Politicization of EU integration

Codebook for a Content Analysis of

Media and Party Communication

EU7 and

EUROPEAN ELECTION STUDY 2014

Version 29/6/2016

Additional documents (final versions available):

Appendix A: Coder list

Appendix B: Outlet list

Appendix C: List of Locations

Appendix D: List of Topics

Appendix E: Actor list

Appendix F: Search strings

	EU 7	EP 2014
Countries	Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Portugal, The Netherlands, UK	EU 15 (+)
Media, press releases and spots	Newspaper articles of two quality newspapers per country (alternate sampling on a daily basis) and 1 tabloid (only AT, DE and GR) Press releases from all political parties of the sampled countries that won at least 3 % in the last national or European election. TV spots produced for the EP elections 2014 by the political parties (see above, except GR and PT)	Newspaper Articles of 3 newspapers (2 quality + 1 tabloid) per country on a daily basis
Material	All EU-related articles: front page and in sections domestic news, international (foreign) news, incl. commentary pages All EU-related press releases All TV spots	All news items: Front page and one randomly chosen page of the sections domestic news, international (foreign) news, All EU-related items: in sections domestic news, international (foreign) news (every second day)
Sampling / Campaign Phase	3rd March – 25th May 2014 or EP election day (DE, AU, FR, GR, PT: 25th May; UK, NL: 22nd May)	5th – 25th May 2014
Sampling Period Longitudinal Design	ONLY Austria and Germany (4 weeks): 12th May – 7th June 2008 11th May – 6th June 2009 25th April – 21st May 2011 2nd December – 28th December 2013 3rd February – 2nd March 2014	Front page and randomly selected page are coded every day. EU stories are coded every second day
Coded Pre Filter Variables	V1 – Sender NP1, NP4, NP5 , EconProbl	V1 – V4 & V5, V6, V7, V8a-V8b Newspapers: NP1, NP4, NP5 + NP2, NP3, NP6
Filter Variable I	V9 → Further Coding, if V9=2	V9 → Further Coding, if V9=2
Post Filter I Variables	MEDIA: V15a-f	V10a-c, V11-V13, V15a-f, V16a-f
Filter Variable II	MEDIA: ACTACTIVITY → Further coding if ACTACTIVITY=1 for at least one actor PRESS RELEASES: Coding if [V4 = 1 AND V9=2] (press releases) OR V4=2 (spots)	
Post Filter II Variables	MainIss, IssScop, IssPos, Justification, Benefit, INTEGEVAL, EUEVAL	
Specialties / further Filter Variable	Peopref, antiestab, exclusion → Further Coding if year=2014 AND V5 = Austria, France, Germany, Greece or Portugal (3rd March – 25th May 2014). Antiestab and exclusion only coded if peopref = 1. RespProb, RespSol, LevSol → Further Coding if EconProbl = 2 AND V5 =Austria, Germany, Portugal PRESS RELEASES: REFIND, DESCR, DESINF, CONTEX → Further Coding if V5 = Germany (5 weeks) or France (28th April – 25th May 2014). DESCR, DESINF, CONTEX only coded if REFIND = 1. DESINF and CONTEX only coded if DESCR = 1.	

Media study and press releases

Time period covered

- For DE, AU, FR, GR, PT: March 3rd and May 25th 2014
- For UK and NL: March 3rd and May 22nd 2014
- Additionally, only for Germany and Austria four weeks for selected years are coded published between 12th May and 7th June 2008, 11th May and 6th June 2009, 25th April and 21st May 2011, 2nd December and 28th December 2013, 3rd February and 2nd March 2014.

Selection Criteria

All stories about the EU or about the EP election campaign in the newspapers and press releases are coded in depth.

In the case of newspapers, this means you have to check the following sections of each newspaper for **any (!) EU** or **EP election stories (i.e., look for ALL EU stories and not only for EU election specific stories)** and code them: Political/News section or Editorial (including Opinion/Comment). Do **not** code Business (or Economy) section, Sport, Travel, Housing, Culture, Motor/Auto, Fashion or Entertainment sections.

In many cases we have already identified pages on which the EU is mentioned in the newspapers you are coding through automatic content analysis. In this case you have been provided with a list of pages you should check for articles about the EU. This has to be at least twice (but see exceptions in the box below)**.** It might also be that none of the articles is about the EU (e.g., if it is about Europe as a geographic unit or Brussels, the capital of Belgium). In that case take a note and proceed to the next page.

About the EU* is defined as:

in _newspapers:_ mentioned at least twice

in _press releases:_ mentioned at least twice

in _spots:_ we code all spots (published in DE, AU, FR, NL, or UK) regardless how many times the EU* is mentioned

* Also includes EU institutions (e.g., EP, EC, Council, all directorates, ECB, ECJ) and EU policies, or EU synonyms such as "Europe" or "Brussels" (when in fact the EU is meant) etc.

The search string to identify pages that contain articles about Europe is: europ*, EU, European Union, European Parliament, Members of European Parliament (MEP), European Council, European Commission, Council of the European Union, European Court of Justice (ECJ), European Central Bank (ECB), troika, European Investment Bank (EIB), European Stability Mechanism (ESM), European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF), European Financial Stabilization Mechanism (EFSM), European Constitution, Court of Justice of the European Union OR European Court of Justice (ECJ), European Court of Auditors, The European External Action Service (EEAS), European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), The European Investment Fund (EIF), European Ombudsman, European Data Protection Supervisor (EDPS), Economic and Monetary Union of the European Union (EMU), EU member states, EU countries, European elections, EU elections, EP elections, EU constitutional treaty, Ratification of the Constitution, Treaty of Lisbon, Lisbon Treaty, European Integration, Troika, Frontex, Constitutional Treaty, Treaty of Lisbon/Lisbon Treaty in the respective language (see Appendix F).

Attention: If an article or press release is about Europe as a geographic unit or Brussels, the capital of Belgium, we do not automatically code this article or press release. It has to deal with European policies, polities or politics.

For all newspapers:

- All stories on the front page and all stories on one randomly chosen page are coded.
- All stories mentioning the European Union (EU) or the EP election campaign have to be coded in the following sections: Political/News section or Editorial (including Opinion/Comment). Do **not** code Business (or Economy) section Sport, Travel, Housing, Culture, Motor/Auto, Fashion or Entertainment sections. Magazines that come together with a newspaper are **not** coded.

Selection rules for the one **randomly chosen page** (only EP 2014 Coding):

- The randomly chosen page has to be part of one of the following sections: domestic news or international (foreign) news. Full-page ads or stock market figures are never to be taken as randomly chosen page!
- Start on a random page (will be assigned to coders individually) as first randomly chosen page for the first newspaper to be coded and move one page forward for every other newspaper until you reach the last page of the above mentioned sections.
- In case of a full-page advertisement, stock market numbers etc., move one more page forward.
- Once you reach the last page of the sections mentioned above in a specific newspaper start back with page 2 for the subsequent newspaper (random order of newspapers! Do **not** code outlets in chronological order).

Summary for coding of news stories

This codebook consists of *THREE* parts.

The *first* part is applied to *all* relevant **news stories** (i.e., all items that fall under the selection criteria listed below).

available for 3 weeks previous to EP election: **5th to 25th May 2014** (EP 2014)

For the *second* part, a filter is applied that selects all news stories that mention the EU specifically or with the EU Parliamentary elections or the campaign *at least once*.

available for 3 weeks previous to EP election: **5th to 25th May 2014** (EP 2014)

The *third* part contains a set of variables coded for active actors only and is only coded for items that mention the EU *at least twice*.

available for **sampling period** (EU7, see above)

[A *fourth part* will only be coded in the Netherlands]

For all press releases:

-   All coders will be handed out a plan that shows which press releases (party and date) they will have to code. We will code all spots the political parties (in DE, AU, FR, NL, and UK) included in our study have published between 3rd March till EP election day 2014.

Definition: News story

Newspapers
- The individual editorial news item (not advertising), including accompanying picture(s), or individual pictures or graphics or cartoons with or without text. There is no minimum length for an item to be considered a news story.
- *Note:* If an article **explicitly** says that this same article is continued on another page, its continuation on the other page has to be coded as well, as one story. *But:* If there is a short story or bullet on the title page that has a beginning and an end, and only refers to another independent article within the newspaper this is coded as two separate stories.
- Articles that only consist of a headline, a short bullet without further concrete reference or are only announced in an index/table of contents (e.g., at the top row of the front page) are **not** coded. However, an exception should be made for big-font-size headlines that take up a (very) large part of the front page. (These articles should be coded '8' for NP3/type of story, also if a "screaming" headline is accompanied with a picture and caption.)
- Letters to the editor are often grouped together on one page, but they sometimes have one overarching headline. *Rule:* Each letter represents a unique news story and should be coded accordingly. But given that the headline does not belong to any letter in particular, the headline is NOT coded, based on bullet point 3 for newspapers (see above).
- *Note:* A "side story" embedded within the body of a larger newspaper article (on the right or left side, or at the centre top or bottom of the article) that carries its own headline and constitutes a related but nonetheless separate story vis-à-vis the larger newspaper article has to be treated as a unique story and be coded accordingly.
- *Note:* New headlines **within** the text of an article do **not** constitute a new article.

V1   Coder ID
01 …
02 …
03 …
04 …
[→ see Appendix A]

V2   Story/ press release/ spot identification number
Running number, assign a number in ascending order to each article you code (1,2,3, … 567, 568, 569 etc.). *Note*: Do not start back at "1" when you start coding another newspaper or TV show but continue to assign numbers in ascending order across the outlets you code. Thus, every item you code has to have a unique identification number which is only assigned once for a specific item. *CODER INSTRUCTION*: Before you start coding a story, write down the story id number, and make sure you also do that for the last article you code every day so that you know with which story id number to continue the following day. Do not start back at 1 when you *switch* from coding newspaper articles to TV news items, no matter what medium always type in the next highest running number for each and every subsequent item you code.

V3a   Date (day)
Date is coded in two variables, this first one represents the day (ranging from 1-31); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th only code "17" for this first variable.

V3b   Date (month)
This second variable represents the month (ranging from 1-12); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th only code "05" for this second variable.

V3c   Date (year)
This third variable represents the year (ranging from 8-14); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th 2008 only code "08" for this third variable.

V4   News outlet/ press release/ spot
For news outlet: see Appendix B
For press release/spot:

>   1 =   Press release
>   2 =   Spot

V5   Country
[see Appendix C]

Press release and spots only

Sender Sender

→ *Please code according to the list of actors* [see Appendix E: Actor list]

This variable identifies the party or parliamentary group, who published the press release or spot.

Newspapers only

NP1   Page number

The number of the page on which the story appeared. In case the story runs over two or more pages write down the page number on which the story begins.

NP4   Type of story

1 =   "News story"
(i.e. most frequent type of story (!), factual news report, report of events etc., of what has happened [when, where, who, what, why?], e.g., party meeting, report on recent events etc.)

2 =   "Reportage" / "background story"
(reportage: feature article, vivid report of a correspondent, named as the author of the article. A "reportage" describes individual experience of the author; often explicitly marked as "reportage") / (background story: often longer article, not only factual reporting, looking behind the scenes, analytical, in depth – not only descriptive, often explicitly marked as "analysis", etc.)

3 =   "Portrait" / Interview
(e.g., of a person, group, institution, organization – and nothing more than that. Otherwise it may be a news story or a reportage / see above) //**"Interview"**
(The article is an interview – there have to be **at least two interview questions (often in bold or italic)**! *Note:* Interview sections which are part of a "reportage" are not meant here)

4 =   "Editorial"
(typically explicitly marked as editorial, opinion-piece, an article of its own, clearly defined to give evaluations, typically on same page within newspaper each time. It has to be formally distinct from the rest of the page. It clearly expresses a standpoint of the author/editor who again speaks for his newspaper)

5 =   "Column / "commentary"
(column: clearly marked as special column, distinct from regular coverage, most likely always at the same place within newspaper, re-occurring item on a regular basis as fixed part of newspaper coverage, can be written in very personal style) /

(commentary: often not written by a journalist but by an external source such as an expert, politician etc., often the official position of the author is given as well; often explicitly marked as "commentary", e.g. by guest author)

6 =   **"Letter to the editor"** (including responses from the editor)

7 =   **"Question to the newspaper (question and answer/info/quiz)"**

8 =   **"Bullet"**
(i.e. mostly on the title page or first page of a section; headline and a short summary – at least one sentence –, which announces a substantial article that can be found inside the newspaper, it is a short summary of an article that stands independent or as a summary, it then often refers to a more in-depth article inside the newspaper)

9 =   **"Headline only"**

10 =   **"Documentation"**
(The article is the original text, e.g., of a treaty, constitution, contract, of a letter, speech, official report)

11 =   **"Picture/graph/map"**
(The article is just that, often with a caption)

12 =   **"Other"**

NP5   **Length of newspaper story** (FULL story, including photos, figures, tables, etc.). If the article continues on a following page, also include these additional parts of the article in your calculation.

