

EUROPINIONS

MEDIA STUDY DOCUMENTATION



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>GENERAL INFORMATION</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF ASSISTANCE</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>GOAL</u>	<u>6</u>
<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>6</u>
<u>DATA COLLECTION</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>CODEBOOK</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>DATA ENTRY AND STORAGE</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>CODER TRAINING</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>MATERIAL DISTRIBUTION</u>	<u>18</u>
<u>APPENDIX I: MEDIA OUTLETS BY COUNTRY</u>	<u>19</u>
<u>APPENDIX II - SEARCH TERMS</u>	<u>21</u>
<u>APPENDIX III - SUBPROJECT 1 CODEBOOK</u>	<u>27</u>
<u>APPENDIX III.I - SUBPROJECT 1 TOPIC LIST</u>	<u>57</u>
<u>APPENDIX III.II - SUBPROJECT 1 ACTOR LIST</u>	<u>63</u>
<u>APPENDIX IV - SUBPROJECT 1 CAMPAIGN PERIOD CODEBOOK</u>	<u>74</u>
<u>APPENDIX IV.I - SUBPROJECT 1 CAMPAIGN PERIOD TOPIC LIST</u>	<u>98</u>
<u>APPENDIX IV.II - SUBPROJECT 1 CAMPAIGN PERIOD ACTOR LIST</u>	<u>104</u>
<u>APPENDIX V - SUBPROJECT 2 CODEBOOK</u>	<u>106</u>
<u>APPENDIX V.I - SUBPROJECT 2 TOPIC LIST</u>	<u>131</u>
<u>APPENDIX V.II - SUBPROJECT 2 ACTOR LIST</u>	<u>136</u>
<u>APPENDIX VI - SUBPROJECT 3 CODEBOOK</u>	<u>139</u>
<u>APPENDIX VI.I - SUBPROJECT 3 TOPIC LIST</u>	<u>169</u>
<u>APPENDIX VI.II - SUBPROJECT 3 ACTOR LIST</u>	<u>175</u>

GENERAL INFORMATION

Text to be used in publications

All papers using the data must cite the data documentation and acknowledgement of funding:

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GOAL

The goal of the 2019 Media Study, funded by the European Research Council and supported by ASCoR, is to continue the mapping of media reporting of European Parliament (EP) elections, which has been conducted since the 1999 elections. The study provides a content analysis of news about the European Union (EU) and EP elections in a sample of ten EU countries, which were chosen to maximize comparability from past studies. Continuity with the media studies conducted around the EP elections in 1999¹, 2004², 2009³ and 2014⁴ in terms of data sources and methodology was crucial to the extent that funding enabled this.

SAMPLE

The content analysis was carried out on a sample of national news media outlets in ten different countries, divided into three subprojects. Subproject 1 contained the Netherlands, Subproject 2 contained Germany, Denmark, Spain, and Hungary, and Subproject 3 contained France, the Czech Republic, Sweden, Poland, and Greece. We focus on a combination of national television shows, newspapers, and online news websites. When possible, we included the two main national evening news broadcasts of the most widely watched public and commercial television stations per country⁵⁶⁷. We also included at least one broadsheet, 'quality' newspaper and one tabloid, 'sensational' newspaper per country, when possible⁸⁹. In addition to these traditional media outlets, we also included the two most widely used online news websites in each country. In the Netherlands, we included a larger number of additional sources. All media outlets were selected to provide a comprehensive overview of the news coverage in the ten different countries. A list of the outlets per country can be found in Appendix I.

Given the different media landscapes as well as the different constraints related to data collection in each country, the selection of news outlets is not entirely

¹ Peter, J., Lauf, E. & Semetko, H. (2004). Television coverage of the 1999 European Parliamentary elections. *Political Communication* 21: 415–433.

² De Vreese, C.H. et al. (2006). The news coverage of the 2004 European parliamentary campaign in 25 countries. *European Union Politics* 7(4): 477–504.

³ Schuck, Andreas; Xezonakis, Georgios; Banducci, Susan; and de Vreese, Claes H. (2010), *EES (2009) Media Study Data Advance Release Documentation*, 31/03/2010.

⁴ Azrout, R., Moeller, J., & de Vreese, C. H. (2010), *European Election Media Study Data and Documentation*, 01/07/2015.

⁵ The Czech Republic was the only country where this was not possible; only one evening news program (TV Nova) is included in this study.

⁶ From January 22, 2019 onwards the 18:30 edition of TV Avisen (Denmark) news was replaced by the 21:30 edition in the sample.

⁷ From September 2017 to December 2017, Hart van Nederland (The Netherlands) was not available and therefore the show is not included in the sample during that period.

⁸ The offline newspaper Bild (Germany) was not available and therefore substituted by bild.de.

⁹ For Germany, we included two print newspapers, the FAZ and SZ, in addition to the online version of Bild. News items from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Germany) were included from December 12, 2018 onwards.

equivalent across countries. We therefore caution users of this dataset not to draw conclusions from simple country comparisons, as there is a possibility of those being biased by external factors such as the number of outlets included per country.

Period of study

For Subproject 1, the content analysis was conducted for news items published or broadcasted from September 13, 2017 until June 2, 2019. Subproject 2 covered news items from November 21, 2018 until June 2, 2019 and Subproject 3 included news items from April 1, 2019 until June 2, 2019.

DATA COLLECTION

All material was digitally available to us, either because the material was publicly accessible or purchased through a digital subscription. Television news was broadcasted daily (also during holidays), and the online news sources reported the news every day. The selected newspapers mostly appear daily, with the exception of some newspapers that do not appear on weekends and holidays.

For television news broadcasts, we decided on a sampling scheme in which every fourth complete broadcast was collected. Within these complete broadcasts, coders watched the first ten seconds of every individual news item within the broadcast to determine whether it was EU-related¹⁰. Then, every EU-related news item was coded. In the Netherlands, a selection of TV shows had a very low percentage of EU news. Consequently, we paused the collection of four broadcasts (Hart van Nederland, Pauw, RTL Late Night¹¹, and De Wereld Draait Door) between June 12, 2018 and April 1, 2019, but collected them again during the election campaign period (April 1, 2019 – June 2, 2019).

For newspapers and online news, we collected all articles that included specific EU-related search terms in the headline or subtitle¹² and subsequently selected every third item to be coded. EU news item selection within offline and online newspapers was based on search strings. All search terms used per country can be found in Appendix II. In order to be classified as an EU story, the EU or any sort of EU institution, policy, or synonym had to be mentioned in the headline or subtitle of the story. If the headline contained the word “Brussels”, the article had to include an EU institution in the main text in order to ensure that the article used “Brussels” as a synonym for the EU. For the election campaign period (April 1, 2019 – June 2, 2019), the search string was adapted by adding additional search terms related to the EP elections. The search terms were translated and checked by native speakers of the ten respective languages. The coders were instructed to report any non-EU related articles to account for errors in the sampling procedure.

¹⁰ An exception was made for RTL Aktuell (Germany), where the broadcaster provided us with every 4th EU-related news item.

¹¹ RTL Late Night (Netherlands) was discontinued before the election period started and is therefore not included again in April 2019.

¹² Kathimerini (Greece) was not searchable and therefore news items were selected by a Greek native under the supervision of the project team.

The materials were distributed to the coders digitally via SURFfilesender, e-mail, or Dropbox folders. The downloaded materials are also stored on external hard drives for archiving purposes, with the exception of some TV shows, which could not be downloaded but were only accessible online. For the outlets for which the material was publicly accessible through their website, we provided the coders with hyperlinks to the items.

In total, 5.586 news stories (from TV news broadcasts, newspapers, and online news) were coded. See Table 1 for the number of news stories coded per country. Out of all coded news stories, 2.781 dealt specifically with the 2019 European Parliamentary election.

Table 1. Number of coded news stories per country

Country	N
The Netherlands	1.860
Germany	561
Denmark	333
Spain	507
Hungary	407
France	517
Czech Republic	101
Sweden	397
Poland	428
Greece	475

CODEBOOK

Following the content analyses conducted for the EP 1999, EP 2004, EP 2009, and EP 2014 election campaigns, a first draft codebook was developed. In line with the research focus of the current project, variables were added, removed, or adapted.

The codebook was tested by the project members before coder training began. During coder training, based on discussions with the coders and the results of the reliability tests, several items were adjusted to increase clarity and reliability. The final version of the codebook was digitally distributed to the coders before the start of the actual content coding. For the four versions of the full codebooks, see Appendix III (Subproject 1), IV (Subproject 1: European Election campaign period), V (Subproject 2) and VI (Subproject 3). Note that there are differences between the two codebooks used in Subproject 1: For the period between September 13, 2017 and March 31, 2019, this codebook includes more variables overall and does not include some variables that were used in the other two subprojects. These changes were made either for practical purposes (e.g., coding time) or due to issues of intercoder reliability. For the period of the 2019 European

Election campaign (April 1, 2019 – June 2, 2019), the codebooks for all three subprojects were aligned to enhance comparability¹³.

DATA ENTRY AND STORAGE

After the codebook was finalized, it was programmed in the form of an online survey using Qualtrics. A key advantage of collecting media content data using this survey tool is that coders code the news and simultaneously insert these data electronically. These data are automatically stored in a database and can be downloaded. This procedure limits the possibility of mistakes that could occur if coding would have been conducted on paper first and entered into an electronic database afterwards. Another important advantage is that variables can automatically be “skipped” when they are not applicable in a certain coding context (e.g., first coding the mentioning of the EU elections and subsequently, if filter applies, continuing with additional questions about the EU elections).

The Qualtrics sheet was subject to intense and repeated testing and was refined and customized before it was shared with the coders. For the coder training, the coders received the link to enter the data (together with the codebook and their material).

CODER TRAINING

Coder recruitment

Coders were mainly recruited through Communication Science courses at the University of Amsterdam, via e-mail newsletters, and the social media outlets of the Communication Science department, but also via newsletters of the Danish embassy in the Netherlands and the Institute for Scandinavian studies. Prior experience in coding media content or knowledge about the topic (EU) were no requirement but advantageous. In the end, across all subprojects, 37 coders were hired to conduct the coding. All coders were native speakers of the language they were coding in. For their work on the content analysis, all coders were paid an hourly wage of ten euros. They documented their workload in a schedule and submitted hour sheets on a regular basis.

Training setup

A coder training schedule was designed in advance. All coders were trained in English, except for two Dutch coders who were trained in Dutch. In each subproject, three coder training sessions were held, which lasted three hours each. The coder training sessions were spread over a period of approximately four weeks with appropriate intervals for practice coding and reliability tests in between individual sessions. The training sessions for Subproject 1 were scheduled on February 6th 2018, February 13th 2018, and February 27th 2018. Two additional coders for Subproject 1 were trained on May 13th 2019, May 21st 2019, and June 3rd 2019 (Dutch training). The training sessions for Subproject 2 were scheduled on November

¹³ During the European Election campaign period (April 1, 2019 – June 2, 2019), Subproject 1 used the same codebook as Subproject 2 and 3.

7th 2018, November 14th 2018, and November 27th 2018. The training sessions for Subproject 3 were scheduled on March 27th 2019, April 10th 2019, and April 25th 2019. Two members from the Europinions team served as coordinators and instructors of the coder trainings, which took place at the University of Amsterdam.

Training sessions

One week before the first session, the codebook and appendices were distributed to all coders. Along with the codebook they received detailed instructions on the proceedings and coding in general, as well as a short example article. They were asked to familiarize themselves with the codebook and appendices and code the example article in preparation of the first session.

Session #1 was an introduction and welcome meeting in which practical and organizational matters relating to schedule, planning, procedures, and payment were explained and background information about the research project was provided. Additionally, the codebook and appendices were distributed as hardcopies and discussed. The codebook was explained at great length, and the example article was coded in the group. These exercises took up approximately three hours in total. The instructors also introduced the appendices in detail. Coders had the opportunity to practice working with the appendices and ask questions.

Following the first training session, coders individually coded ten English-language newspaper articles at home and submitted their results to the instructors. An exception was made in Subproject 1, in which some of the practice materials were in Dutch.

In preparation for the second session, we calculated inter-coder reliability for these ten articles in order to identify which variables are the most difficult to code reliably.

In *session #2*, the ten articles that were coded at home were discussed in detail. Questions were answered, ambiguities were clarified, discussions were settled, and disagreements were solved. Following these discussions, small changes were occasionally made to the codebook to clarify the coding criteria. Furthermore, the coders were introduced to TV coding, using an example TV news item. TV coding was not included in the main coder training sessions of the Dutch coders; for Subproject 1, four coders were trained in TV coding in a separate session on March 20th, 2018.

Finally, coders were provided with a package of new coding materials, including some TV news items, that served as the material for the *second* inter-coder reliability test. The reliability test material included electronic copies of 15 English newspaper stories.

In *session #3*, the coders were informed about the main results of the inter-coder reliability test. The main goal of session #3 was to give coders additional and focused training on variables in the codebook which were problematic in terms of inter-coder agreement. A variable was considered problematic if the level of

agreement among coders for that particular variable as part of the reliability test was below common standards on the calculated measures (for details, see section on 'Inter-coder reliability test').

Finally, coders were provided with a new package of coding materials for the *third* inter-coder reliability test. Only those variables that were still problematic in the second inter-coder reliability test were included in this final test. In line with the first test coding procedure, coders were instructed to use an Excel coding sheet with pre-designed template and return their sheets to their training supervisors by a set deadline.

Inter-coder reliability test

Inter-coder reliability in all subprojects was determined by calculating Krippendorff's alpha (i.e., one of the standard coefficients in content analytical research, see Krippendorff, 2017¹⁴) for those variables that did not address formal criteria, such as the publication date or outlet, or depended on previous codes (such as, for example, actor evaluations; see below). In addition, we assessed Fretwurst's Lotus as a chance-corrected coefficient, which is suitable for determining reliability for rare occurrences ('phenomena') in the data.¹⁵ For both coefficients, a score of 1 denotes perfect agreement between coders; a minimum value of 0.6 was deemed acceptable for the purpose of this project. Obtained values varied considerably (see Table 2 for details), with some variables not reaching acceptable values even after multiple rounds of training. Some variables in specific subprojects were coded despite their reliability being in the lower range of acceptable scores in order to maintain continuity and comparability between subprojects and previous studies. We recommend any user of this dataset to carefully assess intercoder reliability scores before data analysis and to judge whether these values are sufficient for the purpose of the specific research.

Reliability scores were determined separately for each subproject during coder training and before the actual coding began. In the first reliability test of Subproject 1 (February 2018) and during the coder training of Subproject 2 (November 2018), variables in the codebook related to the 2019 European Parliament Election campaign were not included. These were only inserted in the spring of 2019 to capture the development of the media coverage in the last two months prior to Election Day, and in line with current events and updates of that time (e.g., the parties' final nominations of the lead candidates/Spitzenkandidaten). As a result, no inter-coder reliability could be determined for these variables in Subproject 2. Given the extensive initial training, and the similarity of these items to earlier variables, as well as their mostly descriptive nature, we deemed it likely that coders would be able to incorporate the new variables without encountering larger obstacles. The respective coders

¹⁴ Krippendorff, K. (2017). Reliability. In J. Matthes, C. S. Davis & R. F. Potter (Eds.), *The international encyclopaedia of communication research methods*. doi:10.1002/9781118901731.iecrm0210

¹⁵ Fretwurst, B. (2015). Lotus Manual. Reliability and accuracy with SPSS. Version 1.0 2015. Access at <http://www.iakom.ch/Lotus/LotusManualEng.pdf>

were contacted prior to the start of the campaign in early spring 2019; they were informed about the adjustments to the codebook and the online code sheet and asked to contact the coordinators about any difficulties in coding, should these occur. Their questions were answered individually in order to clarify any remaining issues.

Table 2. Results inter-coder reliability tests**Results Inter-coder Reliability Tests - Subproject 1, 1st coder training (February 2018)****The Netherlands**

<i>Round 1</i>			<i>Round 2</i>			<i>Round 3</i>		
	K's alpha	Lotus		K's alpha	Lotus		K's alpha	Lotus
V6	0.90	0.98						
V7a	0.81	0.89						
V7b	0.38	<i>n.a.</i>						
V8a	0.12	0.95						
V8b	0.33	0.77						
V8c	0.58	0.95						
V8d	0.27	0.78						
V9	0.22	0.64	V9	0.25	0.61	V9	0.53	0.81
V10	0.89	0.97						
V11	0.75	0.88						
V12	0.36	0.75						
V13_1	0.50	<i>n.a.</i>						
V15	<i>no variation</i>	1						
V16	<i>no variation</i>	1						
V17	0.39	0.81	V17	0.38	0.8	V17	0.31	0.75
V18	0.24	0.7	V18	0.27	0.65	V18	0.16	0.72
V19	0.18	0.58	V19	0.28	0.61	V19	0.04	0.7
V20	0.14	0.78	V20	0.16	0.75	V20	0.63	0.86
V21	0.28	0.83	V21	0.43	0.88	V21	<i>no variation</i>	1
V22	0.16	0.9						
V23	<i>no variation</i>	1						
V24	0.19	0.89						
V25	0.29	0.81						
V26a	0.87	0.97						
V26b	0.45	0.96						
V26c	<i>no variation</i>	1						
V26d	0.56	0.92						
V27	0.09	0.8						
V28	0.15	0.58	V28	0.38	0.73	V28	0.22	0.64
V29a	0.07	0.98						

V29b	0.19	0.94
V29c	0.67	0.95
V30	0.06	0.93
V31a	0.61	0.98
V31b	<i>no variation</i>	1
V31c	<i>no variation</i>	1
V31d	0.96	0.99
V31e	0.69	0.96
V31f	0.64	0.98

Results Inter-coder Reliability Tests - Subproject 1, 2nd coder training, 2 coders (May/June 2019)**The Netherlands**

<i>Round 1</i>			<i>Round 2</i>			<i>Round 3</i>			<i>Round 4</i>		
	K's alpha	Lotus		K's alpha	Lotus		K's alpha	Lotus		K's alpha	Lotus
V7a	0.76	0.78	V7a	0.62	0.64						
V9	0.3	0.25	V9	0.37	-0.33	V9	0.15	0.11	V9	0.51	0.40
V12	<i>no variation</i>	1.00	V12	0.49	0.90						
V15	<i>no variation</i>	1.00	V15	0.49	0.91						
V16	0	0.80	V16	0.51	0.56	V16	0.99	0.85			
V17	0.35	0.47	V17	0.46	0.64						
V19	<i>neg.</i>	0	V19	<i>neg.</i>	0.64						
V20	0.63	0.80	V20	<i>neg.</i>	0.82						
V21	0.43	0.73	V21	0	0.87						
V24	0	0.80	V24	<i>neg.</i>	0.64						
V26b	0.2	0.47	V26b	0.56	0.73						
V27	0.24	0.4	V27	0.64	0.87						
V28	0.42	0.4	V28	0.1	0.33	V28	<i>neg.</i>	0.33	V28	<i>neg.</i>	0.60
V29a	<i>no variation</i>	1.00	V29a	1.00	1.00						
V29c	<i>neg.</i>	0.6	V29c	<i>no variation</i>	1.00						
V32	0.59	0.6	V32	0.77	0.85						
V33a	0.43	0.6	V33a	1.00	1.00						
V33b	<i>no variation</i>	1.00	V33b	0.56	0.73						
<i>Campaign – two cases</i>			<i>Campaign – two cases</i>								
C1	1.00	0.87	C1	1.00	1.00						
C2	0	0.93	C2	0	0.87						
C3	0	0.89	C3	0.69	0.87						
C4	<i>no variation</i>	0.98	C4	<i>no variation</i>	1.00						
C5a	0	0.98	C5a	0	0.87						
C5b	<i>no variation</i>	0.96	C5b	1.00	1.00						
C5c	<i>no variation</i>	0.89	C5c	1.00	1.00						

Results Inter-coder Reliability Tests - Subproject 2 (November 2018)
Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Spain

Round 1

	<u>K's alpha</u>	<u>Lotus</u>
V7a	0.69	0.83
V9	0.26	0.65
V12	0.08	0.84
V15	<i>no variation</i>	1.00
V16	0.47	0.72
V17	0.12	0.69
V19	0.15	0.65
V20	0.29	0.78
V21	0.24	0.84
V24	0.28	0.64
V26b	0.65	0.81
V27	0.23	0.61
V28	0.07	0.62
V29a	0.64	0.93
V29c	0.18	0.87
V32	0.59	0.91
V33a	0.6	0.85
V33b	0.54	0.76

Round 2

	<u>K's alpha</u>	<u>Lotus</u>
V7a	<i>n.a.</i>	0.84
V9	0.47	0.69
V12	0.27	0.6
V15	0.59	0.95
V16	0.44	0.84
V17	0.37	0.79
V19	0.22	0.75
V20	0.3	0.88
V21	0.04	0.95
V24	0.44	0.91
V26b	0.42	0.92
V27	0.09	0.86
V28	0.2	0.57
V29a	0.06	0.95
V29c	<i>no variation</i>	1.00
V32	0.59	0.89
V33a	0.79	0.97
V33b	0.48	0.94

Round 3

	<u>K's alpha</u>	<u>Lotus</u>
V9	0.46	0.77
V12	0.27	0.57
V17	0.38	0.73
V19	0.09	0.49
V28	0.23	0.74

Results Inter-coder Reliability Tests - Subproject 3 (March/April 2019)**Czech Republic, France, Greece, Poland, Sweden**

Round 1			Round 2			Round 3		
	K's alpha	Lotus		K's alpha	Lotus		K's alpha	Lotus
V7a	0.68	0.83	V7a	0.7	0.81	V9	0.33	0.73
V9	0.29	0.17	V9	0.16	-0.1			
V12	neg.	0.88	V12	0.3	0.76			
V15	no variation	no variation	V15	0.67	0.96			
V16	0.51	0.74	V16	0.5	0.69			
V17	0.05	0.85	V17	0.3	0.80			
V19	0.26	0.78	V19	0.01	0.86			
V20	0.32	0.83	V20	0.06	0.94			
V21	0.15	0.87	V21	0.24	0.95			
V24	0.33	0.75	V24	0.17	0.94			
V26b	0.65	0.87	V26b	0.41	0.84			
V27	0.31	0.69	V27	0.01	0.93			
V28	0.37	0.64	V28	0.37	0.81			
V29a	1.00	1.00	V29a	0.16	0.88			
V29c	neg.	0.96	V29c	no variation	1.00			
V32	neg.	0.96	V32	0.64	0.85			
V33a	0.71	0.84	V33a	0.76	0.94			
V33b	0.5	0.73	V33b	0.46	0.84			
<u>CAMPAIGN - very few cases</u>			<u>CAMPAIGN - very few cases</u>					
C1	0.91	0.87	C1	0.98	0.97			
C2	0.16	0.93	C2	0.12	0.93			
C3	0.7	0.89	C3	0.62	0.94			
C4	no variation	0.98	C4	0.88	0.99			
C5a	no variation	0.98	C5a	0.88	0.99			
C5b	1.00	0.96	C5b	0.95	0.99			
C5c	0.16	0.89	C5c	0.85	0.96			

MATERIAL DISTRIBUTION

All materials were distributed proportionally between the coders for each country. In some cases, adjustments were made to account for personal circumstances of coders who received more or less materials. The only exception is Subproject 1, in which only three coders coded television news.

Coding and monitoring

The time it took coders to finish the coding varied due to differences in availability of coders and variations in the amount of media content. Subproject 1 coding was completed on September 15th, 2019, Subproject 2 completed on July 17th, 2019, and Subproject 3 on August 31st, 2019. During the entire coding process, coders were asked to contact us about any problems that occurred while coding, e.g. with regard to the coding of particular variables, technical problems concerning the data entry tool, or incorrect codes entered into the online tool. These problems were collected and, if necessary, corrected and adjusted for in the final dataset. Coders were assigned contact persons they could turn to in case of questions or immediate problems throughout the entire coding period. Coding progress was monitored continuously based on the coder-specific data entries in the online tool with regard to the time spent coding and the number of items coded.

DATA CLEANING AND PREPARATION

Data cleaning involved a number of steps. First, problems reported by the coders were processed. Mistakes in the coding of particular variables that the coders noticed only after the coding of a particular news item was completed and stored in the online database (after which it could not be accessed and changed anymore by the coders) were corrected.

Combinations of coder IDs, outlet codes and dates were compared with the material that was assigned to coders. A limited number of stories were identified in which these combinations were wrong. These cases could be corrected in line with the original materials. Furthermore, obvious typographic errors were corrected. The latter was exclusively done for non-substantive variables, such as coder ID, date, or item ID.

APPENDIX I: MEDIA OUTLETS BY COUNTRY

The Netherlands

- 1 = Volkskrant
- 2 = Algemeen Dagblad
- 3 = Metro
- 4 = Telegraaf
- 5 = NRC Handelsblad
- 6 = Trouw
- 7 = geenstijl.nl
- 8 = trouw.nl
- 9 = ad.nl
- 10 = metro.nl
- 11 = nos.nl
- 12 = nrc.nl
- 13 = nu.nl
- 14 = parool.nl
- 15 = telegraaf.nl
- 16 = volkskrant.nl
- 17 = NOS Achtuurjournaal
- 18 = NOS Nieuwsuur
- 19 = EenVandaag
- 20 = Hart van Nederland
- 21 = De wereld draait door
- 22 = Pauw
- 23 = RTL Nieuws
- 24 = RTL Late Night

Spain

- 25 = El Pais
- 26 = El Mundo
- 27 = ABC
- 28 = El Pais online
- 29 = El Mundo online
- 30 = Antena 3 news
- 31 = Telediario

Denmark

- 32 = Politiken
- 33 = Jyllands Posten
- 34 = Ekstra Bladet
- 37 = DR news online
- 38 = Ekstra Bladet online
- 39 = DR news
- 40 = TV2 news

Hungary

- 41 = Blikk
- 43 = Népszava
- 44 = Index.hu
- 45 = Origu.hu
- 46 = RTL Klub news

47 = M1 news

Germany

48 = Bild

49 = Sueddeutsche Zeitung

50 = FAZ

51 = Spiegel online

52 = focus.de

53 = ARD Tagesschau

54 = RTL Aktuell

Czech Republic

55 = Blesk

56 = Mlada Fronta DNES

57 = Seznam

58 = Novinky

59 = ČT1 – Události

France

61 = Le Figaro

62 = Le Monde

63 = 20 minutes

64 = France Info

65 = TF1 – JT 20h

66 = France 2 – 20 heures

Greece

67 = Kathimerini

68 = Ta Nea

69 = Newsbomb

70 = IN

71 = SKAI TV

72 = ERT News

Poland

73 = Gazeta Wyborcza

74 = Fakt

75 = Onet

76 = WP

77 = TVN News - Fakty

78 = TVP News - Wiadomosci

Sweden

79 = Dagens Nyheter

80 = Svenska Dagbladet

81 = Expressen

82 = Aftonbladet online

83 = Expressen online

84 = SVT1 - Rapport

85 = TV4 – Nyheterna

APPENDIX II - SEARCH TERMS

* the asterisk after the terms implies that all conjugations of the word are included.

English search terms:

- European Council
- European Commission
- European Central Bank
- ECB
- EU
- European Union
- Eurozone
- Eurogroup
- Brussels¹⁶
- European election*
- EU election*
- EP election*

Search Terms Subproject 1:

Dutch search terms:

- Europese Raad
- Europese Commissie
- Europese Centrale Bank
- ECB
- Europees* Parlement*
- Europaparlament*
- Europarlement*
- EU
- Europese Unie
- Eurozone
- Eurogroep
- Brussel*

Dutch search terms added in the election period (April 1, 2019 – June 2, 2019):

- o Europese verkiezing*
- o EP-verkiezing*
- o EU-verkiezing*
- o EU verkiezing*

Search Terms Subproject 2:

German search terms:

- Europäische* Rat*
- Europäische* Kommission
- EU-Kommission
- Europäische* Zentralbank
- EZB
- Europäische* Parlament*

¹⁶ If the headline contained the word “Brussels”, the article had to include an EU institution in the main text in order to ensure that the article used “Brussels” as a synonym for the EU. This applied to all languages.

