Eurpub.com

Project:	**The Transformation of Political Mobilisation and Communication in European Public Spheres**
Project acronym:	Europub.com
Project website:	http://europub.wz-berlin.de
Funded by:	5th Framework Programme of the European Commission
Contract No.	HPSE-CT2000-00046
Work package:	**WP 2 (Content coding of claim-making)**
WP Coordinator:	Ruud Koopmans
Deliverable number:	**D 2.1**

Codebook	**Codebook for the analysis of political mobilisation and communication in European public spheres**

Author:	Ruud Koopmans
Date:	15 April 2002 (ultimate version)

The structure of claims

An instance of claim-making (shorthand: a claim) is a unit of strategic action in the public sphere. It consists of the expression of a political opinion by some form of physical or verbal action, regardless of the form this expression takes (statement, violence, repression, decision, demonstration, court ruling, etc. etc.) and regardless of the nature of the actor (governments, social movements, NGO's, individuals, anonymous actors, etc. etc.). Note that decisions and policy implementation are defined as special forms of claim-making, namely ones that have direct effects on the objects of the claim.

Claims are broken down into seven elements, for each of which a number of variables have been constructed:

1. Location of the claim in time and space (WHEN and WHERE is the claim made?)
   Variables: year, month, day, country, region, city
2. Claimant: the actor making the claim (WHO makes the claim?)
   Variables: (s)act, acttyp, actscop, actcoun, actpar
3. Form of the claim (HOW is the claim inserted in the public sphere?)
   Variable: form
4. The addressee of the claim (AT WHOM is the claim directed?)
   Variables: (s)adr, adreval, adrscop, adrcoun, adrpar
5. The substantive issue of the claim (WHAT is the claim about?)
   Variables: field, (s)issue, isscop, posit
6. Object actor: who would be affected by the claim if it is realized (FOR/AGAINST WHOM?)
   Variables: *(s)obj, objeval, objscop, objcoun, objpar*
7. The justification for the claim (WHY should this action by undertaken?)
   Variable: frame, posfra

The ideal-typical claim in the public sphere has all these elements, for instance
(leaving out the WHEN and WHERE, which are pretty self-evident):

WHO (SUBJECT ACTOR)	HOW (FORM)	AT WHOM (ADDRESSEE)	WHAT (ISSUE)	FOR/AGAINST WHOM? (OBJECT ACTOR)	WHY (FRAME)
A group of asylum seekers	engage in a hunger strike	demanding the government	not to deport to their country of origin	themselves (the group of asylum seekers)	because this would be in violation of the Geneva Convention
The European Parliament	passes a resolution	criticizing the Turkish government and demanding	measures to improve the treatment of	political prisoners	arguing that respect for human rights is a core value of the European Union

In grammatical terms, we may write such claims as a SUBJECT-ACTION-ADDRESSEE-ACTION-OBJECT-JUSTIFICATION CLAUSE sequence: an actor, the subject, undertakes some sort of action in the public sphere to get another actor, the addressee, to do or leave something affecting the interests of a third actor, the object, and provides a justification for why this should be done. Many claims are not as differentiated as this type. The only information we always need for coding is information on the FORM (some sort of act in the public sphere has to be identifiable) as well as information on ISSUE, OBJECT ACTOR, or FRAME that allows us to determine whether the action relates to one of our topical fields. Often several claim elements are missing, as indicated by the following examples.

WHO (SUBJECT ACTOR)	HOW (FORM)	AT WHOM (ADDRESSEE)	WHAT (ISSUE)	FOR/AGAINST WHOM? (OBJECT ACTOR)	WHY (FRAME)
The French agricultural minister	calls on	meat importers	to boycott the import of meat	from other EU countries in support of French farmers	
Joschka Fischer	holds a speech calling for		the drawing up of a European Constitution		
	sets fire to			an asylum seeker centre	
The Bavarian authorities	deport			a group of Kurdish refugees	
A group of British economists	publish a report stating that				British non-participation in the common currency will lead to lower economic growth

The first row illustrate a very common forms of 'incompleteness' of claims. Very frequently, no justification is given for a claim. The example in the second row illustrates that claims often have no explicit addressees or object actors (or at least the newspaper does not mention them).The third example illustrates a form of direct action, which contains no discursive elements, but where we can derive the issue at stake on the basis of the physical object of the action. In addition, the example illustrates that sometimes actors are unknown or anonymous. The fourth example is common for state actors, who do not have to make claims on others to do something, but can directly make binding claims. As in the third example, the aim of the action may not be specified in a discursive statement but can be derived from the action itself. The final example is not untypical for statements by scientists who usually express no explicit aims, but present frames referring to the consequences of certain policy actions.

Note that, while inspired by the idea of linguistic grammar, the way we code claims does not usually literally coincide with the grammatical structure of the media text. In the case of "John hits Peter" such coincidence is given: John is subject actor/nominative case, Peter is object actor/accusative case. However, in: "John gives the book to Peter", the book is in accusative case, but we would still code Peter as the object actor because he benefits from John's action. In trying to identify who is subject actor, addressee and object actor, it is perhaps helpful to use the

following sentence as a model, and try to translate your media text in a similar form: "John asks Jim to give the book to Peter": John is subject actor, Jim is addressee, Peter is object actor, 'to give the book' is the issue, and 'asks' is the form. Examples with similar structures: "George Bush (John) demanded from (asks) the Taliban government (Jim) to extradite (to give the book to) Osama Bin Laden (Peter)"; "Schröder (John) assured (asks) Bush (Jim) of his full support for military action against (to give the book to) the Afghan regime (Peter)"; "Chirac (John) criticized (asks) Blair (Jim) for blocking the decision-making process (to give the book to) in the European Union (Peter)".

Units of analysis and their delineation

The unit of analysis are either articles or instances of claim-making. Continuations of an article on another page are considered as part of the same article. Announcements in the form of a table of contents or something similar on the front page should be disregarded, they count neither as articles in their own right, nor as the beginning of the articles they refer to.

Above, we have defined an instance of claim-making (shorthand: a claim) as the expression of a political opinion by physical or verbal action in the public sphere. This definition implies two important delimitations: (1) instances of claim-making must be the result of purposive strategic action of the claimant and (2) they must be political in nature.

Ad (1) To qualify as an instance of claim-making, the text must include a reference to an ongoing or concluded physical or verbal action in the public sphere, i.e. simple attributions of attitudes or opinions to actors by the media or by other actors do not count as claim-making. Examples: "The Greens, who want to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organizations ….", or "Mr. Blair's pro-European course may have cost him votes in the last elections". Both do not qualify as claim-making by the Greens or Mr. Blair, respectively (nor are they claims by the journalist). [Note that, by contrast, the sentences "The Greens, who <u>said</u> they wanted to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organizations..." and "Mr. Blair's pro-European <u>speech</u> a week before the election may have cost him votes" would have qualified as instances of claim-making because they contain references to actual verbal action by these actors].

Verbs indicating action include, e.g., said, stated, demanded, criticized, decided, demonstrated, published, voted, wrote, arrested. Nouns directly referring to such action include, e.g., statement, letter, speech, report, blockade, deportation, decision. In short: anything that fits into one of the categories in the FORM variable. <u>The occurrence in the report of such verbs or nouns is a precondition for the coding of a claim</u>. Reports that only refer to 'states of mind' or motivations should not be coded (e.g., references such as want, are in favour of, oppose, are reluctant to, are divided over). However, if 'state of mind' references of the latter type are part of the coverage of a claim according to the action criterion they may be taken into account in coding the claim variables. Example: "The Greens said they wanted to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organizations. They feel this follows from Germany's obligations under the Geneva Convention". Although 'feel' is a state of mind verb, the sentence here clearly is a further specification of the first sentence which does contain an action verb. Therefore the reference to the Geneva Convention can be coded as part of the claim.

The single exception to this rule are claims by journalists and guest commentators. In this case, the publication of the article is regarded as the action in question and the presence of action verbs or nouns is not required (obviously, a guest commentator is not going to begin his article with "I say:…").

Speculations about opinions or actions of others do not count as claim-making. I.e., an analyst's statement that the European Central Bank will probably soon cut its interest rates is neither a claim by the ECB (after all, it hasn't done anything yet), nor by the analyst, because statements

about what other actors will do and why are NOT claims (statements about what other actors SHOULD do, are, however).

Also not coded as claims are verbal statements by anonymous actors for which neither the name, nor the institutional affiliation, nor the social group to which they belong is mentioned, e.g. "reform-minded voices in Europe are calling for…", or "critics of a federal Europe argue that…". In contrast "reform-minded voices within the European Commission…" or "social scientists critical of a federal Europe …" would be coded. Easily formulated, the rule implies that ACT1S may not be missing (999) in the case of verbal statements. The reason is that such references reflect the journalist's construction of the story more than they are a coverage of actually made claims.

An example of lack of purposive action are presentations of survey results. The people interviewed here are NOT considered as claimants, aggregate results such as "70% of the population are against …" are not the result of purposive action. Surveys may be coded, however, when the persons or institutions responsible for the survey or the interviews use the results to formulate demands, to criticize other actors, etc., or when they explicitly state their (dis)agreement with the survey results. In that case, however, the organizers of the survey or the journalist are the claimant, not the respondents! Interviews with random people in the streets by journalists are treated like surveys: statements, even if directly quoted, by random citizens are not regarded as instances of strategic claim-making (e.g., the sentence 'a Japanese housewive said she did not trust the government and would not buy beef anymore' would not be coded as a claim by the housewive).

Ad (2) Claims must also be political, in the sense that they relate to collective social problems and solutions to them, and not to purely individual strategies of coping with problems. I.e., if a parent complains about her child's treatment in school, this is not an instance of claim-making on education politics, unless the case refers to a problem of wider collective social relevance (e.g., if the complaint relates to the child being forbidden to wear the Islamic headscarf in class). Corruption or criminal evasion does not constitute claim-making, either. E.g., if a farmer tries to cover up BSE cases among his cattle, this does not constitute an act of claim-making, and nor does an asylum seeker's attempt to illegally enter the country (legal action against such evasion may however constitute claim-making if the argument is couched in terms that go beyond the individual case).

Statements or actions by different actors are considered to be part of one single instance of claim-making if they take place at the same location in time (the same day) and place (the same locality) and if the actors can be assumed to act 'in concert' (i.e. they can be considered as strategic allies). Examples:
- Two substantively identical statements by the same actor on two different days, or on one day in two different localities are two separate claims.
- Statements by different speakers during a parliamentary debate or a conference are considered part of one instance of claim-making as long as they are substantively and strategically compatible. Thus, different speakers may be taken together if they all express a similar point of view. However, if the speakers take positions that are substantially different

enough to reject the zero hypothesis that they are 'acting in concert', you should code the statements as separate claims.

- If an identifiable part of a peaceful demonstration (e.g., a 'black block') breaks away from a march and turns violent, the assumption of acting in concert is no longer warranted and a separate claim is coded.
- If two negotiation partners present a compromise package at a press conference, the two's statements are coded as one instance of claim-making, even if the two may emphasize different elements of the compromise.

Exceptions to this rule are cases where there is temporal or spatial continuity between actions. An example of temporal continuity would be a hunger strike which may last several weeks. However, as long as the actors and aims remain the same, this is counted as one instance of claim-making, and not every day as a new claim. An example of spatial continuity would be a listing of actions by exactly the same actors and aims on the same day in different localities, where it is plausible that these actions were co-ordinated. E.g., "Greek border guards yesterday arrested fifteen illegal immigrants who had landed on the Island of Samos. Another group of refugees was taken into custody in the waters around the island of Kos". The actions in the different Greek islands are taken together as one instance of (geographically dispersed) claim-making. As soon as, however, there would be additional information indicating differences in the actors or timing of these actions, we would separate them into different instances of claim-making. The article where the above example is drawn from also included references to the Turkish border guards taking a group of refugees into custody in Turkey on the same day, and to the Greeks already having captured illegal immigrants on Rhodes island a week ago. While the Samos and Kos actions can be taken together, the Turkish (another actor) and Rhodes (another time) actions should be coded as separate claims.

To sum up again, an instance of claim-making is a unit of strategic action in the public sphere. Such a unit of strategic action may involve several actors acting in concert, it may extend over several days or even longer, and it may involve co-ordinated action over a larger geographical area simultaneously. An instance of claim-making is NOT identical with individual statements. E.g., at a press conference a speaker may make several statements, perhaps even on completely different topics. Nevertheless, this is one instance of claim-making because both statements are made in the context of one strategic action in the public sphere.

