The Europeanisation of Czech Parties' Election Manifestos

Reviewing the 2013 Chamber of Deputies Elections

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Abstact *This work contributes to the debate on the Europeanisation of political parties and particularly the Europeanisation of party election manifestos. This contribution investigates the extent of programmatic Europeanisation of relevant political parties before the 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections in the Czech Republic. A content analysis is conducted, within a comparative framework and using a bi-dimensional conceptualisation, of selected relevant Czech political parties' programmatic documents. The degree of Europeanisation of programmatic documents is then identified on the basis of content analysis. The results show that there is only a limited extent of Europeanisation of elections manifestos and that the degree of Europeanisation decreases over time since the Czech accession to the EU.*

Keywords: Europeanisation, political parties, election manifestos, Czech Republic, Chamber of Deputies elections

Introduction

Europeanisation as a research agenda has become one of the most widely used theoretical approaches to study European integration and the impact and influence of it on the political and institutional development of EU's member states, its institutions, political actors

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and processes.[1] The research agenda on Europeanisation became a distinctive research field within the wider field of European Studies no longer than two decades ago but its effects are traceable since the start of European integration in the 1950s.[2] Broadly, Europeanisation is a term used to understand the effects of European integration on the politics, policies and polities of EU member states. In this respect, Europeanisation is an incremental process that redirects and reshapes politics to the sense where European integration and the EU become part of the organisational logic of national politics and policy-making.[3] On the other hand, Europeanisation is also a term used to understand the process how national (political) actors build and enhance European-level political institutions.[4]

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In other words, the term Europeanisation encompasses both the top-down influence of European integration on domestic politics and the bottom-up impact of member states on the EU and its (political) institutions.[5] The top-down approach starts from the presence of European integration and then focuses on the presence or absence of change at the national level. In contrast, the bottom-up approach exogenises the EU level and hence it starts from the domestic level and only then goes up to the EU. The latter approach is interested in creation of supranational institutions and structures and how this process is influence by domestic structures.[6] Methodologically speaking, a third approach has been developed lately that refuses to threat Europeanisation as a one-way process and instead combines premises of both earlier mentioned approaches. The so-called bottom-up-down approach commonly starts at the domestic level and traces the process of formation of EU-level institutions and policies. Subsequently, it investigates pressures and effects of the EU-level on domestic politics and policies.[7]

While studies using the bottom-up research design were prevalent during the 1990s,[8] more recent development has seen an increase in scholarly analyses using the top-down research design.[9] According to Börzel and Risse,[10] Europeanisation as a research agenda may be applied to all three standard dimensions of political science research: *politics*,[11] *policy*,[12] and *polity*.[13] Of this wide range of approaches and dimension of political science research to which Europeanisation may be applied as research agenda, this article focuses more narrowly on the dimension of politics and more specifically the Europeanisation of political parties' programmatic documents. In doing so, it will adhere to

and rely on the top-down approach to Europeanisation. In detail, this paper analyses programmatic documents prepared by relevant Czech political parties for the recently held national parliamentary elections of October 2013. Thus, the main research question is: if and to what extent were the election programmes for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies election Europeanised? The structure of the article is as follows: the next section reviews the literature on Europeanisation with particular focus on political parties. The third section discusses methodological concerns and issues, including the selection of relevant political parties for the analysis. The fourth section presents the results of the analysis, while the final section sets the results into the wider literature on Europeanisation of political parties and programmatic documents in particular.

Europeanisation of Political Parties and Party Systems

From a theoretical perspective, there is considerable debate about how to define Europeanisation,[14] but the literature within the top-down approach generally uses the concept as shorthand for 'domestic impact of the EU' or 'influence of the EU'[15] and this also applies to Europeanisation of political parties and party systems.[16] As indicated earlier, probably the latest as well as the least-researched area is the Europeanisation of the *politics* dimension, that is, the Europeanisation of political actors, their interactions as well as processes of political contestation and interest aggregation.[17] More concretely, the Europeanisation of national political parties, party systems, and interest groups has emerged only recently as a separate research area.[18] This statement is particularly valid in relation to the new EU member states (MS) as well as the candidate countries in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, given their historical detachment from the European integration process.[19]

This may be surprising since at least from the evaporating of the 'permissive consensus,' public opinion and the role of political parties become increasingly important.[20] Political parties are the central actors in collective will formation process and this also applies to the EU-level as they are the 'principal gatekeepers within the European electoral arena'[21] and where the majority of politicians 'are party politicians', including those in the European Council, the European Commission, and the European Parliament.[22] This late emergence of a research field that combines Europeanisation with a focus on political parties and party systems is commonly attribute to the existence of the permis-

sive consensus and related low salience for general public as well as domestic politics in general[23] and to the broader turn in comparative politics toward incorporating European integration dynamics into explanations of domestic political change.[24]

In any case, a considerable amount of research on Europeanisation of political parties as been generated during a rather short period. Following the pioneering work of Ladrech,[25] most of the studies focus on one or more areas in which evidence of Europeanisation could be reflected: (1) programmatic change; (2) organisational change; (3) patterns of party competition; (4) party-government relations; and (5) relations beyond the national political system. To start with, according to Ladrech,[26] one of the most obvious and explicit areas in which the impact of European integration unfolded is that of (1) programmatic changes.[27] This form of Europeanisation may be evaluated as both qualitative and quantitative change of programmatic documents prepared for various types and orders of elections from European Parliament (EP) elections to local contests. Thus far, research on the Europeanisation of political parties' programmatic documents has reported ambiguous results in terms of qualitative and quantitative changes incurred by the European integration process. One strand of literature concludes that party programmes tend to embody only limited qualitative and quantitative EU-incurred changes,[28] while the other strand of literature reports much more intensive EU-related changes of political parties' programmes.[29] More precisely, studies dealing with the Europeanisation of parties' programmes for EP elections report more intensive changes incurred by the EU than research dealing with manifestos for national parliamentary and/or local elections.[30]

