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RED = only TV spots
GREY = already coded in short-codebook

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSTERS / TV-Spots</th>
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Included posters / TV spots: all posters / spots of the EP election campaign are included that have been publicized by national parties that won more than 3% in the last national and / or European Parliament election (see list for relevant parties in your country). In addition: please include any relevant, newly established party!

Unit of analysis: Each poster / spot constitutes a unit of analysis.

Logic of analysis: The following codebook is divided in two main parts: (a) the actors and (b) the message.

Variable ID
‘poster / spot identification number’
Note: running count per poster / spot. Germany (spots: 1000-1499, posters: 1500-1999); Netherlands (spots: 2000-2499, posters: 2500-2999); UK (spots: 3000-3499, posters: 3500-3999); Sweden (spots: 4000-4499, posters: 4500-4999); Austria (spots: 5000-5499, posters: 5500-5999); Poland (spots: 6000-6499, posters: 6500-6999); Czech Republic (spots: 7000-7499, posters: 7500-7999); Spain (spots: 8000-8499, posters: 8500-8999); Portugal (spots: 9000-9499, posters: 9500-9999); Hungary (spots: 10000-10499, posters: 10500-10999); Bulgaria (spots: 11000-11499, posters: 11500-11999). EU (spots: 12000-12499; posters: 12500-12999). This number serves identification purposes in the data file.

Variable NAMECOD
‘name of coder’
String-variable: Type down the full name of the coder (Last, First name)

Variable COUNTRY
‘country in which poster / spot is part of the campaign’
1 Germany
2 Netherlands
3 UK
4 Sweden
5 Austria
6 Poland
7 Czech Republic
8 Spain
9 Portugal
10 Hungary
11 Bulgaria

Variable **SPOTPOS**
‘Is it a spot / poster’
1 TV spot
2 poster
3 newspaper ad
Note: posters and TV spots are the core variables of this project. Yet, every country can decide whether they also want to include newspaper ads.

Variable **TITLE in English**
‘Description of the dominant claim in the campaign poster / spot’
String-variable: Type down at least the party responsible for the spot / poster and the topic it refers to.
Idea: (Adam et al., 2002; Koopmans, 2002)

For the spots:
Variable **LENGTH**
‘Length of party spot’
In seconds…..

For the spots:
Variable **FORMAT**
‘Format of TV spot’
Please choose one format!

1 *Documentary*: describes or documents the life of the candidate; supplies background information on the candidate; describes some event in the candidate's career.

2 *Video Clip/Music Video*: a preproduced visual segment without a dominant verbal messages; video accompanied only by music or similar.

3 *Testimonial (reaction)*: shows the responses of people to the candidate or provides an endorsement by groups/individuals of the candidate in the form of talking about the candidate's virtues; man-on-the-street interviews; some politician or famous person endorsing.

4 *Introspection*: largely a spot in which the candidate reflects on his/her own campaign, his/her job in office, his/her mission as a candidate, his/her philosophy of government. Might be just candidate or candidate talking to other people about this.
Issue Statement: only visual or verbal statement of candidate or party position on one or more specific issues. [Only candidate speaking]

Staged Press Conference: shows candidate answering questions—not in a hostile situation. The candidate is answering questions from media people. This ad looks like a press conference and people asking the questions look like journalists or media people.

Question and Answer/Confrontation: in this situation, the candidate is being asked questions (non-hostile, non-confrontational) by either one person made to look like the average "guy" off the street or by several people as he/she talks with them; or candidate is confronted with hostile questions or groups demanding answers.

Issues dramatization: emphasizes or illustrates some issues or problems; may or may not offer a solution; this is done in a dramatic way—-not just candidate talking about it only. [This may also include an issue statement. Yet it involves more!]

Opposition focused: a negative attack on the opponent’s record/campaign/issue stands that is not clearly one of the other format types described here. Always choose one of the other format types, even for a negative ad, if you can clearly identify another format type. If not, and the ad is negative, then this option may be appropriate.

