imajINE — Integrative Mechanisms for Addressing Spatial Justice and Territorial Inequalities in Europe

ANALYZING THE FRAMING STRATEGIES OF REGIONALIST ACTORS

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Plan

1) IMAJINE

2) WP 7 – The causes and consequences of regionalist actors' framing strategies

   2.1)   Motivation

   2.2)   Research questions

   2.3)   Concepts

3) Analyzing the territorial demands and frames of regionalist actors

   3.1)   Method

   3.2)   Case selection

Horizon 2020 project "IMAJINE"

– *"Horizon 2020 is the biggest EU Research and Innovation programme ever with nearly €80 billion of funding available over 7 years (2014 to 2020)…"*

– an inter-disciplinary project exploring territorial inequalities, spatial justice, social cohesion and regional mobilization in Europe

– 9 work packages

– Duration: 2018-2022

– Lead: University of Aberyswyth (Wales, UK)

Flags of other regions

Aberystwyth

Why focus on regionalist movements' justifications of their territorial demands?

– Evidence of the economic, cultural and political grievances underpinning regionalist mobilization

– BUT limited understanding of the specific ways in which regionalist actors **behave strategically** to advance their territorial projects

– Whether, and how do regionalist actors **translate** these economic/cultural/political differences into their strategies?

Research questions

1. What territorial demands do regionalist actors make, and how do they justify them?

2. What factors explain the choice of regionalist actors' frames?

3. What are the electoral consequences of regionalist actors' frame choices?

Concepts

Regionalist movements:

Political parties and civil society organisations that have mobilised in pursuit of the empowerment of a sub-state territory that is distinctive in some way (identity/interests)

Territorial demands:

Demands to change the status quo of the territory's relations with other levels of government in some way

Frames:

Definitions of a problem and justifications of, arguments for territorial demands

Catalonia

Hungarian minority in Romania/ Szekler Land

Analyzing the territorial demands and frames of regionalist actors

→ RQ1

Goal: data collection on and the descriptive, comparative and systematic analysis of the different ways in which regionalist actors frame their territorial demands

Analyzing the territorial demands and frames of regionalist actors

Case selection:

– Regionalist movements in **twelve regions across eight states**: Scotland and Wales (UK); Catalonia and Galicia (Spain); Corsica (France); Bavaria (Germany); Aosta Valley, Northern Italy and Sardinia (Italy); Friesland (Netherlands); Kashubia (Poland); and the Hungarian minority/the Szeklerland (Romania).

- Within these movements: **29 regionalist parties** and **17 civil society organisations between 1990-2018**

Analyzing the territorial demands and frames of regionalist actors

Logic behind case selection:

Movements **vary** with regard to:

– characteristics of the state;

– economic, cultural and political characteristics of the regions;

– demands of the regionalist movements and actors that have mobilised in each region

→ These factors might influence the framing strategies of regionalist actors

Analyzing the territorial demands and frames of regionalist actors

Method:

Qualitative content analysis of electoral manifestos and other programmatic documents

Development of a coding manual and coding scheme based on the Comparative Manifesto Project and other projects:

- Coding at the level of quasi sentences

- Systematically reduce and summarise textual data by building coding categories

- Inter-coder reliability tests

Preparing for data analysis – step by step

1) From cases to **actors**:

   Case study **context reports** and **scoping questionnaires** to establish the relevant actors and the availability of documentary sources

   – Twelve cases

   – 50 actors (as of now): 26 parties, 3 party coalitions, 31 CSO

   Adobe Acrobat Document   **Microsoft Word Document**   **Microsoft Word Document**

2) Collecting and compiling **documents** for analysis:

   Minimum and maximum sample

Overview over the coding scheme and the coding procedure

Coding units: Documents and quasi-sentences

Coding procedure: Two stage process

(1) Read the documents and select relevant text sections for coding

→ Sections that contain regionalist movements' **demands to change the status quo, and specifically the territory's relations with higher territorial levels**.

(2) Go through the Identify relevant sentences for coding

→ Sentences that contain **a territorial demand or a frame (justification)** of a demand to change the status quo

The coding scheme - overview

Category 1: Territorial Demands (TD)

⬇

Category 2: Level of Territorial Empowerment (TL)

⬇

Category 3: Call for Action (TA)

⬇

Category 4: Policy Areas (PA)

⬇

Category 5: Frames (FRA)

Category 1: Territorial Demands (TD)

Territorial demands aim at changing the status quo of the territory's relations with other territorial levels in concrete ways.

