Appendix: National Identity Report Code Book

Introduction

This code book lays out an inductive method of interpretive discourse analysis for the recovery of national identity from a sample of speeches, newspaper articles, history textbooks, novels, and movies.

For the purposes of this method, we define national identity as collective representations of what it means to be a member of a nation. That is, how do French people understand themselves as French? What is France?

Step 1: Document List

Our general principles for document selection are to get documents that are widely read and selected in an unbiased manner. We do not want to select documents we think will reveal identity, rather we want to overhear identity. We also want to capture both elite political discourses and mass commonsense, whether these share identity categories or not.

Genres

Leadership Speeches:

Choose two leadership speeches by the head of the government/ ruling party on a significant day, such as a national holiday address and/ or budgetary speech.

Newspapers

Choose the two newspapers with the highest national circulation. If your top papers are all tabloids, choose one tabloid and one "broadsheet" newspaper. From these, for the 15th of each month, read all opinion- editorials (op- eds) and letters to the editor. Separate these into different categories when coding (the idea is that op- eds capture more elite statements, letters more mass statements). If high national circulation newspapers are divided on a partisan basis, say Left and Right, then select these two. Do so even if they are ranked 3 and 4, rather than 1 and 2. For example, in the US case, we would select *The New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* rather than *The New York Times* and *USA Today*. Or, in the UK case, *London Times* and *Guardian* rather than *London Times* and *Daily Telegraph*.

History Textbooks

Choose two high school history textbooks on your country's national history. Select widely read texts. Start your analysis with the chapters on the 20th century.

Novels

Get a list of bestselling novels in the country by country's authors in an official language. Choose the Top Two.

Movies

Get a list of most-attended movies in the country by country's directors/producers in an official language. Choose the Top Two.

Step 2: Coding

In the simplest terms, you are reading to find the identities of your country. What does it mean to be China or be Chinese? You are to be as inductive as possible. That said, there are a few orienting principles you should follow.

1. Valence: distinguish between negative and positive identities. That is, note whether the identity is considered a good or a bad feature of being China or Chinese. So, eg, in the national identity report on China 2010 you have been given to review, note that a modern China is positive, a backward China is negative.

2. Aspirational or Aversive: Is the identity you have found one that China aspires to become, or one it is trying to avoid becoming. So, China aspires to become modern, and wishes to avoid dependence.

3. Significant Others: These are the countries, historical periods, ideas, etc. with which China compares itself. These can be historical, contemporary, or prospective. They can be positive or negative. They can be aspirational or aversive.

You will record the raw numbers of these identities, so as to gauge their frequency.

Keep track of your coding decisions either in one big word document or in an excel spreadsheet with coded quotes and coding decisions together.

E.g.,

"To our compatriots overseas, I want to convey my determination to that which the Republic holds to, with regards to their promises of equality and dignity that was not sufficiently held in to in the past."
Coding: EQUALITY +, DIGNITY+, HISTORICAL OTHER-(?)

"This is absolutely absurd to think that I could be inspired by such a sentiment of nostalgia towards a [colonial] period, which I have, more than once underlined of its injustice and errors."
Coding: COLONIAL HIST. OTHER-

"When the Republicans permanently came to power in 1880, they fought against the influence of the Catholic Church, notably in the school. By the separation of church and state, the Republic implements secularism that guarantees the free practice of all religions."
Coding: REPUBLICAN+, SECULAR+

Be careful to distinguish codings of identity categories from themes or tropes in the discourse. Themes or tropes such as extolling the virtues of hardwork, invocations of the good life, or personal complaints about injustices are not properly speaking identity categories and can be coded as identity categories when you think it makes sense to say, "this category is used by people or leaders to define what it means to be French" or the "French nation embodies the virtues of cultural superiority and the pursuit of social justice" and so on. At this point, previously coded themes and tropes can be reconceptualized as identities.

