

*preliminary version*

The election manifestos are often an object of analysis from various perspectives. To analyse different type of election manifesto, one has to employ common methodology as well as common strategy. In field of political parties' research election manifestos are welcomed sources of data.

The idea of developing common methodology for analysing is obviously not new one. The most prominent approach in analysing election manifestos was founded by MFG/CMP research project associated to WZB Berlin and University of Mannheim.

For investigating perceptions of national identity and its role in political parties' action, election manifestos offer complex research sources. One possible approach for investigation of election manifestos is the Comparative Manifesto Research Group (CMR) which has well-developed coding methodology (see chapter dealing with methodology).

For purpose of this research project the election manifestos from period 2004 – 2013 were coded; it is 3 general elections in the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia. The approach of analysing manifestos opens wide spectra of possibilities how to analyse and evaluate election manifestos. At this place, it must be mentioned that even if CMR offers a comprehensive tool, it has limited usage for specific policy fields or area of interest. In both cases, the manifestos' analysis covers wide scopes of policy fields. In addition to this, both analysis project may be used without any significant context restrictions. This means that both approaches are very helpful for broader analysis such as indicating left/right policy scale.

### **Coding structure**

The current election manifestos coding structure contains more than 700 memos. On this bases, the 55 codes have constituted 5 policy fields according shared content similarities. This has been done ex post to analysing of election manifestos. These policy areas have been set without a priori projections how the areas should be divided. According the election manifestos analysed, these raised policy fields constitute the most relevant issues in field of policy of national identity. However, these policy fields may be transferred into different geographical areas/contexts, the updating of coding structure is needed. In this case, the coding structure reflect the context of the Central-East European region, namely the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia. In other words, the code structure may be used in other political context, but the updating of codes is highly recommended.

Although the chronological ordering can indicate normative definition and divergent party positions, the deeper analysis of operationalisation has to be done. This means that divergent codes within each policy area indicate cleavage system within the policy of national identity.

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### **According coding of mentioned, the individual policy field were set as follows:**

- I) The European Union
- II) Values
- III) Culture
- IV) Minorities
- V) World

These selected (policy) areas are not contained in one or two specific policy field such as tax or health policy. In most of cases, the codes (memos) are scattered through out entire manifestos. Therefore, the above listed areas do not cover specific policies such as tax or health policy. However, also these policies may contain national identity coloured statements relevant for the research. Having in mind that national identity relevant parts of the manifesto might be present in different variations, one should pay attention to each part of manifesto. Above listed areas indicate possible variations in party positions. In other words, these areas have been set in order to be complementary to the term *policy of national identity*<sup>1</sup>; as was developed in other parts of this work. The main aim of this definition is to develop approach according which enable to undertake comparable research in policy of national identity in particular region. In following section, each area will be described together with definition of individual codes. Lastly, this part summarize list of instructions for further use.

For analysis of the election manifestos the qualitative method was used together with in social science popular software MAXQDA. The programme helps to give a structure to the collected data and to order them according defined categories/areas. For further detail on coding strategy see for example Basis of Qualitative Research (Corbin, Strauss 2010).

Contrary to other manifesto coding projects, the introduced coding book is based on grounded theory method. Therefore, definition individual codes is needed to get proper picture of coding strategy. In addition to this, it must be clear enough, how the codes were structured in each areas. These listed areas not only cover as wide scope of issues of policy of national identity but indicate areas of potential differentiations too. While looking at potential group of parties according e.g. to the party family or national affiliation, one can assume potential cleavages among those groups of parties. Therefore, this may help to get a complex picture on individual parties in field of national identity. In addition to this, it shows variations and differences according individual areas.

## **I) European Union**

This area covers issues relating to how the EU is perceived within manifestos. The purpose is to enhance the party's attitude towards issues relating with the EU. The most crucial point the party's position towards deeper integration of the EU. In other words, the party's commitment to the European idea. This example shows the complexity of whole issue. Usually, the manifesto doesn't contain statement supporting or rejecting deeper integration. It might be collected from various mentions such as supporting joining monetary union or explicit mention of nationally sensitive policy such as integration of tax policy. The domain of the EU consists from declaratory statements as well as from mentioning in various policy fields. It also shows, how the EU affairs penetrate each national context; and into what extent takes the EU relating issues as topic to be politicized.

