Coding media claims in the European Social Survey, Round 7

Guidelines, coding scheme and codebook

Henk Fernee and Ineke Stoop (SCP), Eric Harrison (City University)
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> ## Please also use the Training Package PowerPoint Presentation for practical support in Coding Media Claims

> **'This approach and method for analysing media claims in relation to topics within the European Social Survey was developed by Paul Statham (University of Sussex) and Howard Tumber (City University London) and was an output of a specific methodological work package within the framework of ESSi.'**

Changes from previous rounds

Changes from 'Media claims guidelines 2012' Round 6.

The media claims approach in Round 7 is almost identical to that in Round 6, with the following exceptions:

- Coding period in ESS6 was a maximum of 10 weeks in total; in ESS7 it is a *minimum* of ten weeks (longer is optional but coding should be no longer than the fieldwork period).

- 'Media landscape' document is renamed in the so called 'media claims source' document which compromise the same information as the previous 'media landscape' document. However, this now includes additional information on the selection of news sections which will be coded, including an explanation of why these parts of the newspapers were chosen.

- In the codebook and SPSS dataset, three additional variables are included: Issueparty (Name of national political party), section (section of the newspaper were the is claim found) and page (page number of the newspaper were the claim made)

- For the first week of coding we ask NCs to make screenshots or take photographs of the pages which should be coded according to the media claims source document (five days in total).

1   Introduction to Media Claims

In cross-national studies such as the ESS, interpreting findings based on attitudinal questions (and also to some extent behavioural questions) is hazardous in the absence of information about context - whether certain national or international events had a different impact in some countries than others, thus accounting for differences in response to certain questions. To counteract this risk, recurrent or exceptional events in different countries need to be recorded in a systematic way to produce a database for reference and to facilitate subsequent interpretation of the data. Although attempts have been made in the first five rounds of the ESS to come up with a method of 'event recording' that provides suitable reference data, none has proved sufficiently robust or comprehensive to be adopted widely. Insights from communications research have been used to rectify this.

In Round 6 of the ESS a more user-friendly tool was introduced for the systematic cross-national recording of events. We believe this approach will allow more robust interpretations of 'normal' and 'exceptional' findings of public opinion surveys. The existing ESS network has played a key role both in shaping the tool and in testing its viability, resulting in its adoption in the ESS since Round 6.

This document will outline how media claims should be recorded in ESS Round 7. **The approach in Round 7 is almost identical to that in Round 6; please refer to section 0**

'changes from previous rounds'. The guidelines will comprise a detailed codebook, training options and other practical issues. It is recommended that NCs use the PowerPoint training package provided for practical support in coding media claims.

2   Recording Media Claims in the ESS Round 7

2.1   Overview

Media claims recording means reading articles from the selected parts of the newspaper, identifying claims in these articles, and recording these claims in a standardised format in an SPSS-file.

In Round 7 of the European Social Survey, participating countries should record media claims during fieldwork. This involves the following steps:

Firstly, countries should select two national newspapers. NCs are asked to send a document to ESSmediaclaims@scp.nl providing a description of the two newspapers selected and which sections will be coded. This is referred to as the 'media claims source document'.

Secondly, a national claims reporter (this could be the NC or someone else in the NC team) should first go through the training package and contact Henk Fernee in the CST (ESSmediaclaims@scp.nl) to discuss any queries or problems.

Thirdly, media claims should be recorded for a *minimum* of 10 weeks, starting one week before the start of fieldwork (for the first week two coders should do this in parallel, and screen shots should be made of all the pages which should be coded according to the media claims source document). Media claims may be coded for a period longer than ten weeks, but this should not continue once fieldwork has finished.

It is best to record claims each day, when the news is fresh, but it can be done at any time before delivering the survey data file to NSD. The recorded claims should then be delivered as an SPSS-file to ESSmediaclaims@scp.nl.

In the next sections extensive information is given on the different steps.

2.2   Sources

2.2.1   Newspapers

To determine the media climate, claims will be recorded by coding newspapers during the fieldwork period. This method is designed to focus on the same issues covered in the ESS questionnaire. Newspapers are the most important source for retrieving information on significant national and international events. Compared to other media, such as Television, Radio, or Internet, newspapers produce a more detailed and more (cross-nationally) standardised format, and contain more of the type of elaborated political information that we aim to retrieve. There are also practical considerations. Newspaper sources also allow us to cover earlier periods, enabling the actual recording and coding in different countries to take place at different paces. In addition, many newspapers from European countries are already easily and cheaply accessible on-line from LexisNexis, in electronic form on the Internet and

where they are not; researchers may simply buy and store the relevant newspapers intact or on micro-fiche.

