

# CODEBOOK (version 7.7)

Date : 07.02.2018

## Content

1.	CODING STEP: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARTICLE .....	1
1.1	COUNTRY [COUNTRY] .....	1
1.2	MEDIA TYPE [MEDIATYPE] .....	1
1.3	DATE [DATE] .....	1
1.4	MEDIA OUTLET [MEDIA_OUTLET] .....	1
1.5	ARTICLE TITLE [ARTICLE_TITLE] .....	2
1.6	SECTION/CATEGORY [SECTION] .....	2
1.7	LENGTH [LENGTH] .....	2
1.8	FORM OF PRESENTATION [FORM_OF_PRESENTATION] .....	3
1.9	OTHER FORM OF PRESENTATION [FORM_OF_PRESENTATION_OPEN] .....	4
1.10	STARTING PAGE [STARTING_PAGE] .....	4
1.11	TONE OF THE ARTICLE (adapted from (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014)) [TONE] .....	4
2.	CODING STEP: CREATION OF THE ACTOR LIST [ACTOR_NAME] .....	5
3.	CODING STEP: ACTOR CHARACTERISTICS .....	7
3.1.	ACTOR: ROLE/INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION GENERAL [ACT_ROLE_GENERAL] .....	7
3.2.	ACTOR: ROLE/INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION POLITICAL COUNTRY [ACT_ROLE_POL_COUNTRY] .....	10
3.3.	ACTOR: ROLE/INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION POLITICAL LEVEL [ACT_ROLE_POL_LEVEL] .....	11
3.4.	ACTOR: ROLE/INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION POLITICAL DOMESTIC NATIONAL [ACT_ROLE_POL_DOMESTIC_NATIONAL] .....	11
3.5.	ACTOR: ROLE/INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION POLITICAL FOREIGN NATIONAL [ACT_ROLE_POL_FOREIGN_NATIONAL] .....	15
3.6.	ACTOR: PARTY AFFILIATION [ACT_PARTY_AFFILIATION] .....	15
3.7.	ACTOR: PARTY AFFILIATION OTHER [ACT_PARTY_AFFILIATION_OPEN] .....	17
3.8.	ACTOR: ORIGIN [ACT_ORIGIN] .....	17
3.9.	ACTOR: ORIGIN OTHER [ACT_ORIGIN_OPEN] .....	18
3.10.	ACTOR: GENDER [ACT_GENDER] .....	18
3.11.	ACTOR: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION [ACT_RELIGIOUS_AFFILIATION] .....	19
3.12.	ACTOR: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OTHER [ACT_RELIGION_OPEN] .....	20
4.	CODING STEP: CREATION OF THE JUSTIFICATION LIST [JUSTIFICATION_NAME] .....	20
5.	CODING STEP: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JUSTIFICATIONS .....	23
5.1	JUSTIFICATION: NAME OF THE JUSTIFICATION [JUST_JUSTIF_NAME] .....	24
5.2	JUSTIFICATION: REPRESENTATIVES OF THE JUSTIFICATION [JUST_REP_ACTOR_ID] .....	24

5.3	JUSTIFICATION: POSITIONAL AFFILIATION OF THE JUSTIFICATION [JUST_JUSTIF_POSITION_ID] .....	24
5.4	JUSTIFICATION: REFERENCE TO IN-GROUP INTERESTS [JUST_IN_GROUP_REFERENCE] .....	24
5.5	JUSTIFICATION: REFERENCE TO OUT-GROUP INTERESTS [JUST_OUT_GROUP_REF].....	26
5.6	JUSTIFICATION: REFERENCE TO COMMON GOOD [JUST_COMMON_GOOD_REF] .....	26
5.7	JUSTIFICATION: EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO RELIGIOUS BELIEFS [JUST_RELIGIOUS_BELIEFS _REF] 27	
6.	CODING STEP: COMPLETION/FINALISATION .....	28
6.1.	OPPOSING POSITIONS [OPPOSING_POSITIONS] .....	28
6.2.	NOTES [NOTES].....	28

---

**General preliminary notes:**

*perform the following steps for each news item? to be coded. Observing the sequence of steps described in this codebook will facilitate coding.*

*Open codes should be made primarily in English. If this is not possible, code in German.*

---

## **1. CODING STEP: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARTICLE**

### **1.1 COUNTRY [COUNTRY]**

Code the country in which the article was published.

- a Australia
- c Switzerland
- d Germany
- l Lebanon
- t Turkey
- u USA

### **1.2 MEDIA TYPE [MEDIATYPE]**

Code whether the article was published in a newspaper, on a news website, or in a political blog.

- n Daily newspaper
- w News website
- b Political blog

### **1.3 DATE [DATE]**

Enter the publication date of the article in the following format:

*YY-MM-DD*

**Example:** 15-10-03 → article published on October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2015

### **1.4 MEDIA OUTLET [MEDIA\_OUTLET]**

From the displayed list, select the title of the medium in which the article was published.

## 1.5 ARTICLE TITLE [ARTICLE\_TITLE]

Enter the full main title and subtitle of the article, separated by a slash (/), in the provided text box.

If you code an article in txt format, simply mark the title, copy it to the text box by clicking on 'Get selection', and then modify it manually (where applicable).

## 1.6 SECTION/CATEGORY [SECTION]

Code the section/category within the medium, in which the article appeared.

- 1 **Politics** – this includes articles published in the section/category domestic/national affairs, foreign affairs/world and politics.
- 2 **Economy** – this includes articles published in the section/category economy, finance, business or similar.
- 3 **Culture/society** – this includes articles published in the section/category culture, lifestyle, society, media, arts or similar.
- 4 **Local/regional** – this includes articles published in an unspecified section dealing with local or regional affairs/events (with varying section/category titles, e.g. 'Local/community', 'Regional', 'City post', 'Around ...', or simply naming the corresponding region/city).  
Caution: articles from the category 'Local/regional' that deal with political, economic or cultural topics should still be coded as 'Local/regional'.
- 5 **Other** – to be applied only if the article cannot be assigned to one of the preceding sections/categories.
- 6 **No section/category** – to be applied only if the respective medium does not have a clear structure of sections/categories.

**Note 1:** blogs usually do not have a structure of sections or categories but consist of a single-page stream of posts, which are tagged specifically. Tags alone do not count as a section/category. In this case, code '6 No section/category'. However, sometimes the navigation bar on the upper or left margin of the website may be indicative of a section/category structure.

**Note 2:** to identify the section/category, use all the metadata displayed to you for the article to be coded (for example, section/category titles are often found in the URLs).

## 1.7 LENGTH [LENGTH]

Count the article's number of words, *excluding* the main headline, title, subtitle, and teaser. Readers' comments and subheadings in the main text of the article are not counted.

If you code an article in **txt format**, Angrist automatically enters the number of words in the text box.

If the article is **not** in **txt format**, estimate the number of words by counting the words in the first five lines of the article's second paragraph, calculate the arithmetic mean of words per line and

multiply it by the total number of lines in the article. In case of a fraction, round it up to the nearest integer (i.e. round 311.5 to 312).

**Note 1:** if the second paragraph comprises less than five lines, count the words in the first five lines of the third paragraph. If the article doesn't contain a third paragraph, proceed as indicated in note 2.

**Note 2:** if the article consists of only one paragraph, count the words from the second up to - and including - the sixth line of the paragraph and then proceed as indicated in the coding instruction above.

**Note 3:** if the fifth line of the second paragraph ends with the first part of a hyphenated word, include this word in your count. Each number is counted as a word. Additional characters such as currency symbols are not counted (for example, '€ 500' corresponds to 1 word). Words containing apostrophes are counted as one word (for example, 'it's raining' corresponds to 2 words), as are hyphenated words (for example, '50-year history' corresponds to 2 words).

## 1.8 FORM OF PRESENTATION [FORM\_OF\_PRESENTATION]

Code the (journalistic) genre of the article.

- 1 **News report** – (news) reports are fact-based coverage. They give an objective account of current events and differ considerably in content from opinions, analyses, and literary texts. They do not contain any personal assessments of the author.
- 2 **Opinion/comment** – opinion articles and comments are primarily interpretations, assessments and opinions of the author on a specific subject and are usually followed by the author's name. This category also includes glosses, columns, and editorials. Editorials often appear on the front page and are meant to reflect the author's opinion on a topic. Glosses are brief opinion articles which typically employ a pointed argument and a polemic, funny, satirical, or biting rhetoric. They often appear as columns, i.e. in regular intervals and in a dedicated place in the newspaper (example: the *Streiflicht* on the front page of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*).
- 3 **Analysis** – analyses are meant to provide the reader with more background knowledge about a topic or a group of topics. Current daily events may serve as an occasion for analyses. Analyses examine topics systematically in order to identify and study the causes, characteristics and consequences of a situation/a condition/an issue. Causal analyses include, for example, historical observations of current events.
- 4 **Report** – reports describe the journalist's personal experiences in an atmospheric way and also render feelings and impressions. Sometimes, the reported subject/main actors may play a more central role than the journalist.
- 5 **Interview/discussion** – interviews and discussions are written renditions of discussions or other exchanges between two or more persons. They are characterized by a clear change of the speaker.

- 6 **Critique/review** – critiques and reviews discuss current events and products in the field of culture (books, movies, events, etc.) and reflect the author's personal assessments (example: the discussion of a newly published political book is a critique/review. However, scientific studies are not cultural products in our sense; the presentation or discussion of them does not constitute a critique/review, but a report, analysis, or comment).
- 7 **Reprint** – reprints are excerpts from an (often not yet published) book or other media publications, which are not incorporated in an independent journalistic text.
- 8 **Letter to the editor** – letters are contributions published by non-journalistic writers on their own initiative that usually (but not always) refer back to previously published contributions.
- 9 **Other**
- 99 **Not specified**

**Note:** in **Appendix 1** you will find several illustrative examples of the different (journalistic) forms of presentation as an aid to your decision.

---

## 1.9 OTHER FORM OF PRESENTATION [FORM\_OF\_PRESENTATION\_OPEN]

---

***Preliminary note:** code this variable only if you coded the previous variable 'Form of presentation' (1.8) with 'Other'.*

---

In the open text box, enter the article's journalistic genre.

---

## 1.10 STARTING PAGE [STARTING\_PAGE]

---

***Preliminary note:** code this variable only for daily newspapers!*

---

nn      Code the number of the page on which the article begins.

*Example: an article begins on the third page of a newspaper, hence the page code for this article is '03'.*

---

## 1.11 TONE OF THE ARTICLE (adapted from (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014)<sup>1</sup>) [TONE]

---

How venomous is this? This variable asks your assessment of the overall tone of the article. This particular variable is about the intensity of the outrage.

**Note 1:** The term outrage refers to a particular form of political discourse involving the mindful attempt to provoke an emotional response from the audience, usually in the form of anger, fear, or moral righteousness. Outrage is often, but not always, accomplished through the use of categorical statements, exaggerations, and partial truths about opponents which may take the form of

---

<sup>1</sup> Berry, J. M., & Sobieraj, S. (2014). *The outrage industry: Political opinion media and the new incivility*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

individuals, organizations, or entire communities of interest (e.g., progressives or conservatives) or circumstance (e.g., immigrants). Outrage sidesteps the messy nuances of complex political issues in favor of ad hominem attacks, overgeneralizations, mockery, and dire forecasts of impending doom.

**Note 2:** code the overall impression conveyed by the article, not just by parts of the article or single communicative acts reported in the article.

- 0 Overall tone is more aptly described as **conventional political speech**: Content and form OVERALL are more aptly described as “conventional” political speech, even if there are moments that technically count as outrage.
- 1 **Light** intensity outrage: Close to the border of “conventional” political speech.
- 2 **Moderate** intensity outrage: Outrage is present, but not overly emotional in form and/or content.
- 3 **Intense** outrage: There are windows of reason, but the content and/or form is generally quite emotional.
- 4 **Very intense** outrage: Content and/or form may match, but infrequently exceeds this level of emotionality.

## 2. CODING STEP: CREATION OF THE ACTOR LIST [ACTOR\_NAME]

---

***Preliminary note:** in this step, create a separate list of all actors **mentioned** in the text for each article you are coding. The order of the actors’ occurrence in the **main text of the article** defines their order of listing.*

---

An actor is understood here as an at least potentially acting subject who is able to at least potentially participate actively in a discourse and must be identifiable as such in the text. Actors can be individuals (e.g. Angela Merkel) or collective actors (e.g. the Federal Government).

If both a **collective actor** (e.g. an institution or organization) and an individual **representative or speaker of this collective actor** are mentioned in an article, they are listed separately.

Note that incidentally mentioned individual or collective actors are also included. A **single, incidental mention of an actor, also in the form of background information or personal characteristics, is sufficient to code them**.

The aim of this coding step is to capture **all mentioned potential discourse participants**.