- Europa-Parlament*
- Europaparlament*
- EU
- Europäische* Union*
- Eurozone
- Eurogruppe
- Brüssel

German search terms added in the election period (April 1, 2019 – June 2, 2019):

- o Europawahl*
- o Europaparlamentswahl*
- o EU-Wahl*
- o Eurowahl*

Danish search terms:

- Europæiske Råd
- Europa-Kommissionen
- EU-Kommissionen
- Europæiske Centralbank
- ECB
- Europa-Parlamentet
- EU-Parlamentet
- Europæiske Union
- Eurozonen
- Eurogruppen
- Bryssel*
- Bruxelles

Danish search terms added in the election period (April 1, 2019 – June 2, 2019):

- o Parlamentsvalg*
- o EU-valg*
- o EU-Parlamentsvalg*
- o EP-valg*
- o Europa-valg*
- o Europa valg*
- o Europavalg*

Spanish search terms:

- Llamada a las urnas europeas
- Comicios europeos
- Parlamentarias europeas
- Elección
- Las europeas Elecciones
- Consejo Europeo
- Comisión Europea
- Banco Central Europeo
- BCE
- Parlamento Europeo
- Europarlamento
- Eurocámara
- Cámara Europea

- UE
- Unión Europea
- Eurozona
- zona del euro
- zona euro
- Eurogrupo
- Bruselas

Spanish search terms added in the election period (April 1, 2019 – June 2, 2019):

- o Elecciones al Parlamento Europeo
- o Elección al Parlamento Europeo
- o Elecciones al PE
- o Elección al PE
- o Elección al europarlamento
- o Elecciones al europarlamento
- o Elección europea
- o Elecciones europeas
- o Las europeas
- o Elecciones a la cúpula comunitaria
- o Elecciones a la cúpula europea
- o Elección a la cúpula europea
- o Comicios europeos
- o Parlamentarias europeas
- o Llamada a las urnas europeas

Hungarian search terms:

- Európai Tanács*
- Európai Bizottság*
- Európai Központi Bank*
- EKB*
- EP
- Európai Parlament*
- Európai Unió*
- EU*
- Eurózóna*
- Euróövezet*
- Eurocsoport
- Brüsszel*

Hungarian search terms added in the election period (April 1, 2019 – June 2, 2019):

- o európai parlamenti választások
- o európai parlamenti választás
- o európai választások
- o európai parlamenti szavazás
- o EP-választás
- o EP-választások
- o uniós választások
- o EU-s választások
- o májusi választások
- o május végi választások
- o európai parlamenti képviselők választása

- európai parlamenti képviselőválasztás
- EU-s képviselőválasztás
- uniós képviselőválasztás
- Európai Parlament tagjainak magyarországi választása

Search Terms Subproject 3:

Note: Search terms for Subproject 3 already included terms related to the election

French search terms:

- Européennes scrutin
- Européen Conseil
- européen Commission
- européenne Banque
- centrale européenne
- BCE
- Parlement européen
- UE
- Union européenne
- zone euro
- Eurogroupe
- Elections Européennes
- Européennes
- scrutin Européen
- Bruxelles

Polish search terms:

- Wybor* do Parlamentu
- Wybor* do Europejskie*
- Wybor* do Parlamentu
- Wybor* Parlamentarne
- Wybor* do PE
- Eurowybor*
- Rad* Europejsk*
- Komisj* Europejsk*
- Europejsk* Bank*
- Centraln*
- EBC Parlamen*
- Europejsk*
- UE
- Uni* Europejsk*
- Stref* Euro*
- Euroland*
- Eurogrup*
- Bruksel*

Swedish search terms:

- Europaparlamentsval*
- EU val*
- EU-val*
- EP-val*
- Europeiska rådet*

- Europeiska kommissionen*
- EU-kommissionen*
- Europeiska centralbanken*
- ECB
- Europaparlamentet*
- EU-parlamentet*
- EU
- Europeiska unionen*
- Eurozonen*
- Eurogruppen*
- Bryssel*

Czech search terms:

- Evrop* rad*
- Evrop* komis*
- Evrop* centrá* bank*
- ECB
- EP
- Evrop* parlament*
- Evrop* uni*
- EU
- Eurozón*
- Euroskupin*
- Brusel
- Eurovol*
- Evrop* vol*
- vol* do Evrop* parlament*
- Eurovolby
- Volby do Evropského parlamentu
- Evropské volby
- Evropské parlamentní volby
- EP volby
- Volby do EP

Greek search terms¹⁷:

- European Council
- Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο
- Ευρωπαϊκ* Συμβούλιο
- ΕΣ
- European Commission
- Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή
- Ευρωπαϊκ* Επιτροπή
- Κομισιόν
- European Central Bank
- Ευρωπαϊκή Κεντρική Τράπεζα
- Ευρωπαϊκ* Κεντρικ* Τράπεζα
- ΕΚΤ
- ECB
- ΕΚΤ

¹⁷ As Greek often includes English words, the Greek search terms also used the English terms.

- EP
- EK
- European Parliament
- Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο
- Ευρωπαϊκ* Κοινοβούλιο
- Ευρωβουλή
- European Union
- Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση
- Ευρωπαϊκ* Ένωση
- EU
- EE
- Eurozone
- Ευρωζώνη
- Eurogroup
- Ευρωμάδα
- Γιούρογκρουπ
- Brussels
- Βρυξέλλες
- Elections
- Ευρωεκλογές
- Εκλογές για το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο
- Εκλογές Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου
- Ευρωπαϊκές Εκλογές
- Ευρωπαϊκές εκλογές
- Εκλογές Ευρωκοινοβουλίου
- Εκλογές για την ανάδειξη των μελών του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου
- Εκλογές για την ανάδειξη μελών του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου

APPENDIX III - SUBPROJECT 1 CODEBOOK

September 13, 2017 – March 31, 2019

Additional documents:

Appendix III.I - Topic List Subproject 1

Appendix III.II - Actor List Subproject 1

V1 Coder ID

01 Wessel van der Woude
02 Fleur van Lit
03 Kajsa Rosenblad
04 Rosa Steffens
05 Sacha Roché
06 Guus van Duijn
07 Loeloe van Dam
08 Saba Yapar
09 Sydney de Groot
10 Michelle de Groot

V2 Story identification number

Insert the full number code/ID of the news item, e.g. "NL1_01_0006".

V3a Date (day)

Date is coded in three variables, this first one represents the day (ranging from 1-31); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th only code "17" for this first variable.

V3b Date (month)

This second variable represents the month (ranging from 1-12); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th only code "05" for this second variable.

V3c Date (year)

This third variable represents the year (ranging from 8-14); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th 2008 only code "08" for this third variable.

V4 News outlet

Trouw	= Trouw
AD	= Algemeen Dagblad
VK	= De Volkskrant
Metro	= Metro
Telegraaf	= De Telegraaf
NRC	= NRC Handelsblad
geenstijl.nl	= geenstijl.nl
trouw.nl	= trouw.nl
ad.nl	= ad.nl
metro.nl	= metro.nl
nos.nl	= nos.nl
nrc.nl	= nrc.nl
nu.nl	= nu.nl
parool.nl	= parool.nl
telegraaf.nl	= telegraaf.nl
vk.nl	= volkskrant.nl
Journaal	= NOS Achtuurjournaal
Nieuwsuur	= NOS Nieuwsuur
EenVandaag	= EenVandaag
Hart	= Hart van Nederland
Wereld	= De Wereld draait door
Pauw	= Pauw
RTLNieuws	= RTL Nieuws
RTLLate	= RTL Late Night

V5 Country

NL	= Netherlands
----	---------------

----- **READ WHOLE ARTICLE BEFORE PROCEEDING** -----

V6 News story vs. opinion piece

Note: Other items, such as interviews or advertisements, are not coded. (Exclude from sample if not one of the two things below & let us know.)

1 = Regular news story

2 = Opinion piece (Letter to the editor, editorial, op-eds)

9999 = code as “not applicable” for TV

Newspapers & online news only
--

NP1 Page number

The number of the page on which the story appeared. In case the story runs over two or more pages write down the page number on which the story begins.

Note: Print newspapers usually include this information. Online newspapers will always be coded as not identifiable here.

9999 = not identifiable / TV

NP2 Length of news story

Number of words in the online or offline news article, not including the headline, subtitle, author name etc. The word count start at the first word of the first paragraph of the actual text.

Note: For this, you will have to use the word count, e.g. in Word, unless the document states a number of words. In the latter case, you do not have to count yourself.

9999 = code as “not applicable” for TV

Television only

Selection criterion: Does the story mention either the European Union (EU)¹, its institutions or policies or the European Parliamentary elections or the campaign?

Note: Coders can skip through stories that are clearly not about the EU.

¹ or synonyms such as ‘Brussels’ (when EU is meant), Europe (when EU is meant), EU countries (if explicitly referred to as such), EU member states (if explicitly referred to as such). EU institutions include the European Central Bank (ECB), for instance.

Note: He/she/it, him/her/his, who(m)/which do NOT count! The relevant terms have to be mentioned at least twice (e.g. EU + EU) or two different relevant terms (e.g. EU + European Parliament) have to be mentioned once each.

Example: The **EU** has decided to stop funding social scientists. **It** said this was going to save money. → Not about the EU

Note: In general, a TV item includes any intro, and also general openers of the news cast. If those are interrupted by other news items, they are still treated as one item.

TV1 Length of TV news item (in seconds), incl. its introduction by the anchorperson (and any other introduction in the beginning of the news cast).

Example: 1 minute and 58 seconds are coded as 118 seconds!

9999 = code as “not applicable” for newspaper

TV2 Story number of TV news item Is it story number 1, 2 or 3?

1 = 1

2 = 2

3 = 3

4 = later

9999 = code as “not applicable” for newspaper

Core variables, no filter**For all variables with evaluation codes:**

How to code positivity/negativity in evaluations:

In case no tendency can be assumed (i.e., there is no evaluation), then choose **no evaluation** (0). Don't interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective. Look for **explicit keywords** with a positive or negative valence.

If your impression is that the evaluation is mixed, positive and negative tendencies are *exactly in balance*, then code **balanced/mixed** (2).

Important: If there are *both* positive and negative evaluations but the overall evaluation (or sum of specific evaluations) is more positive than negative, then code **(rather) positive** (3). If it is more negative than positive, then code **(rather) negative** (1).

If there are *either only* positive *OR* negative evaluations, even if it is just one evaluation, then code (rather) **positive** (3) or (rather) **negative** (1).

V7 Primary topic of the story (i.e. major subject of the story = taking the most space or time – often mentioned in the headline). [→ see Appendix F]

Note I: If there is more than one appropriate category, **always choose the most specific one**.

Note II: When no topic is the **obvious** main topic of the story, choose the first topic mentioned.

Note III: The code used in Qualtrics is a combination of the overarching topic (e.g. 05 for immigration, included in Qualtrics drop-down menu (V7a)) and the more specific code (e.g. 05 multiculturalism, to be entered by hand (V7b)) → resulting code is 0505.

Remember to enter only last two digits by hand for V7b.

V8a PAST AND PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS COUNTRY: Does the item contain an evaluation of whether *national* economic conditions have changed in the recent past, up until the present, and if so, how are they evaluated?

99 = not applicable / past economic conditions **not** mentioned

0 = past economic conditions mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

Example key words:

Positive: “booming”, “improving”, “getting better”, “positive prospects”, “good news”

Negative: “shrinking”, “worse”, “problems”, “economic hardship”, “disappointing”

But: objective/factual reports of economic conditions/indicators (such as unemployment or inflation) **rising** or **decreasing** (without explicit reference to this being a positive or negative development) do **not** count as evaluations.

Examples for this distinction:

“unemployment is a *problem* in the Netherlands” → code 1

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade*, which is very good for the Dutch economy” → code 3

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade*” → code 0

“Inflation at 1% this year” → code 0

“Inflation at *five-year-high*, poor households *hit hard*” → code 1

“Inflation at *five-year-high*” → code 0

“the economy is *growing*, and this is *good news* for people looking for a job; however, the high youth unemployment remains *problematic*.” → code 2

Note I: If the item mentions (trends in/levels of) key economic indicators such as ‘unemployment’, ‘inflation’, and ‘GDP’, (“the inflation has remained stable for the fourth quarter in a row”) this also counts as a mention of economic conditions.

Note II: Mentions of the EU budget, or the member state contributions or funds received from the EU do **not** count as economic.

Note III: “National” in “*national* economic conditions” refers to the country of the newspaper you are coding. So a reference to the British economy in a German newspaper does not count as a mentioning of the national economy.

Note IV: In the **recent past** means a connected period of time up until the moment of the article is written. Thus both “the national economy has grown over the last 10 years” and “the national economy has grown in the last 6 months” count as an evaluation of the national economy in the recent past. But a statement like “the national economy has grown in the 1990s” does not count, as the period which is mentioned ends before the article is written.

Note V: Evaluations without a specific time indication or about the present situation are counted as past, for example “the economy is booming” or “our country is facing an economic crisis”.

Note VI: Future developments of the national economy are not coded here; they are coded in V8c.

V8b PAST AND PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS EU: Does the item contain an evaluation of whether economic conditions in the EU have changed in the recent past, up until the future, and if so, how are they evaluated?

99 = not applicable / past economic conditions **not** mentioned

0 = past economic conditions mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

Note I: Only code if EU or Eurozone economy as a whole is referred to. A subgroup of EU countries (“the economies of The Netherlands, Belgium and Germany”) does not count as an evaluation of the EU economy.

Note II: In the **recent past** means a connected period of time up until the moment the article is written. Thus both “EU member states’ economies have grown over the past 10 years” and “all EU economies have grown in the last 6 months” count as an evaluation of the national economy in the recent past. But a statement like “the 1990s were a period of economic growth in the EU” does not count, as the period which is mentioned ends before the article is written.

Note III: Future developments of the EU economy do not count as an evaluation here; they are coded in V8d.

V8c FUTURE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS COUNTRY: Does the item contain an evaluation of whether *national* economic conditions will change in the future, and if so, how are they evaluated?

99 = not applicable / future economic conditions **not** mentioned

0 = future economic conditions mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

Examples: “The CPB predicts a growth of 1.8% for 2018” or “next year, unemployment will decrease”. (→code 0).

V8d FUTURE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS EU: Does the item contain an evaluation of whether economic conditions in the EU will change in the future, and if so, how are they evaluated?

99 = not applicable / future economic conditions **not** mentioned

0 = future economic conditions mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V9 Explicitly: What is the overall evaluation of the EU and/or its institutions?

‘The EU’ here refers to any EU institution (the parliament, the European Central Bank, the commission, etc.). Also code if synonyms are used which clearly refer to the EU as such, e.g., “Europe” (when in fact the EU is meant / but not if Europe is only referred to as a geographical entity) or “Brussels” (when in fact the EU is meant). Expressions such as “EU-money” or “EU-budget” should be also coded here (and policies potentially also in V18).

0 = EU and/or EU institutions mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

Note 1: Evaluations should be positive/negative from the perspective of the EU. So: is the EU performing well/poorly, does the EU find itself in good/bad circumstances.

Note II: If the article is not about the EU or any of its institutions, stop coding it and let us know.

Examples of when the EU is mentioned but NOT evaluated (→ Code: 0):

“The EU signed an agreement with the US”

“The Lisbon Treaty tries to make the EU become more democratic.”

“The EU is negotiating about emission rights.”

“ECB’s guidelines on bank debt apply from April 1st”

“The European Commission is proposing to reform the EU’s common visa policy”

Examples of positive/negative/mixed tone:

“The EU is *failing* to push industries towards a cleaner production.” (→ Code: 1 negative)

“The EU took a step towards *improving* the democratic structure” (→ Code: 3 positive)

“The EU functions *well*” (→ Code: 3 positive)

“*Breakthrough* in EU defense policy, but concrete plans still *missing*.” (→ Code: 2 mixed)

“The EU leaders were satisfied with their decisiveness during the Summit.” (→ Code 3 positive)

“The European Parliament had a breakthrough” (→ Code 3 positive)

V10 Explicitly: Does the story mention the European Parliament (EP), and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note: The EP needs to be mentioned only once to code as mentioned. A reference to the EP as a location also counts as mentioning the EP.

99 = not applicable / European Parliament **not** mentioned

0 = European Parliament mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V11 Explicitly: Does the story mention the European Commission (EC), and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note: The EC needs to be mentioned only once to code as mentioned. A reference to the EC as a location also counts as mentioning the EC.

99 = not applicable / European Commission **not** mentioned

- 0 = European Commission mentioned but not evaluated
- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

ACTORS

V12 How many (max 5) actors are mentioned in the story? Please indicate how many actors you have identified in line with the rules below.

9999 = not applicable / no actors mentioned

0 – 5 = number of different actors mentioned

Variables V13a-V13e Actors

Which actors are mentioned (up to 5)?

→ **Please code according to the list of actors** [see Appendix]

Criteria for selecting actors

*If there is more than **one** actor:*

Actor 1 = the main actor, the most important actor **of the story**.

Indicators of importance are:

- duration, space of information about the actor
- frequency of being mentioned
- visibility (film, photographs etc.)
- quotes, statements of the actor.

Note I: If two actors are equally prominent in the article with regard to the above criteria, then count the number of references to each actor and choose the one who is most often referred to. However, this rule only applies if two actors are really exactly evenly prominent with regard to the above criteria.

Note II: Actors do **not** become important in a story because of their professional position, their rank or prestige!

*If there are **two** or more actors that are sufficiently present (see above) in the story:*

Code the other actors (except the main actor) **in the order of their appearance in the story**.

Note III: In order to determine the order of appearance in newspaper articles and in order to determine which actor is mentioned *first* it is important to determine what part of the story is the '**coding starting point**'.

Newspaper articles: Starting point is always (1) the headline, followed by (2) the first (intro) paragraph of the article, then (3) the second etc.

Spots: Starting point is the first sequence of the spot (second 1).

Actors are

Up to FIVE different **persons, groups, institutions or organizations** that are

- mentioned verbally at least twice in two separate sentences. He/she, him/her, who(m)/which also count. Synonyms or personal pronouns also count (e.g. if Theresa May is referred to as “the PM” or “Mother Theresa”) if that is indeed clearly discernible from the text. A reference to “Jean-Claude Juncker, the commission’s president” only counts as *one* mentioning of Juncker, as both his name and his function are mentioned within a single sentence.

or

- verbally mentioned once **and** quoted (May said: “Britain...”) / or quoted without quotation marks (i.e. reported speech: May said that...)

or (for TV)

1. mentioned verbally at least once **and** depicted at least once.
Exception: If an article in a newspaper only consists of a headline/ bullet, **one** mentioning or depiction of politicians, political groups, institutions or organizations is sufficient! However, cartoon/drawing does not count as a reference to an actor! Also, coding of actors shown on photography or film is limited to *persons* (depictions of logos, buildings of institutions do not count as reference to non-personal actors).

NOTE: If an article in a newspaper is a commentary or letter to the editor (opinion piece), the journalist/reader who wrote the commentary/letter is coded as an (active) actor!

2. Actors are **not necessarily persons**. A government, an institution, an organization.
3. Actors can be **subjects** (active actors) as well as **objects** (passive actors). So an actor does **not necessarily have to act**. Actors can also be **objects** or **targets** of actions - they can be attacked or criticized, for instance.

But keep in mind that actors can only be persons, groups, institutions or organizations.

Also a reference to “Theresa May’s policy proposals” or “the government’s goals” or “Tony Blair’s Notting Hill residence” counts as a mentioning of May, the government, or Tony Blair as actors. Similarly, a reference to “European Commission proposal” or “EU allies” counts as a

mentioning of European Commission or EU, respectively.

Countries or cities as such are not coded as actors (e.g., “Germany is facing a sharp economic downturn” or “Macron is travelling to Germany” does NOT count as actor reference). ONLY code a country as an actor when the country name (or mentioning of the capital of a country) is used as a synonym for the national government (e.g., “the UK yesterday announced to exit the EU” or “Germany has opposed the US proposal to increase the number of troops in Afghanistan”). In these latter cases the country name clearly indicates the national government which is listed with a respective code in the actor appendix.

4. An *unspecified* group (i.e., a mix of different) of actors referred to in plural form as “they” or “these four companies” etc. (e.g., “The Times, the Sun, and the Guardian all reported today that *they* expect ad revenues to be lower”) does not count as an actor mentioning. However, a story referring to “SPD party members” as “they” does count because it refers to a specified actor (=SPD party members), for example.
5. **Journalists** are actors *only* if they are **interviewed, reported about, used as sources, or are the authors of opinion pieces (NOT regular articles)**.
6. An actor can only be coded once – although she/he/it/they may appear at several places and with different functions in the story. Then, choose the category depicting the most important role of that actor in the story. If more than one code applies to one actor, choose the most specific one (e.g., a farmer is not to be coded as ordinary citizen, but as member of a professional group). There may be cases in which the same code has to be assigned to different actors, e.g. when two members of the same party are quarreling with each other. The reference point for deciding how to code an actor is always the story. If, for example, a minister is a *candidate* running for the EP, use the relevant EP Candidate Actor List code. If the story is about the person as member of the government, use the relevant minister code.
7. **Generic groups of actors such as Europeans, voters, citizens, public, MPs, MEPs, politicians, etc. have to be mentioned twice with the same descriptive term** (e.g., 2x “voters” or 2x “Dutch MEPs”) and are coded according to the codes in the actor appendix.

8. Actors are only coded if they act or are acted upon, but **not** if they are mentioned as a **location**. For instance, the European Parliament can be an actor (e.g., the EP demands certain policies), but can also be a location (e.g., MEPs were debating an issue in the EP). Do **not** count a reference of such an actor when actually the location is meant.
9. It is possible that multiple actors have the same code. E.g. “Merkel and Macron” are two actors, but get the same code as head of government.

V14a-e Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says/ depicts so): **Is actor 1-5 evaluated favorably or unfavorably (regardless of the source) from his/her own perspective?**

Refers to tendency/bias contained in the presentation by a journalist, protagonist or his partners, competitors, independent sources (e.g. politicians, businessmen, scientists). The tendency must be expressed: **explicitly**, by using terms of clearly positive or negative **judgment** (e.g., “good”, “promising”, “ominous”, “disappointing”).

Per news item you only assign one (overall) code for the explicit evaluation of an actor in a story. Please note, however, that particular care should be exercised while recording the tendencies and only undoubtedly positive or negative ones should be coded as such.

NOTE: Any attribute that is associated with a particular actor (e.g., policy plans, Notting Hill residence, environmental directive) also forms a part of the evaluation of the actor. For example, a “terrible EU health care directive” carries a negative evaluation of the directive, but since the directive is associated with the EU, it counts as an actor reference to the EU and as a negative evaluation of the EU (for the next variable/actor evaluation).

All evaluations are judged from the perspective of the actor!

In case no tendency can be assumed (i.e., there is no evaluation), then choose **no evaluation** (0). Don’t interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective.

If your impression is that the evaluation is mixed, positive and negative tendencies are exactly in balance, then code **balanced/mixed** (2).

If there are *both* positive and negative evaluations but the overall evaluation is more positive than negative, then code **(rather) positive** (3). If it is more negative than positive, then code **(rather) negative** (1).

If there are *either only* positive *OR* negative evaluations, even if it is just one evaluation, then code (rather) **positive** (3) or (rather) **negative** (1) respectively.

99 = not applicable / actor with this number **not** mentioned

0 = actor with this number mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V15 Explicitly: Does the story **mention the potential membership of TURKEY in the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

99 = not applicable / potential Turkish membership **not** mentioned

0 = potential Turkish membership mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V16 Explicitly: Does the story **mention a potential end of the EU membership of [country]**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note: evaluations should be positive/negative **from the perspective of leaving the EU** (e.g., Nexit for the Netherlands). So positive means pro-leaving, negative means against leaving.

99 = not applicable / potential leave of [country] **not** mentioned

0 = potential leave of [country] mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (against leaving)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (pro leaving)

Examples:

“Rutte will fight against hurting the NL in a Nexit ‘until bitter end’” (→code 1)

“A referendum on leaving the EU will not be easy to organize, given the Dutch referendum rules” (→code 0).

EU ATTITUDES

V17 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **future strengthening of the EU**

or its institutions, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union **should integrate much further** or **integrate much less**?

For example: Does the story refer to a shift in power between the national and the European level? (e.g., transferring policy-making to EU level; maintaining/decreasing/increasing the national sovereignty of member states)

Note I: Strengthening only refers to vertical integration (division of power between national and EU level), not horizontal integration (i.e., enlargement).

Note II: Evaluations need to be explicit. This could be either by the use of explicit sentences (e.g., “further integration is *negative*”), or by the explicit use of positive/negative keywords (“further integration *fails* the needs of EU citizens”).

Note III: For this variable, strengthening of the Eurozone (Euro) or a specific EU institution (e.g., the European Parliament or the European Commission) should be considered as strengthening of the EU. This includes discussions of whether to drop the Euro, and whether the European Central Bank should have more or less powers to act. When the article refers to “Europe”, code as EU when EU is meant (i.e., is this also about Norway and Switzerland? If yes, it refers to Europe as a continent; if no, code as EU).

Note IV: References to leaving the EU should also be coded under V16.

Note V: If statement refers to specific policy field (i.e. immigration policy, defence policy), this only counts as a mention of EU strengthening if the article explicitly states that the EU should have more/less powers for that particular policy

99 = not applicable / EU strengthening **not** mentioned

0 = EU strengthening mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (less, or no more, integration)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (more integration)

Examples:

“Brussels wants to enforce fair redistribution of refugees” (code: 99)

“Brussels needs to have more decision-making power over refugee policy” (code: 3)

“We should proceed in strengthening the Union” (code: 3) (opinion article)

“Less power should go to Brussels” (code: 1)

V18 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **current or future policy performance of the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated? Policy performance refers to the content of EU policy and performance (so the *outcomes*, results and effectiveness of EU policy-making). Note: V18 is about *content*, V19 is about *form* (e.g. the process of decision-making and reaching agreement).

Only in the present, or the period leading up to the present and the future; no evaluations about a distinct period in the past. So: code if about “performance of EU in the past year”, or “outcomes of EU policies *since the 1990s*”, but not if about “performance of EU *in the 1990s*”.

Definition of *policy*:

a set of ideas, proposals or regulations, or a plan or strategy of handling particular issues, circumstances or situations, that has been agreed to officially by the EU

For example: Does the story suggest that the EU dealt with the immigration crisis or the Eurozone crisis in a good way, that EU climate policy has been effective; or conversely, the EU has not taken the right measures, the EU has failed to act in the economic crisis. Examples of ‘mentioned but not evaluated’: the EC is proposing a new approach to deal with the refugee crisis, or has recently introduced a new policy.

Note I: Code *general* evaluations only if they refer to policy/political outcomes (e.g. “the poor performance of the EU in the regulation of education”; “the EU’s failure to respond to problems”).

do not code in case of:

- i. Highly general statements (e.g. “the EU functions well”; “the EU is in crisis”) that cannot be linked to outcomes of EU policy-/decision-making. These should be coded as general evaluations of the EU (code → V9).
- ii. Statements about decision-making *processes*, and EU leaders/member states (not) reaching agreement (code → V19).

Note II: Evaluations need to be explicit. This could be either by the use of explicit sentences, or by the explicit use of positive/negative keywords (“the EU successfully reduced crime rates”).

Note III: For this variable, performance of the Eurozone should be considered as performance of the EU. As a general rule, when a specific institution performs well (EC, EP, ECB), this should be coded as the EU performing.

Note III: Performance is about *acts* of the EU (or its institutions). Thus, EU performance is about whether the EU performs some expected act well. It is not about the effect this act may have (which falls under V24, about effects of EU membership).

99 = not applicable / EU performance **not** mentioned

0 = EU performance mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (bad performance)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (good performance)

V19 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **the decision-making process of the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union decision-making is **efficient/adequate** or **inefficient/inadequate** in reaching agreement or coming to common decisions.

Only about **current** decision-making processes, not general statements about good cooperation in last 50 years.

For example: Does the story suggest that EU institutions/EU member states/EU leaders or ministers of different member states work (together) efficiently, that decision-making went smoothly, and compromises are reached. Or, conversely, does it suggest that the EU did not reach a common position, or emphasize disagreements that are difficult to bridge between countries. This also includes mentions of proceedings or outcomes of EU summits or meetings of EU leaders/the European Council where a certain issue was discussed. A sole mentioning of the word “summit” or similar is not sufficient to be coded here. Crucial is that there is a mention of there being deliberation or discussion among different European actors about a specific issue or policy.

Examples of mentioned but not evaluated (code 0): “the EU leaders have discussed the new policy proposal at a summit in Rome...”, “The EP voted on the situation in Poland”.

99 = not applicable / decision-making process **not** mentioned

0 = decision-making process mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (inefficient/inadequate)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (efficient/adequate)

V20 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **the state of democracy in the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether

the European Union is **democratic/transparent** or **undemocratic/non-transparent**.

For example: Does the story refer to the ‘democratic deficit’, or suggest that the EU does not *respect the will of the citizens*, that most things are dealt with *behind closed doors*, or that the issues discussed were *decided in advance*;

Or, on the contrary, does the story emphasize the transparency and democratic character of the European Union, the *responsiveness* of the European Parliament, or citizens’ *influence* on EU policy making? The variable is only about EU as a whole and not about democracy in one specific EU member state.

99 = not applicable / state of EU democracy **not** mentioned

0 = state of EU democracy mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (undemocratic/non-transparent)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (democratic/transparent)

V21 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **European identity**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note: This variable should be coded when the article refers to (or denies) a common identity. Are we just a group of countries working together, or is our common identity as European citizens emphasized? Is there an immaterial feeling of shared belonging, origins, culture or togetherness beyond the formal framework of the EU? The term ‘identity’ does not have to be mentioned explicitly. For instance, “our shared civilization” or “our common culture” (if “our” refers to EU citizens/states) should be coded as positive reference of European identity. Negative evaluations can refer to European identity as such, or frame the EU/Europe as a threat to national identity.