It is of no importance whether respondents have read the news or not; the coded claims still reflect the news that is salient in a particular country in a particular period of time.

Every country is asked to select two broadsheet (quality) daily national newspapers, preferably one left- and one right-orientated. This is to have a broader overview of different political views, however generally salient events will be reported in all newspapers. It is important that as a source only the paper version of newspapers will be used[1]. This 'paper' version can be found in the online LexisNexis database (www.lexisnexis.com), other (online) newspaper databases, the website of a newspaper (but only the digital version of the printed version) and of course the newspaper itself.

The media claims source document, including a description of the two newspapers selected and which sections will be coded (for more information about selection see section 2.2.2.) should be sent to ESSmediaclaims@scp.nl before coding begins. This document should include: Name of the newspaper, left or right leaning/ political orientated, which parts of newspaper which will be coded (e.g. front-page and home news section) and why these were selected, average daily circulation (year/month), the year in which the paper was founded, location of the paper's headquarters, the source of the newspapers, e.g. LexisNexis or paper version and source of the information (e.g. Wikipedia). Information on newspapers in different countries can be found on http://ejc.net/media_landscapes and www.wikipedia.org.

2.2.2   Articles

Only the parts of the newspaper with the 'most important' news should be coded rather than the entire newspaper. However, these parts differ between newspapers and countries. See for example Figure 1 with four front-pages of different newspapers in the France, UK, Germany and Poland. Every newspaper has its own structure with different ways to illustrate the news (see figure 1 and http://www.newseum.org/todaysfrontpages/flash/default.asp). It is important for each country to select those parts comprising the most salient news. For many countries this would mean the front page and the home news section (in other words, the first few pages of the newspaper). It is recommended that each country discusses the selection of news sections in advance with the CST (ESSmediaclaims@scp.nl) and includes information of the selected parts in the media claims source document.

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1 Many newspapers have a website. This website is closely linked to the paper version of the newspaper, but the articles are by no means identical. In some cases the digital version of the printed newspaper can also be accessed on the website. Only the latter version should be used.

Figure 1. Front pages of Le Monde, The Times, Die Welt and Gazeta Wyborcza

2.3   Claims[2]

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

It should be noted that claims recording as implemented in the ESS is an adaptation of this general approach, and that *claims in the ESS are claims related to the content of the ESS questionnaire*. Each article can comprise zero, one or more claims. *The claims are the unit of analysis.*

Definition

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2 We are very grateful to María José Hierro who drafted the first version of this paragraph.

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

Claims-making acts are part of newspaper articles. Continuations of an article on another page are considered as part of the same article. Announcements in the form of a table of contents or something similar on the front page should be disregarded; they count neither as articles in their own right, nor as the beginning of the articles to which they refer.

What is and what is not a claim?
An individual or collective subject must be present in order for a statement/ action to count as an instance of claim-making. The subject may not be missing in the case of verbal statements. Journalists do not qualify as actors. The text must include a reference to an ongoing or concluded physical or verbal action in the public sphere. Editorials and survey results do not count as claims. Simple attributions of attitudes or opinions to actors by the media or by other actors do not count as claim-making. Neither do speculations about opinions or actions of others.

Simple attributions of attitudes or opinions to actors by the media or by other actors do not count as claim-making. Examples: "The Greens, who want to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organisations ….", or "Mr. Blair's pro-European course may have cost him votes in the last elections". Both do not qualify as claim-making by the Greens or Mr. Blair, respectively (nor are they claims by the journalist). [Note that, by contrast, the sentences "The Greens, who *said* they wanted to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organisations..." and "Mr. Blair's pro-European *speech* a week before the election may have cost him votes" would have qualified as instances of claim-making because they contain references to actual verbal action by these actors].

Table 2.1. What is and what is not a claim?

NO (not a claim)	YES (a claim)
"The Greens, who want to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organisations …."	"The Greens, who **said** they wanted to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organisations..."
"Mr. Blair's pro-European course may have cost him votes in the last elections"	"Mr. Blair's pro-European **speech** a week before the election may have cost him votes"

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

specification of the first sentence which does contain an action verb. Therefore the reference to the Geneva Convention can be coded as part of the claim.

