (2005) 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Analysis', *Qualitative Health Research*, 15: pp. 1277-1288.

Labour Party (2010) 'A Future Fair for All', London: Labour Party.

Libbrecht, L., Maddens, B., Swenden, W. and Farbre, E. (2009) 'Issue Salience in Regional Party Manifestos in Spain', *European Journal of Political Research*, 48 (1): pp. 58-79.

Liberal Democratic Party (2010) 'Change That Works for You', London: Liberal Democratic Party.

Norris, P. (1999) 'On Message: Communicating the Campaign', London: Sage.

Pattie, C. J., Johnston, R. J. and Fieldhouse, E. A. (1995) 'Winning the Local Vote: The Effectiveness of Constituency Campaign Spending in Great Britain, 1983-1992', *The American Political Science Review*, 89 (4): pp. 969-983.

Pattie, C. J. and Johnston, R. J. (1998) 'Campaigning and Advertising: An Evaluation of the Components of Constituency Activism at Recent British General Elections', *British Journal of Political Science*, 28 (4): pp. 677-685.

Pattie, C. J. and Johnston, R. J. (2003) 'Local Battles in a National Landslide: Constituency Campaigning at the 2001 British General Election', *Political Geography*, 22 (4): pp. 381-414.

Pattie, C. and Johnston, R. (2009) 'Still Talking, But is Anyone Listening?: The Changing Face of Constituency Campaigning in Britain, 1997-2005', *Party Politics*, 15: pp. 411-434.

Pattie, C. J. and Johnston, R. J. (2010) 'Constituency Campaigning and Local Contests at the 2010 UK General Election', *British Politics*, 5: pp. 481-505.

Pattie, C. J. and Johnston, R. J. (2013) 'Learning Electoral Geography? Party Campaigning, Constituency Marginality and Voting at the 2010 British General Election', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 38 (2): pp. 285-298.

Phillips, T. and Webber, R. (2014) 'Superdiversity and the Browning of Labour', *The Political Quarterly*, 85 (3): pp. 304-311.

Pogorelis, R., Maddens, B., Swenden, W. and Fabre, E. (2005) 'Issue Salience in Regional and National Party Manifestos in the UK', *West European Politics*, 28 (5): pp.992-1014.

RePass, D. E. (1971) 'Issue Salience and Party Choice', *The American Political Science Review*, 65 (2): pp. 389-400.

Robertson, D. (1976) 'A Theory of Party Competition', London: Wiley.

Rohrschneider, R. (2002) 'Mobilizing Versus Chasing: How Do Parties Target Voters in Election Campaigns?', *Electoral Studies*, 21 (3): pp. 367-382.

Saggar, S. (1998) 'Race and British Electoral Politics', Abingdon: Routledge.

Sanders, D., Heath, A., Fisher, S. and Sobolewska, M. (2014) 'The Calculus of Ethnic Minority Voting in Britain', *Political Studies*, 62 (2): pp. 230-251.

Sobolewska, M., Fieldhouse, E. and Cutts, D. (2013) 'Taking Minorities for Granted? Ethnic Density, Party Campaigning and Targeting Minority Voters in 2010 British General Elections', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 66 (2): pp. 1-16.

Stefanie, R. (2014) 'The Effect of Congruence in Policy Priorities on Electoral Participation', *Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (EPOP) Conference*, Available at: <<http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/events/epop2013/docs/ReherEPOP2013turnout-priority-congruence.pdf>> (accessed 16 October 2014).

Stemler, S. (2001) 'An Overview of Content Analysis', *Practical Assessment, Research and Evaluation*, 7 (17).

Whiteley, P. and Seyd, P. (2003) 'Party Election Campaigning in Britain: The Labour Party', *Party Politics*, 9 (5): pp. 637-652.

