

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 3 (Analysis of newspaper editorials)**
WP Coordinator: Barbara Pfetsch
Deliverable number: **D 3.1**

Codebook **Codebook for content coding of commentaries / editorials**

Author: Silke Adam, Barbara Berkel, Julie Firmstone, Emily Gray, Ruud Koopmans, Barbara Pfetsch, Paul Statham

Date: 20 July 2002

Copyright notice: *Non-Europub.com members are allowed to draw on this codebook for their own research purposes, provided that they make appropriate reference to this source, and the web address where it can be found. This applies to the usage of the general structure of claims coding, as well as to individual variables and category systems. Please also refer to: Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham: "Political Claims Analysis: Integrating Protest Event and Public Discourse Approaches". Mobilization 4(2): 203-222.*

Note on editorials versus other articles

This codebook is used to code commentaries by the newspaper's journalists and editors. 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.

How to recognize an editorial:

Editorials appear every day at the same place of the newspaper. Some newspapers restrict this place to the commentary section. Others as *Süddeutsche Zeitung* or *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* publish every day editorials e.g. on the first page of the business section. In many newspapers the identification of editorials is easy as the editors use a special style of layout, e.g. headline in bolt or a headline that says "Editorial".

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.

The publication of an editorial is regarded as the strategic unit of action in the public sphere constituting an instance of claims-making, where a political opinion is expressed. Logically all editorials / commentaries are single actions of claims making as they are written by different journalists. Thus: These claims have to be coded SEPERATELY for every commentary / editorial and cannot be combined.

By definition every commentary / editorial contains ONE claim of the journalist. If there are several claims of the journalist in the commentary / editorial, the main claim should be coded. *The main claim often is expressed in the last paragraph of a commentary.* This means: If you can't find a main claim, rather code the last mentioned one.

**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 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 **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

Variable **AMAINED**

'Is the editorial the main editorial, the 'Leitartikel', of the day?'

- 0 no
- 1 yes
- 2 not identifiable / not applicable

Note: If a newspaper contains only one editorial per day (e.g. The Times) it is automatically coded as main editorial. If a newspaper contains several editorials per day you have to find out if there is a main editorial every day that catches the reader's eye due to its length or special layout. If it contains one you have to make sure you can identify it so that you can code 1 = yes. If you cannot identify a main editorial or if the newspaper does not publish main editorials, code 2 = not identifiable / not applicable.

The following Variables try to establish the motivation or reason why the editorial has been written that are identifiable from the article:

Variable **CAMP**

‘Is the motivation for the editorial the newspaper’s own campaign?’

0 no
1 yes

CAMP is only coded if the editorial explicitly mentions its own campaign (own interview etc.)

Note: This variable is an attempt to identify editorials where we can see that the newspaper is actively setting its own agenda. Therefore, it is meant to be used when it is clear that the editorials has been written in response to/or to accompany another article/interview published by the paper (not necessarily in the same addition). So, when the paper secures an exclusive interview with Tony Blair in the main section of the newspaper about when Britain is going to join the Euro, and the paper then issues an editorial commenting on the contents of that interview, this equals a campaign by th enewspaper. Equally, on the day when the Sun decides to launch a campaign to increase the rights of asylum seekers (but not in response to a governement bill or speech or any other political act) then this is a campaign.

Variable INITEV1 & INITEV2

‘Which is the initiating political or communication act which stimulated the writing of the editorial?’

CFORM is an article level indicator for the initiating event which stimulates the writing of an editorial. It combines INITPO & INITCO from the original WP3 codebook into one variable. Additionally it contains the new category ‘objective extra-discursive and other political events’ which includes wars or election results. By allowing 2 acts/events to be coded it is possible to identify both an initiating political event and an initiating communication event.

Note: If more than two events are mentioned that have stimulated the editorial, the event that is mentioned both first and last in the editorial (thus beginning and closing the story line) is to be coded. It is no problem if this event is upcoming and more than two weeks ahead. Time is only considered if the beginning and end of the story line refer to different events. Then the event closest in time to the date of the editorial is to be coded.

‘political decisions’¹

- 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

¹ 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.

'judicial action'²

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

'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 graffiti
- 49 presentation of survey/poll result
- 50 publicity campaign (incl. advertizing)
- 51 PR stunts(e.g. Scharping paddling in the swimming pool, politicians feeding his kid with a beef-burger),
- 52 Broadcast transmission of specific programme made by the media such as a political documentary (TV programme, film, radio)
- 53 Internet launch of website or publication on the web i.e. anti euro campaign site
- 59 other

'meetings'³

- 61 state-political meeting (e.g., summits, state visits)⁴
- 62 party convention/congress
- 63 parliamentary session/debate
- 64 election campaign meeting
- 69 other conferences/meetings/assemblies

² 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 judiciary itself are not coded here, but as 'court rulings' under political decisions.