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

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

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

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

What should be done when substantively identical statements are present?
a) Two substantively identical statements by the same actor on two different days, or on one day in two different localities are two separate claims.
b) Statements by different speakers during a parliamentary debate or a conference are considered part of one instance of claim-making as long as they are substantively and strategically compatible. Thus, different speakers may be taken together as one instance of claim-making if they all express a similar point of view.
c) However, if the speakers take positions that are substantially different enough to not be 'acting in concert', the different statements should be coded as separate claims.
d) If an identifiable part of a peaceful demonstration breaks away from a march and turns violent, the assumption of acting in concert is no longer warranted and a separate claim is coded.
e) If two negotiation partners present a compromise package at a press conference, the two statements are coded as one instance of claim-making, even if the two may emphasise

different elements of the compromise.

f) Cases where there is temporal or spatial continuity between actions should be coded as one instance of claim-making. An example of temporal continuity would be a hunger strike which may last several weeks. However, as long as the actors and aims remain the same, this is counted as one instance of claim-making, and not every day as a new claim.

The identification process of claims and articles

The coding process starts by identifying and retrieving articles on the front page and the (home) news section that are relevant for coding. Instead of reading through each newspaper article, you should check only the headline, lead, photo (if present) and photo by-line, and the first 150 words of the main text (of course, if it is perfectly clear from headline and lead that the article is not relevant to the ESS, you do not have to read the first 150 words, either). If the 150 word-limit falls in the middle of a sentence, the rest of that sentence should still be considered when determining whether the article should be included or not. If this body of text contains a reference to one of the topics in the ESS coding scheme[3], the article should be read more carefully. In all other cases (even if you happen to see a reference to one of the relevant topics further down in the article text), the article should be disregarded.

The next step is to identify if the article contains any claims relating to ESS topics. Identification of the topics is best done on a copy or printout of the article, where you can mark and number the claims. If the article does not contain any claims (not even by third actors) then nothing should be coded.

In applying the 150 words-rule, it is not necessary to count the exact number of words for each article. The most efficient way to go about this is to determine how many lines of text in your paper correspond to about 150 words, and use this as a visual shortcut for determining the 150 word limit.

2.4   Period

Claims should be coded only during the weekdays; beginning one week before the fieldwork starts, with a minimum of ten weeks of coding (the longer the better but no longer than fieldwork). If fieldwork lasts less than nine weeks, claims should be coded only until the end of fieldwork. Coding should begin a week before fieldwork starts as respondents are likely to remember what was salient in the news of the last week. Most countries are likely to have contacted the largest part of the total sample in the first nine weeks. Countries with a longer fieldwork period would have respondents that are reached after this ten week period, and no information is available of the media climate at this point. However, this relatively short period of coding should decrease the coding time burden for NCs, especially for countries with lengthier fieldwork.

In the first week of coding, two coders should code separately in parallel and resolve discrepancies through discussion. This double coding should reduce subjectivity at the beginning of coding and help to identify difficulties. We also ask that screenshots or photos of the relevant pages of the newspaper are taken, which illustrates how the newspapers in each country look.

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3 See section 4. Table ESS issue coding scheme Round 7, for information about the ESS topics in the coding scheme

2.5 Coding of claims

Once identified claims should be coded according to the codebook (developed by Bristol University and adapted for Round 7 of the ESS). The codes are presented below and will also be part of an SPSS data file, which will be provided on the ESS7 intranet.

3 **ESS7 Claims Code Book**

Table 3.1 ESS7 Claims Code Book (Mandatory Variables)

Mandatory Variable	Description	Notes
Country	Country of newspaper	String variable
Date	The date of publication of the newspaper	yyyy/mm/dd
Newspaper	Name of newspaper from which claim is coded	The selected newspapers of country
Headline	Transcription of the newspaper headline in newspaper language	National language
Actor	The individual or collective subject	First and last name and role (e.g., prime minster)
Claim	Literal copy of claim (verbatim)	
Claimeng	Literal copy of claim (verbatim)	Translated in English
Issuecode	Issue codes must be mentioned, not inferred, e.g. only code 'threat of violence' when the actor explicitly mentions 'threat of violence'. So only code claims if the actor mentions the topic from the Issue field. For example, '"the country got more dangerous" said by the former prime minister' is a claim. However, '"yesterday, there were two gangs fights in the city centre", police said' is not a claim. Only if the police mention that this makes the city more dangerous it should be coded as 'Crime/Threat of Violence/ Risk and Perceptions of Safety'. Actions such as strikes or demonstrations apply as 'collective action by members of civil society' when an actor explicitly makes a claim about the level of civic action/protest, including a call for action. The strike or demonstration goal or motto should be coded as an instance of political claiming in itself. So if the motto of the demonstration is related to 'national performance', the instance of claim making should be coded as such. Issues related to the Church or to other religious institutions apply to the 'religion in public life' category (issue code 18). Issues relating to religiosity and not to the institution itself should be coded as 'religiosity and attendance/participation' (issue code 19).	If claims is issuecode 6 'Political party identity' the specific national party is coded in variable Issueparty. See table 4.1 for information about the individual codes.
Issueparty	This variable should only be used if variable issuecode is code 6 'Political party identity'	Name of national political party; string variable

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Mandatory Variable	Description	Notes
Direction	Values: -1, +1 and 0.	The meanings of these values are specific to the issuecode and should not be interpreted simply as 'negative' and 'positive'. See section 4 (ESS issue coding scheme Round 7) for further details of these values.
Section	In which section of the newspaper was the article of the claim found?	String variable, e.g. front-page or home news section. Use the same section names as described in the 'media claims source' document
Page	On which page (number) of the newspaper was the claim made?	Front-page is page 1 etc.