Appendix 1 - List of Constituencies Examined

Ethnically diverse constituencies:

Constituency	Ethnic Minority % in the 2001 Census
East Harrow	66.3
Birmingham Ladywood	64.9
West Ham	60.2
Brent Central	58.2
Ealing Southhall	52.7
Bethnal Green and Bow	49.8
Croydon North	49.5
Poplar and Limehouse	45.7
Tottenham	44.9
Lewisham Deptford	43.4

Source: Anwar (2009: 14)

Randomly selected sample of constituencies:

Skipton and Ripon	Battersea
Oxford East	Liverpool Wavertree
Manchester Withington	Nottingham East
Kettering	Ipswich
Argyll and Bute	South West Wiltshire

Appendix 2 – Comparative Manifesto Project Categories

56 Standard Policy Preferences in Seven Policy Domains

Domain 1: External Relations

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

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy

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

Domain 3: Political System

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

Domain 4: Economy

- 401 Free Enterprise: Positive
- 402 Incentives: Positive
- 403 Market Regulation: Positive
- 404 Economic Planning: Positive

- 405 Corporatism: Positive
- 406 Protectionism: Positive
- 407 Protectionism: Negative
- 408 Economic Goals
- 409 Keynesian Demand Management: Positive
- 410 Productivity: Positive
- 411 Technology and Infrastructure: Positive
- 412 Controlled Economy: Positive
- 413 Nationalisation: Positive
- 414 Economic Orthodoxy: Positive
- 415 Marxist Analysis: Positive
- 416 Anti-Growth Economy: Positive

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

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

Domain 6: Fabric of Society

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

Domain 7: Social Groups

701 Labour Groups: Positive

702 Labour Groups: Negative

703 Agriculture: Positive

704 Middle Class and Professional Groups: Positive

705 Minority Groups: Positive

706 Non-Economic Demographic Groups: Positive

Source: Comparative Manifesto Project, Full coding scheme available at:

https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/coding_schemes/1

Appendix 3 – Constituency Election Leaflets

West Ham:

Martin Pierce

WEST HAM ST

- A Councillor for 8 years, Martin knows how to get things done
- Married to Kate, with two daughters at state primary schools
- Originally trained as a Teacher, he now runs his own small business

Martin says: "For too long, Labour have taken people in West Ham and Newham for granted, but now people have lost trust in their politicians. It's hardly surprising when **our Labour MP claimed over £21,000** in 2008-09 for a **second home** even though West Ham is only 9 Tube stops from Westminster. On the other hand, can we really expect the Old Etonians who run the Conservatives to look out for the people of West Ham? Perhaps we already know - one of them is Boris Johnson, Mayor of London - and he just put bus fares up by 20% in January."

YOUR VOTE has the power to change things - it's time to make your voice heard!

Change that works for West Ham

The Lib Dem difference

The Liberal Democrats will take action to protect frontline NHS services.

We will put more police on patrol, restore the pensions' earnings link and deliver fair pay for the armed forces.

We can make this pledge because we have identified real savings to pay for it.

The Lib Dems have also always stood up for individual freedom - we opposed ID cards from the start.



Gordon Brown's record of shame:

- Wrote the cheques for the Iraq War
- Raised taxes on lower paid - and allowed the gap between rich and poor to grow
- Continued big bonuses for Bankers - even when we own the Bank!
- Dithered on MPs expenses - while West Ham's MP claimed **£21,000** for second home

It's time for a change - change that works for YOU

Tottenham:

This time we can win

- ✓ David Schmitz is fighting to save the Whittington A&E which Labour is trying to close.
- ✓ He gave free legal advice and support to the campaigns to save Wards Corner market and the Chestnuts Community Centre.
- ✓ David Schmitz's Lib Dems will make sure nobody earning less than £10,000 pays any tax.
- ✗ Tottenham's Labour MP claimed £25,000 for a second home despite living in London.
- ✗ The Labour MP voted for the Iraq war, for Heathrow expansion and for higher taxes on the very poorest.
- ✗ Labour only want your vote - you never hear from them when there isn't an election. The Labour MP recently moved out of Tottenham and doesn't even have an office here.
- ✗ The Tories cannot win round here, they are only active in a few very small areas of Tottenham.