**Note:** there are two key criteria with corresponding key questions for the creation of the actor list:

- (a) **Identifiability:** is there any information in the text that allows for **finding out more information about the potential actor** or can this information be obtained with the help of an online search engine in 5 minutes or less?
  - An actor must be an **identifiable**, acting subject. For example, ‘many’ or ‘others’ do not count as actors, because they are not identifiable. An actor is considered as identifiable if the information provided about the actor allows the reader to find out



more information about them (either in the present text but also beyond, by means of a simple search, e.g. with an online search engine).

(b) **Potential discourse participation:** could the potential actor **at least potentially participate in a discourse?**

- An actor must be a **potential participant in the discourse**. An identifiable individual or collective actor must be able to potentially participate as such in the discussion on the article's topic. This also means that non-organized groups of individuals and collectives (such as 'Christians', 'Muslims', 'German farmers') are not coded as actors, because they are unable to participate as such in the public debate. Organized actors, groups and collectives (such as 'the church' as an institution, not as a place, the 'Central Council of Muslims in Germany', 'farmers' associations'), however, are coded as actors because they are able to participate as such in the public discourse.

**Coding instruction:**

Txt files: if you code an article in txt format, mark each actor appearing in the text and subsequently click on the yellow button labelled 'Actor'.

PDF files: if you code an article in PDF format, print it and mark each actor mentioned with a yellow highlighter. In a consensus discussion with a second coder, actors appearing several times are summarized and the final list is created. This list is saved in Excel format. The description of each actor on the final list is entered manually in Angrist for further actor coding.

**Caution:** for individual actors, the description will usually be equivalent to the name of the respective actor; functional descriptions or affiliations to organizations should be added only if the actor's name would otherwise be ambiguous. For collective actors, the name of the actor is usually the name of the respective institution/organization.

Add an English translation of the actor description in the field 'Description'. If you are not able to translate into English, enter a German description .

**Caution:** the author of the article is always the first actor to be coded. The author is not recorded by name but is referred to only as the 'author of the article'. By default, Angrist suggests the author of the article as the first entry on the actor list (also without prior marking). If you code an article in txt format, you therefore do not need to mark the author.

**Treatment of borderline cases:**

- **Demonstrating and other protesting groups of persons** are coded as identifiable collective actors if they appear organized as such (e.g. evangelical Christians demonstrating against abortion laws).
- Actors who can act both as **geographical reference** or **source of information** and as **discourse participants**, such as **countries, cities, churches or the media**, are coded as actors only if it is **clear from the context of the reference** that they act as **independent**

**potential participants in the discourse.** They are not coded if, in the context of their mention, they only point to a place.

- **'The state'** should be interpreted as equivalent to the current government of the respective country and therefore included as collective actor in the actor list (caution: this also includes mentions of countries as states (e.g. 'Israel announced XY') but not mentions of countries without a clearly identifiable reference to the state.
- **Fictitious actors** (e.g. characters from film and literature) are not coded.
- **Deceased actors, i.e. also historical actors (for example, Muhammed, Jesus, Maria)** are not coded.
- **Anonymously cited actors** (e.g. actors whose name was changed by the journalist for their protection or who are not named at all and cannot be identified by other means) are not coded as actors.

**Example 1:** *'The head of the British government today commented on the recent events in London.'*  
→ The actor is identifiable because he/she also represents an actual discourse participant (see (b)) on whom additional information can be sought and found based on the information given in the article ('The head of the British government'; see (a)).

**Example 2:** *'The federal government', 'The Greens', 'The opposition' or 'The army' each are collective actors and are therefore coded as actors.*

**In case of doubt:** shouldn't it be clear from the context of the article whether the criteria for the identification of actors are met (identifiability and potential discourse participation), code conservatively, i.e. do not include them in the actor list.

**Example 3:** *'Last week, after Republican governors in South Carolina and Alabama had pressed for the removal of the Confederate battle flag at their capitals, Southern Republicans in the House moved to preserve the right to lay those flags on Confederate graves at federal cemeteries, prompting an uproar led by African-American House members.'* → *'Republican governors in South Carolina and Alabama' are two identifiable individual actors. However: it is not clear from the context of the article whether 'Southern Republicans in the House' and 'African-American House members' refer to groups as a whole (and therefore are coded as actors) or if these designations are used as characterizations of several individual persons, who would then be not further identifiable. Therefore, they both should not be coded as actors.*

### 3. CODING STEP: ACTOR CHARACTERISTICS

---

**Preliminary note:** in turn code the characteristics of all actors in the article listed in coding step 2. Decisive for coding is the status at the time of the first publication of the respective article (i.e. basically the investigation period 1.8.2015 to 31.7.2016).

---

#### 3.1. ACTOR: ROLE/INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION GENERAL [ACT\_ROLE\_GENERAL]

In this step you will code the actor's role or institutional affiliation. For this purpose, consider all the contextual information contained in the text, **omitting your own knowledge.**

Only code the actor's **main role**, which is determined by

- (a) explicit reference to the actor (made by the journalist/blogger) or
- (b) the entire context of the article (e.g. based on the topic of the article).

If you are unsure about the role of an actor, do a quick online search to obtain the necessary information for correct coding (up to 5 minutes).

1 **Political actor**

2 **Military/police/state militia**

3 **Legal representatives** (national and supra-national, e.g. prosecutors, courts, state judges, spokespersons of the courts; excluding the police [see 2] and lawyers [see 19])

4 **Other national representatives** (administration, national supervisory authorities, civil protection, national intelligence services, fire brigade, emergency service, etc.; excluding military/police [see 2]; officials only if they appear in the role of officials)

5 **Entrepreneurs and business representatives** (e.g. security traders, professional farmers, business associations such as BDI and Chambers of Commerce and Industry, individual companies)

6 **Representatives of permanently organized civil society associations and general associations** (e.g. Child Protection Agency, Joint Welfare Association), trade unions (e.g. ver.di), NGOs (e.g. BUND, Greenpeace); associations, trade unions and NGOs in the form of collectively organized actors; interest groups or other associations (e.g. pupil's council, Pegida)

**Note 1:** civic associations, associations, and NGOs with a religious background are not coded with 6 (see 15). A civil society organization is considered permanent if it has been established not only to enforce a precise and clearly defined policy objective.

**Example:** *the Swiss minaret initiative, which had the specific goal of enforcing a referendum on the approval of minarets in Switzerland, is not a permanent civil society association.*

**Note 2:** ordinary parties are part of the political institutional system and therefore never coded as civil society actors (Code 6).

7 **Journalists** (television, radio or press journalists, news agencies, etc.)

**Note 1:** journalistic actors must work at least part-time as such; for **authors of guest contributions** who are representatives of another group of actors, the latter should be coded. For this purpose, consult all contextual information available, for example info boxes. If, despite the info box, you are not sure which role the guest author should be assigned to, carry out a quick online search. This means that you should only code actors as journalists who, based on the information available to the reader, are likely to cover a major part of their living expenses through their journalistic work.

**Note 2:** see below for double roles as journalist and blogger (note 3a).

8 **Bloggers**

**Note:** see below for double roles as journalist and blogger (note 3a).

9 **Scientists/intellectuals/representatives of the Arts and (academically oriented) high culture** (e.g. researchers, philosophers, authors of books, representatives of think tanks, e.g. Stiftung Wissenschaft & Politik, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research etc.)

10 **Representatives of (non-academically oriented) popular culture and entertainment** (e.g. TV stars, musicians, actors, entertainers, authors of popular literature, etc.)

13 **Representatives of sports** (e.g. football players, trainers, representatives of a team, etc.)

14 **Representatives of churches, religious or faith communities** (e.g. the Pope, spokesperson of a church, priests, imams etc.)

**Note:** select code 14 only for clergymen/-women or representatives of an organization/institution headed by religious dignitaries, not for secular organizations of one or more religious communities (see code 15).

15 **Representatives of religious associations** (e.g. Central Council of Jews in Germany, Turkish-Islamic Union of the Institute for Religion (DİTİB), Islamic Council for the Federal Republic of Germany, Council of Religions, International Council of Christians and Jews, World Parliament of Religions)

**Note:** select code 15 only for secular organizations of one or more religious communities but not for clergymen/-women or representatives of an organization/institution headed by religious dignitaries.

16 **Ordinary citizens not engaged in collectively organized protest** (e.g. questioned passers-by, individuals affected by political and social processes speaking for themselves, self-help organizations provided they do not participate actively in politically organized protest, but not defendants in court cases [see code 19]).

17 **Ordinary citizens engaged in short-term, collectively organized protest** (e.g. questioned demonstrators; individuals speaking of themselves as affected by political and social processes (e.g. Swiss minaret initiative), self-help organizations, if they are directly involved in organized political protest; self-help organizations, provided they participate actively in politically organized protest)

18 **Assassins, terrorists** (in the sense of actors who have committed, are suspected to have committed, or are planning to commit violent crimes)

19 **Others** (e.g. accused persons and lawyers, school principals, non-governmental paramilitary groups such as vigilant groups, practicing doctors, etc.)

**Note:** select the category 'Others' only in cases in which the actor cannot be clearly assigned to any role.

**Example:** the organization Hezbollah—which can appear as a political party (code 1), as a terrorist organization (code 18), and as a paramilitary militia (code 19 - Others)—should be coded rather as a party (code 1) or as a terrorist organization (code 18), depending on how it

*is actually portrayed in the article; it should be coded as a paramilitary militia (code 19) only if it is specifically described neither as a party nor as a terrorist organization.*

**-99 Not specified**

**Note 1:** the role/institutional affiliation should not only be coded for representatives of institutions or organizations, but also for institutions/organizations themselves! This means, for example, that this variable should not only be coded for **representatives** of courts, media outlets, universities, associations and churches, but also for **courts, media outlets, universities, associations and churches** as collective actors themselves.

**Note 2:** if the text assigns several roles/institutional affiliations to one actor, code the role/institutional affiliation mentioned first in the main text of the article (i.e. not in the heading or title).

**Note 3a:** if the author of an article is both a journalist and a blogger, their function in the current article determines the coding decision. Code authors as bloggers if they are the authors of a blog, even if they also work as journalists in other contexts. However, code authors as journalists if they are the authors of a newspaper or news website article. Exception: the author is explicitly referred to as a blogger in the article, for example, in a brief author information at the end.

**Note 3b:** if the author of an article mentions actors who are both journalists and bloggers, the role assigned to the actor by the author determines the coding decision. If the author doesn't assign them a clear role, select the category 'Journalists' (code 7).

**Note 3c:** if no author is specified in an article, the author should be assigned code 7 ('Journalists') for daily newspapers and news websites, and code 8 ('Bloggers') for blog posts.

### **3.2. ACTOR: ROLE/INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION POLITICAL COUNTRY** **[ACT\_ROLE\_POL\_COUNTRY]**

Is the actor a **national** or a **foreign** actor?

Code this variable analogously to point 5.8 'Origin' and always take the country in which the media text appeared as a point of reference.

***Example:** a German actor appearing in an article from a Swiss daily newspaper is considered a foreign actor.*

11      **National actor**

12      **Foreign actor**

-99      **Not specified**

**Note:** the author of an article is coded as a national actor even if their origin is coded in the following with '-99 Not specified'. The only exception are foreign guest authors.

---

**Preliminary note:** the following variables up to and including point 5.5 are only coded for **political actors**.

---

### 3.3. ACTOR: ROLE/INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION POLITICAL LEVEL [ACT\_ROLE\_POL\_LEVEL]

Is the actor a national or sub-/supranational actor?

1      **National actor**

**Note:** parties acting at national level (for example, the SPD) should be coded as a national actor, unless explicit reference is made to a specific level of party organization (e.g. SPD local association, i.e. subnational level).

2      **Sub-/supranational actor** (e.g. regional politicians, state parliaments, state and non-state governors, simple local community members, representatives of the EU and the UN or their organizations)

-99      **Not specified**

---

**Preliminary note:** the following variable (5.4) is coded only for **domestic, national political actors**.

---

### 3.4. ACTOR: ROLE/INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION POLITICAL DOMESTIC NATIONAL [ACT\_ROLE\_POL\_DOMESTIC\_NATIONAL]

If the political actor is a national domestic actor, code whether they belong to the **executive** or **legislative** in the **national** political system. Code only the actor's **main role**, which is determined by (a) explicit reference to the actor (made by the journalist/blogger) or (b) the entire context of the article (e.g. based on the topic of the article).

Coding should be based solely **on the information contained in the article** (but not on, for example, prior knowledge or the presumed prior knowledge of a generally educated reader). Ask yourself: what information about the role/institutional affiliation of the actor can be found in the article?

This information may be more or less explicit or implicit in the article. If you are unsure about the meaning of a piece of information in an article (for example, an official title or abbreviation of an organization), do a quick online search (up to 5 minutes) to understand the information in the article correctly.

Always choose the most specific code concerning the information given in the article. For example, code 11110 should be used only if the executive is referred to generally as 'The state' or 'The federal state', or if country names are cited as representative of the state. For a more specific reference (e.g. 'Angela Merkel'), the more specific code (e.g. 11111) should be assigned.