Moreover, the level of Europeanisation of programmatic documents differs across time, political parties, countries[31], as well as by policy sector.[32] On the one hand, Pennings documents a modest rise in the references to the EU in party manifestos.[33] But, on the other hand, these references are often general and vague and election manifestos rarely involve specific policy and/or institutional proposals.[34] Put differently, Europeanisation of party manifestos remains limited to the referential level with much less evidence for substantial changes.[35] Parties have often devoted a section dealing with their stance on their country's membership in the EU.[36] In sum, parties do not consider EU issues to be blankly unimportant. On the other hand, however, they do not regard EU issues as top priority issues but rather consider these issues

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as one among multiple issues that they must deal with.[37] Above all, EU issues play secondary role at best in party manifestos that still remain a platform where stance on EU are of subsidiary importance and in which parties do not such much controversy over EU issues.[38]

As noted, there are important changes in the level of Europeanisation of party manifestos across time and parties. I restrict my focus to the case of the Czech Republic and illustrate this changing intensity political parties assign to EU issues in its programmatic documents. If during the early transformation era (1990-1996) issues related to the European integration were elaborated in highly succinct manner in party manifestos,[39] the pre-accession period (1998-2002) is characterised by a significant increase of both quantitative inclusion and qualitative elaboration of issue related to the European integration process.[40] Finally and compared to previous periods, the membership period (2006-2010) is not only characterised by most intense Europeanisation of election manifestos, but also by decline of Europeanisation between the 2006 and 2010 parliamentary election.[41] Overall, Europeanisation of election manifestos of Czech political parties is increasing with the approach of the Czech Republic's entry into the EU.

There are, nonetheless, important differences among individual parties. The first difference relates to established parties with wide public support and parties failing to gain parliamentary representation during the modern era. Established parties – either as government or opposition parties – include EU issues in election manifestos than the latter group of parties.[42] There are also obviously differences in Europeanisation among individual parties, but also if we compare election manifestos one party prepares for subsequent elections. Moreover, there is not one clear pattern of divergence among individual parties, but it appears that election manifestos of the Greens and the Communists are less Europeanised than those of the Civic Democrats, the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats.[43] At last, literature suggests that in the Czech Republic, similarly to other EU member states, election manifestos prepared for elections to the EP are more Europeanised than elections prepared national parliamentary elections and other elections held in the country.[44]

To sum up and conclude the previous discussion of the relevant literature, Europeanisation of political parries is generally understood as the effects of European integration on national party organisations and as the responses by national political parties to the impact of Eu-

ropean integration.[45] The progressing European integration process may not only have indirect effects: by changing the environment parties operate in, the EU may have an impact on internal features and behaviour of parties.[46] But, on the other hand, the EU may also have, albeit probably much fewer, direct effects in political parties and party systems in terms of formation of an EU dimension of political conflict, as new wholly separate dimension in party competition.[47]

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Finally, the literature on Europeanisation of political parties generally highlights an important difference in terms of the magnitude of Europeanisation of parties in the pre-2004 EU Member States, on the one hand, and the Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 on the other.[48] So far, the research of the pre-2004 EU MSs[49] and the candidate countries from the Balkans[50] has shown no significant impact of European integration upon national political parties and party systems, while studies of the CEE countries that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 have reported a more significant impact of the EU—of course, with some notable exceptions.[51]

Among the most often cited reasons that explain the East-West divergence in the impact of Europeanisation on political parties are: (a) the specific starting conditions for European influence in the CEE countries – whereby the CEE countries had s strong desire to join the EU as soon as possible – which can be regarded as facilitating 'factors' of EU's influence,[52] in particular through its political conditionality;[53] (b) the resulting asymmetric relationship between the EU and the CEE candidate states;[54] and (c) the early establishment of stable party systems in most of the pre-2004 EU MS.[55] Notwithstanding these conclusions, it does not mean that there are not any differences between the individual CEE countries in terms of the depth of impact of Europeanisation on political parties. Indeed, scholars maintained that among the CEE countries the impact of the EU on political parties was most intense on the 'illiberal' states, while it was less intensive in relation to political parties in the other CEE (i.e. Bulgaria, Romania and/or Slovakia) countries.[56]

Methods and Data

To investigate the Europeanisation of party election manifestos and to answer to the main research question of this work, it is necessary to discuss a number of methodological issues. The first is the question of what parties, movements, or individual candidates will be included in

the analysis. Only political parties and their coalitions can be contents Chamber of Deputies election in the Czech Republic and hence the focus is on political parties and their potential coalition solely. Moreover, only relevant political parties are included in this study. To be included, a party had to have won seats in the 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections. Specifically, we will be analysing programmes of the ANO 2011 (ANO 2011), Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD), the Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-ČSL), the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM), the Tomio Okamura's Dawn of Direct Democracy, and the 'Tradition Responsibility Prosperity 09' (TOP09).

After selecting which political parties to include in the study, another concern relates to the use of the Europeanisation concept. For the purposes of analysis of party election manifestos and following the majority of scholars, Europeanisation, as a concept is employed in the paper as a process by which national political parties adapt to the institutional framework and logic of the EU or, in other words, the responses of political parties to the impact of European integration,[57] restricting our interest to the top-down approach to the Europeanisation of parties programmatic documents. Put differently, I understand the Europeanisation of election programmes as a process inspired by European integration - a process of reflection of European integration in one of the aspects of the national political discourse – leading to quantitative and/or qualitative changes in party election programmes.