Other: none of the above.

Source: {Kaid, 2004 #1547}

Note: Please select the one format that is most appropriate to describe the TV spot.

For the spots:
Variable MUSIC
‘relationship between music and text’
1 more text/speech than music: no music / music is just used as background
2 more music than text/speech: music is central in conveying the message / overpowers the message or is critical of generating emotions
3 balance between music and text/content: a true balance between the two

Source: {Kaid, 2004 #1547}

Note: A-cappella music is regarded as music, not text / speech.

Variable SYMBOL
‘Can national or EU symbols be seen on the poster / spot, e.g. flag, colors, famous buildings?’
1 national symbols (no party symbols!)
2 EU symbols (no symbols of EU party families)
3 Both: national and EU symbols
4 No symbols used

Idea: {Kaid, 2004 #1547}

Note: Symbols must be explicit and clearly visible. We do NOT code symbols that are just used within the party slogan or represent the party per se whether national or EU (logo). E.g. the EU flag included in the logo of the party showing that it is an EU election is not coded as a symbol.
A: The actors

Variable PARTY
‘Party responsible for poster / spot’
1 CDU
2 SPD
3 Etc. (see party list for each country)

Variable PARTYEU
‘Is there a reference to the European federation / European party family /party group of the respective party in the poster / spot?’
0 no (no reference to EU party federation)
1 yes (reference to EU party federation)
Note: Such a reference can be made either in the spot / poster per se or in the party slogan / logo.

Variable PARTYREP
‘how is the party primarily represented in the poster / spot’
1 Visual and / or oral/verbal representation of national politician who is not running for the EP
2 Visual and / or oral/verbal representation of EU candidate or current member of the EP
3 No person as representative of party but party presented by its logo / slogan
4 No person as representative of party and party not presented by its logo / slogan either
5 Other

Variable ACTSCOP
‘scope of main political actor’
1 Own country
2 EU
3 Other / Not specified / Not applicable (no main actor)

The main political actor of a spot / poster is a politician (not an institution) who is putting forward the campaign message. If there are several politicians involved in presenting the campaign message, the one dominant – regarding the time (spot) or regarding his visual presentation (poster) is chosen. If there are two main actors which are equally prominent putting forward the campaign message, please code the actor with an EU scope (and not the one with a national scope). If there are two (or more) national actors putting forward the campaign message, just pick one.

The scope of the main actor refers to an actor’s function respectively to the organizational extension. We code EU scopes (=2) for all top-candidates running for the European Parliament in a country (although they belong to the national party) as this is the most European a national party can get. In addition, those politicians get a European scope that explicitly speak up as European actors (e.g. Verheugen speaking up as Vice President of the EU Commission).
We code ‘own country (=1)’ for politicians that speak up in their function as national politicians. This can be either explicitly mentioned (e.g. a member of the German liberals, Verheugen as a member of the German Social Democrats) or it can be implicitly assumed as a politician is a leading national figure (e.g. Merkel as chancellor of Germany). We code ‘other / not specified / not applicable’ if there is no main actor, if the scope remains unclear (no guessing!) or if an actor has a different scope (e.g. UN).

If a politician is explicitly described with two functions (e.g. prime minister of country X and EU president) the highest capacity in terms of policy level is coded (here: EU).

NOTE: Please provide a list and photographs with the top-candidates of all parties running for the European Parliament in your country so that the coders correctly attribute a European scope to these actors!

Idea: (Adam, et al., 2002; Koopmans, 2002)

Variable ACTNAME
‘name of main political actor’
Please type down the exact name of main actor (Last name, First name).

Variable ACTMENT
‘explicit mentioning of the function of the main actor
1 Yes, function of the main actor is explicitly mentioned
2 No, function of the main actor is not explicitly mentioned

Please code 1, if the function (e.g. top candidate for the EP, current member of the EP, national Chancellor, etc.) is explicitly mentioned in the spot / poster in words or writing.
Please code 2, if there is not explicit mentioning.