This time more and more people are voting Liberal Democrat



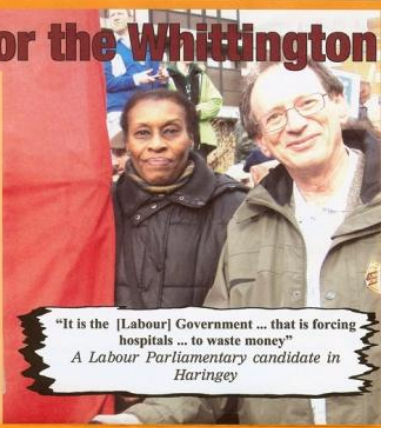
Winning here: David Schmitz with former Tottenham Conservative councillor Phil Murphie who is now backing David.

Fighting for the Whittington

The Labour Government is trying to close the A&E department and the maternity ward of the Whittington Hospital.

David Schmitz and the local Liberal Democrats have been actively involved in the campaign to save the Whittington A&E.

The Liberal Democrats have pledged to keep the Whittington A&E and maternity ward open. Under the Lib Dems these sort of decisions would be made locally - not by bureaucrats.



"It is the [Labour] Government ... that is forcing hospitals ... to waste money"
A Labour Parliamentary candidate in Haringey

A fair deal for local schools

The Liberal Democrats discovered that our schools are underfunded by over £1000 per pupil per year when compared to schools in neighbouring boroughs like Hackney and Islington.

David and the Lib Dems had been leading the campaign for fair funding for Haringey's schools for years.

The Liberal Democrats would also invest an extra £2.5 billion into the UK's schools to give every child the start in life they deserve. They also have a costed plan to abolish tuition fees. David wants a fair start for his daughter.



[the local Lib Dems] "led the fight to get better funding for Haringey Schools"
Haringey Independent

Defending our local community



Too many betting shops in Tottenham? The Labour MP was a minister in the Government department responsible for the recent explosion of gambling dens on our high streets. David Schmitz is fighting to change the law to back local residents.

The Labour party closed many of our Post Offices despite fierce opposition from local residents and David Schmitz. They also repeatedly attacked Wards Corner market - which David has been active in trying to save.

The Liberal Democrats would give local councils the power to set business rates - allowing councils to protect local high streets and communities from the recession.

"The wonderful David Schmitz"
Former Tottenham Conservative Chairman
[Tottenham's Labour MP] "seems to wear a cloak of political invisibility"
Ham&High newspaper

David Schmitz



LIBERAL DEMOCRATS
Election Communication

our area
YOU can change
YOU
be decided by
This election could

Four steps to a fairer Britain



Fairness on flights:
Labour have put a huge new tax on people flying to see their families in the Caribbean. They say it is to protect the environment, but the tax is higher than the tax on people flying to Los Angeles - even though these flights pollute more.
The Lib Dems and Floella Benjamin have launched a campaign against Labour's unfair tax, which hits people of Caribbean origin hardest. We are insisting that flight taxes be based on how much pollution is created - not by some arbitrary borders.

- 1. Fairer taxes that put money back in your pocket**
Pay no tax on the first £10,000 you earn - cutting most tax bills by £700.
- 2. A fair chance for every child**
Smaller class sizes, more cash for schools and the abolition of university tuition fees.
- 3. A fair future: create jobs by making Britain greener**
Invest in public transport, renewable energy and energy efficient homes.
- 4. A fair deal for you from the politicians**
Make politicians accountable and give you the right to sack corrupt MPs.

It's time for a change ...

Can we help you?

Is there something David could take up on your behalf? Let us know by filling in and returning this form:

Name _____
 Email _____
 Address _____
 Mobile _____

I will be supporting David on election day
 I can make a donation to help the Lib Dem campaign:
 £10 £5 Other £ _____

Please return to:
62 High Street, N6 7NX
 info@davidschmitz.org.uk
 www.davidschmitz.org.uk
 07913 740396

Lewisham Deptford:

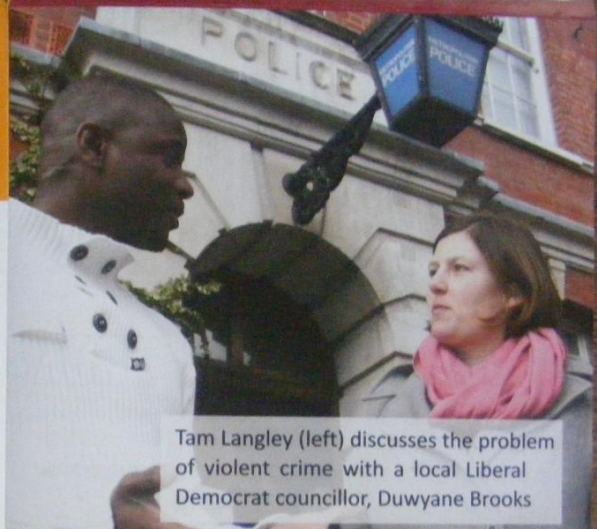
Working for YOU all-year-round

Tam Langley and her team have visited thousands of local residents over the past year to hear your concerns. As a result, Tam has run local campaigns on violent crime, transport, housing and the environment. Tam and the Lib Dems are active all-year-round, not just election time!

The result here at the last general election



No matter what the other parties might claim - it's only the **Lib Dems** who can beat **Labour** here in Lewisham Deptford.



Tam Langley (left) discusses the problem of violent crime with a local Liberal Democrat councillor, Duwyane Brooks



How Labour have let you down...

- Labour have failed to tackle violent crime
- Under Labour, the gap between rich and poor is now bigger than it was 20 years ago
- Labour took us into the war in Iraq costing billions of pounds and thousands of lives
- Labour locally have set the highest council tax in inner London

Lewisham Labour councillor claims £1,300 taxi bill on expenses

Source: Lewisham council
February 2010

Isn't it time you had an MP who fights for you?

A RECORD OF ACTION IN BRENT CENTRAL

SACHIN RAJPUT works hard all year round for you, engaging with the public and decision makers on issues that matter most. On election to Parliament, Sachin will continue to fight for Brent Central residents tackling health inequalities, crime and unemployment, and will work to address the dire public finances created by this failing Labour Government. Unlike Labour's Dawn Butler, he will not claim a second home allowance which he believes is unnecessary for a London MP to claim.



ABOVE: SACHIN GREETES INSPIRATIONAL RELIGIOUS LEADER

On his second UK visit attracting thousands of listeners to Wembley Arena, Sachin attended to pay his respects to Morari Bapu, famed for his Ram katha teachings promoting peace amongst all human kind.



LEFT: TALKING TO RESIDENTS IN STONEBRIDGE PARK

Local residents reacted warmly to the announcement of the Conservative Party pledging to address unemployment, by offering real apprenticeships and job opportunities, of particular benefit to the many young black males in Stonebridge who Labour have left behind in their 13 years of Government.



ABOVE: THREE YEAR COUNCIL TAX FREEZE

Mayor of London, Boris Johnson reassures Sachin that like this year where he and the Conservatives on Brent Council froze council tax, they would do so again for 2 years under a Conservative Government, funded by reducing unnecessary central Government advertising and consultancy. This would result in 3 years with no council tax rises brought to you by the Conservatives.

RIGHT: SACHIN GETS GP APPROVAL FOR CONSERVATIVE CANCER TREATMENT PLANS

It is abhorrent that cancer drugs available in other European countries are not available on the NHS. Local Tokyngton GP, Dr. J. Mahmoodi was pleased to hear that the Conservatives have made the NHS their number one priority and are committed to address this abomination.



LEFT: DISCUSSING MILITARY CONFLICT AND RESOURCES WITH ARMY CHIEF

On attending a briefing of the Army Presentation Team, Sachin discussed with Deputy Commander (London), Brigadier David Paterson OBE, both recruitment to our military and the need for proper resources to be provided for our troops for their safety and to ensure that they can continue to protect the civilians in conflict zones where they are fighting extremism.