The last question to be addressed before the analysis itself is the question of the method used to determine the extent of Europeanization of election manifestos of Czech political parties. The method I will use to achieve this goal will be content analysis of party election manifestos of earlier mentioned Czech political parties since content analysis is among the most frequently used techniques for the analysis of political parties' programmatic documents.[58] Building on the above-mentioned of Europeanization of political parties' programmes, and postulating that relevant changes incurred by the process of European integration may be observed in terms of qualitative and quantitative transformation,[59] we use the methodological approach developed by Havlík (et al)[60] in which the extent of the Europeanization of election programmes is examined on the basis of two interconnected dimensions: *quantitative* and *qualitative.*[61]

The quantitative dimension, on the one hand, reflects the space

devoted to the theme of European integration, while the qualitative dimension, on the other, addresses the detailed elaboration of 'EU' themes in the analysed programmes.[62] Put differently, the quantitative dimension reflects the level of penetration of the EU as a theme in party manifestos given the assumption that the Europeanization of political party programmes may be expressed by the growing count of analyses of European integration done in these platforms.[63] Four levels of Europeanisation of party manifestos are distinguished for the quantitative dimension of: (0) Absence of EU issues – political party altogether leaves out European integration in its election programme, opinion of the party on European integration is absent from the manifesto; (1) Diffuse occurrence – European integration is mentioned across individual sections throughout the election programme, meaning that there is not a compact section of the text devoted to it; (2) Generally concentrated occurrence – European integration issues are integrated into a broader foreign-policy section, meaning that it represents a fundamental part if this section; and (3) Specifically concentrated occurrence – issues related to the European integration process are the subject of an independent section of the election programme.[64] For the quantitative dimension to assign issues into categories, it is necessary to come up with an operationalisation of issues.[65] I differentiate between A) national issues, B) European integration issues, and C) international, global, and other issues.[66]

On the other hand, the qualitative dimension of Europeanisation of election programmes reflects the degree of detailed elaboration of EU issues in election programmes.[67] In effect, the qualitative dimension may be described as 'encompassing attempts to make precise and concrete any references to European integration.'[68] With respect to the qualitative dimension of Europeanization of parties' programmes, Havlík's approach differentiates four levels of elaboration of EU issues: (0) Absence of issues—European integration issues are not elaborated on in the programme; (1) General mention of European integration—involving normative evaluation of the entire integration process, or general expression of party's preferred institutional setting of the EU; (2) Reaction to individual (long-term) aspects of European integration and agenda of the EU—involving EU policies and their reform, institutional structure, and model of organisation; enlargement in general; and (3) Reflection on current issues having to do with the European integration process—concerning heretofore unapproved or discussed

aspects of European integration such as the Treaty reform, reform of the EU's institutional framework, enlargement in concrete terms, and others.[69]

The last methodological concern to be mentioned before the analysis itself is that analysing Europeanisation of the two individual dimensions requires distinctive approach. While the analysis of the quantitative dimension of Europeanisation of election programmes is degree-based, the analysis of the qualitative dimension is rather cumulative. When evaluating the quantitative dimension, the identification of the predominant degree of Europeanisation is decisive.[70] If, for example, the second level of Europeanisation on the quantitative dimension is identified in a given programme (i.e. EU issues are included within the broad foreign-policy section of the programme) and, at the same time, EU issues are mentioned cross-sectionally throughout the election manifesto, the predominant degree of Europeanisation is decisive for the final evaluation of Europeanisation of the given manifesto.[71] On the other hand, the degree-based approach is not suitable for the analysis of the qualitative dimension of Europeanisation of party manifestos and a different approach is required: a cumulative one. I do not attempt to postulate that identification of the third level of qualitative Europeanisation of election manifesto (i.e. reflection on current EU issues) indicates more Europeanisation that identification of the first level of qualitative Europeanisation of election manifesto (i.e. general mention of European integration). I rather use the cumulative approach, whereby 'the greater the number of ways in which the European theme may be identified as having been worked into the election programme side-by-side, the more the extent to which the document in question may be seen as Europeanised.'[72]

Analysis of Election Programmes: The Results

A content analysis of eight political parties' election manifestos for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections was carried out in order to study the Europeanisation of the programmatic documents of Czech political parties.

ANO 2011

Resort Programme was the title chosen by the ANO 2011 for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies election programme.[73] The manifesto was divided into fourteen sectorally defined parts and none of these is devoted

to discussing EU issues. One of these sections, titled 'Foreign Policy,' includes an elaboration of EU issues; however they are not of a fundamental salience. The ANO2011 often uses the EU as a reference point in its manifesto.[74] Generally, the party maintains that 'our country has to become active, constructive, though even critical, but not, however, a capricious member of the Union' (n.p.). ANO2011 aimed to 'constructively demarcate ourselves from the nonsensical bureaucracy' in the EU (n.p.). In the area of economic policy, the party promotes establishment of the VAT 'reverse-charge' in the whole EU and it will also seek opportunities at the EU level to set-up zero-rated VAT on pharmaceuticals, books and prints.

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In terms of agricultural policy where the party's elaboration of EU issues is perhaps the most elaborate, the ANO2011 purports to use direct subsidies for the 'livestock production and intensive commodities of the vegetable production at the most' (n.p.). The party will make all effort in a bid to straighten the condition in the field of national and regional subsidies to agriculturists as at the internal market it 'is not possible for our Western EU competitors to have multiple times higher national subsidies that our agriculturists and food industry' (n.p.). In a similar vein to other parties' manifestos, the ANO2011 several times mentions various means of EU funding and associated drawing of finances from this funding, for example to: create new employment vacancies, increase the effectiveness of EU funding for industrial projects, and improve transportation infrastructure in the country. The party will generally aim to ensure 'expedient adjustment of EU funds for the 2014-2020 period' (n.p.) and to 'ensure increased effectiveness of applications for EU funding with the help of managerial governance of their preparation' (n.p.).