Variable ADDACT
‘additional actor referred to in the spot / poster that has an EU scope’
1 Yes
2 No

The additional actor of a spot / poster is NOT the main actor. Yet it is also a politician (not an institution) who is referred to / present in the spot / poster. This politician can have different roles: it can put forward the message (yet with less importance compared to the main actor) or it can be the one who is attacked in the spot / poster or it is just an actor who is used as a point of reference.

EU scope: We are just interested whether there is an additional actor with an EU scope. An actor has an EU scope if he / she is the top-candidate running for the European Parliament in a country (although he / she belongs to the national party) as this is the most European a national party can get. In addition, those politicians that are part of a supranational EU institution (EU Commission, EU Parliament, European Court of Justice) have a European scope. Yet, please DO NOT code the members of the EU Council / the Council of Ministers as EU actors.
Variable **ADDNAME**
‘name of additional actor referred to in the spot / poster with an EU scope’
Please type down the exact name of additional actor (Last name, First name)

Variable **ADDACT_nat**
‘additional actor referred to in the spot / poster that has a national scope’

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The additional national actor of a spot / poster is NOT the main actor. Yet it is also a **politician** (not an institution) who is referred to / present in the spot / poster. This politician can have different roles: it can put forward the message (yet with less importance compared to the main actor) or it can be the one who is attacked in the spot / poster or it is just an actor who is used as a point of reference.

Variable **ADDNAME_nat**
‘name of additional actor referred to in the spot / poster with a national scope’
Please type down the exact name of additional actor (Last name, First name)

Variable **WITNESS_EU**
‘EU celebrity (not politician!) or EU citizen referred to in the spot / poster as witness’

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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Please indicate whether a celebrity (this is not a politician!!) or an average citizen from another EU country is referred to in the spot / poster (e.g. a soccer star from another EU country) and used as a witness. A witness is a person who speaks out regarding candidates, issues or programs. As it is sometimes difficult to judge where citizens come from, we assume that those NOT speaking in the own national language are from other EU countries.

Variable **WITNESS_nat**
‘national celebrity (not politician!) or national citizen referred to in the spot / poster as witness

<table>
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<th>Yes</th>
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Please indicate whether a celebrity or an average citizen with a national scope is referred to in the spot / poster (e.g. a national soccer star) and used as a witness. A witness is a person who speaks out regarding candidates, issues or programs. As it is sometimes difficult to judge where citizens come from, we assume that those speaking in the own national language are national.
**B: The message**

Variable **PARTYMES**
‘political message included in the poster / spot’

0    no (e.g. just the head of a politician with the party logo)  \[FILTER: jump to CANDIDATE\]
1    yes

Note: a message is not confined to a clear statement on policy issues, but might as well be contained in a party slogan or in character descriptions.

Variable **MESSTYP**
‘Dominant type of message’

1    message mainly on the candidate
2    message mainly on policies / issues
3    message mainly on the party
4    cannot determine

Idea: \{Kaid, 2004 #1547\}

Variable **TOPIC**
‘Does the spot / poster refer to any topics?’

0    no
1    yes

Variables **TOPIC01** through **TOPIC10**
‘Reference to topics made in the spot / poster’

**TOPIC01** Economy (e.g. un-/employment, taxes, state finances, currency / Euro, financial crisis)

**TOPIC01_1, TOPIC01_2, TOPIC01_3** (Please choose up to 3; if more topics are referred to, choose the most dominant ones)

1    Un-/employment
2    Taxes
3    Economic / financial crisis 2008/09
4    State finances / debts
5    Currency (e.g. Euro)

**TOPIC02** Social / welfare /education (e.g. retirement / pensions, health, family / children, women / gender, access to schools / university)

**TOPIC02_1, TOPIC02_2, TOPIC02_3** (Please choose up to 3; if more topics are referred to, choose the most dominant ones)