**Example:** in an article, a statement by 'Angela Merkel, chairwoman of the Union' is casually mentioned. If you do not know the abbreviation 'Union' or cannot clearly interpret it, do a brief internet research and accordingly code '11121 Legislative: representatives of the

*government party/parties or the government coalition as a whole' (but not '11110 Executive as a whole', since her function as Federal Chancellor is not mentioned in the article).*

**11110 Executive as a whole:** e.g. 'The state', 'The federal government' (in Germany)

**11111 Executive: head of government**

- AUS – Tony Abbott (until 15 Sept 2015)/Malcolm Turnbull (Prime Minister)
- GER – Angela Merkel (Federal Chancellor)
- LEB – Tammam Salam (premier, Prime Minister)
- SUI – Federal Council: Didier Burkhalter, Johann Schneider-Ammann, Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf, Doris Leuthard, Ueli Maurer, Simonetta Sommaruga (Federal President), Alain Berset, Corina Casanova (Federal Chancellor)
- TUR – Ahmet Davutoğlu (Prime Minister)
- USA – Barack Obama (President)

**11112 Executive: head of state**

- AUS – Queen Elizabeth II (Queen)
- GER – Joachim Gauck (Federal President)
- [LEB – not existing in person; therefore, this code should not be used for libanese actors]
- SUI – Simonetta Sommaruga (Federal President)
- TUR – Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (President of the State)
- USA – Barack Obama (President)

**11113 Executive: other government representatives at national level** (e.g. ministers and ministries but also spokespersons of the ministers and heads of state)

**11120 Legislative as a whole:** e.g. 'German Bundestag', 'the Parliament', 'Congress', 'Senate', 'House'

**11121 Legislative: representatives of the government party/parties or the government coalition as a whole**

- AUS – The Liberal Party of Australia (The Liberals, Lib, Libs, LPA)
- AUS – The National Party of Australia (The Nationals, The Nats, NPA)
- GER – Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union of Germany]
- GER – Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (CSU) ) [Christian Social Union of Germany]
- GER – Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) [Social Democratic Party of Germany]
- LEB – Courant du Futur – تيار المستقبل – Tayyār al-Mustaqbal [Future Movement]
- LEB – Parti socialiste progressiste (PSP) – الحزب بالتقدم الاشتراكي – Al-Hizb at-taqadummi al-ischtiraki [Progressive Socialist Party]
- LEB - Phalanges libanaises (Kataëb) – الكتائب اللبنانية – Hizb al-Kata'ib al-Lubnaniya, [Phalange, Kata'ib-Partei, Kataeb Party, Lebanese Phalanges Party]
- LEB – Parti national liberal (PNL) – حزب الوطنيين الأحرار – Hizb el-wataniyin el-ahrar (Al-Ahrar) [National Liberal Party, NLP]

- LEB - Mouvement du renouveau démocratique – حركة التجدد الديمقراطي – Ḥarakat at-tağaddud ad-dīmuqrāṭī [Democratic Renewal]
- LEB – Mouvement de la gauche démocratique au Liban (MDG) – حركة اليسار الديمقراطي – Ḥarakat al-Yasār ad-Dīmuqrāṭī (HYD) [Democratic Left Movement]
- LEB – Mouvement des dépossédés, Mouvement Amal (Amal) – حركة أمل – Harakat amal [Amal Movement, Hope Movement]
- LEB – Hezbollah, 'Parti de Dieu' – حزب الله – Hizbu 'Ilāh [Hezbollah]
- LEB – Parti social nationaliste syrien (PSNS) – الحزب السوري القومي الاجتماعي – al-Ḥizb as-Sūrī al-Qaumī al-Iğtimā'ī [Syrian Social Nationalist Party, SSNP]
- LEB – Courant patriotique libre (CPL) – التيار الوطني الحر – al-Tayyār al-waṭanī al-ḥurr [Free Patriotic Movement]
- SUI – Fraktion der Schweizerischen Volkspartei der Bundesversammlung (V) - Groupe de l'Union démocratique du centre l'Assemblée fédérale [Swiss People's Party /Democratic Union of the Federal Assembly]
- SUI – Sozialdemokratische Fraktion der Bundesversammlung (S) – Groupe socialiste de l'Assemblée fédérale [Socialist Union of the Federal Assembly]
- SUI –CVP/EVP Fraktion der Bundesversammlung (CE) (CVP = Christlichdemokratischen Volkspartei, EVP =Evangelischen Volkspartei)– Groupe PDC/PEV l'Assemblée fédérale (PDC = Le Parti démocrate-chrétien, PEV =Le Parti évangélique suisse) [Christian Democratic People's Party],
- SUI – FDP-Liberale Fraktion der Bundesversammlung – Groupe libéral-radical (RL) [Liberal Union of the Federal Assembly]
- SUI – Grüne Fraktion der Bundesversammlung (G) – Groupe des Verts de l'Assemblée fédérale [Green Union of the Federal Assembly]
- SUI – Grünliberale Fraktion der Bundesversammlung (GL) – Groupe vert-libéral l'Assemblée fédérale [Green Liberal Union of the Federal Assembly]
- SUI – Fraktion der Bürgerlich-Demokratischen Partei der Bundesversammlung (BD) – Groupe du parti bourgeois démocratique de l'Assemblée fédérale [Bourgeois Democratic Union of the Federal Assembly]
- TUR – Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) [Justice and Development Party]
- USA – Democratic Party (Democrats)

#### 11122 **Legislative: representatives of the opposition party/parties or the opposition as a whole**

- AUS – Australian Labor Party (ALP)
- GER – Die Linke [The Left]
- GER – Bündnis 90/Die Grünen [Alliance '90/The Greens]
- LEB – Forces Libanaises (FL) – القووات اللبنانية – al-Quwwāt al-lubnāniyya [Lebanese Forces]
- SUI – [Special case: no opposition in national parliament]
- TUR – Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) [Republican People's Party]
- TUR – Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP) [Nationalist Movement Party]
- TUR – Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP) [Peoples' Democratic Party]
- USA – Republican Party, Republicans, Grand Old Party (GOP)

#### 11123 **Legislative: other legislative representatives at national level** (e.g. so-called crossbenchers such as the 'One Nation Party' in Australia, the German South Eastern European



Parliamentary Group, the Parliamentary Circle of Friends Berlin-Taipei, supra-factional discussion groups such as 'Denkwerk Demokratie', the so-called pizza connection)

-99     **Not specified**

**Special rule 1:** for the USA and Switzerland, the actors corresponding to categories 11111 and 11112 are identical (SUI: Simonetta Sommaruga; USA: Barack Obama). To unambiguously define the coding category to be applied, consider the **context** in which the actor appears: if they appear in the context of national politics, code '11111 – Executive: head of government', if they appear in the context of international politics, code '11112 – Executive: head of state'.

**Special rule2: spokespersons** of the head of government or head of state are coded as '11113 – Executive: Other government representatives at national level' or foreign representatives of the executive.

Code **spokespersons** as the actors they speak for:

***Example 1:** spokespersons of Angela Merkel are coded as '11113 - Executive: other government representatives at national level' (caution: of course, this applies only to German articles! In all other cases, code as foreign representatives of the government).*

***Example 2:** spokespersons of the White House are coded as national, foreign actors of the executive (caution: this only applies to non-American articles! For American articles, please choose 'Executive: other government representatives at national level').*

**Note:** the **executive** refers to the executive power of a country and includes the government, i.e. head of government, head of state, minister, and also spokespersons of the government at **national** level. The **legislative**, on the other hand, refers to the legislative authority and is responsible for the consultation and adoption of laws as well as for the supervision of the executive. The **legislative** comprises party fractions represented in the **national** parliaments (government parties or opposition parties) and its members as well as party organizations at **national** policy level (for example, the SPD executive committee).

**Special rule 3:** for candidates for an office (e.g. presidential candidate or candidate for chancellor), code the office which the candidate held when the article was published. If the candidate has no political office, as in the case of D. Trump, then they should be coded as follows:

Role GENERAL:	<b>1</b>	<b>Political actor</b>
Role POL_COUNTRY:	<b>11</b>	<b>Domestic actor</b>
Role POL_LEVEL:	<b>1</b>	<b>National actor</b>
Role POL_DOMESTIC_NATIONAL:	<b>-99</b>	<b>Not specified</b>

---

**Preliminary note:** the following variable (5.5) is coded only for **foreign, national political actors**.

---

### 3.5. ACTOR: ROLE/INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION POLITICAL FOREIGN NATIONAL [ACT\_ROLE\_POL\_FOREIGN\_NATIONAL]

If the actor is a foreign national political actor, code whether they belong to the **executive** or the **legislative** branch.

- 1211 **Executive – representatives of the government** (no distinction between head of government, head of state, ministers and spokespersons)
- 1212 **Legislative – representatives of the legislative** (no distinction between opposition and governing parties, all foreign politicians at national level)
- 99 **Not specified**

**Note:** foreign states that are not described in detail but act as actors as such are usually coded as executive. If they are referred to in the context of the article as legislators, they are coded as a legislative.

---

***Preliminary note:** the following variable (5.6) is only coded for **domestic actors**.*

---

### 3.6. ACTOR: PARTY AFFILIATION [ACT\_PARTY\_AFFILIATION]

Code the party affiliation of the mentioned actor, provided it is clearly specified in the article. In order to define party affiliation, use the contextual information provided in the article, omitting your own knowledge.

This means that you should identify organizations and abbreviations of organizations explicitly named in the article through an online search but not code party affiliation if no party organization is mentioned in the article or if party affiliation remains implicit.

The party affiliation of actors is coded only if the context clearly indicates party membership.

If an actor's party affiliation is not indicated or if the actor is a collective domestic actor with unclear political affiliation, e.g. the federal government, code '-99 Not specified'. For parties and their sub-organizations as collective actors, the party affiliation should be coded (for example, 'Jusos' as the youth wing of the SPD are coded as 'SPD').

- 1 GER – Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands/Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (CDU/CSU) [Christian Democratic Union of Germany/Christian Social Union of Germany]
- 2 GER – Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) [Social Democratic Party of Germany]
- 3 GER – Die Linke [The Left]
- 4 GER – Bündnis 90/Die Grünen [Alliance '90/The Greens]
- 5 GER – Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) [Alternative for Germany]
- 6 GER – Freie Demokratische Partei, Freie Demokraten (FDP) [Free Democratic Party, Free Democrats, former: The Liberals]
- 7 GER – Other (record manually)

- 8 SUI – Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei (BDP) - Parti bourgeois démocratique (PBD)  
[Conservative Democratic Party of Switzerland]
- 9 SUI – Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei (CVP) - Parti démocrate-chrétien (PDC) [Christian Democratic People's Party of Switzerland]
- 10 SUI – Christlichsoziale Partei, Mitte Links (CSP) – Parti chrétien-social, Centre gauche (PCS)  
[Christian Social Party (CSP)]
- 11 SUI – Evangelische Volkspartei (EVP) - Parti Evangelique Suisse (PEV) [Evangelical People's Party of Switzerland]
- 12 SUI – FDP.Die Liberalen (FDP) - PLR. Les Libéraux-Radicaux [The Liberals]
- 13 SUI – Grüne Partei der Schweiz (GPS) - Parti écologiste suisse (PES) [Green Party of Switzerland]
- 14 SUI – Grünliberale Partei (GLP) - Parti vert'libéral Suisse (PVL) [Green Liberal Party of Switzerland]
- 15 SUI – Lega dei Ticinesi (Lega) - Ligue des Tessinois [Ticino League]
- 16 SUI – Mouvement citoyens romands/genevois (MCR/MCG) [Geneva Citizens' Movement]
- 17 SUI – Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP) - Union démocratique du centre (UDC) [Swiss People's Party]
- 18 SUI – Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz (SP) - Parti socialiste suisse (SPS) [Social Democratic Party of Switzerland]
- 19 SUI – Other (record manually)
- 20 USA – Democratic Party (Democrats)
- 21 USA – Republican Party, Republicans, Grand Old Party (GOP)
- 22 USA – Other (record manually)
- 23 AUS – The Liberal Party of Australia (The Liberals, Lib, Libs, LPA)
- 24 AUS – Australian Labor Party (ALP)
- 25 AUS – The National Party of Australia (The Nationals, The Nats, NPA)
- 26 AUS – Australian Greens (The Greens)
- 27 AUS – Other (record manually)
- 28 LEB – Courant du Futur – تيار المستقبل – Tayyār al-Mustaqbal [Future Movement]
- 29 LEB – Parti socialiste progressiste (PSP) – الحزب التقدمي الاشتراكي – Al-Hizb at-taqadummi al-ischtiraki [Progressive-socialist Party]
- 30 LEB – Forces Libanaises (FL) – القوات اللبنانية – al-Quwwāt al-lubnāniyya [Lebanese Forces (LF)]
- 31 LEB – Phalanges libanaises (Kataëb) – الكتائب اللبنانية – Hizb al-Kata'ib al-Lubnaniya, [Phalange, Kata'ib-Partei, Kataeb Party, Lebanese Phalanges Party]
- 32 LEB – Parti national liberal (PNL) – حزب الوطنيين الأحرار – Hizb el-wataniyin el-ahrar (Al-Ahrar) [National Liberal Party(NLP)]
- 33 LEB – Mouvement du renouveau démocratique – حركة التجدد الديمقراطي – Ḥarakat at-tağaddud ad-dīmuqrāṭī [Democratic Renewal]
- 34 LEB – Mouvement de la gauche démocratique au Liban (MDG) – حركة اليسار الديمقراطي – Ḥarakat al-Yasār ad-Dīmuqrāṭī (HYD) [Democratic Left Movement (DLM)]
- 35 LEB – Mouvement des dépossédés, Mouvement Amal (Amal) – حركة أمل – Harakat amal [Amal Movement, Hope Movement]
- 36 LEB – Hezbollah, 'Parti de Dieu' – حزب الله – Hizbu 'Ilāh [Hezbollah]
- 37 LEB – Parti social nationaliste syrien (PSNS) – الحزب السوري القومي الاجتماعي – al-Hizb as-Sūrī al-Qaumī al-Iğtimā'ī [Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP)]