99 = not applicable / European identity **not** mentioned

0 = European identity mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (questioning of European identity)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (common European identity)

Examples:

“As Europeans we *share a common culture*” (code 3)

“We should *guard* ourselves *against Europeanization* of our culture”
(code 1)

“European identity is an *illusion*” (code 1)

V22 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **EU financial solidarity**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note I: This variable should be coded as present when the article refers to (or denies) financial solidarity *between* EU member states. This could refer to all kind of actors, as long as it is solidarity between two or more different EU countries (most likely, the actors will either be governments actors, other politicians, or citizens).

Note II: The descriptive term ‘solidarity’ is not necessary to be mentioned. Both general references to solidarity and more specific terms (rescue fund, bailout) should be counted as mentions. For instance, “EU member states are discussing a second bailout package for Greece” is a neutral reference to EU solidarity (Code 0), as well as “Eurozone to borrow billions to fund Greece rescue”. “The northern European countries *need to help* the southern European countries” should be coded as positive reference of EU solidarity. Or, “In Germany the option to *abandon* Greece was explicitly discussed” should be coded as a negative evaluation.

Note III: A mention is evaluative if it refers to the need for solidarity, or to the positive or negative consequences of solidarity. This needs to be explicit (e.g. “there is a *need* for solidarity among EU nations”, “the Greek people do *not deserve* our help”, “financial support to poor member states has *missed its mark*”). Mentions of the factual existence of financial support or solidarity (e.g. “the Dutch government approved of a rescue package to support Greek economy”) should be coded as neutral (0).

99 = not applicable / EU solidarity **not** mentioned

0 = EU solidarity mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (against EU solidarity)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (in favor of EU solidarity)

- V23** If the story or somebody in the story mentions referendums on matters of European integration, is the story rather **supportive of holding referendums on matters of EU integration** or does it **oppose referendums on matters of EU integration** in the country of the news?

Note: Integration here is both vertical and horizontal. Only code referendums in country of the news.

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

0 = mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (against referendums)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (in favour of referendums)

- V24** Does the story mention whether **the own country has been affected by EU membership or not** (economic, cultural, etc.). If so, how is this evaluated (i.e. positive = benefit, negative = disadvantage).

For example: Did the **country** receive money to improve their infrastructure, educate people; benefit from information exchange (e.g. Erasmus), institutional advice, administrative support. Is the country better protected by being member of a bigger entity, e.g. stable currency by being member of the Eurozone, strong diplomatic ties and economic dependencies prevent war. The focus must be on a benefit for the country in which the story has been published, e.g. the Netherlands in the Dutch media.

Note I: Evaluations need to be explicit. This could be either by the use of explicit sentences (e.g., “we have *profited* from the EU”), or by the explicit use of positive/negative keywords (“through the EU we have *succeeded* in improving living standards”).

Note II: For this variable, effects of the Eurozone should be considered as effects of the EU. As a general rule, when a specific EU institution has an effect, this should be coded as an effect of the EU (e.g., if we benefitted from policies from the European food and safety agency, code as benefitted from the EU). As a result, benefits on very specific policy fields are also coded as benefits from the EU, as long as these benefits result from the EU or one of its institutions.

Note III: Only mentions of effect in the past and present are coded (e.g. both “EU membership has facilitated the economic activities of [country]” and “currently, [country] profits from its membership in the internal market”).

99 = not applicable / effect for country **not** mentioned

0 = effect for country mentioned but not evaluated

- 1 = (rather) negative (disadvantage)
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive (benefits)

V25 Large EU reforms

Does the story mention a new initiative, policy, action or a whole new plan that aims to deepen cooperation between member states or transfers more power to the EU level?

For instance, the Macron plan or Juncker plan. Creation of a common institution like a European army, a European foreign minister. Enlargement of the EU or further strengthening of European parliament powers.

99 = not applicable / Large EU reforms **not** mentioned

0 = Large EU reforms mentioned but not evaluated

- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

V26a Does the story **mention Brexit** (i.e. negotiations, proceedings, consequences)?

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V26b Does the story **mention the consequences of Brexit for Britain**? If so, how is it evaluated?

This includes consequences for Britain as a country, but also for British citizens and companies. Evaluations are seen from the perspective of Britain. A consequence can be of economic, cultural, political, social, or institutional nature.

Examples:

“Brits feel Brexit hurt in pocketbook” (Code: 1).

“Many Brits regret Brexit vote” (Code: 1);

“London loses EU agencies to Paris and Amsterdam” (Code: 1)

“After Brexit, UK will bargain international trade deals on their own” (Code: 0)

- 99 = not applicable / Brexit consequences for Britain **not** mentioned
- 0 = Brexit consequences for Britain mentioned but not evaluated
- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

V26c Does the story **mention the consequences of Brexit for [country of news]**? If so, how is it evaluated?

A consequence can be of economic, cultural, political, social, or institutional nature.

Examples: “Dutch companies should prepare for chaos after Brexit” (Code: 1);

“With EMA, Netherlands wins its first Brexit trophy” (Code: 3).

- 99 = not applicable / Brexit consequences for [country] not mentioned
- 0 = Brexit consequences for [country] mentioned but not evaluated
- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

V26d Does the story **mention the consequences of Brexit for the EU**? If so, how is it evaluated?

A consequence can be of economic, cultural, political, social, or institutional nature.

Examples:

“Brexit shifts attention of EU leaders to EU future” (Code: 0);

“Brexit could lead to new economic downturn in Eurozone” (Code: 1);

“Brexit creates uncertainty for EU-citizens” (Code: 1);

“EU member states profit from EU agencies’ Brexit exodus” (Code: 3).

- 99 = not applicable / Brexit consequences for EU **not** mentioned
- 0 = Brexit consequences for EU mentioned but not evaluated
- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

V27 Does the story mention a conflict/tension between the EU (all institutions) and current national rules, customs, laws or regulations?

This refers to national laws, customs, rules, or regulations in the country of the news. However, if an EU regulation is in conflict with *all* countries, then that would also include the country of the news and therefore be coded as mentioned.

For example: Does the story discuss an instance in which EU policies overrule national regulations, e.g. refugee quotas, environmental protection, employment reforms. Are national habits/traditions affected by EU decisions/policies, e.g. traditional ways of fishing prohibited due to environmental protection.

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V28 Does the story mention the EU as one actor facing some common opponent or problem?

For example: EU vs. UK, China, Russia, US in terms of one economic power, or the EU working together on climate change, refugee crisis, etc. Crucial is the stress of togetherness, the emphasis on the EU as a unified actor instead of handling it as separate nations. The idea of being “stronger together”.

Note: The problem/opponent can be also internal relating to one specific country only, i.e. all remaining EU countries vs. the leaving UK or the EU acting together against the rule of law violations in Poland.

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V29a Does the story mention bureaucracy and unnecessary EU regulations?

For example: Overregulation such as the regulation of the curves of cucumbers and bananas. Do certain decisions use too much time, manpower, money especially in light of the overall relevance of the regulation or its outcome?

99 = not mentioned
1 = mentioned

V29b Does the story mention inefficient spending of EU resources?

For example: Wasting money for moving between Brussels and Strasbourg (“traveling to *Strasbourg* once a month is a *waste* of time and money”), administrative staff in both cities (“We cannot stand here in Strasbourg at our second seat - this icon of EU profligacy - and say that there is no money that can be saved”)

Prestigious/representative/exaggerated buildings (“The EU has wasted £1.5million on a lift that goes nowhere.”) such as train stations or highways (“Expensive roads have been built that serve no real purpose, all at taxpayers' expense.”), over complex institutional structures.

99 = not mentioned
1 = mentioned

V29c Does the story mention corruption of EU politicians?

For example: Favoritism by EU politicians (or their employees), misappropriation of funds.

Note: This is about politicians who are actively involved in EU politics.

99 = not mentioned
1 = mentioned

V30 Does the article contain a negative reference to the political establishment? This includes criticizing the establishment and distancing oneself from the establishment. E.g. “The political elite has lost touch with the citizens”; “established parties are performing poorly in the polls”. Or specific Dutch examples: “de Haagse baantjesmachine”, “aan het pluche geplakt zitten”.

99 = no
1 = yes

V31a-f Does the story contain explicit factual information about the following (note that “[COUNTRY]” used anywhere in this codebook refers to the country which the coded news outlet belongs to):

1. The total number of member states in the EU (only code “yes” if the specific number mentioned is **28 or 27**).
2. The official duration of the electoral cycle in the Netherlands (4 years).
3. That the VVD was largest party in the last national elections (15 March 2017).
4. The president of the European Commission (Jean-Claude Juncker)
5. The Dutch minister of finance (Jeroen Dijsselbloem or Wopke Hoekstra (from 26 Oct 2017)
6. Bulgaria’s current (Jan – Jun 2018) presidency of the Council of the European Union

99 = no

1 = yes

V32 Does the story **mention immigration (to the EU / the country) from outside Europe?** If so, how is it evaluated?

99 = not applicable / immigration not mentioned

0 = immigration mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (against immigration and immigrants)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (in favor of immigration or positive towards immigrants)

CAMPAIGN VARIABLES

C1 FILTER: IS THE STORY ABOUT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND/OR THE CAMPAIGN?

This means, either the European parliamentary elections in May 2019 and/or the campaign for the elections are mentioned at least **once**.

99 = no

1 = yes

SCREENING SELECTION: THE ABOVE ARE CODED FOR ALL EU SPECIFIC AND ELECTION AND CAMPAIGN RELATED STORIES IN A NEWS PROGRAM OR IN A NEWSPAPER **ONLY CODE STORIES BEYOND THIS POINT IF THEY ARE ABOUT* THE EU PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND/OR THE CAMPAIGN**

C2 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention that the European Parliamentary election campaign in 2019 is **boring**, the **turnout is expected to be low**, and/or people are **not interested** in the elections/ campaign **or** that the election campaign is **exciting**, **turnout is expected to be high** and/or people are **interested** in the campaign? Please note that it is NOT sufficient if the item only reports on past EP elections (e.g., “In 2014, turnout was particularly low”). If there is equal reference to both code “3”; if both are mentioned but one is given more prominence code the respective code (either “1” or “2”).

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

1 = boring, low turnout, or people are not interested

2 = both, boring and exiting

3 = exciting, high turnout, people are interested

C3 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention that the European Parliamentary election campaign is **relevant or important**? For example, are the consequences described as meaningful, or are the elections described as inconsequential (“second order elections”)?

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

1 = important

2 = both important and unimportant

3 = unimportant

- C4** Does the item mention **the TV debate** about the EP elections in which the **Spitzenkandidaten** feature? [DATE WILL BE INCLUDED]
99 = TV debate not mentioned
1 = TV debate mentioned
- C5a Does the item mention political microtargeting?**
Political microtargeting - granular strategies by parties or candidates to address specific groups or individuals, often but not limited to social media
99 = microtargeting not mentioned
1 = microtargeting mentioned
- C5b Does the story mention political misinformation, disinformation, or fake news?**
This item refers to any sort of intentional or unintentional misinformation in the news media. It might often be referred to under the umbrella term of 'fake news'. The terms misinformation, disinformation, or fake news should be explicitly mentioned (terminology will differ in the respective national languages).
99 = misinformation not mentioned
1 = misinformation mentioned
- C5c Does the item mention foreign interference with the EP campaign or the EP elections?**
This refers to any interference with the election campaign or the election itself, e.g. potentially illegitimate campaigning or information dissemination, manipulation of voters, manipulation of voting systems, etc. The interference could be from non-EU countries (like China, Russia, the USA), or from companies (Facebook, Cambridge Analytica, etc.)
99 = not mentioned
1 = mentioned

if mentioned: Who is portrayed as the culprit/source? _____
- C6 Are any of the Spitzenkandidaten mentioned? If yes, how are they evaluated?** Please note that the candidates' names have to be explicitly mentioned; a mentioning of the party is not sufficient.
- a) Manfred Weber
 - b) Frans Timmermans
 - c) Ska Keller
 - d) Bas Eickhout

- e) Jan Zahradil
- f) Margrethe Vestager
- g) Guy Verhofstadt

99 = not applicable / candidate **not** mentioned

0 = candidate mentioned, but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

C7 Are any of these parties mentioned? Please note that parties or their abbreviations need to be explicitly mentioned, and that they only need to be mentioned **once** to be coded here. A mentioning of a candidate without an explicit party reference is not sufficient. (Please refer to country-specific lists)

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

Netherlands

1. Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)
2. Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)
3. Christen-Democratisch Appel (CDA)
4. Democraten '66 (D66)
5. GroenLinks (GL)
6. Socialistische Partij (SP)
7. Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)
8. ChristenUnie/SGP (CU-SGP)
9. Partij voor de Dieren (PvdD)
10. 50PLUS
11. DENK
12. Forum voor Democratie (FvD)

APPENDIX III.I - SUBPROJECT 1 TOPIC LIST

Choose the more *substantive* topic (i.e. inflation above election) when possible
Within topic categories: choose the more specific (e.g. safety umbrellas above government intervention). The more specific categories are placed upfront (having the lower numbers).

Note: All codes refer to the country in which the news outlet is coded if not explicitly stated differently.

TOPIC01 Economy	1	The Euro (e.g. currency rate, inflation, stability)
	2	Effect of Euro on the economy
	3	Eurozone exit
	4	Other currency related topic
	5	Inflation (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	6	Interest rate (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	7	Taxes (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	8	National contributions to EU (from member states)
	9	EU budget / finances / (incl. 3% rule, semester system)
	10	EU debts (incl. 3% rule, semester system)
	11	State budget / state finances / (non EU-countries)
	12	State debts (non EU-countries)
	13	EU economic policy: Stimulus package and safety umbrellas (bilateral credits, buying of state bonds, ESM)
	14	Bank and financial sector regulation
	15	Banking Union
	16	EU Structural Fund (EU funds for underdeveloped regions/areas)
	17	EU competition policy (incl. investigations into state aid, mergers, take-overs, fixed prices, carving up of markets)
	18	Competition policy non-EU (incl. investigations into state aid, mergers, take-overs, fixed prices, carving up of markets)
	19	Government Ownership, nationalisation in general (land, banks, etc.)
	20	Privatisation (of government owned business or industry)
	21	Protectionism (e.g. methods to protect national markets, economic growth)
	22	Government intervention/control over the economy (prices, wages, rents)
	23	Economic Planning (of long-term economic planning, e.g. Greece)
	24	Common market: Free movement of people and/or goods, capital and services within the EU
	25	EU trade policy (e.g. EU tariffs and import quotas towards non-member states)
	26	Trade policy non-EU

	27 Effects of financial crisis on domestic/EU/global economy (e.g. competitiveness, demand and supply, consumption, business climate) 28 State of the EU economy, current situation and outlook, growth, shrinkage 29 Stock market and its developments (shares, bonds, AEX, DAX, Dow Jones etc.) 30 Business (companies, banks, industry, mergers, manufacturing, bankruptcy) 31 EU consumer protection policy 32 Other economic topics
TOPIC02 Social and labor market policy	1 EU employment policy 2 Employment policy (non-EU countries) 3 Labour market regulations (e.g. working hours, wage policy; unemployment insurance, unemployment regulation) 4 Health care (policy) 5 Retirement and pensions (policy) 6 Social housing (including poverty, social assistance) (policy) 7 Youth (policy) 8 Family policy (e.g. child care, parental leave) 9 Other social and labor market topics
TOPIC03 Education and research	1 EU education policy 2 Education policy (non-EU) 3 Science and research policy 4 Other education and research topics
TOPIC04 Law and order	1 EU police collaboration 2 Crime prevention policy 3 Terrorism 4 Intelligence service 5 Data and personal information security 6 Courts, trials, court decisions (both on the national- and EU-level) 7 Crime (robbery, mugging, killing) 8 Other law and order topics
TOPIC05 Immigration	1 EU immigration policy - regulating immigration from outside the EU (e.g., refugees, asylum, EU border protection) 2 National immigration policy (non-EU; country of coding) - regulating immigration that comes from outside the EU 3 Migration / immigration policy – regulating migration within the EU (e.g. labour migration from Eastern European countries or Southern European countries to the Northern member states) 4 Immigrant integration 5 Multiculturalism (cultural diversity, cultural plurality)

	6	Other immigration topics
TOPIC06 International Affairs	1	EU foreign affairs general (e.g. EU-China, EU-Russia, EU-US relations, European neighbourhood policy)
	2	Foreign affairs general (non-EU; e.g. relations Germany-US, UK's role in the UN; relations between states or (international) political organizations)
	3	EU defence / peace-keeping / EU security
	4	Defence / peace-keeping / national security (non-EU; e.g. France sending troops to peace-keeping mission in Africa)
	5	Armed forces (modernization, structure, expenditure, military strength)
	6	Military cooperation / treaties / obligations (e.g. membership, obligations, NATO)
	7	Other international affairs topic
TOPIC07 Culture and Other	1	EU cultural and media / communication (policy) (arts, films/movies, theatre, music, media)
	2	Cultural and media / communication (policy) (non-EU) (e.g. subsidies for theatre's, movies, music etc.; the export of own culture, language etc.)
	3	Human interest (soft news: about prominent persons, celebrities, anniversaries, weddings, animals, strange/funny events, etc.)
	4	Religion
	5	Sports, weather report/ forecast
	6	Accidents
	7	Other culture and soft news topics
TOPIC08 Environment and Energy	1	Climate policy
	2	EU Energy policy – supply safety (e.g. securing energy supply, EU contracts with Gazprom and other suppliers)
	3	Energy policy – supply safety (non-EU)
	4	Energy policy – renewable energies (e.g. wind, solar, water)
	5	Energy policy – fossil energies (e.g. fracking)
	6	Energy policy – nuclear energy
	7	Paris accord / Paris agreement
	8	(Natural) disasters (earthquakes, floods)
	9	Other EU environmental and energy topics
	10	Other non-EU environmental and energy topics
TOPIC09 Infrastructure	1	EU transportation policy
	2	Transportation policy (non-EU)
	3	ICT policy (e.g. communication infrastructure)
	4	Energy grid
	5	Other technology and infrastructure topics

TOPIC10 Agriculture and Food	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 EU agricultural policy (e.g. subsidies for farmers, food safety, genetically modified food) 2 Agricultural policy (non-EU) 3 EU maritime affairs and fishery policy 4 Maritime affairs and fishery policy (non-EU) 5 Food safety 6 Food and public health 7 Other agriculture and food topics
TOPIC11 Citizens' rights	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Female rights and equality 2 Abortion 3 Immigrant rights 4 Minority rights (e.g. handicapped, gay marriage, children, elderly) 5 Private property and copyright rights 6 Other citizens' rights topics (e.g. Human rights in general, civil liberties, equality before law)
TOPIC12 Constitutional questions and functioning of EU	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Division of power <i>between political institutions</i> (e.g. between Parliament and Government, between the Council and the European Parliament, separation of church and state) 2 Division of power <i>between political levels</i> (e.g. delegation and transference of decision-making power between Brussels and the national level; between regional and national levels; federalism, regional autonomy AND devolution; subsidiarity) 3 EU's <i>democratic deficit</i> (e.g. distance or 'gap' between the EU and its citizens or the responsiveness of the EU towards its citizens, citizens feeling not represented or understood by the EU) 4 Division of power <i>between the people and the political system</i> (e.g. democracy, referendums, sovereignty of the people); non-EU 5 Other <i>rules of decision-making</i> (e.g. qualified majority voting, EU treaties, right to veto, other treaty reforms) 6 Competences of the European Parliament (power, legislative procedures) 7 Competences of the European Commission (Powers of the European Commission) 8 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers (Powers of the European Council/Council of Ministers) 9 Competences of the European Court of Justice (references to the powers of the European Court of Justice) 10 European Central Bank functioning and power 11 Power and position of the EU presidency of member state 12 Power and position European Council President/Presidency (Tusk position) 13 Power and position European Commission President/Presidency (Juncker position)

	14 Power and position external affairs (Mogherini position) 15 Power and position Eurogroup leader (Dijsselbloem/Centeno) 16 (State of) democracy in member state(s) 17 Other EU polity / constitutional topic
TOPIC13 Territorial questions	1 EU-Membership (existing) (e.g. Dutch referendum on EU membership) 2 Brexit, negotiations and decisions 3 Enlargement (negotiations, criteria, pros and cons) of EU 4 Potential EU membership Turkey 5 Potential EU membership other (e.g. enlargement of EU with Croatia, Iceland, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo) 6 Catalanian independence 7 Irish independence 8 Other territorial questions topics
TOPIC14 Administration and bureaucracy (corruption)	1 Executive and administrative efficiency 2 EU finance and spending 3 EU political corruption, fraud, scandals EU-level politicians or institutions, including regulations and anti-corruption measures (not abuse of EU funds <u>by member states</u> -> 04) 4 Political corruption non-EU: Fraud, scandals of non-EU (e.g. national, supranational) politicians or institutions, including regulations and anti-corruption measures 5 (Extent of) EU regulations 6 Other administration and bureaucracy topics
TOPIC15 Elections	1 European Elections: Candidates, politicians, parties; their images and strategic positions, personality, candidate MEP's personal character, background, leadership qualities 2 European Elections: Electioneering, campaigning (strategy, style, finance, fundraising, events, media appearances, endorsements, targeting of electoral groups, political marketing, publicity, advertising) 3 Media coverage of the campaign 4 European Elections: Voters, public opinion, polls, (anticipated) electoral success 5 European Election: Voter turnout (e.g. expectations) 6 European Elections: List of party positions on issues (a "manifesto story") 7 European Elections: Voting procedures (e.g. electronic voting machines, foreign votes) 8 European Elections: Election laws, rules, regulations 9 European Elections: (Formal, public) debates (as an event) between parties, politicians 10 Political consequences of EP election outcome (e.g. for national-level politicians, parties, power in the)

	11	EU policy profile of national political parties (e.g. party manifesto on EU integration issues) (only in context of EU elections)
	12	Political party groups/alliances in European Parliament (e.g. political party group profile, internal affairs, conflict, organization, internal elections)
	13	Vote advice for European Elections
	14	Other EP election-related topics
	15	Other National, regional, local elections in EU Countries
	16	Other National elections in non-EU Countries
	17	Other topics

APPENDIX III.II - SUBPROJECT 1 ACTOR LIST

<u>EU-LEVEL/ EU-WIDE</u>	
I.	Political Actors
Members of the EU Commission Juncker (2014-2019)	
101	Jean-Claude Juncker <i>[President]</i>
102	Frans Timmermans <i>[Vice-president, Better Regulation, Interinstitutional Relations, the Rule of Law and the Charter of Fundamental Rights]</i>
103	Federica Mogherini <i>[High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy / Vice-President of the Commission]</i>
104	Andrus Ansip <i>[Vice-president, Digital Single Market]</i>
105	Maroš Šefčovič <i>[Vice-president, Energy Union]</i>
106	Valdis Dombrovskis <i>[Vice-president, Euro and Social Dialogue, also in charge of Financial Stability, Financial Services and Capital Markets Union]</i>
107	Jyrki Katainen <i>[Vice-president, Jobs, Growth, Investment and Competitiveness]</i>
108	Günther H. Oettinger <i>[Budget & Human Resources]</i>
109	Johannes Hahn <i>[European Neighbourhood Policy & Enlargement Negotiations]</i>
110	Cecilia Malmström <i>[Trade]</i>
111	Neven Mimica <i>[International Cooperation & Development]</i>
112	Miguel Arias Cañete <i>[Climate Action & Energy]</i>
113	Karmenu Vella <i>[Environment, Maritime Affairs and Fisheries]</i>
114	Vytenis Andriukaitis <i>[Health & Food Safety]</i>
115	Dimitris Avramopoulos <i>[Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship]</i>
116	Marianne Thyssen <i>[Employment, Social Affairs, Skills and Labour Mobility]</i>
117	Pierre Moscovici <i>[Economic and Financial Affairs, Taxation and Customs]</i>
118	Christos Stylianides <i>[Humanitarian Aid & Crisis Management]</i>
119	Phil Hogan <i>[Agriculture & Rural Development]</i>
120	Violeta Bulc <i>[Transport]</i>
121	Elżbieta Bieńkowska <i>[Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs]</i>
122	Věra Jourová <i>[Justice, Consumers and Gender Equality]</i>
123	Tibor Navracsics <i>[Education, Culture, Youth and Sport]</i>
124	Corina Crețu <i>[Regional Policy]</i>
125	Margrethe Vestager <i>[Competition]</i>
126	Carlos Moedas <i>[Research, Science and Innovation]</i>
127	Julian King <i>[Security Union]</i>
128	Mariya Gabriel <i>[Digital Economy and Society]</i>
Former members	
140	Kristalina Georgieva (2014-2016) <i>[Vice-president, Budget & Human Resources]</i>

141	Jonathan Hill (2014-2016) [<i>Financial Stability, Financial Services and Capital Markets Union</i>]
EU general	
200	The EU as a whole (or synonyms like “EU member states”, “Europe”)
201	EU Commission as a whole
202	EU member states (several (at least 3), including "leaders of other EU countries" or similar; if all EU member states are mentioned code “The EU as a whole”)
203	Euro zone
204	European council/EU-leaders (collectively)/EU summit (not Council of Europe)
205	Donald Tusk (2014 - today) [<i>President of the European Council</i>]
206	Eurogroup
208	Council of Ministers [also includes e.g. "EU ministers of agriculture"]
210	EU politicians specifically involved in Brexit negotiations (e.g. Michel Barnier)
European Parliament	
250	European Parliament as a whole
251	Members of the European parliament (MEPs; several; if all MEPs are mentioned code “European parliament” 250)
252	Antonio Tajani (2017-today) (<i>EP President</i>)
254	Martin Schulz (2012-2017) (<i>EP President</i>) [note: code only if in role as EP president]
255	EPP: Group of the European People's Party– christian-dem./conserve.
256	PES (or PSE: Party of European Socialists – social-dem.)
257	S&D : Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats
258	ALDE : Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
259	UEN: Union for Europe of the Nations – nationalist/conservative
260	GREENS/EFA : Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance
261	ECR : European Conservatives and Reformists Group
262	GUE/NGL: Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left -socialist/communist)
263	IND/DEM: Independence /Democracy group – anti-european
264	EFD : Europe of Freedom and Democracy Group
265	ENF: Europe of Nations and Freedom
266	NI : Non-Inscrits
296	Other EU-level/ EU-wide political actor (= single person)
297	Other EU-level/ EU-wide political actors (= several persons)
298	(all) EU politicians in general
299	EU parties in general (as a whole)
II. Non-political EU actors	
300	European Central Bank (ECB) and its representatives
302	Mario Draghi (2011-today <i>President of the European Central Bank (ECB)</i>)

303	Troika
304	Economic (e.g. company, business, banks, "European businesses")
305	EUROPOL
306	Committee of regions
307	Social and Economic Committee
308	Council of Europe (NOTE: not to be confused with European Council!)
309	OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) (Dutch: OVSE)
310	Other administrative actors (authorities, civil servant, parliamentary assistants, diplomat, ambassador)
311	Judiciary (e.g. European Court of Justice, other EU courts, judges, lawyers)
312	Activists
313	Police and military units (troops, army)
314	Interest groups, organizations (e.g. trade unions, employer organizations)
315	Thinktanks (e.g. Centre for European Reform)
316	(Member of) Professional group (artists, teachers, nurses, doctors, farmers etc.)
317	Experts (also research institutions)
318	Criminals, terrorists, rebels
319	Journalists, the media (incl. columnists, pundits, opinion makers, publicists, etc)
320	Unidentified "inside" sources (e.g. insiders)
321	Non-organized ordinary citizen(s), non-organized population groups, populations as a whole (also: Europeans, European voters, European citizens, European population, European voters, European public etc.).
322	Other EU-level/ EU-wide non-political actors
<u>INDIVIDUAL EU MEMBER STATES</u>	
Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom	
350	Head of state (e.g. king, president)
351	Head of government (e.g. prime minister)
352	(Member(s) of) Parliament
353	Government / country as a whole (also synonyms such as "Berlin" or "Paris"), Cabinet as a whole
354	Minister(s)
355	(Politicians of) Government party(ies) (Not: Ministers), Government party(ies) as a whole
356	National opposition politician(s), opposition party(ies), opposition as a whole
357	Other politician(s) from EU member state (e.g. local, regional, and ex-politicians)
II.	
Non-political actors	
400	National Central Bank
	Economic (e.g. company, business, banks)

	Administrative (e.g. authorities, civil servant, diplomat, ambassador)
	Judiciary (e.g. courts, judges, lawyers)
	Activists
	Police and military units (troops, army)
	Interest groups, organizations (e.g. trade unions, employer organizations)
	Thinktanks
	(Member of) Professional group (artists, teachers, nurses, doctors, farmers etc.)
	Experts
	Criminals, terrorists, rebels
	Journalists, the media (incl. columnists, pundits, opinion makers, publicists)
	Unidentified "inside" sources (e.g. insiders)
	Non-organized ordinary citizen(s), non-organized population groups, populations as a whole (also: voters, people, public, etc.); for TV: e.g. ordinary citizens being interviewed
	Religious officials/ clerics/ church/ religious interest groups
	Other non-politicians
	SUPRANATIONAL LEVEL/ WORLDWIDE
	NATO
	UN / UN General Secretary (incl. Security Council, UNCHR, UNDP, etc.)
	Ban Ki-moon (UN Secretary)
	G7/G8/G10/G15/G20
	International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO)
450	Supranational organizations (e.g. Greenpeace, Red Cross, Amnesty, social movements with a supranational character)
	Pope
	Dalai Lama
	Other supranational religious leaders
	Other supranational institutions/organization/actor(s)
	EU APPLICANT COUNTRIES
Turkey, Croatia, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia	
I.	Political Actors
400001	Head of state
400002	Head of government
400003	(Member(s) of) Parliament