> 1 =   up to ¼ of the page
> 2=   up to ½ of the page
> 3 =   up to ¾ of a page
> 4 =   more than ¾ of a page

All outlets: Newspapers, press releases and spots

ECONOMY

Variable **EconProbl**
Is there a reference to economic problems?

This variable describes whether the item is discussed with a reference to economic (financial / debt / currency, growth, etc.) problems in general or specifically to the financial crisis in Europe?

> *'reference to economic problems'*
>
> 0 =   No reference
> 1 =   Yes, general reference to economic problems
> 2 =   Yes, specific reference to the financial crisis in Europe

Note I: The reference to the European financial crisis has to be *explicitly* mentioned. If it is not clear if the economic problems are part of the European financial crisis, please code 1 (general reference to economic problems).

Note II: Also if only economic problems of one single country (without a reference to the EU) are mentioned, code 1.

Note III: If the financial crisis in the US is mentioned, please code 1 (because it is not referring to Europe). If the financial crisis in Greece, Germany etc. is mentioned, please code 2.

Economic problems *in general* are indicated by words like: "concerns", "problems", "disaster", "downwards trends", "debts", "danger", "trouble", "difficulty", "embarrassments", "annoyance", "offence", "restraints", "burden", "charge", "debit", "to be unsuccessful", "to fail", "to lack something", "to be ineffective", possibly also "constraints", and so forth). Problems are also indicated, if the item is attributed negative attributes (e.g. criticism, accusations) OR denied positive attributes (e.g. rejection of praise or appreciation).

A **specific reference to the *European/EU financial crisis*** may be indicated by words like: "financial crisis", "financial meltdown", "fiscal crisis", "European/EU debts", "Eurozone crisis", "Europe-wide anti-recession package", "Euro crisis", "crisis of the fiscal union", "crisis of the currency union", "European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF)", "European Stability Mechanism (ESM)", "Eurobonds", "European Monetary Fund (EMF)", "Troika", "financial crisis in Greece, Spain, etc." etc.

Examples:
-   "German universities see *financial constraints* due to fiscal rigidity."
    → *Code:* 1 (general reference, because European financial crisis not explicitly mentioned)

- "German universities see financial constraints due to fiscal rigidity in the financial crisis in the EU."
  → *Code:* 2 (specific reference to the European financial crisis)

- Cable (UK) said "[...] This has prevented unemployment reaching the horrifying levels seen in some other European countries. At a time when we are struggling to escape from the worst **economic crisis** of our lifetime, the last thing we need is the imposition of a new set of regulations potentially costing the economy billions a year."
  → *Code:* EconProbl = 2 (specific reference to the European financial crisis, because economic crisis is mentioned with **other European countries** and Britain is part of the EU, although reference to Europe is not explicit.)

- "The economic crisis in the UK has threatened thousands of jobs." or "The automobile crisis demands structural reforms in some German federal states" claims a German MP.
  → *Code:* EconProbl = 1 (general reference, because economic crisis is mentioned but **not together** with a reference to other EU countries or the EU in general.)

- An official says "Bank of America's financial crisis costs become a recurring nightmare."
  → *Code*: EconProbl = 1 (general reference, financial crisis is mentioned but in relation to the US, which is not an EU member state).

- "As a result of the financial meltdown and its impact on the real economies of Europe…"
  → **Code**: EconProbl = 2 (specific reference to the European financial crisis, because "financial meltdown" is mentioned together with the "real economies of Europe").

FILTER VARIABLE!

V9   **Does the story mention either the European Union (EU)[2], its institutions or policies or the European Parliamentary elections or the campaign?**

> 0 =   no
> 1 =   Yes, once
> 2 =   Yes, twice[1] or more

[1] *Note:* He/she/it, him/her/his, who(m)/which <u>do NOT count</u>! The relevant terms have to mentioned *exactly* twice (e.g. EU + EU) or two different relevant terms (e.g. EU + European Parliament) have to be mentioned once each.

Example: The **EU** has decided to stop funding social scientists. **It** said this was going to save money. → Code: 1

[2] or synonyms such as 'Brussels' (when EU is meant), Europe (when EU is meant), EU countries (if explicitly referred to as such), EU member states (if explicitly referred to as such). EU institutions include the European Central Bank (ECB), for instance.

ONLY CODE STORIES BEYOND THIS POINT (/ = until next filter) IF THEY ARE ABOUT[3] THE EU, ITS INSTITUTIONS, THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS OR THE CAMPAIGN

[3] about *is defined as:*

<u>Newspapers</u>: *mentioned at least once (anywhere in the whole story)*

> **FILTER:**
>
> ***Media:*** All subsequent variables are only coded if **V9 = 1** or **V9 = 2**
>
> *Press releases:* All subsequent variables are only coded if [**V4 = 1 AND V9 = 2**] *(press releases)* or **V4 = 2** *(all spots are coded)*

Newspapers: All *EU stories in the relevant sections of newspapers need to be coded, not only those on the title page and on the one randomly chosen page. Thus, you have to go through all relevant sections in order to identify and code all news stories about the EU.*

Newspapers*: All EU stories have to be coded in the following sections: Political/News section, or Editorial (including Opinion/Comment). Do **not** code Business (or Economy) Section, Sport, Travel, Housing, Culture, Motor/Auto, Fashion or Entertainment sections.*

ACTORS

The identification of (active) actors works differently for the coding of newspapers compared to the coding of press releases and spots.

Newspapers only

V14 **How many (max 6) actors are mentioned in the story?** Please indicate how many actors you have identified in line with the rules below.

Variables **V15a-V15f Actors**
Which actors are mentioned (up to 6)?

→ ***Please code according to the list of actors*** [see Appendix]

Up to SIX different **persons, groups, institutions or organizations** that are

- mentioned verbally <u>at least twice.</u> He/she, him/her, who(m)/which also count. Synonyms or personal pronouns also count (e.g. if Gordon Brown is referred to as "the PM" or "the Incredible Hulk" if that is indeed clearly discernable from the text. An actor should be mentioned verbally at least twice *in two separate sentences*. Thus, a reference to "Jose Manuel Barroso, the commission's president" or a single sentence like "Barroso yesterday announced that he wants a second term as Commission president" only counts as *one* mentioning of Barroso, as both his name, his function, and "he" are mentioned within in a single sentence.

or

- verbally mentioned once **and** quoted (Brown said: "Britain...") / or quoted without quotation marks (i.e. reported speech: Brown said that...)

or

- mentioned verbally <u>at least once</u> **and** depicted <u>at least once</u>.

Exception: If an article in a newspaper only consists of a headline/ bullet/ picture, **one** mentioning or depiction of politicians, political groups, institutions or organizations is sufficient! <u>However, cartoon/drawing does not count as a reference to an actor!</u> Also, coding of actors shown on photography or film is limited to *persons* (depictions of logos, buildings of institutions do not count a reference to non-personal actors).

Note: If an article in a newspaper is a commentary the journalist who wrote the commentary is coded as an (active) actor! This is also the case for an opinion piece, column, and letter to the editor.

1. Actors are **not necessarily persons**. A government, an institution, an organization, even a country as a whole can be an actor if the story depicts so.

2. Actors can be **subjects** (active actors) as well as **objects** (passive actors). So an actor does **not necessarily have to act**. Actors can also be **objects** or **targets** of actions - they can be attacked or criticized, for instance.

   But keep in mind that actors can only be persons, groups, institutions or organizations. Also a reference to "Gordon Brown's policy proposals" or " the government's goals" or "Tony Blair's Notting Hill residence" counts as a mentioning of Brown, the government, or Tony Blair as actors. Similarly, a reference to "European Commission proposal" or "EU allies" counts as a mentioning of European Commission or EU, respectively.

   Countries or cities as such are <u>not</u> coded as actors (e.g., "<u>Germany</u> is facing a sharp economic downturn" or "the G20 met <u>in the UK</u> today" does NOT count as actor reference). ONLY code a country as an actor when the country name (or mentioning of the capital of a country) is used as a synonym for the <u>national government</u> (e.g., "the UK yesterday announced to exit the EU" or "Germany has opposed the US proposal to increase the number of troops in Afghanistan"). In these latter cases the country name clearly indicates the national government which is listed with a respective code in the actor appendix.

3. An *unspecified* group (i.e., a mix of different) of actors referred to in plural form as "they" or "these four companies" etc. (e.g., "The Times, the Sun, and the Guardian all reported today that *they* expect ad revenues to be lower") does <u>not</u> count as an actor mentioning. However, a story referring to "SPD party members" as "they" does count because it refers to a specified actor (=SPD party members), for example.

4. **Journalists** are actors *only* if they are **interviewed**, **reported about, used as sources.**

5. An actor can only be coded once – although she/he/it/they may appear at several places and with different functions in the story. Then, choose the category depicting the most important role of that actor in the story. If more than one code applies to one actor, choose the most specific one (e.g., a farmer is not to be coded as ordinary citizen, but as member of a professional group). There may be cases in which the same code has to be assigned to different actors, e.g. when two members of the same party are quarrelling with each other. The reference point for deciding how to code an actor is always the story. If, for example, a minister is a *candidate* running for the EP, use the relevant EP Candidate Actor List code. If the story is about the person as member of the government, use the relevant minister code.

6. **Generic groups of actors such as Europeans, voters, citizens, public, MPs, MEPs, politicians, etc.** have to be mentioned twice with the same descriptive term (e.g., 2x "voters" or 2x "Dutch MEPs") and are coded according to the codes in the actor appendix.

   "I" or "We" (e.g. "I think" or "we are"), e.g. in a column or commentary does **_not_** establish the author as an actor and thus does not count as a mentioning of an actor! This rule is not applicable regarding *interviewees* referring to themselves as "I" or "we", since interviewees can only refer to themselves as "I" or "we" in **quotes**. One or more direct quotes always establish the interviewee as an actor (provided of course he or she is among the first 6 actors of a story).

7. Actors are only coded as actors if they act or are acted upon, but **not** if they are mentioned as a **location**. For instance, the European Parliament can be an actor (e.g., the EP demands certain policies), but can also be a location (e.g., MEPs were debating an issue in the EP). Do **_not_** count a reference of such an actor when actually the location is meant.

8. Criteria for selecting actors

   *If there is more than **one** actor:*
   Actor 1 = the main actor, the most important actor **of the story**.
   Indicators of importance are:

   - duration, space of information about the actor
   - frequency of being mentioned
   - visibility (film, photographs etc.)
   - quotes, statements of the actor.

NOTE I: If two actors are equally prominent in the article with regard to the above criteria, then count the number of references to each actor and choose the one who is most often referred to. However, this rule only applies if two actors are really exactly evenly prominent with regard to the above criteria.

NOTE II: Actors do **not** become important in a story because of their professional position, their rank or prestige!

*If there are **two** or more actors that are sufficiently present (see above) in the story:*
Code the other actors (except the main actor) **in the order of their appearance in the story**.

NOTE III: In order to determine the order of appearance in newspaper articles and in order to determine which actor is mentioned *first* it is important to determine what part of the story is the **'coding starting point'**.

Newspaper articles: Starting point is always (1) the headline, followed by (2) the photo and the caption directly following the photograph (if present), followed by (3) the first (intro) paragraph of the article, then (4) the second etc.

Variable **ACTACTIVITY**
Is the actor active?

To qualify as active, an actor has to fulfil two criteria:

1. An *active* actor **agitates** inside the article – that means, he *formulates statements* or *performs an action* (e.g. demonstrates, passes a law and so on)! An active actor is someone who says or does something, who talks, who is quoted (= subject). An *active* actor is an actor, who is not only mentioned in the article.

    and

2. This agitation makes a **political opinion** of an actor visible. These political opinions are related either to a policy (content), to politics (process, strategies, nomination of candidates) or to polity (the system as such, its functioning, etc.). A political opinion is expressed if the actor evaluates policy, politics or polity, if he prefers or refuses certain situations, if he speaks in favour or against something, if he says something is good/bad, mishandled if he supports a specific position, etc.

Identification of active actors in *newspaper articles*: You may code up to *three* active actors per article.

PLEASE NOTE: For editorials, columns / commentaries and letters to the editor only *one* active actor is coded, i.e. the person who wrote the editorial, column / commentary or the letter to the editor!

> *'activity of the actor'*
>
> 1 =   active actor *(agitates, formulates statements and/or performs an action AND voices a political opinion)*
> 2 =   other actor *(no agitation; OR: agitation with no voicing of political opinions)*

Main example for newspaper article:
Berlin. July 19, 2011. (dpa report): Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel pleaded in favour of Eurobonds. "Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts." But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far, Steinbrück said.
→ *Code: Peer Steinbrück = 1; Sigmar Gabriel = 1*

NOTE I: If an article in a newspaper is an *editorial (or leading article)*, the journalist who wrote the commentary is coded as the active actor! All other actors within a commentary are by definition passive actors (see above). The same applies for guest *commentaries* (commentary) as well as *letters to the editor*: here the guest commentator is coded as active actor.