³ This refers to conferences, meetings, congresses etc that take place inside.

⁴ Only includes discontinuous political meetings, i.e., not included are parliamentary sessions, etc. that take place continuously throughout the year (use the categories parliamentary vote, motion, speech above).

‘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 initiative (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

‘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 boycott
- 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 other⁵

‘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

⁵ Forms of protest that are illegal but non-violent automatically count as confrontational.

‘objective extra-discursive and other political events’

- 121 wars
- 122 terrorism
- 123 (non-political) crime
- 124 natural catastrophes
- 125 epidemic crisis
- 126 accident
- 127 economic developments
- 128 cultural events (e.g. exhibition)
- 129 sports events
- 130 traffic
- 131 corruption and fraud
- 132 biographical events of politicians (death, jubilee, retirement, etc.)
- 133 election results
- 134 other

INITEVS1 (INITEVS2)

‘scope of initiating event’

Note: The scope of the initiating event is not defined by one actor, nor by the locality where the event happens to take place, but by the ensemble of actors involved. I.e. a speech of Silvio Berlusconi at an EU summit has an ‘EU’ scope, not because of Berlusconi or what he says but because this is a reunion of European actors. The scope of a speech by Tony Blair about the Euro is also defined by the audience he addresses. If it is the German Bundestag, the scope is ‘bilateral’ (UK and Germany), if it is the European Council, it is ‘EU’, if it is a meeting of the Labour Party, it is ‘national’ (UK).

- 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: For further information see variable CISSCOP.

INITEVC1 (INITEVC2)

‘country of initiating communicative event’

see list of countries

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.

Variable TITLE (string variable)

'description of journalist's claim'

Brief description of the political opinion expressed by the journalist. This should contain (if present) the addressees, the object actor, the aim of the journalist's claim.

Variable ACLAIM

'Does the editorial contain a claim in one of our issue fields?'

0 no
1 yes

IF 1 > END OF ARTICLE LEVEL CODING: IF 0 > ON TO CFIELD1

Variable **CFIELD1** (one-digit code)

'policy field' *see chapter AIM*

Variable **CISSUES1** (two-digit codes)

'summary of policy field issues' *see chapter AIM*

Variable **CISSCOA1**

Variable label 'scope of issue of conflict' *see chapter AIM*

Variable **CISCOUA1**

'country to which issue of conflict refers' *see chapter AIM*

Variable **CISSCOB1**

Variable label 'scope of issue of conflict' *see chapter AIM*

Variable **CISCOUB1**

'country to which issue of conflict refers' *see chapter AIM*

PART II:
CLAIM VARIABLES

CLAIMANT: SUBJECT ACTORS

Variable SNAME

‘Name of journalist’

Only in countries where indicated: String-variable: Type down the name (always SURNAME, NAME: e.g. Peel, Quentin) or abbreviation of the journalist.

Variable CHANGE

‘Whether journalist calls for change’

- 0 – no call for change/not to change expressed by journalist
- 1 – call for change
- 2 – neutral/ambivalent attitude as to whether change is needed
- 3 – call for the situation to remain as it is

Variable **COMMOT**

'summary self-reported motivation of commentator'

- 0 No motivation reported, motivation is limited to stated aim
- 10 Electoral motivations
- 20 Other collective self-interested motivations
(e.g., material, power, and other advantages for collective actors, national interests, clientelism, particularism)
- 30 Private self-interested motivations
(e.g., personal enrichment, ambition, vanity, personal revenge, personal favouritism)
- 40 Opportunism, populism
- 50 Obscuring one's real intentions
(e.g., diversion of attention from other issues, cover-up, create confusion, deception, frontstage/backstage tactics, hiding one's real face)
- 60 Tactical outflanking of opponents and competitors
(e.g., defamation, smear-campaign, pre-empting or outbidding opponents or competitors)
- 70 Obstruction, delay
(e.g., delaying tactics, sabotage)
- 80 Other tactical motivations
(e.g., saving face, avoiding conflict, keeping a low profile)
- 90 Idealist and moral motivations
(e.g., principles, sense of justice, conviction, belief)
- 100 Common good motivations
(e.g., national or European interests, universalism, seeking consensus or agreement, peace, defending the weak, those who cannot stand up for themselves)
- 110 Externally imposed motivations
(e.g., no other choice left or possible, outside force, lack of power and resources, action determined/prescribed by external circumstances)

Note: obviously, some categories (e.g., 30-50) are unlikely to be self-reported by commentators. They have been kept in to keep the categories compatible with those used for the variables ascribing motivations to other actors.