The area of the EU contains following codes:

### **1. 1 Support of deeper integration**

The manifesto mentions the support to deeper integration as such explicitly mentions of federalization of EU or for instance perceiving common currency as a value instead only bringing economic gains. On the other hand, this code doesn't cover general meaning of the EU support.

### **1. 2 Support of the EU**

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1 This term is used e.g.by Gubirneau (2004).

The party proves general support of participation on European values without deeper specification and their further accommodation in national context. The code indicates general support of the country's integration afford and its' anchoring in the so called European legacy.

### **1. 3 Support of the EU but not deeper integration**

This code covers mentions of general support of the European integration but without party's commitment for supporting the integration in further steps deeper. Simultaneously, the manifesto doesn't contain any signs of rejection of certain policy integration. In other words, the code reflect the party's general position.

### **1. 4 EU enlargement**

The party support further enlargement of the EU. Contrary to above mentioned, this code doesn't any specific commitment to the EU integration. Therefore, the EU enlargement is mentioned by parties that oppose deeper integration. It is not specified which specific county/region is the support addressed.

### **1. 6 EU membership is useful**

This is often used in field of agriculture to support equal conditions in mainly in the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP). It can be used for different policy fields as well. The meaning is that the party claims that there aren't equal conditions in the EU and this evidence should be stressed more extensively.

### **1. 7 Strong in the EU**

The European arena is not perceived as a shared political space; rather as an environment of different national interests that must be defended by each party. To this code belong also mentioning concerning the EU funds without connection to the "European idea".

### **1. 8 Europe of nations**

The party opposes to the idea of deeper integration at all and supports return of some competences back to national level. The negative mentions about the EU are evident as well as depicting the EU as a threat for national sovereignty. The EU should remain on grounds of economic cooperation.

### **1. 9 Against the EU, leaving possible**

The party openly shows its critique against current of the EU, but doesn't explicitly mentions possibility of leaving the EU. This critique shows so called democratic deficit, doubtful legitimacy as well as threatening for the national sovereignty. In addition to this, the party supports leaving the EU.

## **II) Values**

The area covers expressions of the party that touch quite fluid meanings such as values of the society. In addition to this, it is important to pay attention how the party understands its role in shaping and communicating those values. In other words, in to what extend the party understand its role as a generator of particular values or as a cultivator. Although this area might be perceived as not very clear, the emphasis on the party's role in values' shaping system brings new perspective into analysis. In addition to this, the context of individual country plays crucial role; e.g. whether there are any national minorities in the country and how they are asked to participation on society values' system

This area is covered by following codes:

## **2. 1 Support of new emancipation movements**

The party call for redefinition of entire values of the society, which means rejection of current system. For purpose of this research, this redefinition is approached from liberal perspective and is meant against catholic church.

### **2. 1. 1 Nationalism negative**

The party rejects any use of nationalistic feeling in regard to the majority population. In this regard, the party openly refuse nationalism as a mobilizing tool.

### **2. 1. 3 Open society**

This is the matter e.g. homosexual partnership or acknowledging minorities' rights in maximal extent, or rejecting use term of nation/national state.

## **2. 2 Pluralism**

This code covers party's emphasis on equality of all individualities, religions, nationalities, and respect over individual freedom. This is the case also of party's commitment to participation on western values' system.

### **2. 3. 1 Secularisation**

The belonging to Church is perceived strictly as a private issues and should not be expressed publicly. In specific context, the party calls for abolishing participation of Church on states' activities. The religion is meant as a personal choice with no overlap to spread publicly.

### **2. 3. 2 Individualism as a value**

The party treats the role of individual as a one of the most important achievement of western societies. For its further development, it is important to be conscious that individuality is the basic unit of society.

## **2. 4 Freedom as a value**

Closely connected to the previous code; the party stress cultivation freedom within society as well as a legacy of communist regime.

## **2. 5 Human rights as a value**

The human rights are perceived as an integral part of liberal western societies and should be further cultivated as it's part. It means that human rights are perceived through wide range of policy fields.