NOTE II: If an active actor (= person/institution "X") talks about someone (person/institution "Y") who has said or done something (or is planning to do something), ONLY person/institution "X" is coded as active actor (he/she/it *talks*) – person/institution "Y" is coded as passive actor (he/she/it is *talked about*)

NOTE III: We only code *explicit* actions. Don't interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective (no guessing!).

NOTE IV: Even if an actor is several times only mentioned (= passive) inside the article BUT ONCE formulates a statement or performs an action and thereby expresses an opinion, please code him/her as an active actor!

NOTE V: Even answers are active agitations where an opinion may be voiced.

NOTE VI: Per definition press releases and spots are coded as active (=1)

*Further examples for **active** actors:*

- "Chancellor Angela Merkel warns that claims of American spy operations in Germany, including the bugging of her mobile phone, strain relations with Washington."
  → *Code: Chancellor Angela Merkel = 1 (voicing an opinion)*
- The CDU has passed a law for stricter immigration policies.
  → *Code: CDU = 1 (voices an opinion by passing a law on stricter immigration policies).*

*Further Examples for **other** actors (if they are mentioned twice or cited):*

- *Both criteria missing (no agitation, no political opinion):*
  Rebecca Harms was appointed top candidate of the Greens.
  → *Code: Rebecca Harms = 2 (is just mentioned)*

- *Second criterion missing (political opinion):*
  Reinhard Bütikofer (EP candidate, German Greens) declares: "Rebecca Harms was appointed as top candidate."
  → *Code: Reinhard Bütikofer = 2 (he does not voice a political opinion)*

  Angela Merkel flies to Africa
  → *Code: Angela Merkel = 2 (she does not voice a political opinion)*

  Reinhard Bütikofer (EP candidate, German Greens) declares: "The delegates passed a manifesto."
  → *Code: Reinhard Bütikofer = 2 (he does not voice a political opinion); the delegates = 2 (they are only talked about)*

  "Following the report, the British ambassador in Berlin was called in to the German foreign ministry."

→ *Code: British ambassador = 2 (not acting, only talked about); German foreign ministry = 2 (does not act or state an opinion)*

Steinbrück criticises Merkel
→ *Code: Steinbrück = 2 (*a personal critique/attack *of another person* is not a political opinion)

However, "Cameron said, Merkel's data protection regulation is **scandalous**."
→ *Code: Cameron = 1 (he criticises a policy, polity or politics, here Merkel's policy)*

Proceeding how to identify the active actors

1. <u>Starting point</u> are the actors coded by the variables *V15a-V15f* (Amsterdamer variables)

2. Check if some actors are coded separately (through V15a-V15f), but in the article are used as synonyms (e.g. Chancellor, Merkel, German government, Berlin and Germany)

   → In this case, aggregate all the references (e.g. Merkel, Berlin, Germany) in the text to **one actor** only*,* who you code as individuals, i.e. the lowest possible level (here: Merkel instead of German government). This also applies to parties as a whole (e.g. Merkel and CDU, then code Merkel)

   Special rule I: If two individuals and a government are active actors, code both individual actors separately, even if they have the same political opinion. However, they have to be mentioned in separate sentence.

   Note I: **Statements of "spokes persons"** of actors are attributed to the actor they are speaking for (e.g. Steffen Seibert, the spoke person of the German government is coded as the German government)

   Note II: **internal sources of the government** have to be treated as separate active actor.

   <u>Example 1</u>: *Merkel*, *Schäuble*, and the *German government* are active actors

   Aggregate the references of the German government to the actor where it fits best.

   Often reference of the German government fits best with Merkel.

   → In this case, two active actors: actor #1 = Merkel (incl. German government) and actor #2 = Schäuble

   <u>Example 2</u>: *Labour politicians* and *Ed Miliband* are active actors

   → **Code:** actor #1 = Ed Miliband (incl. Labour politicians)

3. Check if the actor is active by using both criteria: (1) agitation and (2) political opinion (see below)

4. If you have 3 active actors (based on V15a-V15f) stop. Otherwise, read the article again and check whether other potentially active actors are mentioned in the article:

   – They have to be mentioned verbally <u>at least twice.</u> He/she, him/her, who(m)/which also count.[1] An actor should be mentioned verbally at least twice *in two separate sentences.*[2] OR verbally mentioned once **and** quoted (Brown said: "Britain...") / or

---

[1] Synonyms or personal pronouns also count (e.g. if Gordon Brown is referred to as "the PM" or "the Incredible Hulk" if that is indeed clearly discernable from the text.
[2] Thus, a reference to "Jose Manuel Barroso, the commission's president" or a single sentence like "Barroso

        quoted without quotation marks (i.e. reported speech: Brown said that...) OR mentioned verbally <u>at least once</u> **and** depicted <u>at least once</u>.

– Check if the actor is active by using both criteria: (1) agitation and (2) political opinion (see below)

---

yesterday announced that he wants a second term as Commission president" only counts as *one* mentioning of Barroso, as both his name, his function, and "he" are mentioned within in a single sentence

Variable **ActAct**
Who is the main active actor (up to 3)?

→ ***Please code according to the list of actors*** [see Appendix E: Actor List]

Up to three active actors are coded per news story.

Variable **AA_num**
Number of active actor (up to 3)

'number of active actor'

    1 =   first active actor
    2 =   second active actor
    3 =   third active actor

NOTE: This variable is only available for the "active actor level" dataset" (i.e. active actor = case). For the "article level" article, the actors and variables are denoted with a suffix (e.g. ActAct1, MainIss2 etc.)

Press releases and spots only

Variable Mainact
Who is the main active actor responsible for publishing the press release / spot?

→ ***Please code according to the list of actors*** [see Appendix E: Actor List]

Explanation: As main actor within a spot we code the person (or a party) who puts forward the campaign message most prominently (if this may not be answered clearly, it is the party or politician who is mentioned first (if not mentioned: who published the spot)).

Within press releases, the main actor is the person who publishes the press release and thereby is most prominent. Press releases often consist of one long quotation of a party member. This party member is the main actor of the press release.

Main example for press release:
Berlin. July 19, 2011. Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel declare at the news conference: "We plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far."
→ *Code: Peer Steinbrück = main actor*

---

*If there is more than **one** active actor:*
the main actor is the most important actor **of the press release / the spot**.
Indicators of importance are:

- duration / length the active actor "speaks up"
- visibility (film, photographs etc.)

All being equal, actors who are mentioned first are coded as the main actor.

NOTE I: Only code max. one main actor for press releases and spots.

NOTE II: We code individual speakers of parties if possible. If not, please code the party.

NOTE III: If a press release consists of a quotation of a person/institution, ONLY the quoted person/institution may be coded as active actor – all other actors that are mentioned inside this quotation are passive actors, because they are third parties/objects (and only talked about)!

NOTE IV: Only <u>party members</u> can be coded as active actors!

Variable **ActCoop** (**cooperating actor**)
Who is the actor that acts in cooperation with the main actor?

→ ***Please code according to the*** *list of actors* [see Appendix E: Actor List]

Explanation: This variable is only coded if several persons declare something *in common* or act *in common*. For press releases this is seen in the common publication of a press release (e.g. Steinbrück and Gabriel, both from the Social Democratic party, issue a press release; in this instance Steinbrück = Main actor as mentioned first and Gabriel is the cooperating actor).

Main example for press release:
Berlin. July 19, 2011. Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel declare at the news conference: "We plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far."
→ *Code: Sigmar Gabriel = cooperating actor*

In spots, it's possible that two speakers become visible: In this case code the speaker that fits the indicators of relevance as main actor and then code the second speaker as cooperating actor.

> *If more than two actors act together, also the second actor is chosen according to the indicators of importance:*
>
> • duration / length the active actor "speaks up"
> • visibility (film, photographs etc.)
>
> All being equal, actors, that are mentioned first, are coded as the cooperating actor.

NOTE I: Only code max. one cooperating actor for press releases and spots.

NOTE II: Only <u>party members</u> can be coded as cooperative actors!

NOTE III: The cooperative actor is only coded if he is cited literally. However, this also means that *two* actors of one and the same party can be coded separately if there is another party member additionally cited in quotation marks.

If there is no cooperating actor, please leave the input field blank and continue with the next variable (MainIss).

FILTER:
Media: subsequent variables are only coded If ACTIVITY = 1 (active actor, based on V15a-f actors)
Press releases: subsequent variables are only coded If Mainact = coded

---

Newspapers, press releases and spots

The following variables are coded for a (maximum) **three** active actors (the most important and the second and third mentioned active actor) in the mass media and for each main actor within press releases or spots.

General rule: For each **active actor** a sequence of the following variables is coded:

(1) MainIss (+IssScop, + IssPos)

(2) Justification

(3) Benefit

(3) Evaluations (INTEGEVAL, EUEVAL)

(4) Reference to populism (peopref, antiestab, exclusion)

(5) Actors who are blamed and who have the capability to solve the problem (+ type of solution; RespProb, RespSol, LevSol).

(6) Only for German and French press releases: Descriptions of politicians (REFIND, DESCR, DESINF, CONTEX)

Variable MainIss
What is the most important issue mentioned by the active actor?

→ *Please code according to the list of topics* [see Appendix D]

This variable captures *the most important issue* which is most prominently mentioned by the active actor. You are allowed to code one main issue per active actor (exceptional case: spots – you are allowed to code up to three main issues). In case several issues are mentioned, the most prominent issue is the one to whom the active actor devotes most time / space. In case of doubt which issue is more prominent, please always code the one with a <u>policy connection</u> (i.e. reference to laws, regulations, etc.). Beyond: always choose the more <u>substantive issue</u> (i.e. inflation above election) when possible! If issues are treated equally in their importance, please code the first mentioned issue.

Coding rule: If in doubt, always choose **the more specific topic category** (e.g. safety umbrellas above government intervention).

Main example:
Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far.
→ *Code: Main issue = 0113 (EU economic policy: stimulus package and safety umbrellas: bilateral credits, buying of state bonds, EFSM, EFSF, ESM, SKS) (mentioned most often and most prominently)*

Exceptional case: *Spots (MainIss 1, 2, 3)*

If you code *spots*, you are allowed to code up to *three* issues. For *each* issue you can also code an issue scope, the issue position, and the justification. Please code the main issue first and the other two issues in order of appearance.

Variable **IssScop**
On which political level is the main issue taking place?

This variable describes on which political level the **main** issue mentioned by the active actor is taking place. It describes whether the main issue refers to policies, polities or politics of the own nation state, of another EU member country / several EU member countries, of the EU or of another political level (e.g. international or supranational or regional). The point of reference is always from the actor's perspective

'scope of main issue mentioned by the active actor'

     1 =   own country
     2 =   other EU member state(s)
     3 =   EU
     9 =   other / not specified

Coding rules for the identification of issue scopes**:**
- If there are conflicting scopes, always code the <u>wider scope</u>.
- For issues that contain 'another scope (=9)' and a 'specified scope' (1-3), please always code the specified one.

Please don't guess the issue scope, but only code the issue scope that is made *explicit* in the article, press release or spot!

Main example: Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far.   → *Code: MainIss = 0113 (EU economic policy); Issue Scope = 3 (EU)*

The following examples are from a German actor "perspective":

→ *Code 1, if the German = national budget is discussed.*
→ *Code 2, if the Greek budget is discussed. (other examples: dispute among EU member states)*
→ *Code 3, if the EU budget is discussed. (other examples: Euro, Eurobonds, common EU force)*
→ *Code 9, for all other possible budgets (e.g. regional budgets, UN budget, budget of the US and/or other non-EU member states, international budget questions like IWF budget)*

Example for conflicting issue scopes:

-    "We should have tougher immigration policies in the EU in order to protect our national cultures."
→ *Code:* MainIss = 0501 (EU immigration policy); IssScop = 3 (EU)

Exceptional case: Spots (IssScop 1, 2, 3)

If you code *spots*, you are allowed to code up to *three* issues. For *each* issue you can also code an issue scope, the issue position, and the justification. Please code the main issue first and the other two issues in order of appearance.

Variable **IssPos**
Which position does the active actor advocate?

For each **main issue** the general policy position that the active actor advocates is coded.

Policy positions refer to ideological programmatic policy dimensions. They indicate the poles of broad societal debates, e.g., left-right.

In case several issue positions are mentioned by the active actor, the most prominent issue position is the one to whom the active actor devotes most time / space. If several issue positions are treated equally in their importance, please code the first mentioned position.

