



PolDem – National Election Campaign Dataset on EU issues

- Version 1 -

poldem-election_eu

Please cite as:

Grande, Edgar, Hutter, Swen, Kriesi, Hanspeter, Dolezal, Martin, Hellström, Johan, and Maag, Simon 2020. *PolDem-National Election Campaign Dataset on EU issues*, Version 1.

Short version for in-text citations & references: Grande, et al. 2020. *PolDem-National Election Campaign Dataset on EU issues*, Version 1.

www.poldem.eu

Introduction

The codebook lists the variables in the PolDem election campaign dataset on EU issues and explains our strategy of data collection (also in case, you want to update the dataset yourself). This media-based dataset on party-issue associations has been collected in the project *Politicizing European Integration*, financed by the German Research Council DFG. The user of the dataset should check out the book *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics* edited by Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande, and Hanspeter Kriesi (<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316422991>). It shows what can be done with the dataset.

Note that the more general dataset `poldem-election_all` covers more countries and issues (including European integration issues). However, this dataset covers all election campaigns in the six countries continuously from the 1970s to 2010, and all sentences related to European integration have been coded. This means you can say more about the specific European issues being debated during national election campaigns with this dataset

Note also that the dataset “`poldem-election_eu_aggregated`” contains the calculations for the aggregate features of the various campaigns, most importantly, the salience, polarization, and actor expansion of the EU integration issues.

List of countries and election campaigns

Austria	1970, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2006, 2008
France	1974, 1981, 1988, 1995, 2002, 2007
Germany	1972, 1976, 1980, 1983, 1987, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2005, 2009
Sweden	1973, 1976, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010
Switzerland	1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007
UK	1974, 1975, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1997a, 2001, 2005, 2010

Variables in the Dataset

Variable name	Values
country	1 A
	2 F
	3 D
	4 S
	5 CH
	6 GB
year	32 unique values [1970,2010]
coretype	1 actor-actor
	2 actor-issue
subject1	11 Subnat. executive/gov.
	13 Subnat. political party
	14 Subnat. private interest org.
	15 Subnat. public interest org.
	21 Nat. executive/government
	22 Nat. judiciary
	23 Nat. political party
	24 Nat.private interest org.
	25 Nat. public interest org.
	26 Nat.scientists/experts
	27 Nat. business actors
	28 Nat. others
	29 Nat. no org. affiliation
	31 Foreign executive/gov.
33 Foreign political party	
34 Foreign private interest org.	
41 European institutions/bodies	
42 International org.	
43 Internat./European others	
subject1_exe	0 no
	1 yes
subject2	304 unique values [1001,7722]
subject3	1,397 unique values [7,3844]
subject_cntry	1 A
	2 F
	3 D
	4 S
	5 CH
	6 GB
	10 B
	23 DK
	25 E
	28 EUROPE
	29 FIN
	33 GR
	34 H
	36 I
	39 INT
	40 IRL
	43 J
	45 L
	54 NL
56 P	
57 PL	
65 SLO	
69 TR	
71 USA	

partys	101 unique strings
partyfams	1 communists/leftsoc 2 social democrats 3 greens 4 liberals 5 christ-dem/conservatives 6 populist radical right 7 other parties (incl. EU protest) 101-107 coalitions
subject_ex	[0; 1]
subject_nat	[0; 1]
quality	[-1; -.5; 0; .5; 1]
object1	11 Subnat. executive/gov. 12 Subnat.judiciary 13 Subnat. political party 14 Subnat. private interest org. 21 Nat. executive/government 22 Nat. judiciary 23 Nat. political party 24 Nat.private interest org. 25 Nat. public interest org. 26 Nat.scientists/experts 27 Nat. business actors 28 Nat. others 29 Nat. no org. affiliation 31 Foreign executive/gov. 33 Foreign political party 36 Foreign scientists/experts 37 Foreign business actors 41 European institutions/bodies 42 International org. 43 Internat./European others
object1_exe	0 no 1 yes
object2	200 unique strings
object3	373 unique strings
object_cntry	35 unique strings
partyo	56 unique values [1000,7007]
partyfamo	1 communists/leftsoc 2 social democrats 3 greens 4 liberals 5 christ-dem/conservatives 6 populist radical right 7 other parties (incl. EU protest) 101-107 coalitions
issue	471 unique strings
issue_policies	1 Agriculture 2 Ecolib/Market 3 Budget 4 Monetary 5 Regional/Cohesion 6 Social 7 Justice/Police 8 Foreign/Security 9 Schengen/Asylum 10 Environment/Transport

	11 Research/education 12 EuInt: general statements 13 EuInt: general treaties 14 EuInt: institutions/decision-making 15 Enlargement/membership 16 Democracy 17 Euro Crisis 999 Others
issue_eu3	1 General orientations 2 Constitutive 3 Policy-related
quality_eu6	[-1; -.5; 0; .5; 1]
issue_eu6	1 General orientations 2 Deepening: non-economic 3 Deepening: economic 4 Widening 5 Intervention: non-economic 6 Intervention: economic 999 Others
issue_eucris	
frame1	11 c1 nationalistic-ethnic 12 c2 nationalistic-institutional 13 c3 multiculturalist-universalist 21 e1 labour & social security 22 e2 economic prosperity/liberalism 31 ou1 political efficiency & efficacy 32 ou2 security 33 ou3 environment/sustainability 34 ou4 procedural/strategic 35 ou5 other utilitarian
frame2	same as frame1
frame3	same as frame1
arena	11 EU/intern.: executive 12 EU/intern.: judicial 13 EU/intern.: parliamentary 21 nat&subnat: executive 22 nat&subnat: judicial 23 nat&subnat: parliamentary 31 intermed.: party/electoral 32 intermed.: protest 33 intermed.: direct-democratic 34 intermed.: interest mediation 41 others: verbal statement 999 info. not available
newspaper	10 Die Presse 20 Le Monde 30 Süddeutsche Zeitung 40 Svenska Dagbladet 41 Dagens Nyheter 50 Neue Zürcher Zeitung 60 The Times
articleid	3,338 unique strings
coreid	15,949 unique values [1100001,6103988]
corecount	26 unique values [1,27]
date	1,460 unique dates
title	2,156 unique strings

page	79 unique values
rubric	203 unique strings
length	992 unique values [.01,9253]
sentencetext	10,231 unique strings

Selection and sampling of articles

Newspapers	In the following, we describe how we select and sample the articles used for our coding. We rely on one quality newspaper per country: Austria (<i>Die Presse</i>), France (<i>Le Monde</i>), Germany (<i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i>), Sweden (<i>Svenska Dagbladet</i>), Switzerland (<i>Neue Zürcher Zeitung</i>), and the United Kingdom (<i>The Times</i>). ¹
Editorial part and relevant sections	We focus on the editorial part of the newspapers. We do not cover press commentaries and letters to the editors. However, we analyze commentaries by other actors than journalists (e.g. politicians, scientists). We select the sections on national and international politics and on economics. We exclude sections on other topics, for example, local issues, sports or culture ('feuilleton').
We code two months before the election	For national elections, we always select a two-months-period leading to election day. We select all days on which the newspaper has been published during this period.
We select all articles that report on 'national' party political actors	If the articles are electronically available, we select all articles that report on elections and candidates as well as on national political parties in general by relying on a country-specific list of ' <u>national politics keywords</u> '. The list should include keywords related to the election (e.g. 'Bundestagswahl'), names of political parties, candidates, government personnel as well as other political key actors (e.g. party leaders). It depends on the style of the newspaper if a list of all political parties is already good enough to find most of the relevant articles. A preliminary list of British 'national politics keywords' can be found in the Appendix. Our four research teams need to develop such lists for their countries. If the articles are not electronically available, we select all articles that report on these topics in the title, sub-title or lead – or the first paragraph if no lead is available. ² It is important that we also report the size of all selected articles.