CLINCOM (CLINCOM2, CLINCOM3)

‘position of commentator on conflict lines’

Example: A commentator is explaining his/her vision of a fully functioning EU (conflict line 2). If he/she is stressing the argument that an intergovernmental organisation should predominate a ‘Europe of nations’, 21 is coded. If he/she prefers a supranational organisation of a ‘Federal Europe’, 22 is coded. If he/she only wants supranational elements in some fields, e.g. monetary, while he/she prefers an intergovernmental design in others, e.g. cultural questions, 23 is coded. If the argument only contains a general reference to the conflict line without evaluating it, 24 is to be coded.

The 'general position' conflict line should only be coded if a more specific code cannot be given!

Sample 2001 and 2002: Conflict lines are only coded for claims that have a European scope!

Note: There are three conflict lines which try and capture specific attitudes towards the future shape of the EU integration process. No. 3 ('future of Europe') should be used only where a vision of the shape Europe should take in the future is outlined. No. 4 (sovereignty vs. supranationality) should be used where the commentator alludes specifically to the concepts of supranationality and/or sovereignty, while no. 11 ('Widening the EU') should be used where EU enlargement is under discussion. There is also one general conflict line on 'deepening the EU', no. 10. This should only be coded where commentators' views are not captured by one of the specific conflict lines on integration already mentioned.

Political

1. Leadership in Europe

End: balance of power that works best for EU

11 Dominance – certain states should have a greater say within the EU than others (e.g. Franco-German axis)

12 Equal say – all EU member states should have an equal say within the EU (e.g. small states should have the same powers as large ones)

13 Ambivalent

14 No evaluation

2. Involvement in the European project

End: most suitable degree of regional involvement for European states

21 ‘Total withdrawal of a nation-state’ from the EU

22 ‘Nation-state should be fully involved in the European integration process’ (though all aspects of the EU are not necessarily approved of)

23 Ambivalent

24 No evaluation

- 3. Future of Europe**
 End: vision of fully functioning EU in future
 31 'Europe of the nations' where intergovernmental organisation predominates
 32 'Federal Europe' where supranational organisation predominates; 'ever closer union'
 33 Ambivalent
 34 No evaluation
- 4. Political levels**
 End: competent political organisation
 41 Sovereignty – politics and policymaking are carried out most effectively at nation-state level
 42 Supranationality – shifting competences to the supranational level is necessary for EU politics to function effectively
 43 Ambivalent
 44 No evaluation
- 5. Decision-making within the EU**
 End: appropriate decision-making structures within the EU
 51 Retention of national veto and principle of unanimity as far as possible
 52 Qualified majority voting allows flexible negotiations within the EU rather than deadlock
 53 Ambivalent
 54 No evaluation
- 6. EU reform**
 End: effective reform of EU structures
 61 Give more power to member state representatives (European Council)
 62 Give more power to the supranational institutions (European Commission)
 63 Ambivalent
 64 No evaluation
- 7. Security and defence**
 End: enhanced security for EU
 71 Traditional defence arrangements - EU states will be most secure if traditional defence arrangements are maintained (i.e. national security and NATO)
 72 Common European security and defence - security for EU states is best achieved through developing common European defence capabilities and policy
 73 Ambivalent
 74 No evaluation
- 8. Citizenship and democracy**
 End: functioning democracy
 81 Representative democracy – elected political actors (elites) represent citizens, and have a democratic mandate
 82 Citizen participation – EU should have an active civil society with citizen involvement and/or forms of direct democracy
 83 Ambivalent
 84 No evaluation
- 9. Political information in the EU**
 End: level of transparency/accountability that works best for EU
 91 Some aspects of politics require secrecy in order to function effectively – so levels of transparency are fine as they are
 92 The EU needs freedom of information, open access to documents, transparent decision-making processes and more accountability
 93 Ambivalent
 94 No evaluation

- 10. Deepening the EU (general)**
 End: depth of integration that works best for Europe
 101 More integration needed for optimal political results
 102 Less integration needed for optimal political results
 103 Ambivalent
 104 No evaluation
- 11. Widening the EU**
 End: appropriately sized EU, regional stability
 111 Don't widen the EU - membership should be kept limited, with other states staying outside the EU structure
 112 Widen the EU – an enlarged EU is beneficial, and non-EU states should be integrated into the EU structure if they meet the convergence criteria
 113 Ambivalent
 114 No evaluation
- 12. Conflict resolution through EU foreign policy actions**
 End: enhanced world political stability
 121 Confrontation is needed in order to resolve conflicts effectively
 122 Cooperation and dialogue are the most effective means of conflict resolution
 123 Ambivalent
 124 No evaluation
- 13. Relations between states in the EU**
 End: defence of interests
 131 National interests come first - self-interest paramount
 132 European interests come first - the common EU interest is paramount, and national interest should be sacrificed where necessary for the common good
 133 Ambivalent
 134 No evaluation
- 14. What type of entity the EU is/should be**
 End: the EU in its most appropriate/useful form
 141 EU as economic trading bloc, 'common market'
 142 EU as political/social as well as economic entity
 143 Ambivalent
 144 No evaluation
- 15. EU's influence in the world**
 End: Strength in global affairs for EU/member states
 151 Individual member states have sufficient global influence independent of their involvement in the EU
 152 Together we're stronger – being in the EU gives member states enhanced global leverage and weight in international affairs
 153 Ambivalent
 154 No evaluation
- 16. Europe and the USA**
 End: Europe's position in the world relative to the USA
 161 USA as sole economic/political superpower – the EU cannot/should not try to equal it
 162 Europe as effective rival for US – through deeper integration, the EU can be a strong social/economic/political rival to the USA
 163 Ambivalent
 164 No evaluation

