POLITICIZATION OF ETHNICITY IN PARTY MANIFESTOS

Oleh Protsyk and Stela Garaz

ABSTRACT

The paper proposes a content analysis framework for textual analysis of programmatic documents, with the goal of identifying party positions on the ethnic dimension of political competition. The proposed approach allows for evaluation and comparison of how party systems in multiethnic states process ethno-cultural claims and demands. Our method of content analysis of party programmatic texts provides adequate granularity to capture the subtleties of ethno-cultural political rhetoric. It also addresses some of the misclassification and measurement problems raised in the literature with respect to the dominant Comparative Manifesto Project's (CMP) approach to textual analysis. We demonstrate how estimates generated by our method for human-based coding constitute an improvement on the CMP's estimates of party positions on ethno-cultural issues.

Keywords:

Content analysis; party policy; ethnicity/language/race; ethnic parties; Eastern Europe

INTRODUCTION

Electoral manifestos of political parties have been used for estimating party positions in a large number of policy areas.[1] The ethno-cultural dimension of party competition is not one of these areas. Having estimates of parties' positions on ethnic issues, along with estimates on other policy issues, is important both for empirical description and theoretical model building. Such estimates help to operationalize concepts that are at the core of literature dealing with the formation and persistence of group identities, ethnic mobilization and nationalism, diversity management and power sharing (Horowitz, 1985, Gurr, 1993, Hechter, 2000, Chandra, 2004, Olzak, 2006). These estimates are also of relevance to the general discussion on issues of party system formation and party competition in culturally heterogeneous societies (Lijphart, 1977, Alonso and Ruiz-Rufino, 2007, Birnir, 2007, Coakley, 2008). To our knowledge there have been no systematic attempts to analyze cross-nationally whether and how political parties formulate their positions on ethnicity-related issues in party manifestos. This paper attempts to fill this gap. It also seeks to contribute substantively and methodologically to the research agenda on party manifestos.

Rather than using available methods for producing manifesto-based estimates of party positions on ethno-cultural issues, we propose a new classification scheme for human coder-based analysis. We build our approach on research conducted by the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP), which is by far the most comprehensive effort to provide a comparative framework for the analysis of party manifestos (Budge et al., 2001, Klingemann et al., 2006). The CMP also contains estimates of party positions on ethno-cultural issues. It is our dissatisfaction with the reliability and validity of CMP's measures of ethno-cultural positions that provided an impetus for our effort.

While the CMP's approach was motivated by the desire to provide a comprehensive analytical framework for capturing party positions on *all* dimensions of party competition, our approach is driven by the concerns of scholars interested in specific policy dimensions. Scholars studying substantive issue areas – be it ethno-cultural issues, multi-level governance, or some other policy area – often find that the CMP coding scheme lacks adequate granularity to capture the subtleties of party rhetoric in that particular policy area. As the authors of the CMP scheme acknowledge, their method might be inappropriate for those who want to analyze specific policy areas (Budge, 2001b). With our study, we also hope to contribute to a general discussion about the strengths and limitations of different measures of party positioning (Electoral_Studies, 2007, Laver, 2001). A continuing debate on

the validity and reliability of the CMP's measures is part of this discussion (Pelizzo, 2003, Franzmann and Kaiser, 2006, Hansen, 2008).

We argue that for many research purposes there is no substitute to re-analyzing party manifesto texts from the perspective of a specific policy area. The cost of the CMP´s intention to guarantee comparability is that policy positions for particular policy domains are sometimes hard to estimate using CMP data. Scholars who are disappointed with not obtaining valid results in generating specific policy positions using CMP might benefit from introducing additional coding procedures. Such procedures could be especially useful in dealing with policy areas that are represented by a small number of coding categories in the CMP scheme.

The paper proposes a classification framework and a coding scheme for analysis of one such area. We demonstrate how our coding scheme helps to generate estimates of party positions on ethno-cultural issues which are superior to estimates produced by the CMP. For the empirical part of our investigation we focus on new democracies in Eastern Europe. Ethnic issues are generally assumed in the literature to be important for structuring the political process in the culturally heterogeneous societies of the region. As early as 1991, for example, Clause Offe argued that ethnically diverse post-communist societies will produce party competition dominated by ethnic rather than socio-economic issues (Offe, 1991). A comprehensive recent study of expert estimates of party positions provides empirical support for those early predictions of the importance of ethnic divisions for structuring politics in post-communist countries (Benoit and Laver, 2007). The growing awareness of the potential for ethnic differences to serve as an important source of political contestation in post-communist Europe is also reflected in the CMP's evolving approach to coding party manifestos. A number of new sub-categories introduced into the CMP's coding scheme in the 1990s explicitly target ethnicity-related issues (Klingemann et al., 2006).

We selected party manifestos from four Eastern European countries for our empirical investigation. These country cases – Bulgaria, Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine – are multiethnic polities that reflect the variety of structural conditions and types of ethnic relations found in Eastern Europe. Our case selection is motivated not by imperatives of causal hypothesis testing but by the desire to develop a valid measure for assessing the extent of ethnic politicization across different contexts of the post-communist transition. The sample captures some of the variation in salient features of these contexts; it includes countries both with an established record of statehood and without prior experience of independence, with

electorally successful and unsuccessful ethnic parties, and with different levels of integration into European institutions. For each of these four countries the CMP project generated detailed estimates of party positions, which enabled us to perform a direct comparison of our results and those of the CMP. We re-analyze and present our findings on 75 party manifestos from these countries. The CMP's original estimates are reported in its most recent volume (Klingemann et al., 2006).[2]

The paper presentation is organized as follows. The first section specifies what a content analysis framework for studying ethno-cultural competition should try to accomplish. The second section summarizes our arguments of why it is necessary to have an algorithm for generating estimates of party positions on ethno-cultural issues that is different from the one used by the CMP. The third section provides details of our classification framework, coding scheme, and coding procedures. The final section applies the proposed method to the analysis of actual manifesto texts and compares our estimates and those of the CMP. In this section we also report the results of reliability and external validity tests. The conclusion summarizes the strengths and limitations of our proposed approach.

ELEMENTS OF A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING ETHNO-CULTURAL COMPETITION

A conceptual framework and coding scheme for analyzing party competition on ethno-cultural issues should satisfy a number of criteria. Specifically, such a framework should allow specification of the content and boundaries of the ethno-cultural domain, define different policy dimensions inside this domain, and identify the range of positions that parties can take on each of the dimensions.

We conceptualize party positioning on ethno-cultural issues as a distinct domain of party competition. The existence of such a domain is often implied in ethnic politics literature (DeWinter and Cachafeiro, 2002, Chandra, 2005, Alonso and Ruiz-Rufino, 2007, Coakley, 2008). Party manifesto statements are defined in our research project as belonging to the ethno-cultural domain if they explicitly refer to ethnic groups and policies that affect the characteristics and conditions of these groups. Ethnic groups are understood here as communities that share (or are commonly defined by others as sharing) a set of beliefs of common descent and common culture which differentiate them from the rest of population of a given state. This definition allows for the operationalization of boundaries of the ethno-cultural domain and for differentiating between statements that fall inside and outside of this

domain: statements belong to the ethno-cultural domain if they refer to conditions and characteristics of ethnic groups rather than a country's entire population.

We identify two distinct dimensions in this policy domain. The first is the multicultural dimension, defined by a multicultural/integrationist divide. This divide animates many of the philosophical and policy debates on ethno-cultural issues (Kymlicka, 1996, Barry, 2001). The multicultural dimension captures party responses to the challenges posed by the ethnic diversity of societies where these parties operate. The multicultural/integrationist policy space registers party preferences with regard to the accommodation of minority groups. The variety of positions parties take and the nuances of their stances on minority accommodation issues constitute the very essence of ethnic politics. The classification framework is intended to help analyze these issues. It should not only allow for distinguishing between positive and negative stands on multiculturalism, but should also provide the means for differentiating between different types of multicultural claims. We discuss details of how the multicultural dimension has been operationalized in the party manifesto literature to date and how we think it could be improved in the subsequent sections of the paper.

The second dimension we identify in this project is the titular ethnic group dimension. Unlike the multicultural dimension, which captures party differences with respect to how to deal with minority groups, this dimension is about parties staking their positions and highlighting their differences in relation to the status of a titular ethnic group. The concept of a titular group is a foundational one in studies of ethnic politics. It denotes an understanding of a nation in ethno-cultural terms. This understanding has been especially prevalent in the East European context (Brubaker, 1996a). The status of the titular group and the extent to which its identity and defining characteristics should be a matter for policy intervention can be a highly salient issue in different national contexts. Parties can compete over many titular group issues such as the content of group identity, the role of specific symbols and characteristics, or the importance of intra-group awareness and solidarity (Brubaker, 1996b).

This competition is analytically distinct from party competition on multicultural issues. The two dimensions do not logically overlap. A party may be running on a platform of strengthening titular group identity but this does not necessarily predict its position on the multiculturalism dimension, on which the party can either support policies sustaining the identity of minority groups or oppose such policies. We mention empirical examples of such distinct bundles of policies adopted by individual parties later in the text.

CODING ETHNO-CULTURAL STATEMENTS: CMP'S APPROACH AND ITS LIMITATIONS

Our attempt to estimate party positions on ethno-cultural issues from party manifestos is not the first one. CMP's coding scheme contains a number of variables intended to capture party positions on these types of issues. We discuss the design of CMP's coding scheme and its limitations in some detail here because such a discussion facilitates an understanding of our method.