400004	Government / country as a whole (also synonyms such as “Istanbul”, “Turkey”), Cabinet as a whole
400006	Minister(s)
400007	(Politicians of) Government party(ies) (Not: Ministers), Government party(ies) as a whole
400008	National opposition politician(s), opposition party(ies), opposition as a whole
400009	Other politician(s) from other first-step enter EU applicant countries (e.g. local, regional, and ex-politicians)
II.	Non-political actors
400150	National Central Bank
	Economic (e.g. company, business, banks)
	Administrative (e.g. authorities, civil servant, diplomat, ambassador)
	Judiciary (e.g. courts, judges, lawyers)
	Activists
	Police and military units (troops, army)
	Interest groups, organizations (e.g. trade unions, employer organizations)
	Thinktanks
	(Member of) Professional group (artists, teachers, nurses, doctors, farmers etc.)
	Experts
	Criminals, terrorists, rebels
	Journalists, the media (incl. columnists, pundits, opinion makers, publicists)
	Unidentified “inside” sources (e.g. insiders)
	Non-organized ordinary citizen(s), non-organized population groups, populations as a whole (also: voters, people, public, etc.); for TV: e.g. ordinary citizens being interviewed
	Religious officials/ clerics/ church/ religious interest groups
	Other non-politicians
	<u>NON-EU COUNTRIES</u>
	These include Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Ukraine, Georgia
I.	Political actors
999050	Head of state
	Head of government
	(Member(s) of) Parliament (or one of its chambers; e.g., US: Senate/ Congress)
	Government / country as a whole (also synonyms such as “Washington”, “The US”, “Ukraine”, “Russia”), Cabinet as a whole
	Minister(s)
	(Politicians of) Government party(ies) (Not: Ministers), Government party(ies) as a whole
	National opposition politician(s), opposition party(ies), opposition as a whole
	Other politician(s) from the rest of the world (e.g. local, regional, and ex-politicians, e.g. mayor of New York, Barack Obama or Bill Clinton)
	US president Donald Trump

	Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe
	Russian president Vladimir Putin
	Russian premier Dmitri Medvedev
	Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau
	Chinese president Xi Jinping
II.	Non political actors
999150	Economic (e.g. company, business, banks)
	Administrative (e.g. authorities, civil servant, diplomat, ambassador)
	Judiciary (e.g. courts, judges, lawyers)
	Activists
	Police and military units (troops, army)
	Interest groups, organizations (e.g. trade unions, employer organizations)
	Thinktanks
	(Member of) Professional group (artists, teachers, nurses, doctors, farmers etc.)
	Experts
	Criminals, terrorists, rebels
	Journalists, the media (incl. columnists, pundits, opinion makers, publicists)
	Unidentified “inside” sources (e.g. insiders)
	Non-organized ordinary citizen(s), non-organized population groups, populations as a whole (e.g. Americans, Russians etc.) (also: voters, people, public, etc.); for TV: e.g. normal citizens from other non-EU country being interviewed
	Other non political actors from the rest of the world

<u>NETHERLANDS</u>	-
Country code = 28	
<i>(note: for all political actors goes: code function, not person - so in case of staff change, still code that function).</i>	
I.	Government Members
280000	Government / country as a whole, Cabinet as a whole
280001	Prime-Minister (Mark Rutte)
280002	Minister van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport (Hugo de Jonge)
280003	Minister van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties (Kajsa Ollongren)
280004	Minister van Landbouw, Natuur en Voedselkwaliteit (Carola Schouten)

280005	Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken (Halbe Zijlstra, until 18-2-2018)
280006	Minister van Defensie (Ank Bijleveld)
280007	Minister van Economische Zaken en Klimaat (Eric Wiebes)
280008	Minister van Financiën (Wopke Hoekstra)
280009	Minister van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat (Cora van Nieuwenhuizen)
280010	Minister van Justitie en Veiligheid (Ferdinand Grapperhaus)
280011	Minister van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (Ingrid van Engelshoven)
280012	Minister van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid (Wouter Koolmees)
280013	Minister voor Basis- en Voortgezet Onderwijs en Media (Arie Slob)
280014	Minister voor Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking (Sigrid Kaag)
280015	Minister voor Medische Zorg (Bruno Bruins)
280016	Minister voor Rechtsbescherming (Sander Dekker)
280030	Other government members (e.g. junior ministers, deputy ministers)
II.	Head of State
280050	Willem Alexander (King)
280080	Parliament
280081	Members of Parliament (several; if all members of the parliament are mentioned code "Parliament" (280080))
280082	Parliament committee(s) / boards
III.	Political Parties/ Party Leaders
280100	CDA (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
280101	Sybrand van Haersma Buma (party leader)
280110	Other CDA national politician
280115	Group of CDA party members/ all CDA party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
280125	Esther de Lange [CDA EP delegation leader]
280126	Other CDA (candidate) MEP (= single person)
280127	Other CDA (candidates) MEP (= several persons)
280200	PvdA (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
280201	Lodewijk Asscher (party leader)
280210	Other PvdA national politician
280215	Group of PvdA party members/ all PvdA party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
280225	Paul Tang [PvdA EP delegation leader]
280226	Other PvdA (candidate) MEP (= single person)
280227	Other PcdA (candidates) MEP (= several persons)

280300	VVD (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
280301	Mark Rutte (party leader)
280310	Other VVD national politician
280315	Group of VVD party members/ all VVD party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
280325	Hans van Baalen [VVD EP delegation leader]
280326	Other VVD (candidate) MEP (= single person)
280327	Other VVD (candidates) MEP (= several persons)
280400	GroenLinks (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
280401	Jesse Klaver
280410	Other GroenLinks national politician
280415	Group of GroenLinks party members/ all GroenLinks party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
280425	Bas Eickhout [GroenLinks EP delegation leader]
280426	Other GroenLinks (candidate) MEP (= single person)
280427	Other GroenLinks (candidates) MEP (= several persons)
280500	SP (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
280501	Emile Roemer (party leader)
280510	Other SP national politician
280515	Group of SP party members/ all SP party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
280525	Dennis De Jong [SP EP delegation leader]
280526	Other SP (candidate) MEP (= single person)
280527	Other SP (candidates) MEP (= several persons)
280600	ChristenUnie (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
280601	Gert-Jan Segers (party leader CU)
280610	Other ChristenUnie national politician
280615	Group of ChristenUnie party members/all ChristenUnie party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	[note: at EU-level CU/SGP are merged]
280625	Peter van Dalen [CU EP delegation leader]
280626	Other CU/SGP (candidate) MEP (= single person)
280627	Other CU/SGP (candidates) MEP (= several persons)
280700	D66 (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
280701	Alexander Pechtold (party leader)
280710	Other D66 national politician
280715	Group of D66 party members/ all D66 party members (also

	supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
280725	Sophie in 't Veld [D66 EP delegation leader]
280726	Other D66 (candidate) MEP (= single person)
280727	Other D66 (candidates) MEP (= several persons)
280800	PVV (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
280801	Geert Wilders (party leader)
280810	Other PVV national politician
280815	Group of PVV party members/ all PVV party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
280825	Marcel de Graaff [PVV EP delegation leader]
280826	Other PVV (candidate) MEP (= single person)
280827	Other PVV (candidates) MEP (= several persons)
280900	SGP (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
280901	Kees van der Staaij (party leader SGP)
280910	Other SGP national politician
280915	Group of SGP party members/all SGP party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	[note: see 280625-7]
280925	Bas Belder [SGP EP delegation leader]
281200	Partij voor de Dieren (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
281201	Marianne Thieme (party leader)
281210	Other Partij voor de Dieren national politician
281215	Group of Partij voor de Dieren party members/ all Partij voor de Dieren party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
281225	Anja Hazekamp [PvdD EP delegation leader]
281226	Other Partij voor de Dieren (candidate) MEP (= single person)
281227	Other Partij voor de Dieren (candidates) MEP (= several persons)
281900	50PLUS (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
281901	Henk Krol (party leader)
281910	Other 50PLUS national politician
281915	Group of 50PLUS party members/ all 50PLUS party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
281925	50PLUS leading EP candidate
281926	Other 50PLUS (candidate) MEP (= single person)
281927	Other 50Plus(candidates) MEP (= several persons)
281100	Piratenpartij (party as a whole)

<i>National:</i>	
281101	Ancilla van de Leest (party leader)
281110	Other Piratenpartij national politician
281115	Group of Piratenpartij party members/ all Piratenpartij party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
281125	Piratenpartij leading EP candidate
281126	Other Piratenpartij (candidate) MEP (= single person)
281127	Other Piratenpartij (candidates) MEP (= several persons)
281200	Forum voor Democratie (party as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
281201	Thierry Baudet (party leader)
281210	Other FvD national politician
281215	Group of FvD party members/ all FvD party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
281225	FvD leading EP candidate
281226	Other FvD (candidate) MEP (= single person)
281227	Other FvD (candidates) MEP (= several persons)
<i>Other EU-level parties (Artikel 50, IQ, Anti EU(ro) Partij, De Groenen, Liberaal Democratische Partij, Jezus Leeft, ikkiesvooreerlijk.eu, etc.)</i>	
282000	Other party (as a whole)
<i>National:</i>	
282001	Other party leader
282010	Other party national politician
282015	Group of other party members/all other party members (also supporters)
<i>EU-Level:</i>	
282025	Other party leading EP candidate
282026	Other party (candidate) MEP (= single person)
282027	Other party (candidate) MEP (= several persons)
<i>Other political actors</i>	
283001	Other Dutch politician (e.g. mayors, local/ regional politicians)
283002	National opposition politician(s), opposition party(ies), opposition as a whole
283003	Dutch (candidate) MEPs in general
283004	Dutch politicians in general
283005	Press speaker for a politician
IV.	Non-political Actors
285000	National Central Bank
285001	Economic (e.g. company, business, banks)
285002	Administrative (e.g. authorities, civil servant, diplomat, ambassador)
285003	Judiciary (e.g. courts, judges, lawyers)

285004	Activists, protesters
285005	Police and military units (troops, army)
285006	Interest groups, organizations (e.g. trade unions, employer organizations)
285007	Thinktanks
285008	(Member of) Professional group (artists, teachers, nurses, doctors, farmers etc.)
285009	Experts
285010	Criminals, terrorists, rebels
285011	Journalists, the media (incl. columnists, pundits, opinion makers, publicists)
285012	Unidentified “inside” sources
285013	Non-organized ordinary citizen(s), non-organized population groups, populations as a whole (also: voters, people, public, etc.); for TV: e.g. country's ordinary citizens being interviewed
285014	Immigrants (individually or as a group)
285015	Religious officials/ clerics/ church/ religious interest groups

APPENDIX IV - SUBPROJECT 1 CAMPAIGN PERIOD CODEBOOK

April 1, 2019 – June 2, 2019

Additional documents:

Appendix IV.I - Topic List Subproject 1 (campaign period)

Appendix IV.II - Actor List Subproject 1 (campaign period)

V1 Coder ID

01	Wessel van der Woude
02	Fleur van Lit
03	Kajsa Rosenblad
04	Rosa Steffens
05	Sacha Roché
06	Guus van Duijn
07	Loeloe van Dam
08	Saba Yapar
09	Sydney de Groot
10	Michelle de Groot
11	Ida Munch
12	Anna Heuer Hansen
13	Maggie Müller
14	Nicolas Mattis
15	Alicia Gilbert
16	Céline Müller
17	Linda Henke
18	Monika Simon
19	Bernadett Bártfai
20	Miklós Farkas
21	Nikoletta Papai
22	Naiara Rodríguez Peña
23	Dalis Nicole Robinson Perez
24	Josefina Ramirez Gonzales
25	Álvaro Gonzáles de Arrieta Martínez
26	Martina Havlenová
27	Nathalie Koubayová
28	Angèle Dubois
29	Sara Anne O'Neill
30	Nicolas Stergios Papaconstantinou
31	Eirine Ntaligkari
32	Marcin Bagiński
33	Karolina Banasik
34	Linh Dinh Khoa
35	Kristine Naess
36	Dionne Jessen
37	Bieke Helwegen

V2 Story identification number

Insert the full number code/ID of the news item, e.g. "NL1_01_0006".

HU, ES, DE, DK, NL (copy/paste without any blank spaces)

Note. For TV items, the ID number is provided (part of the file name). If there is more than one items within a newscast, add "_1", "_2" etc. to the original ID, for example: NL1_01_0006 *and* NL1_01_0006_1

V3a Date (day)

Date is coded in three variables, this first one represents the day (ranging from 1-31); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th only code “17” for this first variable.

V3b Date (month)

This second variable represents the month (ranging from 1-12); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th only code “05” for this second variable.

V3c Date (year)

This third variable represents the year (ranging from 8-14); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th 2008 only code “08” for this third variable.

V4 News outlet

Note: Qualtrics asks for V5 (country of publication) first, but the variable name is still the same

The Netherlands

- 1 = Volkskrant
- 2 = Algemeen Dagblad
- 3 = Metro
- 4 = Telegraaf
- 5 = NRC Handelsblad
- 6 = Trouw
- 7 = geenstijl.nl
- 8 = trouw.nl
- 9 = ad.nl
- 10 = metro.nl
- 11 = nos.nl
- 12 = nrc.nl
- 13 = nu.nl
- 14 = parool.nl
- 15 = telegraaf.nl
- 16 = volkskrant.nl
- 17 = NOS Achtuurjournaal
- 18 = NOS Nieuwsuur
- 19 = EenVandaag
- 20 = Hart van Nederland
- 21 = De wereld draait door
- 22 = Pauw
- 23 = RTL Nieuws
- 24 = RTL Late Night

V5 Country

- NL = Netherlands
- DE = Germany
- ES = Spain

HU = Hungary
 DK = Denmark
 CZ = Czech Republic
 FR = France
 GR = Greece
 PL = Poland
 SE = Sweden

----- READ WHOLE ARTICLE BEFORE PROCEEDING -----

Newspapers & online news only
--

NP1 Page number

The number of the page on which the story appeared. In case the story runs over two or more pages write down the page number on which the story begins.

Note: Print newspapers usually include this information. Online newspapers will always be coded as not identifiable here.

9999 = not identifiable / TV

NP2 Length of news story

Number of words in the online or offline news article, not including the headline, subtitle, author name etc. The word count starts at the first word of the first paragraph of the actual text.

Note: For this, you will have to use the word count, e.g. in Word, unless the document states a number of words. In the latter case, you do not have to count yourself

9999 = code as “not applicable” for TV or if not possible to count words

Television only

Selection criterion: Does the story mention either the European Union (EU)¹, its institutions or policies or the European Parliamentary elections or the campaign?

Note: Coders can skip through stories that are clearly not about the EU.

¹ or synonyms such as ‘Brussels’ (when EU is meant), Europe (when EU is meant), EU countries (if explicitly referred to as such), EU member states (if explicitly referred to as such). EU institutions include the European Central Bank (ECB), for instance. EU politicians also count! **In order to identify whether an item is about the EU, you need to watch the first 10 seconds of every individual item to determine whether it has a relation to the EU. If not, skip to the next item; if so, code it. Please remember: The news show’s intro alone does not contain information about ALL items; this is why it is necessary to watch the first 10 seconds of every individual item.**

Note: The relevant terms have to be mentioned at least twice (e.g. EU + EU) or two different relevant terms (e.g. EU + European Parliament) have to be mentioned once each. He/she/it, him/her/his, who(m)/which do NOT count!

Example: The **EU** has decided to stop funding social scientists. **It** said this was going to save money. → Not about the EU

Note: In general, a TV item includes an intro, and also general openers of the news cast. If those are interrupted by other news items, they are still treated as one item.

TV1 Length of TV news item (in seconds), incl. its introduction by the anchorperson (and any other introduction in the beginning of the newscast).

Example: 1 minute and 58 seconds are coded as 118 seconds!

9999 = code as “not applicable” for newspaper

TV2 Story number of TV news item Is it story number 1, 2 or 3?

1 = 1

2 = 2

3 = 3

4 = later

9999 = code as “not applicable” for newspaper

Core variables, no filter

For all variables with evaluation codes:

How to code positivity/negativity in evaluations:

In case no tendency can be assumed (i.e., there is no evaluation), then choose **no evaluation** (0). Don't interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective. Look for **explicit keywords** with a positive or negative valence.

If your impression is that the evaluation is mixed, positive and negative tendencies are *exactly in balance*, then code **balanced/mixed** (2).

Important: If there are *both* positive and negative evaluations but the overall evaluation (or sum of specific evaluations) is more positive than negative, then code **(rather) positive** (3). If it is more negative than positive, then code **(rather) negative** (1).

If there are *either only* positive *OR* negative evaluations, even if it is just one evaluation, then code (rather) **positive** (3) or (rather) **negative** (1) respectively.

V7 Primary topic of the story (i.e. major subject of the story = taking the most space or time – often mentioned in the headline).
[→ see Appendix F]

Note I: If there is more than one appropriate category, **always choose the most specific one**.

Note II: When no topic is the **obvious** main topic of the story, choose the first topic mentioned.

Note III: The code used in Qualtrics is a combination of the overarching topic (e.g. 05 for immigration, included in Qualtrics drop-down menu (V7a)) and the more specific code (e.g. 05 multiculturalism, to be entered by hand (V7b)) → resulting code is 0505.

Remember to enter only last two digits by hand for V7b.

V9 Explicitly: What is the overall evaluation of the EU, its institutions, and its politicians?

Important: This is an overarching evaluation of *all* EU-related institutions and individuals in the entire news item.

‘The EU’ here refers to *any EU institution* (the parliament, the European Central Bank, the commission, etc.). Also code if synonyms are used which clearly refer to the EU as such, e.g., “Europe” (when in fact the EU is meant / but not if Europe is only referred to as a geographical entity) or “Brussels” (when in fact the EU is meant). Expressions such as “EU-money” or “EU-budget” should be also coded here (and policies potentially also in V18).

0 = EU and/or EU institutions mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

Note I: Evaluations should be positive/negative from the perspective of the EU. So: is the EU performing well/poorly, does the EU find itself in good/bad circumstances.

Note II: If the article is not about the EU or any of its institutions, stop coding it and let us know.

Note III: This evaluation can be the same as the actor evaluation of the EU, but it can also be different. It is the same if the article only mentions the EU. However, if there are multiple EU institutions / individuals mentioned, V9 concern the evaluation of them *all* in the entire article.

Examples of when the EU is mentioned but NOT evaluated (→ Code: 0):

“The EU signed an agreement with the US”

“The Lisbon Treaty tries to make the EU become more democratic.”

“The EU is negotiating about emission rights.”

“ECB’s guidelines on bank debt apply from April 1st”

“The European Commission is proposing to reform the EU’s common visa policy”

Examples of positive/negative/mixed tone:

“The EU is *failing* to push industries towards a cleaner production.” (→ Code: 1 negative)

- “The EU took a step towards *improving* the democratic structure” (→ Code: 3 positive)
- “The EU functions *well*” (→ Code: 3 positive)
- “*Breakthrough* in EU defense policy, but concrete plans still *missing*.” (→ Code: 2 mixed)
- “The EU leaders were *satisfied* with their decisiveness during the Summit.” (→ Code 3: positive)
- “The European Parliament had a *breakthrough*” (→ Code 3: positive)

ACTORS

V12 How many (max 3) actors are mentioned in the story? Please indicate how many actors you have identified in line with the rules below.

- 9999 = not applicable / no actors mentioned
- 1 – 3 = number of different actors mentioned

Variables V13a-V13c Actors

Which actors are mentioned (up to 3)?

→ **Please code according to the list of actors** [see Appendix]

Criteria for selecting actors

*If there is more than **one** actor:*

Actor 1 = the main actor, the most important actor **of the story**.

Indicators of importance are:

- duration, space of information about the actor
- frequency of being mentioned
- visibility (film, photographs etc.)
- quotes, statements of the actor.

Note I: If two actors are equally prominent in the article with regard to the above criteria, then count the number of references to each actor and choose the one who is most often referred to. However, this rule only applies if two actors are really exactly evenly prominent with regard to the above criteria.

Note II: Actors do **not** become important in a story because of their professional position, their rank or prestige!

*If there are **two** or more actors that are sufficiently present (see above) in the story:*

Code the other actors (except the main actor) **in the order of their appearance in the story**.

Note III: In order to determine the order of appearance in newspaper articles and in order to determine which actor is mentioned *first* it is important to determine what part of the story is the '**coding starting point**'.

Newspaper articles: Starting point is always (1) the headline, followed by (2) the first (intro) paragraph of the article, then (3) the second etc.

TV shows: Starting point is the first sequence of the spot (second 1).

Actors are

Up to THREE different **persons, groups, institutions or organizations** that are

- mentioned verbally at least twice in two separate sentences. He/she, him/her, who(m)/which also count. Synonyms, abbreviations, or personal pronouns also count (e.g. if Theresa May is referred to as “the PM” or “Mother Theresa”; “technology companies” become “tech companies”) if that is indeed clearly discernible from the text. A reference to “Jean-Claude Juncker, the commission’s president” only counts as *one* mentioning of Juncker, as both his name and his function are mentioned within a single sentence.

or

- verbally mentioned once **and** quoted (May said: "Britain...") / or quoted without quotation marks (i.e. reported speech: May said that...) (**For TV:** Depicted and quoted, if clearly identifiable by role)

or (for TV)

- mentioned verbally at least once **and** depicted at least once.

Exception: If an article in a newspaper only consists of a headline, **one** mentioning or depiction of politicians, political groups, institutions or organizations is sufficient! However, cartoon/drawing does not count as a reference to an actor! Also, coding of actors shown on photography or film is limited to *persons* (depictions of logos, buildings of institutions do not count as reference to non-personal actors).

NOTE: If an article in a newspaper is a commentary or letter to the editor (opinion piece), the journalist/reader who wrote the commentary/letter is coded as an (active) actor!

1. Actors are **not necessarily persons**. A government, an institution, an organization can be also actors.
2. Actors can be **subjects** (active actors) as well as **objects** (passive actors). So an actor does **not necessarily have to act**. Actors can also be **objects** or **targets** of actions - they can be attacked or criticized, for instance.

But keep in mind that actors can only be persons, groups, institutions or organizations.

Also a reference to “Theresa May’s policy proposals” or “the government’s goals” or “Tony Blair’s Notting Hill residence” counts as a mentioning of May, the government, or Tony Blair as actors. Similarly, a reference to “European Commission proposal” or “EU allies” counts as a mentioning of European Commission or EU, respectively.

Countries or cities as such are not coded as actors (e.g. “Macron is travelling to Germany” does NOT count as actor reference). ONLY code a country as an actor when the country name (or mentioning of the capital of a country) is used as a synonym for the national government (e.g., “the UK yesterday announced to exit the EU” or “Germany has opposed the US proposal to increase the number of troops in Afghanistan”). In these latter cases the country name clearly indicates the national government which is listed with a respective code in the actor appendix.

3. **Journalists** are actors *only* if they are **interviewed, reported about, used as sources, or are the authors of opinion pieces (NOT regular articles)**.
4. The **presenter/anchorperson in TV shows** is not an actor.
5. An actor can only be coded once – although she/he/it/they may appear at several places and with different functions in the story. Then, choose the category depicting the most important role of that actor in the story. If more than one code applies to one actor, choose the most specific one. There may be cases in which the same code has to be assigned to different actors, e.g. when two members of the same party are quarreling with each other. The reference point for deciding how to code an actor is always the story. If, for example, a national minister is a *candidate* running for the EP and that is the focus of the news story, use the European code. If the story is simply about a national minister, use the national code.
6. **Generic groups of actors such as Europeans, voters, citizens, public, MPs, MEPs, politicians, etc.** have to be mentioned twice with the same descriptive term (e.g., 2x “voters” or 2x “Dutch MEPs”) and are coded according to the codes in the actor appendix.
7. Actors are only coded if they act or are acted upon, but **not** if they are mentioned as a **location**. For instance, the European Parliament can be an actor (e.g., the EP demands certain policies), but can also be a

location (e.g., MEPs were debating an issue in the EP). Do **not** count a reference of such an actor when actually the location is meant.

8. It is possible that multiple actors have the same code. E.g., “Merkel and Macron” are two actors, but get the same code as head of government.

V14a-c For European actors: Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says/depicts so): **Is actor 1-3 evaluated favorably or unfavorably (regardless of the source) from his/her own perspective?**

Note: “European actors” refers to all actors on the European Actor list. Refers to tendency/bias contained in the presentation by a journalist, protagonist or his partners, competitors, independent sources (e.g. politicians, businessmen, scientists). The tendency must be expressed: **explicitly**, by using terms of clearly positive or negative **judgment** (e.g., “good”, “promising”, “ominous”, “disappointing”).

Per news item you only assign one (overall) code for the explicit evaluation of an actor in a story. Please note, however, that particular care should be exercised while recording the tendencies and only undoubtedly positive or negative ones should be coded as such.

NOTE: Any attribute that is associated with a particular actor (e.g., policy plans, Notting Hill residence, environmental directive) also forms a part of the evaluation of the actor. For example, a “terrible EU health care directive” carries a negative evaluation of the directive, but since the directive is associated with the EU, it counts as an actor reference to the EU and as a negative evaluation of the EU (for the next variable/actor evaluation).

All evaluations are judged from the perspective of the actor!

In case no tendency can be assumed (i.e., there is no evaluation), then choose **no evaluation** (0). Don’t interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective.

If your impression is that the evaluation is mixed, positive and negative tendencies are exactly in balance, then code **balanced/mixed** (2).

If there are *both* positive and negative evaluations but the overall evaluation is more positive than negative, then code **(rather) positive** (3). If it is more negative than positive, then code **(rather) negative** (1). If there are *either only* positive *OR* negative evaluations, even if it is just one evaluation, then code **(rather) positive** (3) or **(rather) negative** (1) respectively.

99 = not applicable / actor with this number **not** mentioned / Actor not European

0 = actor with this number mentioned but not evaluated

- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

V15 Explicitly: Does the story **mention the potential membership of TURKEY in the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

- 99 = not applicable / potential Turkish membership **not** mentioned
- 0 = potential Turkish membership mentioned but not evaluated

- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

V16 Explicitly: Does the story **mention a potential end of the EU membership of [country]**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note: evaluations should be positive/negative **from the perspective of leaving the EU** (e.g., Nexit for the Netherlands). So positive means pro-leaving, negative means against leaving.

- 99 = not applicable / potential leave of [country] **not** mentioned
- 0 = potential leave of [country] mentioned but not evaluated

- 1 = (rather) negative (against leaving)
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive (pro leaving)

Examples:

“Rutte will fight against hurting the NL in a Nexit ‘until bitter end’” (→code 1)

“A referendum on leaving the EU will not be easy to organize, given the Dutch referendum rules” (→code 0).

EU ATTITUDES

V17 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **future strengthening of the EU or its institutions**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union **should integrate much further** or **integrate much less**?

For example: Does the story refer to a shift in power between the national and the European level? (e.g., transferring policy-making to EU level; maintaining/decreasing/increasing the national sovereignty of member states)

Note I: Strengthening only refers to vertical integration (division of power between national and EU level), not horizontal integration (i.e., enlargement).

Note II: Evaluations need to be explicit. This could be either by the use of explicit sentences (e.g., “further integration is *negative*”), or by the explicit use of positive/negative keywords (“further integration *fails* the needs of EU citizens”).

Note III: For this variable, strengthening of the Eurozone (Euro) or a specific EU institution (e.g., the European Parliament or the European Commission) should be considered as strengthening of the EU. This includes discussions of whether to drop the Euro, and whether the European Central Bank should have more or less powers to act. When the article refers to “Europe”, code as EU when EU is meant (i.e., is this also about Norway and Switzerland? If yes, it refers to Europe as a continent; if no, code as EU).

Note IV: References to leaving the EU should also be coded under V16.

Note V: If statement refers to specific policy field (i.e. immigration policy, defence policy), this only counts as a mention of EU strengthening if the article explicitly states that the EU should have more/less powers for that particular policy

99 = not applicable / EU strengthening **not** mentioned

0 = EU strengthening mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (less, or no more, integration)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (more integration)

Examples:

“Brussels wants to enforce fair redistribution of refugees” (code: 99)

“Brussels needs to have more decision-making power over refugee policy” (code: 3)

“We should proceed in strengthening the Union” (code: 3)

“Less power should go to Brussels” (code: 1)

V19 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **the decision-making process**

of the EU, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union decision-making is **efficient/adequate** or **inefficient/inadequate** in reaching agreement or coming to common decisions.