Please choose the ISSUE positions from below if the active actor supports one of these positions poles more strongly than the other. Only if both position poles are put forward equally strong, please code "balanced". If no or other position is taken, please code "no or other position taken". If the active actor mentions more than one policy position please code the first one.

Exceptional case: *Spots (IssPos 1, 2, 3)*
If you code *spots*, you are allowed to code up to *three* issues. For *each* issue you can also code an issue scope, the issue position, and the justification. Please code the main issue first and the other two issues in order of appearance.

TOPIC01 Economy	**Role of state in the economy / liberal versus regulated markets**
	10 support for liberal, non-regulated markets / support for a "weak state"
	For example:
	• against protection, for deregulation, for more competition and for privatization; against state investments
	• **Austerity policies:** support for rigid budgetary policies and reduction of state deficit (also as precondition for future financial help)
	• **Future of Euro:** against (further) measures to safe common currency (incl. exit Eurozone)
	• **Free movement of people:** support for open borders / free movement of people (liberal border control)
	11 support for state regulation of markets / support for "state interventions"
	For example:
	• for protection, for regulation, for less competitive pressures, for state-ownership, for state investments
	• **Austerity policies:** opposition to rigid budgetary policies and reduction of state deficit (also austerity is no precondition for future financial help)
	• **Future of Euro:** in favour of (further) measures to safe common currency
	• **Free movement of people:** opposition to open borders / free movement of people (strict border control)
	12 balanced
	901 other or no economic position taken
TOPIC02 Social and labour market policy	**Welfare state retrenchment versus expansion**
	50 opposition to welfare state measures and labour market regulations (e.g. reduce social expenditures)
	51 support for welfare state measures and labour market regulations (e.g. increase social expenditures)
	52 balanced

	902 other or no social and labour market position taken
TOPIC03 Education and research	**Education / research** 60 opposition to strengthening schools and education / research (e.g. spending (further) money for education) 61 support for strengthening schools and education / research (e.g. spending (further) money for education) 62 balanced 903 other or no education and research position taken
TOPIC04 Law and order	**Law and order: strategies for fighting crime** 70 support for hard punishment and protection (police, law and order, money for fighting crime, hard punishment, less prevention) 71 support for prevention (less police, less law and order, less money for fighting crime, soft punishment, but more integration measures, education, etc. 72 balanced **Law and order: surveillance state** 80 support for strong security concerns that stand above individual civil rights (e.g. national security above protection of private sphere, of data) 81 support for individual civil rights that stand above security concerns (e.g. protection of private sphere, of data above national security) 82 balanced 904 other or no law and order position taken
TOPIC05 Immigration	**Immigration: rigid versus soft regulation** 90 support for tight immigration/integration policies (strict border control, restrictive conditions for stay, constraints of rights) 91 opposition to tight immigration and integration policies (liberal border control, less restrictive conditions for stay, expansion of rights) 92 balanced 905 other or no immigration position taken
TOPIC06 International Affairs	**International affairs: interventions / interferences** 100 opposition to interventions / interference into other states concerns (e.g. in order to protect national sovereignty) 101 support for interventions / interferences into other states concerns 102 balanced **International affairs: armed forces versus bargaining** 110 support of strong armed forces (for strong national defence, for nuclear weapons) to solve international problems 111 support of negotiation and sanction approaches to solve international problems 112 balanced 906 other or no international affairs position taken
TOPIC07 Culture and Other	---
TOPIC08 Environment and Energy	**Environment protection:** 120 opposition to extensive environmental protection / renewable energies (e.g. economic prosperity above environmental concerns) 121 support for extensive environmental protection / renewable energies (e.g. environmental concerns above economic prosperity) 122 balanced

	908 other or no environmental and energy position taken
TOPIC09 Infrastructure	**Infrastructure:** 130 opposition to state-financed infrastructure (market liberalisation) 131 support for state-financed infrastructure (regulation) 132 balanced 909 other or no infrastructure position taken
TOPIC10 Agriculture and Food	**Role of state in the economy / liberal versus regulated markets (general)** 10 support for liberal, non-regulated markets / support for a "weak state" (e.g. against state subsidies) 11 support for state regulation of markets / support for "state interventions" (e.g. for state support to farmers) 12 balanced **Industrial versus alternative agriculture (specific)** 140 support for industrial perspective 141 support for alternative/biological/sustainable perspective 142 balanced 910 other or no agricultural or food position taken
TOPIC11 Consumer protection	**Consumer protection** 150 opposition to (strong) consumer protection 151 support for (strong) consumer protection 152 balanced 911 other or no consumer protection position taken
TOPIC12 Citizens' rights	**Rights: restriction versus expansion** 160 in favour of restricting citizens' rights and liberties 161 in favour of expanding citizens' rights and liberties 162 balanced 912 other or no citizens' rights position taken
TOPIC13 Constitutional questions and functioning of EU	**Constitutional questions: national versus supranational** 170 support for a strong *national/subnational* level (through reforms, incl. the strengthening of the intergovernmental level of the EU) 171 support for a strong *supranational* level (through reforms, incl. expansion of competences of EU-level institutions / persons) 172 balanced **Constitutional questions: efficiency versus democracy** 180 support for efficient / good-working structures (e.g. developing good solutions) 181 support for democratic concerns (e.g. solving the democratic deficit) 182 balanced **Constitutional questions: small versus large state** 190 opposition to equality among member states (e.g. majority voting, large states have more voice) 191 support of equality among member states (e.g. unanimity principle, veto positions of smaller states) 192 balanced

	Constitutional questions: different depth of integration within the EU 200 support for different depth of integration (e.g. multi-speed Europe, each country can decide whether to join a new policy idea; special deals for specific EU member countries, e.g. UK) 201 opposition to different depth of integration (e.g. no multi-speed Europe, no special deals for specific countries; EU treaties apply to all etc.) 202 balanced 913 other or no constitutional position taken
TOPIC14 Territorial questions	**EU-Enlargement: support versus opposition** 210 opposition to further enlargement of the EU and partnerships with non-EU countries 211 support for further enlargement of the EU and partnerships with non-EU countries 212 balanced **EU-membership: exit versus stay within EU** 220 support for exiting the European Union (own country) 221 support for exiting the European Union (other EU countries) 222 support for partial membership/involvement (e.g. exit Eurozone, but not EU; for special / separate deals; own country) 223 support for partial membership/involvement (e.g. exit Eurozone, but not EU; for special / separate deals; other EU countries) 224 support for full membership/involvement (i.e. stay in the EU; own country) 225 support for full membership/involvement (i.e. stay in the EU; other EU countries) 226 balanced **Secession (national unity): support versus opposition** 230 support for secession, regional autonomy 231 opposition to secession (in favour of national unity) 232 balanced 914 other or no territorial position taken
TOPIC15 Administration and bureaucracy (corruption)	**Strategies for fighting corruption** 240 support for hard punishment and protection (control, law and order, money for fighting crime, hard punishment) 241 support for prevention (e.g. public education, public participation, e-governance, ethics, institutional reforms) 242 balanced **Efficiency / less bureaucracy versus democracy** 180 support for efficient / good-working structures (e.g. developing good solutions) / less bureaucracy 181 support for democratic concerns (e.g. solving the democratic deficit) 182 balanced 915 other or no administrative / bureaucracy position taken
TOPIC16 Elections	---

Main example:

Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far.

→ *Code: MainIss = 0113 (EU economic policy), Issue Position = 11 (support for state regulation of markets)*

NOTE: Code the explicit position, even though the actor might implicitly defend the status quo (do NOT code as "no position")

- "Do **not extend** agricultural subsidies for Austrian farmers." The actor takes a position against further political measures (although he implicitly defends the status quo and does not call for abolishing existing agricultural subsidies → but we do not code implicitly mentioned positions!).
  → *Code*: MainIss = 1002 (Agricultural policy (non-EU)), IssPos = 10 (support for liberal, non-regulated market)

Further examples:

- "No Eurobonds, they're bad for Germany". This actor takes a position against the collectivization of debts which is the neoliberal position
  → *Code*: MainIss = 0113 (EU economic policy), IssPos = 10 (support for liberal, non-regulated market)
- "Expand the social standards in the EU. This will create a real community." This actor calls for the expansion of the welfare state.
  → *Code:* MainIss = 0209 (other social and labour market topics), IssPos = 51 (support for welfare state measures*)*

Variable **Justification**
How is the issue position justified? Why does the active actor take this issue position?

Here we code the justification that the active actor uses to make his / her policy position clear. This variable therefore does not refer to the main issue as such, but to the justification of a position. You therefore search for the **WHY-component** the active actor uses in order to justify his / her position. Only code the justification of a position if it is *explicitly* mentioned by the active actor (i. e. do not code an economic issue per se as an economic justification)! Don't interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective.

In general, we assume that two major different types of justifications can be used.

First, an actor can justify his / her position **economically**, e.g. using economic-rightist (pro-market, etc.), economic-leftist (pro-state, etc.) or other economic arguments.
Second, an actor can justify his / her position **identity-wise**. Thereby he might either refer to cultural / ethnic or religious concerns (i.e. which groups shall be included in our communities) or he might use political concerns (i.e. are we willing to give up political sovereignty?).
Finally, an actor can also justify his / her position otherwise, e.g. referring to the environment.

> *'justification used by actor'*
>
> 1 =   economic justification
> 2 =   identity justification (cultural, ethnic, religious, political)
> 3 =   other justification
> 9 =   no justification

Coding rules:
- For articles and press releases only code one justification per active actor.
- For television spots you can code as many justifications as are employed by the active actor.
- In case several justifications are mentioned, always code the justification that either refers to economy (=1) or identity (=2).
- If there are several justifications that refer to 'economy' as well as 'identity', code the most important one, i.e. the one to whom the active actor devotes most time / space. In case of doubt, please code the first mentioned justification.
- If an active actor refers to any justifications other than economic or identity-based are mentioned, use the code "other justification" (=3). Even if the type of justification is not clear.
- Only if an active actor does not justify his position at all, code "no justification" (=9).

Main example:
Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far.
→ *Code: MainIss =0113, Justification = 1 (economic justification)*

NOTE I: The justification is always linked back to the active actor and his / her **main issue**

NOTE II: A justification is only coded if it is **explicitly mentioned** by the active actor.

Economic *justifications (Justification =1) include references to:*
- Economic – right: pro market / market requirements / free market (liberalization, deregulation, competition, privatization, rigid budget, reduction of state deficit, cuts of expenditures, welfare state reduction)
- Economic – left: strengthening of interventionist / pro state / protectionism / social rights (against liberalization / against deregulation, lessen competitive pressures, state-ownership, opposition to rigid budget and reduction of state deficit, increase of expenditures and welfare state)
- Key words are, for example, taxpayers, social benefits, more jobs, prosperity etc.
    - Note that an economic justification cannot only refer to the state (e.g. debts) but can also to private economy (e.g. banks, bankers etc.)

Identity *justifications (Justification = 2) include references to:*
- nationalist identity (authoritarian/traditional):
    - Cultural, ethnic, religious: closed picture of a community with strong nationalist / ethnic-homogenous tendencies / religious separations, exclusive identities, based on cultural homogeneity;
    - Political: national sovereignty (against the loss of sovereignty on national / regional levels)

- liberal identity (green/alternative):
    - Cultural, ethnic, religious: open picture of a community allowing for multi-cultural societies, inclusive identities, cultural diversity;
    - Political: cosmopolitan (support for the transfer of authority beyond the nation state)

Further examples:
- Britain has been pushing hard for Europe to adopt a tougher climate target, on the grounds that it will benefit not only the *climate but the economy*.
    → *Code:* MainIss = 0801 (Climate policy); Justification = 1 (economic, because priority is given either to economic or identity-wise justifications)

- "This strategy (joint European economic strategy) aims to achieve the *overdue consolidation of public budgets*. But even more, it aims to overcome economic imbalances by improving the competitiveness of all Eurozone countries. This is why the adjustment plans for countries that are receiving financial support call for fundamental structural reforms.
    → *Code:* MainIss = 0111 (State budget); Justification = 1 (economic)

- The aim [of the EU financial transaction tax] is *to tax financial markets*, to make them pay for the part they played in the destruction of the economy
    → *Code:* MainIss = 0114 (Bank and financial sector regulation); Justification = 1 (economic)

- "Do not expand the safety umbrella! This would be paid for by *savers*."
  → *Code:* MainIss = 0113 (EU economic policy); Justification = 1 (economic)

- Egger (FPÖ, Austria): "We want family benefits for native (Austrian) families because we cannot longer watch how we *become extinct*, while *other minorities* grow up."
  → *Code:* MainIss = 0208 (Family); Justification = 2 (identity)

- "For stricter immigration policies! Immigration threatens our *national community*."
  → *Code:* MainIss = 0502 (Immigration policy); Justification = 2 (identity)

- "Do not give more competences to the EU as we *would lose democratic co-determination*!"
  → *Code:* MainIss = 1302 (Division of power btw. political levels); Justification = 2 (identity)

- Spanish conservative MEP welcomes the reforms of EU agricultural policy because it *returns control over fisheries from Brussels to regions*
  → *Code:* MainIss = 1001 (EU-agricultural policy); Justification = 2 (identity)

- An Italian MEP is calling for pupils to be forced to take European Union lessons as they teach *EU interpretations of history and economics*.
  → *Code:* MainIss = 0301 (EU education policy); Justification = 2 (identity)

- MEP said: "We need to look at this (the data protection regulation) very carefully because there is a concern that we end up *discriminating against our own people."*
  → *Code:* MainIss = 0405 (Data security); Justification = 2 (identity)

- "Instead of improving integration of refugees in our society, the reformulation of the European asylum system reinforces a *discriminating* and *inhuman* asylum policy."
  → *Code:* MainIss = 0501 (EU immigration policy); Justification = 2 (identity)

Variable Benefit
Who is supported by the active actor?