The manifesto of the ANO2011 call for the EU to 'continue building of own defense capabilities in the spirit of the Common Security and Defence Policy' (n.p.). In the energy policy area, the party 'will contribute to the stabilization of European energy network' (n.p.) in order to minimize blackouts. Taken together, European integration issues occur diffusely across the ANO2011's election manifesto and no compact section of the programme is devoted to the EU. From a viewpoint of qualitative elaboration of EU issues, the party provided general references to the process of European integration. Most frequently, the ANO2011 aimed at description of its preferences related to individual (long-term) aspects of European integration (CAP, CSDP, energy poli-

cy). On the other hand, among the current and heretofore unapproved provisions related to the European integration process the party mentioned establishment of VAT reverse-charge in the whole EU and VAT exemptions at the national level.

The Civic Democratic Party (ODS)

The title of the ODS programme for the 20113 Chamber of Deputies elections was *#I_Vote_Right* and it was divided into the Preamble and fourteen sections defined around individual policy sectors.[75] One of these sections is titled 'Foreign Policy and European Union' and it contains a clearly delineated independent section of the election programme devoted to the EU. Discussion of EU issues is nevertheless not limited to this section and EU issues also occur, albeit to much less extent, diffusely across the programme. The Civic-Democrats often use the EU as a reference point.[76] Similar to other parties' manifestos, the ODS manifesto commonly refers to EU funds and associated drawing of finances from these funds for example to: (a) introduce English courses from the first grade of elementary school, (b) increase the attractiveness of technical education and vocation training, (c) create new employment vacancies in the country-side, and (d) support development of fish pond culture businesses.

The party is strictly against any form of 'European taxes' and refuses 'steps leading to the establishment of fiscal union that would lead to the harmonisation of taxes and further loss of member states' sovereignty' (p. 5). In the external affairs area, the Civic-Democrats call for the promotion and cultivation of the trans-Atlantic tie and the 'strengthening of the EU-US relations not only in the field of defence but also in economic cooperation' (p. 26). The party will also stand against any EU's proposal to 'restrict internet neutrality' (p. 7). The ODS acknowledges benefits European integration brings to the Czech Republic but it is necessary to ensure that id 'does not proceed et the expenses of some of its members' (p. 29). Towards this, the party sees the EU 'as an area of economic freedom and not as an area of European bureaucracy' (p. 29). Finally, in terms of the Czech membership in the eurozone, the Civic-Democrats maintain the Czech Republic 'cannot currently afford euro, it would not be an asset' and insist on holding popular referendum about membership in the eurozone given that the 'obligations associated with acceptance of euro have changed rapidly since Czech accession to the EU' (p. 29).

Finally, the ODS stresses the importance of the common market for European integration and hence supports liberalization of services markets and establishment of free-trade zones with non-European countries, in particular with the US. Overall, European integration issues occur in a specifically concentrated manner – i.e. they are the subject of an independent section of the election programme – and, to significantly lesser extent, diffusely across the manifesto. From a qualitative viewpoint, the ODS provides general references to EU-related issues as well as description of preferences concerning individual (long-term) aspects of European integration (single market, eurozone). In addition, the party also provides discussion of current and heretofore unapproved matters related to the European integration process (fiscal union, EU-US TTIP).

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The Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD)

The manifesto of the ČSSD for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections, *We will get through functional state: Election Manifesto of the ČSSD* [sic], is divided into five broadly defined sections.[77] None of these is devoted exclusively to the EU and the manifesto does not contain foreign policy section where EU issues may be discussed. References to European integration occur diffusely across the election manifesto, with some of them located in the 'Active Membership in the EU' subdivision, one of the many subdivisions of the wide section titled 'Society.' From the general point of view, the ČSSD declares that is has a 'positive approach to the deepening of European integration' (p. 15), look forward to active participation in the political debates about future direction of the EU in which it will 'pursue social and cultural dimension of European integration' (p. 33).

In accord with other parties, the Social-Democrats make a number of references to various EU funds which they intend to use, for instance, for heat-cladding of buildings, for 'measures improving the quality of water and air' (p. 9), for 'modernisation of schools and their equipment (p. 11), and to pursue active employment policy. Overall, drawing financial resources from the EU's structural funds is one of the priorities of the party. In terms of the long term aspects of European integration, the party calls for non-discriminatory access for Czech farmers and food industry to the EU's financial resources within the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). In terms of tax policy, the Social-Democrats will initiate negotiations with the European Commission to introduce ze-

ro-rated VAT on pharmaceuticals and books and support introduction of EU-wide financial transaction tax, income of which shall become 'direct income of the EU' (p. 17). The country shall become prepared to the membership in the eurozone, accession to which shall happen when it is 'economically and socially favourable' (p .33).

In terms of defence policy, the party generally promotes the enhancement of EU capabilities to cope with and prevent crises and the strengthening of the trans-Atlantic security ties. Finally and with the field of domestic coordination of EU affairs, the ČSSD will set up a communication network of Czech citizens working in the EU's institutions in order to facilitate 'information transmission and exchange' in pursuance of Czech interests in the EU (p. 33). Taken together, European integration issues occur diffusely across the election manifesto and no compact section of the manifesto is devoted to the EU. From a qualitative viewpoint, the Social-Democrats provided general references to the European integration process. Most of the time, the party focused on description of preferences concerning individual (long-term) aspects of European integration (defence policy, CAP, single market). The ČCSD, nonetheless, also provided discussion of current and heretofore unapproved provisions related to the European integration process (EU financial transaction tax).

The Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-ČSL)

The manifesto for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections was entitled *Election Programme of the KDU-ČLS 2013-2017*.[78] The manifesto was divided into 14 sections, defined around individual sectors of society. One of these sections is devoted to the discussion of EU issues as well as foreign policy concerns, but EU issues occur also diffusely across the programme. Speaking about the foreign policy section, EU issues represent a fundamental part of it. The Christian-Democrats make a number of references to various EU funds which will be 'drawn from and utilized duly' (p. 11). Specifically, EU funding will be directed to projects that 'create new employment opportunities' (p. 4) and 'develop the country side' (p. 11), into new transportation infrastructure, into professional development of school leavers, and into local and county projects that clearly improve 'infrastructure, development and quality of life' (p. 10). The KDU-ČSL intends to negotiate at the EU level

to set up zero-rated VAT on child's nappies and infantile nutrition. In the section of the manifesto titled 'EU and Foreign Affairs,' the Christian-Democrats call for restriction of financial sector regulation, Czech accession to the eurozone only when the economy is prepared for it, and facilitation of 'Czech entrepreneurs to other member states' services market' (p. 11).

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The KDU-ČSL will support further enlargement of the EU by other European countries, while maintain that for Turkey 'only privileged partnership' is admissible (p. 11). Among the long term aspects of European integration, the party also intends to pursue more restrictive immigration policy, while 'maintaining the openness to persecuted people' (p. 11). The Christian-Democrats will support the establishment of the European Public Prosecutor's Office aimed at 'investigating frauds with EU funding' (p. 11) as well as the creation of EU's common military capabilities. Overall, European integration issues occur in the generally concentrated manner, i.e. they are integrated into and represent of fundamental part of the foreign-policy section. From a qualitative viewpoint, the KDU-ČSL provided general references to the European integration as well as description of preferences concerning individual (long-term) aspects of European integration (single market, eurozone, structural funds). Nevertheless, the party also provided discussion of current and heretofore unapproved provisions related to the European integration process (EPPO).

The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM)

The manifesto KSČM put together for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections was entitled *Programme for the Future*.[79] It was divided into a Preamble and six broadly defined parts and does not include a coherent section devoted to the EU or European integration. Moreover, the Communists, for the most part, use the EU as a reference point, for example, when it argues that incomes should be increased in the Czech Republic 'to the average level in the EU' (n.p.). Beyond these referential mentions of the EU, the party intends to ensure 'equal position of member states in the EU's political institutions' and to 'refuse extensive bureaucratisation and the persisting deficit of democracy in EU' decision-making' (n.p.).

In the area of taxation, the KSČM also demands opening 'negotiation with the EU to establish zero-rated VAT on pharmaceuticals' (n.p.). The final reference to EU issues in the programme relates to

party's intention to pursue in the EU and in the WTO the interest to abolish the exemption of international freight transport from taxes. The Communists do not provide any other references to European integration issues. In sum, European integration issues occur diffusely in the election manifesto and no compact section of the manifesto is devoted to the EU. Since European integration process is, in practice, reflected in few sentences, it appears that these issues are of secondary salience at best in the election programme for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections. From a qualitative viewpoint, the party provides general references to European integration issues and minimal discussion of long-term aspects of European integration (democratic deficit).

The Tomio Okamura's Dawn of Direct Democracy (Úsvit)

The programme of the Tomio Okamura's Dawn of Direct Democracy for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections, entitled simply *Programme of the Movement*, was divided into two main sections: the introductory part 'Ten principal programmatic issues of the Tomio Okamura's Dawn of Direct Democracy' followed by the 'Programme Itself.'[80] The introductory part of the manifesto revolved mostly around the chief aim of the party: introduction of direct democracy and personal, criminal, and material liability of politicians. One of the ten principal programmatic issues of the Úsvit is, however, focused directly on the EU. The party maintains the Czech Republic shall not become the 'EU's province' and will request holding a referendum 'on every transfer of state sovereignty to EU institutions' (n.p.). Moreover, the Dawn of Direct Democracy sees the EU as a 'free market of goods, services and labour' but not as a polity of 'non-systemic donations, allowances and bureaucrats' (n.p.). Within this party, the party also call for restrictive immigration policy in the Czech Republic since 'we do not want inadaptable immigrants or the arrival of religious fanatics' (n.p.).

The second party of the programme – that is in fact the programme itself – is divided into seven sectorally defined sections. Only one of these sections, namely the section on 'Economic Policy', includes references to and discussion of EU issues. The discussion of EU issues is nonetheless quite brief, two sentences in fact. The Dawn of Direct Democracy is 'against rampant European bureaucracy' and the party approves accession to eurozone provided that 'it is unambiguously advantageous for the Czech Republic and its citizens, and strictly on the basis of holding plebiscite' (n.p.). Overall, European integration is-

sues occur diffusely in the election manifesto, there is not a compact section of the text devoted to the EU. In fact, since European integration issues are practically reflected in few sentences, it may appear as if they were almost absent from the manifesto. From a qualitative content viewpoint, the party provided an overtly general description of its preferences concerning European integration and one specific position on the membership in the eurozone, a long-term aspect of European integration.

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The Tradition Responsibility Prosperity 09 (TOP09)

TOP09 programme for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections, entitled *We Know where we are Going*, was divided into twelve sectorally defined parts.[81] None of these is devoted exclusively to European integration and not even in the 'Foreign and Defence Policy' section, do EU issues play a predominant role. On the other hand, plenty of references to the EU occur diffused across the election manifesto, with the majority of them located in the 'Economic Policy' and the 'Foreign and Defence Policy' section. Generally, TOP09 is convinced that Czech interests may be 'defended more efficiently in tight partnership at the 'common European table' rather than by policy diverging from common discussions and only includes criticism' (p. 24). Most of the time, the party presents its preferences concerning individual long-term aspects of European integration. For example, TOP09 aims to provide direct agricultural subsidies to 'those who truly farming the ground' (p. 18) and it generally 'supports the efforts of the Western Balkans countries to join the EU,' while maintaining that enlargement is only conceivable if and when the given country 'fulfils without exception all accession conditions' (p. 24).