Only about **current** decision-making processes, not general statements about good cooperation in last 50 years.

For example: Does the story suggest that EU institutions/EU member states/EU leaders or ministers of different member states work (together) efficiently, that decision-making went smoothly, and compromises are reached. Or, conversely, does it suggest that the EU did not reach a common position, or emphasize disagreements that are difficult to bridge between countries. This also includes mentions of proceedings or outcomes of EU summits or meetings of EU leaders/the European Council where a certain issue was discussed. A sole mentioning of the word “summit” or similar is not sufficient to be coded here. Crucial is that there is a mention of there being deliberation or discussion among different European actors about a specific issue or policy.

Examples of mentioned but not evaluated (code 0):

“The EU leaders have discussed the new policy proposal at a summit in Rome...”,

“The EP voted on the situation in Poland”.

99 = not applicable / decision-making process **not** mentioned

0 = decision-making process mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (inefficient/inadequate)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (efficient/adequate)

V20 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **the state of democracy in the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union is **democratic/transparent** or **undemocratic/non-transparent**.

For example: Does the story refer to the ‘democratic deficit’, or suggest that the EU does not *respect the will of the citizens*, that most things are dealt with *behind closed doors*, or that the issues discussed were *decided in advance*; Or, on the contrary, does the story emphasize the transparency and democratic character of the European Union, the *responsiveness* of the European Parliament, or citizens’ *influence* on EU policy making? The variable is only about EU as a whole and not about democracy in one specific EU member state.

99 = not applicable / state of EU democracy **not** mentioned

0 = state of EU democracy mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (undemocratic/non-transparent)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (democratic/transparent)

V21 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **European identity**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note: This variable should be coded when the article refers to (or denies) a common identity. Are we just a group of countries working together, or is our common identity as European citizens emphasized? Is there an immaterial feeling of shared belonging, origins, culture or togetherness beyond the formal framework of the EU? The term ‘identity’ does not have to be mentioned explicitly. For instance, “our shared civilization” or “our common culture” (if “our” refers to EU citizens/states) should be coded as positive reference of European identity. Negative evaluations can refer to European identity as such, or frame the EU/Europe as a threat to national identity.

99 = not applicable / European identity **not** mentioned

0 = European identity mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (questioning of European identity)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (common European identity)

Examples:

“As Europeans we *share a common culture*” (code 3)

“We should *guard* ourselves *against Europeanization* of our culture”
(code 1)

“European identity is an *illusion*” (code 1)

- V24** Does the story mention whether **the own country has been affected by EU membership or not** (economic, cultural, etc.). If so, how is this evaluated (i.e. positive = benefit, negative = disadvantage).

For example: Did the **country of the news** receive money to improve their infrastructure, educate people; benefit from information exchange (e.g. Erasmus), institutional advice, administrative support. Is the country better protected by being member of a bigger entity, e.g. stable currency by being member of the Eurozone, strong diplomatic ties and economic dependencies prevent war. The focus must be on a benefit for the country in which the story has been published, e.g. the Netherlands in the Dutch media.

Note I: Evaluations need to be explicit. This could be either by the use of explicit sentences (e.g., “we have *profited* from the EU”), or by the explicit use of positive/negative keywords (“through the EU we have *succeeded* in improving living standards”).

Note II: For this variable, effects of the Eurozone should be considered as effects of the EU. As a general rule, when a specific EU institution has an effect, this should be coded as an effect of the EU (e.g., if we benefitted from policies from the European food and safety agency, code as benefitted from the EU). As a result, benefits on very specific policy fields are also coded as benefits from the EU, as long as these benefits result from the EU or one of its institutions.

Note III: Only mentions of effect in the **past** and **present** are coded (e.g. both “EU membership has facilitated the economic activities of [country]” and “currently, [country] profits from its membership in the internal market”).

99 = not applicable / effect for country **not** mentioned

0 = effect for country mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (disadvantage)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (benefits)

V26b Does the story **mention the consequences of Brexit for Britain?** If so, how is it evaluated?

This includes consequences for Britain as a country, but also for British citizens and companies. Evaluations are seen from the perspective of Britain. A consequence can be of economic, cultural, political, social, or institutional nature.

Examples: “Brits feel Brexit hurt in pocketbook” (Code: 1).

“Many Brits regret Brexit vote” (Code: 1);

“London loses EU agencies to Paris and Amsterdam” (Code: 1)

“After Brexit, UK will bargain international trade deals on their own”
(Code: 0)

99 = not applicable / Brexit consequences for Britain **not**
mentioned

0 = Brexit consequences for Britain mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V27 Does the story mention a conflict/tension between the EU (all institutions) and current national rules, customs, laws or regulations?

This refers to national laws, customs, rules, or regulations in the country of the news. However, if an EU regulation is in conflict with *all* countries, then that would also include the country of the news and therefore be coded as mentioned.

For example: Does the story discuss an instance in which EU policies overrule national regulations, e.g. refugee quotas, environmental protection, employment reforms. Are national habits/traditions affected by EU decisions/policies, e.g. traditional ways of fishing prohibited due to environmental protection.

Note: Conflict or tension has to be explicitly mentioned. Only mentioning an EU legislation does not count! (However, tension can be both positively or negatively evaluated.)

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

Examples:

“EU law overriding traditional hunting practices end inhumane conditions”

“EU law overriding traditional hunting practices threaten our culture”

V28 Does the story mention the EU as one actor facing something together in unity?

For example: EU vs. UK, China, Russia, US in terms of one economic power, or the EU working together on climate change, refugee crisis, etc. Crucial is the stress of togetherness, the emphasis on the EU as a unified actor instead of handling it as separate nations. The idea of being “stronger together”.

Note: The problem/opponent can be also internal relating to one specific country only, i.e. all remaining EU countries vs. the leaving UK or the EU acting together against the rule of law violations in Poland.

Note: Most important is the stress on *togetherness*; it is less about the opponent and more about *how* the EU faces it. This variable is not coded as present if there is no unity or togetherness.

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V29a Does the story **mention bureaucracy and unnecessary EU regulations?**

For example: Overregulation such as the regulation of the curves of cucumbers and bananas. Do certain decisions use too much time, manpower, money especially in light of the overall relevance of the regulation or its outcome?

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V29c Does the story **mention corruption of EU politicians?**

For example: Favoritism by EU politicians (or their employees), misappropriation of funds.

Note: This is about politicians who are actively involved in EU politics.

Note: Rule of thumb here is “*Whose fault is it?*”. If the corruption or misappropriation of funds can be attributed to the EU and its politicians, then this variable is coded as present. But corruption or misappropriation of EU funds in a country, which is the fault of the *national* politicians, is not coded here.

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V32 Does the story **mention immigration (to the EU / the country) from outside Europe?** If so, how is it evaluated?

99 = not applicable / immigration not mentioned

0 = immigration mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (against immigration and immigrants)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (in favor of immigration or positive towards immigrants)

V33a Does the story **mention the state of the EU economy?** If so, how is it evaluated?

Note: For the evaluation, both keywords (such as “booming”, “good news”, “shrinking”, “disappointing”), as well as changes in objective indicators of the economy (e.g. GDP, unemployment, inflation) are considered. The only exception are simple descriptives without context, which would be coded as neutral.

Note I: This includes past, present, and future mentioning of the economy

Note II: Only code if EU or Eurozone economy as a whole is referred to. A subgroup of EU countries (“the economies of The Netherlands, Belgium and Germany”) does not count as an evaluation of the EU economy.

Note III: State of the economy includes economic measures, such as GDP, (un)employment, inflation, recession, boom, worth/rate of the Euro. It also includes evaluations of the state of the economy in general (i.e. “the economy is going well”).

Note IV: State of the economy does ***not*** include mere references to the word economy or to the general topic of the economy! It also does ***not*** include questions of budget (i.e. “the ministry of defense plans to spend 1 million Euro on something” or “3% of the UK budget is spent on EU matters”). It has to be about the STATE OF the economy.

Examples:

“unemployment is a *problem* in the EU” → code 1 (negative)

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade, which is very good for the EU economy*” → code 3 (positive)

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade*” → code 3 (positive)

“unemployment is at 4%” (no other context) → code 0 (neutral)

“unemployment drops from 6% to 4%” → code 3 (positive)

“The GDP increased, but unemployment rates also were higher” → code 2 (mixed)

“the inflation has remained stable for the fourth quarter in a row” → code 0 (neutral)

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

0 = mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V33b Does the story **mention the state of the national economy?** If so, how is it evaluated?

Note I: For the evaluation, both keywords (such as “booming”, “good news”, “shrinking”, “disappointing”), as well as changes in objective indicators of the economy (e.g. GDP, unemployment, inflation) are considered. The only exception are simple descriptives without context, which would be coded as neutral.

Note II: This includes past, present, and future mentioning of the economy

Note III: National refers to the country of coding, i.e. Spain in Spanish newspapers, Denmark in Danish newspapers, Hungary in Hungarian newspapers, and Germany in German newspapers. So a reference to the British economy in a German newspaper does not count as a mentioning of the national economy.

Note IV: State of the economy includes economic measures, such as GDP, (un)employment, inflation, recession, boom, worth/rate of the currency. It also includes evaluations of the state of the economy in general (i.e. “the economy is going well”).

Note V: State of the economy does **not** include mere references to the word economy or to the general topic of the economy! It also does **not** include questions of budget (i.e. “the ministry of defense plans to spend 1 million Euro on something” or “3% of the UK budget is spent on EU matters”). It has to be about the STATE OF the economy.

Examples:

“unemployment is a *problem* in [country]” → code 1 (negative)

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade*, which is very good for the [country] economy” → code 3 (positive)

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

0 = mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

CAMPAIGN VARIABLES

C1 FILTER: IS THE STORY ABOUT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND/OR THE CAMPAIGN?

This means, either the European parliamentary elections in May 2019 and/or the campaign for the elections are mentioned at least **once**.

99 = no

1 = yes

SCREENING SELECTION: THE ABOVE ARE CODED FOR ALL EU SPECIFIC AND ELECTION AND CAMPAIGN RELATED STORIES IN A NEWS PROGRAM OR IN A NEWSPAPER

ONLY CODE STORIES BEYOND THIS POINT IF THEY ARE ABOUT* THE EU PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND/OR THE CAMPAIGN

C2 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention that the European Parliamentary election campaign in 2019 is **boring**, the **turnout is expected to be low**, and/or people are **not interested** in the elections/ campaign **or** that the election campaign is **exciting**, **turnout is expected to be high** and/or people are **interested** in the campaign? Please note that it is NOT sufficient if the item only reports on past EP elections (e.g., “In 2014, turnout was particularly low”). If there is equal reference to both code “3”; if both are mentioned but one is given more prominence code the respective code (either “1” or “2”).

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

1 = boring, low turnout, or people are not interested

2 = both, boring and exiting

3 = exciting, high turnout, people are interested

C3 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention that the European Parliamentary election campaign is **relevant or important**? For example, are the consequences described as meaningful, or are the elections described as inconsequential (“second order elections”)?

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

1 = important

2 = both important and unimportant

3 = unimportant

C4 Does the item mention **the TV debate** about the EP elections in which the **Spitzenkandidaten** feature? [DATE WILL BE INCLUDED]

99 = TV debate not mentioned

1 = TV debate mentioned

C5a Does the item mention political microtargeting?

Political microtargeting - granular strategies by parties or candidates to address specific groups or individuals, often but not limited to social media

99 = microtargeting not mentioned

1 = microtargeting mentioned

C5b Does the story mention political misinformation, disinformation, or fake news?

This item refers to any sort of intentional or unintentional misinformation in the news media. It might often be referred to under the umbrella term of 'fake news'. The terms misinformation, disinformation, or fake news should be explicitly mentioned (terminology will differ in the respective national languages).

99 = misinformation not mentioned

1 = misinformation mentioned

C5c Does the item mention foreign interference with the EP campaign or the EP elections?

This refers to any interference with the election campaign or the election itself, e.g. potentially illegitimate campaigning or information dissemination, manipulation of voters, manipulation of voting systems, etc. The interference could be from non-EU countries (like China, Russia, the USA), or from companies (Facebook, Cambridge Analytica, etc.)

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

if mentioned: Who is portrayed as the culprit/source?

C6 Are any of the Spitzenkandidaten mentioned? If yes, how are they evaluated? Please note that the candidates' names have to be explicitly mentioned; a mentioning of the party is not sufficient.

- h) **Manfred Weber**
- i) **Frans Timmermans**
- j) **Ska Keller**
- k) **Bas Eickhout**
- l) **Jan Zahradil**
- m) **Margrethe Vestager**
- n) **Guy Verhofstadt**

99 = not applicable / candidate **not** mentioned

0 = candidate mentioned, but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

C7 Are any of these parties mentioned? Please note that parties or their abbreviations need to be explicitly mentioned, and that they only need to be mentioned **once** to be coded here. A mentioning of a candidate without an explicit party reference is not sufficient. (Please refer to country-specific lists)

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

Netherlands

13. Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)

14. Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)

15. Christen-Democratisch Appel (CDA)

16. Democraten '66 (D66)

17. GroenLinks (GL)

18. Socialistische Partij (SP)

19. Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)

20. ChristenUnie/SGP (CU-SGP)

21. Partij voor de Dieren (PvdD)

22. 50PLUS

23. DENK

24. Forum voor Democratie (FvD)

APPENDIX IV.I - SUBPROJECT 1 CAMPAIGN PERIOD TOPIC LIST

List of Topics

Choose the more *substantive* topic (i.e. inflation above election) when possible
Within topic categories: choose the more specific (e.g. safety umbrellas above
government intervention). The more specific categories are placed upfront (having the
lower numbers).

Note: All codes refer to the country in which the news outlet is coded if not explicitly
 stated differently.

TOPIC01 Economy	1	The Euro (e.g. currency rate, inflation, stability)
	2	Effect of Euro on the economy
	3	Eurozone exit
	4	Other currency related topic
	5	Inflation (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	6	Interest rate (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	7	Taxes (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	8	National contributions to EU (from member states)
	9	EU budget / finances / (incl. 3% rule, semester system)
	10	EU debts (incl. 3% rule, semester system)
	11	State budget / state finances / (non EU-countries)
	12	State debts (non EU-countries)
	13	EU economic policy: Stimulus package and safety umbrellas (bilateral credits, buying of state bonds, ESM)
	14	Bank and financial sector regulation
	15	Banking Union
	16	EU Structural Fund (EU funds for underdeveloped regions/areas)
	17	EU competition policy (incl. investigations into state aid, mergers, take-overs, fixed prices, carving up of markets)
	18	Competition policy non-EU (incl. investigations into state aid, mergers, take-overs, fixed prices, carving up of markets)
	19	Government Ownership, nationalisation in general (land, banks, etc.)
	20	Privatisation (of government owned business or industry)
	21	Protectionism (e.g. methods to protect national markets, economic growth)
	22	Government intervention/control over the economy (prices, wages, rents)
	23	Economic Planning (of long-term economic planning, e.g. Greece)
	24	Common market: Free movement of people and/or goods, capital and services within the EU

	25	EU trade policy (e.g. EU tariffs and import quotas towards non-member states)
	26	Trade policy non-EU
	27	Effects of financial crisis on domestic/EU/global economy (e.g. competitiveness, demand and supply, consumption, business climate)
	28	State of the EU economy, current situation and outlook, growth, shrinkage
	29	Stock market and its developments (shares, bonds, AEX, DAX, Dow Jones etc.)
	30	Business (companies, banks, industry, mergers, manufacturing, bankruptcy)
	31	EU consumer protection policy
	32	Other economic topics
TOPIC02 Social and labor market policy	1	EU employment policy
	2	Employment policy (non-EU countries)
	3	Labour market regulations (e.g. working hours, wage policy; unemployment insurance, unemployment regulation)
	4	Health care (policy)
	5	Retirement and pensions (policy)
	6	Social housing (including poverty, social assistance) (policy)
	7	Youth (policy)
	8	Family policy (e.g. child care, parental leave)
	9	Other social and labor market topics
TOPIC03 Education and research	1	EU education policy
	2	Education policy (non-EU)
	3	Science and research policy
	4	Other education and research topics
TOPIC04 Law and order	1	EU police collaboration
	2	Crime prevention policy
	3	Terrorism
	4	Intelligence service
	5	Data and personal information security
	6	Courts, trials, court decisions (both on the national- and EU-level)
	7	Crime (robbery, mugging, killing)
	8	Other law and order topics
TOPIC05 Immigration	1	EU immigration policy - regulating immigration from outside the EU (e.g. refugees, asylum, EU border protection)
	2	National immigration policy (non-EU; country of coding) - regulating immigration that comes from outside the EU

	3	Migration / immigration policy – regulating migration within the EU (e.g. labour migration from Eastern European countries or Southern European countries to the Northern member states)
	4	Immigrant integration
	5	Multiculturalism (cultural diversity, cultural plurality)
	6	Other immigration topics
TOPIC06 International Affairs	1	EU foreign affairs general (e.g. EU-China, EU-Russia, EU-US relations, European neighbourhood policy)
	2	Foreign affairs general (non-EU; e.g. relations Germany-US, UK's role in the UN; relations between states or (international) political organizations)
	3	EU defence / peace-keeping / EU security
	4	Defence / peace-keeping / national security (non-EU; e.g. France sending troops to peace-keeping mission in Africa)
	5	Armed forces (modernization, structure, expenditure, military strength)
	6	Military cooperation / treaties / obligations (e.g. membership, obligations, NATO)
	7	Other international affairs topic
TOPIC07 Culture and Other	1	EU cultural and media / communication (policy) (arts, films/movies, theatre, music, media)
	2	Cultural and media / communication (policy) (non-EU) (e.g. subsidies for theatre's, movies, music etc.; the export of own culture, language etc.)
	3	Human interest (soft news: about prominent persons, celebrities, anniversaries, weddings, animals, strange/funny events, etc.)
	4	Religion
	5	Sports, weather report/ forecast
	6	Accidents
	7	Other culture and soft news topics
TOPIC08 Environment and Energy	1	Climate policy
	2	EU Energy policy – supply safety (e.g. securing energy supply, EU contracts with Gazprom and other suppliers)
	3	Energy policy – supply safety (non-EU)
	4	Energy policy – renewable energies (e.g. wind, solar, water)
	5	Energy policy – fossil energies (e.g. fracking)
	6	Energy policy – nuclear energy
	7	Paris accord / Paris agreement
	8	(Natural) disasters (earthquakes, floods)
	9	Other EU environmental and energy topics
	10	Other non-EU environmental and energy topics

TOPIC09 Infrastructure	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 EU transportation policy 2 Transportation policy (non-EU) 3 ICT policy (e.g. communication infrastructure) 4 Energy grid 5 Other technology and infrastructure topics
TOPIC10 Agriculture and Food	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 EU agricultural policy (e.g. subsidies for farmers, genetically modified food) 2 Agricultural policy (non-EU) 3 EU maritime affairs and fishery policy 4 Maritime affairs and fishery policy (non-EU) 5 Food safety 6 Food and public health 7 Other agriculture and food topics
TOPIC11 Citizens' rights	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Female rights and equality 2 Abortion 3 Immigrant rights 4 Minority rights (e.g. handicapped, gay marriage, children, elderly) 5 Private property and copyright rights 6 Other citizens' rights topics (e.g. Human rights in general, civil liberties, equality before law)
TOPIC12 Constitutional questions and functioning of EU	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Division of power <i>between political institutions</i> (e.g. between Parliament and Government, between the Council and the European Parliament, separation of church and state) 2 Division of power <i>between political levels</i> (e.g. delegation and transference of decision-making power between Brussels and the national level; between regional and national levels; federalism, regional autonomy AND devolution; subsidiarity) 3 EU's <i>democratic deficit</i> (e.g. distance or 'gap' between the EU and its citizens or the responsiveness of the EU towards its citizens, citizens feeling not represented or understood by the EU) 4 Division of power <i>between the people and the political system</i> (e.g. democracy, referendums, sovereignty of the people); non-EU 5 Other <i>rules of decision-making</i> (e.g. qualified majority voting, EU treaties, right to veto, other treaty reforms) 6 Competences of the European Parliament (power, legislative procedures) 7 Competences of the European Commission (Powers of the European Commission) 8 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers (Powers of the European Council/Council of Ministers)

	<p>9 Competences of the European Court of Justice (references to the powers of the European Court of Justice)</p> <p>10 European Central Bank functioning and power</p> <p>11 Power and position of the EU presidency of member state</p> <p>12 Power and position European Council President/Presidency (Tusk position)</p> <p>13 Power and position European Commission President/Presidency (Juncker position)</p> <p>14 Power and position external affairs (Mogherini position)</p> <p>15 Power and position Eurogroup leader (Dijsselbloem/Centeno)</p> <p>16 (State of) democracy in member state(s)</p> <p>17 Other EU polity / constitutional topic</p>
TOPIC13 Territorial questions	<p>1 EU-Membership (existing) (e.g. Dutch referendum on EU membership)</p> <p>2 Brexit, negotiations and decisions</p> <p>3 Enlargement (negotiations, criteria, pros and cons) of EU</p> <p>4 Potential EU membership Turkey</p> <p>5 Potential EU membership other (e.g. enlargement of EU with Croatia, Iceland, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo)</p> <p>6 Catalanian independence</p> <p>7 Irish independence</p> <p>8 Other territorial questions topics</p>
TOPIC14 Administration and bureaucracy (corruption)	<p>1 Executive and administrative efficiency</p> <p>2 EU finance and spending</p> <p>3 EU political corruption, fraud, scandals EU-level politicians or institutions, including regulations and anti-corruption measures (not abuse of EU funds <i>by member states</i> -> 04)</p> <p>4 Political corruption non-EU: Fraud, scandals of non-EU (e.g. national, supranational) politicians or institutions, including regulations and anti-corruption measures</p> <p>5 (Extent of) EU regulations</p> <p>6 Other administration and bureaucracy topics</p>
TOPIC15 Elections	<p>1 European Elections: Candidates, politicians, parties; their images and strategic positions, personality, candidate MEP's personal character, background, leadership qualities</p> <p>2 European Elections: Electioneering, campaigning (strategy, style, finance, fundraising, events, media appearances, endorsements, targeting of electoral groups, political marketing, publicity, advertising)</p> <p>3 Media coverage of the campaign</p> <p>4 European Elections: Voters, public opinion, polls, (anticipated) electoral success</p> <p>5 European Election: Voter turnout (e.g. expectations)</p>

	6	European Elections: List of party positions on issues (a “manifesto story”)
	7	European Elections: Voting procedures (e.g. electronic voting machines, foreign votes)
	8	European Elections: Election laws, rules, regulations
	9	European Elections: (Formal, public) debates (as an event) between parties, politicians
	10	Political consequences of EP election outcome (e.g. for national-level politicians, parties, power in the)
	11	EU policy profile of national political parties (e.g. party manifesto on EU integration issues) (only in context of EU elections)
	12	Political party groups/alliances in European Parliament (e.g. political party group profile, internal affairs, conflict, organization, internal elections)
	13	Vote advice for European Elections
	14	Other EP election-related topics
	15	Other National, regional, local elections in EU Countries
	16	Other National elections in non-EU Countries
	17	Other topics

APPENDIX IV.II - SUBPROJECT 1 CAMPAIGN PERIOD ACTOR LIST

EU-level actors (evaluated!)

Code	Actor
Members of the EU Commission	
100	current or former members of the EU Commission, when identified as such, excl. Juncker
101	Jean-Claude Juncker [President]
EU general	
200	the EU as a whole (or synonyms like “EU member states”, “Europe”)
201	EU Commission as a whole
211	other EU (Euro zone, European Council, Council of Europe, Eurogroup, council of ministers, EU politicians)
European Parliament	
250	European Parliament as a whole
251	members of the European parliament (MEPs; several; if all MEPs are mentioned code “European parliament” 250) & EP Candidates
Non-political EU actors	
300	European Central Bank (ECB) and its representatives
303	Troika
399	Other non-political EU actors (e.g. Europol, OSCE, Activists, Think Tanks, Experts, voters, journalists)
Individual EU member states (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom)	
350	member states, head of state or government, members of parliament, parliament, government, ministers, politicians, non-political actors
EU applicant countries (Turkey, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia)	

400000	any political or non-political actor from EU applicant countries.
Non-EU countries (These include Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Ukraine, Georgia, and all other countries, such as USA, Russia, China, etc.), including non-political (e.g., NATO)	
999050	heads of states, governments, ministers, any political and non-political actors

National level actors (not evaluated!) – for country of appearance of a news story only

The Netherlands	
3101	The Netherlands, national politics ((members of) parliament, (members of) government, head of states)
3102	Other political actors (local politicians, parties, party members, unless denoted as national political actors)
3103	Non-political actors

APPENDIX V - SUBPROJECT 2 CODEBOOK

November 21, 2018 - June 2, 2019

Additional documents:

Appendix V.I - Subproject 2 Topic List

Appendix V.II - Subproject 2 Actor List

V1 Coder ID

01	Wessel van der Woude
02	Fleur van Lit
03	Kajsa Rosenblad
04	Rosa Steffens
05	Sacha Roché
06	Guus van Duijn
07	Loeloe van Dam
08	Saba Yapar
09	Sydney de Groot
10	Michelle de Groot
11	Ida Munch
12	Anna Heuer Hansen
13	Maggie Müller
14	Nicolas Mattis
15	Alicia Gilbert
16	Céline Müller
17	Linda Henke
18	Monika Simon
19	Bernadett Bártfai
20	Miklós Farkas
21	Nikoletta Papai
22	Naiara Rodríguez Peña
23	Dalis Nicole Robinson Perez
24	Josefina Ramirez Gonzales
25	Álvaro Gonzáles de Arrieta Martínez

V2 Story identification number

Insert the full number code/ID of the news item, e.g. "NL1_01_0006".

HU, ES, DE, DK, NL (copy/paste without any blank spaces)

Note. For TV items, the ID number is provided (part of the file name). If there is more than one items within a newscast, add "_1", "_2" etc. to the original ID, for example: NL1_01_0006 *and* NL1_01_0006_1

V3a Date (day)

Date is coded in three variables, this first one represents the day (ranging from 1-31); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th only code "17" for this first variable.

V3b Date (month)

This second variable represents the month (ranging from 1-12); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th only code "05" for this second variable.

V3c Date (year)

This third variable represents the year (either 18 or 19); e.g., for a news item published on May 17th 2018 only code "18" for this third variable.

V4 News outlet.

Note: Qualtrics asks for V5 (country of publication) first, but the variable name is still the same.

Denmark

32 Politiken
33 Jyllands Posten
34 Ekstra Bladet
37 DR news online
38 Ekstra Bladet online
39 DR news
40 TV2 news

Germany

48 Bild
49 Sueddeutsche Zeitung
50 FAZ
51 Spiegel online
52 focus.de
53 ARD Tagesschau
54 RTL Aktuell

Spain

25 El Pais
26 El Mundo
28 El Pais online
29 El Mundo online
30 Antena 3 news
31 Telediario

Hungary

41 Blikk
43 Népszava
44 Index.hu
45 Origo.hu
46 RTL Klub news
47 M1 news

V5 Country

NL = Netherlands
DE = Germany
ES = Spain
HU = Hungary
DK = Denmark

Newspapers & online news only**NP1 Page number**

The number of the page on which the story appeared. In case the story runs over two or more pages write down the page number on which the story begins.

Note: Print newspapers usually include this information. Online newspapers will always be coded as not identifiable here.

9999 = not identifiable / TV

NP2 Length of news story

Number of words in the online or offline news article, not including the headline, subtitle, author name etc. The word count starts at the first word of the first paragraph of the actual text.

Note: For this, you will have to use the word count, e.g. in Word, unless the document states a number of words. In the latter case, you do not have to count yourself

9999 = code as “not applicable” for TV or if not possible to count words

Television only

Selection criterion: Does the story mention either the European Union (EU)¹, its institutions or policies or the European Parliamentary elections or the campaign?

Note: Coders can skip through stories that are clearly not about the EU.

¹ or synonyms such as ‘Brussels’ (when EU is meant), Europe (when EU is meant), EU countries (if explicitly referred to as such), EU member states (if explicitly referred to as such). EU institutions include the European Central Bank (ECB), for instance. EU politicians also count!

In order to identify whether an item is about the EU, you need to watch the first 10 seconds of every individual item to determine whether it has a relation to the EU. If not, skip to the next item; if so, code it. Please remember: The news show’s intro alone does not contain information about ALL items; this is why it is necessary to watch the first 10 seconds of every individual item.

Note: The intros in the beginning of the show (that introduce multiple topics that will be covered later in the show) do not count as news items. (Example: “Today is about x, y, z”)

Note: One show can have multiple items about the European Union, and that the unit of coding is always the individual news item, not the show.

TV1 Length of TV news item (in seconds), incl. its introduction by the anchorperson

Example: 1 minute and 58 seconds are coded as 118 seconds!

9999 = code as “not applicable” for newspaper

TV2 Story number of TV news item Is it story number 1, 2 or 3?