CMP's content analysis methodology is based on a classification scheme with fixed general categories that are used to cover the total content of electoral manifestos by identifying the statements of preference expressed in party texts. The coding procedure comprises a classification and quantification of manifesto statements. The coding unit is the "quasi-sentence," which is defined as the verbal expression of one political idea or issue.[3] The frequency of quasi-sentences under the same category is used as an indicator of how salient a given policy issue is for the party. Central for our discussion is CMP's decision rule that allows for individual statements operationalized as quasi-sentences to be coded under only one of the 56 categories of CMP's standard coding frame.

CMP categories designed for classifying ethno-cultural statements can be conceptualized as falling into two broad types. Variables that try to capture parties' positive attitudes towards the preservation of cultural distinction among ethnic groups in a given country can be seen as dealing with a *multicultural* position on ethnic issues. CMP variables that identify and code multicultural statements are: 1) "607- multiculturalism: positive"; 2) "6071 - cultural autonomy: positive"; 3) "6072 - multiculturalism   pro-Roma: positive"; 4) "7051 - minorities inland: positive"; 5) "7052 - minorities abroad: positive".[4]

Statements that signal a party's stand against multiculturalism are *integrationist* statements. The essence of these statements is support of policies aimed at fostering a common cultural identity and at erasing or making less visible the boundaries between ethnic groups in a state. CMP variables used for coding integrationist statements are: 1) "608 - multiculturalism: negative"; 2) "6081 - multiculturalism pro Roma: negative".[5] Three digit variable codes refer to CMP's original variables, while variable codes with more than tree digits indicate subsequently added subcategories to the original variables.

As this summary description of CMP's approach suggests, the project team identified the central theme in discussions of ethnic politics – the multiculturalist-integrationist divide. This is one of the two themes we introduced in the previous section. The other theme which

we argue is salient in the literature on ethnopolitics – politicization of titular group identity – is much more elusive in CMP's approach. A number of categories, especially "601- National way of life: positive" and "602- National way of life: negative" host statements dealing with titular group identity but definitions of such relevant categories are, as a rule, too inclusive to consider them valid measures of party positions on issues related to titular group identity. Therefore, we focus here primarily on examining CMP's results for the multicultural dimension.

Although CMP's coding scheme has a number of codes that specifically target multicultural statements, this scheme is not adequate for identifying all statements related to the multiculturalism theme. A significant number of ethnicity-related statements end up being classified under CMP's non-ethnic codes. We label this issue as a problem of undercounting and relate it to the manifesto literature's discussion of misclassification and measurement errors. The second major problem concerns the insensitivity of existing CMP codes to the relative importance of individual statements dealing with the same subject matter. We label this problem as one of non-differentiation. Next we discuss each of these issues in some detail and illustrate our discussion with examples of actual CMP data for East European party systems.

Undercounting

There are significantly more ethnicity-related statements in party manifestos than the combined frequency count of all statements coded under ethnicity-designated CMP variables would suggest. This is an important issue for analysis because frequency count is a main indicator of party positions in CMP's approach to content analysis of party manifestos. The problem is due to the fact that many statements on ethno-cultural issues are coded under variables other than those intended by CMP to capture ethnic statements. CMP's classification is based on a large number of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories, with a number of categories competing for the same statement. The coders are forced to choose between more than one plausible code for many statements and a statement ends up in a category deemed by a coder as the most relevant. CMP provides detailed guidelines on how these decisions are made but these guidelines are designed for creating an all-purpose classification and not for addressing the needs of a researcher interested in analyzing party manifestos from the perspective of a particular issue dimension.

A factor contributing to undercounting is CMP's specific decision rules that are activated when more than one coding category seems to apply to a statement. One of these rules deals with statements that might be coded either as a policy statement, or a statement dealing with a social group. It instructs a coder to classify such a statement under the policy category. Out of the small number of CMP ethnicity-related categories we listed earlier, two recently introduced categories (7051 - minorities inland: positive; 7052 - minorities abroad: positive) are explicitly group and not policy-oriented. Thus, both the peripheral status of ethnic issues in the overall coding design and the "policy position beats group politics" rule discourage manifesto coders from using ethnic categories for classifying manifesto statements.[6]

The key problem identified above – undercounting caused by a coding procedure that forces a coder to choose between more than one plausible codes for a statement – is illustrated in Table 1. The table lists examples of statements that were undercounted. Examples come from party manifestos from each of the four countries included in this study. The table lists what we consider to be ethnicity-related statements which were coded by CMP under various non-ethnic variables. As a contrast, for each of the listed variables we also provide an example of CMP-coded statement which is not ethnicity-relevant. All the examples were taken from original CMP-coded texts obtained by the authors from CMP.

[Table 1 here]

Statements listed in Table1 were coded by CMP under one of the four categories of its standard coding frame. These are "202-democracy: positive", "301-decentralization: positive", "503-social justice: positive", "601-national way of life: positive". In our view, the first of the two statements in each category explicitly provides information that is relevant for identifying the position of a party on ethnicity-related matters. Explicitly ethnicity-relevant content is what differentiates these statements from the statements listed second in each of categories.

Given CMP's coding scheme, all statements listed in the table were correctly attributed to their respective categories. Neither of these categories belongs to CMP's set of ethnicity-designated variables mentioned earlier in the text. It is our specific interest in ethnic politics that makes us view statements, which in the CMP's classification belong to the same category, as being different. Therefore, relying on the CMP's ethnicity-designated categories does not provide complete and accurate information on party positioning on ethnic issues.

Non-differentiation

Another set of problems regarding CMP's treatment of ethnic issues deals with the fact that information obtained through the CMP's ethnicity-designated variables is not sufficiently differentiated. With the CMP's codes it is not possible to distinguish between different types of pledges and positions that parties take on ethnic issues. This problem stems from the same initial choices CMP made while constructing the basic coding framework. As already discussed, the peripheral status of ethnic issues in the framework that was eventually adopted left an analyst interested in ethnic politics with only two basic categories for relevant party statements – "multiculturalism: positive" and "multiculturalism: negative." The other five CMP ethnicity-relevant categories provide only minor variation on these two variables.

Conceptual issues arise from other aspects of dealing with the task of classifying statements on the multiculturalism dimension. Global proliferation of human rights concerns has made political parties aware of the need to take a stand on issues of ethnic non-discrimination and protection of basic minority rights. These are increasingly perceived as part of the general body of human rights. Party statements related to these issues are treated by CMP as falling under the "multiculturalism: positive" variable. These types of statements, however, are not part of multiculturalism when the latter is understood as a positive agenda for fostering group identities and promoting ethnic diversity. Obviously, these statements do not fall under the "multiculturalism: negative" category either. The same problem exists for statements expressing general support for interethnic peace and harmony. By only stating its support for interethnic peace, a party says nothing about its preferences for either multicultural or integrationist ways of achieving it. By classifying all these statements as positive multicultural, CMP's coders are stretching the conceptual limits of the category.

Another problem arises from the aggregate nature of the basic categories on the multiculturalism dimension. Being the only original category for classifying statements that favorably mention or advocate ethnic diversity, the "multiculturalism: positive" variable lumps together party statements of a very different nature. The coding framework makes no differentiation on what exactly is advocated or supported through a given pro-multiculturalism statement. The following positions are all coded under the same category: support for the maintenance of cultural institutions of different ethnic groups, support for the introduction of special forms of group-based representation, demands for territorial autonomy, and claims of constituent nation status. For scholars of ethnic politics these types of claims are, however, far from being equivalent (Gurr, 1993, Ishiyama and Breming, 1998).

A party's support for the use of a minority language in primary schooling and its support for the establishment of administrative-territorial autonomy for an ethnic group signal very different types of policy commitments and programmatic stances. The CMP's coding scheme does not capture these differences.

INTRODUCING A CODING SCHEME FOR ETHNICITY-RELATED STATEMENTS

The issues discussed above make CMP's estimates of a limited value for scholars of ethnic politics. Examining party manifestos through the prism of ethno-cultural competition requires a classification framework and coding scheme that is more sensitive to these scholars' interest in the systematic examination of how ethno-cultural issues are reflected in party rhetoric. We next discuss the details of our proposal for such a framework, introduce a coding scheme, and discuss coding procedures.

In addressing the task of scheme development, we subscribe to the salience measurement theory that underlies CMP's approach to generating position scores. The salience measurement theory is contrasted in the CMP-related literature with a confrontational approach to measuring party positions (Budge, 2001a). While a 'pure' confrontational coding scheme would not usually use a quasi-sentence as a recording unit, the parsing of a manifesto text into quasi-sentences is the very basis of a coding scheme informed by the salience measurement theory. We retain this basic feature of the CMP's approach – the use of quasi-sentences - in developing our coding scheme. The total number of quasi-sentences identified for a manifesto provides a basic reference point for calculating the salience of individual ethno-cultural categories and the salience of this policy domain in general. Key differences between our method and that of the CMP relate to the coding scheme and the coding procedures that coders have to use in textual analysis.

Coding Scheme

A summary of our coding scheme is presented in Annex I. As this summary indicates, we provide a number of coding categories to identify party positions on the multicultural and titular ethnic group dimensions. Our treatment of the multicultural dimension is especially elaborate. We add an additional category to the original two categories used by CMP for this dimension. We also introduce a number of sub-categories which in our view are essential for

developing an adequate understanding of party positioning in multiculturalism-integrationist policy debates.