Sample

We sample newspaper issues, not 'event days'. All claims reported in the newspaper issues which we select are coded up to a maximum of two weeks back in time. I.e., from the Wednesday paper we do not just code claims made on Tuesday, but all claims (that haven't been already coded) in the period of two weeks before the newspaper issue. If the newspaper does not mention a date (which happens quite often), we assume that the claim was made on the day before the newspaper issue appeared (unless there is context information suggesting otherwise).

For an action to be included under the two-week rule, it matters when the action was concluded, not when it was begun. E.g., if a group of sans papiers are on hunger strike 'since 20 days' the action is included because it still continues into the last two weeks (the day coded in such cases would be 'yesterday' because the action was still going on until the publication deadline of the newspaper issue) . Several references in different newspaper issues to this hunger strike during this period are not coded again – every action is only coded once. However, any additional statements etc. in such articles are of course coded.

For the treatment of the date of claims in case of missing or incomplete information, see further the note under CDAY.

If the newspaper for a particular date is missing because of a holiday, take the next issue. The same should be done in case you miss issues due to a newspaper strike. There, too, take the next available issue or, if you miss more than one day, issues. Make sure that the total number of issues and their distribution across general sample/EU sample remains the same.

Reduced sample of "European" articles and claims (see sampling scheme)

On the claim level, only such claims should be coded as part of the reduced sample which belong to our seven fields AND have a European dimension (scope= 3 or 4) in either the claimant, addressee, issue, or object actor variables (even if that dimension is secondary or tertiary). On the article level, you should include articles only if they include a claim that has a European dimension as defined above, or – in case the article does not contain any claims – if the topic scope of the article is European, i.e., ATOPSCOP= 3 or 4. This implies that the selection of articles for this reduced sample is a two-step process: whether or not the article is relevant according to our seven fields is determined according to the 150 words-rule. Whether in addition it has a European dimension, or contains claims with a European dimension must be determined on the basis of the whole article. This is because if we would make the 'European dimension' decision on the basis of the first 150 words only, we would give claims with such a European dimension a lower chance of inclusion than on the basis of the selection rules for the full sample.

Missing values

Unless otherwise indicated, the zero code has a substantive meaning 'no' or 'none', or sometimes 'neutral' and should not be used for missing information. The codes 9, 99, 999, 9999, etc. (depending on the number of reserved digits for the variable) are reserved for 'missing' or 'unknown' . They should only be used where we are sure or have a strong suspicion that the correct coding is not 'no' or 'none' even though the newspaper article does not contain the information. For instance, if an asylum seeker centre is set on fire, we know that *someone* did it, even though the perpetrators are not mentioned in the article; therefore the appropriate actor code is 999.

Note on editorials versus other articles:

This codebook is used to code news articles, news analyses, as well as commentaries by others than the newspaper's journalists and editors. Editorials are, by contrast, coded with a separate codebook, which includes additional variables. Editorials are defined in the strict sense of opinion articles written by a journalist or editor of the coded newspaper and recognizably representing the newspaper's point of view. Editorials therefore do not include guest commentaries, reprints of editorials from other newspapers, or contributions by regular columnists. Also excluded are 'analysis' type articles, even if they are on a page or in a section labelled 'opinion' or 'comments'. Journalist claims in such articles may be coded if they qualify as claims, but they should be coded with the claims codebook.

ONLY ONE JOURNALIST CLAIM per article may be coded. The publication of the article in this case is regarded as the strategic unit of action in the public sphere constituting an instance of claim-making. The journalist's opinion must moreover be EXPLICIT, any implicit, 'between the lines' commenting should be disregarded. The degree to which in 'mixed' articles the journalist's own opinion, or the coverage of others' actions and opinions stands in the forefront can be indicated with the order in which the claims are coded (main claim or not, see below).

In the case of claims by an editor or journalist of the newspaper itself, the subject actor code is 130=media and journalists, the day of the claim is identical to the day of publication of the newspaper issue and the location of the claim is the city where the newspaper is based. In the case of a guest commentary, the affiliation/profession of the commentator is coded in the subject actor variable, the day and location are again the day and location of the newspaper, unless indicated otherwise in the article.

The identification process of claims and articles

You should begin the coding process by identifying and retrieving articles that are relevant for coding. Instead of reading through each newspaper article, you should check only headline, lead, (if present) photo and photo byline, and the first 150 words of the main text (of course, if it is perfectly clear from headline and lead that the article is not relevant to us, you do not have to read the first 150 words, either). If the 150 word-limit falls in the middle of a sentence, the rest of that sentence should still be included in determining whether the article should be included or not. If this body of text contains a reference to one of our seven topics, the article should be coded. In all other cases (even if you happen to see a reference to one of our topics further down in the article text), the article should be disregarded.

The next step is to identify if the article contains any claims relating to our topics.This is best done on a copy or printout of the article, where you can mark and number the claims.If the article contains no claims, neither by third actors, nor by the journalist or guest commentator, then you code only on the article level. The article variables are coded on the basis of the first 150 words plus headline, etc.

In applying the 150 words-rule, it is of course not the idea that you start counting words for each article. The most efficient way to go about this is to determine how many lines of text in your paper correspond to about 150 words; that way you only have to count the lines. Even more efficient for standard articles is to cut out a piece of paper the length of which corresponds to this number of lines; you then just have to hold the piece of paper next to the article column to determine where the 150 words limit is.

When coding, you choose whether you want to code an article or a claim within an article:

FILTER
'Type of information to be coded'

> 1 Article
> 2 Claim

Note: The FILTER is not a real variable to be coded; you choose between the two options by clicking on the appropriate button in the 'navigation' field.

PART I:
ARTICLE-LEVEL VARIABLES

Variable **AID** (all variables are numeric except when otherwise indicated)
'article identification number'

Note: running count per year and per newspaper 1-9999; restart with 1 in a new year or for another newspaper. A unique identification number for each article will be composed afterwards from PAPER, AYEAR, and AID. The number only serves identification purposes in the data file and on paper or electronic copies of the article. It is therefore no problem if there are gaps or 'jumps' in the count of article numbers. E.g., if you decide to delete a coded case, you can do so without altering the numbers of other cases. Also, if two coders work simultaneously on the same newspaper in the same year, you can reserve numbers 1-999 for the first coder, 1000-1999 for the second, and so forth. Note that continuations of an article on a different page are still considered as part of the same article.

Variable **SAMPLE**
'sample from which article is coded'

1   article coded from full sample issue
2   article coded from reduced "European sample" issue

Variable **NAMECOD**
'name of coder'

Categories, see data entry file.

Variable **PAPER**
'name of newspaper from which claim is coded'

Categories, see data entry file.

Variable **AHEAD** (string variable)
'headline of article'

Note: only the main (largest print) headline.

Variable **ADAY**
'day of newspaper issue'
(1-31)

Variable **AMONTH**
'month of newspaper issue'
(1-12)

Variable **AYEAR**
'year of newspaper issue'
(two digits, e.g. 85=1985; 99=1999; 0=2000, 1=2001)

Variable **AFRPAGE**
'is article reported on front page?'

    0   no
    1   yes
    9   unknown

Note: the page is determined by where the article begins. E.g., if an article begins on page 1 and is continued on page 5, it is coded as a front page article. Mere announcements of articles on other pages do not count as the beginning of coverage, e.g., 'see also page 5' in an article on page 1.

Variable **AGENRE**
'Journalistic genre of article'

1   News article (day-to-day coverage of events, e.g. news item, news report)
2   Background article (e.g. correspondents' background report, analysis, feature, documentation)
3   Interview (of the newspaper itself; references to interview statements drawn from other sources are coded as 1 or 2)
4   Opinion/commentary by a guest author/columnist/other newspaper

Variable **ASECTION**
'section of newspaper where article appears'

1   Mixed international/national news section
2   Regional/local news section
3   Commentary pages
4   Business/Economy section
5   International news section
6   National news section

8   No differentiation between sections
9   Section unknown

Note: Culture and sports sections, letters to the editor, as well as any supplements are excluded from the coding. Within the business/economy section, pages or sections of pages dealing with individual firms and with stock market analyses are exluded from the coding. This has to be

determined for each newspaper individually. The basic idea is that we want to capture political discourse, not the kind of information on what to buy and where to invest.

Articles in the regional and local sections (if present at all) of the newspaper will only be included if a reference to them is made in the international/national news section of the paper (e.g., "see further/also regional/local section"). This rule applies to all newspapers except the regional newspaper, for which regional and local sections will be fully included. Note further that mention of an article in a Table of Contents on page 1 does not count as a reference to the regional or local section, the reason being that such tables will usually not be included on CD-roms.

Variable **ASOURCE**
'main source of article'

1	Own coverage: foreign correspondent's report (incl. interviews)
2	Own coverage: article by a national office editor or journalist (incl. interviews)
3	National press agency
4	Other EU press agency (e.g., AFP outside France)
5	Non-EU press agency (e.g., AP)
6	Other national media source
7	Other EU media source (e.g., an article drawn from the Guardian in El Pais)
8	Non-EU media source
9	Other sources

Note : regional or local and topical(e.g., education correspondent) correspondents should be coded as national office journalists

Variable **AMAINTOP**
'Is one of our themes main topic of article?'

0	no
1	yes

If a reference to one of our seven themes occurs in an article, the main topic of which is something else (e.g., a reference to troops deployment in an article that is mainly about clashes between the Taliban and the Northern Alliance, or a statement by a politician on European integration in an article that mainly deals with non-European issues), then code 0=no.

Filter-variable **ACLAIM**
'Does article contain claims?'

    0   no
    1   yes, but only already coded ones
    2   yes, includes new claims

IF 2 > END OF ARTICLE LEVEL CODING: IF 0 or 1 > ON TO ATOPIC

Note: if an article contains claims, but those were already coded in another article, they are not coded again. The article is then treated similarly to articles that do not contain claims at all. For articles containing claims, information on main actor, topic, and scope of the article can be derived from the main claim (the first coded claim in the article, defined as "the claim around which the information (in as far as relevant to our seven fields) in the article is organized", see further below under CID). This is not only economical and avoids double coding of the same information, but also allows us to link the full detail of the claim coding to the article level: e.g., information on addressees, frames, forms, etc.

Variable **ATOPIC**
'topic of article'

1   'Monetary politics: currency politics and interest rate'
2   'Agriculture: subsidies, livestock and dairy quotas, animal disease control'
3   'Immigration: entry and exit'
4   'Troops deployment'
5   'Retirement and pension schemes'
6   'Education'
7   'European integration'

Note: Coding of the main topic <u>from among our seven fields</u> only on the basis of headline, lead, (if present) photo byline, and first 150 words of main text. Coding rule: first-mentioned topic (main headline is considered as the first line of the article, even if there is a secondary headline before it). Only the seven topics of our study are considered. I.e., even if an article is mainly about unemployment, but also mentions monetary politics in the first 150 words, the main topic for us is monetary politics. I.e., YOU SHOULD DISREGARD ANYTHING IN THE ARTICLE THAT DOES NOT REFER TO OUR SEVEN TOPICS!

See for the delineation of these topics under the SISSUE variable below.

Variable **ATOPSCOP**
'scope of article topic'

1 'supranational: United Nations'
2 'other supranational'
3 'European Union'
4 'other European supranational'
5 'multilateral'
6 'bilateral'
7 'national'
8 'regional'
9 'local'
99 'unclassifiable'

Note: Coding of the topic scope only on the basis of headline, lead, (if present) photo byline, and first 150 words of main text. See for further clarification ISSCOP below. The scope should refer to the topic among our seven fields as coded in ATOPIC, not to the scope of other topics discussed in the article, even if these are more prominently placed. AGAIN, EVERYTHING NOT DEALING WITH OUR SEVEN TOPICS SHOULD BE DISREGARDED COMPLETELY.

Variable **ACOUNTRY**

Only coded if TOPSCOP=3-9, country of topic as defined by ATOPIC and ASCOPE (categories see variable COUNTRY below). In the case of bilateral and multilateral actors, code the country of coding if it is implicated in the issue, otherwise code the most important (default: first-mentioned) implicated country.