Table 3.2 ESS7 Claims Code Book (Optional Variables)

Optional Variables	Description	Notes
Addressee	Individual or collective actor to which the actor who makes the claim refers in his claim.	Addressee is not necessarily the same as the public for which he directly speaks. E.g., if a politician speaks to a conference of his party and calls on the government to change its education policies, the addressee is the government, not the party delegates!
Actsumscope	Description of the actor; see table 3.3	If a claim has more than one actor (e.g., a coalition), the following priority rules apply: 1) actors mentioned in the article as 'leaders', 'organisers', 'spokespersons', etc. have priority, unless, of course, they do not make any claims; 2) organisations, institutions or representatives thereof (e.g., 'National Organisation of Peasants') have priority over unorganized collectivities or individuals (e.g., 'peasants', 'farmer X'); 3) active actors or speakers have priority over passive audiences/rank-and-file participants. See table 4.2 for coding scheme for Actsumscope.
Actscope	Organisational extension of the organisation or institution; see table 3.4	The notion of "scope" refers to the organisational extension of the organisation or institution. In the case of non-organised collective actors (e.g., 'farmers', 'protesters') it refers to the scope of mobilisation. I.e., if the report mentions 'farmers from different member states', the scope is 'European Union'. See further the examples. Here and in the other scope variables, the category 'multilateral' refers to 'involving (actors from) three or more countries' (on a strictly intergovernmental basis, not in the context of a supranational agency or organisation), 'bilateral' refers to 'involving (actors from) two countries'. See table 4.3 for coding scheme for Actscope.
Actparty	The political party the actor belongs to.	The codes of this category should be modified (in the same format as in the ESS survey (e.g. as in question B18b)

Table 3.3 ESS7 Claims Code Book ACTSUMSCOPE (Optional Variable)

Code	Actor	Notes
10	Whole polities	E.g., 'the EU', 'Britain', if used not to refer to the government or any other specific institution, but to the polity as a whole; note that 'the Europeans', 'the British', etc. are coded in 900: general public.
20	Politicians	if unspecified and unclear whether referring to government, parliament or parties
30	Former statespersons	
40	Government/executive	Governments and government representatives (spokespersons, ministers, royalty etc.) irrespective of territorial scope. The EU-Commission and Council of Ministers, the UN General Secretary and Security Council are coded as governments. Other examples: mayor, Landesregierung, ministry of education.
50	Legislative	Legislatives and parliaments (all chambers), including individual members thereof, including parliamentary fractions of political parties. Examples: Bundestag, House of Lords, local councils, parliamentary fraction of the SPD, Labour MPs. Intergovernmental organisations which draw up international treaties on the basis of unanimous consent of the signatories are coded among executive/government The European Parliament and the General Assembly of the UN are, however, coded as legislatives, because they have (limited, but still) the power to make binding decisions on the basis of majority decisions.
60	Judiciary	E.g., European Court of Justice, openbaar ministerie (public prosecutor), individual judges, juries.
70	Police and internal security agencies	E.g., police, marechaussee, Bundesgrenzschutz, secret service, Verfassungsschutz, Europol. Note: the Police Union is coded as a union.
80	Military	E.g., Bundeswehr, NATO.
90	Central banks	Including state pension funds)
100	Social security executive organisations	
110	Other state executive agencies	E.g., ILO, WHO, Einwohnermeldeamt, Schulaufsichtsbehörde.
120	Political parties	Only for parties as parties, e.g., party chairman, party congress, "die SPD", "a Labour party spokesman", as well as for sub-organisations of parties (e.g., Junge Sozialisten). Note that the same person may be coded differently according to the way in which her or his position is described: e.g., Bundeskanzler Schröder is coded as government, Mitglied des Bundestages Schröder is coded as legislative, SPD-Parteivorsitzender Schröder is coded as political party.
130	Unions and employees	Includes the general categories "workers" and "employees".
140	Employers' organisations and firms	Including private pension funds; excluding agriculture
150	Churches and religious organisations/groups	
160	Media and journalists	
170	Farmers and agricultural organisations	
180	Educational professionals and organisations	incl. schools, universities in their educational capacity
190	Economists and financial experts	
200	Other scientific and research professionals and institutions	E.g., experts, research institutes, universities in their research capacity
210	Students, pupils	Including their parents
220	Other professional organisations/ groups	E.g., Deutscher Ärtztekammer, Berufsverband Deutscher Psychologen, Deutscher Sportbund, doctors, football players, writers, sollicitors, musicians. Note: unions are always coded as unions, non-union organisations of police and judges are coded under their respective institution.