While we use two of the CMP's original category labels, "multiculturalism: positive" and "multiculturalism: negative", to identify the opposite ends of the multicultural dimension, we provide more restrictive definitions of what these categories actually mean. Manifested reference to the characteristics/conditions of an ethnic group(s) is a necessary attribute of a multicultural statement in our coding scheme. CMP interprets multiculturalism more broadly: some statements related to cultural practices and life style choices, which are not specific to ethnic groups, are coded by CMP as multicultural. Such statements are excluded from the multicultural categories in our coding scheme.

Our new category on this issue dimension is "multiculturalism: neutral". As discussed earlier, the CMP's dichotomous coding of multicultural positions – "multiculturalism: positive" and "multiculturalism: negative" – is not discriminate enough. It does not differentiate statements that refer to ethnicity but do not take manifest position on whether ethnic problems should be resolved through multicultural ("multiculturalism: positive") or integrationist ("multiculturalism: negative") policies.

The availability of only two categories in the CMP's coding scheme forces the coders to classify all ethnicity-related statements as either positive or negative. Statements that mention ethnicity in a neutral way – without advocating multicultural or integrationist policies – tend to be classified under the "multiculturalism: positive" variable. In our view, such statements do not fit into this category and should be reclassified under a new category, which occupies a middle section of the multicultural-integrationist policy scale. Generally, our proposal of introducing a neutral category resonates with some literature's concerns about the desirability of having a coding scheme that registers statements that are pro some policy position, those that are con, and those that are neutral on it (Laver and Garry, 2000).

Table 2 provides examples of party statements that fall into each category of this revised scale.

[Table 2 here]

Due to space limitations, the table above only provides one example per country/category. The table should provide sufficient illustration of the types of statements we code as neutral. While acknowledging and supporting the provision of guarantees for basic minority rights, neither of the statements listed under the neutral heading advocates any positive measures aimed at fostering and promoting ethnic diversity and distinct group

identities. As these examples demonstrate, having the "multiculturalism: neutral" category increases the amount of differentiated information available for a researcher. It is then up to him/her whether to treat neutral statements, which are provided in our content analysis data, separately or as a part of the "multiculturalism: positive" category in the context of a specific investigation.

Our coding scheme also introduces a number of sub-categories for positive multicultural statements. In differentiating between multicultural statements, our point of departure is the level of demands that ethnic groups put forward in their negotiation with a state.[7] These demands can be ordered from the least to most radical ones. We differentiate four types of claims that focus respectively on: identity preservation, group-based political representation, territorial autonomy, or group status as a constituent nation.[8] Different types of policies are usually associated with each of these types of claims and demands. Annex I provides more details on the sub-categories of the positive multicultural statements.

We classified all statements that were identified as signaling a positive multicultural stand according to this typology[9]. Table 3 below provides examples of different types of multicultural statements.

[Table 3 here]

The examples of constituent nation claims given in Table 3 might require some additional explanation. A statement about the status of the Russian language in the case of Moldova and a statement about the Hungarians' equal ownership of the state in the case of Romania, were classified as constituent nation claims due to the fact that these statements directly challenge the idea of a titular or core nation. Politicians subscribing to the "core nation" thesis usually support a titular group's special entitlement claims and state policies aimed at securing a special "preferential" status for a titular group's language and culture. Statements in the last row of Table 3 question these fundamental beliefs and therefore constitute the strongest type of multicultural claim.

We have a much less elaborated scheme for coding statements on the second dimension we introduce, the titular ethnic group dimension. As the coding scheme summary presented in Annex I indicates, for this dimension we only introduce a category that extracts positive statements regarding the titular ethnic group. In the coding scheme summary we do not list categories for negative or neutral positions because we found them to be consistently empty. The emptiness of these categories does not preclude their theoretical possibility. One can

imagine an extremist ethnic minority party which was allowed to register and which used anti-titular ethnic group slogans in its campaign manifestos.

Having only one category does not pose a challenge for a salience theory of party positioning which does not require that all issues have both a positive and negative dimension. Many of the "themes" in the CMP coding scheme, as has been pointed out in the literature, have also only one category (Ray, 2007). The count of titular group statements provides valuable information on the nature of the discourse on ethno-political issues in party manifestos.

The proposed scheme does not include sub-categories for titular group statements either. This is because of difficulties in generalizing patterns of politicization of titular group issues. While the content of a titular group identity, for example, is often disputed, the nature of issues that become politicized is highly idiosyncratic. This is well illustrated by the qualitative literature that includes studies of contestation of titular group identity in country cases examined in this paper (Shulman, 2004, Protsyk et al., 2008).

Examples of titular group related statements that our coders identify include the following: "we defend the historical right of the native population to call themselves Moldovan" (Moldova, PDAM 1994); "The party supports the renaissance of the Ukrainian traditional culture." (Ukraine, URP 1904). To reiterate our key point, the cited statements are distinct from statements we classify as belonging to the multicultural dimension. The latter focuses on ethnic minorities, while the former focus on titular groups. The concerns about the situation of a titular group seem to be particularly widespread in the context of newly established states where majorities struggle in dealing with the legacies of their assimilation by the dominant groups of the former state. As a result, in our sample of party manifestos we find those where strong support is pledged for the revival of both the titular group and minority cultures.

Coding Procedures

Detailed descriptions of the classification scheme and coding categories, which are listed in Annex I, is provided in a coding manual which has been prepared to support the use of our framework. The manual also contains a description of additional decision rules to help coders make classification decisions in problematic cases when the criteria for a statement's inclusion in the ethno-cultural domain are not fully met, the meaning of the statement is open

to interpretation, or the context of the statement provides conflicting cues. The coding manual also contains samples of manifestos for reliability testing.

The coders involved in our study, all of whom are natives of the four countries studied, were trained using the manual. As already mentioned, we opted to retain the structure of quasi-sentence divisions imposed by CMP. This means that our coders accepted how the manifesto text has been parsed into quasi-sentences and did not attempt to parse the text into a different combination of quasi-sentences. The coders were instructed to read the CMP-coded manifestos, identify quasi-sentences relevant to the ethno-cultural domain, and code them according to the instructions provided in the coding manual.

To establish a degree of inter-coder reliability for our coding scheme, all manifestos for two country cases in our sample were coded twice by two different coders. In total, 53 out of 75 manifestos we examined in this project were coded twice. The results of coder reliability tests are reported in the next section of the paper, where we also briefly discuss some of the patterns of disagreement between the coders. All manifestos coded in the course of our project are available on the project website.[10]

PARTY POSITIONING ON ETHNO-CULTURAL ISSUES: NEW ESTIMATES

In this section we report the substantive results of our coding exercise and compare our estimates with those of CMP. We also provide details of inter-coder reliability tests and discuss issues related to the external validity of our estimates. All estimates generated by our project can be downloaded from the project website. On the website we also report standard errors of our estimates as recommended by Benoit, Laver, and Mikhailov (2009).

Our findings provide strong support for our initial expectation that CMP systematically undercounts the number of ethnicity-related statements and thus underestimates the importance of ethno-cultural issues in party competition. This expectation was confirmed by the examination of party manifestos in each of the four country cases. We first report the counts of ethnicity-related statements aggregated across all party manifestos on a country basis. For all manifestos that we analyzed we identified almost twice as many ethnicity-related quasi-sentences as CMP reports under its seven ethnicity-related categories. Graph 1 provides details on raw frequency counts. It shows under which CMP categories ethnicity-related statements were found and how the overall count of these statements was distributed across categories and countries. The CMP`s categories in Graph 1 are grouped as ethnic and non-ethnic.

[Graph 1 here]

As the graph indicates, the ethnicity-related statements we identified were originally coded under many CMP categories, including a large number of non-ethnic categories. The same CMP non-ethnic categories served as a host for ethnicity-related statements in party manifestos of more than one country. For example, ethnicity-related statements were found coded under the "201-freedom and human rights" and "606-social harmony: positive" categories in each of the four countries. Categories such as "202-democracy: positive", "301-decentralization: positive", "601-national way of life: positive", and "603-traditional morality: positive" – were used in three out of four country cases.

These findings fit into the CMP's earlier conclusion that there are "highly populated" categories among the variables in the CMP coding scheme (Volkens, 2001). These are the variables that are defined in such a general way that their analytical utility is compromised. Some of these categories became residual in the sense that there was a tendency for the coders to put a vaguely stated or cumbersome statement in one of such categories.

Some of the ethnicity-related statements we identified and presented in Graph 1 also provide a good illustration of the limitations of the CMP's approach to the difficult problem of accounting for multiple membership of manifesto statements in several policy categories. For example, variables "301-decentralization: positive" and "302-decentralization: negative" have been used for coding both statements about decentralization as a system of delegating power to local authorities and also statements about creating territorial autonomies for territorially concentrated ethnic minorities. From the ethnic politics perspective, these are two different policy issue areas and parties take different stances on these issues.

Our finding that CMP undercounts the number of ethnicity-related statements is not a problem only for specific parties. The fact that undercounting has been a systematic problem across the entire spectrum of political parties is illustrated in Graph 2. The graph uses a percentage scale to demonstrate the difference between CMP's and our results of the salience of ethnicity-related statements for all parties in our country samples.

[Graph 2 here]

The graph indicates that undercounting was a problem for the vast majority of party programs covered by CMP. For a number of manifestos, our estimates do not simply augment the CMP-determined salience of ethnic issues but actually introduce these topics in the discussion of party positioning – this is the case when the original CMP estimates are equal to zero. One stark example of such a case is the difference between CMP's and our estimates of

the position of the Party of Romanian National Unity (PUNR) in the 1992 parliamentary elections. A very considerable share of this party's manifesto text dealt with integrationist and titular group status themes, both of which were left unregistered in the CMP's approach.