Here we code whose interests are put forward/who is the one supported by the active actor: the own country, another EU country / EU countries, the EU, the EU and the own country, the EU and other member states, or other member state(s) and the own country?

> *'Benefiter of the justification'*
>
> 1= own country
> 2 = other EU member state(s)
> 3 = EU
> 9 = other / not specified / no benefiter

Main example:

Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far.
→ *Code: Benefit = 3 (EU)*

NOTE I: The benefiter has to be mentioned **explicitly** by the (active) actor. Please don't guess who could be a "benefiter" BUT code benefiters which become clear from the article.

NOTE II: Please identify the benefiter always *from the active actor's point of view.*

NOTE III: If there is more than one benefiter, only code the most prominent benefiter. In case several benefiters are mentioned, the most important is the one to whom the active actor devotes most time / space. In case of doubt, please code the first mentioned benefiter.

NOTE IV: The benefiter is not connected to the justification you coded before.

Some coding examples on the delimitation of issues, justifications and benefiter:

Example 1   FPÖ, Austria: *Social Security for our People*
MainIss: 0209 (Other social and labour market topics); IssScop = 9 (not specified; explicit reference missing); EconProbl = 0 (no reference); IssPos = 53 (no position taken; not known whether extension or reduction is called for); Justification= 2 (identity); Benefit = 1 (own country).

Example 2   Merkel: *No Eurobonds. This is bad for Germany.*
MainIss: 0113 (EU economic policy); IssScop = 3 (EU); EconProbl = 0 (no reference); IssPos = 10 (support for liberal markets); Justification = 9 (no problem definition; merely Germany as a country is mentioned); Benefit = 1 (own country).

Example 3   Cameron: *Competences have to be shifted back to the nation states in order to rescue the EU.*
MainIss: 1302 (Division of power *between political levels*); IssScop = 3 (EU); EconProbl = 0; IssPos = 170 (support for a strong *national* level); Justification = 3 (other, though unclear); Benefit = 3 (EU).

Example 4   Left: *Given the current economic crisis, more social standards are needed in Europe in order to create a true community of Europeans.*
MainIss = 0209 (Other social and labour market topics); IssScop = 3 (EU); EconProbl = 2 (reference to financial crisis in Europe); IssPos = 51 (support for welfare state measures); Justification= 2 (identity); Benefit = 3 (EU).

Example 5   Union: *Do not extend the safety umbrella within the EU as the savers are the ones who are paying for this crisis*.
MainIss = 0113 (EU economic policy: stimulus package and safety umbrellas); IssScop = 3 (EU), EconProbl = 2, IssPos =10 (support for liberal markets); Justification = 1 (economic); Benefit = 9 (other/not specified)

Variable **INTEGEVAL** (evaluated by the active actor)
*How is the **general idea of European integration** evaluated by the active actor?*

By European integration we mean a strong cooperation of European states within the framework of the European Union regarding economy, politics, legal and international affairs. The European Union is built on the member countries' will to closely work together in these areas. Here we code how this **general idea of European integration** is **explicitly** evaluated by the active actor.

'Overall evaluation of today's European integration'

      1 =   positive
      2 =   negative
      3 =   balanced – as many positive as negative aspects are mentioned
      9 =   not applicable (no explicit evaluation of European integration)

Main example:
Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. Otherwise the EU will fall apart. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far.
→ *Code: INTEGEVAL = 1*

NOTE I: This variable **does NOT ask** how the daily politics of the European Union or EU institutions or EU politicians are evaluated (this is the aim of the following variable!).

NOTE II: The evaluation must be **explicitly mentioned**! That means the evaluation has to be made in an unambiguous manner, straightforward. We do NOT code implicit or vague evaluations.

NOTE III: Prerequisite to find an evaluation is **a mentioning** / a reference to European integration (incl. references to EU integration, European unification, monetary union etc.).

NOTE IV: If the active actor compares the state of European Integration at two time points (e.g. some years ago and today), please code the current perspective (=today).

A *positive evaluation* is coded, if European integration is attributed positive attributes (e.g. praise, appreciation) OR denied negative attributes (e.g. rejection of criticism or accusations).
Examples are: to be successful, effective, fruitful, to solve a problem, if someone appreciates, supports EU integration…

A *negative evaluation* is coded, if European integration is attributed negative attributes (e.g. criticism, accusations) OR denied positive attributes (e.g. rejection of praise or appreciation).
Examples are: to be unsuccessful, to fail, to lack something, to be ineffective, not to be able to solve a problem, if someone rejects, disdains EU integration…

Please only code balanced, if the actor makes as many positive as well as negative references towards European integration. If there is a tendency towards positive or negative evaluations prevailing, please code this tendency.

Examples for positive evaluations (→ Code: INTEGEVAL = 1):

- "We support/favour/recommend European integration."
- "It's worth remembering how far Poland has come as a result of European integration."
- "European integration contributes to minority protection in south eastern Europe."
- A MEP revealed his discontent with the European Union, referring to free trade negotiations with the US*, but defended the freedoms appreciated by Europeans*.
- Hollande wants "*more Europe*".
- SPD says "We are *pro-European*".
- But Mr. Zapatero said that all European Union countries should stay together to *defend "European values".*
- An MEP states that he supports a future "political union".
- "We must proceed towards a federation of nation states."

Examples for negative evaluations (→ Code: INTEGEVAL = 2):

- "The European integration project is a failure."
- "European integration does not have a lasting effect on growth rates."
- "Some companies said the integration of the European market had a negative effect on their business in the EU."
- "We refuse European integration projects."

Examples for no evaluations (→ Code: INTEGEVAL = 9):

- An EU commissioner says "In the EU, there has never been a stronger political will to support the Turkish people in opting for *European values* and living standards.

Variable **EUEVAL** (evaluated by the active actor)
*How is the **actual functioning** of the EU today, its institutions /politicians and policies evaluated by the active actor?*

This variable asks how **TODAY's functioning of the European Union/ EU** (as an economic and political union of 28 member states) or **EU institutions** (like the European Commission, the European Council, the European Central Bank etc.) or **European politicians** (EP candidates/members) are evaluated by the active actor. This variable – in contrast to the previous one – searches for evaluations of **concrete EU policies** (regulations, laws, etc. **= "actions")** or **EU polities** (the process of how these policies are made) **or concrete polities** (institutional settings). In general, it is possible to support the idea of EU integration (INTEGEVAL) while criticizing the actual functioning of the European Union.

'Overall evaluation of today's functioning of the EU'

1   positive
2   negative
3   balanced – as many positive as negative evaluations
9   not applicable (no evaluation of the functioning of the EU/ an EU Institution/ an EU politician)

Main example:
Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. Otherwise the EU will fall apart. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far.
→ *Code: EUEVAL = 2*

NOTE I: Prerequisite to find an evaluation is a **mentioning** / a reference to EU / the European Union. Yet, not each reference goes along with an evaluation.

NOTE II: The evaluation must be **explicitly mentioned**! That means the evaluation has to be made in an unambiguous manner, straightforward. We do NOT code implicit or vague evaluations.

NOTE III: Please only code the **evaluation** of the EU/ EU institution/ EU politician **as of today** and not future plans of the parties (they'll all be positive!).

A *positive evaluation* is coded, if the EU and its policies/ an EU institution/ an EU politician is attributed positive attributes (e.g. praise, appreciation) OR denied negative attributes (e.g. rejection of criticism or accusations).

Examples are: to be successful, effective, fruitful, to solve a problem, if someone appreciates, supports EU/ an EU institution/ an EU politician…

A *negative evaluation* is coded, if the EU and its policies/ an EU institution/ an EU politician is attributed negative attributes (e.g. criticism, accusations) OR denied positive attributes (e.g. rejection of praise or appreciation).

Examples are: to be unsuccessful, to fail, to lack something, to be ineffective, not to be able to solve a problem, if someone rejects, disdains EU/ an EU institution/ an EU politician…

Please only code balanced, if the actor makes as many positive as well as negative references towards the EU and its policies/ an EU institution/ an EU politician. If there is a tendency towards positive or negative evaluations prevailing, please code this tendency.

Examples for positive evaluations (→ Code: EUEVAL = 1):

- "The EU succeeded to deal with regional unemployment."
- "EU is forerunner concerning climate protection."
- "EU did a great job concerning climate protection." / "The European Council did a great job." / "The EP candidate xy did a great job."
- "We support/favour/recommend the decision of the European Commission."
- Hollande has *welcomed* the EU directive proposed by the European commission.

Examples for negative evaluations (→ Code: EUEVAL = 2):

- "This EU regulation is absurd." Or "This is an over-regulation by the EU."
- "The EU lacks the adequate instruments to master the crisis."
- "We refuse the action of the European Commission."
- "The EU has failed to deal with regional unemployment." / or "The European Commission/ EP candidate xy failed to implement her/ his decision."
- A MEP revealed *his discontent with the European Union, referring to free trade negotiations with the US,* but defended the freedoms appreciated by Europeans.
- The prime minister will tell the European leaders that the *Lisbon treaty will have to be changed to prevent a "caucus" of Eurozone members imposing financial services legislation on Britain.*
- The commissioner will today *acknowledge* that the free movement of people across the EU has *put "unintended strains" on public services and is open to abuse.*

The following 3 variables are designed for the PhD-Project of
Franzisca Schmidt (University of Bern).

These variables need to be coded for the following cases:

Material: **Press releases** and **newspaper articles**
Countries: **Germany**, **Austria, Greece, Portugal, France**
Period: **12 weeks prior to the EP Elections 2014**

For this project, all press releases or articles from media coverage are relevant that deal with the EU and include an active actor
→ Filter Variables: **V9 = 2** and **ActAct or Mainact = coded**

Variable peopref

Is there an explicit reference to the people in the active actor's statement?

This variable seeks to encompass whether the active actor in his/her statement makes a reference to the people. Populists claim legitimacy on the grounds that they speak for the people or in the name of the people: that is to say, they claim to represent the democratic sovereign.

> *'reference to the people'*
>
> 0 =   no reference
>
> 1 =   yes, a reference from a **national** actor to **his national** people
>
> 2 =   yes, a reference from a **national** actor to an **unknown/unclear** people
>
> 3 =   yes, a reference from a **national or EU** actor to the **EU** people
>
> 4 =   yes, a reference from an **EU** actor to an **unknown/unclear** people
>
> 5 =   yes, a reference from a (national/EU/unknown) actor to **the people in general**

To qualify as a reference to the people, the actor's statement has to fulfil the following criteria:

1. In his statement the active actor explicitly **mentions a population or population group**, which is indicated by words like:

> "nation", "people", "population", "country", "society", "community", "electorate", "voter(s)", "citizen(s)", "tax payer(s)", "saver(s)" "the public", "public support", "public opinion", "ordinary people", "ordinary citizens", "the Germans" (or 'Europeans', 'Portuguese' etc.), "the German youth" (or 'European youth', etc.)

2. Through his statement, the active actor **advocates/speaks for the mentioned population** (group). In doing so he explicitly sides with the population (group) and supports their concerns or claims. He may also **speak in the name of** the mentioned population (group) by allegedly expressing their attitude.
    For example: Rebecca Harms (German Greens) about the developments in Ukraine:
    "We as Europeans mustn't stay neutral, because this is about the defence of our values!"
    → *Code: peopref = 3*

> **Main Examples:**
>
> Alexander Salmond (Scottish National Party) says: "Indeed, the Tory-led Government catastrophically misreads <u>Scottish opinion</u>. Mr Cameron embarks on a similarly *disastrous course*." → *Code: peopref = 1*
>
> Miss Hansen, spokesman of the European Commission, added: "We trust that this will lead to intelligence collection which is respectful of our democracies and the <u>fundamental right of **our** citizens</u>." → *Code: peopref = 3*

NOTE I: An actor is regarded as a national actor if his/her nationality is explicitly mentioned in the text or is apparent from the actors list. In the same way an actor is regarded as an EU actor if it is explicitly mentioned in the text that he/she is playing a role as an EU government representative or his/her EU role is apparent from the actors list. Otherwise the actor's origin or belonging is regarded as unknown.

