

# PolDem - Protest Dataset on EU Issues

- Version 1 -

poldem-protest\_eu

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# Introduction

The codebook lists the variables in the PolDem protests 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 of protest events is based on data collected in the project *Politicizing European Integration*, which has been 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.

The countries covered are Austria, France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK. The time period is 1995 to 2010.

# **Variables in the Dataset**

Variable name	Values	
country	1 A 2 F 3 D 4 S 5 CH 6 UK	
year	16 unique values [1995,2010]	
source_string	["Die Presse", "FR", "NZZ"]	
articleid	805 unique strings	
title	798 unique strings	
date	681 unique dates	
page	59 unique strings	
rubric	142 unique strings	
description	1,052 unique strings	
event_day	<ul> <li>1 Mon</li> <li>2 Tue</li> <li>3 Wed</li> <li>4 Thu</li> <li>5 Fri</li> <li>7 Sun</li> <li>8 Weekend</li> <li>9 Still ongoing</li> <li>999 Unknown</li> </ul>	
place_new	270 unique strings	
trans_place	[0,1] (not in country of newspaper)	
duration	25 unique values [0,335]	
action form	1 strikes 4 collection of signatures, petition 5 protest meeting 6 demonstration, protest march 7 protest camp 8 letter campaign 11 festivities with political meaning 12 other non-confrontational symbolic actions (e.g. street theatre, performances) 13 other assimilative-demonstrative forms (e.g. vigil) 14 boycott (incl. consumer strike, student strike, lecture strike) 15 hunger strike 16 disturbing institutions (e.g. partial payments) 17 disrupting political decision-making and implementation (e.g. refusal of active participation, resignation, withdrawal) 18 confrontational-legal symbolic actions (e.g. burning of dolls, passports, books) 19 other confrontational-legal forms 20 illegal demonstrations 21 Refusal to pay taxes/invoices 22 Blockade or other forms of obstruction (including sit-down strike) 25 disturbing manifestation (e.g. speech impediment) 27 other confrontational-illegal, but non-violent forms (e.g. mutiny by prisoners) 28 bomb threat 29 symbolic violence against objects (e.g. paint bag attack) 30 symbolic violence against persons (e.g. egg or tomato attack) 31 limited destruction of objects (e.g. throwing windows)	

	32 attacks, arson against objects
	36 violence against persons (including hostage-taking) 37 violent demonstration
	998 other forms of protest
part_high	118 unique values
part_low	48 unique values
part_number2	162 unique values
transpart	[0,1]
campaign	<ul> <li>0 no campaign</li> <li>1 national campaign</li> <li>2 European campaign</li> <li>3 internat. campaign</li> </ul>
issue_new1	1 Agriculture 2 Environment/animal 3 Peace/foreign affairs 4 EU integration (general) 5 Immigration 6 Market/liberalization 7 Transport 8 Education 9 Human rights or so 10 Social/labor 999 Others
issue_new2	same as issue_new1
issue_new3	same as issue_new1
frame1_1	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
frame1_2	same as frame1_1
frame1_3	same as frame1_1
frame2_1	same as frame1_1
frame2_2	same as frame1_1
frame2_3	same as frame1_1
frame3_1	same as frame1_1
frame3_2	same as frame1_1
frame3_3	same as frame1_1
european_frame1	[0,1]
european_frame2	[0,1]
european_frame3	[0,1]
ad1_level (addressee)	1 subnational 2 national 3 third country 4 European 5 international
ad1_type	1 "European Commission"
	4