Our estimates also significantly change the ordering of parties in terms of the salience of their positions on ethnic issues. In the case of Moldovan parties, for example, our estimates reverse the positions of four parties with the highest salience of ethnic issues. These parties ran on minority-friendly programs that contained a large number of positive multicultural statements. Our and the CMP's estimates agree that ethnic issues in the Moldovan case were the most salient for these four parties, yet we disagree on their individual standing relative to each other. These disagreements have significant implications for the substantive discussion of party positioning and the evolution of party competition over time.

The conceptual framework and coding scheme we introduce also produce a much more nuanced picture of what ethnic competition is about in different national contexts. As we explained in the previous section of this paper, we introduce three categories of statements on this dimension: multicultural, neutral, integrationist. There are different ways to use these categories for subsequent construction of multiculturalism scales and computation of party position scores. In the discussion of party positions in the next section of this paper we use a simple index that is based on multicultural positive scores minus integrationist scores. We do not include neutral statements into index calculations because we find that in the context of the countries we examine the neutral statements do not convey any substantial information about party support for multicultural or integrationist agendas. One can imagine, however, that in national contexts which are much less open to the ideas of multiculturalism, even neutral statements can signal an unambiguously pro-multicultural position. Combining positive and neutral mentions then might be beneficial. The proposed approach to coding allows for flexibility in combining individual category scores.

Our results from applying the three-category classification scheme of the multicultural dimension and comparing our findings with those of the CMP are presented in Graph 3a below. Since our data is the most comprehensive in the case of Moldova and Romania, for which we have the complete estimates for the 1990-2003 period covered by the published CMP studies, we report here the results for these countries only.

[Graphs 3 here]

The first two bars in Graph 3a compare the CMP's and our results of classifying the CMP-counted ethnic statements. These are the statements that were coded under the CMP's

seven ethnic categories, which we listed earlier in the paper. As the graph indicates, integrationist statements have minimal presence in the CMP's estimates and the vast majority of ethnic statements were coded by CMP under the "multiculturalism: positive" category. In the case of Moldova, 98.3% of the statements that CMP identified as ethnic were coded under this variable. In the case of Romania, more than 97 % of all statements were classified under the "multiculturalism: positive" variable. Our analysis of the same statements suggests that only 73% and 68% of statements in the Moldovan and Romanian cases respectively should be considered as positive multicultural. Neutral statements were found to comprise quite a substantial share in both cases. Our results also indicate that integrationist or, in the CMP's terminology, "multiculturalism: negative" statements were much more frequent than the CMP's analysis leads us to believe.

The bottom bars in Graph 3a give details on the distribution of statements in our counts of ethnic statements. These counts are based on a complete set of all ethnicity-related statements identified by our coders. For both country cases about a third of the statements that belong on the multicultural-integrationist dimension were coded as neutral. The share of integrationist statements was also quite substantial and many times higher than the CMP's estimates. These results indicate that neither neutral nor integrationist categories are "empty" categories and therefore should be taken seriously in any manifesto-based analysis of party competition on ethnic issues.

Graph 3b provides results of our attempts to differentiate among types of positive multicultural claims. The graph is based on our counts of positive multicultural statements. Identity preservation statements, which constitute the least politically sensitive category of multicultural claims, account for more than half of multicultural statements in both countries. The remaining shares are composed of statements dealing with what could be considered higher level claims – those dealing with demands for group-based political representation, territorial autonomy, and constituent nation status. Neither of the higher order categories, however, was found to be empty for either of the country cases. This encourages us to think that the proposed typology could be usefully applied for understanding the nature of multicultural claims put forward in different national contexts.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF OUR ESTIMATES

The critical final step of our analysis consists of testing the reliability and validity of our measurement scheme and party position estimates. To test for reliability, the following procedure was adopted. All Moldovan and Romanian party manifestos included in this study – 24 manifestos for Moldova and 29 for Romania - were coded by two different coders. The coders were trained following the same procedures detailed in our coding manual. A comparison of estimates produced by two different coders for a large number of party manifestos constitutes the basis for our efforts to evaluate the degree of intercoder reliability in using our approach. This specific type of reliability test is conceptualized in the literature as a test of reproducibility (Krippendorff, 2004).

For calculating reliability scores we used Krippendorff's alpha for reliability, a formula which calculates the percentage of agreements between different coders, by also taking into account the relation between the observed and expected disagreements (2004; 221-223). Krippendorff established the value of 67% as the minimum acceptable agreement score for the reliability test (2004; 241). In our case, we obtained a 77% agreement score for Moldovan manifestos and 72% for Romanian ones. Overall, these results give us confidence that the procedures we employ for assessing the degree of ethnic issue politicization in party manifestos produces reliable estimates.

We also rely on Krippendorff (2004) in our discussion of validity tests. Krippendorff suggests that in order to empirically validate data obtained through content analysis one needs evidence that justifies the treatment of the text (content validation), evidence that justifies the inference that the content analysis is making (internal validation) and also, evidence that justifies the obtained results (which, for the sake of simplicity, we label external validation). Below we discuss how our method and generated scores perform on each of the three types of validation.

Content validation requires evidence on sampling and semantic validities. The former determines the degree to which the sample of texts used for the content analysis represents the entire population of texts from which the sample is drawn. The latter determines "the extent to which the categories of an analysis correspond to the meanings these texts have within the chosen context." (Krippendorff, 2004; 318-319). The sampling validity of our

estimates is supported by the case selection principles we applied. As discussed in the introduction, we chose for our analysis the electoral manifestos from the four countries that differ considerably on a number of key parameters relevant for studying ethnic politicization. Our sample of manifestos reflects the diversity of East European party manifestos which is the population we are interested in studying.

The semantic validity of our results is supported by the already introduced evidence that confirm the propensity of our coding scheme to capture key aspects of ethnicity-related competition relevant for the region. We defined and operationalized the ethno-cultural domain, the existence of which is often posited in the academic literature, on the structuring of party competition in Central and Eastern Europe. We identified the multicultural/integrationist divide as a primary dimension of party competition in the ethno-cultural domain. The relevance of this dimension for Central and Eastern European party systems is supported by various studies of political competition in the four selected countries (Birch, 1995, Crowther, 1997, Bugajski, 2002, Popescu, 2003). The relevance of the second key dimension we identified - the titular ethnic group dimension – for studying politics in the region is also prominently acknowledged in the literature (Brubaker, 1996a).

For the *internal validation* we use evidence that the estimates we generated fit generalizations and patterns identified in the academic literature. One important generalization that is relevant to our work has been articulated in Rogers Brubaker's well known research on nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe. Many post-communist countries facing old or new challenges of state building chose, in Brubaker´s view (1996a, 1996b), 'nationalizing' policies at the start of transition. Given Brubaker's observations, which are generally accepted in the literature, one should expect this 'nationalising' or integrationist message to be reflected in parties' integrationist stances during the 90s. The estimates we generated are well in line with this generalization. In contrast, the CMP's estimates are not, because according to CMP data there were no integrationist parties during the 1990s in the countries we examined.

Another generalization which is commonly accepted in the literature concerns the differentiated character of claims and demands articulated by minorities (Horowitz, 1992, Gurr, 1993). This literature describes different types of minority claims and specifies the conditions under which one or another type of claims is articulated. Our estimates support this differentiated treatment of claims and allow for testing some of the propositions

articulated in this literature, such as such as Jenne's (2004) bargaining model of minority demands.

Finally, the *external validation* requires evidence that the estimates we generated are in line with the data produced by alternative sources. If our content analysis method performs better in determining parties' positions on ethno-cultural issues than the CMP's approach, alternative data sources should reflect this. We rely here on two types of external data to address the issue of validity: expert surveys and qualitative case studies. Although using either of these sources for validating content analysis-based estimates has its own limitations, combining evidence from both sources offsets some of the limitations of each data type and increases our leverage in addressing validity questions.

We examined data from three expert or party elite surveys of party competition that cover the country cases included into our study (Kitschelt et al., 1999, Benoit and Laver, 2007, Protsyk et al., 2008). We also consulted a large number of case studies that address the issues of party positioning in individual party systems. We discuss the results of this examination, highlighting some of the instances where our and the CMP's estimates diverge for each of the four countries.

In the case of the Moldovan party system, there is plenty of expert survey data for the time periods covered by our study. Surveys by both Benoit and Laver (2007) and Protsyk et al. (2008) contain relevant estimates. Benoit and Laver's expert survey, which is the most comprehensive in its country coverage, was conducted during the 2002-04 period. It contains a question intended to identify party positions on the "nationalism–cosmopolitanism" dimension. For this dimension, "nationalism" is measured in terms of the extent to which a party promotes "a national rather than cosmopolitan consciousness, history and culture". This measure of "nationalism" could be used with some reservations as a proxy of a parties' integrationist position that both we and the CMP team attempted to estimate. Protsyk et al.'s expert and party elite surveys of the Moldovan party system cover approximately the same time period. They contain questions that could be more directly translated into our multicultural-integrationist dimension and used for validating data on both ends of this dimension.

The CMP and our estimates of party positioning on the multicultural-integrationist dimension in the 2001 Moldovan parliamentary elections differ most dramatically in evaluating party competition on the integrationist end. The CMP data suggests there were no parties positioning themselves on that end of the continuum. Our estimates indicate that one

of the electorally successful parties – the *Christian Democratic Party of Moldova (PPCD)* – had a clearly articulated integrationist stand. Both of the cited surveys agree with us on this issue. The academic case studies of the Moldovan party system contain a similar interpretation of the PPCD's position (Bugajski, 2002).