Economic and social

17. Monetary union

End: strong EU economies

171 States better off outside euro - states can prosper outside the euro; not joining the euro is more beneficial to national economies/ the EU economy than joining it

172 Monetary union strengthens EU economies - joining it represents the best monetary policy option for EU states and/or the EU in general

173 Ambivalent

174 No evaluation

18. Role of state in economy

End: Fully functioning and prosperous economy

181 Liberalisation - emphasis on market forces (belief in importance of free trade)

182 State intervention in economy (belief in value of protectionism)

183 Ambivalent

184 No evaluation

19. Social welfare in EU societies

End: correct allocation of responsibility for individual welfare

191 Individual responsible for own welfare – it is not the state's/ the EU's duty to take responsibility for individual welfare

192 Welfare state crucial - state/EU institutions have a responsibility to aid the weaker in society (i.e. to take measures to deal with social inequalities, 'social Europe')

193 Ambivalent

194 No evaluation

20. Values

End: values/beliefs common to EU member states/ the EU

201 Nationalism and ethnocentrism

202 Cosmopolitan values

203 Ambivalent

204 No evaluation

21. Identity

End: sense of belonging/political community

211 Preservation of traditional national/regional identities

212 Change towards plural identities

213 Ambivalent

214 No evaluation

22. Expectations concerning foreign groups within EU societies

End: peaceful & secure society/polity

221 Integration – immigrant groups should attempt to integrate into host societies as much as possible

222 Diversity – cultural pluralism is the best way to a secure society

223 Ambivalent

224 No evaluation

- 23. Agricultural subsidies**
 End: Prosperous agricultural markets
 231 Farming should be subsidised (agricultural protectionism)
 232 Agriculture should be subject to market forces (free trade)
 233 Ambivalent
 234 No evaluation
- 24. Central bank independence**
 End: Effective monetary policies
 241 Central banks should be subject to some degree of governmental control
 242 Central banks should be independent of government and political influence
 243 Ambivalent
 244 No evaluation
- 25. Immigration policies**
 End: Effective immigration policies
 251 Immigration laws/policies should be harmonised across Europe
 252 Immigration is best handled by the nation-state
 253 Ambivalent
 254 No evaluation
- 26. Centralisation of educational administration**
 End: Well-administered education
 261 Administration of education (e.g. financial allocations, curriculum matters, etc.) is best handled by central authorities
 262 Administration of education is best handled in a decentralised way, e.g. by local or regional actors/individual schools
 263 Ambivalent
 264 No evaluation
- 27. Funding of higher education**
 End: Higher education to be funded appropriately
 271 University education should be funded by the state and open to all regardless of resources
 272 University education should be funded by students themselves, since it will provide them with higher earning potential in the future
 273 Ambivalent
 274 No evaluation
- 28. Selection in schools and universities**
 End: schools and universities selection procedures that work best
 281 School admissions should be open, providing equal opportunity to all
 282 Schools should be allowed to select pupils on the basis of ability, religion, etc.
 283 Ambivalent
 284 No evaluation
- 29. 'Europe a la carte'**
 End: European integration that work best
 291 'Those member states which so desire should be allowed to press forward with deeper EU integration faster than those which do not (Europe a la carte, two-speed Europe, 'Kerneuropa')
 292 'European integration should progress at a similar speed for all EU member states; a two-speed Europe is not desirable
 293 Ambivalent
 294 No evaluation

30. Reforms prior to EU enlargement

- End: priority of European integration process
- 301 Reforms to EU institutions needed before enlargement
- 302 Enlargement should go ahead regardless of EU reforms
- 303 Ambivalent
- 304 No evaluation

31. Level of problem solving

- End: efficient solving of problems
- 311 Problems should be solved at the national level
- 312 Problems should be solved at the European level
- 313 Ambivalent
- 314 No evaluation

ADDRESSEES (INDIRECT OBJECT ACTORS)

Variable **ADR1S** (ADR2S)
'summary addressee of claim'.