¹ For the study of protest events, we alternatively rely on the *Frankfurter Rundschau* for Germany and *The Guardian* for the United Kingdom.

² We have to cross-check our electronic searches with the manual selection strategy by comparing the results for one election in every country.

We select all articles that report on European integration

Out of the sample of all articles on ‘national’ political actors, we select those articles that report on European integration defined in a broad way (see below). To select these articles, we rely on another list of keywords that refers to European integration in general, European actors and institutions as well as the fourteen major steps of integration (see Table 1). A preliminary list of ‘European integration keywords’ in English can be found in the Appendix. The list should, however, be adapted to the specific time period of each election and the style of the newspaper. It needs to be stressed that we still need the number of all articles dealing with national political actors to assess how salient European integration is during an election campaign compared to all other kinds of issues. This is why we also select and report those articles as in the case of ‘elections (complete)’.

What is a European issue?

Following Bartolini (2005: 310), one can distinguish very general orientations towards the European integration process, constitutive issues and isomorphic/policy-oriented issues. General orientations cover only very abstract issues (e.g. ‘European integration as a whole’, ‘European Union’ etc.).³ Constitutive issues, by contrast, are more specific and pertain to ‘membership’ (i.e. geographical and functional boundaries of the EU), competencies (i.e. what should be done at the European level), institutional structure and decision-making rules (i.e. how should the collective decision be taken on the European level). Finally, isomorphic/policy-oriented issues – or normal issues, as Schmitt (2007: 13f.) calls it – correspond to similarly structured national issues, in which the EU institutions are involved. The European Union is now active in virtually every policy field, and it has some competences even in areas such as security and social policy regulation, which used to be exclusive domains of the nation state. Thus, almost any political issue can be regarded as a ‘European issue’, as long as European institutions are – or should be – involved.

We use a ‘broad’ definition

We follow such a broad definition of European issues and include “general and a specific orientation to the EU, specific constitutive issues concerning the nature of the polity, and even more specific isomorphic issues defining the nature of the policies” (Bartolini 2005: 310).

It is, however, important to note that we only include policy-oriented issues in our analysis whenever the actors that we are coding explicitly refer to the issue’s European dimension. This is very obvious when political actors talk about the content of European legislation (e.g. the Common Agricultural Policy). It is however tricky whenever

³ Whenever we speak of the European Union, its ‘predecessor’ institutions (e.g. European Coal and Steel Community) and specific bodies/institutions (e.g. Council, European Commission, European Central Bank, European Court of Justice etc.) are also meant.

- they talk about general policy fields (e.g. agricultural policy in general). In these cases,
- (a) political actors need to favor/disfavor a regulation on the European level,
 - (b) political actors need to address a European actor/institution, or
 - (c) a European institution/actor addresses an issue.

For the coding process, one finds a list of ‘European issues’ that can serve as a reference point.

Short introduction to the core-sentence analysis

Outline of the following paragraphs

In the following, we explain what a core sentence is and introduce two main types of core sentences. Thereafter, we introduce additional elements of a core sentence (i.e. issue references and frames), discuss multiple core sentences in one grammatical sentence and, finally, focus on interpretation and past positions.

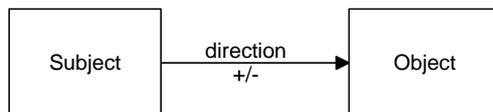
Types of core sentences

Every relationship between objects is a core sentence

The core sentence approach codes every relationship between ‘objects’. According to this procedure, each sentence of an article is reduced to its most basic structure, the so called ‘core sentence’, indicating only its subject (the actor) and its object (actor or issue) as well as the direction of the relationship between the two.

Direction of relationship

The direction between subject and object is always quantified using a scale ranging from -1 to +1 with three intermediary positions indicating a ‘potential’ or an ambiguous relation (see variable quality).



Grammatical vs. semantic structure of a sentence

The number of core sentences in an article does not equal the number of grammatical sentences, as one sentence can include none, one or several core sentences. That is why it is important to differentiate between the grammatical and the semantic structure of a sentence. A simple example shows the difference.

(a) Merkel welcomes Committee of the Regions' declaration on cultural diversity.

(b) Committee of the Regions' declaration on cultural diversity is welcomed by Merkel.

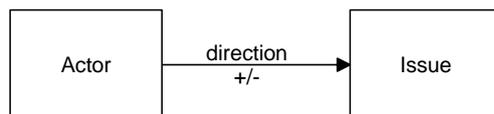
The grammatical subjects of the two sentences differ: Merkel in the first sentence and Committee of the Regions in the second. The semantic subject does not change, as in both cases Angela Merkel (subject) is the actor who welcomes the declaration (object).

We focus on actor-issue & actor-actor sentences

For the present study, we are interested in two main types of core sentences that indicate different combinations of semantic subjects and objects: actor-issue and actor-actor sentences⁴ - thus relationships either between two actors or an actor and an issue appearing in the text.

Actor-issue sentences

1. Actor-issue sentences



In actor-issue sentences, an actor takes a position towards a political issue.

Examples:

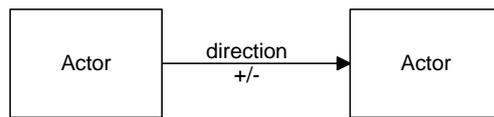
(a) French Socialists say yes to the European constitution → PS/+1/European constitution;

(b) The German Chancellor Kohl welcomes the accession of Sweden → Kohl/+1/Swedish EU membership

⁴ In the original formulation proposed by Kleinnijenhuis et al. (1997; see also Kleinnijenhuis and Pennings 2001), there were five types of core sentences: actor-issue, actor-actor, actor-social groups as well as evaluative and reality sentences. We treat positive or negative relations between an actor and a social group as actor-issue sentences, while evaluative sentences can also be coded as actor-actor sentences, in which the cited actor or newspaper can be treated as the subject. Reality sentences lack an object, as one gets only information on the chance, success or failure of a political actor (e.g. 'Barroso worries about getting a new mandate' → Reality/-1/Barroso). In this project, we do however not code such reality sentences because the information they provide are not relevant for our research questions.

Actor-actor sentences

2. Actor-actor sentences



In actor-actor sentences, an actor takes a position towards another actor.

Examples:

(a) European Commission praises Danish government for taking stronger action → European Commission/+1/Danish government;

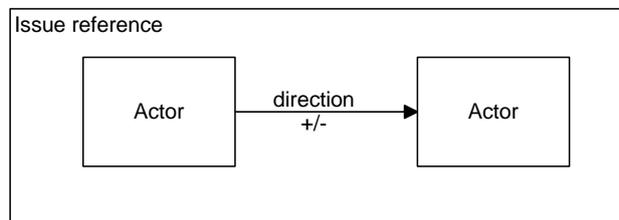
(b) Nicolas Sarkozy attacked the ‘wounding and outrageous’ refusal of the Czech president to fly a European flag → Sarkozy/-1/Havel.

Additional elements: Issue references, frames

Additional elements of a core sentence are issue references and frames.

Issue references can supplement actor-actor sentences

Issue references can only be added to an actor-actor sentence. Issue references are coded when an actor-actor relation is taken with reference to a specific issue. An actor does most of the time not simply support or criticize another actor out of the blue. By contrast, an actor’s issue positions are supported or criticized.