Benoit and Laver's survey, which was briefly introduced above, is also relevant for our examination of party competition in the Romanian case. This survey data indicates that one of the Romania parties – the *Great Romania Party (PRM)* – had a radically nationalist position around the time the survey was conducted. A similar interpretation is prominent in case study research (Popescu, 2003). Our estimates of party positioning in the 2000 Romanian parliamentary elections confirm this finding. At the same time, the CMP data reveals no party with a strong integrationist position in Romania during that period.

In a similar way, the CMP data fails to take account of the integrationist stances of political parties in earlier parliamentary elections in Moldova and Romania. Graph 4 provides an illustration of how the CMP and our estimates of party positions on the multiculturalism-integrationism dimension differ for the 1994 Moldovan and the 1992 Romanian parliamentary elections.

[Graph 4 here]

The CMP data suggests that there were no integrationist parties among the winners of the 1994 Moldovan elections. Our estimates indicate that one of electoral contestants – *the Alliance of Popular Christian Democratic Front (AFPCD)* - did take an integrationist stance. The academic case studies of the Moldovan party system contain a similar interpretation of AFPCD (Bugajski, 2002, Crowther, 1997). Numerous articles in the local press of that time also prove AFPCD's integrationist position.[11] Similarly, Graph 4 shows that the CMP has not registered any integrationist party in the 1992 Romanian elections. Our estimates indicate that two parties participating in those elections had integrationist positions: *Party of Romanian National Unity (PUNR)* and *Greater Romania Party (PRM)*. The academic literature on the Romanian party system describes both parties as having a strong integrationist stance at the beginning of the 1990s, which confirms our findings (Bugajski, 2002).

As Graph 4 also indicates, the CMP and our estimates differ for the multicultural part of the dimension as well. These differences, however, are only about the extent of salience of multicultural issues for parties: the CMP and our estimates generally agree on the order in which parties appear on this part of multiculturalism-integrationism dimension. Questions

about whose estimates of the multicultural positions are more precise could not be easily addressed with the help of sources we examine in this study.

In the case of Bulgaria, our research produced estimates of party positions only for the early 1990s. Kitschelt et al.'s (1999) party elite survey is relevant for validating our estimates for the Bulgarian party system. This four-country survey produced estimates of party positioning on a large number of issues in four East European countries, including Bulgaria. Among other things, the authors highlight their finding that the Bulgarian communist successor party – the *Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)* – adopted a much more nationalistic position than communist successor parties in other countries covered in the project. This is in line with what our examination of the Bulgarian party system revealed. While our estimates for the BSP indicate that the party is on the integrationist side of the continuum, the CMP's score on integration for the BSP is zero.

In the case of Ukraine, our research produced estimates for parties competing in the 1994 parliamentary elections. Secondary sources identify several parties as strongly "nationalist," which we usually interpret as an indication of a potential integrationist position (Birch, 1995, Bugajski, 2002). Our estimates for this country case do not perform particularly well: our method produces a high integrationist score only for one of these parties - *the Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party (UKRP)*. This disagreement between our estimates and the secondary literature is, to a large extent, due to the way we approach party positions on multicultural and titular group dimensions: we differentiate these positions, while the examined secondary literature conflates them. Finally, the CMP method registers an integrationist position for neither of the parties that took part in these particular elections.

CONCLUSION

The paper puts forward a proposal on how students of ethnic politics could analyze the politicization of ethnic issues in party manifestos. Our method for human-based coding seeks to address some of the limitations of the framework used by CMP. Similarly to CMP, we see the value of having in a toolbox available for researchers a content analysis method that relies on human coders. We argued that our approach helps to address some of the problems associated with the CMP's method. The latter routinely underestimates the salience of ethnic issues in party manifestos and provides a very limited repertoire of means for differentiating among different types of ethnic claims.

We tried to demonstrate that using our method allows for the generation of valid and reliable estimates of party positioning on ethno-cultural issues. In particular, our coding scheme helps to avoid the situation faced by CMP coders in which more than one coding category can be used to classify a statement. This is a source of many reliability problems for CMP. Our approach also enables researchers to conduct a much more nuanced mapping of ethnic competition; it both counts and evaluates ethnicity-related statements. It retains such advantageous properties of the CMP's basic framework as cross-party, cross-country, and longitudinal comparability. It does not, however, allows for comparison of party positions across ethno-cultural and other policy domains. The CMP's method provides for such comparison by excluding the possibility of individual statements belonging to multiple categories. Yet, as we have demonstrated, the CMP's approach of forcing a statement to belong to only one coding category has considerable costs.

The coding procedures that we advocate require thorough examination of manifesto texts. These are resource-demanding procedures but current alternatives for generating estimates of party positions on ethno-cultural issues do not provide a satisfactory solution. This is the case especially when one seeks to examine systematically how ethnic claims and demands are processed by party systems. The intellectual payoffs from engaging in such an examination are substantial. As we noted in the introduction, the estimates generated by the method we propose can be used to explore a number of themes central to different strands of literature on the political process in ethnically diverse societies. These themes include, but are not limited to, the dynamics of ethnic mobilization and the role that ethnic and mainstream parties play in escalation/de-escalation of claim making; the patterns of ethnic outbidding, polarization, and cooptation; the forms of diversity accommodation, coalition building, and substantive representation. The proposed estimates provide a way to operationalize concepts that are used in a different analytical capacity of dependent, independent, or intervening variables in explanatory accounts articulated under these themes. To provide just one concrete illustration, a systematic testing of the ethnic outbidding thesis – more intra-group elite competition leads to less moderation in group demands – requires accurate and reliable measures of the intensity of claims articulated by ethnic elites across different groups and over time.

As our findings indicate, ethno-cultural issues are more politically salient than the CMP estimates suggest. Many parties that operate in ethnically diverse societies are forced to take a position on ethno-cultural issues. Party manifesto analysis can help to structure inquiry on

such position taking and can improve our general understanding of how ethnic issues become politicized. At the moment party manifesto analysis remains a severely underutilized tool by students of ethnic politics and we hope that the approach we propose can contribute to changing this situation.

REFERENCES:

Alonso, Sonia & Ruiz-Rufino, Ruben (2007) 'Political Representation and Ethnic Conflict in New Democracies', *European Journal of Political Research* 46, 237-67.

Barry, Brian (2001) *Culture & Equality: an Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Benoit, Kenneth & Laver, Michael (2007) *Party Policy in Modern Democracies.* New York Routledge.

Benoit, Kenneth, Michael Laver, & Slava Mikhaylov "Treating Words as Data with Error: Uncertainty in Text Statements of Policy Positions." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2, April): 495-513.

Birch, Sarah (1995) 'The Ukrainian Parliamentary and Presidential Elections of 1994 ', *Electoral Studies* 14, 1993-99.

Birnir, Jóhanna Kristín (2007) *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers (1996a) *Nationalism Reframed : Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers (1996b) 'Nationalizing States in the Old "New Europe" - and the New', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 19, 411-37.

Budge, Ian (2001a) 'Theory and Measurement of Party Policy Positions', in Ian Budge, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara & Eric Tanenbaum (Eds.) *Mapping Policy Preferences : Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments, 1945-1998.* Oxford Oxford University Press.

Budge, Ian (2001b) 'Validating the Manifesto Research Group Approach: Theoretical Assumptions and Empirical Confirmations', in Michael Laver (Ed.) *Estimating the Policy Position of Political Actors,* pp. 51-65. London: Routledge.

Budge, Ian, Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Volkens, Andrea, Bara, Judith & Tanenbaum, Eric (2001) *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments 1945-1998.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bugajski, Janusz (2002) *Political Parties of Eastern Europe: a Guide to Politics in the Post-Communist Era.* Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.

Chandra, Kanchan (2004) *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chandra, Kanchan (2005) 'Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability', *Perspectives on Politics* 3, 235-52.

Coakley, John (2008) 'Ethnic Competition and the Logic of Party System Transformation', *European Journal of Political Research* 47, 766–93.

Crowther, William (1997) 'The Politics of Democratization in Postcommunist Moldova', in Karen Dawisha & Bruce Parrott (Eds.) *Democratic Changes and Authoritarian Reactions in Russia, Ukraine, and Moldova*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DeWinter, Lieven & Cachafeiro, Margarita Gomez-Reino (2002) 'European Integration and Ethnoregionalist Parties', *Party Politics* 8, 483-503.

Electoral_Studies (2007) 'Special Symposium: Comparing Measures of Party Positioning, Manifesto and Survey Data', *Electoral Studies* 26.

Franzmann, Simon & Kaiser, André (2006) 'Locating Political Parties in Policy Space: A Reanalysis of Party Manifesto Data', *Party Politics* 12, 163-88.

Gurr, Ted Robert (1993) 'Why Minorities Rebel: A Global Analysis of Communal Mobilization and Conflict since 1945', *International Political Science Review* 14, 161-201.

Hansen, Martin Ejnar (2008) 'Back to the Archives? A Critique of the Danish Part of the Manifesto Dataset', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 31, 201-16.

Hechter, Michael (2000) *Containing Nationalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Horowitz, Donald L. (1985) *Ethnic Groups in Conflict.* London: University of California Press.

Horowitz, Donald L. (1992) 'Irredentas and Secessions: Adjacent Phenomena, Neglected Connections ', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 33, 118-30.

Ishiyama, John & Breming, Marijke (1998) *Ethnopolitics in the New Europe.* London: L. Rienner.

Jenne, Erin (2004) 'A Bargaining Theory of Minority Demands: Explaining the Dog that Did no Bite in 1990s Yugoslavia', *International Studies Quarterly* 48, 729-54.