VOTE SACHIN RAJPUT FOR THE CHANGE WE NEED

Bethnal Green and Bow:

Rushanara Ali

Bethnal Green & Bow



Rushanara speaks with local residents and supporters in Bethnal Green

I'm voting for Rushanara



"I've known Rushanara for three years. She is extremely helpful to the public and works hard for the whole community. That's why I'm backing her."

Mr Kola Miah
Whitechapel resident

East End Vision

A different kind of politics



We need a new kind of politics - the politics of optimism, backed by action and results. I will be an MP who listens and brings people together because I passionately believe that there is far more that unites us than divides us.

Unlocking talent



There is so much talent here but too much of it still remains untapped. I will work hard to make sure that local talent isn't wasted.

Social Justice and Equality



I am proud of Labour's massive investment in education and health but the gap between rich and poor is still too wide. I will fight hard for more resources and support for jobs, training and housing in this area.

As your MP, I'll fight for:

The East End at its best is a place of courage, decency and unity. But our community has been divided for too long. I want to change this.

I'm proud to have grown up here - going to school and working in the East End. I have spent my life working on the issues that matter to local people - jobs, housing, crime, education and poverty.

I'm standing for Parliament to unite the East End because I know we're stronger together than we are apart.

Rushanara Ali
Labour Parliamentary Candidate for Bethnal Green and Bow

- **More jobs and training**
I will bring more jobs and training opportunities and make sure we get our fair share of jobs from the Olympic Games.
- **Streets where we can all feel safe**
I will bring residents, community leaders and local police together to tackle the challenges of anti-social behaviour, street crime and drugs.
- **Decent and affordable homes**
I will work hard to support people who still suffer from a lack of decent and affordable housing.
- **Even better schools**
I will use the talents and expertise of our school teachers, youth workers and parents to keep improving educational standards here.
- **Even better health services**
I will join forces with health professionals and community workers to improve the health of local people.

VOTE FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRATS



AJMAL MASROOR
Parliamentary candidate for
Bethnal Green & Bow

www.ajmalmasroor.com / Mob: 07508 026 050

MY PLEDGE TO YOU:

- Regular face to face and online consultation sessions
- Weekly constituency surgery
- An online diary of all my expenses
- Not to have a second or a first home at your expense
- To be the MP for all people of Bethnal Green and Bow



9

MASROOR
Ajmal



Printed by Orchid. Published and promoted by Tessa Bartley on behalf of Ajmal Masroor at 46c Greatorex Street, London E1 5NP



Political Achievements

- Organised a delegation to Bangladesh led by Mark Field MP. Met with Prime Minister of Bangladesh on climate change and poverty.
- Organised visits for Richard Barnes Deputy Mayor of London to leading religious community organisations in Tower Hamlets such as the London Muslim Centre, the Bangladesh Welfare Association and Bricklane Mosque.
- Delivered a speech sharing the same platform as Boris Johnson at the London Fringe event
- Campaigned against the BNP councillor elected in Millwall in 1993/94
- Speaker at the national Police Conference in Manchester discussing young people, gangs and anti-social behaviour and how the police can work better with the community.

My Priorities

Crime and Anti Social Behaviour

We need to do more to make our streets and our homes safer. I will campaign for more police patrolling the street and not behind desks. I will support youth engagement programmes to help divert our young people from getting involved in anti-social behaviour activities.

Housing

Recent report by the National Housing Federation states that the waiting list in London boroughs has risen in the last year to a staggering 355,000 of which almost 20,000 are on the Tower Hamlets waiting list. Addressing issues around service charges and major works on behalf of Leaseholders. **We need to provide the right housing that people are so desperate for.**

Education

Our children deserve a good education. By putting a stop to violence in the classrooms, reduce truancy, introduce smaller classrooms and provide talented and specialist teachers who can give our children access to the kind of education that they deserve. **We must ensure our young people leave with qualifications as well as skills to succeed in their chosen careers.**

Employment & Training

Tower Hamlets has the 2nd highest rate of unemployment in the UK and one in six under 25 year old is unemployed. This needs to change. **We must get skilled local people into local jobs and need to create new opportunities to help the unemployed get back into work especially through the Olympics and its legacy.**



Working for you in Bethnal Green and Bow

I have been happily married to Rahima for nearly 18 years and have 3 wonderful children. Our eldest daughter is 16 years old, our son is 11 years old and our youngest daughter is 5.