NOTE II: There has to be an **"identity fit" between national actor and national people:** only code peopref = 1 if the nationality of the actor and the nationality of the mentioned people is the same!

> *For example:*
> If the German chancellor speaks for the people of Germany → *Code: peopref = 1*
> If the German chancellor speaks for the people of Greece → *Code: peopref = 0*,   because there is no identity fit between actor and people.

NOTE III: Every actor that is a citizen of the European Union can speak for the EU people regardless of the function in which the active actor is appearing in the text – or in other words: any national actor can speak for the European people if he is *also* a citizen of the EU ("identity fit" between national actor and EU people).

However, *as a rule* please consider the term '**Europeans**' to be a synonym with '**people of the European Union**' i.e. not just people of the European continent but of EU member states.

> *Example 1:* The German Chancellor Angela Merkel says: "I really care for every European!" → there is a fit, because the national active actor is also a citizen of the EU and – according to the rule – refers to people of the European Union.
>
> *Example 2:* A Swiss politician says: "I really care for every European!" → there is no fit, because the active actor is not a citizen of the EU but – according to the rule – refers to people of the European Union.

NOTE IV:
If the nationality or EU role of the actor is not explicitly mentioned (i.e. unknown) basically there cannot be an identity fit between actor and people and hence no people reference can be made. However, in that situation there exists one **special case** that makes an identity fit possible: if an actor whose nationality or EU role is unknown <u>explicitly portrays him/herself as part of a specific people</u> by using words like "**we**", "**our**" (our nation, our country, our jobs, our wealth, …), "all of us", etc. then we do regard him as part of that people – irrespective of whether you know the actors (true) nationality/role or not.

For example:
Unknown actor says: "We Germans want to pay less taxes"
→ *Code: peopref = 1* for a national actor who refers to his national people.
Unknown actor says: "We Europeans think the EU-accedence of Iceland is a good thing"
→ Code: peopref = 3 for a national/EU actor who refers to the EU people.

NOTE V: An actor **makes a reference to the people in general** if his statement deals with a people's basic _rights_ (civil liberties, the right of self-determination, the right to be the sovereign of its own state, political freedom, etc.) in fact completely irrespective of the geographic or ethnic context of the mentioned people. Therefore, any active actor – whether he is national, EU or unknown – may refer to the people in general.

However, in a statement about *'the people in general'* the actor does NOT address the national or EU people *but any people in the world*. Therefore, this rule applies only if there is no nationality mentioned with the people (i.e. the people must be unknown). In case a national actor talks about *the civic rights of his national people* → *Code: peopref = 1*. In case a national/EU actor talks about the *civic rights of the EU people*, please → *Code: peopref =* 3.

NOTE VI: To identify a reference to the people, please read the *entire* active actor's statement until the end since there might be several references to different peoples. If this is the case, please code the peopref according to the following precedence:

    I.   national country
        if present always code the reference to the actors own country *(f.ex. the British)* or the reference to a group of the actors own country *(f.ex. British taxpayers)* → *peopref = 1*

    II.   EU
        if there is no reference to the actors own country, if present code the reference to the people of the EU *(f.ex. the Europeans)* or the reference to a specific group of EU people *(f.ex. EU taxpayers)* → *peopref = 3*

    III.   unspecific population group
        if there is no I. or II. code the unspecific population group such as 'the workers', 'the ordinary people', 'taxpayers', etc.… that is mentioned without national or EU declaration. → *peopref = 2 (national actor refers to unknown people) or peopref = 4 (EU actor refers to unknown people).*

For example:
'The French politician Marine Le Pen is furious with France's elites who "let the country go to the dogs", and then rails against the EU's enslaving of **Europeans** just "as in the Soviet Union" as well as against the Euro which "is killing" **her nation**.' → *Code: peopref = 1*
Marine Le Pen – who is French (and at the same time EU citizen) – first makes a reference to the people of the EU and then a reference to her own people. According to the precedence rule, if present we always code the reference to the people of the actors own country.

*Examples for what is **NOT** coded as a reference to the people:*

"Tony Benn was also one of the few people I have ever known who totally ignored the ban on smoking in public places."

→ *Statements have to reach beyond the private life of the speaker! The reason is the limited mobilising effect of terms that do not go beyond private life.*

One of the Eurofund reports authors, Anna Ludwinek, said: "It's not only the world of work that has changed but society is changing, so the transitions are becoming much more unpredictable; people are not having a job for life or live in one place for life."

→ *Here, the active actor is not explicitly siding with those people but just describing facts without a personal evaluation of their situation. Besides, there is no evidence suggesting that the active actor is identifying with these people.*

All subsequent variables are only coded if peopref ≥ 1

Variable **antiestab** (only coded if peopref ≥ 1)
Does the active actor explicitly criticize the establishment in his/her statement?

This variable seeks to encompass whether the active actor makes an anti-establishment statement which includes any remarks of the active actor

- that focus on the failure of the national state or the EU to render the required service (public transport, guarantee the right to justice or safety, the administration, etc.) → *anti-state comment*

- that range from criticism of a certain policy measure (regulations, laws, etc. = "actions") or present situation to direct criticism against the government policy → *anti-policy comment*

- that range from criticism of a certain politician, party or group of parties, to criticizing all parties (except the own party), to criticism of the whole system. The critique may also be directed towards the economic elite (bankers, the central bank, the IMF, the capitalist system, etc.) or the cultural elite (journalists, intellectuals, etc.) → *anti-elite comment*

  'Statement against the establishment (state/policy/elite)'

  0 =   no
  1 =   yes, against the establishment of the speaker's **own country**
  2 =   yes, against the establishment of other **specific EU member state(s)**
  3 =   yes, against the establishment of the **European Union**
  4 =   yes, against **other** establishment(s) *f.ex. "the Troika", "the UN", etc.*
  9 =   unspecified statement against any establishment **in general**

Main Examples:
Alexander Salmond (Scottish National Party) says: "Indeed, the *Tory-led Government catastrophically misreads* <u>Scottish opinion</u>. Mr Cameron embarks on a similarly *disastrous course*."
→ *Code: peopref = 1, antiestab= 1*

Vince Cable (UK secretary of state): "This *European directive* incorporates the idea that work should be compulsorily restricted and shared out, whether or not it suits the needs of individual workers or firms. Not only is this *dreadful economics, it is also deeply illiberal*. It suppresses <u>the right of workers</u> to choose how long they work to earn overtime, to help their company safeguard employment by working flexibly, or simply because they enjoy and take pride in what they do. → *Code: peopref = 2, antiestab= 3*

NOTE I: <u>*Establishment criticism is understood as a negative evaluation of the establishment,*</u> *e.g. the* functioning of the national state or the European Union, national or EU institutions or politicians, as well as concrete policies or polities (the process of how these policies are made).
Criticism is coded if there are attributed negative attributes (discrediting, accusations) OR denied positive attributes (e.g. rejection of praise or appreciation) to the establishment.
Examples are: to be unsuccessful, to fail, to lack something, to be ineffective, not to be able to solve a problem, to be incompetent, to be **detached from (ordinary) people**, if the actor disdains the state/EU/an institution/a politician…

Examples for statements against the establishment (neg. evaluations)
- "This EU regulation is absurd." Or "This is an over-regulation by the EU."
- "Our government lacks the adequate instruments to master the crisis."
- "We refuse the action of the Greek Government"
- "The Labour Party has failed to deal with regional unemployment" or "politician xy has failed to implement his/her decision."

NOTE II: If you coded a negative evaluation of the EU (variable EUEVAL = 2), there <u>must be</u> a statement against the establishment of the European Union too (antiestab= 3).
But be aware that regardless whether you coded the EU evaluation as positive, balanced or not applicable it is still possible to find an anti-establishment statement against the establishment of the actors own country, of another EU member state, or any other establishment

NOTE III: The criticism must be explicitly mentioned! That means the negative evaluation has to be in an unambiguous manner, straightforward. We do NOT code implicit or vague evaluations.

NOTE IV: Also *future plans* for the implementation of a specific policy by a government may be criticized by the active actor. Please also code this as a criticism of the establishment.

NOTE V: Please only code the most important anti-establishment statement that is employed be the active actor (= only ONE). In case several establishment criticisms are mentioned, the most important is the one to whom the active actor devotes most time/space. In case of doubt, please code the first mentioned anti-establishment statement.

Variable **exclusion** (only coded if peopref ≥ 1)
Does the active actor explicitly exclude or segregate a certain population or group in society?

This variable asks whether the actor in his statement follows an exclusion strategy by explicitly **criticizing one or multiple nations or groups in society**. This variable – in contrast to the previous one – searches for criticism that is addressed to a nation or a group in society as a whole and does not include criticism that is solely directed to a nation's establishment (i.e. its government or other elites).

To qualify as an exclusion the active actor's statement has to fulfil three criteria:

1. In his statement the active actor **explicitly mentions** a **population** or **group in society** (it is also possible that the active actor mentions the name of the country as a synonym for the nation he wants to exclude).

2. The actor himself **does not belong to** the mentioned population or group (i.e. it mustn't be the same population or group the active actor mentioned as a reference to the people) and the mentioned population or group is **not (solely) part of the establishment**.

3. By talking about this population (group), the active actor uses one or more of the following means for **negative attribution**:

   - <u>verbal discretization</u>, stigmatization, debasement or degradation
   - describing the population group or nation as a <u>threat/menace/harassment</u>
   - <u>blaming or accusing</u> the population group or nation
   - <u>evaluative comparison</u> between two groups or nations: contrasting positive attributes of the active actors own nation or population group **to the ascribed negative attribute** of another nation or population group
   - <u>explicit verbal exclusion</u> or demand for exclusion
   (<u>un</u>-European", "Exclusion from Eurozone", "Abandonment of accession negotiations", …)

   'Statement of exclusion by the active actor'

        0 =   no excluding statement

   ### exclusion of *one specific nation*

        11 =   EU crisis-hit country
               (Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain)
        12 =   EU member state of the East/Balkan
               (Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Rep., Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia)
        13 =   EU member state of Western and Northern Europe
               (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom)
        14 =   EU candidate country
               (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Iceland, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey)
        15 =   third country (not part of the EU)

        19 =   not specified

*exclusion of **multiple nations or a specific region** (its/their population respectively)*

20 = the whole EU
except speakers own country

21 = EU crisis-hit countries

22 = Eastern and Balkan EU member states

23 = Western and Northern EU member states

24 = EU candidate countries

25 = region of third countries
f.ex. "North Africa", "Middle East", etc.

29 = other or unclear
*f.ex. "donor countries", "recipient countries", "ailing member states",
"EU founder members", "Mediterranean area", the Eurozone, etc.*

*exclusion of **immigrants**:*

31 = of EU crisis-hit country(ies)

32 = of Eastern and Balkan EU member state(s)

33 = of Western and Northern EU member state(s)

34 = of EU candidate country(ies)

35 = of third country(ies)

39 = not specified

*exclusion of **asylum seekers**:*

44 = of EU candidate country(ies)

45 = of third country(ies)

49 = not specified

*exclusion of **(ethnic/religious/language) minorities**:*

50 = of the speaker's own country

51 = of EU crisis-hit country(ies)

52 = of Eastern and Balkan EU member state(s)

53 = Western and Northern EU member state(s)

54 = of EU candidate country(ies)

55 = of third country(ies)

59 = not specified

Main Example:
UK's Labour Party: "Because of this focus on the net migration target the *Government is not doing enough* on *illegal immigration*, failing to deport, failing to prevent absconding, and failing to take action to stop employers using both illegal and legal migrants to undercut wages. This is the sort of immigration **the public worry about** rather than international students at our universities, or the number of British citizens leaving or coming home. →
Code: peopref = 2, antiestab= 1, exclusion = 39

NOTE I: <u>*Exclusion of one or multiple nation(s) or of a social group is understood as a negative evaluation of that nation(s) or social group,*</u> (analogous to the previous variable!)*.* Exclusion is coded if the are attributed negative attributes (discretisation, accusations) OR denied positive attributes (e.g. rejection of praise or appreciation) to the mentioned nation(s) or social group.

Examples are: to be unsuccessful, to fail, to lack something, to be ineffective, not to be able to solve a problem, to be lazy, to be a threat for the Euro-zone, to have a much higher unemployment rate than the actors own country, to be much more in debt than the own country, …

NOTE II: Concerning the mentioning of a social group you can think in a broader sense. For example: "dangerous mass immigration from Eastern Europe" does count as an exclusion of immigrants from Eastern Europe (exclusion = 32). Or as a further example: "The creeping islamification in Germany is a threat for all of us." → *Code exclusion = 59* (because the statement is about a religious minority in Germany whose origin is not further specified).