1    Retirement / pensions
2    Health
3    Family / children
4    Women / Gender issues
5    Education

**TOPIC03** Homeland security / law and order (e.g. police)

**TOPIC04** Immigration (e.g. migrants and border controls, rights of migrants)

**TOPIC04_1, TOPIC04_2** (Please choose up to two; if more topics are referred to, choose the most dominant ones)

1    Immigration rules (Who is let in?)
2 Border controls
3 Terrorism and immigration
4 Rights of migrants

TOpic05 International Affairs (e.g. Armed forces & military, War & Peace, Foreign Aid)

TOpic06 Culture (e.g. religion, diversity, media)

TOpic07 Environment / Agriculture / Traffic (e.g. global warming, energy, food, agricultural subsidies)

**TOpic07**.1 (Please choose the most dominant field that is referred to)
1 Climate
2 Energy
3 Food
4 Agricultural Subsidies

TOpic08 Constitutional questions (ONLY CODE if reference to power of / between political institutions / different political levels / citizens, to democracy / the democratic quality of a political system; to a constitution / constitutional treaty)

**TOpic08**.1, **TOpic08**.2 (Please choose up to 2; if more topics are referred to, choose the most dominant ones)
1 Power of / between political institutions / different political levels / citizens
2 Democracy / democratic quality of a political system
3 Constitution / constitutional treaty

TOpic09 Territorial questions (e.g. enlargement, border disputes)

**TOpic09**.1 (Please choose the most dominant field that is referred to)
1 Enlargement- Turkey
2 Enlargement - other
3 Border disputes

TOpic10 Administration and bureaucracy (e.g. functioning of state agencies, corruption)

Please code for variables TOpic01 through TOpic10
0 not referred to in the claim
1 referred to in the claim

Note: you code as many topics as are referred to in the spot / poster (referred to means that there is an explicit reference) – on a general level (1-10) as well as on a detailed level (11-84).

Variable **TOpic11**

**TOpic11** Others (Please specify, String variable)

Variable **TOPSCO01** through **TOPSCO11**

‘scope of main topics’
1 Own country
2 Only EU
3 EU and national
4 Other / Not specified

This variable seeks to understand the geographical scope of the topics referred to in the spots / posters. A spot / poster dealing with national taxes would be coded as own country; a spot / poster dealing with the Brussels’ bureaucracy would be coded EU; a spot / poster dealing with disputes among EU states (e.g. regarding nuclear power stations in border regions, the weighting of votes in the Council) is also coded with an EU scope. Spots / posters that contain
(ONLY!) supranational scopes (e.g. the war in Afghanistan) are coded in the other category. If a topic is mentioned without making explicitly clear whether it is bound to the nation state or to the EU or something else, we code ‘not specified’.

For topics that contain a national and European scope, we code 3. Topics that contain supranational and national scopes, are coded national; those with supranational and EU scopes, are coded as EU. Topics that are partly discussed with an unspecified scope and partly with a specified scope, are always coded under the specified scope. Only topics without national and European scopes and those whose scopes are unclear are coded under the category ‘other / unclear / not specified’.

Examples: The British discussing whether or not to join the Euro is coded as a topic with a national and European scope. The Germans discussing whether they should send more troops to Afghanistan is coded as a national topic. The Germans discussing whether they should join a common EU force to fight the Talibans in Afghanistan is coded as a topic with national and EU scope.

Idea: (Adam, et al., 2002; Koopmans, 2002)

Variable TOPSCOPX
‘overall strength of EU scopes regarding issues
1 Only EU
2 dominance of the EU scope over national / undefined scope (EU > national)
3 balanced between EU and national / undefined scopes (EU = national)
4 dominance of national / undefined scope over EU scope (national > EU)
5 Only national / undefined scopes

Note: Taking all topics together, how would you describe the spot / poster regarding its overall scope on topics? Please code 1, if all topics refer only to the EU; please code 5, if all topics refer only to the nation state. With the codes from 2-4 you can draw a more differentiated picture: 2 is coded, if the EU scope dominates the national / undefined scopes regarding issues; 3 indicates a balance between EU and national / undefined scopes regarding issues; 4 is coded, if national / undefined scopes dominate over EU scopes.