Kitschelt, Herbert, Mansfeldova, Zdenka, Markowski, Radoslaw & Tóka, Gábor (1999) *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Volkens, Andrea, Bara, Judith & Budge, Ian (2006) *Mapping Policy Preferences II: Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments in Central*

and Eastern Europe, European Union and OECD, 1990-2003. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Krippendorff, Klaus (2004) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kymlicka, Will (1996) *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laver, Michael (2001) *Estimating the Policy Positions of Political Actors.* London: Routledge.

Laver, Michael & Garry, John (2000) 'Estimating Policy Positions from Political Texts', *American Journal of Political Science* 44, 619-34.

Lijphart, Arend (1977) *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Offe, Claus (1991) 'Capitalism and Democracy by Design? Democratic Theory Facing the Triple Transition in East Central Europe', *Social Research* 59, 865-92.

Olzak, Susan (2006) *The Global Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Mobilization.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Pelizzo, Riccardo (2003) 'Party Positions or Party Directions? An Analysis of Party Manifesto Data', *West European Politics* 26, 67-89.

Popescu, Marina (2003) 'The Parliamentary and Presidential Elections in Romania, November 2000', *Electoral Studies* 22, 325-35

Protsyk, Oleh, Bucataru, Igor & Volentir, Andrei (2008) *Party Competition in Moldova: Ideology, Organization, and Approaches to Ethno-Territorial Conflicts.* Chisinau: Moldova State University.

Ray, Leonard (2007) 'Validity of Measured Party Positions on European Integration: Assumptions, Approaches and a Comparison of Alternative Measures', *Electoral Studies* 26, 11-22.

Shulman, Stephen (2004) 'The Contours of Civic and Ethnic National Identification in Ukraine', *Europe-Asia Studies* 56, 35-56.

Volkens, Andrea (2001) 'Manifesto Research since 1979: from Reliability to Validity', in Michael Laver (Ed.) *Estimating the Policy Position of Political Actors* pp. 33-50. London: Routledge.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Table 1
Ethnicity-relevant and ethnicity-irrelevant statements in selected CMP's variables</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">CMP code</td><td>Manifesto statement</td><td>Party, year, country</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">301 (decentralization: positive)</td><td>1</td><td>"...the first step towards unification must be the acknowledgement of the right to self-determination of the Transdniestrian population in the make-up of the Republic of Moldova."</td><td>Patria-Rodina (2005), Moldova</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>"we are for the improvement of the legislative framework and mechanisms specific for a real autonomy of local public administration."</td><td>Christian-Democratic People's Party (2005), Moldova</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">601 (national way of life: positive)</td><td>1</td><td>"...for the preservation of the integrity of a national unitary state, against absurd federalist solutions."</td><td>National Salvation Front (1992), Romania</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>"[we stand for the...] rise of economy and culture in Romania."</td><td>National Salvation Front (1992), Romania</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">503 (social justice: positive)</td><td>1</td><td>"[we are for] the creation of equal conditions for the development of nations and nationalities, living in Ukraine".</td><td>Labor Party (1994), Ukraine</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>"[we are for] the preservation of the current state guarantees for the social rights of employees, and for their effective implementation for vulnerable categories of the population."</td><td>Socialist Party (1994), Ukraine</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">202 (democracy: positive)</td><td>1</td><td>"[we have gained numerous victories in the restoration of basic rights and liberties of … ethnic minorities such as] direct participation in the legislature and in the executive."</td><td>The Movement of Rights and Freedoms (1994), Bulgaria</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>"[we will guarantee] complete openness and maximum information made available to the public."</td><td>People's Union (1994), Bulgaria</td></tr>
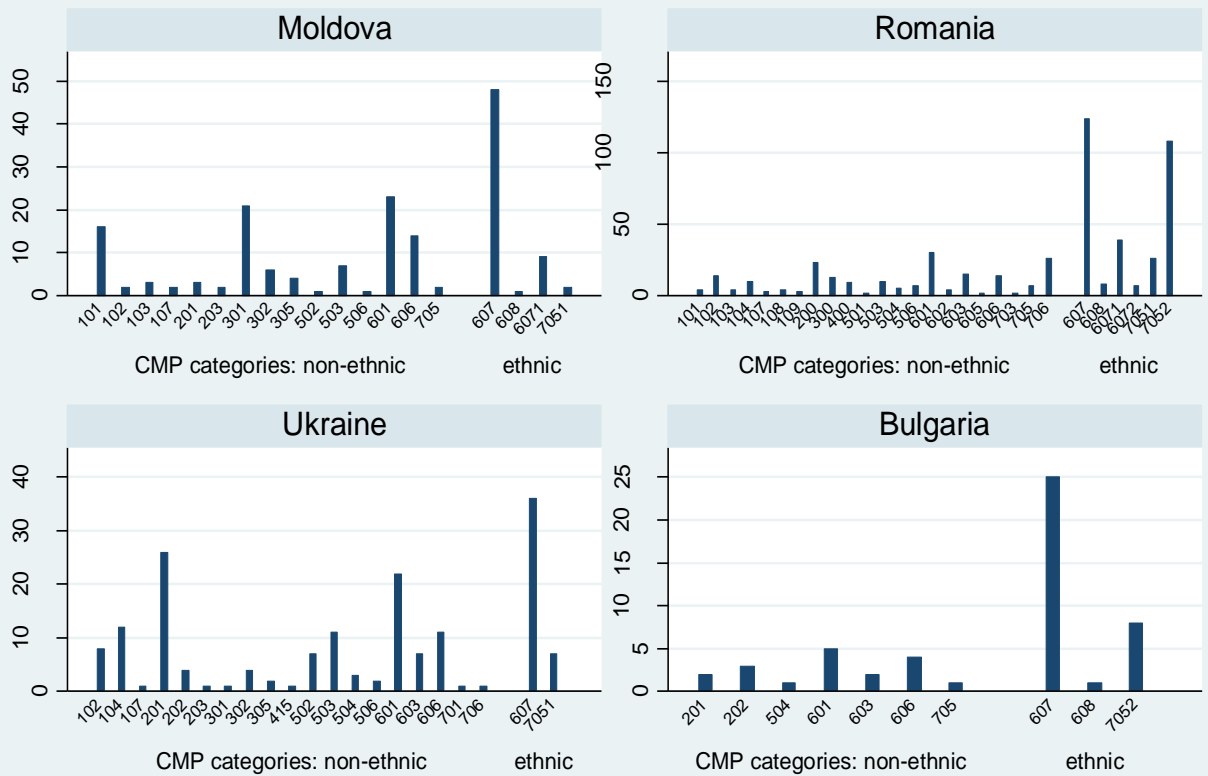<tr><td colspan="4">Note : 1- ethnicity-related statement; 2 - non-related statement</td></tr>
</table>

Table 2
Examples of manifesto statements classified on the multicultural-integrationist dimension