## **2. 5 Traditional values**

The party emphasise national and/or regional traditions in order to naturally cultivate values that are in party's understanding perceived as traditional. This can be for instance landscape, folk traditions, or cultivation of historical monuments. It is important to stress, the party doesn't stress this values in emotional way.

## **2. 6 Christian values**

The party supports participation of Church on societal development. In addition to this, the party considers positive influence of Christian values on cultivation of society. Nevertheless, the party opposes involving Church into eg public education.

**- Support of Church**

in wider understanding the party encourages the Church to participate on public life and spreading its truths.

**- Church as an integral part of state**

The party understands Church as something what is deeply rooted in the society. In this context, doing of Church and state should be complementary to each other. The emphasis is given in promotion and defending of traditional values.

**2. 7 Patriotism as a value**

State should play active role in cultivating but mainly in producing of national culture. In this process, educational system should be involved in order to educate towards patriotism.

**2. 8 Nation is threatened**

The party openly stress rejection of other cultures and influences that can threat the nation. In addition to this the party strictly reject foreign influence. In this context, it can be understood as a policy against national minorities as well as against immigrants.

**IV) Culture**

The focus of this area is given on party's perception of culture and cultural heritage and what kind of role assign parties to culture. Whether culture does play any role in national identity consciousness or if culture is perceived as a civic service. It must be distinguish, role which culture should hold: active developing of national culture and national feelings; or cultivating certain traditions and cultural heritage. One of the most important aspect is the role of language; if the party considers as sign to be protected in its fine form or left for natural development. In addition to above mentioned, the attention should be paid to attitude towards culture of national minorities.

The list of codes was set as follows:

**3. 1 Diversity support**

The party promotes culture of (national) minorities living the state and recognize the culture as an equal to majority one. Doing so, the party defends right for self-determination of individual person. In addition to this, the party opposes to use of term nation or national.

**3. 2 Agriculture as a value**

The party perceives the landscape as a value that should be developed and cultivated. This is strongly connected to local (regional) identification

**3. 3 Culture as a value**

The culture is perceived as a source of knowledge that serve for cultivation of society. This level proves disconnection with any emotional feelings.

**3. 4 Support of national culture**

The party stress the need of cultivation of so called cultural heritage as a proof of identification with the nation. This means for example constructing of new monuments, or support of cultural diplomacy in foreign relations.

### **3. 5 National culture as a part of identity**

The party understands the national culture as given. Therefore, national identity cannot be separated from culture that shape the social and political context as well as

### **3. 6 support of national identity building**

The party proves explicit aims in developing national culture and perceives this as a necessary part of belonging ties. In this case, the state should play active role in cultivating but mainly in producing of national culture. In this process, educational system should be involved in order to educate towards patriotism.

### **3. 6 Soil as a culture**

The party reflects that soil as a constituting and identification tool for cultural development. The focus is given on specific regional identification.

### **3. 7 Soil as proof of nation**

The party proves primordial aspect of national identity. This means that it is understood that cultural and context (geographical and economic) aspects are given to the particular nation. Therefore, the nation is in this understanding unique.

## **V) Minorities**

This area covers various topics connected with different kind of minorities. Although the main association is given to national minorities, the area covers immigration policy or gender minorities as well. The focus is given on the level of their recognition by majority society, ie political parties; if the party support the right on self-determination and support developing minority's sense of belonging. On the other hand, into what extend the party stress their integration into majority society/culture.

The list of codes was set as follows:

### **4. 1 Inclusiveness**

The party promotes culture of different minorities and to encourage them in developing of their own identity as well as sense of belonging. The minorities are perceived as bringing gains to the societies and enriching majority culture.

### **4. 2 Protection of minorities**

Ensuring of protection of specific minority group (Roma) and strictly against minority demonisation within public discourse. Focus is given on

### **4. 3 Dialogue with minority**

The party focus on the given situation – the minority is part of the state and should not be excluded from political and social life. To develop peaceful relations, the dialogue is necessary for such a development.

### **4. 4 Limited immigration**

The party supports immigration from certain geographical or cultural areas that do not cause serious crash with major society. In addition to this, the party supports immigration of highly qualified people in order to be beneficial of country.