Code	Actor	Notes
230	Consumer organisations/groups	
240	Migrant organisations/groups	Organisations or groups of immigrants, asylum seekers, ethnic minorities of migrant origin. Includes migrant organisations that would also fit another category. E.g., Islamic or Jewish organisations in Europe are coded as migrant organisations, not as religious groups, the European Association of Turkish academics is coded as a migrant organisation, not as a professional organisation, etc.
250	Pro and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	
260	Solidarity and human rights organisations	This includes only private organisations such as Pro Asyl, Anti-Racist Alliance, Arbeiterwohlfahrt, Amnesty International, Terre des Hommes, medecins sans frontières etc.
270	Welfare organisations	E.g., Red Cross, Arbeiterwohlfahrt, not state welfare agencies (these are coded as state executive agencies).
280	Racist and extreme right organisations/groups	Includes vague descriptions such as "skinheads" or "right-wing extremists". Radical right parties should be coded as political party, unless the party label is merely window dressing and does not indicate significant involvement in the electoral process (e.g. the Freiheitliche Arbeiterpartei in Germany).
290	Peace movement organisations / groups	
300	Organisations and groups of the elderly	
310	Women's organisations and groups	
320	Environmental organisations and groups	
330	Terrorist groups	
340	Rebel forces/guerrilla	E.g., UCK, Northern Alliance
350	Other civil society organisations and groups	Including not already mentioned social categories such as 'youth', 'the unemployed', 'children', etc. (e.g., if a party representative addresses a crowd at a peace rally, the party representative has priority). If there are several actors or no actor at all who have priority according to these three criteria, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article). If of one physical actor two functions are mentioned, the highest level capacity in terms of the scope variable (see below) is coded. E.g., if the article says "Portuguese prime minister and current Chair of the EU Presidency Guttierez" would be code as "EU presidency" even if Portuguese prime minister would be mentioned first. However, the precondition would be that the EU presidency function is really mentioned in the article – that you know that the Portuguese prime minister is present Chair of the Council is not decisive, it should be explicitly mentioned.
360	Whole economies	
900	General public	E.g., 'citizens', 'the citizenry', 'die Öffentlichkeit', 'the electorate', 'the Germans', 'the population', 'taxpayers'; only if explicitly mentioned!
999	Unknown/unspecified actors	

Table 3.4 ESS7 Claims Code Book ACTSCOPE (Optional Variable)

Code	Type of actor	Notes
01	Domestic national (or subnational) actor	All actors whose organisational scope is national domestic or contained within this border, including sub-national and regional/local, e.g., home national government, local newspaper, Metropolitan Police Force Commissioner (for UK).
02	Foreign EU national (or subnational) actor	Same as 01, but for national and sub-national actors from other EU member states
03	European Union (supra/inter-national) actor	E.g., European Parliament, European Commission, European Migrant Forum, European Trade Union Federation, Europäischer Verband türkischer Akademiker. If in doubt whether the label 'European' refers to an EU scope or to Europe in a wider sense, code here. Also includes organisations or institutions whose scope is a subset of the EU, e.g. the Benelux states, the Western European Union, 'Eurozone', etc.

04	Foreign non-EU national (or subnational) actor	Same as 01, but for national and sub-national actors from non-EU member states, e.g. President Obama.
05	Supra/inter-national actor (non-EU, or at higher level than EU)	Includes supra- and international organisations whose scope extends beyond Europe., E.g., Roman Catholic Church (when Vatican/Pope not the Head of a national section of the RC Church), Security Council, UNHCR, UNESCO, ILO, WHO, NATO, G-20, IMF, World Bank, World Council of Roma and Sinti, Amnesty International, Greenpeace (note Amnesty UK or Greenpeace UK coded 01 for UK), International Council of Voluntary Associations, medecins sans frontières, Attac.
99	Unclassifiable	

Missing values

Unless otherwise indicated, the zero code has a substantive meaning 'no' or 'none', or sometimes 'neutral' and should not be used for missing information. The code -9 is reserved for 'missing' or 'unknown'. It should only be used where we are sure or have a strong suspicion that the correct coding is not 'no' or 'none' even though the newspaper article does not contain the information. For instance, if an asylum seeker centre is set on fire, we know that someone did it, even though the perpetrators are not mentioned in the article; therefore the appropriate actor code is 999 as specified in the actsumdcode.