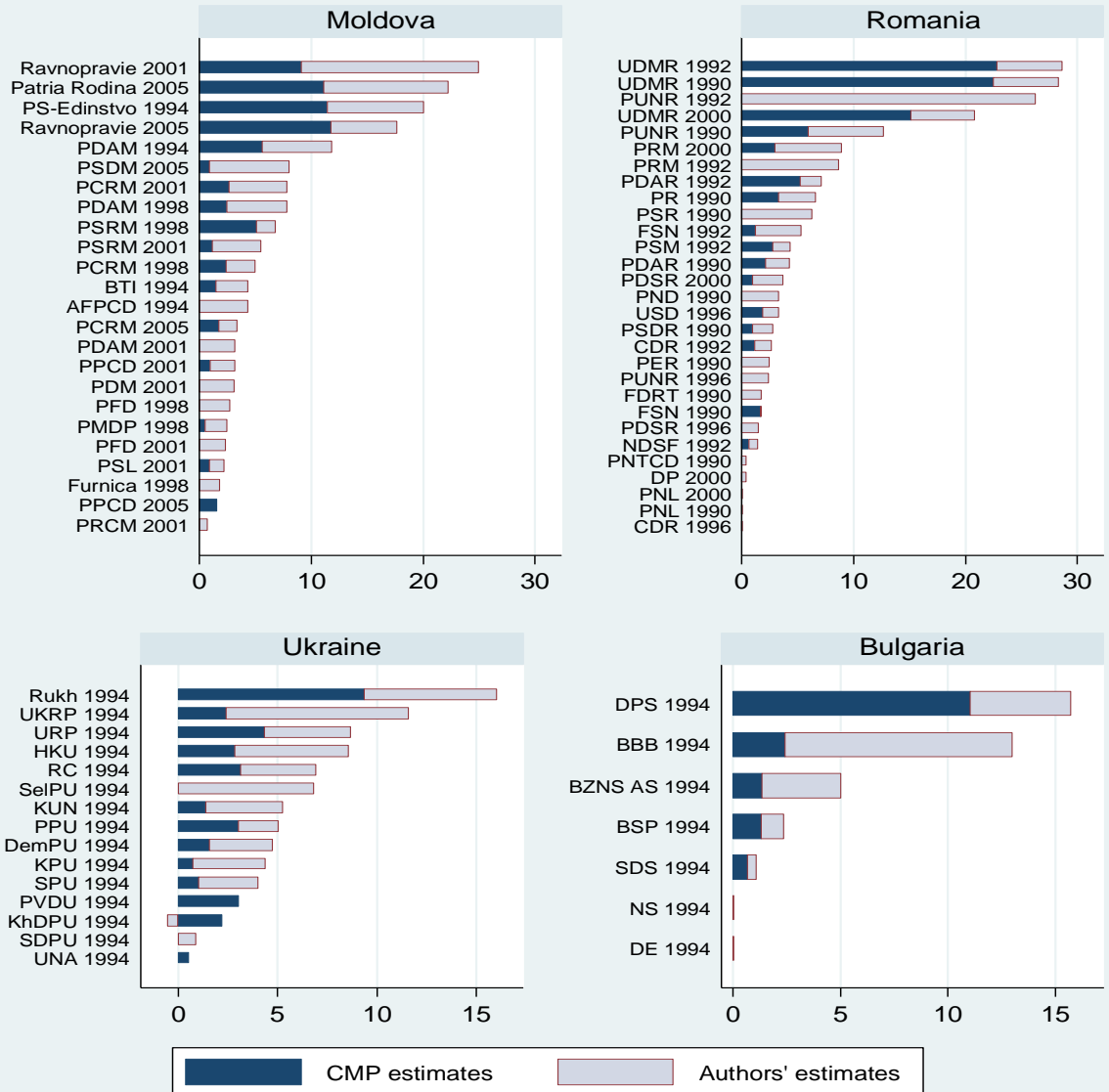|	Multicultural	Neutral	Integrationist
Bulgaria	"We are for […] the development of the cultures, traditions and customs of all ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities." (Movement of Rights and Freedoms, 1994)	"[The party] guarantees the basic rights of […] the ethnic minorities in the country." (Movement of Rights and Freedoms, 1994)	"The education in Bulgarian language, literature and history will contribute to the cultivation of love for the native land and to the pride with the achievements of the Bulgarians." (Union of Democratic Forces, 1994)
Moldova	"A joint federative state within the boundaries of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic of 1990, which would include the Republic of Moldova, Transdniestria, UTA Gagauzia as component parts of Moldova." (Party Socialists, 2001)	"[The party ensures the equilibrium of interests of population], regardless of national, social, professional, linguistic and confessional belonging." (Agrarian Democratic Party, 1994)	"[The party commits to] recognizing and guaranteeing the right of ethnic minorities to learn the state official language and the culture of the majority." (Christian-Democratic People's Party, 2005)
Romania	"[We will act for] ensuring representation of minorities in decision making and administration." (Party of Social Democracy, 2000)	"PSM will promote equal rights for all nationalities and majority all together." (Socialist Labour Party, 1992)	"Learning the Romanian language is proof of loyalty to the Romanian state, a necessity and obligation." (Party of Romanian National Unity, 1990)
Ukraine	"Two or more state languages in the whole territory of the country." (Civic Congress, 1994)	"[We are for a civic state] that guarantees national and social harmony." (Renaissance of Crimea, 1994)	"To overcome obstacles for the development of Ukrainian culture [….] and to facilitate by all means the spread of national cultural traditions." (Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine, 1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr><th colspan="2">**Table 3**
Examples of multicultural statements, rank-ordered by the strength of ethnic claims</th></tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr><td>**Type of claim**</td><td>**Statements**</td></tr>
<tr><td>Identity preservation</td><td>"[We plead for…] modernization of Hungarian language education."
(Romania/ Hungarian Democratic Alliance 2000)

"[The movement opts for:] organizing at the state level education in Russian so as to ensure a real equality with regard to citizens' access to education."
(Moldova/ Ravnopravie, 2001)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Political representation</td><td>"Representation of Roma in public administration."
(Romania/ Party of Social Democracy, 2000)

"The guarantee of proportional representation of Russian speaking citizens in state power bodies and authorities of all levels."
(Moldova/ Ravnopravie, 2005)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Autonomy</td><td>"[The adoption of a Ukrainian constitution] that would provide a federative structure of the state with rights for Crimea."
(Ukraine/ Renaissance of Crimea 1994)

"We think that the first step towards unification must be the acknowledgement of the right to self-determination of the Transdniestrian population in the make-up of the Republic of Moldova." (Moldova/ Patria-Rodina 2005)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Constituent Nation</td><td>"To grant Russian language the status of second state language in the Republic of Moldova." (Moldova/ Communists' Party, 2001)

"Hungarians consider themselves as participants in establishing the state, equal partner to the nation and to the majority population."
(Romania/ Hungarian Democratic Alliance, 1992)</td></tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph 1. Distribution of ethnicity-related statements across CMP's ethnic and non-ethnic categories

Legend: CMP's ethnic categories: 607 - multiculturalism: positive; 608 - multiculturalism: negative; 6071 - cultural autonomy: positive
6072 - multiculturalis pro Roma: positive; 7051- minorities inland: positive; 7052 - minorities abroad: positive
CMP's non-ethnic categories: 101, 102, etc. - see Annex 1 or Klingemann et al. (2006: pp.151-174)
Note: For Romania, codes 200, 300, and 400 are summaries of several code categories, collapsed for purposes of presentation.

Graph 2. Salience of ethnic issues as % of the total number of manifesto quasi-sentences

Moldova

Ravnopravie 2001
Patria Rodina 2005
PS-Edinstvo 1994
Ravnopravie 2005
PDAM 1994
PSDM 2005
PCRM 2001
PDAM 1998
PSRM 1998
PSRM 2001
PCRM 1998
BTI 1994
AFPCD 1994
PCRM 2005
PDAM 2001
PPCD 2001
PDM 2001
PFD 1998
PMDP 1998
PFD 2001
PSL 2001
Furnica 1998
PPCD 2005
PRCM 2001

0   10   20   30

Romania

UDMR 1992
UDMR 1990
PUNR 1992
UDMR 2000
PUNR 1990
PRM 2000
PRM 1992
PDAR 1992
PR 1990
PSR 1990
FSN 1992
PSM 1992
PDAR 1990
PDSR 2000
PND 1990
USD 1996
PSDR 1990
CDR 1992
PER 1990
PUNR 1996
FDRT 1990
FSN 1990
PDSR 1996
NDSF 1992
PNTCD 1990
DP 2000
PNL 2000
PNL 1990
CDR 1996

0   10   20   30

Ukraine

Rukh 1994
UKRP 1994
URP 1994
HKU 1994
RC 1994
SelPU 1994
KUN 1994
PPU 1994
DemPU 1994
KPU 1994
SPU 1994
PVDU 1994
KhDPU 1994
SDPU 1994
UNA 1994

0   5   10   15

Bulgaria

DPS 1994
BBB 1994
BZNS AS 1994
BSP 1994
SDS 1994
NS 1994
DE 1994

0   5   10   15

CMP estimates   Authors' estimates

Notes: CMP estimates: PER (607 + 608 + 6071 + 6072+ 6081+ 7051 + 7052). Authors' estimates: based on
sub-categorization of CMP's non-ethnic variables.
Source: CMP data from the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB); authors' calculations.