#### **4. 5 Limited rights for minorities**

The party supports the majority nation order within the state. The minority should accept the rules of majority; this is the case of political representation.

#### **4. 6 Against immigration**

The party reject integration incoming immigrants and develops tools how to decrease number of immigrants. This might be added by rejection of the EU immigrant policy.

#### **4. 7 Against minority rights**

The party develops feelings that certain national group is not welcomed in the state and clearly draw line among us and them. In other words, the party reject their integration; in some cases followed by forced assimilation

### **VI) World**

This section focus on international affairs with exception of the EU. The focus is given on stress cooperation with any particular country or geographical area. In addition to this, the attention is paid to role of values in the foreign policy as the party claims; mainly in case of human rights promotion. The second main area of focus is the relation to globalization and capitalism.

The list of codes was set as follows:

#### **5. 1 Openness towards world**

The globalization is perceived as a positive thing and as a chance for further development. This means openness towards immigrants with emphasis on respect to the individuality.

##### **5. 1. 2 International solidarity**

The party considers the political and social values as to be transferred into regions/states where it is needed. This the case of transformation assistance for Balkan countries from perspective of V4 countries.

##### **5. 1. 3 Pushing for human rights in foreign policy**

The party defines its foreign policy as based on liberal values; more specifiable, human rights are integral part of foreign policy. This is evident in case of states that are targeted in regard to transformation assistance as priority ones. This the case of Belarus in case of V4 countries or Western Balkan.

#### **5. 2 Western orientation**

This is understood as proving of belonging to certain world values' system and to the commitment of further developing. In this regard, the US are perceived as a guarantee of Western values' system.

#### **5. 3 Central European identity**

The party proves interest in specific region or country that should be supported a priori to other countries/regions. In context of V4 countries, the perception of shared "CEE spirit is significant. In this case, the party stress share social development as well as the transformation experience.



#### **5. 4. 1 positive connotation of Germany**

Germany is perceived as important economic and political partner in the EU. In addition to this, Germany is perceived as a model for particular reforms.

#### **5. 4. 2 negative perception of EU**

The party use connotation of the EU based on negative emotions like threat to national sovereignty, traditional values, national economy etc. The emphasis is give on the EU as such, not on specific policy fields.

#### **5. 5 positive connotation of RU**

Russia described as a strong and important partner in the foreign policy that hasto be respected and relations have to be cultivated. It also means that supporting Russia as a state representing certain values that should be followed.

#### **5. 6 perceived foreign economic threat**

The openness towards world brings also some negative aspects – threats for economy, inflows of immigrants, less control over borders. This perception goes through various policy fields such as agriculture, mineral resources, water management etc.

#### **5. 7 stressing sovereignty**

The national state and its sovereignty is understood as value that should be cultivated and preserved. It means against foreign influences as well as against those that don't respect the superiority of state's sovereignty.

#### **5. 8 Pacifism**

The party reject state's membership in the NATO and calls for abolishing of aggressive foreign policy. In addition to the use of military presence of any foreign country in the state party reject.

#### **5. 9 Slavs positive**

Slavs and Slavic nations are perceived special aim contrary to other nation and ethnics. The party argue that Slavs share same social features that should be further cultivated. This means for instance developing of special bilateral ties and cooperation.

#### **5. 10 negative towards neighbouring country**

The party proves negative attitude in specific region or country that should be supported a priori to other countries/regions. This is the case of states that are influenced by presence of national minorities from neighbouring countries such as Slovakia versus Hungary.

#### **5. 11 West orientation negative**

The party refuse state's participation on Western values its cultivation. The state should focus on national based values and traditions and less pay attention to the environment behind border. Nevertheless, it means also developing cooperation towards Russia.

#### **5. 12 otherness as a threat**

The party openly stress rejection of other cultures and influences that might be already presenting in the state. In addition to this the party strictly reject foreign influence. In this context, it can be understood as a policy against national minorities as well as against immigrants.



### **5. 13 militarization**

The national identity (state) could be defended even using military resources. The party strongly support developing of ethnically based identity. This identification is based on national values and refuse any external involvement.