I have lived in Tower Hamlets from the age of 7 where I attended St Peter's Primary School in Wapping, Sir John Cass Foundation School in Stepney and finally St Paul's Way Sixth Form in Bow.

My work in and with the community started when I was 17 working with young people in Whitechapel and Bow. Following a fruitful career in the third sector I went on to work for Canary Wharf Group as Sports Development Manager and was promoted to Head of Community Affairs a few years later.

I have and continue to represent the community on various boards and committees and get involved in a host of community led projects and initiatives.

I believe that my grass roots experience has given me a real understanding of community needs and aspirations and I am confident that I can translate this experience into a driving force to win Bethnal Green and Bow from Respect.

Having worked in the Public Affairs department for Canary Wharf Group for the last 10 years, I have established and maintained a strong and productive network of individuals, third sector organisations and faith groups in Bethnal Green and Bow.

It is an honour and privilege to be selected as the Conservative Parliamentary Candidate for Bethnal Green and Bow and to be given the chance to represent the local community as your Member of Parliament.

Layla Moran working for you



Fair access to schools

As a teacher, Layla knows that schools are the beating heart of any community. Attending a good local school is important not just for a child's future, but also for bringing people together. In a borough where transport is an issue for many, asking young families to make a long trek across London is unfair. This problem has been brushed under the carpet for too long by the council.

Layla would campaign for the council to follow a clear strategy for providing an adequate number of places in good local community schools.

Change our politics

The MPs' expenses scandal showed us that we need to change the way politics is done in this country. Layla wants to bring accountability back to the local community, where it belongs. She supports hard-hitting reforms to the political system, including the right to sack corrupt MPs.

As your Liberal Democrat MP, Layla would be visible and open with you. She would host meetings with residents, community leaders and politicians to consider important local issues like schools, transport and youth unemployment. She would publish regular newsletters and publish all her expenses online.



Revive the local economy

Layla Moran will stand up for local businesses and entrepreneurs. The Liberal Democrats would force banks to lend responsibly again, fight for sensible business rates and introduce Local Enterprise Funds connecting local investors to local business.

Big business should not have an unfair influence on developments like Nine Elms and Battersea Power Station. The Liberal Democrats would implement a local competition test to maintain a healthy mix of local and national businesses.

Layla Moran Make a difference



"As your MP in Battersea I will champion change that works for you. This is our chance to build a fairer Britain from the ashes of a government that took us into Iraq, into a recession and into the worst Westminster scandal since the Tory sleaze of the 1990s.

I am in politics to make a difference for real people. I care deeply about embracing diversity, community building and tackling social inequality.

We have some important issues to solve here in Battersea. Let's start afresh and do it together"

Layla is a maths and physics teacher and lives near Clapham Junction. She was born British-Palestinian and grew up in Ethiopia, Jamaica and Jordan. Battersea is now her home.

My contract with local people

I will put local people first. I will be there to help, listen to your concerns and stand up for our community.

I will make sure your voice is heard - locally and at Westminster. I will be a strong voice for Battersea.

I will be open and honest about all expenses incurred in representing you.

www.LaylaMoran.com

Four steps to a fairer Britain

1. Fairer taxes that put money back in your pocket
Pay no tax on the first £10,000 you earn – cutting most tax bills by £700.

2. A fair chance for every child
Smaller class sizes, more cash for schools and abolish university tuition fees.

3. A fair future: create jobs by making Britain greener
Invest in public transport, renewable energy and energy efficient homes.

4. A fair deal for you from the politicians
Make politicians accountable and give you the right to sack corrupt MPs.

Change that works for you



The Lib Dem difference

The Liberal Democrats will take action to protect frontline NHS services.

We will put more police on patrol, restore the pensions' earnings link and deliver fair pay for the armed forces.

We can make this pledge because we have identified real savings to pay for it.

The Lib Dems are the only party with a plan to balance the country's books after the recession.