0	'none' (only used for second and third actors)
10	'whole polities' ⁶
20	'politicians' (if unspecified and unclear whether referring to government, parliament or parties)
30	'former states(wo)men'
40	'government/executive' ⁷
50	'legislative' ⁸
60	'judiciary' ⁹
70	'police and internal security agencies' ¹⁰
80	'military' ¹¹
90	'central banks'
100	'social security executive organizations' (incl. state pension funds)
110	'other state executive agencies' ¹²
120	'political parties' ¹³
130	'unions and employees' ¹⁴
140	'employers organizations and firms' (incl. private pension funds; excl. agriculture)
150	'churches and religious organizations and groups'
160	'media and journalists'

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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.

⁹ E.g., European Court of Justice, openbaar ministerie (public prosecutor), individual judges, juries.

¹⁰ E.g., police, marechaussee, Bundesgrenzschutz, secret service, Verfassungsschutz, Europol. Note: the Police Union is coded as a union.

¹¹ E.g., Bundeswehr, NATO.

¹² E.g., ILO, WHO, Einwohnermeldeamt, Schulaufsichtsbehörde.

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ Includes the general categories "workers" and "employees".

- 170 'farmers and agricultural organizations'
 180 educational professionals and organizations' (incl. schools, universities in their educational capacity)
 190 'economists and financial experts'
 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'¹⁵
 230 'consumer organizations and groups'
 240 'migrant organizations and groups'¹⁶
 250 'pro- and anti-European campaign organizations and groups'
 260 'solidarity and human rights organizations'¹⁷
 270 'welfare organizations'¹⁸
 280 'racist and extreme right organizations and groups'¹⁹
 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'²⁰
 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'

If of one physical actor two functions are mentioned, the highest level capacity in terms of the scope variable (see below) is coded. E.g., if the article says "Portuguese prime minister and current Chair of the EU Presidency Guterres" 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

¹⁵ E.g., Deutscher Ärztekammer, Berufsverband Deutscher Psychologen, Deutscher Sportbund, doctors, football players, writers, solicitors, musicians. Note: unions are always coded as unions, non-union organizations of police and judges are coded under their respective institution.

¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ This includes only private organizations such as Pro Asyl, Anti-Racist Alliance, Arbeiterwohlfahrt, Amnesty International, Terre des Hommes, medecins sans frontières etc.

¹⁸ E.g. Red Cross, Arbeiterwohlfahrt, not state welfare agencies (these are coded as state executive agencies).

¹⁹ 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).

²⁰ Including not already mentioned social categories such as 'youth', 'the unemployed', 'children', etc.

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.

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 **ADREVAL1** (ADREVAL2)

'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. 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: **ADRSCOP1** (ADRSCOP2)

‘Scope of addressee.

- 1 ‘supranational: United Nations’²¹
- 2 ‘other supranational’²²
- 3 ‘European Union’²³
- 4 ‘other European supranational’²⁴
- 5 ‘multilateral’
- 6 ‘bilateral’²⁵
- 7 ‘national’²⁶
- 8 ‘regional’²⁷
- 9 ‘local’²⁸
- 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'.

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

²¹ E.g., Security Council., UNHCR, UNESCO, ILO, WHO.

²² 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.

²³ 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.

²⁴ 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

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ 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).

²⁸ E.g., local governments, local parties and party branches, Braunschweiger Zeitung, Jüdische Gemeinde Berlin, Fürther Komitee gegen Rechtsradikalismus.

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 **ADRCOUN1** (ADRCOUN2)

'Country of addressee

Note: To be coded only if ADRSCOP1 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 **ADR1** (ADR2)

'addressee (detailed categories only for European and higher-level actors).

Note: More detailed subdivision of ADRIS only for European-level and other supranational actors (ADRSCOP=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 ADRIS.

(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 Community Agency, including:
Office for Harmonisation in the Internal Market (trade marks, designs) (OHIM),
Community Plant Variety Office,
European Agency for the Evaluation of Medicinal Products (EMA),
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 **ADRPARI** (ADRPAR2)

'Party affiliation of addressee'

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 affiliation.

Variable ADRTYP1 (ADERYP2)

`Type of addressee`

- 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 ADRNAME1 (ADRNAME2) (only for ADRTYPE=5, string variable)

'name of addressee

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

ADRCLIN1 (ADRCLIN2)

'position of addressee on conflict lines'

See CLINCOM

Variable **ADRMOS1** (ADRMOS2)

‘summary ascribed motivation of addressee

- 0 No ascribed motivation, motivation is limited to stated aim
- 10 Electoral motivations
- 20 Other collective self-interested motivations
(e.g., material, power, and other advantages for collective actors, clientelism, particularism)
- 30 Private self-interested motivations
(e.g., personal enrichment, ambition, vanity, personal revenge, personal favouritism)
- 40 Opportunism, populism
- 50 Obscuring one’s real intentions
(e.g., diversion of attention from other issues, cover-up, create confusion, deception, frontstage/backstage tactics, hiding one’s real face)
- 60 Tactical outflanking of opponents and competitors
(e.g., defamation, smear-campaign, pre-empting or outbidding opponents or competitors)
- 70 Obstruction, delay
(e.g., delaying tactics, sabotage)
- 80 Other tactical motivations
(e.g., saving face, avoiding conflict, keeping a low profile)
- 90 Idealist and moral motivations
(e.g., principles, sense of justice, conviction, belief)
- 100 Common good motivations
(e.g. national or European interests, universalism, seeking consensus or agreement, peace, defending the weak, those who cannot stand up for themselves)
- 110 Externally imposed motivations
(e.g., no other choice left or possible, outside force, lack of power and resources, action determined/prescribed by external circumstances)