Examples:

(a) Liberals attacked Christoph Blocher (SVP) because of its ‘demonstration against Europe’ in Zurich on Saturday → FDP/-1/Blocher IR: European integration;

(b) Merkel welcomes Nicolas Sarkozy’s call for a European supervisory body on financial transactions → Merkel/+1/Sarkozy IR: Tougher European regulations of financial markets.

Issue references can lead to additional actor-issue sentences

Often, actor-actor sentences with an issue reference include additional actor-issue sentences which we also need to code.

Example (a) includes explicit information about an actor’s issue position (→ Blocher/-1/European integration). Example (b) includes two additional actor-issue sentences (→ Merkel/+1/ Tougher European regulations of financial markets; → Sarkozy/+1/ Tougher European regulations of financial markets)

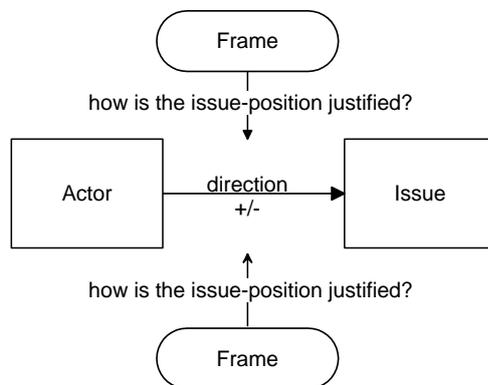
How does an actor justify its issue-positions?

Frames are arguments that are put forward by political actors to support or oppose their positions towards a particular political issue. This is why we regard frames as patterns of justifications, which corresponds to the problem-definition aspect in Entman's (1993: 52) definition of framing: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation." In other words, the frame variable answers how political actors define a particular problem, and in our particular case how they justify their positions towards a political issue.

As we like to know which actors employ an argument, we code frames on a propositional level (see Vliegenthart 2007: 144): Each frame is clearly attributable to a specific core sentence by a particular political actor (in which it is embedded). This allows us to study: Who frames an issue in what kind of ways?

Frames can supplement actor-issue sentences:

As frames are arguments to justify a certain issue positions, we only code frames for actor-issue sentences. For the present project, frames are only coded for 'European issues'. The key question is whether one finds arguments in the article that the actor (explicitly or implicitly) uses to justify its issue-position.



Examples:

(a) Le Pen said the European constitution is an attempt to create a superstate at the expense of national identities. → We not only know that Le Pen/-/European constitution but also why he opposes the Constitution → Frames: Superstate & threat to national identity;

(b) Mrs Thatcher is sticking closely to her line that unless contributions are linked to national prosperity, she will not sanction any increase in the Community's revenue → Thatcher/-/Increase EC budget Frame: National prosperity.

Symmetric and multiple relations

A grammatical sentence can include more than one core sentence. The most important examples are symmetric and multiple relations.

Symmetric relations

Relations between two actors are symmetric whenever the subject and the object of a sentence could be exchanged without changing the meaning of the sentence. Symmetric relations are coded twice. Both actors are once coded as the subject and as the object of a core sentence.

Example:

(a) The British prime minister, Gordon Brown, and French President, Nicolas Sarkozy, agreed on establishing a high representative for foreign affairs → Brown/+1/Sarkozy IR: Representative for foreign affairs; → Sarkozy/+1/Brown IR: Representative for foreign affairs. In addition, the example includes two actor-issue sentences → Brown/+1/Representative for foreign affairs; → Sarkozy/+1/Representative for foreign affairs.

We only code symmetric relations for up to three actors

We only code such symmetric relations for up to three actors. In the other cases, we code (if available) the ‘superior’ actor that the different actors belong to and/or we code additional actor-issue sentences.

Examples:

(a) Merkel, Brown, and Sarkozy agree on Mediterranean Union (UfM) → The grammatical sentence leads to six actor-actor sentences with an issue reference and three actor-issue sentences → Merkel/+1/Brown IR: UfM; Merkel/+1/Sarkozy IR: UfM; Brown/+1/Merkel IR: UfM; Sarkozy/+1/Merkel IR: UfM; Brown/+1/Sarkozy IR: UfM; Sarkozy/+1/Brown IR: UfM; Merkel/+1/UfM; Brown/+1/UfM; Sarkozy/+1/UfM;

(b) France, Germany and the Benelux countries agree on Mediterranean Union (UfM) → The grammatical sentence only leads to five actor-issue sentences → F/+1/UfM; D/+1/UfM; B/+1/UfM; NL/+1/UfM; LUX/+1/UfM;

(c) The heads of EU member states agree on Mediterranean Union (UfM) → The grammatical sentence leads to one actor-issue sentence → European council/+1/UfM

Multiple relations

In a grammatical sentence, several subjects can be related to one object. Or alternatively, one object refers to several subjects. We code as many core sentences as there are subjects and objects respectively.

Examples:

(a) Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens argue, the European Union is the most original and successful experiment in political institution-building since the second world war → Beck/+1/European Union; Giddens/+1/European Union;

(b) Jörg Haider fights against EU membership and for Austrian neutrality → Haider/-1/EU accession of Austria; Haider/+1/Neutrality.

Interpretation and past positions

Do not interpret too much!

In general, one should only code what is reported in the newspaper. In example (a) on Beck and Giddens there is, for example, the implicit information that Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens agree on the issue-position and one could code two additional actor-actor-sentences. As this is, however, not explicitly spelt out in the text, we do only code two actor-issue sentences.

What would an informed reader understand?

While ‘not interpreting too much’ is a general guideline, it is sometimes necessary to link specific grammatical sentences to the whole article – or to one’s basic knowledge as an informed reader – to make sense of certain information. This is most obvious when, for example, the pronoun of a sentence only refers to the previous sentences.

In general, we do not code past positions

Past positions are not coded when they have been articulated long before the publication date of the selected article. It is however not possible to give a specific number of months or years after which a statement is no longer coded. It mainly depends on the question whether the past position becomes an issue in the current political contestation. If this is the case then we do code the position (see examples).

Examples:

(a) This reminds us of De Gaulle’s No to Britain during the early 1960s (published 1977) → no core sentence;

(b) Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel calls for a privileged partnership between Turkey and the EU that was proposed by the German Christian Democrats a few months ago. → Schüssel/+1/Privileged partnership with Turkey; → CDU/+1/Privileged partnership.

Identifying relevant core sentences

We need a national political actor and a European issue

We code all core sentences that involve a national party political actor as subject and/or object. Furthermore, we are only interested in sentences that refer to ‘European integration’ defined in a large sense (see above).

What does it mean ‘we need a European issue’

A reference to European integration is quite obvious when looking at actor-issue sentences, as the issue needs to center on European integration. It gets, however, more complicated as regards actor-actor sentences. In case of actor-actor sentences, the opposition or support of an actor needs to be made in reference to its positions towards a ‘European issue’ or a ‘European actor’. The coder should, however, be rather generous when interpreting this rule, as not every sentence includes references to the general context in which a certain conflict occurs, although the context is clear when reading the whole article.

Example:

“Edmund Stoiber (CSU) wants to stop the accession negotiations with Turkey, because the Turkish prime minister criticized Pope Benedict XVI after its speech at the university of Regensburg. The German Greens blamed Stoiber for being a ‘Bavarian crusader’. Franz Müntefering (SPD) complaint about the populist reaction of Stoiber. The Social Democrats are in general quite angry at what the small coalition partner has done during the last months. The international reactions were not less controversial. The French President Jacques Chirac warned against ‘anything that increases tensions between peoples or religions’ and spoke out in favor of Turkey joining the EU.”

What do we code for a particular research package (from a German perspective)?