NOTE III: If the active actor makes an excluding statement in which *both a population and a population group* is mentioned, please always code the <u>population group</u>. For example: "The creeping islamification by the Turks in Germany is a threat for all of us." → *Code exclusion = 54* (because the statement is about a religious minority in Germany that originates from Turkey – i.e. from a EU candidate country) versus "The increasing number of Turks in Germany is a threat for all of us." → *Code exclusion = 14* (because the statement is about the population of the Turks).

NOTE IV: Sometimes the active actor does not exclude another nation or region of the EU but rather **excludes his own nation from the whole European Union***! Please interpret this exclusion of the speaker's own country FROM the European Union also as an exclusion OF the European Union and code it accordingly! For example:*

> Nigel Farage said: "For the first time in 39 years the *British people* will hear a proper, open debate on the UK's membership of the European Union. For too long the arguments have been spun or concealed while the UK has walked blindly towards a situation where 75 per cent of our laws are made by *unaccountable Eurocrats*. Nobody in Britain has ever voted to be part of anything other than a trading bloc. I am going to show the British people that not only *will we survive outside the EU*, we will thrive. It's time to *leave the European Union* and embrace the world."
> → *Code: peopref = 1, antiestab= 2, exclusion = 20*

> "*Re-engaging people* in the political process is something we in UKIP are very proud of. Our membership is growing up and down the country as we continue to argue that *Britain must leave the EU*, restore border controls and bring back grammar schools to restore social mobility in the UK."
> → *Code: peopref = 1, exclusion = 20*

NOTE V: Please only code the most important exclusion statement that is employed be the active actor (= only ONE). In case several exclusive statements are mentioned, the most important is the one to whom the active actor devotes most time/space. In case of doubt, please code the first mentioned exclusion statement.

FILTER PHD Franzisca – END

The following variables are designed for the PhD-Project of
Eva Antl-Wittenberg (University of Landau).

These variables need to be coded for the following cases:

Material: **Newspaper articles** and **press releases**

Countries: **Germany, Austria, Portugal** (only 2014)

Period: **2008-2013 and sampling period 2014** as follows

> 12th May - 7th June 2008
> 11th May - 6th June 2009
> 25th April - 21st May 2011
> 2nd December - 28th December 2013
> 3rd March – 24th May 2014

For this project, all articles from media coverage are relevant, if they deal with the EU as well as the financial crisis. **Newspaper articles in Germany and Austria 2014: daily basis!**

→ Filter Variables: **V9 = 2** and **EconProbl = 2**

Variable RespProb
According to the active actor, who is blamed responsible for the cause of a problem?

→ ***Please code according to the list of actors*** [see Appendix E]

The variable identifies the actor, who is blamed responsible for causing a problem in the context of the financial crisis by the active actor. The variable asks who is the person or institution, which is described as the one, who **MAINLY** causes or worsens the described problem.

NOTE I: The variable is only coded, if the active actor **EXPLICITLY** mentions an actor, who causes a problem.

NOTE II: **MAINLY** means in terms of the length/ space the active actor devotes to the actor, who is causing the problem. If two actors are blamed responsible and both are given the same space, code the one mentioned first.

NOTE III: Even if the text has a positive connotation in sum, the actor can still refer to problems.

Main example:
Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far and in doing so contribute to the economic downturn in Greece.
→ *Code:* RespProb = 100 (European Commission)

Further Examples I: Supranational level

- "The austerity programs of the EU increase the economic downturn in Spain."
  (→ Code: 200 = 'EU')
- "The European Commission provokes a crash of the Euro by soften the excessive deficit procedure." *(→ Code: 100 = 'European Commission')*
- "Interest policy of the ECB harmed German savers." *(→ Code: 300 = 'ECB')*

Further Examples II: National level

- "Greece's fake of national debts pushes the whole EU in a crisis." (→ Code: 20 = 'Greece')
- "The German Government pushes the EU to add fuel to the fire of the financial crisis by harsh austerity programs." *(→ Code: 200000 = 'German Government')*
  "Merkel poisoned the European idea of a solidary union by establishing the austerity programs." *(→ Code: 190001 = 'Angela Merkel')*

Variable **RespSol**
Who is credited with the responsibility for the solution of a problem by the active actor?

→ **Please code according to the list of actors** [see Appendix E]

The variable identifies the actor, who should **MAINLY** take care of the solution of the described aspect of the financial crisis in the eyes of the active actor. There can be two aspects of the attribution of responsibility, which are **BOTH** coded within this variable. The actor, who is held responsible, can be described as the one

1) with the skills/ expertise/ competence to solve the problem.

   or

2) with the power to solve the problem.

NOTE I: The variable is only coded, if the active actor **EXPLICITLY** mentions an actor, who is held responsible for the solution of a problem.

NOTE II: **MAINLY** means in terms of the length/ space the active actor devotes to the actor, who is capable to solve the problem. If two actors are held responsible and both are given the same space, code the one mentioned first.

NOTE III: Even if the text has a positive connotation in sum, the actor can still refer to problems.

NOTE IV: The actor who is held responsible for solving the problem can be someone else than the actor who caused the problem. The active actor can mention *EITHER* someone who is responsible for the cause of a problem *OR* someone who is responsible for the solution of a problem *OR* can make *BOTH* attributions of responsibility.

Main example:
Peer Steinbrück and Sigmar Gabriel plead in favour of Eurobonds. Eurobonds foster economic growth in the EU and help Greece to repay its debts. But it is highly regrettable that the European Commission has not made useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds so far and in doing so contribute to the economic downturn in Greece. Now, it is on Germany to push the EU to establish Eurobonds.
→ *Code:* RespSol = 190000 (German Government/ country as a whole)

Further Examples I: Supranational level

- *"Eurobonds contribute to European integration and help Greece to repay its depts. The European Commission should make useful proposals how to introduce Eurobonds." (→ Code: 100 = 'European Commission')*

- *"Only common actions of the EU like the euro zone fund can face the actual crisis by making loans to struggling euro zone nations or buying up bonds in debt markets." (→ Code: 200 = 'EU')*

Further Examples II: National level

- "The German government knows how to solve the upcoming recession by establishing a car-scrap bonus." *(→ Code: 190000 = 'German Government')*
- "Merkel is the one, who can navigate the EU through the crisis." *(→ Code: 190001 = 'Angela Merkel')*
- "Greece has to establish structural reforms to get out of the crisis." *(→ Code: 200000 = 'Greece')*

Further Examples III: International level

- "The power to control the use of the aid programs lies in the hands of the IMF to avoid misuse of the help." *(→ Code: 404 = 'IMF')*

Variable **LevSol**
According to the active actor, on which political level the problem should be solved?

The variable asks whether the solution proposed by the active actor is ***MAINLY*** a national, supranational or international one.

> *'Proposed level of solution'*
>> 1 =   **National** solution
>> 2 =   **Supranational** Solution
>> 3 =   **International** Solution
>> 9 =   Other/ not available.

NOTE I: The variable is only coded, if the active actor ***EXPLICITLY*** mentions that the problem should be solved on a certain political level.

*NOTE II: **MAINLY*** means in terms of the length/ space the active actor describes a solution on a certain political level. If there are two solutions on different political levels and both are given the same space, code the one mentioned first.

Examples:

National solution – the problem should be solved with instruments on the level of the nation state, e.g. car-scrap bonus, nationalization of bank institutes, opts out of the Eurozone for single nation states, etc.

Supranational Solution – the problem should be solved with instruments on the level of the EU, e.g. ESM (European Stabilization Mechanism), EFSF, emergency parachutes, actions of the EZB, etc.

International Solution – the problem should be solved with instruments on an international level, e.g. actions of the IWF, actions of the Troika, etc.

FILTER PHD Eva – END

The following 3 variables are designed for the Habilitation-Project of
Melanie Leidecker (University of Landau).

These variables need to be coded for the following cases:

Material: **Press releases**
Countries: **Germany** (2008-2014) and **France** (only 2014)
Period   Germany:
                 5th May-7th June 2008
                 4th May – 6th June 2009
                 25th November – 28th December 2013
                 21st April – 25th May 2014
                 France:
                 28th April – 24th May 2014
For this project, all press releases are relevant that deal with the EU.
→ Filter Variables: **V4 = 1**; **V9 = 2**

NOTE (for coders):
The following variables (REFIND, DESCR, ATTRIB, and CONTEX) ***are NOT connected to the actor*** you
coded before. Please take ***the whole press release*** into account!

Variable REFIND (reference to individual politicians)
Does the press release refer to individual politicians?

This variable asks if the press release refers to one or more *individual politician(s)* (e. g: Angela
Merkel or Peer Steinbrück) in the text. Individual politicians are *single persons* (synonyms also count,
e. g. "Bundeskanzlerin" instead of "Merkel"), NOT groups of politicians (e. g. SPD party members) or
political institutions/organizations (e. g. committees).

> *'reference to individual politicians'*
>
>> 0 =   no reference to individual politician(s)
>>
>> 1 =   reference to individual politician(s)

FILTER REFIND - START: All subsequent variables (DESCR, DESINF, CONTEX) **are only coded if
REFIND = 1**

Variable DESCR (description of politicians)
Does the press release provide descriptive information on individual politicians?

This variable asks if the press release contains (a) statement(s) that serve(s) to *describe* at least one individual politician and/or provide(s) *evaluating* or *background information* about him/her. Especially *adjectives* and *adverbs* (*what a person is like/how/in which way* a person acts/behaves) and *evaluations* do provide these (background) information. In contrast, *verbs* usually do *not* provide descriptive or evaluative (background) information (e. g. Merkel asserts her decision = no description of Merkel; *but* Merkel is *assertive* = description of Merkel; *how* she is).

Examples for descriptive information we are interested in are: (character) traits, skills, talents, qualifications, charisma, style, performances, (moral) values, principles, attitudes, appearances, socio-demographic characteristics, biographical data, family conditions, living conditions, activities, hobbies and so on.

> *'descriptive information on politician is provided'*
> 0 =   no individual politician is described in the text
> 1 =   yes, at least one individual politician is described in the text

Note I: We are only interested in descriptive information of **individual** politicians, *not* of groups of politicians, e.g. SPD party members/committee etc.

Note II: The descriptive information has to be mentioned **explicitly** (*no guessing*) and **specifically** (*one word/set expression*; *no paraphrases*)!

Note III: Job titles *do not* count as descriptive information!

Note IV: But *basic convictions* (political, ethical etc.)/views, like e. g. "neoliberal", **do count** as descriptive information!

Note V: Self-criticism and *self-descriptions* **do count** as descriptive information!

Note VI: Descriptions of actions of a person (*what* somebody does) **do not count** as descriptive information! But if the description contains an **evaluation** or a reference, **how/in which way** the person acts, then the evaluation/adjective/adverb **does count** as descriptive information.

Examples for descriptions that provide (background) information on politicians are:
a politician is (not) open-minded, (not) hostile, (not) cooperative, (not) trustworthy, (un-) happy, (not) impulsive, (not) (tough-minded, (un-) married, (not) physical (un-)attractive, has certain hobbies, attitudes, values, beliefs, (no) leadership/management skills, a good/bad reputation, lots of/few experience etc.

Coding examples:
- Angela Merkel drives to her office. → Code: 0 = no description of Merkel (missing: *how* she drives)

- Peer Steinbrück's **scandalously** performance. → Code: 1 = description (of Steinbrück's performance)
- Angela Merkel conducts the negotiations. → Code: 0 = no description of Merkel (missing: *how* she conducts the negotiations)
- Angela Merkel **calmly** conducts the negotiations. → Code: 1 = description (*how* Merkel conducts the negotiations)
- Angela Merkel visits her **grandchild**. → Code: 1 = description (background information about Merkel)
- Angela Merkel has to cancel deadlines because of her **skiing accident** → Code: 1 = description (of Merkel's hobby)

FILTER DESCR- START: All subsequent variables (DESINF, CONTEX) **are only coded if DESCR = 1**

NOTE (for coders):
If descriptive information of at least one individual politician is mentioned in the press release (DESCR = 1): Please code **up to three** of these descriptions (in order of appearance) (first step) and the respective **context** in which the descriptions are presented (step two):

DESINF + CONTEX

If no descriptive information of an individual politician(s) is provided (DESCR = 0), the following two variables "DESINF" and "CONTEX" are skipped.

Variable DESINF1-3 (descriptive information of politicians)
Which descriptive information of individual politicians is mentioned?

Please **write down** *up to three* descriptions in German language in order of appearance. It does not matter to which politician they belong.

Note I: Please use **adjectives** whenever possible – only if no adjective exists (e. g. a certain hobby is mentioned) note nouns.

Note II: Each description is written down **as often as it appears in the text**.

Note III: Please make sure that your wording represents the **valence** of the descriptive information (positive or negative) the way it is presented in the press release ("talented" → write down: begabt; "untalented" → write down: unbegabt).