E.g., when a comment states that the Christian Democrats refuse to vote for a new immigration law, which is almost identical to their own former proposals, and that they do so because of electoral considerations, then ‘electoral considerations’ would be the ascribed motivation. Ascribed motivations may also be positive, e.g., when the commentator says that an actor acts in the public interest or for the common good, or follows his convictions.

Variable **ADRMOT1** (ADRMOT2)

‘ascribed motivation of addressee (string variable, in original language)’

Variable **ADRCHAS1** (ADRCHAS2)

‘ascribed character/personality traits of addressee’

- 0 none
- 1 negative
- 2 mixed/ambivalent
- 3 positive

Note: Negative refers to character issues which are evaluated (implicitly or explicitly) negatively by the commentator, positive refers to positively evaluated characteristics.

Variable **ADRCHA1** (ADRCHA2)

‘string variable with wording of characterization of addressee (in original language)’

Variable **OPPACT1** (OPPACT2)
'summary opponent actor of claim'.

Same categories as ADR1S.

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 **OPPSCOP1** (OPPSCOP2)
'scope of opponent actor'

Same values as ADRSCOP

Variable **OPP1** (OPP2)
'opponent (detailed categories only for European and higher-level actors).

Note: More detailed subdivision of OPPACT only for European-level and other supranational actors (OPPSCOP=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 ADR1S.

Variable **OPPCOUN1** (OPPCOUN2) (Only coded when OPSCOP is 3-9)
'country of opponent actor'

Same values as ADRCOUN1

Variable **OPPAR1** (OPPAR2)
'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 ADRPAR.

Variable **OPPTYP1** (OPPTYP2)

'Type of opponent 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 **OPPNAME1** (OPPNAME2) (only for OPPTYPE=5, string variable)

'name of opponent actor'

Note: full name of the organisation or the spokesperson for an organization or institution.

Format: Blair, Tony; Schroeder, Gerhard; etc.

OPPCLIN1 (OPPCLIN2)

'position of addressee on conflict lines'

See CLINCOM

Variable **OPPMOS1** (OPPMOS2)

‘summary ascribed motivation of opponent actor

- 0 No ascribed motivation, motivation is limited to stated aim
- 10 Electoral motivations
- 20 Other collective self-interested motivations
(e.g., material, power, and other advantages for collective actors, clientelism, particularism)
- 30 Private self-interested motivations
(e.g., personal enrichment, ambition, vanity, personal revenge, personal favouritism)
- 40 Opportunism, populism
- 50 Obscuring one’s real intentions
(e.g., diversion of attention from other issues, cover-up, create confusion, deception, frontstage/backstage tactics, hiding one’s real face)
- 60 Tactical outflanking of opponents and competitors
(e.g., defamation, smear-campaign, pre-empting or outbidding opponents or competitors)
- 70 Obstruction, delay
(e.g., delaying tactics, sabotage)
- 80 Other tactical motivations
(e.g., saving face, avoiding conflict, keeping a low profile)
- 90 Idealist and moral motivations
(e.g., principles, sense of justice, conviction, belief)
- 100 Common good motivations
(e.g., national or European interests, universalism, seeking consensus or agreement, peace, defending the weak, those who cannot stand up for themselves)
- 110 Externally imposed motivations
(e.g., no other choice left or possible, outside force, lack of power and resources, action determined/prescribed by external circumstances)

E.g., when a comment states that the Christian Democrats refuse to vote for a new immigration law, which is almost identical to their own former proposals, and that they do so because of electoral considerations, then ‘electoral considerations’ would be the ascribed motivation. Ascribed motivations may also be positive, e.g., when the commentator says that an actor acts in the public interest or for the common good, or follows his convictions.

Variable **OPPMOT1** (OPPMOT2)

‘ascribed motivation of opponent actor (string variable, in original language)’

Variable **OPPCHAS1** (OPPCHAS2)

‘ascribed character/personality traits of opponent actor’

- 0 none
- 1 negative
- 2 mixed/ambivalent
- 3 positive

Note: Negative refers to character issues which are evaluated (implicitly or explicitly) negatively by the commentator, positive refers to positively evaluated characteristics.

Variable **OPPCHA1** (OPPCHA2)

‘string variable with wording of characterization of opponent actor (in original language)’

Variable **SUPACT1** (SUPACT2)
'summary supported actor of claim'.