Variable BLAMEACT1 and BLAMEACT2
‘the two mainly blamed actors (usually not the main actor!) for the problems referred to in the message’
0 no blamed actor
1 Radical right-wing
2 Conservatives
3 Social Democrats
4 Liberal Democrats
5 Greens
6 radical left-wing
7 Whole polities (e.g. Germany, the European Union, etc.)
8 Economic actors
9 Other (please specify) → BLAMEACT1 Spec

Note: Here all actors are coded that are explicitly blamed or attacked. This means that either the blamed actor is verbally addressed or he / she is shown visually. E.g. Financial sharks
would vote Liberal Democrats (code = 4). Or a poster that says: ‘For a more social Europe’ and shows managers running away with money (code = 8). We only code those explicit references. You can code up to two blamed / attacked actors. If there are more, please code the two most important ones. Finally, if e.g. the government of a country is blamed, please code the party/ies that form this government at the moment.

Variable **BLAMESCOP1 and BLAMESCOP2**

‘Scope of actors who are openly blamed / attacked’

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Own country</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>EU</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Both: own country and EU</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>World</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Unclear / not classifiable</td>
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Note: The scope seeks to capture whether a message blames actors of the EU (2), of the own country (1), of the own country and the EU (3) or of the world (e.g. USA, UN) (4). If there is no explicit reference to the scope of the blamed actors, we code ‘unclear / not classifiable’. Please code 1, if there is a reference to 1 and 4. Please code 2, if there is a reference to 2 and 4. Please code 3 if there is a reference to 3 and 4. If a blamed actor is referred to with an unspecified scope and later on with a specified one, please always code the specified scope.

Variable **PROBSOLV1 and PROBSOLV2**

‘The two actors that are mainly portrayed as the problem solvers in the message’

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<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>no problem-solver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Radical right-wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Conservatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Social Democrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Liberal Democrats</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Greens</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>radical left-wing</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Whole polities (e.g. Germany, the European Union, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Economic actors</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Other (please specify) → PROBSOLV1_spec</td>
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</table>

Note: Here all actors are coded that are **explicitly** referred to as being able to solve the problem. This means that either there is a verbal reference to the problem-solvers or that they are shown visually. E.g. For better health care, vote for the Conservatives (code =2). We only code those explicit references. You can code up to two actors as problem-solvers. If there are more, please code the two most important ones. Finally, if e.g. the government of a country is the problem solving actor, please code the party/ies that form this government at the moment.

Variable **PROBSOLV_sc1 and PROBSOLV_sc2**

‘Scope of actors who are portrayed as the problem solvers in the message’

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Own country</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>EU</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Both: own country and EU</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Unclear / not classifiable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note: The scope seeks to capture whether the problem-solvers come from the EU (2), from the own country (1), from the own country and the EU (3) or from the world (e.g. USA, UN) (4). If there is no explicit reference to the scope of the problem-solvers, we code ‘unclear / not classifiable’. Please code 1, if there is a reference to 1 and 4. Please code 2, if there is a reference to 2 and 4. Please code 3 if there is a reference to 3 and 4. If a problem-solver is referred to with an unspecified scope and later on with a specified one, please always code the specified scope.

Variable **CANDIDATE**
‘Does the spot / poster refer to a candidate running for the European Parliament in 2009 of the own or an opponent party?’

0  No  ➔ Filter: jump to EUEVAL
1  Yes, candidate of the own party
2  Yes, candidate of the opponent party
3  Yes, candidate of the own party and candidate of the opponent party

Note: The candidate is not necessarily the main political actor coded.