Variable **AREFAID**
'AID of already coded claim to which article refers'

Variable **AREFCID**
'CID of already coded claim to which article refers'

Note: both AREFAID and AREFCID should only be coded if ACLAIM = 1. Only claims that were already coded for the same newspaper and which are not further than two weeks back in time should be coded here. This includes, of course, claims that occur in the same newspaper issue.

END OF ARTICLE LEVEL CODING

PART II:
CLAIM VARIABLES

IDENTIFICATION AND LOCATION

Variable **AID**
'number of the article where the claim is reported'

Note: if coverage of the claim extends over several articles, code here the number of the first article where the claim is covered (lowest page number, or if on the same page, nearest to the upper left corner of the page). Mere references to coverage further on in the paper (e.g., in articles that consist of summary listings of events, or mere announcements, followed by see page ...) do not as such count as coverage.

Variable **CID**
'identification number of the claim'

Note: Count (1-99) <u>within each article</u>.
If there are several claims in one article, you should code the MAIN CLAIM of the article first. The main claim is the claim around which the information (in as far as relevant to our seven fields) in the article is organized, often indicated by the headline(s). E.g., in an article 'Minister Schily presents new immigration law' which apart from Schily's law also reports reactions to that law by several other actors, Schily's law is the main claim and coded first. If in doubt, the first reported claim is the main claim. The main claim is used to link claim and article levels of analysis while avoiding double coding: the actor of the main claim is considered to be the main claim of the article, the main claim's issue is considered to be the article's main issue.
The main claim of the article gets CID=1. Subsequent claims within the article get CID=2,3, etc. Each claim is coded in only one article. If the main claim of an article has already been coded in another article, but the article contains other claims that were not coded yet, the second most important claim of the article is coded in the first position with CID=1.

Variable **TITLE** (string variable)
'description of claim'

Brief desciption of the claim containing at least the main actor, form, (if present) addressees, object actor and aim of the claim. Example: 'Interior Minister Schily urges Bosnian authorities to co-operate in repatriating refugees'. This description should be given in English so that all project members can understand it.

Variable **CDAY**
'day of claim'
(1-31)

Variable **CMONTH**
'month of claim'
(1-12)

Variable **CYEAR**
'year of claim'
(two digits, e.g. 85=1985; 99=1999; 0=2000, 1=2001)

Note on the coding of the date in the absence of explicit information in the article:
If the article does not mention the date of a claim, the default option is to code it on the day before the newspaper issue (i.e., "yesterday"). The reasoning behind this is that newspapers coverage by default refers to events on the preceding day, an obvious fact that is often not explicitly mentioned. Undated events and statements are by default included, unless you know <u>for sure</u> that they took place more than two weeks ago (e.g., because you have come across the action already in a newspaper issue longer than two weeks ago, or because the context information in the article indicates this). Imprecise indications of time, which, however, are certainly neither yesterday, nor longer than two weeks ago are treated as follows: 'a few days ago'=date of newspaper minus 3; 'last week'=date of newspaper minus 7; similar phrases can be treated along similar lines.

Variable **COUNTRY**
'Country where the claim was made'

Note: See separate list with country-codes (numeric). The abbreviations in letters can be used as shorthand in the title variable. E.g., instead of 'German foreign minister criticizes Dutch BSE policies', you may write 'DE foreign minister criticizes NL BSE policies'. Add code 998 for 'several countries', 999 'country unknown' . In the case of locations where supranational institutions reside, a distinction should be made between 'Brussels as the capitol of Belgium' and 'Brussels as a seat of the European Union', 'New York as a city in the USA' and 'New York as a seat of the UN', 'Frankfurt as a city in Germany' and 'Frankfurt as the seat of the ECB'. The first cases of the pairs receive country codes Belgium, USA, and Germany, the second cases EU, UN, and EU, respectively.

Variable **REGION** (only to be coded for your own country; otherwise enter 0)
'region in which claim was made'

Categories, see data entry file.

Variable CITY (only if country is one of our seven and the city is among the twenty largest cities inclusive of the national capital, plus Brussels, Luxemburg, and New York in the case of claims with an EU- or UN-dimension)
'city in which claim was made'

Categories, see data entry file; the list includes for each of our seven countries the capital city plus the nineteen largest other cities. Note that contrary to what we discussed in Geneva, you should code cities in the list also if they are not in your own country! If the location is unknown, code 999 (missing); if it is known, but not among the cities on the list, code 0 (not a large city).

Note on the coding of the location in the absence of explicit information in the article:
As for the date, newspapers often omit explicit information on the location of a claim if it is self-evident. For example, statements by Chirac or Jospin will not usually be explicitly labelled as "in Paris", and an article reporting a European Commission decision will not necessarily say this decision was taken in Brussels. However, if Chirac or EU Commission spokespersons make statements outside their normal habitus (say in London or Bonn), the newspaper will almost always mention this information. Therefore here too, we use our common sense, and "fill in" information that is "quasi-missing" simply because the newspaper regards the information to be too obvious to require mentioning. This implies that statements by representatives of political institutions are by default coded at the location of that institution, e.g., Europarliamentarians as Strasbourg, German government ministers as Berlin, etc. However, if there is context information, or the coder has knowledge from previously coded articles that cast serious doubt on this default assumption, the coder may decide not to follow this rule and code 'missing' instead.

REGION+CITY of interviews:
If a location for the interview is explicitly mentioned, then code that. If not, then code the location of the newspaper. After all, if Schroeder gives an interview to Le Monde, he does so with an eye on the French public sphere, he doesn't speak (at least not directly) to the German public.

CLAIMANTS: SUBJECT ACTORS

Variable **ACT1S** (ACT2S, ACT3S)
'summary first actor'.

0   'none' (only used for second and third actors

10   'whole polities'[1]
20   ' politicians'
        (if unspecified and unclear whether referring to government, parliament or parties)
30   'former states(wo)men'
40   'government/executive'[2]
50   'legislative'[3]
60   'judiciary'[4]
70   'police and internal security agencies'[5]
80   'military'[6]
90   'central banks'
100   'social security executive organizations' (incl. state pension funds)
110   'other state executive agencies'[7]
120   'political parties'[8]
130   'unions and employees'[9]
140   'employers organizations and firms' (incl. private pension funds; excl. agriculture)
150   'churches and religious organizations and groups'
160   'media and journalists'
170   'farmers and agricultural organizations'
180   educational professionals and organizations' (incl. schools, universities in their
        educational capacity)
190   'economists and financial experts'

---

[1] Whole countries/polities: e.g., 'the EU', 'Britain', if used not to refer to the government or any other specific institution, but to the polity as a whole; note that 'the Europeans', 'the British', etc. are coded in 900: general public.
[2] Governments and government representatives (spokespersons, ministers, royalty etc.) irrespective of territorial scope. The EU-Commission and Council of Ministers, the UN General Secretary and Security Council are coded as governments. Other examples: mayor, Landesregierung, ministry of education.
[3] Legislatives and parliaments (all chambers), including individual members thereof, including parliamentary fractions of political parties. Examples: Bundestag, House of Lords, local councils, parliamentary fraction of the SPD, Labor MPs. Intergovernmental organizations which draw up international treaties on the basis of unanimous consent of the signatories are coded among executive/government The European Parliament and the General Assembly of the UN are, however, coded as legislatives, because they have (limited, but still) the power to make binding decisions on the basis of majority decisions.
[4] E.g., European Court of Justice, openbaar ministerie (public prosecutor), individual judges, juries.
[5] E.g., police, marechaussee, Bundesgrenzschutz, secret service, Verfassungsschutz, Europol. Note: the Police Union is coded as a union.
[6] E.g., Bundeswehr, NATO.
[7] E.g., ILO, WHO, Einwohnermeldeamt, Schulaufsichtsbehörde.
[8] This category should be used only for parties as parties, e.g., party chairman, party congress, "die SPD", "a Labor party spokesman", as well as for sub-organizations of parties (e.g., Junge Sozialisten). Note that the same person may be coded differently according to the way in which her or his position is described: e.g., Bundeskanzler Schröder is coded as government, Mitglied des Bundestages Schröder is coded as legislative, SPD-Parteivorsitzender Schröder is coded as political party.
[9] Includes the general categories "workers" and "employees".

200   'other scientific and research professionals and institutions' (e.g., experts, research institutes, universities in their research capacity)
210   'students, pupils, and their parents'
220   'other professional organizations and groups'[10]
230   'consumer organizations and groups'
240   'migrant organizations and groups'[11]
250   'pro- and anti-European campaign organizations and groups'
260   'solidarity and human rights organizations'[12]
270   'welfare organizations'[13]
280   'racist and extreme right organizations and groups'[14]
290   'peace movement organizations and groups'
300   'organizations and groups of the elderly'
310   'women's organizations and groups'
320   'environmental organizations and groups'
330   'terrorist groups'
340   'rebel forces/guerrilla' (e.g., UCK, Northern Alliance)
350   'other civil society organizations and groups'[15]
360   'whole economies'
900   'the general public' (e.g., 'citizens', 'the citizenry', 'die Öffentlichkeit', 'the electorate', 'the Germans', 'the population', 'taxpayers'; only if explicitly mentioned!)

999   'unknown/unspecified actors'

Note: If a claim has more than one actor (e.g., a coalition), the following priority rules apply: 1) actors mentioned in the article as 'leaders', 'organizers', 'spokespersons', etc. have priority, unless, of course, they do not make any claims; 2) organizations, institutions or representatives thereof (e.g., 'National Organization of Peasants') have priority over unorganized collectivities or individuals (e.g., 'peasants', 'farmer X'); 3) active actors or speakers have priority over passive audiences/rank-and-file participants (e.g., if a party representative addresses a crowd at a peace rally, the party representative has priority). If there are several actors or no actor at all who have priority according to these three criteria, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article). If of one physical actor two functions are mentioned, the highest level capacity in terms of the scope variable (see below)

---

[10] E.g., Deutscher Ärtztekammer, Berufsverband Deutscher Psychologen, Deutscher Sportbund, doctors, football players, writers, sollicitors, musicians. Note: unions are always coded as unions, non-union organizations of police and judges are coded under their respective institution.

[11] Organizations or groups of immigrants, asylum seekers, ethnic minorities of migrant origin. Includes migrant organizations that would also fit another category. E.g., Islamic or Jewish organizations in Europe are coded as migrant organizations, not as religious groups, the European Association of Turkish academics is coded as a migrant organization, not as a professional organization, etc.

[12] This includes only private organizations such as Pro Asyl, Anti-Racist Alliance, Arbeiterwohlfahrt, Amnesty International, Terre des Hommes, medecins sans frontières etc.

[13] E.g. Red Cross, Arbeiterwohlfahrt, not state welfare agencies (these are coded as state executive agencies).

[14] Includes vague descriptions such as "skinheads" or "right-wing extremists". Radical right parties should be coded as political party, unless the party label is merely window dressing and does not indicate significant involvement in the electoral process (e.g. the Freiheitliche Arbeiterpartei in Germany).

[15] Including not already mentioned social categories such as 'youth', 'the unemployed', 'children', etc.

is coded. E.g., if the article says "Portuguese prime minister and current Chair of the EU Presidency Guttierez" would be code as "EU presidency"even if Portuguese prime minister would be mentioned first. However, the precondition would be that the EU presidency function is really mentioned in the article - that you know that the Portuguese prime minister is present Chair of the Council is not decisive, it should be explicitly mentioned. Similarly "Bavarian prime minister and CDU/CSU candidate for Chancellor Stoiber" would be coded as 'national' not 'regional' in scope and as candidate chancellor (a party function and therefore coded as 'political parties') and not as Bavarian prime minister. Only if two capacities are at the same scope level the rule is that the first mentioned is coded.

All ACTS categories should be read as including organizations and institutions, as well as unorganized collectives and even individuals. I.e., 'pensioners' or 'a pensioner' would go in 'organizations and groups of the elderly', 'asylum seekers' goes into 'migrant organizations and groups', 'consumers' in 'consumer organizations and groups', 'Muslims' in 'churches and religious organizations and groups', etc. I.e., the 'groups' should be read as referring to not formally or unorganized collectives as well as individuals speaking or acting for such groups.

Variable **ACTTYP1** (ACTTYP2, ACTTYPE3)
'Type of first actor'.