Step 3: Preparing Tables and Analysis

After coding, you will end up with dozens of different identities. You will need to bring order to this list and present the most important categories, as well as synthesize and analyze their relations. There are three substeps to this process.

1. Raw Count Table

First, create a table of raw counts that combine positive, negative, neutral, and ambiguous codings.

RAW COUNT	S	Ns	T	Nv	M	Total Codings
Category x	10	6	3	0	6	25
Category y	3	3	9	7	1	23
Sum	*13*	*9*	*12*	*7*	*7*	

Table 1: Raw Counts

French National Identity 2010 Table 1 Categories	Raw Count	Speeches	Newspapers	Textbooks	Movies	Novels
Cultural Centre	6	1	3	0	0	2
Egalitarian	10	1	9	0	0	0
Justice	6	1	3	0	0	2
Free/Liberty	6	1	3	2	0	0
Modern	4	1	1	0	0	2
Republican	10	1	9	0	0	0
European	8	1	5	0	0	2
Colonial Master (Historical)	9	3	6	0	0	0
Africa as a friend of France	7	6	1	0	0	0
Rule of Law	7	0	5	0	0	2
Democratic	5	0	5	0	0	0
Respects Diversity	3	0	3	0	0	0
Meritocratic/Elitist	5	0	5	0	0	0
Old Literary	6	0	6	0	0	0
France as German	4	0	4	0	0	0
BRICs	9	0	5	0	0	4
Pension/Ageing/welfare state	15	0	8	6	1	0
Post Modern	4	0	2	0	0	2
Social Conflict- rebellious, resistance	54	0	12	40	2	0
Patriarchal	5	0	1	4	0	0
Secular	20	0	8	10	0	2
Catholic/Christian	20	0	4	10	0	6
Homosexuality	3	0	1	0	2	0
Rural, Pastoral	10	0	0	0	2	8
Neurotic, overworked urban	2	0	0	0	2	0
Western	9	0	5	0	0	4
Anti-capitalist	5	0	1	0	0	4
Civilised	7	0	7	0	0	0
Anti work	11	0	3	4	2	2
Individualist	3	0	3	0	0	0
Decline	3	0	3	0	0	0
Universal/humanist	3	0	3	0	0	0
United/solidarity	3	0	3	0	0	0
Total	282	16	137	76	11	42

Table 1.1, example: Raw Identity Counts, Benjamin Chan, France 2010

Second, produce a table that translates the raw counts into percentages normalized by genre.

That is in the above table Cat x, speeches should be calculated: 10/13*100% = 77%. Instead of total codings, make a column with an average of the percentages.

PERCENT	S	Ns	T	Nv	M	AVG
Category x	77%	67%	25%	0%	85%	50.8
Category y	23%	33%	75%	100%	15%	49.2

Table 1.2: Percentage Counts

Finally, translate codings into valence symbols (+, -, /, or ~). The system we will use is the following (provisionally): 1 symbol = 1-5%; 2 symbols = 5-7%; 3 symbols = 8-10%; 4 symbols = 11-15%; 5 symbols = 15%+. If you had – and + codings of the same category, be sure to separate those here. Note table below does not use above figures!

RAW COUNT	S	Ns	T	Nv	M
Category x	+++++	++	----	-	+
Category y	--/++	++	++	++/--	

Table 1.3: Top categories with valence

3. The Topographical Table

Next, the goal is to aggregate these raw numbers into clusters of identity. What this means is grouping features that you have left separate through bare-bones induction, into clusters that you think hang together. Also, note the distribution of categories. Are they equally distributed across all genres of texts? Are they instead concentrated in mass or elite? Are the valences the same across genres? Do they only appear in one genre of text, and not in others?