Variable **CHAROWN**
‘Most important appraisal of character feature of the own candidate …’

1  Issue competence – implicit: mentioning of topic and candidate (e.g. Candidate XX on the poster and issue: new jobs on the poster)
2  Issue competence - explicit: clear relation between topic and candidate (e.g. Candidate X will create new jobs)
3  Leadership qualities
4  Political trust (integrity / honesty / trustworthiness)
5  Personal quality (personality, taste and charisma, family situation, etc.)

Idea: {Maier, ?? #1548}

Variable **CHAROWN_des’**
‘Description of the character of the own candidate’
String variable: Please translate the original description of the character of the own candidate into English. Please include all character features that are explicitly mentioned (e.g. competence in foreign politics, honesty and trustworthiness).

Variable **CHAROPP**
‘Most important attack on character of the opponent from another party …’

1  Issue competence – implicit: mentioning of topic and candidate (e.g. Candidate XX on the poster and issue: 100.000 jobs lost on the poster)
2  Issue competence - explicit: clear relation between topic and candidate (e.g. Candidate X will destroy existing jobs)
3  Leadership qualities
4  Political trust (integrity / honesty / trustworthiness)
5  Personal quality (personality, taste and charisma, family situation, etc.)
99  not applicable (if no persons are referred to)

Idea: {Maier, ?? #1548}
Variable **CHAROPP_des**
‘Description of the character of the opponent candidate’
String variable: Please translate the original description of the character of the opponent candidate into English. Please include all character features that are explicitly mentioned (e.g. no competence in foreign politics, dishonest and not trustworthy).

Variable **EUEVAL**
‘Overall evaluation of today’s European Union / EU integration’
1 Positive
2 Negative
3 Balanced – exactly the same amount of positive and negative evaluations
4 Not applicable (no evaluation of the EU)

This variable asks how the EU / EU integration of TODAY is evaluated in the spot / poster. Prerequisite to find an evaluation is a mentioning / a reference to EU integration / the European Union. Yet, not each reference goes along with an evaluation. In order to determine the direction of the evaluation, you can ask yourself: would a person supporting the EU / EU integration consider this TV spot / poster as positive or negative. Please only code balanced, if there is exactly the same amount of positive and negative references in the spot / poster. The overall evaluation of the EU / EU integration can also be made indirectly by attributing (positive respectively negative) attributes and goals to the EU / to EU integration.

Please only code the evaluation of the EU as of today and not future plans of the parties (they’ll all be positive!).

Idea: (Adam, et al., 2002; Koopmans, 2002)

Variable **NATEVAL**
‘Overall evaluation of today’s state of the own country’
1 Positive
2 Negative
3 Balanced
4 Not applicable (no evaluation of the own country)

This variable asks how TODAY’s state of the own country is evaluated in the spot / poster. Prerequisite to find an evaluation is a mentioning / a reference to the own nation state. Yet, not each reference goes along with an evaluation. In order to determine the direction of the evaluation, you can ask yourself: would a person supporting the state of the own nation state consider this TV spot / poster as positive or negative. Please only code balanced, if there is exactly the same amount of positive and negative references in the spot / poster. The overall evaluation of the own nation state can also be made indirectly by attributing (positive respectively negative) attributes and goals to it.

Please only code the evaluation of the state of the own nation state as of today and not future plans of the parties (they’ll all be positive!).
Variable **BENACT1 and BENACT2**
‘The two main benefiting actors referred to in the message’

- **0** no benefiting actor explicitly mentioned
- **1** citizens / the general public (e.g. German citizens, Swedish citizens, EU citizens)
- **2** unions / workers
- **3** economic actors (firms, managers, etc.)
- **4** unemployed
- **5** families / parents / children
- **6** women (specific gender questions: e.g. women and jobs)
- **7** migrants
- **8** farmers
- **9** churches / religious groups
- **10** consumers
- **11** senior citizens
- **12** young voters
- **13** citizens of the middle class
- **14** citizens of the upper class
- **15** citizens of the lower class
- **16** other (please specify). → **BENACT1_spec**

Note: Here we code those actors whose interest are put forward **explicitly**. This means that **either the benefiting actor is verbally addressed or he / she is shown visually**. E.g. To protect our workers – a more social Europe! (Benefiting actor = workers). Or a poster that says: ‘For a more social Europe’ and shows a family with children (Benefiting actors: families / parents / children). We only code those explicit references (It is not sufficient if a party just calls for more work places). You can code up to two benefiting actors. If there are more, please code the two most important ones.