1   unorganized collective or anonymous representatives thereof (e.g., 'farmers', 'a farmer')
2   named representative(s) of an unorganized collective (e.g., 'farmer X')
3   organization or institution (e.g., the 'National Union of Farmers – NUF')
4   anonymous spokesperson(s) for organization/institution
         (e.g., 'critics within the NUF leadership')
5   named spokesperson(s) for organization/institution (e.g., 'X, the President of the NUF')

Variable **ACTNAME1** (ACTNAME2, ACTNAME3) (only for ACTTYPE=5, string variable) 'name of organizational spokesperson'

Note: full name of the spokesperson for an organization or institution. Format: Blair, Tony; Schroeder, Gerhard; etc.

Variable: **ACTSCOP1** (ACTSCOP2, ACTSCOP3)
'Scope of first actor'.

1   'supranational: United Nations'[16]
2   'other supranational'[17]
3   'European Union'[18]
4   'other European supranational'[19]
5   'multilateral'
6   'bilateral'[20]
7   'national'[21]
8   'regional'[22]
9   'local'[23].
99   'unclassifiable'

Note: The notion of "scope" refers to the organizational extension of the organization or institution. In the case of non-organized collective actors (e.g., 'farmers', 'protesters') it refers to the scope of mobilization. I.e., if the report mentions 'farmers from different member states', the scope is 'European Union'. See further the examples given in the footnotes. Here and in the other scope variables, the category 'multilateral' refers to 'involving (actors from) three or more countries' (on a strictly intergovernmental basis, not in the context of a supranational agency or organization), 'bilateral' refers to 'involving (actors from) two countries'.

---

[16] E.g., Security Council., UNHCR, UNESCO, ILO, WHO.

[17] E.g., NATO, G-8, IMF, World Bank, World Council of Roma and Sinti, Amnesty International, Greenpeace, International Council of Voluntary Associations, medecins sans frontières, Attac. Only supranational organizations whose scope extends beyond Europe.

[18] E.g., European Parliament, European Commission, European Migrant Forum, European Trade Union Federation, Europäischer Verband türkischer Akademiker. If in doubt whether the label 'European' refers to an EU scope or to Europe in a wider sense, code here. Also includes organizations or institutions whose scope is a subset of the EU, e.g. the Benelux states, the Western European Union, 'Euroland', etc.

[19] European organizations and institutions whose scope reaches beyond the confines of the EU and encompasses Europe in the wider Geographic sense. E.g., Helsinki Watch, European Council, UEFA, OSCE. Also includes sub-European organizations not belonging to the EU, e.g., EFTA

[20] Co-operative organizations and institutions between the country of coding and another country. E.g., German-American Trade Association, German-French summit, Deutsch-Polnischer Freundschaftsverein.

[21] E.g., national political parties, Bundesverfassungsgericht, Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, national media (incl. local papers in name with national scope such as NZZ, FAZ), Deutsche Telekom, Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland.

[22] E.g., Landesregierungen, Landesversorgungsamt, Norddeutscher Rundfunk, Bund türkischer Einwanderer in Berlin-Brandenburg, Flüchtlingsrat Niedersachsen, purely regional political parties (e.g. Frisian National Party), regional branches of national parties (e.g., Hessian SPD).

[23] E.g., local governments, local parties and party branches, Braunschweiger Zeitung, Jüdische Gemeinde Berlin, Fürther Komitee gegen Rechtsradikalismus.

Note on the scope of multinational companies:
Business firms are coded as they are qualified in the article. I.e., if the article says, "the American automobile manufacturer Ford" it is coded as national, USA, if it says "the multinational company Ford" it is coded as multilateral. Same for McDonald's, either American or multilateral depending on how it is labelled. In cases where the article speaks of "the British branch of Ford", "McDonald's will open six new restaurants in Germany" there is implicit reference to the multinational character of the firm (referring to a national branch means referring to the fact that the firm operates internationally). Thus, this would also be coded as multilateral. If the firm in question has its main seat in your own country and there is no reference in the article to it operating also elsewhere, you should code it as national, your country. E.g., an article in a German paper on Lufthansa cutting jobs is code national, Germany. However, an article in a British paper saying Lufthansa will cut jobs in its England offices will be code multilateral. In all other cases, or in cases where you have doubts what to code, use "unclassifiable" as a default

Variable **ACT1** (ACT2, ACT3)
'first actor' (three digits)

Note: More detailed subdivision of ACT1S only for European-level and other supranational ac*tors (ACTSCOP=1-4). If the actor is not already on that list, or if you use any of the 'other' categories, enter its full name on a sheet of paper preceeded by YEAR, PAPER, AID and CID. We can then add the actor code later. Priority rules see ACT1S.*

(00-60's reserved for EU, 70's for non-EU European, 80's for UN, 90's for other supranational)

(10) 'governments'

    100 'The European Union/Community'/'Europe', 'Brussels' when referring to EU
        101 Eurozone countries
        102 member countries
        103 candidate member countries

    110 European Commission
        111 The European Commission (without further specification)
        112 President of the Commission (since 2000 *Romano Prodi*)

    120 Individual Commissioners   *(in par: 2000 Prodi COM)*
        121 Commissioner for Administrative Reform (*Neil Kinnock)* or
            Commissioner for Budget *(Michaele Schreyer)*
        122 Commissioner for Economic & Monetary Affairs *(Pedro Solbes Mira)*
        123 Commissioner for Agriculture, Rural Dev. and Fisheries *(Franz Fischler)*
        124 Commissioner for Justice & Home Affairs *(Antonio Vitorino)*
        125 Commissioner for Employment & Social Affairs *(Anna Diamantopoulou)*
        126 Commissioner for Education & Culture *(Viviane Reding)*
        127 Commissioner for External Relations *(Chris Patten)*, or
            Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid *(Poul Nielson)*, or
            Commissioner for Enlargement *(Günter Verheugen)*
        128 Commissioner for Health & Consumer Protection *(David Byrne)*
        129 Other Commissioners, including:
            Commissioner for Internal Market, Taxation and Customs Union *(Frits Bolkestein)*,
            Commissioner for Enterprise & Information Society *(Erkki Liikanen)*,
            Commissioner for Competition *(Mario Monti)*,
            Commissioner for Research *(Philippe Busquin)*,
            Commissioner for Environment *(Margot Wallström)*,
            Commissioner for Regional Policy *(Michel Barnier)*
            Commissioner for Trade *(Pascal Lamy)*,
            Commissioner for Transport and Energy (*Loyola de Palacio*)

    130 Commission Directorates General (DG)
        131 Secretariat General, DG Budget, DG Personnel and Administration
        132 DG Economic & Monetary Affairs
        133 DG Agriculture and Rural Development, DG Fisheries
        134 DG Justice & Home Affairs
        135 DG Employment & Social Affairs
        136 DG Education & Culture
        137 DG External Relations, DG Development, DG Enlargement, Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO),
            EuropeAid Co-operation Office
        138 DG Health & Consumer Protection

139 Other DGs, including:
   DG Internal Market, Taxation and Customs Union, DG Enterprise & Information Society, DG Research, DG Regional Policy, DG Competition, DG Environment, DG Trade, DG Transport and Energy

140 Council
141 European Council (15 Heads of State or Gov. + Pres. of the Com.), "the Summit"
142 Presidency of the European Council
143 Council of the European Union / Council of Ministers (without specification), "the Council"
144 General Affairs Council (Foreign Affairs Ministers)
145 Economic and Financial Affairs Council (ECOFIN)
146 Agriculture Council
147 Interior and Justice Council
148 Other specific Councils such as Transport and Telecommunications, Industry, Environment, and Development Councils
149 Troika

150 Foreign Policy Intergovernmental bodies
151 High Representative for CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy), *1st High Rep.: Javier Solana* (also Secretary General of the Council of the EU)
152 Political and Security Committee
153 Military Committee
154 European Union Military Staff (EUMS)
155 WEU Council of Ministers (incl. Policy planning and early warning unit)
156 Policy unit
157 Special representatives (4: Miguel Angel Moratinos (Middle East), Aldo Ajello (African Great Lakes), Bodo Hombach (Coordinator of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe), François Léotard (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia)
159 Other specific Foreign Policy Intergovernmental bodies

160 Other intergovernmental cooperation within EU
161 Intergovernmental Conference (IGC)
169 Other specific intergovernmental cooperation within EU

170 Other European (non-EU) institution/cooperation
171 Council of Europe
172 BeNeLux
173 European Free Trade Association (EFTA)
174 Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)
179 Other specific European (non-EU) institution/cooperation (e.g. Baltic Council, Nordic Council)

180 United Nations organisations/bodies
181 'The United Nations'
182 Security Council
183 Secretary General
189 Other specific UN organisation

190 Other supranational or intergovernmental institution/cooperation
191 OECD
192 G7/G8
193 Regional free trade and economic cooperation, including
   Central American Common Market (MCCA/CACM),
   Latin-American Economic System (SELA),
   Mercosur,
   Free trade zone for East and South Africa (PTA),
   West-African Economic Community (CEAO),
   other African Economic cooperations,
   Arab Common Market (ACM),

Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC),
Caricom CCM,
Organisation of Petrol Exporting Countries (OPEC), etc.
194 Regional political or general cooperation, including:
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS),
Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN),
Organisation of American States (OAS)
Arab League, Organisation for Islamic Conference (OIC),
Organisation for African Union (OAU), East African Community (EAC),
Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC),
Non-Aligned Nations
199 Other specific supranational or intergovernmental institution/cooperation

(20) 'legislatives / Parliament'

210 European Parliament
    211 EP as a body ("the Parliament")
    212 EP President
    213 EP Quaestors
    214 EP individual member
    215 EP group of members, issue related composition (from several groups/ countries)
    216 EP group of members, national composition, from the same party (ex: the German Christian Democrats)
    217 EP group of members, national composition, cross parties (ex: the Spanish MEPs)
    218 EP group of members, cross national, from the same political group/party
    219 Other specific EP

220 European Parliament Committee
    221 Petitions Committee
    222 Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, and
        Committee on Development and Cooperation
    223 Committee on Budgets, Committee on Budgetary Control, and
        Committee on Constitutional Affairs
    224 Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs,
        Committee on Legal Affairs and the Internal Market, and
        Committee on Industry, External Trade, Research and Energy
    225 Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development,
        Committee on Fisheries, and
        Committee on Regional Policy, Transport and Tourism
    226 Committee on Citizens' Freedoms and Rights, Justice and Home Affairs
    227 Committee on Employment and Social Affairs
    228 Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport,
        Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities, and
        Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Policy
    229 Temporary committee, including those on:
        on human genetics and other new technologies of modern medicine
        the ECHELON interception system
        to monitor action taken on BSE recommendations
        of inquiry into BSE (bovine spongiform encephalopathy)
        of inquiry into the Community transit regime

230 European Parliament Political Group
    231 EPP-ED: Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats
    232 PSE: Group of the Party of European Socialists
    233 ELDR: Group of the European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party
    234 VERTS/ALE: Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance

235 GUE/NGL: Confederal Group of the European United Left/ Nordic Green Left
236 UEN: Union for Europe of the Nations Group
237 TDI: Technical Group of Independent Members (mixed group)
238 EDD: Group for a Europe of Democracies and Diversities
239 NI: Non-attached Group

240 Advisory Committee
241 Committee of the Regions
242 Economic and Social Committee
249 Other advisory committee

250 Treaty revising body or Constitutional convent
251 Convent for elaborating Fundamental Rights Charta: "the Convent"
252 Convent for elaborating Fundamental Rights Charta: President *Roman Herzog*
253 Convent for elaborating Fundamental Rights Charta: Individual member
254 Convent for revising the Treaty (decided at Laeken): "the Convent"
255 Convent for revising the Treaty (decided at Laeken): President *Valérie Giscard d'Estaing*
256 Convent for revising the Treaty (decided at Laeken): Individual member

270 Other European (non-EU) parliament
271 Parliamentary Assembly (Council of Europe)

280 United Nations parliament
281 General Assembly (UN)

290 Other supranational parliament

(30) 'judiciary'

310 European Court of Justice (ECJ)
311 ECJ as a body
312 ECJ: individual Judge
313 ECJ: individual Advocate General
319 Other specific ECJ

320 Court of First Instance

370 Other (non-EU) European judiciary
371 European Court of Human Rights (Council of Europe)
372 European Commission for Human Rights (Council of Europe)
379 Other specific European judiciary

380 United Nations judiciary
381 International Court of Justice (ICJ)
382 ICJ: International Criminal Court
383 ICJ: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)
384 ICJ: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)
389 Other specific UN judiciary