Elections (complete) → We code four core sentences → Stoiber/-1/EU accession of Turkey; Greens/-1/Stoiber/ IR: EU accession of Turkey; Müntefering/-1/Stoiber IR: EU accession of Turkey; SPD/-1/CSU.

Elections (Europe) → We code three core sentences, as the general critique of the Social Democrats is not directly linked to a European issue → Stoiber/-1/EU accession of Turkey; Greens/-1/Stoiber IR: EU accession of Turkey; Müntefering/-1/Stoiber IR: EU accession of Turkey.

Steps of integration, protest (debates) → We code four core sentences. Once again, the general critique of the Social Democrats is not coded. At the same time, we code the position of Jacques Chirac on the ‘European’ issue → Stoiber/-1/EU accession of Turkey; Greens/-1/Stoiber IR: EU accession of Turkey; Müntefering/-1/Stoiber IR: EU accession of Turkey; Chirac/+1/EU accession of Turkey.

We code a maximum of 20 sentences per article

How many core sentences do we code per article? We code a maximum of 20 core sentences per article. We start at the beginning of the article and code it sentence-by-sentence. When we reach the maximum number of 20 core sentence, we stop coding. The only exception refers to symmetric actor-actor relations. In such cases, we code more than 20 core sentences instead of losing some of the symmetric information.

General variables (coding instructions; should help interpret variables in dataset, see above)

General variables for all research packages

At first, we introduce the variables that are coded on the level of the whole article. These variables are coded for all research packages, i.e. for the core sentence analysis and the protest event analysis. When we rely on electronic files, these variables are automatically coded.

Country

Var 1: COUNTRY

The variable is used for the country code.

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1 | Austria |
| 2 | France |
| 3 | Germany |
| 4 | Sweden |
| 5 | Switzerland |
| 6 | United Kingdom |

Publication date

Var 2: PUBLICATION DATE [PDATE]

The publication date of the article is coded as yyyy-dd-mm (e.g. 1999-22-01).

Newspaper

Var 3: NEWSPAPER [PAPER]

- | | |
|----|-----------------------|
| 10 | Die Presse |
| 20 | Le Monde |
| 30 | Süddeutsche Zeitung |
| 31 | Frankfurter Rundschau |
| 40 | Svenska Dagbladet |
| 50 | Neue Zürcher Zeitung |
| 60 | The Times |
| 61 | The Guardian |

Section

Var 4: SECTION [SECTION]

Newspaper-specific list.

Page

Var 5: PAGE [PAGE]

Number of the page on which the article is published.

Title of article **Var 6:** *TITLE [TITLE]*

Complete title of the article [string variable]

Variables for core sentence analysis

These variables are coded for all research packages that use the core sentence analysis: elections (Europe), elections (complete), steps of integration, and protest (debates).

Identification code **Var 1:** *NUMBER OF SENTENCE*

Identification code for every cores sentence. The variable is automatically generated.

Grammatical sentence **Var 2:** *SENTENCE [SEN]*

This string variable includes the grammatical sentence that is coded. If the article is electronically available, the variable is automatically generated. Whenever the articles are not electronically available, the coder needs to type the most important information on the semantic sentence (e.g. verb) into this variable.

Actor-issue or actor-actor sentence? **Var 3:** *TYPE OF SENTENCE [SENTYPE]*

This variable indicates the type of the core-sentence. For the present research project, we only code actor-issue or actor-actor sentences.

- 1 Actor-actor-sentence
- 2 Actor-issue-sentence

Actor variable for subject, object, and quotations **Var 4:** *ACTOR [SACT, OACT]*

We code the same information for subject and object actors. As argued before, a subject actor is always coded; an object actor in case of actor-actor sentences.

We code three organizational variables We code three variables for every actor:

Type of actor/organization [act1], name of organization [act2], name of person [act3].

The first actor variable [act1] differentiates between several main types of organizations, whereas the second variable [act2] is used to code the specific name of the organization. The third actor variable [act3] includes the specific name of the individual person if one is reported.

What type of actor is it?

act1

We distinguish the following types of actors. The variable includes information on the level of the actor (international, European, foreign country, national, and subnational) as well as on the type of organizations.

11	International organizations
12	European institutions/bodies
21	Foreign executive/government
22	Foreign judiciary
23	Foreign political party
24	Foreign private interest organization
25	Foreign public interest organization
26	Foreign scientists/experts
27	Foreign business actors
31	National executive/government
32	National judiciary
33	National political party
34	National private interest organization
35	National public interest organization
36	National scientists/experts
37	National business actors
41	Subnational executive/government
42	Subnational judiciary
43	Subnational political party
44	Subnational private interest organization
45	Subnational public interest organization
46	Subnational scientists/experts
47	Subnational business actors
81	International/European others
82	Foreign others
83	National others
84	Subnational others
91	Foreign no organizational affiliation
92	National no organizational affiliation
93	Subnational no organizational affiliation

(11) International organizations include all kinds of international governmental organizations other than European Union Organizations (e.g. UN, World Bank, G8). (12) European institutions cover all intergovernmental (e.g. Council of Ministers, European Council) and supranational (e.g. European Commission, European Parliament, European Court of Justice) bodies.

The following seven types of organizations are listed for foreign actors (codes 21-27), national actors (codes 31-37), and for subnational actors (i.e. regional or local, codes 41-47). If the level of the actor is not clear, we chose the 'national' category.

(21/31/41) Executive/government is used for all members of the government as well as

the administration. (22/32/42) Judiciary covers all persons belonging to the judiciary (e.g., judges). (23/33/43) Political parties are all party-affiliated actors that are not members of the government (e.g. members of parliament, party leaders). (24/34/44) Groups that seek to influence public policy for the specific and often exclusive benefit of their members or of people with similar interests are known as private interest groups (e.g. unions, business or farmer associations).⁵ (25/35/45) Public interest groups seek to achieve results that may be enjoyed by the general population. They promote policies that produce widely distributed benefits that anyone can enjoy - for example, clean air or improvements in public health (e.g., environmental or peace groups). (26/36/46) These codes include actors that do not speak for a certain organization but are experts/scientists affiliated to universities or think tanks. (27/37/47) These codes cover private corporations and their representatives but not business associations.

The codes 81 to 84 should only be used if none of the other codes can be used and if there is an organizational affiliation. The coder should, however, use the codes rather carefully and still try to specify the level of the actor/organization.

The codes 91 to 93 are used for all actors without any organizational affiliation (e.g. individual voters who explain their no to the European constitution).

What's the name of the organization?

act2

This variable is coded for all types of actors apart from those without any organizational affiliation. We have to code the specific name of the organization. The coder finds a list of organizations for every country implemented in the coding software. If an organization is not included in the list, we have to create a new code for the organization. It is very important that the coder assigns a type of organization (act1) to the 'new' organization (act2).

Party-affiliated actors?

Party-affiliated actors that do not belong to the government/executive are coded as act1=23 or 33 or 43. As other types of actors can however also include persons with a party affiliation, we have to code this information by using the variable act2. Party-affiliated actors can belong to 12 "European institutions/bodies", 21 "Foreign executive/government", 31 "National executive/government", 41 "Subnational executive/government". Whenever the information on the political party is available, we code the name of the party as the organization. If the information is not available in the text, we do not search for it.

⁵ Note that the essence of the distinction between private and public interest groups lies not so much in the characteristics of the groups themselves (e.g., membership, resources) as in the nature of their objectives.