The party, moreover, sees EU's Common Energy Policy as a tool for bargaining diversification of sources of energy supply. Within the field of development policy, TOP09 aims at 'restricting protectionist barriers hindering import of goods from developing countries' (p. 25). Most of the party's discussion of European integration issues is related to economic aspects. TOP9 will support THE completion of the EU's common market a reduction of bureaucratic demands resulting from EU's economic regulation. Within the realms of the EU's common market, the party intends to increase consumer protection rights 'in coordination with European partners' by providing enough accurate and infallible information (p. 23). Finally, the TOP09 reflects on the current

financial crises in the EU: it will aim to decrease the budget deficit by at least 0.5% yearly, as determined in the Stability and Growth Pact and it will make all effort so that the Czech Republic signs and ratifies the Fiscal Compact.

The party also believes that membership in the eurozone will bring more benefits than costs and that it will promote 'long-term stability and prosperity' (p. 21). According to TOP09, the optimal time for joining the eurozone is between the 2018-2020. Taken together, European integration issues occur diffusely across the election manifesto and no compact section of the manifesto is devoted to the EU. From a qualitative viewpoint, TOP09 provided general references to the European integration as well as description of preferences concerning individual (long-term) aspects of European integration (CAP, energy policy, enlargement, single market). The party, nonetheless, also provided discussion of current and heretofore unapproved provisions related to the European integration process (Fiscal Compact).

Results of the Analysis

The analysis of Czech parties' election manifestos prepared for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections shows that the analysed parties discuss and reflect on EU issues with varying levels of intensity in the programmatic documents. This finding underlines conclusions of previous studies conducted in the region.[82] In accordance with previously conducted research on Europeanisation of parties' programmatic documents, our results suggest that most election manifestos prepared for the 2013 national parliamentary elections in the Czech Republic display only a low level of Europeanisation (see Table 1). In other words, EU issues are generally of secondary salience at best for parties in their programmatic documents. Some of the analysed party manifestos – particularly those of the Úsvit and KSČM – almost completely avoided (discussion of) EU issues and hence were almost completely non-Europeanised. Moreover, election manifestos of the ANO2011 also featured low Europeanisation in terms of quantity of EU issues discussed, while qualitatively providing reflection to the EU's long-term agenda. On the other hand, some of the analysed election manifestos – those of the TOP09, ODS, KDU-ČSL and to lesser extent the ČSSD – clearly displayed Europeanisation on both the quantitative and especially the qualitative dimension.

Looking solely at the qualitative dimension, which is more impor-

tant for the overall extent to which party manifestos are Europeanised since it 'more precisely documents the importance the party attaches to European integration,'[83] the story is similar. The qualitative Europeanisation of election manifestos differs across parties as much as the quantitative. The most Europeanised is the programme of the KDU-ČSL as the party reflects on several so far unapproved issues related to the European integration. Election programmes of three other parties (ČSSD, TOP09, ODS) predominantly reflect on the EU's long-term agenda while including only slight reference to thus far unapproved issues related to the European integration. Finally, one parties' manifestos (ANO2011) reflected only on the EU's long-term agenda and other two parties' resorted in their programmes to mere general and normative references without much attempt to reflect on the concrete EU long-term agenda and actual problems and issues related to the EU.

In summary, the results show that when Czech parties put together an election manifesto for national parliamentary elections, in most cases the Euromanifesto do not display high level of Europeanisation but ether display only weak level of Europeanisation, according to presented conceptualisation. In term of the quantitative dimension, most of the election programmes occupy the lowest layer of our conceptualisation that is, EU issues occur in diffuse manner across these parties' manifestos. From the perspective of qualitative dimension, most of the election programmes occupy the middle layer of Europeanisation on our conceptualisation that is, the parties reflect on individual long-term aspects of European integration in their Euromanifestos. Put differently, Czech parties' election programmes for national parliamentary elections display a low to medium level of Europeanisation on both the quantitative and qualitative dimensions, which corroborates previous results of prior studies of Europeanisation of manifestos prepared for national parliamentary election across EU member states.

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Table 1. Location of parties on the quantitative and qualitative dimension of Europeanisation

		Quantitative dimension		
		Diffuse occurrence	Generally concentrated occurrence	Specifically concentrated occurrence
Qualitative dimension	General and normative references to the EU	Úsvit KSČM↓		
	Reflection to the long-term agenda of the EU	ANO2011→ ČSSD↓	TOP09↓	ODS↓
	Reflection on current issues related to the EU		KDU-ČSL	

Source: Authors on the basis of content analysis of election manifestos.

Finally, one other interesting finding stems from the analysis: Czech political parties often use the EU and Europe as a referential point/framework for domestic politics (e.g. unemployment in the Czech Republic among lowest/highest in the EU). Moreover, the parties often also mention opportunities of EU funding without further specifying the concrete use and as such opportunities to draw on EU funds becomes a common reference to the existence of the EU.[84] The Europeanisation of party manifestos is thus often limited to this referential level without many substantial changes in party programmes and it appears that EU issues may hardly 'produce influences other than those constituting a referential framework for domestic politics.'[85]

Conclusion

The aim of this contribution was to analyse the extent of Europeanisation of election programmes of selected Czech political parties prepared for the recently held 2013 Chamber of Deputies elections according to the conceptualisation presented in the methodological section. The results show that the extent of Europeanisation on the quantitative dimension was in general similarly low as most of the

analysed manifestos. Only for TOP09, Christian Democrats and Civic Democrats, did EU issues appeared within the generally and specifically concentrated occurrence. Interestingly, two of these parties are considered to be right-wing parties, while having substantially different positions on pro-/anti-EU conflict dimensions. Concerning the qualitative dimension, the greatest depth of discussion about European integration was identified in the programme of the KDU-ČSL which appeared within the third conceptual category and in the programmes of the ODS, TOP09 and the ČSSD that oscillated between the second and the third conceptual categories. The rest of the programmes exhibited only minimal Europeanisation in terms of depth and precision of elaboration of EU issues.