4 ESS7 Coding Schemes

Table 4.1 ESS7 Coding Scheme ISSUECODE (Mandatory Variable)

(see also the SPSS data file with the pre-coded numbers)

Issue code	Name	Description	Issue sub code	Name	Ques- tion- naire items	Direction
1	Reliance on media	How much people depend on television, for informational or other purposes. Consumption of media.	-	-	A1-A2	+1 in favour of/ advocates more regarding people's media use code -1 against/advocates less regarding people's media use 0 neither for, nor against, or neutral
2	Community relations	State of relations between people/ communities in a society/country, including aspects of mutual (dis)trust, harmony and influence, e.g. a claim about the decline in common values in society.	-	-	A3-A5	+1 about there being no breakdown in values/trust etc., advocating the 'good society', 'good community' -1 about breakdown in values/trust etc. etc. 0 about the issue, but without taking up a clear stance
3	Political engagement	People's involvement with politics in the country, how much do they feel they can understand and engage with it, do they feel involved in the political processes in their own country.	-	-	B1 and B9	+1 level of political involvement, engagement, interest, understanding etc., is not a problem -1 level of political involvement, engagement, interest, understanding etc., is a problem 0 Neutral, neither

Issue code	Name	Description	Issue sub code	Name	Questionnaire items	Direction
4	Trust in political institutions	Public's trust in macro political institutions and bodies, people's perception of the role of these bodies.	*National* 4,1 4,2 4,3 4,4 *European* 4,5 *International* 4,6	Government Legal system Police Political parties 4.41 Politicians 4.42 Political Parties European Parliament United Nations	B2-B8	+1 adequate trust -1 inadequate trust (should be more) 0 no clear advocacy stand
5	Collective action/ political mobilisation by citizens	Levels of extra-parliamentary activity/ mobilisation/civic engagement/civil actions/ protest by people (collectively and individually) attempting to change the political state of affairs.	-	-	B11-B17	+1 high level of civic action/ protest, including call for action -1 low level of civic action/ protest, including call for repression 0 Neutral
6	Political Party Identity of Actor	Prominence of national political parties in people's perception or claims made in relation to a specific political party. (The reputation/status of political parties.)	-	-	B18a-B18c	+1 positive prominence -1 negative prominence 0 no clear position Note: the specific national party is coded in variable Issueparty.
7	Personal well-being and life satisfaction	Factors affecting people's level of life satisfaction and wellbeing in the country/society/ community.	-	-	B20	+1 people are satisfied, have high level life satisfaction/wellbeing, there is no problem -1 people are not satisfied, have low level life satisfaction/wellbeing, there is a problem 0 no clear stance either way, neutral, code
8	Perception of national performance	Satisfaction levels/ evaluations of how the economy, government, democracy, education and health services perform at the national level.	8,1 8,2 8,3 8,4 8,5	Economy Government Democratic Education Health	B21-B25	+1 high/satisfactory/good -1 low/unsatisfactory/bad 0 neutral

Issue code	Name	Description	Issue sub code	Name	Quest-ion-naire items	Direction
9	State intervention and its limits	State's involvement and extent of that involvement in regulating public life in the country with regards ensuring economic parity and freedom of way of life.	9,1 9,2	State's responsibility for reducing income inequality (social/economic redistribution) State's tolerance and recognition of gay/lesbian rights	B26-B27	+1 in favour of state intervention/enforcement over issue, or call for more -1 against state inter-vention/enforcement over issue, or call for less 0 no clear stance
11	Enlargement/ Deepening EU	The Issue- claims relating to the European Union, and processes of integration, unification, enlargement and deepening, and their potential impacts, including the extent of the country's involvement and interaction with the EU.	-	-	B28	+1 in favour of, or for more (integration, enlargement, deepening) EU, including EU institutions -1 against, or for less (integration, enlargement, deepening) EU, including EU institutions 0 no specific stance
12	Immigration and Ethnic/Racial	Immigration and migrants living in country (including those specifying and not specifying race and ethnicity related issues)	-	-	B29-B31	+1 in favour of immigration, migrants -1 against immigration, migrants 0 neither for, nor against
13	Immigration: economic impact	Economic impact of immigration on the country.	-	-	B32	+1 positive (not negative) effect -1 negative (not positive) effect 0 non-specific
14	Cultural diversity and its impact	Cultural diversity of the country's population its impact on society, as a consequence of immigration	-	-	B33-B34	+1 increased cultural diversity is positive/ enhances cultural life, pro- multicultural, pro-diversity claims -1 increased cultural diversity is negative/ impoverishes cultural life, anti- multicultural, anti-diversity claims, e.g. claims for benefits of cultural homogeneity 0 without clear stance, or neutral