390 Other supranational

(40) 'police and security agencies'

410 EU police and security institutions/cooperation
411 Europol
412 Europol Drugs Unit (EDU)
413 Schengen Executive Committee
414 Schengen Information System (SIS)
415 Euratom Supply Agency (ESA)
419 Other specific EU police and security agency

470 Other (non-EU) European police and security institutions/cooperation

480 United Nations police and security institutions/cooperation

490 Other supranational police and security institutions/cooperation
 491 Interpol
 499 Other specific supranational police and security institutions/cooperation (e.g., World Customs Organisation (WCO), Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD-OAS))

(50) 'military'

510 EU military institutions/cooperation
 511 Standing Political and Security Committee (PSC)
 512 Military Committee (MC)
 513 Military Staff (MS)
 514 Institutions of WEU military cooperation
 515 Intervention troops under EU flag
 516 Eurocorps
 519 Other specific EU military

570 Other (non-EU) European military

580 United Nations military
 581 Blue helmet troops
 582 Other specific UN military

590 Other supranational military
 591 NATO
 592 Warsaw Pact
 593 'Partnership for Peace'
 599 Other specific supranational military

(60) 'central banks'

610 EU monetary institutions
 611 "the" European Central Bank (ECB)
 612 ECB President (1st pres: *Duisenberg*)
 613 ECB Executive Board
 614 ECB Governing Council
 615 European Monetary Institute (EMI)
 616 Economic and Financial Committee (advisory body)
 619 Other ECB

620 EU financial institutions
 621 European Investment Bank (EIB)
 622 European Investment Fund (EIF)
 629 Other EU financial institution

670 Other (non-EU) European central bank

680 United Nations central bank

690 Other supranational monetary and financial institutions
 691 International Monetary Fund (IMF)
 692 Worldbank
 693 Bank for International Settlements (BIS), Internationale Bank für Zahlungsausgleich
 694 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
 695 International Finance Corporation (IFC)
 696 World Trade Organization (WTO)
 699 Other specific supranational monetary and financial institutions

(70) 'social security executive organizations'

   710 European/supranational social security executive organizations (note name on separate
       piece of paper)

(80) 'other state executive agencies'

     810 Decentralised Community Agencies
        811 European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop)
        812 European Training Foundation (ETF)
        813 European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC)
        814 Eur. Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
        815 Scientific Steering Committee (SSC),
          previously Multidisciplinary Scientific Committee (MDSC),
          including 6 different Scientific Committees: Food, Veterinary, Animal Nutrition, Cosmetology,
          Pesticides and Toxicity and Ecotoxicology
        819 Other decentralised CommunityAgency, including:
          Office for Harmonisation in the Internal Market (trade marks,designs) (OHIM),
          Community Plant Variety Office,
          European Agency for the Evaluation of Medicinal Products (EMEA),
          European Technical Office for Medicinal Products '(Etomep),
          European Drugs and Drug Addiction Monitoring Centre (EMCDDA),
          European Agency for Safety and Health at Work,
          European Environment Agency (EEA)
     820 EU internal control institutions
        821 European Court of Auditors
        822 European Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF)
        823 European Ombudsman
        829 Other EU internal control institution
     830 Joint Research Centre (part of the Commission, *including*:)
        Institute for Reference Materials and Measurements (Geel)
        Institute for Transuranium Elements (Karlsruhe)
        Institute for Energy (Petten)
        Institute for the Protection and the Security of the Citizen (Ispra)
        Institute for Environment and Sustainability (Ispra)
        Institute for Health and Consumer Protection (Ispra)
        Institute for Prospective Technological Studies (Seville)
     870 Other (non-EU) European state executive agency
     880 United Nations state executive agency
        881 UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO)
        882 International Fund for agricultural development (IFAD)
        883 UN World Health Organisation (WHO)
        884 International Organisation for Migration (IOM)
        885 UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
        886 International Labour Organisation (ILO)
        887 UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)
        888 UN Education, Science and Culture Organisation (UNESCO)
        889 Other
     890 Other supranational state executive agency

(900) 'political parties'

---

910 European political parties (code party under ACTPAR, ADRPAR, etc.)

990 Other supranational parties

     991 IDU (International Democrat Union)
     992 L.I. (Liberal International)
     993 S.I. (Socialist International)
     994 CDI (Christian Democrat and People`s Parties International)
     999 Other specific supranational parties

Note: because of the great variety of possible organizations, no pre-given categories have been created for 1000 and up (unions, employers, churches, and so forth). Please note the name of the organization (together with PAPER, YEAR, AID and CID) on a separate piece of paper for any European or other supranational organizations in these actor categories you come across. We may use these as a basis for later adding new fixed categories.

Variable **ACTCOUN1** (ACTCOUN2, ACTCOUN3)
'Country of first actor'

Note: To be coded only if ACTSCOP1 is 3-9. The country of an actor is where the actor is permanently resident, i.e., not necessarily corresponds to the actor's nationality. Diplomatic personnel are considered permanently resident in their country of origin. Codes from same separate list as for COUNTRY. In the case of bilateral and multilateral actors, code the country of coding if it is part of the coalition of actors, otherwise code the most important (default: first-mentioned) of the actors. Make sure in such cases that you include information on the other partners in the coalition in the TITLE variable. As for the party affiliation of actors, you should code the country also if it is not explicitly mentioned and you may use your own knowledge, but only if you are 100% sure. The information can later be completed on the basis of the ACTNAME variable.

Variable **ACTPAR1** (ACTPAR2, ACTPAR3)
'Party affiliation of first actor'

Categories, see data entry file.

Note: to be coded only for actors from one of our seven countries or the EU-level. If the newspaper does not mention an actor's party affiliation, but you know it, you should code it on the basis of your knowledge, but only if you are 100% sure. If the actor is a politician (ACTS 20-50 or 120) and you do not know the party affiliation, code 999=missing. The missing information on party affiliations can later be completed on the basis of the ACTNAME variable. If the actor belongs to any of the other ACTS categories and no party affiliation is mentioned, code 0=no or irrelevant party affilation.

ACTION FORMS

Variable **FORM** 'form of action'

Note: if there are several forms of action, the following priority rules apply: 1) political decisions and executive action have priority; 2) the category verbal statement is only used if none of the other categories applies; 3) among protest forms, the more radical (confrontational, violent) ones have priority over moderate ones (demonstrative, petitioning). If these criteria still not allow a decision, the order in which the forms are mentioned decides.

'political decisions'[24]

11	legislation (proposal)
12	parliamentary vote
13	parliamentary motion (non-legislative)
14	administrative decree/decision (e.g., decision to deport asylum seekers, to lower interest rates)
15	resolution (political parties)
16	ruling (courts)
17	binding agreement (among several parties)
18	personnel decisions (resignation/dismissal from/appointment to office)
19	other

'executive action'

21	financial and other material support
22	deportation/expulsion
23	arrests/detention
24	other repression (e.g., bans, police raids, criminal investigations)
25	(preparation of) troops deployment/withdrawal (the actual action, not the decision to)
29	other

'judicial action'[25]

31	criminal lawsuit
32	civil lawsuit
33	administrative lawsuit
34	constitutional lawsuit
39	other

---

[24] By definition, executive actions and political decisions can only be coded for actors who have actual binding decision-making power, i.e. state and party actors (SACT 10-90). For all other actors, use only the codes from 30 onwards.

[25] Refers to appeals to the judiciary (e.g. filing lawsuits), not actions by the judiciary (the latter appear as executive acts, statements, or decisions). Note that decisions by the judiciray itself are not coded here, but as 'court rulings' under political decisions.

'verbal statements'

41	non-specified statement
42	press conference/release
43	interview
44	public speech
45	(public) letter
46	newspaper article
47	other publication (book, research report, leaflet, etc.)
48	graffitti
49	presentation of survey/poll result
50	publicity campaign (incl. advertizing)
59	other

'meetings'[26]

61	state-political meeting (e.g., summits, state visits)[27]
62	party convention/congress
63	parliamentary session/debate
64	election campaign meeting
69	other conferences/meetings/assemblies

'direct-democratic action'

71	launching of referendum
72	collecting signatures for referendum
73	presentation of signatures for referendum
74	vote on referendum
75	launching of initiative (only CH)
76	collecting signatures for inititative (only CH)
77	presentation of signatures for initiative (only CH)
78	vote on initiative (only CH)
79	other

'petitioning'

81	petition/signature collection
82	letter campaign
89	other

---

[26] This refers to conferences, meetings, congresses etc that take place inside.

[27] Only includes discontinuous poiltical meetings, i.e., not included are parliamentary sessions, etc. that take place continuously throughout the year (use the categories parliamentary vote, motion, speech above).

'demonstrative protests'
- 91   public assembly
- 92   march, demonstration (legal and non-violent)
- 93   vigil/picket

- 99   other

'confrontational protests'
- 101   illegal demonstration (if non-violent)
- 102   boycot
- 103   strike
- 104   self-mutilation (e.g., hunger strike, suicide)
- 105   blockade
- 106   occupation
- 107   disturbance of meetings
- 108   symbolic confrontation (e.g., farmers dumping animal dung in front of a government building)
- 109   other[28]

'violent protests'
- 111   threats (e.g., bomb threat)
- 112   symbolic violence (e.g., burning puppets or flags, throwing eggs or paint)
- 113   limited destruction of property (e.g., breaking windows)
- 114   sabotage
- 115   violent demonstration (violence initiated by protestors)
- 116   arson and bomb attacks, and other severe destruction of property
- 117   arson and bomb attacks against people (incl. inhabited buildings)
- 118   physical violence against people (fights, brawls, etc.)
- 119   other

---

[28] Forms of protest that are illegal but non-violent automatically count as confrontational.

Additional variables only for claims with FORM1 > 70

Variable **PART**
'number of participants'

Note: up to 6 digits; 999998=999998 or more; 999999=missing.

Variable **WOUNDED**
'number of wounded'

Note: up to 3 digits; 998=998 or more; 999=missing.

Variable **ARREST**
'number of people arrested'

Note: up to 3 digits; 998=998 or more; 999=missing.

Note: for all of these three variables, if several numbers are mentioned in the text, take the highest.

ADDRESSEES
(INDIRECT OBJECT ACTORS)

In contrast to earlier versions of the codebook, we explicitly distinguish three types of addressees/indirect object actors:

- the addressee of the claim in the narrow sense of the word, referring to the actor who is held responsible for implementing the claim or at whom the claim is directly addressed in the form of a call or appeal to do or leave something;
- the opponent/criticized actor identified in the claim, referring to the actor who is seen as standing in the way of the claim's realization or advocating a position contrary to that of the claimant;
- the supported actor, referring to the actor who is seen as contributing to the claim's realization or advocating a position congruent with that of the claimant.

The criterion for coding an actor as opponent is NOT that he takes a position that is the precise opposite of the claimant's position. It is sufficient that an actor is identified (by the claimant and explicitly so) as an opponent concerning the issue of the claim or, in other words, that the opponent's position is criticized in one way or another. The reverse holds for supported actors. Here, too, it does not have to be that the supported actor has exactly the same position as the claimant, it suffices that the supported actor is identified as an ally of the claimant, his position is praised or support for his position is expressed. In cases where negatively evaluated addressee and criticized actor are exactly the same, you should code only the addressee (which is the more informative of the two, it includes both the evaluation and the call to do or leave something) and leave criticized actor/opponent either open or code another actor which is mentioned as opponent and whose inclusion would add more information than just doubling the same actor.

Note that the addressee is the actor to which the actor refers in his claim, which is not necessarily the same as the public for which he directly speaks. E.g., if a politician speaks to a conference of his party and calls on the government to change its education policies, the addressee is the government, not the party delegates!

Note on the difference between object actors and indirect object actors

Passive objects of claims are not coded as addressees, opponents or supporters, but in the object variables. E.g., in the claim 'The churches called on the government not to deport Bosnian refugees', the government is coded as addressee, the reference to Bosnian refugees is irrelevant here (they are coded as object actors, see below). Similarly, for the claim 'Yesterday, the government decided to send a military intervention force to Macedonia' no addressee is coded, the reference to Macedonia is not relevant here (the Macedonian conflict parties are coded as object actors, see below). However, in the claims 'The government called on Bosnian refugees to leave the country', or 'The government criticized the Macedonian government for obstructing the aid operation' Bosnian refugees are coded as addressees and the Macedonian government is coded as criticized actor.