- 38 LEB – Courant patriotique libre (CPL) – التيار الوطني الحر – al-Tayyār al-waṭanī al-ḥurr [Free Patriotic Movement (FPM)]
  - 39 LEB – Other (record manually)
  - 40 TUR – Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) [Justice and Development Party]
  - 41 TUR – Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) [Republican People's Party]
  - 42 TUR – Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP) [Nationalist Movement Party/ Nationalist Action Party]
  - 43 TUR – Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP) [Peoples' Democratic Party]
  - 44 TUR – Other (record manually)
  - 45 No party affiliation (only for explicit (self-) nominations and if none of the above-mentioned categories applies. Caution: do not code any personal judgements!)
- 99 Not specified

**Special rule:** the only exception to this rule are heads of state and heads of government, whose party affiliation is coded **even if it is not specified** in the text.

### 3.7. ACTOR: PARTY AFFILIATION OTHER [ACT\_PARTY\_AFFILIATION\_OPEN]

---

***Preliminary note:** this variable is coded only if the previous variable 'Party affiliation' (5.6) was coded with 'Other'!*

---

Enter in the open text box which political party the actor belongs to.

### 3.8. ACTOR: ORIGIN [ACT\_ORIGIN]

Code the origin of the actor by selecting the name of the country from the list displayed in Angrist. For this purpose, consider all contextual information about the actor (e.g. descriptions by the author or other actors in the text) contained in the article, but not your own knowledge or external information (e.g. online search engines). In doing so, the **current main operational background** is crucial, i.e. the current place of residence and work, but not the ethnic origin. For exiles who talk about their country of origin, code the country of origin and not the country of exile.

**Note 1:** in borderline cases such as foreign correspondents, the coding decision may be facilitated by asking what operational activity the actor's employer pursues, how long the current operational activity will probably last, and in which role the actor appears in the article (e.g. native or foreign).

The origin of the reporting or citing journalists/bloggers is coded as '99 - Not specified'. Exception: foreign journalists and authors of guest contributions who act as commentators, if their origin is specified and/or can be deduced from contextual information.

If the actor's country of origin is not included in the list of country codes (see Appendix 2: list of country codes), select 'Other' and enter the country of origin in the open category 'Origin Other' (5.9). If the country of origin is a state with limited recognition and at least partially overlaps with a recognised state (e.g. Kurdistan with Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran), select the country code of the

recognised state and enter the name of the state with limited recognition in the field for open coding.

For actors from international (for example UN) and supranational (for example EU) organizations, also select 'Other' and enter the name of the organization in the open category 'Origin Other' (5.9). The same applies to transnational terrorist organizations such as IS or al Qaeda. It does not apply to terrorist organizations that operate exclusively within a country (for example the NSU); here, the country is coded, provided it is clear from the article's context.

**Note 2:** code the origin of all representatives of the executive and legislative branches, **even if it is not specified!** If it is clear from the context, also code the origin of actors who were coded with 'Other' or 'Not specified' for the variable 'Role/institutional affiliation'.

***Example 1:** 'Chancellor Angela Merkel rated the government's measures to control the economic crisis as a good and important step towards overcoming the difficulties.' Code 'Germany'—it is clear from the contextual information that the speaker is the Chancellor, also if her country of origin is not explicitly named.*

***Example 2:** the attribution of the origin by other actors (e.g. the author) often takes place during role assignment and can also be implicit. For example, 'IS fighter from Mosul' is coded as 'Iraq' and 'Münster's theologians' as 'Germany'.*

### 3.9. ACTOR: ORIGIN OTHER [ACT\_ORIGIN\_OPEN]

---

***Preliminary note:** this variable is coded only if the previous variable 'Origin' (5.8) was coded with 'Other'.*

---

Enter the origin of the actor in the open text box.

### 3.10. ACTOR: GENDER [ACT\_GENDER]

Code the gender of the actor.

- 1 Female
- 2 Male
- 3 Other
- 99 Not specified

**Note:** unless the actor's gender is explicitly different from the biological sex, code on the basis of the recognisable biological sex (e.g. gender-typical names). Code 'Other' only if the text explicitly emphasizes a deviant gender identity (such as transgender) of the actor. Code 'Not specified' only if the gender of the actor cannot be inferred from the explicit information contained in the article. For collective actors, also code '-99 Not specified'.

### 3.11. ACTOR: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION [ACT\_RELIGIOUS\_AFFILIATION]

Code the religious affiliation of the actor, provided it can be clearly deduced from the article, **explicitly or implicitly**. Religious affiliation refers to the **actor's individual profession of faith**.

Important: only use contextual information from the article but not your own knowledge.

Religious affiliation in this sense cannot be deduced from being a member of a church or belonging to a religious organization or group alone (for example membership in political parties such as the CDU in Germany or Israeli citizenship).

The actor's individual profession of faith can be deduced from membership in an organization only if it is a necessary condition for membership. This means, among other things, that members of religious fundamentalist organizations such as ISIS or al-Qaida should be coded as 'Islamic', since there is a necessary self-identification of the actor as Islamic.

**The highest state offices of Lebanon** are a special case: the president and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces are always coded as Maronite, the prime minister as Sunni, and the speaker of the National Assembly as Shiite.

**Religious leaders** (for example, the Pope or Ajatollah Chāmene'i) are another special case. Also without having further information, these are coded according to their religious affiliation that is recognisable from their office (here: Roman Catholic and Shiite).

- 1 Christian (not otherwise specified)
  - 11 Roman-Catholic
  - 12 Protestant
    - 121 Evangelical
    - 122 'Mainline' protestant
    - 123 Other protestant (Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons/Latter-Day Saints)
  - 13 Maronite
  - 14 Greek-/Antiochian-/Roum-orthodox
  - 15 Mellite Greek Catholic
  - 16 Other Christian (record manually)
- 2 Islamic (not specified)
  - 21 Sunni
  - 22 Shiite
  - 23 Alevi
  - 24 Alawite
  - 25 Drusic
  - 26 Ismaelitic
  - 27 Other Islamic (record manually)
- 3 Jewish
- 4 Buddhist
- 5 Hindu
- 6 Other (e.g. Scientology, Hare Krishna Movement and other new religious movements))
- 7 No explicit religious affiliation (i.e. agnostic, atheist)
- 99 Explicit religious affiliation not specified

**Example:** 'The party leader of the CDU, Angela Merkel, criticized the AfD's demand for no longer allowing Muslim refugees to enter Germany.'

Among other things, the religious affiliation of the CDU and Angela Merkel is coded here. While the title of the CDU suggests affiliation to an unspecified Christian religion, Angela Merkel's affiliation to this party is not sufficient for coding her religious affiliation as 'Christian' (code 1). → code -99.

### 3.12. ACTOR: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OTHER [ACT\_RELIGION\_OPEN]

---

**Preliminary note:** this variable is coded only if the previous variable 'Religion' (5.11) was coded with 'Other'.

---

Enter in the open text box which religion the actor belongs to.

## 4. CODING STEP: CREATION OF THE JUSTIFICATION LIST [JUSTIFICATION\_NAME]

A position is a claim that something should be done (or not done) or is desirable (or undesirable) for the society/community. A justification, on the other hand, is an **explicit argument used to justify a position**. A justification gives a specific answer to

- **why** something should be done or not be done for the society/community or
- **why** something is desirable or not for the society/community.

Justifications can be expressed by referring to

1. the consequences of actions (e.g. 'Strategy X has been successful in the past, so we should follow it again,' or 'Measure X has proven ineffective at solving issue Y, and it will do so again'),
2. certain values (e.g. 'For the protection of human dignity', 'To fulfil our moral responsibility'), and/or
3. interests (e.g. 'To secure our prosperity in the long run').

#### Step 1: identification of justifications

##### Coding instruction:

Look for specific passages in the article in which justifications or arguments for the previously identified positions occur. Mark the text in the article in Angrist (max 20 words) and then click on the red button 'Justification'. You can make corrections by marking the text again and clicking on the empty, white button. If you code an article in PDF or paper format, mark the text in the PDF editor or highlight it with a pen, respectively.

Possible signal words for the presence of a justification are 'thus', 'because', 'therefore', 'hence', 'due to', 'consequently', 'as a result', 'for this reason'. This list of so-called causal conjunctions serves only as an aid; these words are **neither necessary nor sufficient** for the presence of a justification! This means that 1) a justification does not always have to be introduced by such a conjunction, and 2) not every statement that contains such a conjunction is a justification. What is important is that an issue is used as a clearly identifiable argument or a reason for or against a position with regard to the central issue of the project. Such an argumentative support for a position may also remain **implicit**—but, in any case, **the generally educated reader** must be able to **clearly identify it in the article**. Implicit justifications may occur in the form of statistics (e.g. surveys), narratives, and stories (e.g. experience reports).

***Example:** an article contains the following section 'We do not care if our teachers wear turban or burqa—as long as they prepare us well for the Abitur'. This is an implicit justification, expressed by the subordinate clause 'as long as they prepare us well for the Abitur'. Made explicit, this justification would correspond to: 'The religion of our teachers does not matter to us, because it is not important for whether or not they can prepare us well for the Abitur exam.'*

Code justifications as detailed as possible. Record all justifications to a position that (a) can be clearly recognised as such by a generally educated reader and (b) are not identical in content. The quality, completeness and truthfulness of the argument does **not** play a role here. Similar to positions, justifications may occur several times, in different forms and in different places in an article - as long as these passages express the same content, they must be coded only as a single justification.

Justifications must be **independent of each other** and able to **stand alone**. A chain of logical arguments (**chain/line of reasoning**) is counted as a **single justification**, while a **list** of several independent arguments, even if mentioned in one sentence, are considered as **several independent justifications** (list of arguments). You can test whether the justification is a list of arguments or a chain of reasoning by checking whether a justification still meaningfully supports a position with regard to the project's central issue and is understandable as such **when preceding and/or subsequent parts of one potential chain of reasoning in an article are omitted**. If this is the case, it is a list of arguments. If the meaning changes or it becomes more difficult to understand a justification when omitting parts of a potential line of reasoning contained in an article, it is a chain of reasoning.

***Example 1:** an article deals with the pros and cons of the public recognition of Muslim communities in Switzerland. The position 'For the recognition of Muslim religious communities' is supported by the following statement: 'It would give them the right to raise taxes as well as improved access to religious instruction in schools or to pastoral care in hospitals.'*

*These are three justifications, because each of the three aspects could be removed from the statement without changing the general understanding of the statement:*

- 1) because Muslim religious communities would then have the right to raise taxes,*
- 2) because Muslim religious communities would then have improved access to religious education, and*



- 3) *because Muslim religious communities would then have improved access to pastoral care in hospitals.*

**Example 2:** *an article on the pros and cons of a prayer room for Muslims at universities says: 'In a statement, they write that 'there are no mosques in the vicinity of the university'. To commute several times a day between the university and the mosque is unacceptable.' The statement that there is no mosque near the university serves to build up the argument that commuting between the university and the mosque is unacceptable. Without this statement, it would be difficult to understand the argument. Therefore, it is only one justification.*

**In case of doubt - rule 1:** if you are unsure whether the justification is a chain of reasoning (that is, a single justification) or a list of arguments (that is, several independent justifications), always separate them and code the justifications individually. This also applies to reports of individual fates/experiences, provided they are **clearly distinguished** from each other and do **not** build on each other according to the above-mentioned definition of a chain of reasoning.

**In case of doubt - rule 2:** if you are unsure whether it is actually a justification for one of the positions, code liberally (that is, be 'generous' and, if in doubt, include the justification in your list).