Such demands can take different forms:

→ Demands for a **formal re-distribution of political authority** between different levels of government

→ Demands for **action** within the existing **constitutional/institutional legislative framework**

→ Demands that are **general/vague**

Category 1: Territorial Demands (TD)

1. Demands for a formal re-distribution of political authority (TDR)				
Independence	**Fundamental reform**	**Self-rule**	**Shared-rule**	**Centralisation**
Independence – Secession	Regionalisation	Self-rule – executive	Shared-rule – executive	Centralisation
Independence – Irredentism	Federalism	Self-rule – legislative	Shared-rule – legislative	
Independence – Ambiguous	Re-drawing of regional borders	Self-rule – judicial	Shared-rule – judicial	
	General reform	Self-rule – general	Shared-rule – general	
2. Demands for action within the territorial status quo (TDA)				
Recognition	Intervention	In-action		
3. General/vague territorial demands (TDG)				
General				

Categories 2-4

Category 2: Level of empowerment (TL)

→ **In relation to what level would the territory be empowered if the territorial demand made were achieved?**
Region/state/EU/international

Category 3: Call for Action (TA)

→ **Who is called upon to take action** to implement the territorial demand?
local/regional/state/EU/international/other

Category 4: Policy Areas (PA)

→ **What (if any) policy area is the territorial demand related to?**
choice of 21 policy areas to code

Categories 2-4: TL, TA, PA

Category 2: Level of empowerment (TL)
Region
State
EU
International

Category 3: Call for Action (TA)
Local
Regional
State
EU
International
Other

Category 4: Policy Areas (PA)	
Political system	Infrastructure and planning
Security	Social policy
Justice	Health
Foreign relations and defence	Education and research
Europe	Sport and leisure
Economic policy	Media
Fiscal policy	Migration
Borrowing policy	Tourism
Labour/employment policy	Culture
Agriculture and fisheries	Environment
Energy	

Category 5: Frames (FRA)

'Frames' are understood as **arguments that political actors use to define and present their positions on an issue to the public, and to differentiate them from that of rival actors**. Through frames, political actors place emphasis on specific aspects of a policy position, highlighting a particular feature of the issue at stake.

Frames are thus statements that …

– may explain why an actor pursues a specific policy change/mobilising action (frames as *justification*);

– identify the factors that have led the actor to make a territorial demand (frames as *cause*);

– or speculate about what the consequences of a territorial demand could be (frames as *effect*).

Literature: Lakoff G.(2004); Slothuus R. and C.H. De Vreese (2010); Baumgartner F.R., S.L. De Boef, Boydstun A.E. (2008); Druckman D. (2001); Helbling M., Hoegliner D., Wuest B (2010).

Category 5: Frames (FRA)

1. Political	2. Socio-economic	3. Cultural	4. Environmental
Political distinctiveness	Socio-economic distinctiveness	Identity	Environmental distinctiveness
Comparisons with other contexts	Socio-economic prosperity	Cultural distinctiveness	Environmental crisis
Efficiency	Socio-economic justice	Language distinctiveness	Environmental sustainability
Quality of the democratic and political system	Territorial cohesion and solidarity	Historic distinctiveness	Environmental colonialism
Self-determination and sovereignty	Globalisation	Distinctiveness of customs	
Policy	Economic crisis	Religious distinctiveness	
Civil and Human Rights	Socio-economic colonialism	Invasion	
Dissatisfaction with the territorial status quo	Sustainable development	Cultural/identity crisis	
Political Crisis			
Attribution of blame			
Europe			
Central state unity			
Peace and conflict			
Political colonialism			

"If we transfer decision-making powers from Westminster to Scotland, we are more likely to see policies that are in tune with the values of the people of Scotland, that close the gap between rich and poor, and provide greater opportunities for everyone in Scotland regardless of their background." (SNP, White Paper Referendum, 2013)

"Our fundamental conviction is that Wales is a nation and that our political status should reflect that fact." (PC, National manifesto, 1999)

Thank you!

General coding procedure

Does the quasi-sentence contain a territorial demand or a frame?

YES, specific territorial demand (Step 1)

Apply codes for …
Category 1: Territorial Demand (TD – TDR, TDA or TDG);
Category 2: Level of Territorial Empowerment (TL)
Category 3: Call for Action (TA)
Category 4: Policy Areas (PA)
Category 5: Frames (FRA)

YES, frame about changing territorial status quo (Step 2)

Apply codes for…
Category 1: **Territorial Demand** (TD – TD_unspecified);
Category 5: **Frames** (FRA)

NO

No codes to be applied, proceed to next quasi-sentence