Issue code	Name	Description	Issue sub code	Name	Questionnaire items	Direction
15	Crime/Threat of Violence/ Risk and Perceptions of Safety	Level of violence in society or people's perceptions with regards to the likelihood of becoming targets/victims of violent crimes, risks of violence in community.	-	-	C6	+1 society is risky, dangerous, threatening, potentially randomly violent in public domain -1 society is not risky, dangerous, threatening, potentially randomly violent in public domain, i.e. it is safe, secure etc. 0 no clear stance, or neutral
18	Religion in public life	Public salience of a religion (includes public controversies over religion)	18,01 18,02 18,03 18,04 18,05 18,06 18,07 18,08 18,09 18,10 18,11 18,12 18,13 18,14 18,15 18,16 18,17 18,18 18,19 18,20 18,21	Christian Roman Catholic Greek or Russian Orthodox Other Eastern Orthodox Protestant Church of England/ Anglican Baptist Methodist Presbyterian/ Church of Scotland United Reform Church/ Congregational Free Presbyterian Brethren Other Protestant Other Christian Hindu Sikh Buddhist Other Eastern Religions Jewish Islam/ Muslim Other Non-Christian	C9-C13	+1 a positive evaluation, advocacy, discussion of the benefits of the religion -1 a criticism, negative evaluation etc. of the religion 0 no clear evaluation or neutral stance (e.g., Pope criticising Islam is 'Muslim so issue sub code 18,20' with the value of -1)
19	Religiosity and attendance/participation	People's involvement in performing some type of religious activity (praying or attending service) in their daily existence.			C14-C15	+1 advocating religious practice, about high/ increasing levels, importance of -1 rejecting need for religious practice, about low/declining levels, importance of 0 no clear stance, or neutral

Issue code	Name	Description	Issue sub code	Name	Question-naire items	Direction
20	Discrimination	Relating to experience/ perceptions of discrimination in the country, on the basis of one or more aspects	20,1 20,2 20,3 20,4 20,5 20,6 20,7 20,8 20,9	Colour or race Nationality Religion Language Ethnic group Age Gender Sexuality Disability	C16-C17	+1 there is discrimination, of discrimination, against discrimination (of specific type) -1 denying there is discrimination, or discriminatory claim (of specific type 0 no clear stance, or neutral

5 Training and Support

A training package will be provided showing how claims should be identified and coded. Please use this training package (PowerPoint presentation) for practical support in coding media claims. For any questions related to media claims coding you can contact Henk Fernee ESSmediaclaims@scp.nl.

5.1 FAQ

Selection of newspaper and parts of newspaper

Which newspapers should be selected for the coding?
For every country two national quality newspapers should be selected, preferably one left- and one right-orientated.

How much of the newspaper should be coded, the structure of newspapers differs between countries.
Because newspapers differ in their structure within and between countries it is difficult to give a universal rule which parts of a newspaper should be coded. Only the parts of the newspaper with the 'important' news sections have to be coded. However as a rule of thumb you could code the front-page and the whole news section.

How many pages of a newspaper should be selected?
This depends on the structure of the newspaper. However, only the parts of the newspaper with the 'important' news sections should be coded. As a rule of thumb you could code the front-page and the whole news section.

Period of coding and number of claims

When do I have to start coding?
The coding of claims will start one week prior to when the fieldwork starts. The total period of coding is at least ten weeks. It is optional to code longer than 10 weeks, but no longer than the fieldwork period. Coding should only be done during the weekdays.

Should I code Saturday's newspapers?
Coding should only be done during the weekdays (exclude Saturday and Sunday).

For how long should claims be coded?
The total period of coding is at least ten weeks. It is optional to code longer than 10 weeks, but no longer than the fieldwork period. Coding should only be done during the weekdays.

How many claims should be coded?
This depends on how many claims are made in the newspapers. The number of claims will differ from day to day. Some articles will have no claims at all and other will contain several claims in one article.

What is a reasonable number of claims per day?
The number of claims depends on how many claims are made in the newspapers. The number of claims will differ from day to day. Some articles will have no claims at all and other will contain several claims in one article. In ESS6 the number of claims per day for each country greatly differs from none at all to maximum of approximately 30 claims.

Coding claims and variables

How do we have to proceed if there are several claims of one actor that are similar (for example, in the speech of the Chancellor)?
This counts as one claim; statements during a parliamentary debate or a conference are considered part of one instance of claim-making as long as they are substantively and strategically compatible. However, in a debate opposing views may be made by different actors. These would be counted as more than one claim.