	2 "European Council"		
	<ul><li>3 "Council of Ministers"</li><li>4 "European Parliament"</li></ul>		
	5 "European Central Bank"		
	6 "European Court of Justice"		
	7 "EU in general"		
	8 "National state actor" 9 "Party actor"		
	10 "Economic actor"		
	11 "Other non-state actor"		
	12 "Public as a whole"		
10.1.1	13 "Unclear"		
ad2_level	same as ad1_level		
ad2_type	same as ad1_type		
police	[0,1]		
arrests	[0,1]		
wounded	[0,1]		
noorgs	37 number of organizations involved unique values [0,880]		
org1_name	478 unique strings		
	11 "transnational party" 12 "transnational union"		
	12 transnational union 13 "transnational interest association"		
	15 "transnational religious organisation "		
	16 "transnational social movement organisation, initiative, network"		
	21 "national party "		
	22 "national trade union " 23 "national interest association"		
	24 "national student organization"		
org1_type	25 "national religious organisation"		
	26 "national social movement organisation, initiative, network"		
	31 "subnational party "		
	32 "subnational union " 33 "subnational interes association "		
	34 "subnational student organization "		
	35 "subnational church organisation "		
	36 "subnational social movement organisation, initiative, network"		
	999 "Unknown"		
org2_name	259 unique strings		
org2_type	same as org1_type		
org3_name	161 unique strings		
org3_type	same as org1_type		
org4_name	114 unique strings		
org4_type	same as org1_type		
org5_name	82 unique strings		
org5_type	same as org1_type		
org6_name	54 unique strings		
org6_type	same as org1_type		
org7_name	50 unique strings		
org7_type	same as org1_type		
comment	156 unique strings		

place_num	22 unique values [1,999]
place_string	135 unique strings
european_issue	[0,1]
european_frame	[0,1]
european_addressee	[0,1]
european_theme	[0,1]
european_actor	[0,1]

#### 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 (*Die Presse*), France (*Le Monde*), Germany (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*), Sweden (*Svenska Dagbladet*), Switzerland (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*), and the United Kingdom (*The Times*).<sup>1</sup>

We select all articles that report on a protest event When selecting protest events, we rely on a list of keywords that covers a broad range of protest activities. As we do not use a sophisticated definition of a protest event, we focus on all action forms that are usually associated with protest activities (see Appendix). These activities range from petitions over demonstrations to more confrontational and violent action forms (e.g. arson attacks). The list of 'protest keywords' in English can be found in the Appendix. If the newspapers are electronically available, one can use these lists of keywords to search the archives. Most of the times, this leads to quite a lot of 'false positives' that are, however, very quickly sorted out by a manual selection. If the newspapers are not electronically available, the lists can be used as guide lines for the manual selection, i.e. the reading of newspapers by a trained coder. As regards the manual selection, it is important to scan whole articles, as sometimes protest events are only reported at the end of an article.

We analyze all editions when focusing on 'European' events from 1995-2010

Protest (Europe): We collect new data for 1995 until 2010 that is not restricted to a single edition of the newspaper. By contrast, we select all articles dealing with protest events in the editions of the whole week. That is why we only choose a rather recent period, as all newspapers are electronically available since the mid-1990s. We have to manually search for 'false positives' in this first sample. Out of this 'corrected' sample, we select those articles that deal with European integration in a large sense. To select these articles, we combine the list of 'protest keywords' with a very general list of 'European integration keywords'. Only these articles are then coded by relying on protest event analysis. To assess the salience of the European events, we still need to report the number of articles in our 'corrected' sample.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the study of protest events, we alternatively rely on the *Frankfurter Rundschau* for Germany and *The Guardian* for the United Kingdom.

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.).<sup>2</sup> 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 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.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 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.

### Short introduction to the protest event analysis

The protest event analysis is a different type of quantitative content analysis. This methodological choice follows a long-standing tradition of research on social movements and contentious politics (see, e.g., Kriesi et al. 1981; Olzak 1989; Tarrow 1989; Tilly 2008; Tilly et al. 1975). A good introduction can be found in Koopmans/Rucht (2002). Protest event analysis aims at retrieving and describing protest events so as to allow for cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses. In contrast to the core sentence analysis, the coding of political protest is done at the level of concrete events and not at the level of semantic sentences. This means that we once again do not code whole articles but we have to identify single protest events within one newspaper article.