**Note 1:** make sure that the justification **actually** refers to **exactly the position** you are currently coding - and not to any other position that may be related to, but must be distinguished from the position to be coded (e.g. because it is less general):

**Example:** *an article in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung contains the following section: 'A first boarding school with uniform duty is opened in September in Beaumont-en-Véron near the village of Chinon. A week ago, hundreds of residents protested against the school, which is said to endanger their village life. They also told the prime minister in a petition that they did not want to live in the neighbourhood of radical Islamists'.*

*There is no justification for the position 'rejecting deradicalisation through a collective approach'. In this case, the villagers justify their refusal to establish a boarding school in their vicinity. However, it is not clear whether they also reject deradicalisation through a collective approach per se. The position justified here thus is: 'Rejection of a boarding school for the deradicalisation in Beaumont-en-Véron'.*

**Note 2:** not every position is justified! Therefore, in principle it is also possible that you do not find any justification for a position in an article.

**Note 3:** the coding of justifications is independent from the coding of actors! This means that you should record any justification used to argue for a position, regardless of the actor who supports it or whether there even is an actor who supports it (or the position connected to it).

## **Step 2: formulation of justifications**

Similar to the formulation of positions, you should also phrase justifications on the basis of a causal scheme to (a) ensure intersubjective traceability, (b) facilitate the work with Angrist, and (c) verify whether a justification can actually be understood as a supporting argument of a position.

## **Coding instruction:**

Enter the justifications in Angrist in the same field in which you also listed the positions. Mark the justification with R1, R2, etc. The order of the justifications' occurrence in the main text of the article defines their order of listing.

If the description of a justification in the article does not already meet these criteria, reformulate the contents of the marked passage according to the following rules (maximum 20 words):

- 1) use causal conjunctions to introduce a justification: because, since, in order to, thus, to...
- 2) avoid sentence fragments or phrases that consist only of ambiguous keywords. A justification should include at least one object and one statement related to the object.

**Example:** *'For the purpose of neutrality' or 'Oppression of women' are not comprehensible as justifications, but 'Because the principle of neutrality is otherwise violated in public institutions' or 'Because the niqab is a symbol for the oppression of women' are.*

- 3) Stay as close to the text as possible in describing the justification (for example, by using similar vocabulary as in the text passage) so that the justification can be easily assigned and retrieved.
- 4) Together with the corresponding position, the justification must form a meaningful statement.

**Example:** *the position 'For banning niqab' and the justification 'Because the niqab is a symbol for the oppression of women' together make a meaningful statement.*

**Caution:** 'meaningful' here means 'meaningful according to the grammatical rules and the argumentation of the article. It is about whether a justification as such (!) is mentioned to support a position, not whether an argument is meaningful in content, true, logical, morally good or complete. That means: even bad justifications are justifications!

### **Step 3: final review of the justification list**

#### **Coding instruction:**

Finally, review your justification list carefully. Make sure that

- 1) every justification can be assigned to a position,
- 2) the descriptions of the justifications are short, but comprehensible, clear and factually correct, and
- 3) justifications do not appear twice on the list (for example, because they appear in different parts of the text in different versions or wording).

## **5. CODING STEP: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JUSTIFICATIONS**

---

**Preliminary note:** *the following justification variables are not mutually exclusive! This means that the coding of each variable is completely independent of the coding of all other variables for the respective justification.*

---

### 5.1 JUSTIFICATION: NAME OF THE JUSTIFICATION [JUST\_JUSTIF\_NAME]

In the provided text box, enter the name of the justification as agreed upon in the first consensus discussion (max. 20 words).

### 5.2 JUSTIFICATION: REPRESENTATIVES OF THE JUSTIFICATION [JUST\_REP\_ACTOR\_ID]

From the actor list for the respective article, select all actors who represent the justification to be coded. If a justification is represented by several actors mentioned in the article, code all representatives of the justification on the actor list.

Important: when deciding whether an actor represents a justification, refer (a) **strictly to the text of the article** and (b) only to the prior **knowledge the reader requires** to fully understand the article. Ignore the prior knowledge you might have about the justifications of individual actors as well as any information about justifications of actors mentioned in the text that are not clear and unambiguous.

For actors who do not meet the criteria of **identifiability and potential discourse participation**, used for the creation of the actor list (see coding step 2), select the option 'Unlisted actor' (e.g. 'Christians', 'Many people', 'Some'). Caution: select this option only if it is clear from the text that someone represents a justification, but that this someone does not meet the criteria for being listed as an actor in coding step 2. If it is not apparent in the article that someone represents the justification, no representative should be chosen.

**Note:** actors taking over **leadership positions** in organizations (e.g. leaders, chairpersons, board members) should **not** automatically be coded as representatives of the same justifications as those of their organization (and vice versa). This means that representatives of an organization also can distance themselves from the justifications of their organization and/or support a different justification.

**Speakers** of organizations as a whole (for example, spokespersons) who are clearly recognisable as such are coded as representatives of the justification of the organization they speak for.

### 5.3 JUSTIFICATION: POSITIONAL AFFILIATION OF THE JUSTIFICATION [JUST\_JUSTIF\_POSITION\_ID]

Select the position(s) supported by the justification from the list of positions. **Caution:** the affiliation of the justification to one or more positions is independent of the actors who represent this position or justification.

### 5.4 JUSTIFICATION: REFERENCE TO IN-GROUP INTERESTS [JUST\_IN\_GROUP\_REFERENCE]

In-group reference within a justification is given if it **explicitly** addresses costs and/or benefits of the justified position for the group an actor (or an unlisted actor) **belongs to** (i.e. an in-group). Costs and benefits can be of both **ideal** (for example, social recognition or influence) and **material nature**. When coding, keep in mind the article's central issue around which the debate revolves and which is

related to the position, and then consider whether the costs and benefits for an in-group are **explicitly identified as such** or not.

**Explicitness criterion:** the in-group of the actor who justifies must be recognisable to a generally educated reader without special technical knowledge.

**Context dependency:** since actors have multiple group affiliations (e.g. national, gender, religious, political, or other organizational affiliations), always select the **group affiliation that the reader can clearly recognise as relevant in the context of the justification and from the point of view of the justifying actor**. This characteristic aims to register when an actor, in order to justify their position, leads the interests of a group whom they feel **associated** with (recognisable to a generally educated reader), thereby explicitly distancing themselves from the interests of other groups. That can mean that

- (1) actors want to privilege their own group over other groups,
- (2) they want to compensate an existing disadvantage of their own group compared to other groups,
- (3) they want to avoid costs/to avert damage for their own group.

In-groups or out-groups are not necessarily defined by country boundaries but rather by the indication which in-group the actor explicitly refers to.

**Example 1:** *if a nationalist party from a European country appeals to the 'wellbeing of the European peoples' to justify a position, this must be coded as in-group reference, provided a distinction from at least one group (in this case non-European groups, e.g. immigrants or refugees) is clearly recognisable to a generally educated reader.*

**Example 2:** *in an article on the admission of refugees into Germany, the position is represented that an upper limit for admission should be introduced. The position is justified by the fact that the German society has no further capacity for accepting refugees.*

*In this justification, there is a reference to in-group interests, as it refers to the costs for the German society, which is delimited from the group of refugees. There is no reference to common good, since the issue concerns not only the German society, but also refugees.*

**Rule in case of doubt:** if you are in doubt whether there is an in-group reference or not, code the variable conservatively, i.e. as not given.

- 1 Not given
- 2 Given

## 5.5 JUSTIFICATION: REFERENCE TO OUT-GROUP INTERESTS

### [JUST\_OUT\_GROUP\_REF]

Out-group reference within a justification is given if it **explicitly** addresses costs and/or benefits of the justified position for the group an actor (or an unlisted actor) **does not belong to** (i.e. an out-group). Costs and benefits can be of both an **ideal** (for example, social recognition or influence) and a **material nature**. When coding, keep in mind the article's central issue around which the debate revolves and which is related to the position, and then consider whether the costs and benefits for an out-group are **explicitly identified as such** or not.

**Explicitness criterion:** the out-group of the actor who justifies must be recognisable to a generally educated reader without special technical knowledge.

**Context dependency:** since actors have multiple group affiliations (e.g. national, gender, religious, political, or other organizational affiliations), always select the **group affiliation that the reader can clearly recognise as relevant in the context of the justification and from the point of view of the justifying actor**. This characteristic aims to register when an actor, in order to justify their position, leads the interests of a group whom they feel **not associated with** (recognisable to a generally educated reader), thereby explicitly distancing themselves from the interests of other groups. That can mean that ... This may mean that actors want to privilege a certain other group over their group or a third group, or that they want to compensate for an existing disadvantage of a certain other group compared to their group or a third group. An out-group relationship does not have to be limited to one, but can also apply to several out-groups at the same time.

In-groups or out-groups are not necessarily defined by country boundaries but rather by the indication which out-group the author explicitly refers to.

***Example:** if an actor who is clearly a member of the German society appeals to 'charity as religious duty' to justify the position of not imposing an upper limit on the admission of refugees, this should be coded as an out-group reference, because it becomes clear to a generally educated reader that they refer to benefits and interests of a group to which they do not belong.*

**Rule in case of doubt:** if you are in doubt whether there is an out-group reference or not, code the variable conservatively, i.e. as not given.

- 1 Not given
- 2 Given

## 5.6 JUSTIFICATION: REFERENCE TO COMMON GOOD [JUST\_COMMON\_GOOD\_REF]

Reference to common good within a justification is given if an actor (or an unlisted actor) **explicitly** addresses costs and/or benefits of the justified position **for all social groups** that are concerned in the article. It is therefore about costs and/or benefits for society in general, i.e. for 'the public'. A justification with the reference to common good has an **integrative character and emphasizes commonalities of groups rather than their differences**. In principle, reference to common good can

occur independently of all other forms of justification. This means, for example, that it may be given even if there is already an in- and/or out-group reference.

**Example 1:** *in an opinion article, the author argues that the common practice of deporting rejected asylum seekers is an unnecessary burden for all concerned and should be changed. This is coded as a reference to common good, because the author addresses the benefits of the position for all groups affected by the issue.*

**Example 2:** *in an opinion article, the author justifies the position for the introduction of same-sex marriage by writing: 'The outrage of some at the Parliament's decision is disconcerting: the possibility for homosexual couples to close the bond of marriage instead of, as before, a registered civil partnership, and thus to enjoy the same privileges, does not mean fewer rights for heterosexuals, but equal rights for all.' Here, the benefits of all groups affected by the issue is addressed ('equal rights for all').*

*Caution: Whether to code in-group reference or out-group reference depends on whether the text or context clearly indicates which group the actor who justifies a position belongs to!*

**Example 3:** *an article in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung contains the following passage: 'Atzelmeier emphasizes that religions should not be placed under the general suspicion of incompatibility with guaranteed human rights. Löwenstein sees it completely differently: he believes that religious practices have suppressed humans' and women's rights for centuries. "Therefore, religion must make it clear not to contradict human rights," Löwenstein said.'*

- *Here, Löwensteins position ('religion must make it clear not to contradict human rights') is justified by referring to the centuries-long suppression of human rights through religious practices. Reference to common good is therefore given. In addition, from the point of view of the justifying actor (Löwenstein), the interests of an out-group are addressed (women's rights).*

1 Not given

2 Given

## 5.7 JUSTIFICATION: EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

### [JUST\_RELIGIOUS\_BELIEFS\_REF]

An explicit reference to religious beliefs within a justification is given if an actor (or an unlisted actor) explicitly includes a 'religious marker' in the justification. Religious markers are linguistic utterances that are recognisable to non-religious persons (i.e. atheists or agnostics) as a religious argumentative content. They include words such as 'Jesus', 'God', 'Allah', 'Bible', 'Quran', Bible quotes (e.g., but not only, from the 'Ten Commandments'), and explicit references to religious scholars or church authorities (e.g. the Pope, Imams or the Buddha). Often (**but not always**) justifications with explicit reference to religion can be assigned to one of the following types of religious references. References to

- (1) religious norms and values;
- (2) religious scholars and authorities;

- (3) God or gods;
- (4) Holy scriptures;
- (5) Founders of religious traditions.

**Caution:** only justifications with a **positive** reference to religion should be coded, i.e. only if a position is justified with regard to religious convictions. Statements such as 'in Germany, the Basic Law applies, not the Sharia,' should *not* be coded as an explicit reference to religion.

**Example:** *if an actor appeals to 'charity as a religious duty' to justify a position, this should be coded as an explicit reference to religious beliefs, provided it is clear to a generally educated reader that it refers to a religious doctrine.*

- 1 Not given
- 2 Given

## 6. CODING STEP: COMPLETION/FINALISATION

### 6.1. OPPOSING POSITIONS [OPPOSING\_POSITIONS]

Code whether opposing or conflicting positions appear in the article. The presentations of conflicting positions do not need to carry references to the respective other positions. However, the reader must be able to deduce from the article that opposing positions are involved in an issue.