How could you decide if several codes are possible for one claims in which category should be coded?
If one claim covers more topics, the claim should be coded according to the most salient part of the claim.

The general rule for coding media claims says that "journalists do not qualify as actors".
Does this only applies to editorials (and journalists could be considered as actors elsewhere)?
Even talking about editorials, sometimes there are quotes of politicians and reporting of acts done by politicians in them. Do they count or not?

It is correct that journalists do not qualify as an actor. The editorials can be skipped entirely in the coding process, regardless of the content. The only way a journalist can be an actor, is if the claim from a journalist is found in an article from another author

If an article contains multiple claims, each with a different coding (e.g. European body advises....(4,5), Minister for health says....(8,5), opposition parties warn....(6,?), etc.), should the article be listed multiple times in the SPSS table or should the article be listed once and multiple codes be input into the Issuecode column?
Statements by different speakers during a parliamentary debate or a conference are considered part of one instance of claim-making as long as they are substantively and strategically compatible. Thus, different speakers may be taken together if they all express a similar point of view and can be coded in the same issuefield. However, if the speakers take positions that are substantially different, you should code the statements as separate claims.
So, if different claims were made by different actors which emphasise different topics, you should code it as separate claims. It is possible that one article consist of several claims. In this case, every claim should be a separate case in the SPSS file (the claims are the unit of analysis).

When I code claims I include the "how"-word of the claim (the verb which indicates the form of strategic action; "said", "moaned" and so forth). On the other hand, especially when the newspaper article cited a statement, I just wrote in the statement in the "Claim" and "ClaimEng" variable, without the verb. Is this correct or is it necessary to include the verb in the "Claim" and "ClaimEng" variable?
It is not necessary to include the verb of the claim; the statement alone is enough.

Do you have an example for Issuefield 7 (well-being)?
Two examples of code 7 well-being are: '"Elderly in Ireland more likely to be poor and die earlier than other EU countries" said by Dr Kevin Kelleher, assistant national director for health protection' or '"Children from the underclass eat more fast food, drink more coke and move less" said by Baerbel Maria Kurth, Researcher at the Robert Koch Institute'.

What does the variable Actparty mean?
The Actparty variable is the variable of parliamentary parties in your own country. Coding of this variable is optional. This is a country specific string variable; political parties for your own country should be entered.

In the variable 'Issuecode', code 6 is political party identity. Should I insert the parties of my own country in the variable Issueparty?
That's correct, if Issuecode is political party identity (code 6) you should label the political parties for your own country (as a string variable) and code this information in the issueparty variable. The Issuecode variable would be coded '6'.

How does this work for religions (question C12) in the 'issuecode' variable code 18?
For the religion category please use the format as you see it in the SPSS template file and coding scheme.

What is the difference between the actparty and issueparty variable?
The issueparty variable is part of issuecode variable. You only fill in the issueparty variable if the issuecode variable has code '6' (political party identity). It gives information for which national political party is involved in the claim.

The actparty variable is an optional variable indicating the national political party the actor belongs to.

For the variable DATE, do we code the newspaper issue date or the date of the claim?
Code the date of the media report (the day the newspaper is published). This is the date on which the media report was published and could influence the respondent.

Should the headlines and claims be translated to English?
The headlines can be noted in your own language, but the claims should be recorded both in English (variable CLAIMENG) and the original language (CLAIM).

Other

What is the questionnaire of reference?
The questionnaire of reference is that from the current round (ESS7).

Why are there not claim topics related to the rotating modules?
The rotating modules are excluded from the media claims for two reasons. Firstly, the rotating modules were not included in the design of this approach and therefore not tested. Second, we excluded the rotating modules to simplify the process.

If I have another question, to whom can I turn?
You can contact the helpdesk by e-mail: ESSmediaclaims@scp.nl

6 References

Koopmans, Ruud (2002) Codebook for the analysis of political mobilisation and communication in European public spheres. http://europub.wzb.eu/ http://europub.wzb.eu/Data/Codebooks%20questionnaires/D2-1-claims-codebook.pdf

Koopmans, Ruud and Paul Statham (1999) 'Political Claims Analysis: integrating protest event and political discourse approaches.' *Mobilization: The International Journal of Research and Theory about Social Movements, Protest and Collective Behavior* 4(2): 203-221

Koopmans, Ruud, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni, Florence Passy (2005) *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Statham, Paul, and Howard Tumber (2007) *News Events Analysis: Measuring the Political Climate.* Paper presented at the Meeting of ESS National Coordinators, Mannheim, 20-21 February, 2007 (available on request from ESSmediaclaims@scp.nl).