1 = 1

2 = 2

3 = 3

4 = later

9999 = code as “not applicable” for newspaper

----- READ WHOLE ARTICLE OR WATCH ENTIRE ITEM BEFORE
PROCEEDING -----

Core variables, no filter

For all variables with evaluation codes:

How to code positivity/negativity in evaluations:

In case no tendency can be assumed (i.e., there is no evaluation), then choose **no evaluation** (0). Don't interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective. Look for **explicit keywords** with a positive or negative valence. If your impression is that the evaluation is mixed, positive and negative tendencies are *exactly in balance*, then code **balanced/mixed** (2).

Important: If there are *both* positive and negative evaluations but the overall evaluation (or sum of specific evaluations) is more positive than negative, then code **(rather) positive** (3). If it is more negative than positive, then code **(rather) negative** (1).

If there are *either only* positive *OR* negative evaluations, even if it is just one evaluation, then code (rather) **positive** (3) or (rather) **negative** (1) respectively.

V7 Primary topic of the story (i.e. major subject of the story = taking the most space or time – often mentioned in the headline).
[→ see Appendix F]

Note I: If there is more than one appropriate category, **always choose the most specific one**.

Note II: When no topic is the **obvious** main topic of the story, choose the first topic mentioned.

Note III: The code used in Qualtrics is a combination of the overarching topic (e.g. 05 for immigration, included in Qualtrics drop-down menu (V7a)) and the more specific code (e.g. 05 multiculturalism, to be entered by hand (V7b)) → resulting code is 0505.

Remember to enter only last two digits by hand for V7b.

V9 Explicitly: What is the overall evaluation of the EU, its institutions, and its politicians?

Important: This is an overarching evaluation of *all* EU-related institutions and individuals in the entire news items.

'The EU' here refers to *any EU institution* (the parliament, the European Central Bank, the commission, etc.). Also code if synonyms are used which clearly refer to the EU as such, e.g., "Europe" (when in fact the EU is meant / but not if Europe is only referred to as a geographical entity) or "Brussels" (when in fact the EU is meant). Expressions such as "EU-money" or "EU-budget" should be also coded here (and policies potentially also in V18).

0 = EU and/or EU institutions mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

Note I: Evaluations should be positive/negative from the perspective of the EU. So: is the EU performing well/poorly, does the EU find itself in good/bad circumstances.

Note II: If the article is not about the EU or any of its institutions, stop coding it and let us know.

Note III: This evaluation can be the same as the actor evaluation of the EU, but it can also be different. It is the same if the article only mentions the EU. However, if there are multiple EU institutions / individuals mentioned, V9 concern the evaluation of them *all* in the entire article.

Examples of when the EU is mentioned but NOT evaluated (→ Code: 0):

"The EU signed an agreement with the US"

"The Lisbon Treaty tries to make the EU become more democratic."

"The EU is negotiating about emission rights."

"ECB's guidelines on bank debt apply from April 1st"

"The European Commission is proposing to reform the EU's common visa policy"

Examples of positive/negative/mixed tone:

"The EU is *failing* to push industries towards a cleaner production." (→ Code: 1 negative)

"The EU took a step towards *improving* the democratic structure" (→ Code: 3 positive)

"The EU functions *well*" (→ Code: 3 positive)

"*Breakthrough* in EU defense policy, but concrete plans still *missing*." (→ Code: 2 mixed)

"The EU leaders were *satisfied* with their decisiveness during the Summit." (→ Code 3: positive)

"The European Parliament had a *breakthrough*" (→ Code 3: positive)

ACTORS

V12 How many (max 3) actors are mentioned in the story? Please indicate how many actors you have identified in line with the rules below.

9999 = not applicable / no actors mentioned

1 – 3 = number of different actors mentioned

Variables V13a-V13c Actors

Which actors are mentioned (up to 3)?

→ **Please code according to the list of actors** [see Appendix]

Criteria for selecting actors

*If there is more than **one** actor:*

Actor 1 = the main actor, the most important actor **of the story**.

Indicators of importance are:

- duration, space of information about the actor
- frequency of being mentioned
- visibility (film, photographs etc.)
- quotes, statements of the actor.

Note I: If two actors are equally prominent in the article with regard to the above criteria, then count the number of references to each actor and choose the one who is most often referred to. However, this rule only applies if two actors are really exactly evenly prominent with regard to the above criteria.

Note II: Actors do **not** become important in a story because of their professional position, their rank or prestige!

*If there are **two** or more actors that are sufficiently present (see above) in the story:*

Code the other actors (except the main actor) **in the order of their appearance in the story**.

Note III: In order to determine the order of appearance in newspaper articles and in order to determine which actor is mentioned *first* it is important to determine what part of the story is the '**coding starting point**'.

Newspaper articles: Starting point is always (1) the headline, followed by (2) the first (intro) paragraph of the article, then (3) the second etc.

TV shows: Starting point is the first sequence of the spot (second 1).

Actors are

Up to THREE different **persons, groups, institutions or organizations** that are

1. mentioned verbally at least twice in two separate sentences.
He/she, him/her, who(m)/which also count. Synonyms, abbreviations, or personal pronouns also count (e.g. if Theresa May is referred to as “the PM” or “Mother Theresa”; “technology companies” become “tech companies”) if that is indeed clearly discernible from the text. A reference to “Jean-Claude Juncker, the commission’s president” only counts as *one* mentioning of Juncker, as both his name and his function are mentioned within a single sentence.

or

2. verbally mentioned once **and** quoted (May said: “Britain...”) / or quoted without quotation marks (i.e. reported speech: May said that...) (**For TV:** Depicted and quoted, if clearly identifiable by role)

or (for TV)

3. mentioned verbally at least once **and** depicted at least once.

Exception: If an article in a newspaper only consists of a headline, **one** mentioning or depiction of politicians, political groups, institutions or organizations is sufficient! However, cartoon/drawing does not count as a reference to an actor! Also, coding of actors shown on photography or film is limited to *persons* (depictions of logos, buildings of institutions do not count as reference to non-personal actors).

NOTE: If an article in a newspaper is a commentary or letter to the editor (opinion piece), the journalist/reader who wrote the commentary/letter is coded as an (active) actor!

1. Actors are **not necessarily persons**. A government, an institution, an organization can be also actors.
2. Actors can be **subjects** (active actors) as well as **objects** (passive actors). So an actor does **not necessarily have to act**. Actors can also be **objects** or **targets** of actions - they can be attacked or criticized, for instance.

But keep in mind that actors can only be persons, groups, institutions or organizations.

Also a reference to “Theresa May’s policy proposals” or “the government’s goals” or “Tony Blair’s Notting Hill residence” counts as a mentioning of May, the government, or Tony Blair as actors.

Similarly, a reference to “European Commission proposal” or “EU allies” counts as a mentioning of European Commission or EU, respectively.

Countries or cities as such are not coded as actors (e.g. “Macron is travelling to Germany” does NOT count as actor reference). ONLY code a country as an actor when the country name (or mentioning of the capital of a country) is used as a synonym for the national government (e.g., “the UK yesterday announced to exit the EU” or “Germany has opposed the US proposal to increase the number of troops in Afghanistan”). In these latter cases the country name clearly indicates the national government which is listed with a respective code in the actor appendix.

3. **Journalists** are actors *only* if they are **interviewed, reported about, used as sources, or are the authors of opinion pieces (NOT regular articles)**.
4. The **presenter/anchorperson in TV shows** is not an actor.
5. An actor can only be coded once – although she/he/it/they may appear at several places and with different functions in the story. Then, choose the category depicting the most important role of that actor in the story. If more than one code applies to one actor, choose the most specific one. There may be cases in which the same code has to be assigned to different actors, e.g. when two members of the same party are quarrelling with each other. The reference point for deciding how to code an actor is always the story. If, for example, a national minister is a *candidate* running for the EP and that is the focus of the news story, use the European code. If the story is simply about a national minister, use the national code.
6. **Generic groups of actors such as Europeans, voters, citizens, public, MPs, MEPs, politicians, etc. have to be mentioned twice with the same descriptive term** (e.g., 2x “voters” or 2x “Dutch MEPs”) and are coded according to the codes in the actor appendix.
7. Actors are only coded if they act or are acted upon, but **not** if they are mentioned as a **location**. For instance, the European Parliament can be an actor (e.g., the EP demands certain policies), but can also be a location (e.g., MEPs were debating an issue in the EP). Do **not** count a reference of such an actor when actually the location is meant.

8. It is possible that multiple actors have the same code. E.g. “Merkel and Macron” are two actors, but get the same code as head of government.

V14a-c For European actors: Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says/depicts so): **Is actor 1-3 evaluated favorably or unfavorably (regardless of the source) from his/her own perspective?**

Note: “European actors” refers to all actors on the European Actor list.

Refers to tendency/bias contained in the presentation by a journalist, protagonist or his partners, competitors, independent sources (e.g. politicians, businessmen, scientists). The tendency must be expressed: **explicitly**, by using terms of clearly positive or negative **judgment** (e.g., “good”, “promising”, “ominous”, “disappointing”).

Per news item you only assign one (overall) code for the explicit evaluation of an actor in a story. Please note, however, that particular care should be exercised while recording the tendencies and only undoubtedly positive or negative ones should be coded as such.

NOTE: Any attribute that is associated with a particular actor (e.g., policy plans, Notting Hill residence, environmental directive) also forms a part of the evaluation of the actor. For example, a “terrible EU health care directive” carries a negative evaluation of the directive, but since the directive is associated with the EU, it counts as an actor reference to the EU and as a negative evaluation of the EU (for the next variable/actor evaluation).

All evaluations are judged from the perspective of the actor!

In case no tendency can be assumed (i.e., there is no evaluation), then choose **no evaluation** (0). Don’t interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective.

If your impression is that the evaluation is mixed, positive and negative tendencies are exactly in balance, then code **balanced/mixed** (2).

If there are *both* positive and negative evaluations but the overall evaluation is more positive than negative, then code **(rather) positive** (3). If it is more negative than positive, then code **(rather) negative** (1).

If there are *either only* positive *OR* negative evaluations, even if it is just one evaluation, then code **(rather) positive** (3) or **(rather) negative** (1) respectively.

- 99 = not applicable / actor with this number **not** mentioned / Actor not European
- 0 = actor with this number mentioned but not evaluated
- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

V15 Explicitly: Does the story **mention the potential membership of TURKEY in the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

- 99 = not applicable / potential Turkish membership **not** mentioned
- 0 = potential Turkish membership mentioned but not evaluated
- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

V16 Explicitly: Does the story **mention a potential end of the EU membership of [country]**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note: evaluations should be positive/negative **from the perspective of leaving the EU** (e.g., Nexit for the Netherlands). So positive means pro-leaving, negative means against leaving.

- 99 = not applicable / potential leave of [country] **not** mentioned
- 0 = potential leave of [country] mentioned but not evaluated
- 1 = (rather) negative (against leaving)
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive (pro leaving)

Examples:

“Rutte will fight against hurting the NL in a Nexit ‘until bitter end’” (→code 1)

“A referendum on leaving the EU will not be easy to organize, given the Dutch referendum rules” (→code 0).

EU ATTITUDES

V17 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **future strengthening of the EU or its institutions**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union **should integrate much further** or **integrate much less**?

For example: Does the story refer to a shift in power between the national and the European level? (e.g., transferring policy-making to EU level; maintaining/decreasing/increasing the national sovereignty of member states)

Note I: Strengthening only refers to vertical integration (division of power between national and EU level), not horizontal integration (i.e., enlargement).

Note II: Evaluations need to be explicit. This could be either by the use of explicit sentences (e.g., “further integration is *negative*”), or by the explicit use of positive/negative keywords (“further integration *fails* the needs of EU citizens”).

Note III: For this variable, strengthening of the Eurozone (Euro) or a specific EU institution (e.g., the European Parliament or the European Commission) should be considered as strengthening of the EU. This includes discussions of whether to drop the Euro, and whether the European Central Bank should have more or less powers to act. When the article refers to “Europe”, code as EU when EU is meant (i.e., is this also about Norway and Switzerland? If yes, it refers to Europe as a continent; if no, code as EU).

Note IV: References to leaving the EU should also be coded under V16.

Note V: If statement refers to specific policy field (i.e. immigration policy, defence policy), this only counts as a mention of EU strengthening if the article explicitly states that the EU should have more/less powers for that particular policy

99 = not applicable / EU strengthening **not** mentioned

0 = EU strengthening mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (less, or no more, integration)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (more integration)

Examples:

“Brussels wants to enforce fair redistribution of refugees” (code: 99)

“Brussels needs to have more decision-making power over refugee policy” (code: 3)

“We should proceed in strengthening the Union” (code: 3)

“Less power should go to Brussels” (code: 1)

V19 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **the decision-making process of the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union decision-making is **efficient/adequate** or **inefficient/inadequate** in reaching agreement or coming to common decisions.

Only about **current** decision-making processes, not general statements about good cooperation in last 50 years.

For example: Does the story suggest that EU institutions/EU member states/EU leaders or ministers of different member states work (together) efficiently, that decision-making went smoothly, and compromises are reached. Or, conversely, does it suggest that the EU did not reach a common position, or emphasize disagreements that are difficult to bridge between countries. This also includes mentions of proceedings or outcomes of EU summits or meetings of EU leaders/the European Council where a certain issue was discussed. A sole mentioning of the word “summit” or similar is not sufficient to be coded here. Crucial is that there is a mention of there being deliberation or discussion among different European actors about a specific issue or policy.

Examples of mentioned but not evaluated (code 0):

“the EU leaders have discussed the new policy proposal at a summit in Rome...”

“The EP voted on the situation in Poland”.

99 = not applicable / decision-making process **not** mentioned

0 = decision-making process mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (inefficient/inadequate)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (efficient/adequate)

V20 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **the state of democracy in the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union is **democratic/transparent** or **undemocratic/non-transparent**.

For example: Does the story refer to the ‘democratic deficit’, or suggest that the EU does not *respect the will of the citizens*, that most things are dealt with *behind closed doors*, or that the issues discussed were *decided in advance*; Or, on the contrary, does the story emphasize the

transparency and democratic character of the European Union, the *responsiveness* of the European Parliament, or citizens' *influence* on EU policy making? The variable is only about EU as a whole and not about democracy in one specific EU member state.

- 99 = not applicable / state of EU democracy **not** mentioned
- 0 = state of EU democracy mentioned but not evaluated
- 1 = (rather) negative (undemocratic/non-transparent)
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive (democratic/transparent)

V21 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **European identity**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note: This variable should be coded when the article refers to (or denies) a common identity. Are we just a group of countries working together, or is our common identity as European citizens emphasized? Is there an immaterial feeling of shared belonging, origins, culture or togetherness beyond the formal framework of the EU? The term 'identity' does not have to be mentioned explicitly. For instance, "our shared civilization" or "our common culture" (if "our" refers to EU citizens/states) should be coded as positive reference of European identity. Negative evaluations can refer to European identity as such, or frame the EU/Europe as a threat to national identity.

- 99 = not applicable / European identity **not** mentioned
- 0 = European identity mentioned but not evaluated
- 1 = (rather) negative (questioning of European identity)
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive (common European identity)

Examples:

"As Europeans we *share a common culture*" (code 3)

"We should *guard* ourselves *against Europeanization* of our culture" (code 1)

"European identity is an *illusion*" (code 1)

V24 Does the story mention whether **the own country has been affected by EU membership or not** (economic, cultural, etc.). If so, how is this evaluated (i.e. positive = benefit, negative = disadvantage).

For example: Did the **country of the news** receive money to improve their infrastructure, educate people; benefit from information exchange (e.g. Erasmus), institutional advice, administrative support. Is the country better protected by being member of a bigger entity, e.g. stable currency by being member of the Eurozone, strong diplomatic ties and economic dependencies prevent war. The focus must be on a benefit for the country in which the story has been published, e.g. the Netherlands in the Dutch media.

Note I: Evaluations need to be explicit. This could be either by the use of explicit sentences (e.g., “we have *profited* from the EU”), or by the explicit use of positive/negative keywords (“through the EU we have *succeeded* in improving living standards”).

Note II: For this variable, effects of the Eurozone should be considered as effects of the EU. As a general rule, when a specific EU institution has an effect, this should be coded as an effect of the EU (e.g., if we benefitted from policies from the European food and safety agency, code as benefitted from the EU). As a result, benefits on very specific policy fields are also coded as benefits from the EU, as long as these benefits result from the EU or one of its institutions.

Note III: Only mentions of effect in the **past** and **present** are coded (e.g. both “EU membership has facilitated the economic activities of [country]” and “currently, [country] profits from its membership in the internal market”).

99 = not applicable / effect for country **not** mentioned

0 = effect for country mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (disadvantage)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (benefits)

V26b Does the story **mention the consequences of Brexit for Britain?** If so, how is it evaluated?

This includes consequences for Britain as a country, but also for British citizens and companies. Evaluations are seen from the perspective of Britain. A consequence can be of economic, cultural, political, social, or institutional nature.

Examples: “Brits feel Brexit hurt in pocketbook” (Code: 1).
“Many Brits regret Brexit vote” (Code: 1);

“London loses EU agencies to Paris and Amsterdam” (Code: 1)
 “After Brexit, UK will bargain international trade deals on their own”
 (Code: 0)

99 = not applicable / Brexit consequences for Britain **not** mentioned

0 = Brexit consequences for Britain mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V27 Does the story mention a conflict/tension between the EU (all institutions) and current national rules, customs, laws or regulations?

This refers to national laws, customs, rules, or regulations in the country of the news. However, if an EU regulation is in conflict with *all* countries, then that would also include the country of the news and therefore be coded as mentioned.

For example: Does the story discuss an instance in which EU policies overrule national regulations, e.g. refugee quotas, environmental protection, employment reforms. Are national habits/traditions affected by EU decisions/policies, e.g. traditional ways of fishing prohibited due to environmental protection.

Note: Conflict or tension has to be explicitly mentioned. Only mentioning an EU legislation does not count! (However, tension can be both positively or negatively evaluated.)

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

Examples:

“EU law overriding traditional hunting practices end inhumane conditions”

“EU law overriding traditional hunting practices threaten our culture”

V28 Does the story mention the EU as one actor facing something together in unity?

For example: EU vs. UK, China, Russia, US in terms of one economic power, or the EU working together on climate change, refugee crisis, etc. Crucial is the stress of togetherness, the emphasis on the EU as a unified actor instead of handling it as separate nations. The idea of being “stronger together”.

Note: The problem/opponent can be also internal relating to one specific country only, i.e. all remaining EU countries vs. the leaving UK or the EU acting together against the rule of law violations in Poland.

Note: Most important is the stress on *togetherness*; it is less about the opponent and more about *how* the EU faces it. This variable is not coded as present if there is no unity or togetherness.

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V29a Does the story mention bureaucracy and unnecessary EU regulations?

For example: Overregulation such as the regulation of the curves of cucumbers and bananas. Do certain decisions use too much time, manpower, money especially in light of the overall relevance of the regulation or its outcome?

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V29c Does the story mention corruption of EU politicians?

For example: Favoritism by EU politicians (or their employees), misappropriation of funds.

Note: This is about politicians who are actively involved in EU politics.

Note: Rule of thumb here is “*Whose fault is it?*”. If the corruption or misappropriation of funds can be attributed to the EU and its politicians, then this variable is coded as present. But corruption or misappropriation of EU funds in a country, which is the fault of the *national* politicians, is not coded here.

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V32 Does the story mention immigration (to the EU / the country) from outside Europe? If so, how is it evaluated?

99 = not applicable / immigration not mentioned

0 = immigration mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (against immigration and immigrants)

- 2 = balanced/mixed
 3 = (rather) positive (in favor of immigration or positive towards immigrants)

V33a Does the story **mention the state of the EU economy?** If so, how is it evaluated?

Note: For the evaluation, both keywords (such as “booming”, “good news”, “shrinking”, “disappointing”), as well as changes in objective indicators of the economy (e.g. GDP, unemployment, inflation) are considered. The only exception are simple descriptives without context, which would be coded as neutral.

Note I: This includes past, present, and future mentioning of the economy

Note II: Only code if EU or Eurozone economy as a whole is referred to. A subgroup of EU countries (“the economies of The Netherlands, Belgium and Germany”) does not count as an evaluation of the EU economy.

Note III: State of the economy includes economic measures, such as GDP, (un)employment, inflation, recession, boom, worth/rate of the Euro. It also includes evaluations of the state of the economy in general (i.e. “the economy is going well”).

Note IV: State of the economy does **not** include mere references to the word economy or to the general topic of the economy! It also does **not** include questions of budget (i.e. “the ministry of defense plans to spend 1 million Euro on something” or “3% of the UK budget is spent on EU matters”). It has to be about the STATE OF the economy.

Examples:

“unemployment is a *problem* in the EU” → code 1 (negative)

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade*, which is very good for the EU economy” → code 3 (positive)

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade*” → code 3 (positive)

“unemployment is at 4%” (no other context) → code 0 (neutral)

“unemployment drops from 6% to 4%” → code 3 (positive)

“The GDP increased, but unemployment rates also were higher” → code 2 (mixed)

“the inflation has remained stable for the fourth quarter in a row” → code 0 (neutral)

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

0 = mentioned but not evaluated

- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

V33b Does the story **mention the state of the national economy?** If so, how is it evaluated?

Note I: For the evaluation, both keywords (such as “booming”, “good news”, “shrinking”, “disappointing”), as well as changes in objective indicators of the economy (e.g. GDP, unemployment, inflation) are considered. The only exception are simple descriptives without context, which would be coded as neutral.

Note II: This includes past, present, and future mentioning of the economy

Note III: National refers to the country of coding, i.e. Spain in Spanish newspapers, Denmark in Danish newspapers, Hungary in Hungarian newspapers, and Germany in German newspapers. So a reference to the British economy in a German newspaper does not count as a mentioning of the national economy.

Note IV: State of the economy includes economic measures, such as GDP, (un)employment, inflation, recession, boom, worth/rate of the currency. It also includes evaluations of the state of the economy in general (i.e. “the economy is going well”).

Note V: State of the economy does **not** include mere references to the word economy or to the general topic of the economy! It also does **not** include questions of budget (i.e. “the ministry of defense plans to spend 1 million Euro on something” or “3% of the UK budget is spent on EU matters”). It has to be about the STATE OF the economy.

Examples:

“unemployment is a *problem* in [country]” → code 1 (negative)

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade*, which is very good for the [country] economy” → code 3 (positive)

- 99 = not applicable / not mentioned
- 0 = mentioned but not evaluated

- 1 = (rather) negative
- 2 = balanced/mixed
- 3 = (rather) positive

CAMPAIGN VARIABLES

C1 FILTER: IS THE STORY ABOUT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND/OR THE CAMPAIGN?

This means, either the European parliamentary elections in May 2019 and/or the campaign for the elections are mentioned at least **once**.

99 = no
1 = yes

SCREENING SELECTION: THE ABOVE ARE CODED FOR ALL EU SPECIFIC AND ELECTION AND CAMPAIGN RELATED STORIES IN A NEWS PROGRAM OR IN A NEWSPAPER

ONLY CODE STORIES BEYOND THIS POINT IF THEY ARE ABOUT* THE EU PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND/OR THE CAMPAIGN

C2 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention that the European Parliamentary election campaign in 2019 is **boring**, the **turnout is expected to be low**, and/or people are **not interested** in the elections/ campaign **or** that the election campaign is **exciting**, **turnout is expected to be high** and/or people are **interested** in the campaign?

Please note that it is NOT sufficient if the item only reports on past EP elections (e.g., "In 2014, turnout was particularly low"). If there is equal reference to both code "3"; if both are mentioned but one is given more prominence code the respective code (either "1" or "2").

99 = not applicable / not mentioned
1 = boring, low turnout, or people are not interested
2 = both, boring and exiting
3 = exciting, high turnout, people are interested

C3 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention that the European Parliamentary election campaign is **relevant or important**? For example, are the consequences described as meaningful, or are the elections described as inconsequential ("second order elections")?

99 = not applicable / not mentioned
1 = important
2 = both important and unimportant
3 = unimportant

C4 Does the article mention the TV debate about the EP elections in which the Spitzenkandidaten feature on May 15th?

99 = TV debate not mentioned

1 = TV debate mentioned

C5a Does the article mention political microtargeting?

Political microtargeting - granular strategies by parties or candidates to address specific groups or individuals, often but not limited to social media.

99 = microtargeting not mentioned

1 = microtargeting mentioned

C5b Does the article mention political misinformation, disinformation, or fake news?

This item refers to any sort of intentional or unintentional misinformation in the news media. It might often be referred to under the umbrella term of 'fake news'. The terms misinformation, disinformation, or fake news should be explicitly mentioned (terminology will differ in the respective national languages).

99 = misinformation not mentioned

1 = misinformation mentioned

C5c Does the article mention foreign interference with the EP campaign or the EP elections?

This refers to any interference with the election campaign or the election itself, e.g. potentially illegitimate campaigning or information dissemination, manipulation of voters, manipulation of voting systems, etc. The interference could be from non-EU countries (like China, Russia, the USA), or from companies (Facebook, Cambridge Analytica, etc.)

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

if mentioned: Who is portrayed as the culprit/source? _____

C6 Are any of the Spitzenkandidaten mentioned? If yes, how are they evaluated? Please note that the candidates' names have to be explicitly mentioned; a mentioning of the party is not sufficient.

a) Manfred Weber

- b) Frans Timmermans**
- c) Ska Keller**
- d) Bas Eickhout**
- e) Jan Zahradil**
- f) Margrethe Vestager**
- g) Guy Verhofstadt**

99 = not applicable / actor **not** mentioned

0 = actor with this number mentioned, but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

C7 Are any of these parties mentioned? Please note that parties or their abbreviations need to be explicitly mentioned, and that they only need to be mentioned **once** to be coded here. A mentioning of a candidate without an explicit party reference is not sufficient. (Please refer to country-specific lists)

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

Germany

1. CDU
2. CSU
3. SPD
4. AfD
5. FDP
6. Die Linke
7. Bündnis 90/Die Grünen
8. PIRATEN
9. NPD
10. Freie Wähler
11. Tierschutzpartei
12. ÖDP
13. Familien-Partei Deutschlands
14. Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)

Spain

1. Partido Popular (PP)
2. Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)

3. Unidos Podemos (Podemos-IU-Equo, incluyendo colaboraciones regionales)/
Unidas Podemos cambiar Europa
4. Podemos
5. Izquierda Unida (IU)
6. Equo
7. Unión Progreso y Democracia (UPyD)
8. Ciudadanos (Cs)
9. Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)
10. Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya (CDC) NEW: PDeCAT
11. Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea/Partido Nacionalista Vasco (EAJ/PNV)
12. Euskal Herria Bildu (EH Bildu)
13. Coalición Canaria-Partido Nacionalista Canario (CC-PNC)
14. Partido Animalista Contra el Maltrato Animal (PACMA)
15. Coalición por Europa (CEU)
16. L'Esquerra pel Dret a Decidir (EPDD)
17. Los Pueblos Deciden (LPD)
18. Primavera Europea (PE)
19. VOX

Hungary

1. Magyar Polgári Szövetség (Fidesz) / Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (KDNP)
2. Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom (Jobbik)
3. Magyar Szocialista Párt (MSZP)
4. Demokratikus Koalíció (DK)
5. Lehet Más a Politika (LMP)
6. Párbeszéd Magyarországért (PM)
7. Momentum Mozgalom (MM)
8. Magyar Kétfarkú Kutya Párt (MKKP)
9. Magyarországi Németek Országos Önkormányzata (MNOÖ)
10. Magyar Liberális Párt (MLP) / Liberálisok
11. Magyar Munkáspárt
12. Együtt – a Korszakváltók Pártja

Denmark

1. Socialdemokratiet
2. Dansk Folkeparti
3. Venstre
4. Enhedslisten
5. Liberal Alliance
6. Alternativet

7. Radikale Venstre
8. Socialistisk Folkeparti
9. Det Konservative Folkeparti
10. Kristendemokraterne
11. Folkebevægelsen mod EU
12. Nye Borgerlige

APPENDIX V.I - SUBPROJECT 2 TOPIC LIST

List of Topics

Choose the more *substantive* topic (i.e. inflation above election) when possible
Within topic categories: choose the more specific (e.g. safety umbrellas above
government intervention). The more specific categories are placed upfront (having the
lower numbers).

Note: All codes refer to the country in which the news outlet is coded if not explicitly stated differently.