To this end, go through the positions on the position list one more time and decide whether or not there is an opposing position to that position in the article. If there is no opposing position for any of the identified positions, please code 'No'.

Articles that contain only one position therefore are always coded with 0 ('No').

- 1 No
- 2 Yes
- 99 Unclear

### 6.2. NOTES [NOTES]

If you have comments on your coding or the article, for example, if you were very unsure of some variables, you can note this down here.

#### **Coding instruction:**

Enter your note in the provided text box.

## Appendix 1: examples of forms of presentation

### News report:

# «Die Asche wird manchmal für Rituale verwendet»

*In Köniz BE haben Unbekannte Grabnischen geöffnet und sieben Urnen daraus entwendet. Hinterbliebene sind traurig und wütend. Wird die Asche nun von Okkultisten verwendet?*

Die Staatsanwaltschaft Bern ermittelt in einem mysteriösen Fall: Auf dem Friedhof in Köniz haben unbekannte Diebe sieben Urnen aus ihren Grabstätten entwendet, wie [TeleBärn berichtete](#). Die Vorfälle ereigneten sich im Juli 2017, wurden jedoch erst jetzt publik. Als der Friedhofsgärtner im Sommer bemerkte, dass in einer Steinnische eine Urne fehlte, habe er alle Anlagen kontrolliert. Die Zuständigen mussten feststellen, dass insgesamt sieben Urnen samt der Asche fehlten.

«Dieses Urnensystem besteht auf unserem Friedhof jetzt schon 30 Jahre, aber sowas ist noch nie vorgekommen», sagt Hansueli Pestalozzi, Gemeinderat von Köniz. Bisher sei unklar, nach welchem Muster die Grabschänder ihre Opfer ausgesucht haben. Es gebe weder Anzeichen auf ein rassistisch



---

## Pauline Hanson's anti-Islam post in wake of London attack slammed by Bill Shorten

By political reporter [Stephen Dziedzic](#)

Updated 4 Jun 2017, 9:22am

**Federal Opposition Leader Bill Shorten has lashed out at Pauline Hanson after the One Nation leader used the London attacks to renew her call to stop Muslims from immigrating to Australia.**

Senator Hanson took to social media in the immediate aftermath of the attack to say "stop Islamic immigration before it is too late".

It was accompanied by a graphic mimicking the "Run, Hide, Tell" emergency message released by British police earlier in the day.

[UK police were telling people to run to a safe place and hide if they were caught up in a terror attack,](#)



PHOTO: Bill Shorten said Pauline Hanson's tweet was "crass, idiotic and disgusting". (AAP/ABC)

RELATED STORY: [How the London Bridge and Borough Market attack unfolded](#)



## Opinion/comment:



„SCHARIA POLIZEI“-KOMMENTAR

# In der bunten Republik

VON JASPER VON ALTENBOCKUM - AKTUALISIERT AM 11.01.2018 - 20:59

**E**s wäre ein Treppenwitz der bunten Republik, wenn die sieben angeklagten Männer, die sich 2014 in Wuppertal als „Scharia Polizei“ ausgaben, ohne Sanktionen davonkommen. Das Landgericht Wuppertal hatte die Männer 2016 freigesprochen, weil es keinen Verstoß gegen das Uniformverbot sehen konnte. In der Tat lassen sich die Warnwesten, die sich die Männer übergezogen hatten und die Aufschrift „Sharia Police“ trugen, auch als Scherz verharmlosen.

Was das Wuppertaler Gericht dabei übersah, war die stadtbekannte Tatsache, dass die Männer, allesamt Salafisten, auch ohne Warnwesten in der muslimischen Gemeinde „Angst und Schrecken“ verbreiteten. So sah es damals der Generalsekretär der Wuppertaler Moscheen. Dass das Landgericht eine Verbindung zwischen Warnweste, Anmaßung und Einschüchterung nicht herstellen konnte, war eine beachtliche Fehlleistung – erklärt aber, warum in Nordrhein-Westfalen die Parallelgesellschaften wachsen und gedeihen.

Das Wuppertaler Urteil hat der **Bundesgerichtshof** jetzt zurechtgerückt. Selbst wenn die salafistische Provokation nicht gegen das Uniformverbot verstoßen haben mag, diente sie doch ganz offenkundig dazu, eine Autorität vorzutäuschen, um junge Muslime einzuschüchtern. Sie

---

Fünf vor acht / Albrecht Glaser

## Das Islam-Paradox

*Eine Kolumne von Jochen Bittner*



Der AfD-Bundestagsabgeordnete Albrecht Glaser hat eine interessante Frage gestellt: Kann für ein Glaubenssystem, das keine Religionsfreiheit gewährt, das Grundrecht der Religionsfreiheit aus Artikel 4 Grundgesetz gelten? Ist das nicht ein Paradox?

Leider hat er darauf eine unterkomplexe Antwort gegeben. "Der Islam ist eine Konstruktion, die selbst die Religionsfreiheit nicht kennt und die sie nicht respektiert. Und die da, wo sie das Sagen hat, jede Art von Religionsfreiheit im Keim erstickt. Und wer so mit einem Grundrecht umgeht, dem muss man das Grundrecht entziehen", sagte Glaser im April.

Die Grünen-Politikerin Katrin Göring-Eckardt schaffte es, diese intellektuelle Simplizität noch zu unterbieten, indem sie erwiderte, Glaser "erkennt das Grundgesetz nicht an". Weshalb die Grünen-Fraktion

## Analysis:

# Eigentlich waren wir religiös

Wie soll man mit Rechten umgehen? Argumente blocken sie ab, sagt unser Autor, der früher selbst ein Rechter war. Er empfiehlt das Schwierigste überhaupt: Menschlichkeit.

Von **Anselm Neft**

### INHALT

**Seite 1** — Eigentlich waren wir religiös

**Seite 2** — Früher neuheidnisch, heute christlich-abendländisch

**Seite 3** — Zugewandtheit und Ehrlichkeit als Mittel gegen rechts

**Auf einer Seite lesen ›**

Der Bestseller *Mit Rechten reden* von Per Leo, Max Steinbeis und Daniel-Pascal Zorn endet mit einer Einladung an die im Buch beschriebenen Rechten: Die Autoren, die sich selbst nicht als links, sondern als nicht rechts bezeichnen, würden gerne "auf zivilisierte Weise" mit diesen Rechten debattieren; hart im Argument, aber ohne jene reflexhafte Vorverurteilung, die – so die These des Buches – den moralistischen, den "linken" Umgang mit den Rechten ausmacht. "Wir

vertrauen darauf, dass sich unter vernünftigen Leuten vernünftige Gespräche von allein ergeben", sagen die Autoren mit Blick auf die Rechten.

Adressiert sind damit nicht "gewaltbereite Neonazis", die man, wie weiter vorne im Buch zu lesen ist, "getrost" dem Verfassungsschutz, der

---

Politics • Analysis

## Trump's anti-Muslim and anti-media tweets demonstrate deep insecurity

At some point overnight, conservative writer Ann Coulter retweeted a video posted by Jayda Fransen, a leader of the far-right group Britain First who was [convicted of harassment](#) last year for verbally abusing a Muslim woman in Luton, England. She was [arrested](#) in October for violating the terms of her bail by appearing on a neo-Nazi radio show.

Fransen's video was titled "Muslim migrant beats up Dutch boy on crutches!" Coulter retweeted it and also followed Fransen, whose Twitter feed is littered with similar examples of videos depicting individual Muslims in a deeply negative light.

President Trump [follows 45 people](#) on Twitter, and Coulter is one of them. That's probably how he saw the "Dutch boy" video Fransen posted, which he then retweeted.

## Report:

Junge Türken in Istanbul

### Jeder in seiner Welt

Wenige Wochen vor dem Verfassungsreferendum reiste Reporterin *Yasemin Ergin* in die Türkei. Sie will herausfinden, wie die politische Krise im Land das Leben junger Türken verändert hat.

Neulich bei Instagram fällt mir ein Foto auf, das Tugba gepostet hat. Es zeigt ihr Smartphone, auf dessen Bildschirm ein Porträt des türkischen Staatspräsidenten Erdogan prangt. Es ist ein politisches Statement, das auffällt inmitten der immer gleichen Selfies beim Kaffeetrinken mit Freundinnen, die Tugba sonst so teilt. Die Botschaft ist klar: Sie steht hinter ihrem Präsidenten und wird beim anstehenden Verfassungsreferendum, das Erdogan weiter stärken soll, mit "Ja" stimmen.

Ich rufe sie an, weil ich wissen will, wie es ihr so geht in den Wochen vor dieser Wahl, wie sie den Streit um die Abstimmung wahrnimmt, und was sie sich von der geplanten Verfassungsänderung verspricht. Viel kriege ich nicht aus ihr raus. Das Präsidialsystem werde dem Land guttun, sagt sie - und hoffentlich irgendwie für neue Jobs sorgen.

Kennengelernt haben wir uns vor wenigen Monaten während eines Reportagedrehs in Istanbul: Zusammen mit meiner Kollegin Katharina Willinger will ich herausfinden, wie die politische Krise im Land das Leben junger Türken verändert. Dafür sind wir

---

## REPORTAGE

# Mein Leben als Weihnachtsmann

VON MARTIN SUCHLAND - AKTUALISIERT AM 05.12.2003 - 17:07

Ich mach' das jetzt schon seit einigen Jahren. Irgendwann Anfang November kommt der erste Anruf, entweder von Stammkunden oder von einer Mitarbeiterin des Arbeitsamtes. Und obwohl ich mir beim Verpacken meines Weihnachtsmannkostüms im letzten Jahr noch gesagt habe, im nächsten Jahr hörst du nun aber auf mit diesem pseudoreligiösen Theater, werde ich, wenn ich die sanfte Stimme von Frau A. am Telefon höre, die mich seit vier Jahren regelmäßig einmal im Advent anruft, wieder schwach.

Und dann denke ich: So schlecht ist es bei der Familie A. ja nun auch wieder nicht gewesen. Ihr Mann, ein Bauunternehmer, wie Frau A. mir mal vertraulich in der Küche erzählte, ist zwar meistens etwas knurrig, wenn der Weihnachtsmann kommt, aber vielleicht ist er ja immer so. Ich treffe ihn nur Heiligabend in der guten Stube, um seine Tochter zu erfreuen. Das gelingt mir in der Regel spielend. Außerdem erweist sich Herr A., wenn ich gehe, dann auch wieder als recht großzügig.

## Interview/discussion:

### «In zehn Jahren haben wir einen muslimischen Feiertag»

Der protestantische Theologe Friedrich Wilhelm Graf fordert, dass religiöse Institutionen dafür sorgen, dass ihre Mitglieder den Rechtsstaat anerkennen. Dabei denkt Graf in der Gesprächsreihe «NZZ-Standpunkte» besonders an Muslime.

Wenn heute von Religion die Rede ist, dominiert – trotz dem ausgehenden Lutherjahr – der Islam den öffentlichen Diskurs. Terroristen, die vorgeben, im Namen des Islam zu handeln, ziehen in den Jihad oder verüben Anschläge in Westeuropa.

Warum ist ein gewaltbereiter Islam für einige so attraktiv?

Zu dieser Frage nimmt der protestantische Theologe Friedrich Wilhelm Graf in der jüngsten Folge von «NZZ-Standpunkte» Stellung. Die neuen Formen eines politisierten Islam seien durchaus moderne Phänomene. Zum Beispiel seien Salafisten «sehr protestantisch» in ihrer Vorstellung, zu einem «wahren Ursprung» zurückkehren zu wollen. Ohne Zweifel seien junge radikalisierte Muslime Menschen, die sich in einer als chaotisch empfundenen Welt an die «Wahrheit»

---

#### Interview with Emmanuel Macron

### 'We Need to Develop Political Heroism'

In a DER SPIEGEL interview, French President Emmanuel Macron talks about his first months in office, elaborates on his plans for Europe and discusses his developing relationship with German Chancellor Angela Merkel.

**DER SPIEGEL:** Mr. President, since entering office in May, you have made significant waves around the world. The German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, who you read during your university studies, once described Napoleon Bonaparte as "the *Weltgeist* ("world spirit") on horseback." Do you believe that a single person can, in fact, steer history?

**Macron:** No. Hegel viewed the "great men" as instruments of something far greater. It should be said that in referring to him in that way, he wasn't being particularly nice to Napoleon, because he of course knows that history can always outflank you, that it is always larger than the individual. Hegel believes that an individual can indeed embody the zeitgeist for a moment, but also that the individual isn't always clear they are doing so.