### **Definition of a protest event**

Our conception of a protest event is relatively simple and comprehensive. In general, we aim to survey all politically motivated, unconventional actions in the chosen country. Thereby, we do not rely on a precise definition of a protest event but on a detailed list of types of unconventional or protest-like activities. Furthermore, there is no required minimum number of participants. For example, a hunger strike of a single person is also treated as a protest event, because its public character as a daily newspaper has covered the event.

It is not always as easy to decide whether an activity is politically motivated. Again, we rely on a very broad list of possible goals to facilitate this decision (see issue variable in section 8). But generally, events that can be identified easily as non-political have been taken out of the sample before the actual coding. That is why an event should be coded in case of doubt.

#### **Delineation of different protest events**

When defining a PE, it is not only difficult to define the type of action and the political motivations but also to delineate one event from another one. We use the timing and the locality of events as basic criteria: if an article reports a series of actions that are separated in time (different days or clearly separated periods of one day) and/or space (different cities or clearly separated parts of one city), we treat each of them as a separate protest event.

There are two exceptions to this general rule:

An article reports on several events that took place in different cities at the same time but the article contains no other specification apart from their locality. In such cases, we only code one protest event with the total number of participants reported. If there is however only one further information given (e.g. number of participants per event, number of injured or arrested persons), the events are treated as separate events.

#### Example:

"Yesterday, a total of 100,000 people marched in demonstrations against nuclear weapons in Frankfurt, Munich, Bonn, and Hamburg." 

When there is no other information on the different events, we code only one event with a total number of 100,000 participants.

"Yesterday, a total of 100,000 people marched in demonstrations against nuclear weapons in Frankfurt, Munich, Bonn, and Hamburg. In Frankfurt, the police counted around 40,000 participants."

 $\rightarrow$  As we have some more information on the event in Frankfurt, we code two events: 40,000 participants in Frankfurt and 60,000 in the rest of Germany.

In some cases, an article reports on different actions (chains of events), which are distinguishable from each other neither spatially nor temporally. In these cases, different actions are coded as separate protest events if there are significant changes either concerning the goals or the participants.

In general, there is a certain scope in interpreting significant changes. With respect to the goals of a protest event, different goals of a series of events are not considered as significant as long as they all belong to the same group of goals – or to the same movement (see list of issues in Section 8). As regards the participants, a glance at the number of participants (e.g. 'a small fraction') or at the description of the group ('black bloc' etc.) is sufficient to determine if the group is the same or not in the different parts of such a chain of events.

#### Examples:

- (a) The beginning of a series of actions may be a peaceful demonstration against property speculators that turns violent and is followed by a demonstration against the arrests of some activities.
- → The initiating demonstration and the following riots are coded as one protest event if the same group of people participated in both types of actions. If only a minor part of the original demonstrators participated in the following riots (as it is often the case with riots), we treat them as separate events. The following demonstration to free the arrested is, in any case, treated as a separate protest event, because its goal can be clearly separated from the initiating events.
- (b) "A protest march of at least 1,500 demonstrators against war in Iraq turned violent Sunday in downtown Brussels. The rioting began when up to 100 youths, many of them of Arab origin, broke away from the main body of the anti-war protesters who were marching through the city center.
- $\rightarrow$  We code two events, as we have specific information about the participants (1,500 vs. 100 youths).

# **Identifying relevant protest events**

We code protest events related to Europ. integration We are only interested in protest events that refer to 'European integration' defined in a large sense. This means that

- (a) the issue of the protest event deals with European integration and/or
- (b) the addressee of the protest event is a European institution or actor.

Furthermore, the protest event does not need to take place on the state territory of the country that we are studying. We shall code where the event has taken place and whether national organizations and/or participants have taken part.

#### Examples:

A German newspaper reports on a huge demonstration against the Bolkestein Directive that took place in Brussels yesterday. → We code the event four our 'German' data set.

A Swedish newspaper reports that French farmers are blocking ports to protest against the European Commission. → We code the event for our 'Swedish' data set.