TOPIC01 Economy	33	The Euro (e.g. currency rate, inflation, stability)
	34	Effect of Euro on the economy
	35	Eurozone exit
	36	Other currency related topic
	37	Inflation (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	38	Interest rate (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	39	Taxes (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	40	National contributions to EU (from member states)
	41	EU budget / finances / (incl. 3% rule, semester system)
	42	EU debts (incl. 3% rule, semester system)
	43	State budget / state finances / (non EU-countries)
	44	State debts (non EU-countries)
	45	EU economic policy: Stimulus package and safety umbrellas (bilateral credits, buying of state bonds, ESM)
	46	Bank and financial sector regulation
	47	Banking Union
	48	EU Structural Fund (EU funds for underdeveloped regions/areas)
	49	EU competition policy (incl. investigations into state aid, mergers, take-overs, fixed prices, carving up of markets)
	50	Competition policy non-EU (incl. investigations into state aid, mergers, take-overs, fixed prices, carving up of markets)
	51	Government Ownership, nationalisation in general (land, banks, etc.)
	52	Privatisation (of government owned business or industry)
	53	Protectionism (e.g. methods to protect national markets, economic growth)
	54	Government intervention/control over the economy (prices, wages, rents)
	55	Economic Planning (of long-term economic planning, e.g. Greece)
	56	Common market: Free movement of people and/or goods, capital and services within the EU
	57	EU trade policy (e.g. EU tariffs and import quotas towards non-member states)

	58	Trade policy non-EU
	59	Effects of financial crisis on domestic/EU/global economy (e.g. competitiveness, demand and supply, consumption, business climate)
	60	State of the EU economy, current situation and outlook, growth, shrinkage
	61	Stock market and its developments (shares, bonds, AEX, DAX, Dow Jones etc.)
	62	Business (companies, banks, industry, mergers, manufacturing, bankruptcy)
	63	EU consumer protection policy
	64	Other economic topics
TOPIC02 Social and labor market policy	10	EU employment policy
	11	Employment policy (non-EU countries)
	12	Labour market regulations (e.g. working hours, wage policy; unemployment insurance, unemployment regulation)
	13	Health care (policy)
	14	Retirement and pensions (policy)
	15	Social housing (including poverty, social assistance) (policy)
	16	Youth (policy)
	17	Family policy (e.g. child care, parental leave)
	18	Other social and labor market topics
TOPIC03 Education and research	5	EU education policy
	6	Education policy (non-EU)
	7	Science and research policy
	8	Other education and research topics
TOPIC04 Law and order	9	EU police collaboration
	10	Crime prevention policy
	11	Terrorism
	12	Intelligence service
	13	Data and personal information security
	14	Courts, trials, court decisions (both on the national- and EU-level)
	15	Crime (robbery, mugging, killing)
	16	Other law and order topics
TOPIC05 Immigration	7	EU immigration policy - regulating immigration from outside the EU (e.g. refugees, asylum, EU border protection)
	8	National immigration policy (non-EU; country of coding) - regulating immigration that comes from outside the EU
	9	Migration / immigration policy – regulating migration within the EU (e.g. labour migration from Eastern European countries or Southern European countries to the Northern member states)
	10	Immigrant integration
	11	Multiculturalism (cultural diversity, cultural plurality)
	12	Other immigration topics

TOPIC06 International Affairs	8	EU foreign affairs general (e.g. EU-China, EU-Russia, EU-US relations, European neighbourhood policy)
	9	Foreign affairs general (non-EU; e.g. relations Germany-US, UK's role in the UN; relations between states or (international) political organizations)
	10	EU defence / peace-keeping / EU security
	11	Defence / peace-keeping / national security (non-EU; e.g. France sending troops to peace-keeping mission in Africa)
	12	Armed forces (modernization, structure, expenditure, military strength)
	13	Military cooperation / treaties / obligations (e.g. membership, obligations, NATO)
	14	Other international affairs topic
TOPIC07 Culture and Other	8	EU cultural and media / communication (policy) (arts, films/movies, theatre, music, media)
	9	Cultural and media / communication (policy) (non-EU) (e.g. subsidies for theatre's, movies, music etc.; the export of own culture, language etc.)
	10	Human interest (soft news: about prominent persons, celebrities, anniversaries, weddings, animals, strange/funny events, etc.)
	11	Religion
	12	Sports, weather report/ forecast
	13	Accidents
	14	Other culture and soft news topics
TOPIC08 Environment and Energy	11	Climate policy
	12	EU Energy policy – supply safety (e.g. securing energy supply, EU contracts with Gazprom and other suppliers)
	13	Energy policy – supply safety (non-EU)
	14	Energy policy – renewable energies (e.g. wind, solar, water)
	15	Energy policy – fossil energies (e.g. fracking)
	16	Energy policy – nuclear energy
	17	Paris accord / Paris agreement
	18	(Natural) disasters (earthquakes, floods)
	19	Other EU environmental and energy topics
	20	Other non-EU environmental and energy topics
TOPIC09 Infrastructure	6	EU transportation policy
	7	Transportation policy (non-EU)
	8	ICT policy (e.g. communication infrastructure)
	9	Energy grid
	10	Other technology and infrastructure topics
TOPIC10 Agriculture and Food	8	EU agricultural policy (e.g. subsidies for farmers, genetically modified food)
	9	Agricultural policy (non-EU)
	10	EU maritime affairs and fishery policy
	11	Maritime affairs and fishery policy (non-EU)
	12	Food safety
	13	Food and public health

	14	Other agriculture and food topics
TOPIC11 Citizens' rights	7	Female rights and equality
	8	Abortion
	9	Immigrant rights
	10	Minority rights (e.g. handicapped, gay marriage, children, elderly)
	11	Private property and copyright rights
	12	Other citizens' rights topics (e.g. Human rights in general, civil liberties, equality before law)
TOPIC12 Constitutional questions and functioning of EU	18	Division of power <i>between political institutions</i> (e.g. between Parliament and Government, between the Council and the European Parliament, separation of church and state)
	19	Division of power <i>between political levels</i> (e.g. delegation and transference of decision-making power between Brussels and the national level; between regional and national levels; federalism, regional autonomy AND devolution; subsidiarity)
	20	EU's <i>democratic deficit</i> (e.g. distance or 'gap' between the EU and its citizens or the responsiveness of the EU towards its citizens, citizens feeling not represented or understood by the EU)
	21	Division of power <i>between the people and the political system</i> (e.g. democracy, referendums, sovereignty of the people); non-EU
	22	Other <i>rules of decision-making</i> (e.g. qualified majority voting, EU treaties, right to veto, other treaty reforms)
	23	Competences of the European Parliament (power, legislative procedures)
	24	Competences of the European Commission (Powers of the European Commission)
	25	Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers (Powers of the European Council/Council of Ministers)
	26	Competences of the European Court of Justice (references to the powers of the European Court of Justice)
	27	European Central Bank functioning and power
	28	Power and position of the EU presidency of member state
	29	Power and position European Council President/Presidency (Tusk position)
	30	Power and position European Commission President/Presidency (Juncker position)
	31	Power and position external affairs (Mogherini position)
	32	Power and position Eurogroup leader (Dijsselbloem/Centeno)
	33	(State of) democracy in member state(s)
	34	Other EU polity / constitutional topic
TOPIC13 Territorial questions	9	EU-Membership (existing) (e.g. Dutch referendum on EU membership)
	10	Brexit, negotiations and decisions

	11	Enlargement (negotiations, criteria, pros and cons) of EU
	12	Potential EU membership Turkey
	13	Potential EU membership other (e.g. enlargement of EU with Croatia, Iceland, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo)
	14	Catalonian independence
	15	Irish independence
	16	Other territorial questions topics
TOPIC14 Administration and bureaucracy (corruption)	7	Executive and administrative efficiency
	8	EU finance and spending
	9	EU political corruption, fraud, scandals EU-level politicians or institutions, including regulations and anti-corruption measures (not abuse of EU funds <i>by member states</i> -> 04)
	10	Political corruption non-EU: Fraud, scandals of non-EU (e.g. national, supranational) politicians or institutions, including regulations and anti-corruption measures
	11	(Extent of) EU regulations
	12	Other administration and bureaucracy topics
TOPIC15 Elections	18	European Elections: Candidates, politicians, parties; their images and strategic positions, personality, candidate MEP's personal character, background, leadership qualities
	19	European Elections: Electioneering, campaigning (strategy, style, finance, fundraising, events, media appearances, endorsements, targeting of electoral groups, political marketing, publicity, advertising)
	20	Media coverage of the campaign
	21	European Elections: Voters, public opinion, polls, (anticipated) electoral success
	22	European Election: Voter turnout (e.g. expectations)
	23	European Elections: List of party positions on issues (a "manifesto story")
	24	European Elections: Voting procedures (e.g. electronic voting machines, foreign votes)
	25	European Elections: Election laws, rules, regulations
	26	European Elections: (Formal, public) debates (as an event) between parties, politicians
	27	Political consequences of EP election outcome (e.g. for national-level politicians, parties, power in the)
	28	EU policy profile of national political parties (e.g. party manifesto on EU integration issues) (only in context of EU elections)
	29	Political party groups/alliances in European Parliament (e.g. political party group profile, internal affairs, conflict, organization, internal elections)
	30	Vote advice for European Elections
	31	Other EP election-related topics
	32	Other National, regional, local elections in EU Countries
	33	Other National elections in non-EU Countries
	34	Other topics

APPENDIX V.II - SUBPROJECT 2 ACTOR LIST

EU-level actors (evaluated!)

Code	Actor
Members of the EU Commission	
100	current or former members of the EU Commission, when identified as such, excl. Juncker
101	Jean-Claude Juncker [President]
EU general	
200	the EU as a whole (or synonyms like “EU member states”, “Europe”)
201	EU Commission as a whole
211	other EU (Euro zone, European Council, Council of Europe, Eurogroup, council of ministers, EU politicians)
European Parliament	
250	European Parliament as a whole
251	members of the European parliament (MEPs; several; if all MEPs are mentioned code “European parliament” 250) & EP Candidates
Non-political EU actors	
300	European Central Bank (ECB) and its representatives
303	Troika
399	Other non-political EU actors (e.g. Europol, OSCE, Activists, Think Tanks, Experts, voters, journalists)
Individual EU member states (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom)	
350	member states, head of state or government, members of parliament, parliament, government, ministers, politicians, non-political actors
EU applicant countries (Turkey, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia)	
400000	any political or non-political actor from EU applicant countries.

Non-EU countries (These include Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Ukraine, Georgia, and all other countries, such as USA, Russia, China, etc.), including non-political (e.g., NATO)	
999050	heads of states, governments, ministers, any political and non-political actors

National level actors (not evaluated!) – for country of appearance of a news story only

Denmark	
4501	Denmark, national politics ((members of) parliament, (members of) government, head of states)
4502	Other political actors (local politicians, parties, party members, unless denoted as national political actors)
4503	Non-political actors

Germany	
4901	Germany, National politics ((members of) parliament, (members of) government, head of states)
4902	Other political actors (local politicians, parties, party members, unless denoted as national political actors)
4903	Non-political actors

Spain	
3401	Spain, National politics ((members of) parliament, (members of) government, head of states)
3402	Other political actors (local politicians, parties, party members, unless denoted as national political actors)
3403	Non-political actors

Hungary	
3601	Hungary, National politics ((members of) parliament, (members of) government, head of states)
3602	Other political actors (local politicians, parties, party members, unless denoted as national political actors)
3603	Non-political actors

APPENDIX VI - SUBPROJECT 3 CODEBOOK

April 1, 2019 until June 2, 2019

Additional documents:

Appendix VI.I - Subproject 3 Topic List

Appendix VI.II - Subproject 3 Actor List

V1 Coder ID

01	Wessel van der Woude
02	Fleur van Lit
03	Kajsa Rosenblad
04	Rosa Steffens
05	Sacha Roché
06	Guus van Duijn
07	Loeloe van Dam
08	Saba Yapar
09	Sydney de Groot
10	Michelle de Groot
11	Ida Munch
12	Anna Heuer Hansen
13	Maggie Müller
14	Nicolas Mattis
15	Alicia Gilbert
16	Céline Müller
17	Linda Henke
18	Monika Simon
19	Bernadett Bártfai
20	Miklós Farkas
21	Nikoletta Papai
22	Naiara Rodríguez Peña
23	Dalis Nicole Robinson Perez
24	Josefina Ramirez Gonzales
25	Álvaro Gonzáles de Arrieta Martínez
26	Martina Havlenová
27	Nathalie Koubayová
28	Angèle Dubois
29	Sara Anne O'Neill
30	Nicolas Stergios Papaconstantinou
31	Eirine Ntaligkari
32	Marcin Bagiński
33	Karolina Banasik
34	Linh Dinh Khoa
35	Kristine Naess

V2 Story identification number

Insert the full number code/ID of the news item, e.g. "NL1_01_0006".

HU, ES, DE, DK, NL (copy/paste without any blank spaces)

Note. For TV items, the ID number is provided (part of the file name). If there is more than one items within a newscast, add "_1", "_2" etc. to the original ID, for example: NL1_01_0006 *and* NL1_01_0006_1

V3a Date (day)

Date is coded in three variables, this first one represents the day (ranging from 1-31); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th only code "17" for this first variable.

V3b Date (month)

This second variable represents the month (ranging from 1-12); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th only code “05” for this second variable.

V3c Date (year)

This third variable represents the year (ranging from 8-14); e.g. for a news item published on May 17th 2008 only code “08” for this third variable.

V4 News outlet

Note: Qualtrics asks for V5 (country of publication) first, but the variable name is still the same

Czech Republic

55 = Blesk
56 = Mlada fronta DNES
57 = Seznam.cz/zpravy
58 = Novinky.cz
59 = 1, CT24
60 = TV Nova News

France

61 = Le Figaro
62 = Le Monde
63 = 20 minutes online
64 = France Info online
65 = TF1 news
66 = France 2

Greece

67 = Kathimerini
68 = Proto Thema
69 = Zougla.gr
70 = In.gr
71 = SKAI TV news
72 = ERT news

Poland

73 = Gazeta Wyborcza
74 = Fakt
75 = Onet.pl
76 = WP.pl
77 = TVN news
78 = TVP news

Sweden

79 = Dagens Nyheter
80 = Svenska Dagbladet
81 = Expressen
82 = Aftonbladet online
83 = Expressen online
84 = Sveriges Television news
85 = TV4 news

V5 Country

NL = Netherlands
DE = Germany
ES = Spain
HU = Hungary
DK = Denmark
CZ = Czech Republic
FR = France
GR = Greece
PL = Poland
SE = Sweden

----- READ WHOLE ARTICLE BEFORE PROCEEDING -----

Newspapers & online news only

NP1 Page number

The number of the page on which the story appeared. In case the story runs over two or more pages write down the page number on which the story begins.

Note: Print newspapers usually include this information. Online newspapers will always be coded as not identifiable here.
9999 = not identifiable / TV

NP2 Length of news story

Number of words in the online or offline news article, not including the headline, subtitle, author name etc. The word count starts at the first word of the first paragraph of the actual text.

Note: For this, you will have to use the word count, e.g. in Word, unless the document states a number of words. In the latter case, you do not have to count yourself

9999 = code as “not applicable” for TV or if not possible to count words

Television only

Selection criterion: Does the story mention either the European Union (EU)¹, its institutions or policies or the European Parliamentary elections or the campaign?

Note: Coders can skip through stories that are clearly not about the EU.

¹ or synonyms such as ‘Brussels’ (when EU is meant), Europe (when EU is meant), EU countries (if explicitly referred to as such), EU member states (if explicitly referred to as such). EU institutions include the European Central Bank (ECB), for instance. EU politicians also count!

In order to identify whether an item is about the EU, you need to watch the first 10 seconds of every individual item to determine whether it has a relation to the EU. If not, skip to the next item; if so, code it. Please remember: The news show’s intro alone does not contain information about ALL items; this is why it is necessary to watch the first 10 seconds of every individual item.

Note: The relevant terms have to be mentioned at least twice (e.g. EU + EU) or two different relevant terms (e.g. EU + European Parliament) have to be mentioned once each. He/she/it, him/her/his, who(m)/which do NOT count!

Example: The **EU** has decided to stop funding social scientists. **It** said this was going to save money. → Not about the EU

Note: In general, a TV item includes an intro, and also general openers of the news cast. If those are interrupted by other news items, they are still treated as one item.

TV1 Length of TV news item (in seconds), incl. its introduction by the anchorperson (and any other introduction in the beginning of the newscast).

Example: 1 minute and 58 seconds are coded as 118 seconds!

9999 = code as “not applicable” for newspaper

TV2 Story number of TV news item Is it story number 1, 2 or 3?

1 = 1

2 = 2

3 = 3

4 = later

9999 = code as “not applicable” for newspaper

Core variables, no filter**For all variables with evaluation codes:**

How to code positivity/negativity in evaluations:

In case no tendency can be assumed (i.e., there is no evaluation), then choose **no evaluation** (0). Don't interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective. Look for **explicit keywords** with a positive or negative valence.

If your impression is that the evaluation is mixed, positive and negative tendencies are *exactly in balance*, then code **balanced/mixed** (2).

Important: If there are *both* positive and negative evaluations but the overall evaluation (or sum of specific evaluations) is more positive than negative, then code **(rather) positive** (3). If it is more negative than positive, then code **(rather) negative** (1).

If there are *either only* positive *OR* negative evaluations, even if it is just one evaluation, then code (rather) **positive** (3) or (rather) **negative** (1) respectively.

V7 Primary topic of the story (i.e. major subject of the story = taking the most space or time – often mentioned in the headline).
[→ see Appendix F]

Note I: If there is more than one appropriate category, **always choose the most specific one**.

Note II: When no topic is the **obvious** main topic of the story, choose the first topic mentioned.

Note III: The code used in Qualtrics is a combination of the overarching topic (e.g. 05 for immigration, included in Qualtrics drop-down menu (V7a)) and the more specific code (e.g. 05 multiculturalism, to be entered by hand (V7b)) → resulting code is 0505.

Remember to enter only last two digits by hand for V7b.

V9 Explicitly: What is the overall evaluation of the EU, its institutions, and its politicians?

Important: This is an overarching evaluation of *all* EU-related institutions and individuals in the entire news item.

‘The EU’ here refers to *any EU institution* (the parliament, the European Central Bank, the commission, etc.). Also code if synonyms are used which clearly refer to the EU as such, e.g., “Europe” (when in fact the EU is meant / but not if Europe is only referred to as a geographical entity) or “Brussels” (when in fact the EU is meant). Expressions such as “EU-money” or “EU-budget” should be also coded here (and policies potentially also in V18).

0 = EU and/or EU institutions mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

Note I: Evaluations should be positive/negative from the perspective of the EU. So: is the EU performing well/poorly, does the EU find itself in good/bad circumstances.

Note II: If the article is not about the EU or any of its institutions, stop coding it and let us know.

Note III: This evaluation can be the same as the actor evaluation of the EU, but it can also be different. It is the same if the article only mentions the EU. However, if there are multiple EU institutions / individuals mentioned, V9 concern the evaluation of them *all* in the entire article.

Examples of when the EU is mentioned but NOT evaluated (→ Code: 0):

“The EU signed an agreement with the US”

“The Lisbon Treaty tries to make the EU become more democratic.”

“The EU is negotiating about emission rights.”

“ECB’s guidelines on bank debt apply from April 1st”

“The European Commission is proposing to reform the EU’s common visa policy”

Examples of positive/negative/mixed tone:

“The EU is *failing* to push industries towards a cleaner production.” (→ Code: 1 negative)

“The EU took a step towards *improving* the democratic structure” (→ Code: 3 positive)

“The EU functions *well*” (→ Code: 3 positive)

“*Breakthrough* in EU defense policy, but concrete plans still *missing*.” (→ Code: 2 mixed)

“The EU leaders were *satisfied* with their decisiveness during the Summit.” (→ Code 3: positive)

“The European Parliament had a *breakthrough*” (→ Code 3: positive)

ACTORS

V12 How many (max 3) actors are mentioned in the story? Please indicate how many actors you have identified in line with the rules below.

9999 = not applicable / no actors mentioned

1 – 3 = number of different actors mentioned

Variables **V13a-V13c Actors**

Which actors are mentioned (up to 3)?

→ **Please code according to the list of actors** [see Appendix]

Criteria for selecting actors

*If there is more than **one** actor:*

Actor 1 = the main actor, the most important actor **of the story**.

Indicators of importance are:

- duration, space of information about the actor
- frequency of being mentioned
- visibility (film, photographs etc.)
- quotes, statements of the actor.

Note I: If two actors are equally prominent in the article with regard to the above criteria, then count the number of references to each actor and choose the one who is most often referred to. However, this rule only applies if two actors are really exactly evenly prominent with regard to the above criteria.

Note II: Actors do **not** become important in a story because of their professional position, their rank or prestige!

*If there are **two** or more actors that are sufficiently present (see above) in the story:*

Code the other actors (except the main actor) **in the order of their appearance in the story**.

Note III: In order to determine the order of appearance in newspaper articles and in order to determine which actor is mentioned *first* it is important to determine what part of the story is the '**coding starting point**'.

Newspaper articles: Starting point is always (1) the headline, followed by (2) the first (intro) paragraph of the article, then (3) the second etc.

TV shows: Starting point is the first sequence of the spot (second 1).

Actors are

Up to THREE different **persons, groups, institutions or organizations** that are

- mentioned verbally at least twice in two separate sentences. He/she, him/her, who(m)/which also count. Synonyms, abbreviations, or personal pronouns also count (e.g. if Theresa May is referred to as “the PM” or “Mother Theresa”; “technology companies” become “tech companies”) if that is indeed clearly discernible from the text. A reference to “Jean-Claude Juncker, the commission’s president” only counts as *one* mentioning of Juncker, as both his name and his function are mentioned within a single sentence.

or

- verbally mentioned once **and** quoted (May said: “Britain...”) / or quoted without quotation marks (i.e. reported speech: May said that...) (**For TV:** Depicted and quoted, if clearly identifiable by role)

or (for TV)

- mentioned verbally at least once **and** depicted at least once.

Exception: If an article in a newspaper only consists of a headline, **one** mentioning or depiction of politicians, political groups, institutions or organizations is sufficient! However, cartoon/drawing does not count as a reference to an actor! Also, coding of actors shown on photography or film is limited to *persons* (depictions of logos, buildings of institutions do not count as reference to non-personal actors).

NOTE: If an article in a newspaper is a commentary or letter to the editor (opinion piece), the journalist/reader who wrote the commentary/letter is coded as an (active) actor.

1. Actors are **not necessarily persons**. A government, an institution, an organization can be also actors.

2. Actors can be **subjects** (active actors) as well as **objects** (passive actors). So an actor does **not necessarily have to act**. Actors can also be **objects** or **targets** of actions - they can be attacked or criticized, for instance.

But keep in mind that actors can only be persons, groups, institutions or organizations.

Also a reference to “Theresa May’s policy proposals” or “the government’s goals” or “Tony Blair’s Notting Hill residence” counts as a mentioning of May, the government, or Tony Blair as actors. Similarly, a reference to “European Commission proposal” or “EU allies” counts as a mentioning of European Commission or EU, respectively.

Countries or cities as such are not coded as actors (e.g., “Macron is travelling to Germany” does NOT count as actor reference). ONLY code a country as an actor when the country name (or mentioning of the capital of a country) is used as a synonym for the national government (e.g., “the UK yesterday announced to exit the EU” or “Germany has opposed the US proposal to increase the number of troops in Afghanistan”). In these latter cases the country name clearly indicates the national government which is listed with a respective code in the actor appendix.

3. **Journalists** are actors *only* if they are **interviewed, reported about, used as sources, or are the authors of opinion pieces (NOT regular articles)**.
4. The **presenter/anchorperson in TV shows** is not an actor.
5. An actor can only be coded once – although she/he/it/they may appear at several places and with different functions in the story. Then, choose the category depicting the most important role of that actor in the story. If more than one code applies to one actor, choose the most specific one. There may be cases in which the same code has to be assigned to different actors, e.g. when two members of the same party are quarreling with each other. The reference point for deciding how to code an actor is always the story. If, for example, a national minister is a *candidate* running for the EP and that is the focus of the news story, use the European code. If the story is simply about a national minister, use the national code.
6. **Generic groups of actors such as Europeans, voters, citizens, public, MPs, MEPs, politicians, etc. have to be mentioned twice with the same descriptive term** (e.g., 2x “voters” or 2x “Dutch MEPs”) and are coded according to the codes in the actor appendix.

7. Actors are only coded if they act or are acted upon, but **not** if they are mentioned as a **location**. For instance, the European Parliament can be an actor (e.g., the EP demands certain policies), but can also be a location (e.g., MEPs were debating an issue in the EP). Do **not** count a reference of such an actor when actually the location is meant.
8. It is possible that multiple actors have the same code. E.g., “Merkel and Macron” are two actors, but get the same code as head of government.

V14a-c For European actors: Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says/depicts so): **Is actor 1-3 evaluated favorably or unfavorably (regardless of the source) from his/her own perspective?**

Note: “European actors” refers to all actors on the European Actor list. Refers to tendency/bias contained in the presentation by a journalist, protagonist or his partners, competitors, independent sources (e.g. politicians, businessmen, scientists). The tendency must be expressed: **explicitly**, by using terms of clearly positive or negative **judgment** (e.g., “good”, “promising”, “ominous”, “disappointing”).

Per news item you only assign one (overall) code for the explicit evaluation of an actor in a story. Please note, however, that particular care should be exercised while recording the tendencies and only undoubtedly positive or negative ones should be coded as such.

NOTE: Any attribute that is associated with a particular actor (e.g., policy plans, Notting Hill residence, environmental directive) also forms a part of the evaluation of the actor. For example, a “terrible EU health care directive” carries a negative evaluation of the directive, but since the directive is associated with the EU, it counts as an actor reference to the EU and as a negative evaluation of the EU (for the next variable/actor evaluation).

All evaluations are judged from the perspective of the actor!

In case no tendency can be assumed (i.e., there is no evaluation), then choose **no evaluation** (0). Don’t interpret too much or become too subtle, too creative or too subjective.

If your impression is that the evaluation is mixed, positive and negative tendencies are exactly in balance, then code **balanced/mixed** (2).

If there are *both* positive and negative evaluations but the overall evaluation is more positive than negative, then code **(rather) positive** (3). If it is more negative than positive, then code **(rather) negative** (1).

If there are *either only* positive *OR* negative evaluations, even if it is just one evaluation, then code **(rather) positive** (3) or **(rather) negative** (1) respectively.

99 = not applicable / actor with this number **not** mentioned / Actor not European

0 = actor with this number mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V15 Explicitly: Does the story **mention the potential membership of TURKEY in the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

99 = not applicable / potential Turkish membership **not** mentioned

0 = potential Turkish membership mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V16 Explicitly: Does the story **mention a potential end of the EU membership of [country]**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note: evaluations should be positive/negative **from the perspective of leaving the EU** (e.g., Nexit for the Netherlands). So positive means pro-leaving, negative means against leaving.

99 = not applicable / potential leave of [country] **not** mentioned

0 = potential leave of [country] mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (against leaving)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (pro leaving)

Examples:

“Rutte will fight against hurting the NL in a Nexit ‘until bitter end’” (→code 1)

“A referendum on leaving the EU will not be easy to organize, given the Dutch referendum rules” (→code 0).

EU ATTITUDES

V17 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **future strengthening of the EU or its institutions**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union **should integrate much further** or **integrate much less**?

For example: Does the story refer to a shift in power between the national and the European level? (e.g., transferring policy-making to EU level; maintaining/decreasing/increasing the national sovereignty of member states)

Note I: Strengthening only refers to vertical integration (division of power between national and EU level), not horizontal integration (i.e., enlargement).

Note II: Evaluations need to be explicit. This could be either by the use of explicit sentences (e.g., “further integration is *negative*”), or by the explicit use of positive/negative keywords (“further integration *fails* the needs of EU citizens”).

Note III: For this variable, strengthening of the Eurozone (Euro) or a specific EU institution (e.g., the European Parliament or the European Commission) should be considered as strengthening of the EU. This includes discussions of whether to drop the Euro, and whether the European Central Bank should have more or less powers to act. When the article refers to “Europe”, code as EU when EU is meant (i.e., is this also about Norway and Switzerland? If yes, it refers to Europe as a continent; if no, code as EU).

Note IV: References to leaving the EU should also be coded under V16.

Note V: If statement refers to specific policy field (i.e. immigration policy, defence policy), this only counts as a mention of EU strengthening if the article explicitly states that the EU should have more/less powers for that particular policy

99 = not applicable / EU strengthening **not** mentioned

0 = EU strengthening mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (less, or no more, integration)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (more integration)

Examples:

“Brussels wants to enforce fair redistribution of refugees” (code: 99)

“Brussels needs to have more decision-making power over refugee policy” (code: 3)

“We should proceed in strengthening the Union” (code: 3)
 “Less power should go to Brussels” (code: 1)

V19 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **the decision-making process of the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union decision-making is **efficient/adequate** or **inefficient/inadequate** in reaching agreement or coming to common decisions.

Only about **current** decision-making processes, not general statements about good cooperation in last 50 years.

For example: Does the story suggest that EU institutions/EU member states/EU leaders or ministers of different member states work (together) efficiently, that decision-making went smoothly, and compromises are reached. Or, conversely, does it suggest that the EU did not reach a common position, or emphasize disagreements that are difficult to bridge between countries. This also includes mentions of proceedings or outcomes of EU summits or meetings of EU leaders/the European Council where a certain issue was discussed. A sole mentioning of the word “summit” or similar is not sufficient to be coded here. Crucial is that there is a mention of there being deliberation or discussion among different European actors about a specific issue or policy.

Examples of mentioned but not evaluated (code 0):

“The EU leaders have discussed the new policy proposal at a summit in Rome...”,

“The EP voted on the situation in Poland”.