**DER SPIEGEL:** How must a president, a politician, behave to move things forward and to change history?

**Macron:** Personally, I don't think it's possible to do great things alone or through



## Critique/review:

# Ihr seid nur ein Haufen Scherben

Das ZDF führt Lessings Ringparabel wieder auf, am Beispiel einer jungen Frau mit Kopftuch: „Die Neue“

Es gibt ihn noch, den öffentlich-rechtlichen Lehr- und Erbauungsfilm, an dessen Ende die ohnehin in jeder Szene deklinierte Moral von der Geschichte noch einmal aufgesagt wird, zum Mitschreiben und Auswendiglernen. Stücke mit didaktischem Charakter tauchen im Fernsehen zwar immer wieder auf, doch in Reinkultur sind sie glücklicherweise nicht mehr die Regel. Diese allerdings wird heute im ZDF von der Ausnahme bestätigt – mit dem Film „Die Neue“, der davon handelt, wie eine Kopftuch tragende Schülerin eine Klasse aufmischt, das Leben ihrer Lehrerin durcheinanderbringt und austestet, wie weit sie es mit ihrer strengen Religiosität an der Schule bringen kann. Wobei die glaubensstrenge Sevda in ihrem jugendlichen Sturm und Drang zu einem reinen Leben, das sich in der Hingabe zu Gott erfüllt, selbstverständlich den Erwachsenen den Spiegel vorhält, um deren vermeintlich jämmerlich-verlogene Existenz zu entlarven.

Das ist ihre Interpretation von Goethes „Prometheus“, dessen Strophe ein Schüler zu Beginn des Films aufsagt: „Da ich ein Kind war / Nicht wußte, wo aus, wo ein, /kehrte mein verirrtes Aug / Zur Sonne. als

---

24. Januar 2018, 18:52 Uhr Reiseliteratur

## Ein merkwürdiges Volk

**Von Tacitus bis Cees Nooteboom: Rainer Wielands "Buch der Deutschlandreisen" ist eine wunderbare Gelegenheit, Deutschland von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart mit fremden Augen zu sehen.**

*Von Gustav Seibt*

Diese Deutschen! Im Theater haben sie nummerierte Sitzplätze, aber ihre Straßen sind furchtbar. Hausmusik ist allgemein verbreitet, aber eines ihrer Lieblingsgetränke, eine Wein-Orangenschalen-Mischung namens "Bischof" erregt Übelkeit. Kaum freut man sich, dass selbst ihre Kurkapellen nur klassische Musik spielen, intoniert eine schon "Cavalleria Rusticana" und ein Liedchen namens "Daisy Bell".

Die Tannenwälder riechen gut, aber Köln wird seinem um 1800 erworbenen Ruf, es stinke bestialisch (der englische Dichter Coleridge zählte "siebenundzwanzig deutlich unterschiedene Gerüche und wahren Gestank") noch hundert Jahre

## Reprint:

### LESEPROBE

## Ian McEwan: „Kindeswohl“

VON IAN MCEWAN

**Familienrecht ist das Gebiet der Richterin Fiona Maye am High Court in London. Doch dann gerät sie in ein Dilemma, beruflich wie privat: Ein Auszug aus Ian McEwans neuem Roman „Kindeswohl“.**

**A** Iso, was quält dich?“

Bei aller Dummheit und Unaufrichtigkeit dieses Wortwechsels war dies die einzig triftige Frage, und sie selbst hatte sie heraufbeschworen; aber da sie sich verunsichert und herablassend behandelt fühlte, antwortete sie fürs Erste nicht, sondern sah an ihm vorbei zu dem Flügel, auf dem sie seit zwei Wochen kaum gespielt hatte, und den dort feudal aufgereihten Fotos in ihren Silberrahmen. Beide Elternpaare, vom Hochzeitstag bis zum Greisenalter, seine drei Schwestern, ihre zwei Brüder, deren ehemalige und jetzige Ehefrauen und -männer (sie hatten, nicht eben loyal, niemanden ausrangiert), elf Neffen und Nichten sowie die dreizehn Kinder, die diese wiederum gezeugt hatten. Beschleunigtes Leben, zu Dorfstärke angewachsen, zusammengedrängt auf einem Stutzflügel.

#### BUCHAUSZUG

# DIE DROGE LEISTUNG HAT MICH KRANK GEMACHT

Von Maximilian B.

7. Januar 2013, 18:42 Uhr — 76 Kommentare

**01** — Die Droge Leistung hat mich krank gemacht

**02** — Geistig und körperlich erschöpft

[AUF EINER SEITE LESEN](#)

**Burn-out gilt als Phänomen der Arbeitswelt. Doch bereits junge Menschen neigen zur krankhaften Überforderung. Ein Student schreibt, wie ihn der Stress krank gemacht hat.**

Vor fast drei Jahren hatte ich ein Burn-out. Mein innerer Motor gab ruckartig seinen Geist auf, und das war für mich

völlig unbegreiflich. Ich war Anfang 20 und voller Zuversicht, allen Herausforderungen im Leben gewachsen zu sein.

Gleich zu Beginn meines Studiums fühlte ich mich unterfordert. Also übernahm ich





**Letter to the editor:**

**To the Editor:**

I voted for Donald Trump, and I regret it.

I thought he would change his divisive rhetoric from the campaign trail and never imagined he would divide this country with lies and racism, bigotry and hate. I see a man working to destroy democracy with the help of Vladimir Putin by using disinformation to frustrate and confuse everyone as they weaken America's standing in the world.

I fear for my children's future and see a president and his family profiting off the office just as in authoritarian countries, with zero pushback from the Republican Party. Democracy will die if they continue.

SYDNEY COHAN, WESTWOOD, N.J.

---

**Leserbriefe Nummer 50**

## "Die Schweiz hat tatsächlich eine Regierungskrise"

«Hat die Schweiz eine Regierungskrise?»

Frage der Woche, **SonntagsBlick** vom 11. Dezember 2005

Seit Jahren mischen sich **Bundesrat** und hohe Bundesbeamte im Vorfeld wichtiger eidgenössischer **Abstimmungen** mit unzähligen Auftritten, einseitig ausgerichteten Referaten und gezielten Beeinflussungsabsichten in die Meinungsfindung der BürgerInnen ein, obwohl dies nicht die Aufgabe der Exekutivbehörde ist. Dass dabei auch dutzende von Steuermillionen für eine flächendeckende Abstimmungspropaganda eingesetzt wurden, verschärft die Krise, weil sich der Stimmbürger als Steuerzahler betrogen vorkommt, falls er nicht im Sinne des Bundesrates abstimmen will. Der Bundesrat muss unbedingt wieder neutral werden und davon wegkommen Partei zu spielen!

*Marcus Stoercklé jun., Basel*

**Appendix 2: list of country codes**

<b>Land</b>	<b>Shortcut</b>
<b>Afghanistan</b>	AF
<b>Åland Islands</b>	AX
<b>Albania</b>	AL
<b>Algeria</b>	DZ
<b>American Samoa</b>	AS
<b>Andorra</b>	AD
<b>Angola</b>	AO
<b>Anguilla</b>	AI
<b>Antarctica</b>	AQ
<b>Antigua and Barbuda</b>	AG
<b>Argentina</b>	AR
<b>Armenia</b>	AM
<b>Aruba</b>	AW
<b>Australia</b>	AU
<b>Austria</b>	AT
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	AZ
<b>Bahamas (the)</b>	BS
<b>Bahrain</b>	BH
<b>Bangladesh</b>	BD
<b>Barbados</b>	BB
<b>Belarus</b>	BY
<b>Belgium</b>	BE

<b>Belize</b>	BZ
<b>Benin</b>	BJ
<b>Bermuda</b>	BM
<b>Bhutan</b>	BT
<b>Bolivia (Plurinational State of)</b>	BO
<b>Bonaire, Sint Eustatius and Saba</b>	BQ
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	BA
<b>Botswana</b>	BW
<b>Bouvet Island</b>	BV
<b>Brazil</b>	BR
<b>British Indian Ocean Territory (the)</b>	IO
<b>Brunei Darussalam</b>	BN
<b>Bulgaria</b>	BG
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	BF
<b>Burundi</b>	BI
<b>Cabo Verde</b>	CV
<b>Cambodia</b>	KH
<b>Cameroon</b>	CM
<b>Canada</b>	CA

<b>Cayman Islands (the)</b>	KY
<b>Central African Republic (the)</b>	CF
<b>Chad</b>	TD
<b>Chile</b>	CL
<b>China</b>	CN
<b>Christmas Island</b>	CX
<b>Cocos (Keeling) Islands (the)</b>	CC
<b>Colombia</b>	CO
<b>Comoros (the)</b>	KM
<b>Congo (the Democratic Republic of the)</b>	CD
<b>Congo (the)</b>	CG
<b>Cook Islands (the)</b>	CK
<b>Costa Rica</b>	CR
<b>Côte d'Ivoire</b>	CI
<b>Croatia</b>	HR
<b>Cuba</b>	CU
<b>Curaçao</b>	CW
<b>Cyprus</b>	CY
<b>Czech Republic (the)</b>	CZ

<b>Denmark</b>	DK
<b>Djibouti</b>	DJ
<b>Dominica</b>	DM
<b>Dominican Republic (the)</b>	DO
<b>Ecuador</b>	EC
<b>Egypt</b>	EG
<b>El Salvador</b>	SV
<b>Equatorial Guinea</b>	GQ
<b>Eritrea</b>	ER
<b>Estonia</b>	EE
<b>Ethiopia</b>	ET
<b>Falkland Islands (the) [Malvinas]</b>	FK
<b>Faroe Islands (the)</b>	FO
<b>Fiji</b>	FJ
<b>Finland</b>	FI
<b>France</b>	FR
<b>French Guiana</b>	GF
<b>French Polynesia</b>	PF
<b>French Southern Territories (the)</b>	TF
<b>Gabon</b>	GA
<b>Gambia (the)</b>	GM

<b>Georgia</b>	GE
<b>Germany</b>	DE
<b>Ghana</b>	GH
<b>Gibraltar</b>	GI
<b>Greece</b>	GR
<b>Greenland</b>	GL
<b>Grenada</b>	GD
<b>Guadeloupe</b>	GP
<b>Guam</b>	GU
<b>Guatemala</b>	GT
<b>Guernsey</b>	GG
<b>Guinea</b>	GN
<b>Guinea-Bissau</b>	GW
<b>Guyana</b>	GY
<b>Haiti</b>	HT
<b>Heard Island and McDonald Islands</b>	HM
<b>Holy See (the)</b>	VA
<b>Honduras</b>	HN
<b>Hong Kong</b>	HK
<b>Hungary</b>	HU
<b>Iceland</b>	IS
<b>India</b>	IN
<b>Indonesia</b>	ID
<b>Iran (Islamic Republic of)</b>	IR
<b>Iraq</b>	IQ

<b>Ireland</b>	IE
<b>Isle of Man</b>	IM
<b>Israel</b>	IL
<b>Italy</b>	IT
<b>Jamaica</b>	JM
<b>Japan</b>	JP
<b>Jersey</b>	JE
<b>Jordan</b>	JO
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	KZ
<b>Kenya</b>	KE
<b>Kiribati</b>	KI
<b>Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of)</b>	KP
<b>Korea (the Republic of)</b>	KR
<b>Kuwait</b>	KW
<b>Kyrgyzstan</b>	KG
<b>Lao People's Democratic Republic (the)</b>	LA
<b>Latvia</b>	LV
<b>Lebanon</b>	LB
<b>Lesotho</b>	LS
<b>Liberia</b>	LR
<b>Libya</b>	LY
<b>Liechtenstein</b>	LI
<b>Lithuania</b>	LT

<b>Luxembourg</b>	LU
<b>Macao</b>	MO
<b>Macedonia (the former Yugoslav Republic of)</b>	MK
<b>Madagascar</b>	MG
<b>Malawi</b>	MW
<b>Malaysia</b>	MY
<b>Maldives</b>	MV
<b>Mali</b>	ML
<b>Malta</b>	MT
<b>Marshall Islands (the)</b>	MH
<b>Martinique</b>	MQ
<b>Mauritania</b>	MR
<b>Mauritius</b>	MU
<b>Mayotte</b>	YT
<b>Mexico</b>	MX
<b>Micronesia (Federated States of)</b>	FM
<b>Moldova (the Republic of)</b>	MD
<b>Monaco</b>	MC
<b>Mongolia</b>	MN
<b>Montenegro</b>	ME
<b>Montserrat</b>	MS
<b>Morocco</b>	MA
<b>Mozambique</b>	MZ

<b>Myanmar</b>	MM
<b>Namibia</b>	NA
<b>Nauru</b>	NR
<b>Nepal</b>	NP
<b>Netherlands (the)</b>	NL
<b>New Caledonia</b>	NC
<b>New Zealand</b>	NZ
<b>Nicaragua</b>	NI
<b>Niger (the)</b>	NE
<b>Nigeria</b>	NG
<b>Niue</b>	NU
<b>Norfolk Island</b>	NF
<b>Northern Mariana Islands (the)</b>	MP
<b>Norway</b>	NO
<b>Oman</b>	OM
<b>Pakistan</b>	PK
<b>Palau</b>	PW
<b>Palestine, State of</b>	PS
<b>Panama</b>	PA
<b>Papua New Guinea</b>	PG
<b>Paraguay</b>	PY
<b>Peru</b>	PE
<b>Philippines (the)</b>	PH