Graph 3a. Distribution of statements on the multicultural-integrationist dimension
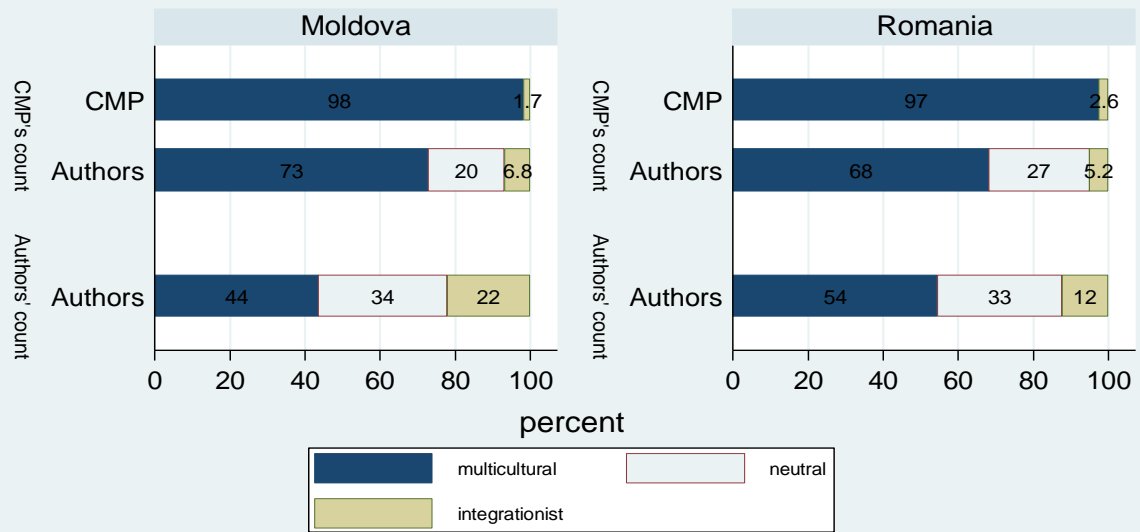
Note: CMP's count refers to statements identified by the CMP. The two top bars indicate how these statements were classified by the CMP and the authors respectively. The authors' count includes the CMP's count plus all ethnicity-related statements identified through the sub-coding procedure described above.
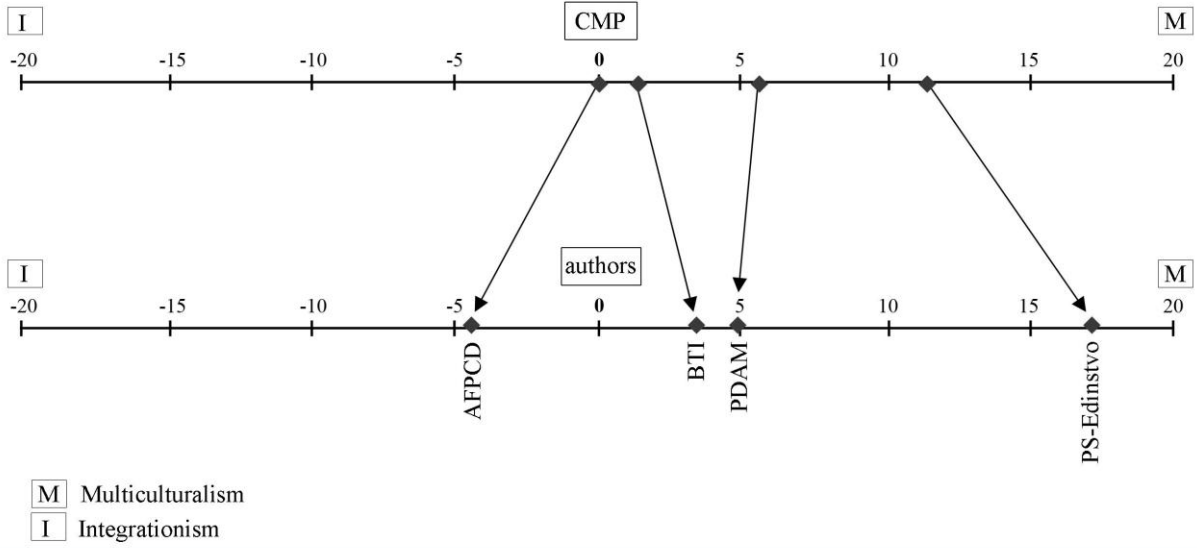
## Graph 3b. Distribution of multicultural statements
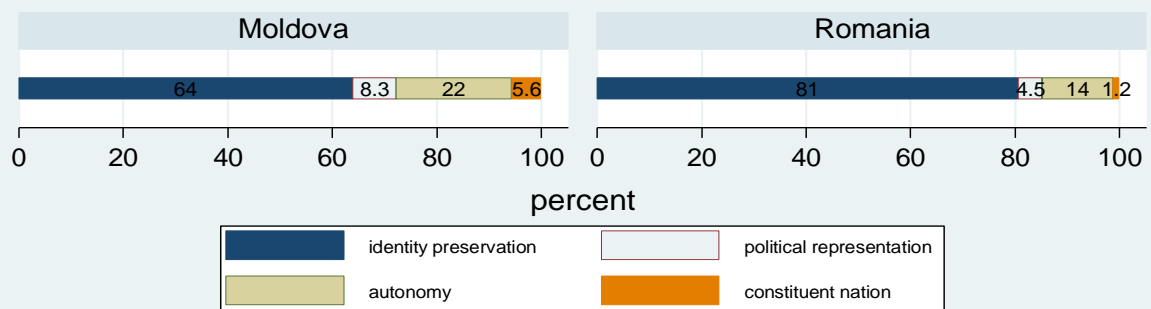
Note: All multicultural statements were classified into one of four categories by the authors.

Graph 4. Party Positions on the Multicultural-Integrationist Dimension. Examples of CMP's and the Authors' Results

Moldova, 1994 Parliamentary Elections

M Multiculturalism
I Integrationism

Romania, 1992 Parliamentary Elections

M Multiculturalism
I Integrationism
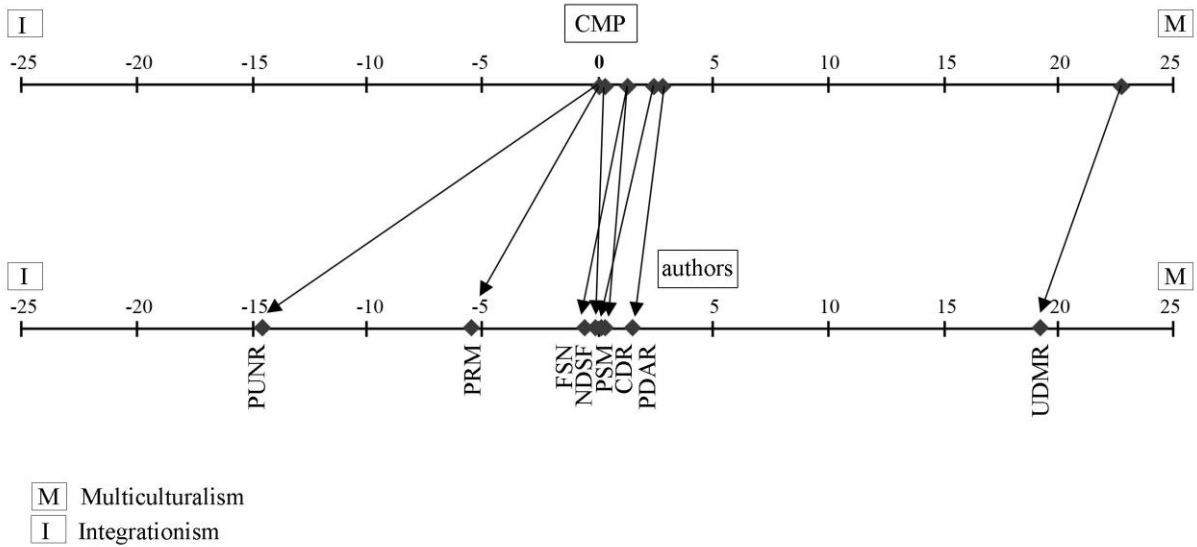
Annex I: Coding scheme of ethno-cultural domain

801   Multiculturalism: Positive

Favourable mention of ethno-cultural diversity and policies sustaining it (such as educational, linguistic, cultural heritage policies; autonomy and federalism; affirmative policy measures in economic, social, and public administration fields).

8011   Identity Preservation

Claims and demands aimed at preserving minority language, culture, demographic position and economic welfare.

8012   Political Representation

Claims of minority group-based political representation.

8013   Territorial Autonomy

Special administrative-territorial arrangements for minority groups.

8014   Constituent Nation

Claims of minority group entitlement to the same political status and role in constructing a state as enjoyed by a titular ethnic group.

802   Multiculturalism: Neutral

Acknowledgement and support of guarantees for basic minority rights, short of advocacy of any positive measures aimed at fostering and promoting ethnic diversity and distinct group identities.

803   Multiculturalism: Negative/Integrationist

Enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration; otherwise as 801, but negative.

804   Titular Ethnic Group

Claims dealing with the situation of a titular (majority) ethnic group and addressing different aspects of the status of titular ethnic group.

NOTES

---

[1] Policy areas examined in party manifesto research include, among others, economic policy, social policy, foreign policy, European Union integration. For discussions of the use and limitations of manifesto content analysis, see contributions to the 2007 Special Symposium in *Electoral Studies* (Vol. 26, N.1) and various chapters in Klingemann et al. (2006) and Laver (2001).

[2] For Moldova and Romania we re-examined all manifestos analyzed by the CMP and reported in Klingemann et al. (2006). The CMP's study covers parliamentary elections between 1990 and 2003. Due to time and cost constraints, we coded party manifestos only for one round of early post-communist elections in the case of Bulgaria and Ukraine. We selected the elections for which secondary literature reports a high salience of ethnic issues.

[3] We use the terms 'statement' and 'quasi-sentence' interchangeably in this paper.

[4] Two other CMP variables are sometimes mentioned as relevant for capturing multicultural positions on ethnic issues: "2023 – Lax Citizenship: positive" and "301 – Decentralization: positive". Our actual analysis of CMP-coded party manifestos reveals a large number of ethnicity-irrelevant statements coded under these two variables.

[5] Other CMP variables that are mentioned in the context of discussion about integrationist statements include: "601-National way of life: positive", "2022 – Restrictive citizenship: positive", and "302 – Centralization: positive". We find a very large number of ethnicity-irrelevant statements coded under these variables. For example, abstract statements about 'national interest' and 'national goals' are routinely coded under "601-National way of life: positive." On average, at least 20 % of statements coded under the 601 category are not related to the multiculturalism-integrationist dimension.

[6] The CMP classification scheme also contains category 706 (non-economic demographic groups: positive). The definition of this category includes linguistic minorities but also women, young people, the elderly, meaning that this category is not useful for our purposes.

[7] It is possible to differentiate not only multicultural but also integrationist statements according to the levels at which policy demands are articulated. Our textual analysis of manifestos, however, indicates that applying simply the reversed scheme of our multicultural sub-codes to integrationist claims is not empirically justified. Integrationist claims are often formulated on higher levels of abstraction, so we suggest having only two basic sub-categories for dealing with usually less-differentiated integrationist claims - "preventing political separation" and "encouraging cultural and linguistic integration." Such sub-codes could be easily incorporated in the next version of the coding scheme.

[8] We do not consider secessionist claims as belonging conceptually to the domain of multicultural positive statements. A separate variable has to be introduced to capture this type of claim. We do not discuss this issue in the paper because there were no secessionist statements in the manifestos of the parties we examined. For an analysis of secessionist issues in party competition see Alonso and Ruiz-Rufino (2007).

[9] We capture only what a statement means for national level politics. Statements made by ethnic minority parties in support of their group rights are coded multicultural although the parties' agenda on the group level might be to defend the cultural purity of a group and rigid separation of groups, not multicultural ideals per se.

[10] The Coding Manual, coded manifestos, and project-related datasets are available at http://www.ecmiserver.de/polpart/epman/publications/.

[11] For example, see "Declaration of the Christian Democratic Popular Front related to the adoption of the Law on the Special Juridical Status of Gagauzia", adopted on 23 December 1994, published in the "Tara" newspaper, n3 52 (27 December 1994), p. 1.