The second topographical table should reflect your judgment about what is essential and which categories hang together in defining identity. First, include those identities you think most significant balancing raw counts and your judgment. Second, group categories together into discursive formations (even if loosely). E.g., Hopf (2002) groups identities by class, region, ethnicity, and modernity. Third, translate raw counts into valence symbols (+, -, /, or ~). The system we will use is the following (provisionally): 1 symbol = 1-5%; 2 symbols = 5-7%; 3 symbols = 7.1-10%; 4 symbols = 10.1-15%; 5 symbols = 15%+

Topography	S	Ns	T	Nv	M
Id 1 Cat 1	++++	++-	-	\\	--
Id 1 Cat 2	-	--\	---	---	-
Id 2 Cat 1					
Id 2 Cat 2					

Table 2.1: Topography

FRENCH NATIONAL IDENTITY 2010 TOPOGRAPHY BENJAMIN CHAN

	SPEECHES	NEWSPAPERS	TEXTBOOKS	NOVELS	MOVIES
REPUBLICAN	+ +	+	+ +		
Egalitarian	+	+	+		
Liberty	+ +	+		+	
Justice	+ +	+		+	
Rule of Law		+		+	
Modern	+ +	+		+	
Meritocratic/Elitist		+			
Secular		+ +	+ + + +	+	
Democratic		/			
CULTURED, CIVILISED					
Civilised		+ +			
Cultural Centre	+ +	+		+ +	
European	+ /	/		/ /	
Western		+		+ + /	
Old Literary		+			
SOCIO-ECONOMIC VALUES					
Capitalist		-		- - -	
Attitude towards work		-	- -	-	- - - - -
Social Welfare State		- -	+ +		+ + -
Pastoral Rural, Neurotic Urban				+ + + + +	+ + + + +
Resistance/Confrontational		+ + +	+ + + + +	+ +	+
United/Solidarity		+			
Homosexual		/			+ + /
Respects Diversity (Aspirational)		+ / /			- -
EXTERNAL OTHERS					
Africa/Francophone	+ + + + +	+			
Germany		+			
Europe	+ /	/		/ /	
BRICS (Competitive)		/		- / /	
HISTORICAL OTHERS					
Catholic/Christian		-	- - / /		
Colonial	- - - - -	-			
Patriarchal	-	- /			

Table 2.1, example: French Topography

	Speeches	Textbooks	Newspapers(Opi-ed)	Newspapers(letters to the editors)	Novels	Movies
Economic identities						
Moving forward/progress	+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ + +	\ \	\ \	~
Developing economy/catching-up	+ + + +	+ + +	+ + +	+	+	\
Hardworking	+	+		+	+	+ +
Socio-political identities						
Materialistic		-	-		~ ~ ~	- -
Corrupt		-	-	-	- - - -	- - - - -
Social inequality	\	-	- -	- -	- - -	- - - - -
Insecure		-	-	- -	- - \ \ \	\ \ \
Bureaucracy-oriented consciousness		\		- -	~ ~ ~	- - -
Reciprocal courtesy			~		~ ~ ~ ~	- - -
Resilient	+ +	+ + +	+			+ + + +
Communism (The CCP formula)						
Socialism with the Chinese characteristics	+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ +		-	\
The Chinese Dream (great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation)	+ +		+		\	
Patriotic	+ +	+ +				+
Significant Others						
The US		-	\	\	+	\
Japan (aggressor)		- -				-
Japan (economic model)		\ \			+	
The West		\	~	~	+	

Table 2.1, example: Chinese Topography

3. Constructing a Predominant Discourse of National Identity and its Challenger/s

The final part is the construction of the predominant discourse of national identity and its challenger/s. This is the most theoretical move on your part, though it should be deeply rooted in the inductive discourse analysis you have performed. Here, fashion what you consider to be the consensual parts of the national identity, as well as those that dominate in the elite or mass texts. This is the predominant discourse of your country's national identity. Next, you construct what you consider to be the primary challenger/s to this identity from what remains.