<b>Pitcairn</b>	PN
<b>Poland</b>	PL
<b>Portugal</b>	PT
<b>Puerto Rico</b>	PR
<b>Qatar</b>	QA
<b>Réunion</b>	RE
<b>Romania</b>	RO
<b>Russian Federation (the)</b>	RU
<b>Rwanda</b>	RW
<b>Saint Barthélemy</b>	BL
<b>Saint Helena, Ascension and Tristan da Cunha</b>	SH
<b>Saint Kitts and Nevis</b>	KN
<b>Saint Lucia</b>	LC
<b>Saint Martin (French part)</b>	MF
<b>Saint Pierre and Miquelon</b>	PM
<b>Saint Vincent and the Grenadines</b>	VC
<b>Samoa</b>	WS
<b>San Marino</b>	SM
<b>Sao Tome and Principe</b>	ST
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	SA

<b>Senegal</b>	SN
<b>Serbia</b>	RS
<b>Seychelles</b>	SC
<b>Sierra Leone</b>	SL
<b>Singapore</b>	SG
<b>Sint Maarten (Dutch part)</b>	SX
<b>Slovakia</b>	SK
<b>Slovenia</b>	SI
<b>Solomon Islands</b>	SB
<b>Somalia</b>	SO
<b>South Africa</b>	ZA
<b>South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands</b>	GS
<b>South Sudan</b>	SS
<b>Spain</b>	ES
<b>Sri Lanka</b>	LK
<b>Sudan (the)</b>	SD
<b>Suriname</b>	SR
<b>Svalbard and Jan Mayen</b>	SJ
<b>Swaziland</b>	SZ
<b>Sweden</b>	SE

<b>Switzerland</b>	CH
<b>Syrian Arab Republic</b>	SY
<b>Taiwan (Province of China)</b>	TW
<b>Tajikistan</b>	TJ
<b>Tanzania, United Republic of</b>	TZ
<b>Thailand</b>	TH
<b>Timor-Leste</b>	TL
<b>Togo</b>	TG
<b>Tokelau</b>	TK
<b>Tonga</b>	TO
<b>Trinidad and Tobago</b>	TT
<b>Tunisia</b>	TN
<b>Turkey</b>	TR
<b>Turkmenistan</b>	TM
<b>Turks and Caicos Islands (the)</b>	TC
<b>Tuvalu</b>	TV
<b>Uganda</b>	UG
<b>Ukraine</b>	UA
<b>United Arab Emirates (the)</b>	AE

<b>United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (the)</b>	GB
<b>United States Minor Outlying Islands (the)</b>	UM
<b>United States of America (the)</b>	US
<b>Uruguay</b>	UY
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	UZ
<b>Vanuatu</b>	VU
<b>Vatican City</b>	VA
<b>Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)</b>	VE
<b>Viet Nam</b>	VN
<b>Virgin Islands (British)</b>	VG
<b>Virgin Islands (U.S.)</b>	VI
<b>Wallis and Futuna</b>	WF
<b>Western Sahara*</b>	EH
<b>Yemen</b>	YE
<b>Zambia</b>	ZM
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	ZW

## **Appendix 3: forms of outrage (adapted from Berry & Sobieraj, 2014) (coding steps 8.8 & 9.8)**

### **1. *Insulting language***

This variable is intended to measure whether the author or speaker uses insulting words in reference to a person, group of people (e.g., immigrants, journalists, Democrats), branch of the government, political party, or other organization or their behaviors, planned behaviors, policies, or views. This variable should specifically capture insulting words (stupid, pompous, idiot), not all insults more generally speaking. For example, describing someone as “a child” is insulting, but does not use insulting words so should not be counted as insulting language. For example, “asinine” in reference to a person or group’s behavior is “insulting language,” but if the person or group is called “asinine,” reserve this for the “name calling” variable.

Examples:

- “He needs to shut up.”
- “The whole idea was asinine.”
- “The policy was stupid, plain and simple.”

### **2. *Name calling***

This variable is intended to measure whether the author or speaker engages in name calling in reference to a person, group of people (e.g., immigrants, journalists, Democrats), branch of the government, political party or other organization. Affectionate, light-hearted teasing should be weeded out. Instead, look for name-calling that is used to make the subject look foolish/inept, hypocritical, deceitful, or dangerous.

Examples:

- “He’s asinine.”
- “You are a lunatic.”

### **3. *Emotional display***

This variable is unlikely to appear in printed text (e.g., blog posts, webpages), but would most likely be communicated through “shouting” via the deliberate use of all caps, multiple exclamation points, enlarged text, etc. Emotional display is about the FORM of expression, see Emotional language for emotional content, although the two will often present concurrently and each should be noted.

Example:

- Use of all capital letters in a written document (for dramatic emphasis)

### **4. *Emotional language***

This variable is intended to measure whether the author or speaker engages in verbal or written expressions of emotion in reference to a person, group of people (e.g., immigrants, journalists, Democrats), branch of the government, political party or other organization. Emotion words related to anger, fear, and sadness are the key indicators. Emotional language is about the literal content of what is said/written, rather than how it is communicated. Emotional display, on the other hand, is about the way something is said/written of expression.

Examples:

- "I'm furious!"
- "I'm infuriated!"
- "This is an outrage!"
- "This makes me sick!"

5. ***Verbal fighting/sparring***

This variable is intended to capture aggressive jousting between speakers. In interviews it may take the form of dismissive interruptions or rude exchanges between the interviewer and the interviewed characterized by a lack of civility.

Examples:

- Dismissive interruptions
- Talking over someone in an aggressive manner
- Saying things like "give me a break" or "come on" while someone else is speaking

6. ***Character assassination***

These are ad hominem attacks. This variable is intended to measure whether the author attempts to damage the reputation of a person, group of people (e.g., immigrants, journalists, Democrats), branch of the government, political party, or other organization by attacking their character. In politics, questioning the veracity of a statement is common, and should not be confused with character assassination, which is more extreme. Saying someone was not honest in a reply to a journalist is not character assassination, but saying that someone is a liar who cannot be trusted is character assassination.

Examples:

- "He is corrupt."
- "McCain is a pure lying bastard! If he had a red tie on, he'd look you straight in the eye and insist it was blue."

7. ***Misrepresentative exaggeration***

This variable is intended to measure whether the author or speaker engages in very dramatic negative exaggeration in reference to the behaviors, planned behaviors, policies, or views of a person, group of people (e.g., immigrants, journalists, Democrats), branch of the government, political party, or other organization, such that it significantly misrepresents or obscures the truth.

Examples:

- "Obama is 'Left of Lenin'."
- "Democrats have designs on planting the seeds of socialism in the US."
- "Obama backs a freedom of choice act to abolish every restriction on abortion in every state."

8. ***Mockery***

This variable is intended to measure whether the author or speaker makes fun of the behaviors, planned behaviors, policies, or views of a person, group of people (e.g., immigrants, journalists, Democrats), branch of the government, political party or other organization to make the subject look bad or to rally others in criticism of the subject. Affectionate, light-hearted teasing should be weeded out. Instead, look for humor that is used to make the subject look foolish/inept, hypocritical, deceitful, or dangerous. It might

also come in the form of a physical impersonation intended to make others laugh at the expense of the subject.

Examples:

- "Funny idea: that a politician is declared crazy when he talks about the state of the schools, the New Year's Eve in Cologne, or the traffic jam. The traffic jam, the great, misunderstood niche topic of our time that nobody else dares to talk about. Except Christian Lindner. Which is why he is tired. Very attractively tired."
- "When Charlie Gibson asked about her foreign policy credentials, Sarah Palin said-- with a straight face--she lives near Russia. Yesterday, the McCain campaign said-- with a straight face--that by sitting next to foreigners for a few minutes while paparazzi took pictures, Palin was "boosting her foreign policy credentials" and giving herself "experience with foreign leaders...I think this new proximity approach to building a resume is brilliant! We should all do it; it saves so much time and effort. Why go to school and struggle with learning stuff and then have to spend years working your way up a career when you can simply plop yourself down next to something and get the same results? I could become a pediatric surgeon by having a latte in the Children's Hospital coffee shop. I could watch the Space Shuttle take off from that viewing spot across the water and become an astronaut." (ridiculous/inept person)
- "If the subject matter weren't so serious and dire, this would be a comedy. This is a bunch of Senator Blowhards and Foghorns all giving their opening statements. We're looking at a Bunch of Colonel Sanders telling the chickens that they shouldn't have come into the coop. I mean these are the guys that screwed this up in many cases." (ridiculous/hypocritical group)
- "Our illustrious leader reads from his teleprompter to tell us how our economy reached this point. It has nothing to do with policy over the last 7 years. It is because of "investors from abroad." He's so sweet. Just read or listen and make your own assumptions about these "justifications." Isn't our leader so sweet? I just want to pinch him on the cheeks and ask, "you do have Scotch nearby?" (note: also belittling)

## 9. **Conflagration**

This variable is intended to capture attempts made to escalate non-scandals into scandals. In this variable, record speech that overstates or dramatizes the importance or implications of minor gaffes, oversights, or improprieties. By non-scandal we refer to an episode, event, or trend that a learned, dispassionate observer would not consider significant or scandalous.

Examples:

- The relationship between Ayers and Obama, which was discussed during the 2008 election campaign. Ayers is a pedagogue and the founder of a left-wing radical organization. Later, it came out that they had no close relationship with each other, but knew each other only fleetingly because they lived in the same neighbourhood.
- In 2015, Syrian refugee Anas Modamani took a selfie with German Chancellor Angela Merkel. Shortly thereafter, several photomontages are published showing Modamani as a terrorist. In the attacks in Brussels or in Berlin, these images were published on social networks again and again, although the man cannot be associated with any of these attacks.



#### 10. ***Ideologically extremizing language***

This variable is intended to capture extremist language used to critically describe a person, group of people (e.g., immigrants, journalists, Democrats), branch of the government, political party or other organization or their behaviors, planned behaviors, policies, or views. Usually the descriptive language will be used as an implicit slur rather than as a simple description.

Examples:

- Left-wing
- Right-wing
- Far right
- Far left
- Radical
- Extreme
- Reactionary

#### 11. ***„Slippery slope’ arguments***

This variable is intended to capture fatalistic arguments, which suggest that some behavior, policy, or decision is a small step that will inevitably pave the way for much more extreme behaviors, policies, or decisions. Slippery slope arguments make dire forecasts about the future. When in doubt, do not use this code. True slippery slope arguments should be easy to identify.

Example:

- “...the far Left couldn't care less about gay "marriage." They want to see the abolition of marriage as an institution and radical social change to redefine the human experience itself. This is precisely what we see in Scandinavian countries where this nonsense has played out to its logical extension: The rates of cohabitation are skyrocketing, and the institution of marriage is rapidly dying off. Girls and boys grow up in a culture and see no picture of marriage to emulate or aspire to. There is really no end to the aberrant forms of human sexuality that will come to the courthouse also demanding "marriage." And when marriage can mean anything, marriage means nothing.”

#### 12. ***Belittling***

This variable is intended to measure whether the author or speaker demeans a person, group of people (e.g., immigrants, journalists, Democrats), branch of the government, political party or other organization (or their behaviors, planned behaviors, policies, or views). Belittling generally attempts to deflate or undercut a person's status. For example, the speaker/author may suggest that an adult is childlike/immature, suggest someone fairly accomplished is of low class status, or imply that a man is in some way feminine. This may be done in the context of mockery or exaggeration.

Example:

- Dave Letterman's joke, “So John McCain calls up and says I'm not going to be there kids, because everything is going to hell, but the funny thing is that no one told his vice presidential candidate, Sarah Palin, and honest to God, right now she's still circling the theater in a white minivan. She's gonna pick him up later...”

### 13. *Obscene language*

This variable is intended to measure whether the author or speaker uses obscene language in reference to a person, group of people (e.g., immigrants, journalists, Democrats), branch of the government, political party or other organization (or their behaviors, planned behaviors, policies, or views). For the purposes of this study, obscenities include:

- **F-word derivatives:** Words based on, or incorporating, the F-word. Examples include fucker and motherfucker.
- **Scatological terms:** Words that have to do with feces, urine and defecation. Examples include "shit," "bullshit," "shithead," and piss.
- **Anatomical terms:** Words referring to parts of the human anatomy, mostly the private parts, and are considered crude. Examples include "ass," "asshole," "dick," "dickhead," and "tits."
- **Mild obscenities:** Words used in everyday language, but that may be offensive to some. Examples include "damn," "hell," as well as milder forms of anatomical terms like "boobs."
- **Derogatory terms:** Words or expressions that are used to denigrate and insult one's racial or ethnic background, gender or sexual orientation: Examples include the N-word, whore/ho/slut, various anti-Semitic terms, and anti-homosexual terms like faggot.