Same categories as ADR1S.

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 **SUPSCOP1** (SUPSCOP2)
'scope of supported actor'

Same values as ADRSCOP

Variable **SUP1** (SUP2)
'supporter (detailed categories only for European and higher-level actors).

Note: More detailed subdivision of SUPACT only for European-level and other supranational actors (SUPSCOP=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 ADR1S.

Variable **SUPCOUN1** (SUPCOUN2) (Only coded when SUPSCOP is 3-9)
'country of supported actor'

Same values as ADRCOUN1

Variable **SUPPAR1** (SUPPAR2)
'party affiliation of supported actor'

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

Variable **SUPTYP1** (SUPTYP2)

'Type of supported 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 **SUPPNAM1** (SUPPNAM2) (only for SUPPTYPE=5, string variable)

'name of supported actor'

Note: full name of the organisation or the spokesperson for an organization or institution.

Format: Blair, Tony; Schroeder, Gerhard; etc.

SUPCLIN1 (SUPCLIN2)

'position of addressee on conflict lines'

See CLINCOM

Variable SUPMOTS1 (SUPMOTS2)

‘summary ascribed motivation of supported actor

- 0 No ascribed motivation, motivation is limited to stated aim
- 10 Electoral motivations
- 20 Other collective self-interested motivations
(e.g., material, power, and other advantages for collective actors, clientelism, particularism)
- 30 Private self-interested motivations
(e.g., personal enrichment, ambition, vanity, personal revenge, personal favouritism)
- 40 Opportunism, populism
- 50 Obscuring one’s real intentions
(e.g., diversion of attention from other issues, cover-up, create confusion, deception, frontstage/backstage tactics, hiding one’s real face)
- 60 Tactical outflanking of opponents and competitors
(e.g., defamation, smear-campaign, pre-empting or outbidding opponents or competitors)
- 70 Obstruction, delay
(e.g., delaying tactics, sabotage)
- 80 Other tactical motivations
(e.g., saving face, avoiding conflict, keeping a low profile)
- 90 Idealist and moral motivations
(e.g., principles, sense of justice, conviction, belief)
- 100 Common good motivations
(e.g., national or European interests, universalism, seeking consensus or agreement, peace, defending the weak, those who cannot stand up for themselves)
- 110 Externally imposed motivations
(e.g., no other choice left or possible, outside force, lack of power and resources, action determined/prescribed by external circumstances)

E.g., when a comment states that the Christian Democrats refuse to vote for a new immigration law, which is almost identical to their own former proposals, and that they do so because of electoral considerations, then ‘electoral considerations’ would be the ascribed motivation. Ascribed motivations may also be positive, e.g., when the commentator says that an actor acts in the public interest or for the common good, or follows his convictions.

Variable SUPPMOT1 (SUPPMOT2)

‘ascribed motivation of supported actor (string variable, in original language)’

Variable **SUPCHAS1** (SUPCHAS2)

‘ascribed character/personality traits of supported actor’

- 0 none
- 1 negative
- 2 mixed/ambivalent
- 3 positive

Note: Negative refers to character issues which are evaluated (implicitly or explicitly) negatively by the commentator, positive refers to positively evaluated characteristics.

Variable **SUPPCHA1** (SUPPCHA2)

‘string variable with wording of characterization of opponent actor (in original language)’

AIMS

*Note: As editorials often deal with several issues it is possible to code up to three different issues. The main issue which is the most important or, if the most important is not identifiable, the first mentioned issue is coded as **CISSUE1/CISSUES1**.*

Variable **CFIELD1** (one-digit code) (CFIELD2, CFIELD3)
'policy field'

- 0 None
- 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'

Variable **CISSUES1** (CISSUES2, CISSUES3) (two-digit codes)
'summary of policy field issues'

0 None

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 committed 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/deportations²⁹

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.

Troops deployment

- 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** **deployment of troops in the context of military alliances**
- 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.

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 education, generally or particularly **for socio-economically or otherwise 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 EU 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 **CISSUE1** (CISSUE2, CISSUE3) (string variable)
'issue of conflict'

Note: 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 succinctly as possible in words. The description should be in English, but where appropriate you may including original wording, e.g. in brackets.

Sample 2001 and 2002: Only for claims with a European scope!

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 **CISSCOA1** (CISSCOA2, CISSCOA3)
Variable label 'scope of issue of conflict'

Note: Editorials do not only often deal with different issues. Additionally these issues often have several scopes. Therefore two different scopes, CISSCOA and CISSCOB, can be coded for each issue. CISSCOA is similar to ISSCOP in the claims codebook in that always the highest relevant scope is coded. An additional other scope is captured by CISSCOB. E.g. an editorial that is about enlargement and that pays special attention to the role of Poland: CISSCOA = 3, but CISSCOB = 7 (Poland).