Examples:

- Daniel Cohn-Bendit, member of the Greens in the European Parliament... → act1=12 ('European Institutions/bodies'), act2=European parliament (Greens)
- British newspaper: Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel from the Austrian People's Party → act1=21 ('foreign executive/government'), act2= ÖVP
- British newspaper: Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel (no further information) → act1=21 ('foreign executive/government'), act2=Foreign government
- German newspaper: Chancellor Angela Merkel (CDU) argues... → act1=31 ('National executive/government'), act2=CDU
- German newspaper: Vice-Chancellor Guido Westerwelle (FDP) argues... → act1=31 ('National executive/government'), act2=FDP
- German newspaper: The German government announces... → act1=31 ('National executive/government'), act2=National government
- Swedish newspaper: Minister Göran Hägglund from the Christian Democrats... → act1=31 ('National executive/government'), act2=KD
- Swiss newspaper: Corinne Mauch (SPS), president of the City of Zurich → act1=41 ('Subnational executive/government'), act2=SPS

Multiple organizational affiliations

Sometimes, an actor can have multiple organizational affiliations (e.g., member of the Social Democratic Party and of a union). We only code the affiliation that is most prominent in the article (e.g. number of mentions, placement in the article).

President of the European Council

If we find statements of the president of the European Council, we code it as a European actor (act1=12). The organization (act2) is 'Presidency of European Council'.

Example:

British newspaper: The president of the European Council, Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt → act1=12 ('European Institutions/bodies'), act2=Presidency European Council.

What's the name of the person?

act3

If we also have the information on the specific person who speaks 'for' an organization or as an individual actor, we also code its name.

The name is coded as 'last name, first name' (e.g., Merkel, Angela; Villepin, Dominique de).

Direction of the relationship: negative, ambivalent, or positive?

Var 5: DIRECTION [QUALITY]

The direction between subject and object is always quantified using a scale ranging from -1 to +1 with three intermediary positions indicating a ‘potential’ or an ambiguous relation.

-1 indicates a negative relation between object and subject, whereas +1 shows a positive one.

-1	negative relation
-0.5	
0	ambivalent relation
0.5	
1	positive relation

Do not often use -0.5, 0, or 0.5!

The coder should only in rare instances code one of the three intermediary positions (-0.5, 0, +0.5). There is, for example, no difference if an actor ‘favors’ a certain suggestion or if he ‘favors it more than anything else’.

When do we use -0.5, 0, or 0.5?

+/- 0.5 are used when an actor says that in the future he might be for/or against a certain position. In other words, it is mainly used for *probabilities*. Whenever there is an ambiguous relation – that is no direction at all – we code 0.

Examples:

(a) On the more moderate right, the no vote is championed by Nicolas Dupont-Aignan... [...]. The anti-globalist activist José Bové declared: “Vote for this constitution and you’ll be shooting yourself in the head, abandoning your citizenship.” → Although the rhetoric of Bové is stronger, we still code -1 in both cases: Dupont-Aignan/-1/European constitution → Bové/-1/European constitution;

(b) Report on two Austrian Greens: While Voggenhuber is strictly against EU membership of Turkey, Lunacek argues that Turkey might deserve full membership in the long run → Voggenhuber/-1/EU accession of Turkey → Lunacek/+0.5/EU accession of Turkey [might];

(c) Tony Blair has not yet decided whether Britain holds a referendum on the constitution → Blair/0/National Referendum on European Constitution.

We use a list of ‘European issues’ for most research packages. Only for elections (complete), we rely on a broader list.

Var 6: ISSUE [ISSUE1, ISSUE2]

The issue variable is coded for all actor-issue sentences, because the object of such sentences is an issue. Furthermore, it is coded for all actor-actor sentences with an issue reference (see section 3.2).

We use two issue variables on different levels of aggregation. Issue1 is the most abstract, whereas issue2 includes sub-categories of issue1.

Creating new issues

Though the issue lists are quite long, they are far from comprehensive. That is why we have to create new issues during the coding process. One should however only create a new issue if it is not possible to subsume the new issue within an existing code without distorting its meaning. If one creates a new issue, we have to be sure that the issue has a 'direction' (i.e. one can be for or against a certain issue). Usually, the creation of new issues should be discussed with the principal investigator of the research teams.

Example of a new code

For example, an actor strongly supports a certain liberalization/integration issue, while another actor supports the general idea of the liberalization/integration issue but favors a less far reaching version of it. In such a case, we use two different issues, one for the far reaching version and one for the moderate version.

Example: "The conflict [...] came to a head over proposals backed by Tony Blair to enable everyone from mechanics to architects to work without hindrance across the European Union. [...] At a dinner of European heads of government, M Chirac declared "ultra liberalism is the new communism of our age ", and put forward proposals, supported by Germany, to redraft the legislation."

In this example both Blair and Chirac support liberalization to a certain degree but they differ over the right extent of it. Amongst others, we would therefore need to have two issue categories: liberalization (strong version) and liberalization (moderate version).

Framing: How does an actor justify its positions towards an issue?

Var 7: FRAMES [FRAME; FRAME_COUNTER]

In section 3.2, we have defined frames as patterns of justification. In other words, frames are arguments that are put forward by political actors to support or oppose their positions towards a particular political issue.

We code frames for European issues only

We only code frames for actor-issue sentences when the issue refers to European integration.

Frames for a particular core sentence can be spread all over the article

It is not always as easy to identify frames for specific issue-positions, as they are usually not linked to every core sentence. By contrast, frames (or justifications) are rather spread all over the article. We need to take this into account when coding frames. Therefore, frames do not necessarily need to be part of the grammatical sentence that we are looking at when coding a particular core sentence. Most often frames can be found in the same paragraph of the article – before or after the core sentence. As said before, in principal, frame can however be spread all over the article.

Read the whole article before coding!

Sometimes, a certain issue-position is stated repeatedly while a justification is only given once at the end of a paragraph. Although the frame occurs only once we shall code it for all the actor-issue sentences that we code for the specific actor-issue combination. This is why it is necessary to quickly read the whole article before starting to

code it sentence-by-sentence.

We code up to three frames per core sentence

Very often, there are also several justifications found for one particular issue position. Therefore, we code up to three frames per core sentence. If there are even more than three frames, the most prominent ones (i.e. placement/number of mentions) should be coded. It is, however, quite rare to find more than three frames for a single actor-issue combination.

Example:

“SVP against EU membership. The Swiss People’s Party (SVP) rejects starting membership negotiations, as EU membership contradicts the direct-democratic tradition of Switzerland and leads to financial burdens.” → The example includes two actor-issue sentences [against and rejects] and two frames (i.e. direct democracy and financial burdens) → SVP/-1/EU accession of Switzerland Frames: direct-democracy & financial costs → SVP/-1/EU accession of Switzerland – Frames: direct-democracy & financial costs.

What’s the difference between frames and issues?

Frames vs. Issues: It is not always as easy to distinguish between frames and issues, as quite often a position towards another issue is used to justify an issue position. This is not problematic when those issues refer to other topics not related to European integration (e.g. national security). If those issues refer, however, also to European integration, a frame for one issue-position might constitute an issue-position itself.

Examples:

(a) The Front National rejects the European constitution to stress its opposition against EU membership of Turkey. → The example leads to two core-sentences, as ‘EU accession of Turkey’ is not only a frame to justify opposition against the European constitution but also a relevant issue when focusing on European issues only → FN/-1/European constitution/ Frame: EU accession of Turkey → FN/-1/EU accession of Turkey;

(b) The Greens support membership negotiations with Turkey, as a tool to reduce human rights violations in Turkey → The example includes only one core sentence when we focus on ‘European issues’, as support for human rights is not a ‘European issue’ → Greens/+1/Membership negotiations with Turkey/ Frame: human rights.

We use two variables to code frames

We use two variables to code frames: frame and frame_counter.