For an example, see Hopf (2002) p. 41 and p. 155. In 1955 USSR, Hopf argues that the predominant discourse of Soviet identity features four main elements of the "New Soviet Man": modernity, class, geography, and ethnicity. In Hopf's study of national identity in Russia, he finds four discursive formations in circulation: New Western Russian, New Soviet Russian, Liberal Essentialist, and Liberal Relativist.[1] These discursive formations competed with one another to define attitudes toward the Russia past and future.

But you need not follow this example; we are interested in what you come up with when trying to summarize the central discourses of identity.

[1] Hopf 2002, 154-58.

Step 4: The Identity Report Draft

Present the findings in a 6000 word report. When presenting first drafts to the editors it is ok to send a version up to 8000 words, as we like to see lots of quotes, data, and discourses and we can give you feedback on what to keep/cut, but the final report will need to be very tight.

Rough outline for Identity Reports:
Introduction

Introduction in which you summarize findings to follow. Explain: The predominant discourse of Chinese national identity in 2010 is xxxx, and its challenger/s are yyyy. (1 paragraph)

Section 1: Text Selection

Selection of texts rationale, i.e., go through speeches, papers, textbooks, novels, and movies in some detail justifying their selection. (1 p.)

Section 2: The raw identity categories

Table of raw identity counts (omitting those that are insignificant) (1 p.)

Explain table in a short narrative that goes through each identity, what it means, and give an example/quote or two from the texts to illustrate. Highlight each identity category in **bold**. (3-4 pp.)

Section 3: The predominant discourse and its challenger/s

Table of consolidated identity categories/topographical table.

Present the predominant discourse and its challenger/s and explain how you grouped identity categories and why. Central questions to address:

What are the main elements of the predominant discourse, how much is it distributed across genres, how frequent are its elements? What does it all mean? How does it relate to the hegemonic global ideology of neoliberal democratic capitalism?

Now turn to the challenger/s or counterdiscourses. What are its elements? How is it distributed? How frequent? How does it relate to the dominant discourse? How does it relate to neoliberal democratic capitalism?

In addition, lay out areas of elite/mass consensus, showing what is presumably taken for granted at all levels of society; lay out areas of difference btw elite and mass, ranging from elite's positive evaluation of some identity and mass derogation of the same, elite's positive evaluation but mass absence, to mass appreciation and elite rejection. Note as well the salience, i.e., frequency and distribution within elite genres and mass genres.

Conclusion (For Making it Count only)[2]

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[2] This would not appear in the standard codebook.

Summarize how your findings apply to hegemonic global discourse of neoliberal democracy. We are interested in how and whether Western hegemony, defined as democratic neoliberalism, can persist past the decline of the United States and the rise of China. So in your conclusion, reflect on the extent to which your findings bolster or challenge this democratic neoliberalism, or how your country challenges or reconfigures democratic neoliberalism. Show how, e.g., the predominant discourse of identity in your country reinforces or undermines this hegemony, and do the same for challenger/s.

The reports will reflect different understandings of democracy and neoliberalism, but we need all the reports to relate to the same "hegemony." For these purposes, democracy refers to i) a political system in which the people rule via elections; ii) a parliamentary or other elected legislative body of representatives makes the laws; iii) institutional checks and balances (rule of law; functioning courts). Neoliberalism is an economic doctrine that promotes: i) faith in markets to solve problems; ii) a negative view of state intervention in the economy; iii) a positive attitude toward liberal economic policies and liberalizing reforms (free trade, deregulation, privatization, openness). But cultural theorists have extended the concept to include corollary beliefs that support and bolster those economic doctrines: iv) strong individualism (Thatcher's "there is no such thing as society"), as expressed in values like individual self-help or individual responsibility; and v) competitiveness valorized as a positive value.

It is important that you use these definitions to differentiate between which aspects of democratic neoliberal hegemony are supported or contested in your findings.

Appendix, Sources, and Bibliography

Include an Appendix with: further methodological reflections and supplementary material you think is necessary; a list of the primary sources used; a bibliography of secondary sources if required.