Addressees, opponent and supported actors are defined by their DISCURSIVE relation to the claimant: they are the objects of demands, criticism or support, or, in other words, they are the actors to whom the claimant relates in the public discourse. Object actors are the actors whose interests are MATERIALLY affected by the (implementation of) the claim.
This implies that actors can be discursively opposed/supported, without them being object actors and vice versa: e.g., when Stoiber criticizes Schröder for not being severe enough with asylum seekers (Schröder is opponent, but not object; asylum seekers are object, but not opponent). Of course, it is also possible that the two coincide, e.g. when Stoiber calls on Schröder to resign (Schröder is the actor to whom Stoiber discursively relates - as addressee - but also the actor materially affected by Stoibers demand if it would be implemented.

Variable **ADRS**
'summary addressee of claim'.

Same categories as ACT1S.

If a claim has several addressees, the priority rule is that organizations, institutions or representatives thereof have priority over unorganized collectivities or individuals. If there are several addressees or no addressee at all who have priority according to this criterion, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article).

Variable **ADREVAL**
'evaluation of addressee'

-1 'criticism'
0 'neutral/ambivalent'
1 'support'

Note: calls and appeals may be made in a neutral sense, or be combined with expressions of criticism and support. E.g. "X called on Y to give up his blockade against ..." (Y is addressee, but simultaneously negatively evaluated). 'In a letter to Y, X expressed support for Y's policy to ..." (Y is addressee and positively evaluated).This can be accordingly coded here. There are no equivalent variables for criticized and supported actors, because there the direction of the evaluation is pre-determined.

Variable **ADRSCOP**
'scope of addressee'

Same values as ACTSCOP1

Variable **ADR**
'addressee'

Note: More detailed subdivision of ADRS for European-level and other supranational addressees; see list for ACT1.

Variable **ADRCOUN** (Only coded when ADRSCOP is 3-9)
'country of addressee'

Same values as ACTCOUN1

Variable **ADRPAR**
'party affiliation of addressee'

Note: to be coded only for addressees from one of our seven countries or the EU-level. Same values as ACTPAR1.

Variable **OPS**
'summary opponent actor of claim'.

Same categories as ACT1S.

If a claim has several opponent actors, the priority rule is that organizations, institutions or representatives thereof have priority over unorganized collectivities or individuals. If there are several opponent actors or no opponent actor at all who have priority according to this criterion, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article).

Variable **OPSCOP**
'scope of opponent actor'

Same values as ACTSCOP1

Variable **OP**
'opponent actor'

Note: More detailed subdivision of OPS for European-level and other supranational addressees; see list for ACT1.

Variable **OPCOUN** (Only coded when OPSCOP is 3-9)
'country of opponent actor'

Same values as ACTCOUN1

Variable **OPPAR**
 'party affiliation of opponent actor'

Note: to be coded only for opponent actors from one of our seven countries or the EU-level. Same values as ACTPAR1.

Variable **SUPS**
'summary supported actor of claim'.

Same categories as ACT1S.

If a claim has several supported actors, the priority rule is that organizations, institutions or representatives thereof have priority over unorganized collectivities or individuals. If there are several supported actors or no supported actor at all who have priority according to this criterion, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article).

Variable **SUPSCOP**
'scope of supported actor'

Same values as ACTSCOP1

Variable **SUP**
'supported actor'

Note: More detailed subdivision of SUPS for European-level and other supranational addressees; see list for ACT1.

Variable SUPCOUN (Only coded when SUPSCOP is 3-9)
'country of supported actor'

Same values as ACTCOUN1

Variable **SUPPAR**
'party affiliation of supported actor'

Note: to be coded only for supported actors from one of our seven countries or the EU-level. Same values as ACTPAR1.

AIMS

Variable **ISFIELD1** (one-digit code) (ISFIELD2, ISFIELD3)
'policy field'

1   'Monetary politics: currency politics and interest rate'
2   'Agriculture: subsidies, livestock and dairy quotas, animal disease control'
3   'Immigration: entry and exit'
4   'Troops deployment'
5   'Retirement and pension schemes'
6   'Education'
7   'European integration'

See ISSUE1 for priority rules.

Some notes on the delineation of the seven topics (for further detail, refer to the comments and categories of the SISSUE variable below):

Monetary politics:
The topic should be monetary *politics*, not the day-to-day fate of the currency relative to other currencies. That implies that articles that merely mention 'yesterday the euro lost 0,4% against the dollar' are not coded. Of course, once such a development is commented upon in terms of possible causes, consequences or solutions, the article would be included.
Immigration:
The topic includes only issues of entry and exit, not what happens with immigrants once they are on the state territory (except of course the issue of their deportation, terminating residence permits, etc). E.g., articles on reform of asylum law, integration issues, extremism and crime among immigrants, racism and discrimination, etc. are all disregarded unless an explicit link is made to entry/exit issues.
Troops deployment:
This only includes the actual (preparation of, debate about) deployment and withdrawal of troops on or from foreign territory. Everything the troops do once they are stationed on foreign territory should be disregarded. Thus, we exclude the actual warfare or the actual practice of humanitarian operations. E.g., if the US decides to send ground troops into Afghanistan, this is coded, as well as any debate around that decision. Everything those troops do once they are there is disregarded, unless it is coupled with the demand for withdrawal. Reinforcement of troops is seen as extra deployment and coded. For the purpose of this research the Occupied Territories/Palestinian Authority are regarded as a part of Israel, i.e. any (debate on) sending or withdrawal of Israeli troops to/from Palestinian Authority Territory, as well as Golan Heights and Sinai, is not coded. Israeli troops deployment in, and withdrawal from Lebanon is however included. Also included is the (discussion about) the deployment of foreign (non-Israeli) or UN troops in Israel and the occupied territories.

European integration:

Note that here we mean only European integration not related to a specific substantive theme. E.g., an article discussing an extension of EU competencies on environmental or common market issues would not be coded, an article discussing EU competencies at a general, not topically specific level would be coded. Included are references to power relations among EU member states in the context of EU integration, e.g. that the war in Afghanistan has strengthened the leverage of Germany and Britain in the EU at the cost of France. The field of European integration includes non-EU forms of European integration (e.g., Council of Europe, EFTA).

Variable **ISSUE1S** (two-digit codes) (ISSUE2S, ISSUE3S)
'summary of ISSUE1'

Note: see ISSUE1 for priority rules.

Monetary politics

10   General Unspecific

11   Interest Rate Adjustments
(Effectiveness / timing of adjustment, consequences for money market, economic growth, employment, wages, inflation, N.B Included are also non-decisions)

12   EMU convergence criteria and stability pact
(Principle of convergence – divergence, effects for local national economies, sectors etc., discussions surrounding the qualification for the third stage of EMU, reprimands (e.g., 'blue letter') from Brussels for non-compliance to stability criteria, national debates with the argument that a certain expense or the complete budget or government policy might endanger trespassing the debt-ceiling set by the stab. pact)

13   EMS / ERM (*time-specific*)
(institutional aspects of EMS, such as changes in margins of fluctuation, the fact that Britain and Italy left the system in 1992 etc., membership of the EMS as convergence criterion for EMU membership)

14   Exchange Rate Intervention
(Desirability and effectiveness of the instrument, effects on export position, economic growth, inflation etc. N.B Included are also non-decisions, equally included is the discussion on the ECU/euro-dollar rate and its consequences, e.g. public confidence in the euro)

15   Independence Central Banks
(institutional independence, presence of political pressure, political disagreement between national governments on the acceptability of such political influence, accountability of the central banks, e.g. of the ECB to the EP, independence of the national central bank as precondition for membership of EMU)

16   Eurozone – outsiders: relations with "pre-ins" (ERM2) and accession states
(Agreements as far as it involves exchange rates and interest rates. Two types of relationships are included. (1) between "ins" and "pre-ins" (ERM 2 is the exchange-rate mechanism between the euro and the national currencies of the countries not participating in the euro area in order to ensure monetary stability and solidarity), e.g. the British case, Danish krona still pegged to the euro after the 'No' vote etc. (2) Arrangements / relations with accession states. e.g the fact that Hungary has replaced the euro for the D-Mark as pegging-currency.

17   Common currency (ECU, Euro)
Discussion about pros and cons of a common currency; excludes technical issues such as the adaptation of cash machines, as well as purely symbolic articles/issues such as what the new coins and notes (should) look like.

18   Dynamics of Euro campaigns
Discussion about campaigning over the single currency issue, includes issues such as disputes over campaign funding, articles about how groups and alliances campaign over the single currency.

19   Other Specific

Agriculture

Includes the following:
-   agricultural subsidies (all agriculture, not just livestock)
-   production quotas for livestock and dairy products
-   livestock diseases

Excluded are all other issues related to livestock farming (e.g., hormone usage). Since there is no overarching domain anymore, the categories 'general', and 'other specific' have been dropped. Livestock farming is defined as the keeping, breeding, etc. of animals for human consumption (either the animals themselves or their products such as milk, wool, fur, or honey) . That includes the famous fish farms, but excludes the breeding of animals as pets or for zoos.

20   reform of the system of subsidies
        (e.g. reduction of subsidies; new criteria – ecological criteria, sustainability – for obtaining subsidies; new
        forms of subsidies etc.)
21   subsidies and enlargement of the European Union
        (e.g. debate on new distribution of subsidies after the enlargement; importance of subsidies in the debate on
        adhesion to the EU in candidate countries etc.)
22   subsidies and international trade
        e.g., conflict on subsidies in WTO, between EU and USA
23   BSE
        (including e.g. debate on consumer confidence after BSE scandal; burning of dead infected animals;
        transport and exportation of livestock etc.)
24   Foot and Mouth Disease
        (including topics as mentioned for the code 24 "BSE")
25   other diseases
        (e.g. scrapie etc.)
26   quotas for livestock and dairy production
        (e.g. on milk)

Immigration

30   general evaluation or policy direction

31   institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs

E.g., "create a special ministry of migration", "search for a common European solution to immigration problems", "financial support from the federal government for local communities in order to help them deal with the consequences of immigration", "create a European high-level working group to study migration causes", "equal distribution of refugees among EU countries", "more personnel for border control", "increase the say of the Bundesländer in matters concerning the expulsion of foreigners".

32   entry and border controls

E.g., "stricter entry requirements for Eastern Europeans", "no right to (re-)entry for foreigners who have commited crimes, , "stop influx of asylum seekers; "stop the influx of Aussiedler" fingerprint asylum-seekers.

Entry and border controls should only be coded here as a subcategory of immigration. I.e., discussions about border controls in the context of crime or terrorism are not included at all, and discussions on border controls to contain foot and mouth should be coded in agriculture.

33   expulsions/deportations[29]

E.g., "expulsion of foreign extremists", "expulsion of criminal foreigners", "send back asylum seekers who have arrived from safe third countries", "draw up a list of countries to which asylum seekers cannot be sent back", "deportation treaty between Germany and Turkey."

34   migration programs and quotas'

"introduce an immigration law", "an open Europe", "set levels and forms of immigration as a function of Germany's economic needs"; "recruit IT workers", raise quotas for seasonal workers, "; "limit the number of workers from Eastern Europe", ease conditions for family reunification, Europe needs more migrants to counter demographic decline, "reduce immigration".

35   role of third parties in preventing migration

"prohibit airline companies to transport people without visa to Spain", "combat the causes of migration through intensified aid for the Third World", "combat the persecution of Roma in Eastern Europe", "combat the causes of refugee flows", "homeland governments should motivate foreigners to return", "set up re-integration programs for asylum seekers willing to return," "provide training and financial help to Eastern European border guards".

36   visa and consular policy

Set up common visa fee for Schengen states, encourage consular cooperation, visa applicants should prove means of support, take Bulgaria off the Schengen visa black list, impose transit visas for Iraqis, rotate consular personnel to prevent corruption.

37   actions relating to smuggling and illegal entries

"intensified combat against organized 'smuggling' of asylum seekers across the border",", "stricter controls to prevent illegal immigration", increase penal sanctions against smugglers.

38

39   other specific issues

---

[29] Note that expulsion in our codebook is a subcategory of immigration politics. Therefore expulsion from one's own country (e.g., the Kosovars from Serbia) is not included as such.