Note IV: If the descriptions are compound of multiple words (e.g. "neoliberale Hardlinerin; zielstrebiger Europäer"), please write down *each word separately* (→ zielstrebig; Europäer). **BUT** if multiple words create a *set expression* ("Trojanisches Pferd", "Duo Dilettanti") and the single words are not sufficient to understand the description, please note them as **one word** (NOT "trojanisch" and "Pferd" seperately)!

Examples for notes:
- Angela Merkel is **cooperative**. → write down: kooperativ
- Peer Steinbrück is **open-minded**. → write down: aufgeschlossen
- Angela Merkel says one cannot **trust** Peer Steinbrück. → write down: nicht vertrauenswürdig
- Peer Steinbrück makes his decisions **imprudently**. → write down: unüberlegt
- Angela Merkel had a **skiing** accident. → write down: Skifahren
- Martin Schulz, the Trojan Horse of the Greens. → write down: Trojanisches Pferd
- Merkel and Westerwelle are named "Duo Dilettanti" → write down: Duo Dilettanti

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Variable CONTEX1-3 (context)
In which context are the descriptive information mentioned?

This variable covers the *context* in which the descriptive information you coded before is presented. We distinguish between *two contexts*: *political sphere/professional life* versus *apolitical sphere/private life*.

> *'context of descriptive information'*
>
> 1 =   political sphere/professional life
>
> 2 =   apolitical sphere/private life
>
> 3 =   political/professional as well as apolitical/private sphere is mentioned
>
> 9 =   unclear, not specified

Note I: The context is only coded if it is named ***explicitly by keywords*** that clearly refer to the private or professional life (no guessing!).

> Keywords that indicate the *political sphere/professional life* may be: office, work, business, job, Parliament, party, election, campaign, negotiations, laws etc.
>
> Keywords that refer to the *apolitical sphere/private life* may be for example: home, leisure, family, school, holiday, private etc.

Note II: To identify the context you may take the sentence in which the descriptive information is mentioned into account, AND the two surrounding sentences (the preceding and the following sentence; no more!).

Examples:
- Angela Merkel purposefully pushes the **negotiations** forward. → Code: 1 = political sphere
- Angela Merkel purposefully equips her new **home**. → Code: 2 = apolitical sphere
- Angela Merkel purposefully equips her new **office**. → Code: 1 = political sphere
- Angela Merkel is a reliable **business partner**. → Code: 1 = political sphere
- Angela Merkel is a reliable **wife**. → Code: 2 = apolitical sphere
- Angela Merkel is reliable. → Code: 9 = not specified
- Already **in school** Angela Merkel was a reliable pupil, and today she is a reliable **chancellor**.
  → Code: 3 = political as well as apolitical sphere

FILTER DESCR – END

FILTER REFIND – END

FILTER Melanie – END

END OF (official) EU7 CODING

<div style="border:1px solid">

For newspapers only (EP 2014 coding)!

</div>

Note (based on "Dataset MCA EPE 2014 EU6.sav", received from Rachid as of 14th September 2016)
- Data not complete for Austria and Germany (check "EE14 Newspaper Overview, coded.xlsx")

Note: Sampling period from 5th – 25th May 2015, data **not** available for France and not matched for Portugal (different coders in Amsterdam and Landaul)

NP2   Random page
Is the article part of the *randomly chosen* page of the newspaper?

> 1 =   No
> 2 =   Yes

NP3   Section
Is the article part of the *first* section of the newspaper? Sections are not meant to be thematic distinctions among the different news pages (e.g., domestic news, foreign news, arts, business, etc.) but **physically separate** sections of the paper (i.e., with separate stapling).

> 1 =   No
> 2 =   Yes

NP6   Total number of pages in Political/News section, Editorial section (including Opinion/Comment) and Business (or Economy) section taken together. Also count full-page ads, stock market pages, and obituaries (but NOT classifieds!) if they are part of these sections! Pages that are partly (e.g. ½) filled with editorial content and partly (e.g. ½) with classifieds should be included.

NP7   Does the article begin on the top half of the page or on the lower half of the page?

> 1 =   top half of the page
> 2 =   lower half of the page

V6   Primary topic of the story (i.e. major subject of the story = taking the most space or time – often mentioned in the headline).
[→ see Appendix F]

Note: If there is more than one appropriate category, **always choose the most specific one**.

Note II: When no topic is the **obvious** main topic of the story, choose the first topic mentioned.

Note III: If no topic is mentioned twice, choose n/a.

→ For NL routing, All topics → emotionality, immigration → Rachid Magdalena items -- Both coding instructions are provided at the end of the document

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ECONOMY

FILTER Campaign phase - START: Variables V7, V8a and V8b are only coded in the campaign phase between 5th May and 25th May 2014 (based on "Date" variables) and the Netherlands during the entire coding period

V7   **ECONOMIC CONDITIONS: Does the item contain an evaluation of whether *national* economic conditions have changed in the recent past?**

Note: "National" in "*national* economic conditions" refers to the country of the newspaper you are coding. So a reference to the British economy in a German newspaper does not count as a mentioning of the national economy.

Note: In the recent past means a connected period of time up until the moment of the article is written. Thus both "the national economy has grown over the last 10 years" and "the national economy has grown in the last 6 months" count as an evaluation of the national economy in the recent past. But a statement like "the national economy has grown in the 1990s" does not count, as the period which is mentioned ends before the article is written.

Note: Future positive or negative developments of the national economy does not count as an evaluation

        0 =   mentioned, no evaluation
        1 =   a lot better
        2 =   a little better
        3 =   stayed the same
        4 =   a little worse
        5 =   a lot worse
        9 =   national economy not mentioned

LOCATION

V8a **Main location** of the story, part 1
Where does the story or the actions it depicts (mainly) take place (in terms of **prominence** in the story or **length**)?
→ *List of locations* [see Appendix C]

Note: If there are two equally important locations, code the location where the action took place that started the chain of events described in the article. If not one specific location can be seen as the origin of the events, code the location mentioned *first* in the story.

Note: An article may not contain enough information to code this variable. The location should be clear from the article. If it is not clear, code the location as "Not applicable / not determinable" (=code 99).

Don't try to deduce too much. For instance, a statement by a German politician may be a hint that the location is Germany, but not sufficient to code as such. The location must be explicit, or there should be no room for doubt (e.g., if the British Prime Minister debates a national policy proposal with members of parliament, the location is not explicit this is sufficient to deduce the location to be the parliament, and thus UK). If the location is not explicit, or the article leaves any room for doubt, code the location as "99". *Example*: An article about a speech held by Gordon Brown in Germany talking about the UK would be coded as "Germany".

Note: Only code "EU" (=code 43) if indeed the political institution is meant and not the geographical entity (=code 46). When 'Brussels' is the location code 43 if it signifies the EU and code "02" (=Belgium) only when it is referred to as the capital of Belgium but not linked to the EU.

V8b **Main location** of the story, part 2
Explicitly: Which geographical entity is most *affected* by the story or the actions the story depicts (in terms of **prominence** in the story or **length**)?
→ *List of locations* [see Appendix C]

Note: If there are two equally important locations, code the one mentioned *first* in the story.

Example: example with Gordon Brown – would be coded with UK since he is talking about the UK.

Note: Only code "EU" (code 43) if indeed the political institution is meant and not the geographical entity (code 46). When 'Brussels' is the location code 43 if it signifies the EU and code "02" (Belgium) only when it is referred to as the capital of Belgium but not linked to the EU.

Note: In many cases no region is affected. Only code if the affect is **explicit**. If the article is not explicit, code as "99".

FILTER Campaign phase – END

FILTER: All subsequent variables are only coded if **V9 = 2**

All EU stories in the relevant sections of newspapers need to be coded, not only those on the title page and on the one randomly chosen page. Thus, you have to go through all relevant sections in order to identify and code all news stories about the EU.

Newspapers: All EU stories have to be coded in the following sections: Political/News section and Editorial (including Opinion/Comment). Do **not** code Business (or Economy) Section Sport, Travel, Housing, Culture, Motor/Auto, Fashion or Entertainment sections.

ADDITONAL TOPICS (2 to 4)

Code up to **THREE more** topics per story. These are **additional** to the main topic you coded in V5 (main topics). **Code topics in order of appearance**. Topics have to be referred to/mentioned at least **twice** (in two separate sentences) in the article or newscast and not just mentioned in passing. *Coding rule*: If in doubt, always choose **the more specific topic category.**

Up to 3 other topics can be coded. However, a story does not necessarily address more than 1 topic. Thus, *do not search* for additional topics if there really are no more than 1 or 2 topics discernable!

V10a-c   Code up to three additional topics per story in order of appearance.

→ *List of topics* [see Appendix]

V11   Explicitly: Does the story **evaluate the EU,** and if so, how? 'The EU' here refers to the EU as a political institution as such, not to single, more specific institutions such as the EP or the EC. Also code if synonyms are used which clearly refer to the EU as such, e.g., "Europe" (when in fact the EU is meant / but <u>not</u> if Europe is only referred to as a geographical entity) or "Brussels" (when in fact the EU is meant).

Note: Different from the actor coding, in this variable the EU needs to be mentioned only once to code as mentioned.

        9 =   not applicable / not mentioned
        0 =   mentioned but not evaluated

        1 =   negative
        2 =   rather negative
        3 =   balanced/mixed
        4 =   rather positive
        5 =   positive

Examples of when the EU is NOT mentioned (→ Code: 9):
"Euroskepticism is booming in the Netherlands."
"The EU leaders were satisfied with their decisiveness during the Summit."

Examples of when the EU is mentioned but NOT evaluated (→ Code: 0):
"The EU signed a historical agreement with the US"
"The Lisbon Treaty will enable the EU to become more democratic."
 "By giving away emission rights for free, the EU does not push industries towards a cleaner production."

Examples of when the EU is negatively evaluated (→ Code: 1):
"The EU is *failing* to push industries towards a cleaner production."

V12   **Explicitly:** Does the story **evaluate the European Parliament**, and if so, how?

Note: Different from the actor coding, in this variable the EP needs to be mentioned only once to code as mentioned. Also different from the actor coding, also a reference to the EP as a location counts as mentioning the EP.

> 9 =   not applicable / not mentioned
> 0 =   mentioned but not evaluated
>
> 1 =   negative
> 2 =   rather negative
> 3 =   balanced/mixed
> 4 =   rather positive
> 5 =   positive

V13   **Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so):** Does the story mention any aspect related to **the state of democracy in the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union is **democratic/transparent** or **undemocratic/intransparent**.

For example: Does the story suggest that most things are dealt with behind closed doors, most things discussed were decided in advance, or that the EU does not respect the will of the citizens, or that the EP has little power; or on the contrary does the story emphasize the transparency and democratic character of the European Union? "The European Parliament is irrelevant" does not count here because it is not an explicit evaluation of the state of EU democracy.

> 9 =   not applicable / not mentioned
> 0 =   mentioned but not evaluated
>
> 1 =   negative
> 2 =   rather negative
> 3 =   balanced/mixed
> 4 =   rather positive
> 5 =   positive

ACTORS

V16a-f Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says/ depicts so): **Is actor 1-6 evaluated favourably or unfavourably (regardless of the source) from his/her own perspective?**

Refers to tendency/bias contained in the presentation by a journalist, protagonist or his partners, competitors, independent sources (e.g. politicians, businessmen, scientists) The tendency must be expressed:
explicitly, by using terms of clearly positive or negative **judgment** (e.g., "good", "promising", "ominous", "disappointing").

Per news item you only assign one (overall) code for the explicit evaluation of an actor in a story. Please note, however, that particular care should be exercised while recording the tendencies and only undoubtedly positive or negative ones should be coded as such.

NOTE: *Any attribute that is associated with a particular actor* (e.g., policy plans, Notting Hill residence, environmental directive) also forms a part of the evaluation of the actor. For example, a "terrible EU health care directive" carries a negative evaluation of the directive, but since the directive is associated with the EU, it counts as an actor reference to the EU and as a negative evaluation of the EU (for the next variable/actor evaluation).

All evaluations are judged from the perspective of the actor!

In case no tendency can be assumed (i.e. there is no evaluation), then choose **no evaluation** (1). Don't interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective.

If your impression is that the evaluation is mixed positive and negative tendencies are exactly in balance, then code **balanced/mixed** (4).

If there are *both* positive and negative evaluations but the overall evaluation (or sum of specific evaluations) is, e.g., more positive than negative, then code **rather positive** (5). If it is more negative than positive, then code **rather negative** (3).

If there are *either only* positive *OR* negative evaluations, even if it is just one evaluation, then code **positive** (6) or **negative** (2) respectively.

      1 =   no evaluation
      2 =   negative
      3 =   rather negative
      4 =   balanced/mixed
      5 =   rather positive
      6 =   positive

END OF EP 2014 CODING