Variable **BENSCOPE1 and BENSCOPE2**
‘scope of benefiting actor’

- **1** own country
- **2** EU
- **3** Both: own country and EU
- **4** Only World
- **5** Unclear / not classifiable

Note: The scope seeks to capture whether a message puts forward the interests of workers in the EU (2), in the own country (1), in the own country and the EU (3) or in the world (e.g. USA, UN) (4). If there is no explicit reference to the scope of the benefiting actors, we code ‘unclear / not classifiable’. Please code 1, if there is a reference to 1 and 4. Please code 2, if there is a reference to 2 and 4. Please code 3 if there is a reference to 3 and 4. If a benefiting actor is referred to with an unspecified scope and later on with a specified one, please always code the specified scope.

Variable **CLEAVTYP1**
‘Type of cleavage referred to: Socio-economic’

- **0** no
1 yes \(\rightarrow\) \text{CLEAVSCOPE1}:

1. only national
2. only EU
3. EU and national
4. unclear

Variable \text{CLEAVPOS1}

`position advocated on cleavage: Socio-economic`

1. left: pro state / protectionism / social rights
2. right: pro market / market requirements / free market
3. ambivalent / not clear

Variable \text{CLEAVEU1}

`Role of the EU of today for implementing the position advocated: Socio-economic`

1. EU as a risk / problem
2. EU as an opportunity / problem-solving device
3. The role of the EU is not defined / is ambivalent

Variable \text{CLEAVTYP2}

`Type of cleavage referred to: Cultural regarding community`

0. no

1 yes \(\rightarrow\) \text{CLEAVSCOPE2}

1. only national
2. only EU
3. EU and national
4. Unclear

Variable \text{CLEAVPOS2}

`position advocated on cleavage: Cultural regarding community`

1. liberal: multi-cultural societies, inclusive identities, cultural diversity
2. non-liberal: nationality, sovereignty, exclusive identities, cultural homogeneity
3. ambivalent / not clear

Variable \text{CLEAVEU2}

`Role of the EU of today for implementing the position advocated: Cultural regarding community`

1. EU as a risk / problem
2. EU as an opportunity / problem-solving device
3. The role of the EU is not defined / is ambivalent

Variable \text{CLEAVTYP3}

`Type of cleavage referred to: Cultural regarding the values of liberty / diplomatic conflict resolution versus control / military means`

0. no

1 yes \(\rightarrow\) \text{CLEAVSCOPE3}

1. only national
Two cleavages have been structuring Western societies for decades: a socioeconomic and a cultural cleavage (Kriesi et al., 2006). The socio-economic cleavage refers to the classical divide between left (pro-state, protectionism) and right (free-market). The cultural cleavage divides those who stand for green / alternative / liberal values from those who call for the dominance of authoritarian / traditional / national values (GAL – TAN divide). To operationalize this cultural cleavage we identify two divides. The first cultural divide (CLEAVTYPE2) is concerned with the values of group-membership respectively the community definition: Who is one of us? The second cultural divide (CLEAVTYPE3) refers to the values of individual liberty / diplomatic conflict resolution versus values of control (the surveillance state) / military means.

We assume that these different types of conflicts could turn relevant in most of the issue fields. E.g. one could frame the issue of immigration as an economic question (free-market = immigration is necessary for the health of an economy versus protectionism = no immigration to secure employment) or as a cultural question referring to the community image (liberal values = multi-cultural societies versus traditional values = foreigners as a cultural threat).