- 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'

Variable **CISCOUA1** (CISCOUA2, CISCOUA3)
'country to which issue of conflict refers'
Only to be coded if cisscoa1=3-4.

Variable **CISSCOB1** (CISSCOB2, CISSCOB3)
Variable label 'scope of issue of conflict'

Value labels

- 0 'no additional issue scope'
- 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'

If next to the scope coded in *cisscoa* there is still another relevant scope, you can code this in this variable (otherwise you code 0 'no additional scope'). If you have to choose between several additional scopes, you do not have to follow the 'highest level' rule, but you simply code the one you consider to be the most important. If still in doubt, take the *lowest* rather than the highest scope.

Cisscoa and *cisscob* refer 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'.

Variable **CISCOUB1** (CISCOUB2, CISCOUB3)
'country to which issue of conflict refers'

Only to be coded if *cisscob1*=3-9.

Variable **CISPOS1** (CISPOS2, CISPOS3)

Variable label 'Relation of issue position (aim) towards European integration'

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

This variable seeks to capture the objective effect of commentator's claim on rights, resources, competencies of European institutions

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.

Variable **CEVALEU1** (CEVALEU2, CEVALEU3)

Variable label 'subjective attitude towards EU/integration process of commentator'

- 1 negative
- 0 neutral/ambivalent
- 1 positive

Note: Combined, cipsos and cevaleu allow to code more subtle arguments of the kind when the commentator says that the integration process can only be salvaged by giving back some competencies to the national level, or by shifting power from the commission to the council of ministers. In both cases this implies objectively a reduction in the competencies etc. of the EU, and therefore ispos would be -1. However, at the same time the claim refers positively to the integration process, i.e. it is not hostile to the integration process as such (and as such different from the typical position of, e.g., The Sun which would get -1 on both variables).

Variable **ASPECT**

‘Main aspect that is commented upon’

This variable distinguishes between journalists’ claims that mainly comment upon a substantial subject of an issue (e.g. the pros and cons of deployment of troops) or upon the political process and dispute around that issue (e.g. the commenting upon the parliamentary decision on deploying troops). The substantial issue itself is our selection criterion – that means that all claims somehow deal with the substantial issue. The question is whether a journalist stays with the policy topic or whether he presents the policy topic as a political dispute.

Is the ‘dispute-aspect’ within a topic mainly commented upon?

- 1 no (substantial issue is commented upon)
- 2 yes (political dispute is commented upon)

OBJECT ACTORS

Variable **OBJECT1, OBJECT2, OBJECT3**

‘summary object actor of claim’.

Same categories as ADR1S.

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 bombarding Afghanistan in order to allow humanitarian aid to the Afghan population (actor=UNHCR, addressee=USA, object=Afghan population).

If a claim has several object actors, the priority rule is that organizations, institutions or representatives thereof have priority over unorganized collectivities or individuals. If there are several object actors or no object 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).

In case there are several object actors whose interests are affected by a claim, the ultimate object 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.

Variable **OBJSCOP1, OBJSCOP2, OBJSCOP3**

‘scope of object actor’

Same values as ADRSCOP

Variable **OBJ1, OBJ2, OBJ3**

'object actor (detailed categories only for European and higher-level actors).

Note: More detailed subdivision of OBJACT only for European-level and other supranational actors (OBJSCOP=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 ADRIS.

Variable **OBJCOUN1, OBJCOUN2, OBJCOUN3**

(Only coded when OBJSCOP is 3-9)

'country of object actor'

Same values as ADRCOUN1

Variable **OBJPAR1, OBJPAR2, OBJPAR13**

'party affiliation of object actor'

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

Variable **OBJTYP1, OBJTYP2, OBJTYP3**

'Type of object 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 **OBJNAME1, OBJNAME12, OBJNAME13**

(only for OBJTYPE=5, string variable)

'name of object actor'

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

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 **OBJMOT1, OBJMOT2, OBJMOT3**
'summary ascribed motivation of object actor'

categories see ADRMOT

Variable **OBJMOTS1, OBJMOTS2, OBJMOTS3**
'ascribed motivation of object actor (string variable, in original language)'

Variable **OBJCHA1, OBJCHA2, OBJCHA3**
'ascribed character/personality traits of object actor'

0 none
1 negative
2 mixed/ambivalent
3 positive

Note: Negative refers to character issues which are evaluated (implicitly or explicitly) negatively by the commentator, positive refers to positively evaluated characteristics.

Variable **OBJCHAS1, OBJCHAS2, OBJCHAS3**
'string variable with wording of characterization of object actor (in original language)'

FRAMES

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 classical antiquity) or negative (e.g. to past national isolation or to the Cold War) linkages of the EU to historical periods or experiences. The fourth type refers to frames about (alleged) causal linkages 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: linkages 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; Enlargement 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 b', '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 successful after political reforms=404. For this type of frames, the FRAPOvariable 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.