The Europeanisation of Czech Parties' Election Manifestos

The question remains how do these results concerning Europeanisation of political parties' programmatic documents fit into the previous literature. First, the fact that the election manifestos prepared for the Czech national (first-order) parliamentary elections embody only low levels of Europeanisation fit well into the pattern identified by previous literature: studies on the Europeanisation of parties' programmes for EP elections report more intensive changes incurred by the EU than research dealing with manifestos for national parliamentary and/or local elections.[86]

Second, if compared to the prior literature on the Europeanisation of parties' programmatic documents in the Czech Republic (and its neighbourhood), results presented here support the trend of decreasing Europeanisation of programmatic documents ever since the country joined the EU. While the pre-accession period was characterized by increase of programmatic Europeanisation, the membership period–and in particular since the 2006 Chamber of Deputies elections–is characterised by decrease of programmatic Europeanisation.[87] The results on Europeanisation of Czech parties' election manifestos reported here dovetail well into this trend. In other words, Czech political parties are increasingly likely to downplay EU issues in election manifestos prepared for national parliamentary election at least since the 2006 Chamber of Deputies elections. Whether this trend will continue into the future or will spill-over to the sphere of election programmes prepared for EP elections should be the subject of future research.
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19   Sedelmeier, "Europeanisation in new member and candidate states," 20-21; Danica Fink-Hafner, (Ed.) (2007), "Democratisation and Europeanisation of Political Parties in Central and South-Eastern Europe," *Special Issue of Politics in Central Europe* 3, no. 1-2; Tim Haughton, ed. *Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Does EU Membership Matter?* (London: Routledge, 2011); Zsolt Enyedi (2007), "The Europeanisation of Eastern Central European Party Systems," *The NET Journal of Political Science* 5, no. 1.

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21   Mair, "The limited impact of Europe on national party systems," 38.

22   Simon Hix and Bjørn Høyland, *The political system of the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave: Macmillan, 2011), 137-38.

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24   Ladrech, "Europeanization and political parties."

25   "Europeanization and Political Parties: Towards a Framework for Analysis; "Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France."

26   "Europeanization and Political Parties: Towards a Framework for Analysis," 396.

27   see also Haughton, *Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Does EU Membership Matter?*

28   Vít Hloušek and Pavel Pšeja (2009), "Europeanization of Political Parties and the Party System in the Czech Republic," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 25, no. 4; Sylvia Kritzinger et al. (2004), "Continuity and change in party positions towards Europe in Italian parties: an examination of parties' manifestos," *Journal of European Public Policy* 11, no. 6; Paul Pennings (2006), "An Empirical Analysis of the Europeanization of National Party Manifestos, 1960-2003," *European Union Politics* 7, no. 2; Havlík and Vykoupilová, "Two dimensions of the Europeanization of election programs: The case of the Czech Republic; Robert Ladrech (2008), "Europeanization and the variable influence of the EU: national parties and party systems in Western and Eastern Europe," *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans Online* 10, no. 2.

29   Baun et al., "The Europeanization of Czech Politics: The Political Parties and the EU Referendum; Slaviša Orlović (2007), "Europeanisation and Democratisation of Parties and Party System of Serbia," *Politics in Central Europe* 3, no. 1-2; Vlastimil Havlík, České politické strany a evropská integrace: Evropeizace, evropanství, euroskepticismus? (Brno: Masarykova univerzita. Mezinárodní politologický ústav, 2010); Tomaž Deželan (2007), "Does Europeanisation matter? The Case of Slovenian Political Party Electoral Campaign for the European Union," *Politics in Central Europe* 3, no.

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31   We refer here both to EU member states, accession countries as well as countries without near prospects of future EU membership.

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34   Julie Smith (1995), "Appendix. The 1994 European elections: Twelve into one won't go," *West European Politics* 18, no. 3; Havlík and Valterová, "Evropeizace českých politických stran: aplikace Ladrechova konceptu; Allan Sikk (2009), "Force Mineure? The Effects of the EU on Party Politics in a Small Country: The Case of Estonia," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 25, no. 4.

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40   Havlík, České politické strany a evropská integrace: Evropeizace, evropanství, euroskepticismus; Havlík and Vykoupilová, "Two dimensions of the Europeanization of election programs: The case of the Czech Republic; Havlík and Valterová, "Evropeizace českých politických stran: aplikace Ladrechova konceptu."

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42   Havlík and Vykoupilová, "Two dimensions of the Europeanization of election programs: The case of the Czech Republic," 184.

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51   Milada A. Vachudova and Liesbet Hooghe (2009), "Postcommunist politics in a magnetic field: How transition and EU accession structure party competition on European integration," *Comparative European Politics* 7, no. 2; Enyedi, "The Europeanisation of Eastern Central European Party Systems; Baun et al., "The Europeanization of Czech Politics: The Political Parties and the EU Referendum; Hloušek and Pšeja, "Europeanization of Political Parties and the Party System in the Czech Republic; Ladrech, *Europeanization and National Politics*.

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56   Milada Anna Vachudová, *Europe undivided: Democracy, leverage and integration after communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); M. Spirova (2008), "Europarties and party development in EU-candidate states: The case of Bulgaria," *Europe - Asia Studies* 60, no. 5.

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The case of the Czech Republic."