# 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
- Neue Zürcher Zeitung
- The Times
- 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 protest event analysis

Now, we turn to the variables that are coded for the research packages that rely on protest event analysis: protest (Europe).

Identification code

Var 1: NUMBER OF EVENT [EVENT]

Identification code for every event.

Who, how, where, why?

Var 2: SUMMARY [SUMMARY]

This string variable is used for a short description of every single protest event. The coder should answer the following question: Who protests how, where and what do they want? The coder should use the words of the article.

Example: Five thousand people have demonstrated in Paris against the EU Services Directive.

#### Weekday

# Var 3: WEEKDAY [EDAY]

This is the weekday on which the event has taken place.

- 1 Monday
- 2 Tuesday
- 3 Wednesday
- 4 Thursday
- 5 Friday
- 6 Saturday
- 7 Sunday
- 8 Weekend
- 998 ongoing
- 999 unknown

If a protest event lasts for several days, we code the last event day.

If a protest event is still ongoing when it is reported in the media, we do not code the variable.

If the event is announced to take place later on during the week that follows the publication date, we code 998.

# Where does the event take place?

## Var 4: CITY [CITY]

Region/city or country where the event has taken place. We use country-specific lists that also include codes for events taking place in other countries (i.e. in Brussels).

# How many participants? Bias in favor of participants

# Var 5: NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS [PART]

The number of participants should be coded as precise as reported in the newspaper. If there is more than one number reported, we code the biggest number of participants. Whenever there are no precise numbers but only some vague descriptions, we 'transform' them into numbers.

$text \rightarrow$	numbers	
several, some, a few, a group of, a couple of	5	
dozens	50	
hundreds	500	
thousands	5,000	
ten thousands	50,000	
hundred thousands	500,000	
Millions	5,000,000	

# Participants from other countries?

# Var 6: TRANSNATIONAL PARTICIPANTS [TRANSPART]

We code whether participants from other countries have taken part in the protest

event. Whenever we code an event that takes place in another country and does not involve participants from the country that we are coding, the variable is coded as 2.

- 0 No participants from other countries
- 1 Some participants form other countries
- 2 Only participants from other countries

#### Example:

"The protest organisers, from the Copa-Cogeca European farming federation and the European Milk Board, put the turnout at 5,000 and said participants had travelled from Belgium, France and Germany to join the protest. Police said the figure was 'a little more than 3,000 protesters'."

 $\rightarrow$  We code 5,000 participants. And if this example is reported in a French or German newspaper, we code that there were participants from other countries (transpart=1).

# Goal of the

# Var 7: ISSUE [ISSUE1, ISSUE2]

We relied on an extensive list of issues for the coding; recoded into a limited set as shown in the dataset.

#### Framing

# Var 8: FRAMES [FRAME, FRAME\_COUNTER]

We coded frames in a detailed way; to see how we code and categorize frames, check the codebook for the dataset poldem-election\_eu available on www.poldem.eu

# Action form of the protest event

#### Var 9: PROTEST FORM [PFORM]

We rely on a list of protest forms. The list can be found in the Appendix.

If there are different events combined into one event (see above), we always code the most radical one. The codes in the list run from the least to the most radical action forms.

If the coder does not find a suitable category but still thinks that it is a protest activity, one can use 999 'new action form'. However, the category should not often be used.

Violent or illegal demonstrations? Bias in favor of participants A demonstration is only coded as violent when it is reported that the participants of the demonstration initiated the violence. If a peaceful demonstration turns violent due to police intervention, we still code as a peaceful demonstration. Whenever one is not sure after reading the newspaper (e.g. different account), we have a bias in favour of the protest participants and code the event as being peaceful.

A demonstration is only coded as illegal (19) when it is explicitly stated in the article.

Petitions, signature campaigns are only coded when some activity has taken place (collected signatures, set up an internet platform, etc). If one only threatens to do so, we do not code it as a protest event.