<u>Troops deployment</u>

40   **general unspecific reference to deployment of troops**
(only to be used when cannot be coded more specifically)

41   **deployment of troops for military aggression against/attack on foreign sovereign territory**
e.g. bombing of Iraq, Serbia, Afghanistan by US/UK

42   **deployment of troops for military invasion of foreign sovereign territory**
e.g. Iraq invasion of Kuwait

43   **deployment of troops in covert aggressive operations against perceived hostile regimes/groups**
e.g. covert war on terrorists, drug barons in Colombia

44   **deployment of troops for peace-keeping**
i.e., as a third party between other warring countries/regions factions
e.g. deployment of (non aggressive) UN troops in Balkans

45   **deployment of troops to rescue/protect civilians facing aggression**
(often own citizens, e.g. freeing hostages from hijacked airliner, embassy personnel)

46   **deployment of troops in times of crisis, civil emergency or in response to catastrophic events**
e.g. UK troops retrieving bodies from sunk Russian submarine

47   **deployment of troops for non-military humanitarian purposes**
e.g. distribution of aid and medical supplies

48

49   **other specific reference to deployment of troops**

Pensions and retirement

50 General

51 Demographic changes: ageing population

  pension planning seen as a challenge due to demographic changes, problems of financing (three have to pay for one), heavy burden on young generation etc.

52 Retirement ages

  discussion about at what age to retire etc.

53 Income levels in retirement, Poverty in retirement

  amount of former monthly/yearly income that is received in retirement (percentage), dependency on social benefits in retirement etc.

54 State versus private pension schemes

  only if both schemes are mentioned!

  question of responsibility: state vs. individual, competition of different models, etc.

55 State pension scheme

  if only state pension schemes are mentioned

  (reform of) existing structures of state pension schemes, strength and weakness of the state pension schemes, Method of funding: direct taxation versus contributions-based insurance system etc.

56 Private pension scheme

  if only private pension schemes are mentioned

  (new) ways of or strategies of private pension planning, strength and weakness of the private pension schemes, etc.

57

58

59 Other / Specific

Education

60   general unspecific

61   Structural issues
(number of years, tracks—types, grades when they begin, duration in years, rules for allocation to tracks--duration of obligatory education)

62   Resource allocation and salaries
(budget issues at all levels of government, including teacher salary issues)

63   Private education
(autonomy of private schools, states subsidies, equal access, religious education in private schools)

64   Administrative power allocation
(state, regional, local, and school competences on education)

65   Curriculum
(subjects and content)

66   Information and communication technologies
(infrastructure, public assistance and incentives, insertion in curriculum—classes devoted to them, **labs in courses, use as part of regular courses)**

67   Scholarships and fees
(issues related to financial barriers and facilitation of access to eduaction, generally or particularly **for socio-economically or otherswise disadvantaged groups)**

68   Problems at school
(legislation and public debate concerning problems at school; e.g., failure, dropout, violence)

69   other specific issues

European integration

70   General European integration, not specific

71   National vs. European Identity, shared values
- strengthen European identity
- preserve national identity
- preserve regional identity
- preserve minority identity
- promote cultural diversity
- emphasize EU as a community of values

72   Role of a specific country or group of countries in the EU/in the process of European integration; balance of power and coalitions among members states
e.g., Britain's role in the EU; French-German relations as central to the integration process; the increased weight of Germany after reunification, smaller vs. larger states etc.

73   Relationship between EU and national/regional levels, and future constitution
concept of future constitution of EU (Verfaßtheit, Finalität)
-      move towards central state
-      move towards federal state
-      move towards supra-national system
-      move towards Europe of nations (commonwealth, Staatenbund, etc)
-      strengthening the regions (Europe of the regions)
allowing asymmetric integration
-      allowing exceptions for individual Member States (eg. Europe à la carte)
-      allowing progress of a group of Member States (Kerneuropa, concentric circles)
developing the legal framework for EU
-      adopt a constitution (Verfassung)
-      adopt a Basic treaty (Verfassungsvertrag)
-      adopt a charta of competence
-      adopt a Charta of fundamental rights
-      modify procedure for Treaty revision
competences
-      shift competence from EU to regional level
-      shift competence from national to regional and EU level
-      shift competence from national to EU level
-      shift competence from regional to EU level
-      subsidiarity
introduce or strengthen co-ordination or co-operation
-      introduce or strengthen co-ordination
-      introduce or strengthen co-operation

74   Institutional structure and relationship between EU institutions
distribution of power between institutions
-      strengthening the EP
-      institutional reform
-      division of power

75   Defining the EU's core tasks/balance between different policy areas
e.g., Europe should be less involved with agriculture and instead focus more on developing a common foreign and defence policy; political or social vs. economic Europe, etc.

76   **Relationship between EU institutions and public (citizens, organizations, media etc)**
- democratic deficit
- lack of transparency
- access to documents, information
- elections
- revision procedure (most discussed after Amsterdam and Nice)
- reproach of technocracy, Commission is far away from reality in the MS

77   **Enlargement**
- disc. about geographical / political/ religious boundaries
- criteria for becoming a member
- potential or measured impact of enlargement for the EU and for the new member
- more bureaucracy
- quantity of Member States should be limited

78   **Budget: Financing the EU and spending EU funds**
- how is burden shared between Member States, net contributors
- how is each Member State's contribution calculated (ex: VAT, etc)
- amount of EU budget in general (ex: should it be increased, decreased)
- distribution between policy areas (ex: agriculture vs structural funds)
- responsibility for spending EU funds, in particular 'subsidiarity'
- corruption, waste of EU funds

79   **other specific <u>EU</u> integration**

80   **Associational agreements and treaties between the EU and non-EU countries**

81   **Personnel issues within the EU/discussions about candidacies for EU positions**

82   **Non-EU forms of European integration**
E.g., related to EFTA, Council of Europe, OSCE, European Court of Human Rights, etc.

Variable **ISSCOP1** (ISSCOP2, ISSCOP3)
Variable label 'scope of first issue'

Value labels

1 'supranational: United Nations'
2 'other supranational'
3 'European Union'
4 'other European supranational'
5 'multilateral'
6 'bilateral'
7 'national'
8 'regional'
9 'local'
99 'unclassifiable'

Refers to the geographical and/or political scope of the substantive content of the claim. Issue scope is in principle independent from the scope of the subject actor, addressee, and/or object actor. E.g., if Amnesty International appeals to the European Court of Justice in protest against the Berlin police's treatment of immigrant suspects, the actor is supranational, the addressee European, but the scope of the issue ('The Berlin police's treatment of immigrant suspects') remains local. However, if a local Berlin committee for asylum seekers criticizes the Berlin Senate for its treatment of refugee children on the grounds that it constitutes a breach of the UN Children's Convention, then the issue scope is supranational, in spite of the local scope of actor and addressee.

If an issue is constructed in a comparative way, this can be coded in the issue scope variable. E.g, a claim dealing with Germany's poor performance in education compared to a range of other countries would be coded as 'multilateral'. If the comparison is made with one particular other country, the scope would be 'bilateral', if the comparison is (e.g., regarding Eurobarometer survey results) with the EU member states as the frame of reference the scope is 'European'.

Note that in the case of immigration issues, the fact that migrants by definition come from somewhere else does not by itself make the issue scope transnational: the taking into custody of Kurdish migrants by Greek border guards is not a bilateral Turkish-Greek issue, it should be coded as national (the object actor obviously would be coded 'migrants', 'Turkey'). An example of a bilateral Greek-Turkish issue would be a dispute (or an agreement) between the two countries over sending back these refugees.

The scope of the issue is not the same as the scope of the debate. There can well be debates about European issues that remain national debates, as in the case of the Euro debate in Britain. Of course, there is also a national dimension to this issue, but the rule for issue scope is that in case there are several scopes the highest level/lowest number is coded. So in this case the British Euro debate has a national and a European dimension, so European is coded. The scope of the debate is not measured by the issue scope (which refers to the substantive scope of the issue) but by the

scopes of the actors involved. This rule implies that cases coded in the issue field 7 = European integration, or in the Euro/EMU codes of SISSUE in the field of monetary politics automatically have a European issue scope (unless they also have a supranational dimension beyond the EU, which would then supersede the European issue scope).

In case an issue has several scopes at the same time, the one with the lowest ISSCOP1 code (=highest level of political authority) should be coded. Example: if an actor argues against changing national asylum legislation because this would violate the Geneva convention (i.e., issue scopes national and other supranational), the coded issue scope is 2=other supranational.

Variable **ISSUE1** (ISSUE2, ISSUE3) (string variable)
'first issue'

Note: FIELD and ISSUES are coded for all claims, ISSUE only for claims on European integration (field=7) as well as for claims in the six topical fields if the issue scope is European (EU or other European). E.g., a claim that the French national government should recognize Breton-language schools and sign the European Charter of Minority Languages should be coded (in words) in the ISSUE variable. ISSUE is a string variable, i.e., describe the issue as precisely and succintly as possible in words. The description should be in English, but where appropriate you may including original wording, e.g. in brackets.

If a claim has several aims, the following priority rules apply: 1) if the claim has more than one actor, those aims that are mentioned by each actor have priority over aims that only one actor mentions; 2) aims with an identifiable object actor have priority over claims where no object actor can be discerned or where the object actor is vague ('everybody', 'the population', or so); 3) for claims within the field of European integration, those with a clear political direction (i.e. POSIT=1 or –1; see below) have priority over neutral, ambivalent or technocratic aims (POSIT=0). If there are several aims or no aim at all which have priority according to these criteria, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article).

Variable **ISCOUN1** (ISCOUN2, ISCOUN3)
'country to which issue refers'

Only to be coded if isscop1=3-9. If the issue scope is bilateral or multilateral, code the country of coding if it is implicated in the issue, otherwise code the most important (default: first-mentioned) implicated country. Make sure, in such cases that you include further information about the countries implicated in the issue in the TITLE variable. In the case of a European issue scope (isscop=3), that has beside the European dimension a special relevance for a particular country, this country should be coded in ISCOUN. I.e., if the issue is a treaty between the EU and Switzerland, the ISCOP=3 (EU) and ISCOUN=756 (Switzerland).

Variable **ISPOS1** (ISPOS2, ISPOS3)
Variable label 'Relation of issue position (aim) towards European integration'

-1   'negative'
 0   'neutral/ambivalent'
 1   'positive'

Note: This variable is coded only for issues in the field of European integration, or for claims in the six substantive fields which have a European issue scope (EU or other European). -1 stands for claims against a deepening of the integration process or implying restrictions in the rights and position of European institutions and regulations (or rejections of improvements); +1 stands for claims in favour of deepened integration and for extensions of the rights and positions of European institutions and regulations (or rejections of restrictions); 0 stands for claims that are neutral or ambivalent in this respect.
Even in cases where no clear position taken towards the EU, you should code ispos. You just code 0=neutral in those cases. Ispos should be coded directly related to issue, i.e. if there are several issues in the claim there may also be different (and diverging) ispos codes.
The ispos code is independent of the kind of Europe envisaged by the actor, it just measures more or less competencies, rights, and resources for Europe, in general or in a specific policy domain. This variable does not measure an actor's overall stance with regard to European integration but his specific position on a particular aspect of the integration process.

OBJECT ACTORS

Variable **OBJ1S** (OBJ2S, OBJ3S)
'first object actor of claim'

Same codes as for ACT1S

Note: Here are coded all actors whose interests are, or would be affected by the claimant's claim. The object actor may be identical to the subject actor, e.g., when French farmers call on the French government to prevent a reduction in their subsidies by the EU. In this case, both subject and object actor are French farmers (the French government is the addressee, the EU dimension is coded as the scope of the issue). The object actor may alternatively be identical with the addressee, e.g., when French politicians call on the President of the European Central Bank to resign. Here, the President of the ECB is both addressee and object. The object may however also be different from both actor and addressee, e.g. when the UNHCR calls on the USA to stop bombing Afghanistan in order to allow humanitarian aid to the Afghan population (actor=UNHCR, addressee=USA, object=Afghan population).

In case there are several object actors whose interests are affected by a claim, the <u>ultimate object</u> of the claim should be coded as first object (e.g., if Giscard d'Estaing calls on German voters to elect Kohl because only with Kohl the future of the European Union is in safe hands, the first object is the European Union, Kohl may be coded as the second object, and additionally should be coded as supported actor, the German electorate as addressee in the new, narrow sense). If this rule does not allow you to choose the order among different object actors, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides.