99 = not applicable / decision-making process **not** mentioned

0 = decision-making process mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (inefficient/inadequate)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (efficient/adequate)

V20 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **the state of democracy in the EU**, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g., does the story mention whether the European Union is **democratic/transparent** or **undemocratic/non-transparent**.

For example: Does the story refer to the ‘democratic deficit’, or suggest that the EU does not *respect the will of the citizens*, that most things are dealt with *behind closed doors*, or that the issues discussed were *decided in advance*; Or, on the contrary, does the story emphasize the transparency and democratic character of the European Union, the *responsiveness* of the European Parliament, or citizens’ *influence* on EU policy making? The variable is only about EU as a whole and not about democracy in one specific EU member state.

99 = not applicable / state of EU democracy **not** mentioned

0 = state of EU democracy mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (undemocratic/non-transparent)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (democratic/transparent)

V21 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention any aspect related to **European identity**, and if so, how is it evaluated?

Note: This variable should be coded when the article refers to (or denies) a common identity. Are we just a group of countries working together, or is our common identity as European citizens emphasized? Is there an immaterial feeling of shared belonging, origins, culture or togetherness beyond the formal framework of the EU? The term ‘identity’ does not have to be mentioned explicitly. For instance, “our shared civilization” or “our common culture” (if “our” refers to EU citizens/states) should be coded as positive reference of European identity. Negative evaluations can refer to European identity as such, or frame the EU/Europe as a threat to national identity.

99 = not applicable / European identity **not** mentioned

0 = European identity mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (questioning of European identity)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (common European identity)

Examples:

“As Europeans we *share a common culture*” (code 3)

“We should *guard* ourselves *against Europeanization* of our culture”
(code 1)

“European identity is an *illusion*” (code 1)

V24 Does the story mention whether **the own country has been affected by EU membership or not** (economic, cultural, etc.). If so, how is this evaluated (i.e. positive = benefit, negative = disadvantage).

For example: Did the **country of the news** receive money to improve their infrastructure, educate people; benefit from information exchange (e.g. Erasmus), institutional advice, administrative support. Is the country better protected by being member of a bigger entity, e.g. stable currency by being member of the Eurozone, strong diplomatic ties and economic dependencies prevent war. The focus must be on a benefit for the country in which the story has been published, e.g. the Netherlands in the Dutch media.

Note I: Evaluations need to be explicit. This could be either by the use of explicit sentences (e.g., “we have *profited* from the EU”), or by the explicit use of positive/negative keywords (“through the EU we have *succeeded* in improving living standards”).

Note II: For this variable, effects of the Eurozone should be considered as effects of the EU. As a general rule, when a specific EU institution has an effect, this should be coded as an effect of the EU (e.g., if we benefitted from policies from the European food and safety agency, code as benefitted from the EU). As a result, benefits on very specific policy fields are also coded as benefits from the EU, as long as these benefits result from the EU or one of its institutions.

Note III: Only mentions of effect in the **past** and **present** are coded (e.g. both “EU membership has facilitated the economic activities of [country]” and “currently, [country] profits from its membership in the internal market”).

99 = not applicable / effect for country **not** mentioned

0 = effect for country mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (disadvantage)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (benefits)

V26b Does the story **mention the consequences of Brexit for Britain?** If so, how is it evaluated?

This includes consequences for Britain as a country, but also for British citizens and companies. Evaluations are seen from the perspective of Britain. A consequence can be of economic, cultural, political, social, or institutional nature.

Examples: “Brits feel Brexit hurt in pocketbook” (Code: 1).

“Many Brits regret Brexit vote” (Code: 1);

“London loses EU agencies to Paris and Amsterdam” (Code: 1)

“After Brexit, UK will bargain international trade deals on their own” (Code: 0)

99 = not applicable / Brexit consequences for Britain **not** mentioned

0 = Brexit consequences for Britain mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V27 Does the **story mention a conflict/tension between the EU (all institutions) and current national rules, customs, laws or regulations?**

This refers to national laws, customs, rules, or regulations in the country of the news. However, if an EU regulation is in conflict with *all* countries, then that would also include the country of the news and therefore be coded as mentioned.

For example: Does the story discuss an instance in which EU policies overrule national regulations, e.g. refugee quotas, environmental protection, employment reforms. Are national habits/traditions affected by EU decisions/policies, e.g. traditional ways of fishing prohibited due to environmental protection.

Note: Conflict or tension has to be explicitly mentioned. Only mentioning an EU legislation does not count! (However, tension can be both positively or negatively evaluated.)

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

Examples:

“EU law overriding traditional hunting practices end inhumane conditions”

“EU law overriding traditional hunting practices threaten our culture”

V28 Does the story mention the EU as one actor facing something together in unity?

For example: EU vs. UK, China, Russia, US in terms of one economic power, or the EU working together on climate change, refugee crisis, etc. Crucial is the stress of togetherness, the emphasis on the EU as a unified actor instead of handling it as separate nations. The idea of being “stronger together”.

Note: The problem/opponent can be also internal relating to one specific country only, i.e. all remaining EU countries vs. the leaving UK or the EU acting together against the rule of law violations in Poland.

Note: Most important is the stress on *togetherness*; it is less about the opponent and more about *how* the EU faces it. This variable is not coded as present if there is no unity or togetherness.

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V29a Does the story mention bureaucracy and unnecessary EU regulations?

For example: Overregulation such as the regulation of the curves of cucumbers and bananas. Do certain decisions use too much time, manpower, money especially in light of the overall relevance of the regulation or its outcome?

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V29c Does the story mention corruption of EU politicians?

For example: Favoritism by EU politicians (or their employees), misappropriation of funds.

Note: This is about politicians who are actively involved in EU politics.

Note: Rule of thumb here is “*Whose fault is it?*”. If the corruption or misappropriation of funds can be attributed to the EU and its politicians, then this variable is coded as present. But corruption or misappropriation of EU funds in a country, which is the fault of the *national* politicians, is not coded here.

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

V32 Does the story mention immigration (to the EU / the country) from outside Europe? If so, how is it evaluated?

99 = not applicable / immigration not mentioned

0 = immigration mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative (against immigration and immigrants)

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive (in favor of immigration or positive towards immigrants)

V33a Does the story mention the state of the EU economy? If so, how is it evaluated?

Note: For the evaluation, both keywords (such as “booming”, “good news”, “shrinking”, “disappointing”), as well as changes in objective indicators of the economy (e.g. GDP, unemployment, inflation) are considered. The only exception are simple descriptive without context, which would be coded as neutral.

Note I: This includes past, present, and future mentioning of the economy

Note II: Only code if EU or Eurozone economy as a whole is referred to. A subgroup of EU countries (“the economies of The Netherlands, Belgium and Germany”) does not count as an evaluation of the EU economy.

Note III: State of the economy includes economic measures, such as GDP, (un)employment, inflation, recession, boom, worth/rate of the Euro. It also includes evaluations of the state of the economy in general (i.e. “the economy is going well”).

Note IV: State of the economy does ***not*** include mere references to the word economy or to the general topic of the economy! It also does ***not*** include questions of budget (i.e. “the ministry of defense plans to spend 1

million Euro on something” or “3% of the UK budget is spent on EU matters”). It has to be about the STATE OF the economy.

Examples:

“unemployment is a *problem* in the EU” → code 1 (negative)

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade, which is very good for the EU economy*” → code 3 (positive)

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade*” → code 3 (positive)

“unemployment is at 4%” (no other context) → code 0 (neutral)

“unemployment drops from 6% to 4%” → code 3 (positive)

“The GDP increased, but unemployment rates also were higher” → code 2 (mixed)

“the inflation has remained stable for the fourth quarter in a row” → code 0 (neutral)

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

0 = mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

V33b Does the story **mention the state of the national economy?** If so, how is it evaluated?

Note I: For the evaluation, both keywords (such as “booming”, “good news”, “shrinking”, “disappointing”), as well as changes in objective indicators of the economy (e.g. GDP, unemployment, inflation) are considered. The only exception are simple descriptive without context, which would be coded as neutral.

Note II: This includes past, present, and future mentioning of the economy

Note III: National refers to the country of coding, i.e. Spain in Spanish newspapers, Denmark in Danish newspapers, Hungary in Hungarian newspapers, and Germany in German newspapers. So a reference to the British economy in a German newspaper does not count as a mentioning of the national economy.

Note IV: State of the economy includes economic measures, such as GDP, (un)employment, inflation, recession, boom, worth/rate of the currency. It also includes evaluations of the state of the economy in general (i.e. “the economy is going well”).

Note V: State of the economy does **not** include mere references to the word economy or to the general topic of the economy! It also does **not** include questions of budget (I.e. “the ministry of defense plans to spend 1 million Euro on something” or “3% of the UK budget is spent on EU matters”). It has to be about the STATE OF the economy.

Examples:

“unemployment is a *problem* in [country]” → code 1 (negative)

“unemployment drops to *lowest level in a decade, which is very good for the [country] economy*” → code 3 (positive)

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

0 = mentioned but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

CAMPAIGN VARIABLES

C1 FILTER: IS THE STORY ABOUT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND/OR THE CAMPAIGN?

This means, either the European parliamentary elections in May 2019 and/or the campaign for the elections are mentioned at least **once**.

99 = no

1 = yes

SCREENING SELECTION: THE ABOVE ARE CODED FOR ALL EU SPECIFIC AND ELECTION AND CAMPAIGN RELATED STORIES IN A NEWS PROGRAM OR IN A NEWSPAPER

ONLY CODE STORIES BEYOND THIS POINT IF THEY ARE ABOUT* THE EU PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND/OR THE CAMPAIGN

C2 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story mention that the European Parliamentary election campaign in 2019 is **boring**, the **turnout is expected to be low**, and/or people are **not interested** in the elections/ campaign **or** that the election campaign is **exciting**, **turnout is expected to be high** and/or people are **interested** in the campaign? Please note that it is NOT sufficient if the item only reports on past EP elections (e.g., "In 2014, turnout was particularly low"). If there is equal reference to both code "3"; if both are mentioned but one is given more prominence code the respective code (either "1" or "2").

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

1 = boring, low turnout, or people are not interested

2 = both, boring and exiting

3 = exciting, high turnout, people are interested

- C3 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so):** Does the story mention that the European Parliamentary election campaign is **relevant or important**? For example, are the consequences described as meaningful, or are the elections described as inconsequential (“second order elections”)?

99 = not applicable / not mentioned

1 = important

2 = both important and unimportant

3 = unimportant

- C4** Does the item mention **the TV debate** about the EP elections in which the **Spitzenkandidaten** feature? [DATE WILL BE INCLUDED]

99 = TV debate not mentioned

1 = TV debate mentioned

- C5a Does the item mention political microtargeting?**

Political microtargeting - granular strategies by parties or candidates to address specific groups or individuals, often but not limited to social media.

99 = microtargeting not mentioned

1 = microtargeting mentioned

- C5b Does the story mention political misinformation, disinformation, or fake news?**

This item refers to any sort of intentional or unintentional misinformation in the news media. It might often be referred to under the umbrella term of ‘fake news’. The terms misinformation, disinformation, or fake news should be explicitly mentioned (terminology will differ in the respective national languages).

99 = misinformation not mentioned

1 = misinformation mentioned

- C5c Does the item mention foreign interference with the EP campaign or the EP elections?**

This refers to any interference with the election campaign or the election itself, e.g. potentially illegitimate campaigning or information dissemination, manipulation of voters, manipulation of voting systems,

etc. The interference could be from non-EU countries (like China, Russia, the USA), or from companies (Facebook, Cambridge Analytica, etc.)

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

if mentioned: Who is portrayed as the culprit/source?

C6 Are any of the Spitzenkandidaten mentioned? If yes, how are they evaluated? Please note that the candidates' names have to be explicitly mentioned; a mentioning of the party is not sufficient.

- a) **Manfred Weber**
- b) **Frans Timmermans**
- c) **Ska Keller**
- d) **Bas Eickhout**
- e) **Jan Zahradil**
- f) **Margrethe Vestager**
- g) **Guy Verhofstadt**

99 = not applicable / candidate **not** mentioned

0 = candidate mentioned, but not evaluated

1 = (rather) negative

2 = balanced/mixed

3 = (rather) positive

C7 Are any of these parties mentioned? Please note that parties or their abbreviations need to be explicitly mentioned, and that they only need to be mentioned **once** to be coded here. A mentioning of a candidate without an explicit party reference is not sufficient. (Please refer to country-specific lists)

99 = not mentioned

1 = mentioned

Netherlands

1. Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)
2. Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)
3. Christen-Democratisch Appel (CDA)
4. Democraten '66 (D66)
5. GroenLinks (GL)
6. Socialistische Partij (SP)
7. Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)
8. ChristenUnie/SGP (CU-SGP)
9. Partij voor de Dieren (PvdD)
10. 50PLUS
11. DENK
12. Forum voor Democratie (FvD)

Germany

1. CDU
2. CSU
3. SPD
4. AfD
5. FDP
6. Die Linke
7. Bündnis 90/Die Grünen
8. PIRATEN
9. NPD
10. Freie Wähler
11. Tierschutzpartei
12. ÖDP
13. Familien-Partei Deutschlands
14. Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)

Spain

1. Partido Popular (PP)
2. Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)
3. Unidos Podemos (Podemos-IU-Equo, incluyendo colaboraciones regionales) / Unidas Podemos cambiar Europa
4. Podemos
5. Izquierda Unida (IU)
6. Equo
7. Unión Progreso y Democracia (UPyD)
8. Ciudadanos (Cs)
9. Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)
10. Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya (CDC) NEW: PDeCAT
11. Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea/Partido Nacionalista Vasco (EAJ/PNV)
12. Euskal Herria Bildu (EH Bildu)

13. Coalición Canaria-Partido Nacionalista Canario (CC-PNC)
14. Partido Animalista Contra el Maltrato Animal (PACMA)
15. Coalición por Europa (CEU)
16. L'Esquerra pel Dret a Decidir (EPDD)
17. Los Pueblos Deciden (LPD)
18. Primavera Europea (PE)
19. VOX

Hungary

1. Magyar Polgári Szövetség (Fidesz) / Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (KDNP)
2. Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom (Jobbik)
3. Magyar Szocialista Párt (MSZP)
4. Demokratikus Koalíció (DK)
5. Lehet Más a Politika (LMP)
6. Párbeszéd Magyarországért (PM)
7. Momentum Mozgalom (MM)
8. Magyar Kétfarkú Kutya Párt (MKKP)
9. Magyarországi Németek Országos Önkormányzata (MNOÖ)
10. Magyar Liberális Párt (MLP) / Liberálisok
11. Magyar Munkáspárt
12. Együtt – a Korszakváltók Pártja

Denmark

1. Socialdemokratiet
2. Dansk Folkeparti
3. Venstre
4. Enhedslisten
5. Liberal Alliance
6. Alternativet
7. Radikale Venstre
8. Socialistisk Folkeparti
9. Det Konservative Folkeparti
10. Kristendemokraterne
11. Folkebevægelsen mod EU
12. Nye Borgerlige

Czech Republic

1. ANO 2011
2. TOP 09/STAN (Starostové a nezávislí)
3. ČSSD (Česká strana sociálně demokratická)
4. KSČM (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy)
5. KDU-ČSL (Křesťanská a demokratická unie – Československá strana lidová)
6. ODS (Občanská demokratická strana)
7. Svobodní

8. Piráti (Česká pirátská strana)
9. Strana zelených
10. SPD

France

1. La République en marche (REM)/Mouvement démocrate (MoDem)/Agir
2. Les Républicains (LR)
3. Rassemblement National (RN)
4. Parti socialiste (PS)
5. La France insoumise (FI)
6. Europe Écologie - Les Verts (EELV)
7. Union des Démocrates et Indépendants (UDI)
8. Parti communiste français (PCF)
9. Debout la France (DLF)
10. Mouvement radical, social et libéral (MR)
11. Génération.s (G.s)
12. Les Patriotes (LP)
13. Nouveau Parti anticapitaliste (NAP)
14. Union populaire républicaine (UPR)
15. Lutte Ouvrière (LO)
16. Ralliement d'initiative citoyenne (gilets jaunes)

Poland

1. Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)
2. Platforma Obywatelska (PO)
3. Kukiz '15 (K'15)
4. Nowoczesna (.N)
5. Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)
6. Wolność/Korwin
7. Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)
8. Koalicja Europejska (KE)
9. Razem
10. Twój Ruch (TR)
11. Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (PPS)
12. Unia Pracy (UP)
13. Partia Zieloni (PZ)
14. Wiosna

Greece

1. Synaspismós Rizospastikís Aristerás (SYRIZA)
2. Nea Dimokratia (ND)
3. Chrysí Avgí (XA)
4. Dimokratikí Symparataksi (DISI / PASOK-DIMAR)
5. Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas (KKE)
6. To Potami
7. Enosi Kentroon (EK)

8. Anexartitoi Ellines (ANEL)
9. Laïkí Enótita (LAE)
10. Kinima Allagis (KINAL)
11. Antarsya

Sweden

1. Socialdemokraterna
2. Moderaterna
3. Sverigedemokraterna
4. Miljöpartiet
5. Centerpartiet
6. Vänsterpartiet
7. Liberalerna
8. Kristendemokraterna

APPENDIX VI.I - SUBPROJECT 3 TOPIC LIST

List of Topics

Choose the more *substantive* topic (i.e. inflation above election) when possible
Within topic categories: choose the more specific (e.g. safety umbrellas above
government intervention). The more specific categories are placed upfront (having the
lower numbers).

Note: All codes refer to the country in which the news outlet is coded if not explicitly stated differently.

TOPIC01 Economy	65	The Euro (e.g. currency rate, inflation, stability)
	66	Effect of Euro on the economy
	67	Eurozone exit
	68	Other currency related topic
	69	Inflation (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	70	Interest rate (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	71	Taxes (policy); needs to be specifically about <i>policy</i>
	72	National contributions to EU (from member states)
	73	EU budget / finances / (incl. 3% rule, semester system)
	74	EU debts (incl. 3% rule, semester system)
	75	State budget / state finances / (non EU-countries)
	76	State debts (non EU-countries)
	77	EU economic policy: Stimulus package and safety umbrellas (bilateral credits, buying of state bonds, ESM)
	78	Bank and financial sector regulation
	79	Banking Union
	80	EU Structural Fund (EU funds for underdeveloped regions/areas)
	81	EU competition policy (incl. investigations into state aid, mergers, take-overs, fixed prices, carving up of markets)
	82	Competition policy non-EU (incl. investigations into state aid, mergers, take-overs, fixed prices, carving up of markets)
	83	Government Ownership, nationalisation in general (land, banks, etc.)
	84	Privatisation (of government owned business or industry)
	85	Protectionism (e.g. methods to protect national markets, economic growth)
	86	Government intervention/control over the economy (prices, wages, rents)
	87	Economic Planning (of long-term economic planning, e.g. Greece)
	88	Common market: Free movement of people and/or goods, capital and services within the EU
	89	EU trade policy (e.g. EU tariffs and import quotas towards non-member states)

	90	Trade policy non-EU
	91	Effects of financial crisis on domestic/EU/global economy (e.g. competitiveness, demand and supply, consumption, business climate)
	92	State of the EU economy, current situation and outlook, growth, shrinkage
	93	Stock market and its developments (shares, bonds, AEX, DAX, Dow Jones etc.)
	94	Business (companies, banks, industry, mergers, manufacturing, bankruptcy)
	95	EU consumer protection policy
	96	Other economic topics
TOPIC02 Social and labor market policy	19	EU employment policy
	20	Employment policy (non-EU countries)
	21	Labour market regulations (e.g. working hours, wage policy; unemployment insurance, unemployment regulation)
	22	Health care (policy)
	23	Retirement and pensions (policy)
	24	Social housing (including poverty, social assistance) (policy)
	25	Youth (policy)
	26	Family policy (e.g. child care, parental leave)
	27	Other social and labor market topics
TOPIC03 Education and research	9	EU education policy
	10	Education policy (non-EU)
	11	Science and research policy
	12	Other education and research topics
TOPIC04 Law and order	17	EU police collaboration
	18	Crime prevention policy
	19	Terrorism
	20	Intelligence service
	21	Data and personal information security
	22	Courts, trials, court decisions (both on the national- and EU-level)
	23	Crime (robbery, mugging, killing)
	24	Other law and order topics
TOPIC05 Immigration	13	EU immigration policy - regulating immigration from outside the EU (e.g. refugees, asylum, EU border protection)
	14	National immigration policy (non-EU; country of coding) - regulating immigration that comes from outside the EU
	15	Migration / immigration policy – regulating migration within the EU (e.g. labour migration from Eastern European

		countries or Southern European countries to the Northern member states)
	16	Immigrant integration
	17	Multiculturalism (cultural diversity, cultural plurality)
	18	Other immigration topics
TOPIC06 International Affairs	15	EU foreign affairs general (e.g. EU-China, EU-Russia, EU-US relations, European neighbourhood policy)
	16	Foreign affairs general (non-EU; e.g. relations Germany-US, UK's role in the UN; relations between states or (international) political organizations)
	17	EU defence / peace-keeping / EU security
	18	Defence / peace-keeping / national security (non-EU; e.g. France sending troops to peace-keeping mission in Africa)
	19	Armed forces (modernization, structure, expenditure, military strength)
	20	Military cooperation / treaties / obligations (e.g. membership, obligations, NATO)
	21	Other international affairs topic
TOPIC07 Culture and Other	15	EU cultural and media / communication (policy) (arts, films/movies, theatre, music, media)
	16	Cultural and media / communication (policy) (non-EU) (e.g. subsidies for theatre's, movies, music etc.; the export of own culture, language etc.)
	17	Human interest (soft news: about prominent persons, celebrities, anniversaries, weddings, animals, strange/funny events, etc.)
	18	Religion
	19	Sports, weather report/ forecast
	20	Accidents
	21	Other culture and soft news topics
TOPIC08 Environment and Energy	21	Climate policy
	22	EU Energy policy – supply safety (e.g. securing energy supply, EU contracts with Gazprom and other suppliers)
	23	Energy policy – supply safety (non-EU)
	24	Energy policy – renewable energies (e.g. wind, solar, water)
	25	Energy policy – fossil energies (e.g. fracking)
	26	Energy policy – nuclear energy
	27	Paris accord / Paris agreement
	28	(Natural) disasters (earthquakes, floods)
	29	Other EU environmental and energy topics
	30	Other non-EU environmental and energy topics
TOPIC09 Infrastructure	11	EU transportation policy
	12	Transportation policy (non-EU)
	13	ICT policy (e.g. communication infrastructure)

	14	Energy grid
	15	Other technology and infrastructure topics
TOPIC10 Agriculture and Food	15	EU agricultural policy (e.g. subsidies for farmers, genetically modified food)
	16	Agricultural policy (non-EU)
	17	EU maritime affairs and fishery policy
	18	Maritime affairs and fishery policy (non-EU)
	19	Food safety
	20	Food and public health
	21	Other agriculture and food topics
TOPIC11 Citizens' rights	13	Female rights and equality
	14	Abortion
	15	Immigrant rights
	16	Minority rights (e.g. handicapped, gay marriage, children, elderly)
	17	Private property and copyright rights
	18	Other citizens' rights topics (e.g. Human rights in general, civil liberties, equality before law)
TOPIC12 Constitutional questions and functioning of EU	35	Division of power <i>between political institutions</i> (e.g. between Parliament and Government, between the Council and the European Parliament, separation of church and state)
	36	Division of power <i>between political levels</i> (e.g. delegation and transference of decision-making power between Brussels and the national level; between regional and national levels; federalism, regional autonomy AND devolution; subsidiarity)
	37	EU's <i>democratic deficit</i> (e.g. distance or 'gap' between the EU and its citizens or the responsiveness of the EU towards its citizens, citizens feeling not represented or understood by the EU)
	38	Division of power <i>between the people and the political system</i> (e.g. democracy, referendums, sovereignty of the people); non-EU
	39	Other <i>rules of decision-making</i> (e.g. qualified majority voting, EU treaties, right to veto, other treaty reforms)
	40	Competences of the European Parliament (power, legislative procedures)
	41	Competences of the European Commission (Powers of the European Commission)
	42	Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers (Powers of the European Council/Council of Ministers)
	43	Competences of the European Court of Justice (references to the powers of the European Court of Justice)
	44	European Central Bank functioning and power
	45	Power and position of the EU presidency of member state

	46	Power and position European Council President/Presidency (Tusk position)
	47	Power and position European Commission President/Presidency (Juncker position)
	48	Power and position external affairs (Mogherini position)
	49	Power and position Eurogroup leader (Dijsselbloem/Centeno)
	50	(State of) democracy in member state(s)
	51	Other EU polity / constitutional topic
TOPIC13 Territorial questions	17	EU-Membership (existing) (e.g. Dutch referendum on EU membership)
	18	Brexit, negotiations and decisions
	19	Enlargement (negotiations, criteria, pros and cons) of EU
	20	Potential EU membership Turkey
	21	Potential EU membership other (e.g. enlargement of EU with Croatia, Iceland, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo)
	22	Catalonian independence
	23	Irish independence
	24	Other territorial questions topics
TOPIC14 Administration and bureaucracy (corruption)	13	Executive and administrative efficiency
	14	EU finance and spending
	15	EU political corruption, fraud, scandals EU-level politicians or institutions, including regulations and anti-corruption measures (not abuse of EU funds <i>by member states</i> -> 04)
	16	Political corruption non-EU: Fraud, scandals of non-EU (e.g. national, supranational) politicians or institutions, including regulations and anti-corruption measures
	17	(Extent of) EU regulations
	18	Other administration and bureaucracy topics
TOPIC15 Elections	35	European Elections: Candidates, politicians, parties; their images and strategic positions, personality, candidate MEP's personal character, background, leadership qualities
	36	European Elections: Electioneering, campaigning (strategy, style, finance, fundraising, events, media appearances, endorsements, targeting of electoral groups, political marketing, publicity, advertising)
	37	Media coverage of the campaign
	38	European Elections: Voters, public opinion, polls, (anticipated) electoral success
	39	European Election: Voter turnout (e.g. expectations)
	40	European Elections: List of party positions on issues (a "manifesto story")
	41	European Elections: Voting procedures (e.g. electronic voting machines, foreign votes)
	42	European Elections: Election laws, rules, regulations

	43	European Elections: (Formal, public) debates (as an event) between parties, politicians
	44	Political consequences of EP election outcome (e.g. for national-level politicians, parties, power in the)
	45	EU policy profile of national political parties (e.g. party manifesto on EU integration issues) (only in context of EU elections)
	46	Political party groups/alliances in European Parliament (e.g. political party group profile, internal affairs, conflict, organization, internal elections)
	47	Vote advice for European Elections
	48	Other EP election-related topics
	49	Other National, regional, local elections in EU Countries
	50	Other National elections in non-EU Countries
	51	Other topics

APPENDIX VI.II - SUBPROJECT 3 ACTOR LIST

EU-level actors (evaluated!)

Code	Actor
Members of the EU Commission	
100	current or former members of the EU Commission, when identified as such, excl. Juncker
101	Jean-Claude Juncker [President]
EU general	
200	the EU as a whole (or synonyms like “EU member states”, “Europe”)
201	EU Commission as a whole
211	other EU (Euro zone, European Council, Council of Europe, Eurogroup, council of ministers, EU politicians)
European Parliament	
250	European Parliament as a whole
251	members of the European parliament (MEPs; several; if all MEPs are mentioned code “European parliament” 250) & EP Candidates
Non-political EU actors	
300	European Central Bank (ECB) and its representatives
303	Troika
399	Other non-political EU actors (e.g. Europol, OSCE, Activists, Think Tanks, Experts, voters, journalists)
Individual EU member states (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom)	
350	member states, head of state or government, members of parliament, parliament, government, ministers, politicians, non-political actors
EU applicant countries (Turkey, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia)	
400000	any political or non-political actor from EU applicant countries.

Non-EU countries (These include Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Ukraine, Georgia, and all other countries, such as USA, Russia, China, etc.), including non-political (e.g., NATO)	
999050	heads of states, governments, ministers, any political and non-political actors

National level actors (not evaluated!) – for country of appearance of a news story only

Czech Republic	
4201	Czech Republic, national politics ((members of) parliament, (members of) government, head of states)
4202	Other political actors (local politicians, parties, party members, unless denoted as national political actors)
4203	Non-political actors

France	
3301	France, National politics ((members of) parliament, (members of) government, head of states)
3302	Other political actors (local politicians, parties, party members, unless denoted as national political actors)
3303	Non-political actors

Greece	
3001	Greece, National politics ((members of) parliament, (members of) government, head of states)
3002	Other political actors (local politicians, parties, party members, unless denoted as national political actors)
3003	Non-political actors

Poland	
4801	Poland, National politics ((members of) parliament, (members of) government, head of states)

4802	Other political actors (local politicians, parties, party members, unless denoted as national political actors)
4803	Non-political actors

Sweden	
4601	Sweden, National politics ((members of) parliament, (members of) government, head of states)
4602	Other political actors (local politicians, parties, party members, unless denoted as national political actors)
4603	Non-political actors