**Remark - SCOPES:** All of these cleavages can be related to different scopes. Cleavages with a national scope refer to state regulation in national economies (socio-economic), to the definition of who should belong to the national community (cultural –community) and to the question of whether the nation state should stress individual liberty / peaceful conflict resolution over control (surveillance state) / the use of arms. Cleavages with an EU scope refer to the regulation of the economy in the EU (socio-economic), to the definition of who should belong to a European community (cultural-community) and to the question of whether the EU should stress individual liberty / peaceful conflict resolution over control (surveillance state) / the use of arms. Finally, cleavages that explicitly refer to both, the national and the EU level are coded with the scope “3”. Cleavages that refer to the supranational and national level are coded national; those with supranational and EU scopes, are coded as EU. Cleavages that are partly discussed with an unspecified scope and partly with a specified scope are always coded under the specified scope. Only those cleavages without national and European scopes and those whose scopes are unclear are coded under the category ‘unclear’.
**Remark-POSITION:** Please indicate for all CLEAVPOS (1-3) variables which position is advocated in the campaign message. These positions seek to describe the opposite endpoints of the cleavage continuum.

**Remark-ROLE OF EU:** The variables CLEAVEU (1-3) seek to capture whether the EU in its present form is a risk or an opportunity in pursuing the proposed position advocated. Idea: (Schuck & De Vreese, 2006)

**Coding examples for the cleavage categories:**
E.g. “Enlargement to Turkey is a threat to our national and European culture and heritage (cleavtype = 2, cleavscope = EU and national, Cleavpos: non-liberal, Cleaveu: the role of the EU is not defined).
E.g. “Today’s Union is just a market-project. We want a more social Europe!” (Cleavtype: socioeconomic; Cleavscope: EU, Cleavpos: left; Cleaveu: problem).

**Variable DOMCLEAV**

‘Dominant cleavage’
1 Socio-economic
2 Cultural reg. community
3 Cultural reg. the values of individual liberty / peaceful conflict resolution versus control / use of arms
4 Balanced / Not clear / Not applicable

Please indicate which of the above mentioned cleavages is the one dominating the TV spot / poster. In case there are several cleavages referred to in the spot / poster and there is none that is clearly dominating, please code ‘balanced / not clear / not applicable’.

**Variables VISION01, VISION02, VISION03**

0 No Vision mentioned

Regarding a country’s degree of involvement into the EU
10 Withdrawal from the Union
11 Full involvement in the Union (though not all aspects of the EU are necessarily approved of)

Regarding the type of entity the EU constitutes
21 EU as an economic trading bloc
22 EU as a social protection shield
23 EU as a common political entity
24 EU as a cultural alliance
25 EU as a common defence community
26 EU as an international diplomatic actor/peace force
Regarding the focus of further integration: policy priorities
31 Focus on enlargement
32 Focus on deepened integration (e.g. priority of reforms)
33 Enlargement and deepened integration at the same time

Regarding the focus of further integration: politics priorities
41 Focus on a transparent, democratic Europe
42 Focus on an efficient, well-functioning Europe
43 Democracy and efficiency at the same time

Regarding the appropriate level of problem solving
51 National level is the appropriate level of problem solving (sovereignty)
52 EU level is the appropriate level of problem solving

Regarding the mode of integration (This category refers to governmental action, NOT to citizen’s involvement)
61 Intergovernmental integration (e.g. power to Council, Europe of nations, national veto)
62 Supranational integration (e.g. power to Commission, federal Europe, qualified majority decisions)

Regarding the type of democracy aimed for
71 More rights to citizens through elections and referenda at the EU and /or national level (elements of direct democracy)
72 More rights to EU and / or national Parliaments (elements of representative democracy)

Regarding the power of the European Parliament
81 More power to the European Parliament
82 Less power to the European Parliament

Idea: (Adam, et al., 2002)

Literature