#### Example:

"European farmers protesting the fall of milk prices clashed with police outside the venue of an EU farm ministers meeting in Luxembourg Monday. Protesters hurled eggs, cans and bottles at police and security guards and blocked the route to the meeting with some of the 300 tractors they had brought to the demonstration. Some set rubbish bins and tyres ablaze during the demonstration."

→ The example illustrated that the 'violence' is initiated by the protesters. That is why we code 'violent demonstration.'

Who is addressed by the protesters?

#### Var 10: ADDRESSEE [ADDRESSEE1, ADDRESSEE2]

The addressee is the actor/institution that a protest event seeks to influence. It is the actor who should do something – or stop it – to solve the issue that is raised by the protest participants. We code the level and the type of addressee.

We code up to two addressees. It depends on the prominence in the article (e.g. number of mentions, ranking) which actor is coded first.

For the level of the addressee (addressee1), we use the following codes:

- 1 International
- 2 European<sup>3</sup>
- 3 National
- 4 Subnational

For the type of the addressee (addressee2), we use our general actor variable including two additional codes (public as whole, unknown) (see Section 7). If one can find no specific information on the addressee in the article, the addressee can most often be derived from the main issue of the protest event (e.g. against a national/EU legislation). If the protests aim at very general goals without specifying an addressee (e.g. 'a social Europe'), we code public as a whole.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> European refers to the territory of the present EU member states (incl. Switzerland and Norway).

### Example:

"Tens of thousands of people have protested across Europe in protest against the controversial EU Services Directive. [...]There were thousands of demonstrators in Berlin as well as in Strasbourg. In Strasbourg, trade unionists from all over gathered within earshot of the European Parliament as it began its debate."

→ We code the European parliament as the main addressee of these protest events.

Is the protest event linked to other events?

# Var 11: CAMPAIGN [CAMPAIGN]

The variable indicates whether a protest event is linked to other protest events. A link does not need to involve any organizational connection. We already speak of a campaign whenever protest events take place at around the same time and put forward the same main goal. The different categories indicate whether an event is linked to other protest events that take place in the same country, in Europe [i.e. current members states of the European Union as well as Norway and Switzerland] or in different parts of the globe.

- 0 no campaign
- 1 national campaign
- 2 European campaign
- 3 International campaign

#### Example:

The farmers' action in Luxemburg follows milk protests in several European cities, including a noisy gathering in the European quarter of Brussels.

→ We code 2, as the event is embedded into a series of other protest events taking place in Europe.

Repressive activities by the police?

# Var 12: REPRESSIVE ACTION [REPRESSION]

The question whether the event witnessed repressive action by the police is coded either as yes (1) or no (0). If there is no information provided on repressive activities, we code 0.

0 no 1 yes

If one of the activities in the following list is mentioned, we code yes (1).

Use of bats ('Schlagstöcke') (more than sporadic)

Use of teargas and other gas

Use of water canons

Use of rubber bullets

Use of fire arms

Use of special police forces (SEK, Bereitschaftspolizei)

Use of paramilitary units or military police

Body checks and other forms of pre-protest controls (e.g. car checks)

Preventive arrests of participants/organizers

House searches in the houses/offices of potential activists and organisers

Identity checks for all participants
Assembly ban for the whole events or particular localities.

Are there people wounded or arrested people?

# Var 13: Arrested and Wounded [Arrested]

The variable indicates whether there were people arrested or wounded. Wounded refers not only to the protest participants but also to the police forces and third groups (e.g. passive bystanders) that get involved in the event.

- 0 none 1 arrested 2 wounded
- 3 arrested & wounded

999 unknown

We only code 999 when the newspaper article reports that one does not (yet) know whether some people were arrested or wounded. If there is no information at all, we code 0.

#### Example:

"According to a local police spokesman, two of the protesters were slightly injured in the scuffles, including one who was injured by the rubber bullets used by police."

 $\rightarrow$  We code 2, as we know that two persons got injured but we have no further information on arrested people. Furthermore, we code 'yes' for repressive action (=1), as the police used rubber bullets.

Which organizations organize or support the event?