For the first frame variable, we use a typology that comes close to Habermas’ (1993) well-known distinction of utilitarian, identity-related and moral-universal arguments.⁶

⁶ For similar applications of Habermas’ three-fold typology to public and elite discourses specifically on European integration, see Sjursen (2002), Lerch and Schwellnus (2006), and Trenz (2005).

There is a list of more specific frames that helps choosing frame

A list of more specific frames is provided that should help us to classify a frame into one of the main categories used for frame1 (see Appendix). These more specific frames are not coded.

How do we classify frames? Cultural, economic, and other utilitarian frames

For **frame** we use the following typology that distinguishes ten categories:

	1 nationalistic-ethnic
Cultural	2 nationalistic-institutional
	3 multicultural-universalist
	4 labor & social security
Economic	5 economic prosperity/liberalism
	6 political efficiency & efficacy
	7 security
Other utilitarian	8 environment/sustainability
	9 procedural/strategic
	10 other utilitarian
Others	998 not attachable

The following paragraphs briefly explain the different categories of the general frame variable (see Helbling et al. 2010). The categories used for frame2 can be found in the Appendix. They can also help to understand the specific content of the different types of frames.

Cultural frames refer to identity or universalistic values

Cultural frames

Two types of nationalistic frames: exclusive vs. institutional

Identity-related frames point to ideas and values inherent to a particular community. Among them, nationalistic frames emphasize national community, culture, or institutions. We distinguish here between on the one hand (1) nationalistic-ethnic frames that make a point for a culturally homogenous society in order to uphold an exclusive national identity, e.g. statements that deplore the loss of unique national identities and values, or express xenophobic attitudes. On the other hand, there are (2) nationalistic-institutional frames arguing for example that a certain European policy threatens to undermine national independence or particular national institutions, such as direct democracy or federalism. While national independence might also be a goal pursued out of utilitarian considerations, the crucial point here is that national independence becomes an end in itself, which needs to be defended for the mere sake of it – the *symbolic* political value of national sovereignty is at stake.

Multicultural & universalist frames

(3) The identity-related frames include a second, somehow contrary sub-category, namely multicultural-inclusive frames. These frames favor cultural openness and the peaceful coexistence of various cultural and religious groups within a society or within Europe. Furthermore, we focus on moral-universalist arguments that refer to general moral principles and universal rights that are claimable and acceptable by everyone regardless of his or her particular interests or cultural identity. Examples are basic civil rights (e. g. non-discrimination, humanitarian rights) as well as political rights, and international solidarity. Peace can, for example, be referred to as moral-universalist obligation, but it can also be used in a more pragmatic way (e.g., geopolitical stability) (see below).

Economic frames are a special type of utilitarian argument: Its good/bad out of economic reasons.

Economic frames

Utilitarian frames are derived from Habermas' pragmatic type of arguments and justify an issue by its ability to reach a specific goal, or by its potential to meet particular interests (Lerch and Schweltnus 2006: 306). They take a position not for normative ends, but for some instrumental reason and in light of an expected substantive output. We distinguish between economic and other utilitarian frames.

Two types of economic frames: social security vs. economic prosperity

Economic frames deal with the impact on the economy and the social conditions more generally. We distinguish reasons related to labor and social security on the one hand from economic prosperity on the other hand. (4) Labor & social security frames include arguments like fears of unemployment, of decreasing wages, and of a dismantling of the welfare state. Such statements might argue that a country's social benefits will decrease as a result of economic liberalization and labor migration, or that EU-membership leads to harmful competition on the job market. (5) Economic prosperity/liberalism frames, in turn, consist of arguments that put European integration in the context of economic growth and wealth as well as of international competitiveness and budgetary considerations. Typical arguments are that liberalization is economically beneficial or that states are too small to independently face economic challenges in the age of globalization.

Other instrumental and pragmatic reasons

Other utilitarian frames

Other utilitarian frames do also not refer to normative ends (e.g. identity, values) but focus on more pragmatic-instrumental reasons and on an expected substantive output. We distinguish five categories. (5) Political efficiency & efficacy includes arguments referring to the working of the political system like the ability to act of a state, state power, and an efficient bureaucracy. Those who use these frames may refer to the poor governance of supranational institutions or to the necessity to break a country's political isolation. (6) Security refers to frames related to internal (e.g., crime) and external

security (e.g., geopolitical stability). (7) Environment/sustainability covers all arguments focusing on environmental pollution, protection and sustainability more generally. (8) Strategic frames are justifications that are not based on thematic reasons, as the ones discussed so far, but rely on procedural arguments. Main examples are arguments that there is no alternative (TINA) or that the timing is wrong/right. The code should only be used whenever there are really no substantial arguments given (8) Other utilitarian includes all kinds of other instrumental reasons that cannot be subsumed within one of the economic or other utilitarian frames.

Use the rest category only when it is really necessary!

Other frames (rest category)

(998) Others is the rest category for all the frames that cannot be subsumed under one of the other categories. This category should, however, only rarely be used as the other types of arguments are more or less exhaustive. Whenever we code frame=998, we briefly report the content of the frame in the comment variable.

Examples [Help refers to the examples that can be found in the Appendix]

(a) “According to the party’s president, Toni Brunner, the Swiss People’s Party has always spoken out against the extension of the free movement of people deal with Bulgaria and Romania. He argues that his party stands for national sovereignty and tries to protect Swiss jobs.”

→ SVP/-1/Extension of free movement of persons

Frame: 2 ‘Nationalistic-institutional’, Help: ‘National sovereignty/independence’

Frame: 4 ‘Labour & social security’, Help: ‘Jobs, unemployment’

(b) “Many French Socialists opposed the Constitution for reasons including a perceived lack of democratic accountability, and the threat they considered it posed to the European social model.”

→ PS/-1/European Constitution

Frame: 3 ‘Multicultural-universalistic’, Help: ‘Democracy (in general, in EU)’

Frame: 4 ‘Labor & social security’, Help: ‘Social security system’

(c) “The Swedish Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt argued that Europe needs a common CO2 tax, as all other measures are much more investment-intensive and put greater pressure on budgets.”

→ Reinfeld/+1/European regulation against climate change

Frame: 5 ‘Economic prosperity/liberalism’, Help: ‘Public expenditures’

Frame: 5 ‘Economic prosperity/liberalism’, Help: ‘Public expenditures’.

(d) “Le Pen said the European Constitution is an attempt to create a superstate at the expense of French influence and of national identities.”

→ Le PEN/-1/European Constitution

Frame: 6 ‘Political efficacy & efficiency’, Help: ‘International influence/reputation’

Frame: 1 ‘Nationalistic-exclusive’, Help: ‘National identity’

(e) “Mrs. Thatcher is sticking closely to her line that unless contributions are linked to national prosperity, she will not sanction any increase in the Community’s revenue.”

→ Thatcher/-1/Increase EC budget

Frame: 5 ‘Economic prosperity/liberalism’, Help: ‘Public expenditures’

Does an actor only use a certain frame to prove it wrong?

Counter framing

In some instances, an actor takes up an argument but to refute it only. Most often, actors take up justifications used by their opponents to prove them wrong. Whenever we find such a counter framing, we code the respective variable as 1. In all other cases, we code 0, which is the predefined standard coding.

0	no
1	yes

Example:

“Yesterday, the German Greens voted for the EU accession of Turkey and attacked Edmund Stoiber (CSU) who had portrayed Europe as a Christian community to keep the Turks out of the European Union. By contrast, Claudia Roth (Greens) argued that Turkish membership could promote a multicultural vision of Europe.”