61   This approach to Europeanisation of party manifestos is particularly suitable given that it does not demand any area specification and it is neutral towards both political parties' positive or negative attitude to the EU and the degree of consolidation of the respective party system Smrčková and Hloušek, "Evropeizace programatiky bulharských a rumunských politických stran.".

62   Havlík and Vykoupilová, "Two dimensions of the Europeanization of election programs: The case of the Czech Republic."

63   Ladrech, "Europeanization and political parties."

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65   It is necessary here to briefly discuss the meaning of a 'chapter': we consider a chapter to be a passage of text headed by a title and formally delineated from other sections. In the case of multi-level structuring of the election manifesto, the chapter may be located even at the lowest level of the structuring (i.e. sub-chapter) Havlík, České politické strany a evropská integrace: Evropeizace, evropanství, euroskepticismus?.

66   Following other scholars, issues can be expressed in several ways in the programme: either in a form of short mention, sentence, and passage, or as a whole chapter. In other words, coded are not entire manifestos, or sections or chapters in it, but individual arguments, defined as verbal expression of a political idea or an issue. Most of the time, a sentence corresponds with an argument, but when a sentence comprises more than one argument, it is broken down in as many quasi-sentences as there are arguments, and these quasi-sentences are coded. The smallest unit that is categorised is a sentence or a quasi-sentence.

67   Havlík and Valterová, "Evropeizace českých politických stran: aplikace Ladrechova konceptu."

68   Havlík and Vykoupilová, "Two dimensions of the Europeanization of election programs: The case of the Czech Republic," 165.

69   Ibid; Kovář, "The Supply Side of Second-Order Elections in the Czech Republic: A Light at the End of the Tunnel?; Havlík, České politické strany a evropská integrace: Evropeizace, evropanství, euroskepticismus; Havlík, "Mluvit stříbro, mlčeti zlato - aneb několik poznámek k evropeizaci volební programatiky Komunistické strany Čech a Moravy.". In relation to the last level of qualitative dimension, Havlík points out that, while analysing concrete election manifestos, it is necessary to reflect the current state of European integration process, meaning that there will be different current issues related to European integration at different points in time.

70   If, for example, the second level of Europeanisation on the quantitative dimension is identified in a given program (i.e. EU issues are included within the broad foreign-policy section of the program) and, at the same time, EU issues are mentioned cross-sectionallly throughout the election manifesto, the predominant degree of Europeanisation is decisive for the final evalu-

ation of Europeanisation of the given manifesto Havlík and Vykoupilová, "Two dimensions of the Europeanization of election programs: The case of the Czech Republic," 167.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid., 168.

73 Resortní program, 2013. Election manifesto for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies election, Available at http://www.anobudelip.cz/cs/o-nas/program/resortni-program/, accessed on 20 October 2013.

74 For example, when they argue the Czech Republic has the highest share of people employed in industry in the whole EU.

75 #Volím_pravici. Volební program pro volby do Poslanecké sněmovny PČR 2013, *2013.* Election manifesto for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies election, Available at http://www.ods.cz/docs/programy/volebni-program-2013.pdf, accessed 20 October 2013.

76 For example, when the manifesto argues that the costs of labour in the Czech Republic are one of the highest in the EU, and in similar occasions.

77 These are: Human, Economy, Regions, Countryside, and Society.

78 Volební program KDU-ČSL 2013-2017, 2013. Election manifesto for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies election, Available at http://volby.kdu.cz/get-media/0bb4631e-0fb2-478e-9d17-eaa3ffd840df/KDU-CSL---Volebni-program-2013-2017.pdf.aspx, accessed 20 October 2013.

79 Program pro budoucnost, 2013. Election manifesto for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies election, Available at http://www.kscm.cz/volby-a-akce/volebni-program, accessed 20 October 2013.

80 Program hnutí, 2013. Election manifesto for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies election, Available at http://www.hnutiusvit.cz/program-hnuti/, accessed 20 October 2013.

81 Víme, kam jdeme. Volební program TOP 09, 2013. Election manifesto for the 2013 Chamber of Deputies election, Available at http://www.top09.cz/proc-nas-volit/volebni-program/volebni-program-2013/, accessed on 20 October 2013.

82 Havlík, České politické strany a evropská integrace: Evropeizace, evropanství, euroskepticismus; Havlík and Vykoupilová, "Two dimensions of the Europeanization of election programs: The case of the Czech Republic; Kovář, "The Supply Side of Second-Order Elections in the Czech Republic: A Light at the End of the Tunnel?."

83 Havlík and Vykoupilová, "Two dimensions of the Europeanization of election programs: The case of the Czech Republic," 168.

84 Hloušek and Pšeja, "Europeanization of Political Parties and the Party System in the Czech Republic."

85 Ibid., 533.

86 e.g. Wüst and Schmitt, "Comparing the Views of Parties and Voters in the 1999 Election to the European Parliament; Kritzinger et al., "Continuity and change in party positions towards Europe in Italian parties: an examination of parties' manifestos; Kritzinger and Michalowitz, "Party Position Changes through EU membership? The (Non-)Europeanisation of Austrian, Finnish and Swedish Political Parties; Kovář, "The Supply Side of

Second-Order Elections in the Czech Republic: A Light at the End of the Tunnel?."

87   Havlík, České politické strany a evropská integrace: Evropeizace, evropanství, euroskepticismus; Havlík and Vykoupilová, "Two dimensions of the Europeanization of election programs: The case of the Czech Republic; Havlík and Valterová, "Evropeizace českých politických stran: aplikace Ladrechova konceptu; Hloušek and Pšeja, "Europeanization of Political Parties and the Party System in the Czech Republic; Havlík, České politické strany a evropská integrace: Evropeizace, evropanství, euroskepticismus?