See also the note on the difference between object actors and indirect object actors in the respective section on indirect object actors/addressees above.

Where the object actor is explicitly mentioned by the subject actor, you should of course follow the subject actor's point of view. If the object actor is not mentioned explicitly, but follows logically from the claim/issue, you may "fill in" the missing information. In cases where the object actor is neither mentioned nor can be derived clearly from the claim/issue, you may code this variable "missing".

Variable **OBJ1** (OBJ2, OBJ3)
'first object actor'

Note: More detailed subdivision of OBJ1S for European-level and other supranational addressees; see separate list for ACT1.

Variable **OBJEVAL1** (OBJEVAL2, OBJEVAL2)
'effect of claim on object actor'

-1 'negative'
0 'neutral/ambivalent'
1 'positive'

Note: In the three examples given in the note to SOBJ1, the OBJEVAL scores were respectively 1, -1, and 1.

Variable **OBJSCOP1** (OBJSCOP2, OBJSCOP3)
'scope of first object actor'

Same values as ACTSCOP1

Variable **OBJCOUN1** (OBJCOUN2, OBJCOUN3) (Only coded when OBJSCOP1 is 3-9)
'country of first object actor'

Same values as ACTCOUN1

Variable **OBJPAR1** (OBJPAR2, OBJPAR3)
Variable label 'Party affiliation of first object actor'

Note: to be coded only for object actors from one of our seven countries or the EU-level. Same values and rules as ACTPAR1.

FRAMES
(regarding European integration)

Variable **FRAME1S** (FRAME2S, FRAME3S)
'summary of first frame regarding European integration'

Variable **FRAME1** (FRAME2, FRAME3) (string variable)
'verbal description of the frame'

Note: Frames will only be coded for claims referring to the topic of European integration, either in the topical field=7 of European integration itself, or in one of the six substantive fields when a European integration frame is linked to the issue. Frames which are internal to one of the six topical fields and make no reference to European integration are disregarded. The list consists of four types of frames: identity frames, instrumental frames, historical frames and frames internal to the European integration process. The first type answers the question: what is the EU and what does it stand for? (e.g., too centralized, over-regulated, subsidiarity, Christian values, peace, loss of sovereignty, equality). The second type answers the question: what is the EU good (or bad) for? (e.g., fight unemployment, high taxes, greater weight in international relations, security). If the claim establishes a connection between EU integration and values and norms (identity frame) or aims outside EU integration (instrumental frame), this link should be coded here. The third type is about positive (e.g. to enlightenment or classicial antiquity) or negative (e.g. to past national isolation or to the Cold War) linkeages of the EU to historical periods or experiences. The fourth type refers to frames about (alleged) causal linkeages between one aspect of European integration and another (e.g. between enlargement and institutional reforms).

The FRAMES variable codes the value/aim to which EU integration is linked, the FRAPOS variable gives the direction of that link (except for frames internal to the integration process for which FRAPOS is not coded. Use the appropriate 'other' categories whenever you feel you cannot fit a frame in any of the existing categories.

Note that due to the addition of new categories, the 'other' categories do not anymore always come at the end!

The description in the FRAME variable should be as close to the original text as possible and should therefore also be in the original language.

Examples of frame codings:

- *Signing the Maastricht treaty would mean giving up British sovereignty: FRAMES=168, FRAPOS = -1;*
- *National sovereignty can only be retained within the context of the EU: FRAMES=168, FRAPOS=+1;*
- *Further European integration depends on the creation of a common European public sphere: FRAMES=173, FRAPOS=+2;*
- *More political integration is not possible because of the lack of a European public sphere and the impossibility of common debates and identities because of linguistic diversity: 2 frames, FRAMES=173, FRAPOS= -1, and FRAMES=153, FRAPOS= -1 (i.e. Europe is seen as NOT (capable of) constituting a public sphere and linguistic diversity as INCOMPATIBLE with further integration).*
- *European decision-making must be made more transparent: FRAMES=185, FRAPOS=+2;*
- *The euro is a further step towards a unified Europe of bureaucrats and incompetent politicians who have one thing in common: nobody has elected them: 3 frames 184 (+1), 181 (-1), 165 (-1) – Europe is bureaucratic, inefficient/incompetent and undemocratic;*

1 Identity frames: What is (or should be) the EU (not); what does (or should) it (not) stand for?

General
        111 national identity
        112 community of values
        113 civilization
        114 cosmopolitanism
        115 nationalism
        116 racism/xenophobia/ethnocentrism
        117 fascism/nazism
        118 communism
        119 capitalism
        120 (neo-)liberalism
        121 socialism/social democracy
        122 western culture
        123 Christianity/(judeo-)Christian values/culture
        124 Orthodox Christianity
        125 Islam
        126 humanism
        127 Americanization/US values
        128 globalization
        129 modernization/future-oriented
        130 other

Principles, Norms, values
        141 (social) justice
        142 freedom, liberty
        143 tolerance
        144 responsibility
        145 social equality
        146 intercultural, international understanding/dialogue (Völkerverständigung)
        147 individualism
        148 collectivism
        149 independence
        150 self-determination
        151 solidarity
        152 peace
        153 linguistic diversity
        154 diversity (general)
        155 unity
        156 free trade
        157 other
        158 equality among countries/member states/regions

Constitutional, institutional
    161 concentration
    162 fragmentation
    163 rule of law
    164 human rights
    165 democracy
    166 dictatorship/totalitarianism
    167 pluralism
    168 sovereignty
    169 centralization
    170 subsidiarity
    171 civil society, active citizenship
    172 separation of power
    173 public sphere/space
    174 other
    175 federalism

Governance
    181 efficiency, competence
    182 over-regulation
    183 deregulation
    184 bureaucracy
    185 transparency
    186 accountability
    187 corruption
    188 credibility (in citizens perspective)
    189 participation
    190 legitimacy
    191 other

2 Instrumental frames: What is the EU or a specific demand/proposal regarding the EU good (or bad) for?

general
       211 opportunity space for citizens (working, studying, living abroad)
       212 acceptance of the EU by citizens
       213 European/a country's relation with USA
       214 national interest
       215 other

political
       231 security
       232 political stability
       233 influence/weight in international relations
       234 control over transnational capital
       235 nation state over-burdened (general)
       236 cope with transnational social problems (general)
       237 environmental protection
       238 cross-border transport/traffic
       239 other

economical
       251 strength in global competition
       252 economic growth
       253 economic stability
       254 economy of scale (internal market)
       255 own (national) economy
       256 national exports
       257 competition in Europe
       258 costs
       259 taxes
       260 unemployment
       261 inflation
       262 prices
       263 social standards/social security
       264 other
       265 wastefulness (e.g., 'gravy train')
       266 public services/utilities
       267 consumer protection
       268 foreign investment

3 Historical frames: linkeages of EU/European integration to historical periods/experiences

Note: if, e.g., the argument is made that the catastrophe of WWII has taught us that a fixation on the nation-state has to be overcome in favour of European partnership, you code this as 319=WWII, and you code -1 (negative) in FRAPOS. Other examples: EU integration is necessary to overcome Spain's historical isolation: FRAMES=331, FRAPOS=-1; European identity can build on common heritage of classical culture: FRAMES=301, FRAPOS=+1; revolutions of 1989 Eastern Europe as a unifying experience for Europe as a whole: FRAMES=328, FRAPOS=+1; Enlargment is necessary to overcome divisions created by Cold War: FRAMES=324, FRAPOS=-1.

301 Graeco-Roman classical antiquity general
302 classical Greece
303 Roman Empire
304 Middle Ages
305 crusades
306 Renaissance
307 Enlightenment
308 French revolution
309 bourgeois/liberal revolutions (general)
310 industrial revolution
311 historic labour movement
312 colonialism/imperialism
313 Commonwealth/British empire
314 Russian revolution
315 first World War
316 Great Depression
317 Weimar Republic
318 Fascist/Nazi rule
319 second World War
320 holocaust
321 atomic bombs (Hiroshima, Nagasaki)
322 decolonization/colonial independence wars (Indonesia, Algeria, etc.)
223 movements of the sixties/1968
324 Cold War
325 communist/stalinist rule in Eastern Europe
326 division of Germany/'the wall'
327 perestroika, glasnost
328 anti-communist revolutions/uprisings/citizens' movements
329 1990s Balkan wars
330 terrorist attacks on USA of 2001
331 country's isolation in the past (general)
332 history of warfare/genocide (general)
333 common historical roots/traditions (general)
334 national history/tradition (general)
335 other
336 history of the EU//founding fathers and principles
337 French-German co-operation in the postwar period

4   Frames internal to EU integration: how one aspect of integration relates to another

Note: the arrows (>) should be read a > b = a is a precondition for b, either in the form of 'a leads to be', 'a makes b necessary', or 'a must be fulfilled in order to achieve b'. Examples: the argument that the common currency will create pressure towards a deeper political integration is coded as 403; a common currency can only be succesful after political reforms=404. For this type of frames, the FRAPOSriable is not coded!

      401 enlargement >institutional reforms
      402 institutional reforms > enlargement
      403 common currency > political integration
      404 political integration > common currency
      405 economic integration/common market > social integration
      406 economic integration/common market > political integration
      407 political integration > economic integration
      408 social integration > economic integration
      409 European identity/demos/civil society/public sphere > institutional reforms
      410 institutional reforms > European identity/demos/civil society/public sphere
      411 general spill-over arguments (integration as a self-sustaining process)
      412 other

Variable **FRAPOS1** (FRAPOS2, FRAPOS3)
'relation of EU to frame'

Note: not coded for frames of type 4 (frames internal to the integration process)

"The EU / the integration process....."

-2   'should not be/should not stand for/should not lead to'
-1   'is not/does not stand for/does not lead to'
0   'neutral/ambivalent'
1   'is/stands for/leads to'
2   'should be/should stand for/should lead to'

For example: if a claim is that joining the Euro would result in loss of sovereignty, this should be interpreted as: more European integration= less sovereignty. Therefore frapos it is -1. Or if the claim is that the Eu is undemocratic and that's why we oppose the Euro politically. So: more EU integration = less democracy. Therefore it is -1. A final example would be bureaucracy. If a claim implies more European integration= more bureaucracy, then frapos is +1. See further the examples under the variable FRAME, which also give examples of FRAPOS codes. These are all examples of "factual" frames that should be coded as –1 or +1. Examples of normative frames: the EU should provide more possibilities for citizen participation (frame = participation, FRAPOS=+2). We must avoid that the EU becomes a centralized super-state: frame = centralization, FRAPOS = -2.

CROSS-REFERENCES BETWEEN CLAIMS

CREFAID
'AID of coded claim to which claimant refers'

CREFCID
'CID of coded claim to which claimant refers'

Note: Only claims that were already coded for the same newspaper and which are not further than two weeks back in time should be coded here. This includes, of course, claims that occur in the same newspaper issue. Only explicit and clearly identifiable references to other claims should be coded here. I.e., not coded are vague references such as "Referring to recent statements by Gerhard Schröder, Stoiber said…. '. Coded are references such as "The government's new immigration law was heavily criticized by the Christian Democrats": the government's immigration law being a coded claim, you would enter the AID and CID of that claim in the CREFAID and CREFCID variables for the claim by the Christian Democrats. Another example would be: "Jospin praised Joschka Fischer's recent speech at the Humboldt University…": if the Fischer speech is not more than two weeks ago, you code the AID and CID of that speech in the CREFAID and CREFCID variables of the Jospin claim. Note that in direct verbal confrontations such as parliamentary debates, claims may refer to each other mutually. E.g., when the discursive structure is such that the government proposes a law, the opposition criticizes it in parliament and the government reacts to the oppositions criticism. Both would then be coded as each other's referred-to claim.
In case a claim refers to several claims, you should choose the most important one. If they seem equally important, take the most recent one. If they are equally recent, take the first mentioned one.

CREFPOS
'position of claimant with regard to referred-to claim'

-1   negative
 0   neutral/ambivalent
 1   positive

Note: evaluation of the referred-to claim by the claimant. E.g., in the above examples the reference to the new immigration law would get CREFPOS = -1 and the reference to Fischer's speech would get CREFPOS = 1.The coding of these claim evaluations does of course not replace the coding of opponent and supported actors. I.e., in the given examples you should also code the government as opponent and Fischer as supported actor.