→ Greens/+1/EU accession of Turkey

Frame: 1 ‘Nationalistic-exclusive’, Help: ‘Christian tradition of Europe’, Counter-Frame: YES

Frame: 3 ‘Multicultural-universalist’, Help: ‘Cultural diversity, multiculturalism’; Counter-Frame: NO

→ Stoiber/-1/EU accession of Turkey

Frame: 1 ‘Nationalistic-exclusive’, Help: ‘Christian tradition of Europe’, Counter-Frame: NO

Arena captures the site where the issue position is taken.

Var 8: ARENA [ARENA]

The arena is the site where an actor ‘states’ its opinion towards an issue or another actor (see also Ferree et al. 2002: 10). A specific set of institutional rules, which guide the articulation and processing of political conflicts, characterize each arena.

How do we categorize arenas?

We distinguish the following types of arenas:

Public authority/state arenas	
<i>European/International</i>	
11	Executive arena
12	Judicial arena
13	Parliamentary arena
<i>National and subnational</i>	
21	Executive arena
22	Judicial arena
23	Parliamentary arena

Intermediary arenas	
31	Party/electoral arena
32	Protest arena
33	Direct-democratic arena
34	‘Arena of interest intermediation’

Others	
998	Verbal statement (not linked to one of the arenas)
999	Information not available

We distinguish two main groups of arenas: public authority vs. intermediary.

Public authority arenas are linked to formal decision-making power

Public authority arenas include sites where ‘political’ decisions and/or executive actions are taken. Such arenas can mainly be coded for actors who have actual binding decision-making power. However, other types of actors can also be active in such arenas (e.g. through lawsuits).

In a classical sense, we distinguish governmental/executive, judiciary, and parliamentary arenas. These are the sites where state's executives, judges, and members of parliament usually take their 'positions' that are then reported by the media. Furthermore, we differentiate between such arenas of public authority on the international/European and national/subnational level. (1) The executive arena on the international/European level refers to international governmental meetings (e.g. G8, UN general conferences). Furthermore, it covers 'executive' activities of the intergovernmental and supranational institutions of the European Union. More specifically, one can think of meetings, proposals or decisions of national governments on the European level (e.g. in the Council of Ministers or the European Council) and of the European Commission. (2) The European/International judicial arena refers to the European Court of Justice and other international judicative bodies, whereas (3) the International/European parliamentary arena mainly refers to activities taking place in the European parliament. Categories (4) to (6) are structured in the same way but they refer to arenas on the national and subnational level.

Intermediary arenas are not as directly linked to formal decision-making power

Intermediary arenas are sites that are not as directly linked to formal decision-making power. These are the places where 'intermediary' organizations (i.e. parties and all sorts of interest associations) try to get their message through. Here, we differentiate four subcategories: electoral, protest, direct-democratic, and interest-intermediation arena. The former three sites or arena focus on different modal forms of political participation: participation in elections, in protest events, and in direct-democratic votes. All activities that involve the direct participation of ordinary people in these modes and the mobilizing attempts of the collective actors involved belong to the three arenas. The arena of interest intermediation centers on lobbying as well as other activities of interest associations that are not related to elections, direct-democratic votes or protest events (e.g. collective bargaining).

Others

Finally, we have two rest categories:

- (a) 'verbal statements' that are not linked to one of the different arenas,
- (b) statements for which we have no information on the arena at all.

How can we identify such an arena? From action forms to arenas

In most cases, we can derive the arena from the action form that a specific actor uses to communicate its positions – or alternatively, the action form that allows him to appear in the media. The coder can, therefore, ask what specific activity/action gained the attention of the media. For example, *Le Monde* writes about the French president Jacques Chirac who signed the European Constitution at a ceremony in Rome. The action form is an executive act that has been performed on the European level. At the same time, we also get to know that some protesters demanded a more social Europe

before the ceremony. In this case, the action form of these actors is political protest.

List of action forms linked to different arenas

For this purpose, the coder finds a list of activities that are usually associated with the different arenas in the Appendix. These activities are not coded.

Is a verbal statement linked to a specific arena?

What is, however, most important is that not every ‘verbal’ statement (e.g. press conference) is coded as 998. The category ‘verbal statements’ is only used if none of the other categories applies. This means that we proceed in two steps. At first, we observe a verbal statement (e.g. a press conference). In a second step, we ask in what context such a statement has been made and who has said what. If we can link the verbal statement to a more precise arena, we code the arena and not verbal statement.

For example, the French president could have spoken about its positive feelings when signing the European constitution in a press conference but we would still regard it as taking place in relation to the European executive arena.

Examples:

(a) “The 15 leaders who have gathered in Amsterdam to discuss further European integration today and tomorrow will find plenty of opposition in the city towards the monetary union. Thousands of people from various countries converged on Amsterdam’s main square on Saturday to protest against the European Union and the planned single currency. ‘The EU is an opaque and authoritarian structure and monetary union makes this worse,’ said a socialist newsletter handed out at the demonstration in The Dam Square. An Amsterdam cab driver, professing to no particular political persuasion, described the single currency as something designed only to ‘help the rich and hurt the poor’. [...] In a press conference, the French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin created a rift with the European Commission by stating his government refuses to sign a new Treaty of Amsterdam designed to endorse the introduction of a single currency on January 1, 1999, unless there were sections on employment and growth.

→ The protesters and ‘Socialists’ rely on protest actions and, therefore, act in the protest arena (32)

→ The taxi driver’s position is a verbal statement (998) that is not linked to any political arena

→ Lionel Jospin uses its authoritative power on the European level to communicate his message (11)

(b) „Segolene Royal, the candidate for the Socialist Party in France's upcoming presidential elections, has gone on record as saying that her probable opponent in the elections, Nicolas Sarkozy, is ‘wrong’ in his stance against Turkish membership in the EU.“

→ As Royal speaks in relation to the election campaign, we code electoral arena (31)

Literature

- Bartolini, Stefano (2005). *Restructuring Europe: Centre formation, system building, and political structuring between the nation state and the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Entman, Robert M. (1993). 'Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm'. *Journal of Communication* 43(4): 51-58.
- Ferree, Myra Marx, William A. Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards and Dieter Rucht (2002). *Shaping Abortion Discourse. Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Helbling, Marc, Dominic Hoeglinger and Bruno Wüest (2010). 'How Political Parties Frame European Integration'. *European Journal of Political Research* 49(5).
- Kleinnijenhuis, Jan, Jan A. De Ridder and Ewald M. Rietberg (1997). 'Reasoning in Economic Discourse. An Application of the Network Approach to the Dutch Press', pp. 191-207 in *Text Analysis for the Social Sciences. Methods for Drawing Statistical Inferences from Texts and Transcripts*, edited by Carl W. Roberts. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kleinnijenhuis, Jan and Paul Pennings (2001). 'Measurement of party positions on the basis of party programmes, media coverage and voter perceptions', pp. 162-182 in *Estimating the Policy Positions of Political Actors*, edited by Michael Laver. London: Routledge.
- Koopmans, Ruud and Dieter Rucht (2002). 'Protest Event Analysis', pp. 231-259 in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Martin Dolezal, Marc Helbling, Dominic Hoeglinger, Swen Hutter and Bruno Wüest (in preparation). *Restructuring political conflict in the age of globalization (Arbeitstitel)*.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschiefer and Timotheos Frey (2008). *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Marco Giugni (1995). *New Social Movements in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lerch, Marika and Guido Schweltnus (2006). 'Normative by nature? The role of coherence in justifying the EU's external rights policy'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(2): 304-321.
- Schmitt, Hermann (2007). 'The Nature of European Issues: Conceptual Clarifications and Some Empirical Evidence', in *A European Public Sphere: How much of it do we have and how much do we need?*, edited by Claes H. De Vreese and Hermann Schmitt: CONNEX Report Series No. 2.
- Sjursen, Helene (2002). 'Why Expand? The Question of Legitimacy and Justification in the EU's Enlargement Policy'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(3): 491-513.
- Trenz, Hans Jörg (2005). *Europa in den Medien. Die europäische Integration im Spiegel nationaler Öffentlichkeit*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag.
- Vliegthart, Rens (2007). *Framing Immigration and Integration: Facts, Parliament, Media and Anti-Immigration Party Support in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Free University.