# Var 14: ORGANIZATIONS [ORG1, ORG2]

The following set of variables deals with the organizations involved in a protest event. We code all organization that call for/support, take part in, or organize a protest event.

To code the organizations that are involved in a specific protest event, we rely on our general codes for actors (see section 6). The first actor category needs, however, to be supplemented by some other categories, as very often we do not know the specific names of the organizations involved in protest events but only the type of organizational background (e.g. SMOs, initiatives, loose networks).<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, we do not code the names of single persons; we only code their organizational affiliations.

Example: "The protest organizers, from the Copa-Cogeca European farming federation and the European Milk Board, put the turnout at 5,000 and said participants had travelled from Belgium, France and Germany to join the protest."

→ We code two organizations: Copa-Cogeca European farming federation and the European Milk Board.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> At the moment, it is not clear what type of software we are using to code protest events. The actual coding of an event's organizational background might depend on the final decision as regards the coding software.

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# **Appendix: Lists of keywords**

All lists are examples for FACTIVA

### 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\*))

# English 'protest keywords'

petition! OR (collect! AND signature! AND campaign!) OR protest! OR demonstrat! OR manifest! OR marche! OR marchi! OR parade OR rall! OR picket! OR (human chain) OR riot! OR affray OR (letter! I/1 campaign!) OR parade OR festival OR ceremony OR (street theatre) OR (road show) OR vigil OR (consumer OR lecture OR university OR campus OR college OR school OR pupil! OR student! AND strike!) OR boycott! OR (hunger strike!) OR blockade OR (block! AND street OR traffic OR area OR site) OR sit-in OR (sit! AND strike!) OR squatter! OR (squat! AND house OR building OR area OR property) OR mutin! OR bomb! OR firebomb! OR molotov OR graffiti OR (paint! OR colour OR fire AND assault) OR attack OR arson OR incendiar! OR (fire I/1 raising) OR (set AND ablaze) OR landmine OR sabot! OR hostage! OR assassinat! OR shot OR murdered OR killed

# Protest form [pform]

#### demonstrative forms

- 1 collection of signatures, petition
- 2 protest meeting
- 3 demonstration, protest march
- 4 camp (e.g. peace camp)
- 5 campaign of protest letters
- 6 collection on behalf of a group in a political conflict (excluding emergency aid)
- 7 voluntary aid on behalf of a group in a political conflict
- 8 party with political meaning
- 9 other symbolic/ludic non-confrontational forms (e.g. street performances, balloons)
- 10 other demonstrative forms (e.g. solemn vigils)

#### confrontational-legal forms

- 11 boycotts (including students' strikes, in other words: refuse attending lectures/school)
- 12 hunger strike
- 13 perturbation of institutions (e.g. partial payment instead of paying everything at once)
- 14 perturbation of decision-making process or implementation (e.g. refusing active participation, demission or emission)
- 15 symbolic/ludic confrontational actions (e.g. burning of puppets, books)
- 16 other legal confrontational forms

# confrontational-illegal, but non-violent forms

- 17 illegal demonstration
- 18 refusal to pay the taxes or other payments
- 19 blockade or other forms of blocking (including sit-ins)
- 20 squatting
- 21 revelation of secrets
- 22 perturbation of demonstrations (e.g. perturbation of speeches)
- 23 illegal non-cooperation (e.g. non-cooperation at the population census)
- 24 other illegal confrontational, but non-violent forms (e.g. mutiny by prisoners)

### confrontational-illegal and violent forms

- 25 bomb threat
- 26 symbolic violence against objects
- 27 symbolic violence against persons (e.g. throwing eggs, tomatoes against persons)
- 28 limited destruction of objects (e.g. breaking windows)
- 29 criminal fire aimed at objects (bomb or fire attacks)
- 30 theft, burglary
- 31 sabotage
- 32 threat against persons
- 33 violence against persons (including kidnappings)
- 34 demonstration with violence
- 35 other illegal and violent confrontational forms

# 998 other protest form