Appendix: Lists of keywords

All lists are examples for FACTIVA

British example of 'national politics keywords'

National election 2005

Conservative* OR Tories OR Labour OR UKIP OR United Kingdom Independence Party OR Liberal Democrat* OR GPEW OR Green Party OR British National Party OR BNP OR SDLP OR Scottish National Party OR Sinn Fein OR Unionist OR DUP OR UUP OR Lib Dem OR Plaid Cymru OR (Howard and Michael) OR (Blair and Tony) OR (Kennedy and Charles) OR (Knapman and Roger) OR (Taylor and Keith) OR (Lucas and Caroline) OR (Sturgeon and Nicola) OR (Robinson and Peter) OR (Adams and Gerry) OR (Griffin and Nick) OR (Trimble and David) OR (Durkan and Mark)

English examples of 'European integration keywords'

It is almost impossible to have a list of general keywords on European integration for the whole research period. This is why every research team has to work with individual lists of keywords for particular elections and the protest events on European integration. The lists should rather be too broad than restrictive in order that we do not lose some of the few statements and protest events on European integration, respectively.

The following list is a preliminary! Example for the British case during the early 2000s:

('EU' OR European Union*) OR ((constitution* near6 ("EU" OR europ*)) OR (referendum* near3 (europ* OR "EU"))) OR (((enlargement* OR accession* OR privileged* partner* OR ((membership* OR join* OR extend* OR enter* OR entry*) near6 (europ* OR "EU")))) AND turk*) OR ((candidat* OR entry*) near6 turk*)) OR (EU budget or common agricultur* poli* OR (budget near6 rebate) OR 2007-213 OR 2007 to 2013) OR ("stability and growth pact" OR (stability pact NOT (Balkan* OR Southeast*)) OR (Maastricht* near3 criteria*) OR deficit procedure*) OR (((enlargement* OR accession* OR privileged* partner* OR ((membership* OR join* extend* OR enter* OR entry*) near6 (europ* OR "EU")))) AND (Bulgari* OR Romani*)) OR ((candidat* OR entry*) near6 (Bulgari* OR Romani*)))

Drafting lists for the specific steps of European integration is easier, as we exactly know what we are searching. Some examples:

European constitution:

((constitution* near6 ("EU" OR europ*)) OR (referendum* near3 (europ* OR "EU")))

Eastern Enlargement II

((enlargement* OR accession* OR privileged* partner* OR ((membership* OR join* extend* OR

|

enter* OR entry*) near6 (europ* OR "EU")) AND (Bulgari* OR Romani*)) OR ((candidat* OR entry*) near6 (Bulgari* OR Romani*))

EU accession of Turkey:

((enlargement* OR accession* OR privileged* partner* OR ((membership* OR join* OR extend* OR enter* OR entry*) near6 (europ* OR "EU"))) AND turk*) OR ((candidat* OR entry*) near6 turk*))

List of more specific frames

The specific sub-frames are not coded and serve only as guidelines for the coders.

Frame	Sub-frames
1 nationalistic-ethnic	Christian tradition/heritage of Europe Islamization National identity Cultural heritage ‘Uneuropean’, not European (w/o clarification) Excessive immigration (‘Überfremdung’) Traditional values
2 nationalistic-institutional	National sovereignty/independence Neutrality [as national institution] Federalism [as national institution] Balance of power (East vs. West) Balance of power (Small vs. big member states) Subsidiarity [as a principle]
3 multicultural-universalist	European identity Cultural diversity, multiculturalism Democracy (in general, in EU/EC more specifically) Rule of law Human or basic rights Political rights Copenhagen criteria Individual freedom Freedom of religion Solidarity (in general) Solidarity with developing countries International peace [as a principle] International cooperation [as a principle] Affirmative action [against discrimination]
4 labour & social security	Social security system Public services Wages (e.g. Lohndumping) Jobs, unemployment Social justice Employment rights
5 economic prosperity/liberalism	Economic prosperity/growth Economic advantages/costs [for sectors, firms, individuals] Economic advantages/costs [for sectors, firms, individuals] Competitiveness, international competition Neoliberalism Deregulation, liberalisation Economic globalization (i.e. lowering of national economic boundaries) Public expenditures Inflation Relocation of jobs/firms
6 political efficacy & efficiency	Bureaucracy European capacity to act (Europäische Handlungsfähigkeit) National capacity to act (nationale Handlungsfähigkeit) Legality International influence/reputation Corruption

7	security	Security (national/international) Crime Terrorism Geo-political stability
8	environment/sustainability	Environmental protection Environmental pollution Sustainability
9	procedural/strategic	TINA there is no alternative Wrong timing (e.g. not yet, too early, too late) <i>Others procedural/strategic {use only if no substantive reasons given}</i>
10	Other utilitarian	European interest (in general) {use only if there are no other more specific reasons given} National interest (in general) {use only if there are no other more specific reasons given}
998	Others	– use comment to describe the frame!!!

List of activities related to the different arenas

The specific activities are not coded and serve only as guidelines for the coders.

Executive arenas (i.e. 'Political decisions' and executive actions)

- legislative proposal
- governmental decision
- administrative decree/decision
- binding agreement (among several parties)
- personnel decisions (resignation/dismissal from/appointment to office)
- forms of executive actions*
- financial and other material support
- repression (e.g., arrests, police raids, criminal investigations)
- troops deployment/withdrawal
- state-political meeting (e.g. summits, state visits)

Judicial arena

- Court rulings
- Criminal lawsuit
- Civil lawsuit
- Administrative lawsuit
- Constitutional lawsuit

Parliamentary arena

- parliamentary session/debate
- parliamentary vote
- parliamentary motion/petition

Party/electoral arena - activities in relation to elections/gaining votes (most often activities of parties)

- party convention/congress
- election campaign assembly
- other activities related to election campaigns (e.g. canvassing, leafleting, press conferences)

Protest arena - see also action forms for protest event analysis

- petition/signature campaign
- demonstration, march
- vigil, picket
- boycot
- strike
- hunger strike
- blockade
- occupation
- disturbance of meetings/assemblies
- symbolic confrontation (e.g. dumping of dung)
- bomb threats
- symbolic violence (e.g. burning puppets or flags, throwing eggs or paint)
- limited destruction of property (e.g. breaking windows)
- arson and bomb attacks
- physical violence against people (e.g. fights, brawls)
- other activities related to protest events (e.g. leafleting, press conferences)

Direct-democratic arena

- launching a referendum/popular initiative
- collecting signatures for referendum/popular initiative
- presentation of signatures
- vote on referendum/initiative
- other activities related to direct-democratic campaigns (e.g. canvassing, leafleting, press conferences)

Arena of interest intermediation

meetings/conferences/assemblies of interest associations (not related to elections, protest events and direct collective bargaining of unions and business associations)
lobbying

Verbal statements (are these statements taken in relation to one of the areans? → code the arena!)

non-specified statement
press conference/release
interview
public letter
commentary in newspaper, article in another newspaper
other publication (book, research report, leaflet, etc.)
presentation of survey/poll results
public advertizing
