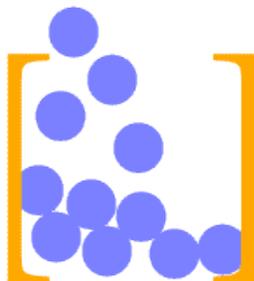


Project:

## Governing Intellectual Property Claims

**Conflicts about European guidelines on intellectual property rights and software-patents**



**Project acronym:** IPGov  
**Project website:** <http://www.ipgovernance.eu/>

**Funded by:** Thyssen Foundation

Codebook

## Codebook for the analysis of political claims in conflicts on intellectual property rights in Europe

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*(based on the codebook by Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham)<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> The structure of the codebook, most examples and most of the codes are directly copied from: Koopmans, Ruud 2002. "Codebook for the analysis of political mobilisation and communication in European public spheres." Available at: <http://europub.wz-berlin.de/Data/Codebooks%20questionnaires/D2-1-claims-codebook.pdf>. Additional codes have been added where applicable and in some instances codes have been changed as needed.

## The structure of claims

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

Claims are broken down into seven elements, for each of which a number of variables have been constructed:

1. Location of the claim in time and space (WHEN and WHERE is the claim made?)

*Variables: year, month, day, country, region, city*

2. Claimant: the actor making the claim (WHO makes the claim?)

*Variables: (s)act, acttyp, actscop, actcoun, actpar*

3. Form of the claim (HOW is the claim inserted in the public sphere?)

*Variable: form*

4. The addressee of the claim (AT WHOM is the claim directed?)

*Variables: (s)adr, adreval, adrscop, adrcoun, adrpar*

5. The substantive issue of the claim (WHAT is the claim about?)

*Variables: field, (s)issue, isscop, posit*

6. Object actor: who would be affected by the claim if it is realized (FOR/AGAINST WHOM?)

*Variables: (s)obj, objeval, objscop, objcoun, objpar*

7. The justification for the claim (WHY should this action be undertaken?)

*Variable: frame, posfra*

The ideal-typical claim in the public sphere has all these elements, for instance (leaving out the WHEN and WHERE, which are pretty self-evident):

WHO (SUBJECT ACTOR)	HOW (FORM)	AT WHOM (ADDRESSEE)	WHAT (ISSUE)	FOR/AGAINST WHOM? (OBJECT ACTOR)	WHY (FRAME)
A group of asylum seekers	engage in a hunger strike	demanding the government	not to deport to their country of origin	themselves (the group of asylum seekers)	because this would be in violation of the Geneva Convention
The European Parliament	passes a resolution	criticizing the Turkish government and demanding	measures to improve the treatment of	political prisoners	arguing that respect for human rights is a core value of the European Union

In grammatical terms, we may write such claims as a SUBJECT-ACTION-ADDRESSEE-ACTION-OBJECT-JUSTIFICATION CLAUSE sequence: an actor, the subject, undertakes some sort of action in the public sphere to get another actor, the addressee, to do or leave something affecting the interests of a third actor, the object, and provides a justification for why this should be done. Many claims are not as differentiated as this type. The only information we always need for coding is information on the FORM (some sort of act in the public sphere has to be identifiable) as well as information on ISSUE, OBJECT ACTOR, or FRAME that allows us to determine whether the action relates to one of our topical fields. Often several claim elements are missing, as indicated by the following examples.

WHO (SUBJECT ACTOR)	HOW (FORM)	AT WHOM (ADDRESSEE)	WHAT (ISSUE)	FOR/AGAINST WHOM? (OBJECT ACTOR)	WHY (FRAME)
The French agricultural minister	calls on	meat importers	to boycott the import of meat	from other EU countries in support of French farmers	
Joschka Fischer	holds a speech calling for		the drawing up of a European Constitution		
	sets fire to			an asylum seeker centre	
The Bavarian authorities	deport			a group of Kurdish refugees	
A group of British economists	publish a report stating that				British non-participation in the common currency will lead to lower economic growth

The first row illustrate a very common forms of 'incompleteness' of claims. Very frequently, no justification is given for a claim. The example in the second row illustrates that claims often have no explicit addressees or object actors (or at least the newspaper does not mention them). The third example illustrates a form of direct action, which contains no discursive elements, but where we can derive the issue at stake on the basis of the physical object of the action. In addition, the example illustrates that sometimes actors are unknown or anonymous. The fourth example is common for state actors, who do not have to make claims on others to do something, but can directly make binding claims. As in the third example, the aim of the action may not be specified in a discursive statement but can be derived from the action itself. The final example is not untypical for statements by scientists who usually express no explicit aims, but present frames referring to the consequences of certain policy actions.

Note that, while inspired by the idea of linguistic grammar, the way we code claims does not usually literally coincide with the grammatical structure of the media text. In the case of "John hits Peter" such coincidence is given: John is subject actor/nominative case, Peter is object actor/accusative case. However, in: "John gives the book to Peter", the book is in accusative case, but we would still code Peter as the object actor because he benefits from John's action. In trying to identify who is subject actor, addressee and object actor, it is perhaps helpful to use the following sentence as a model, and try to translate your media text in a similar

form: "John asks Jim to give the book to Peter": John is subject actor, Jim is addressee, Peter is object actor, 'to give the book' is the issue, and 'asks' is the form. Examples with similar structures: "George Bush (John) demanded from (asks) the Taliban government (Jim) to extradite (to give the book to) Osama Bin Laden (Peter)"; "Schröder (John) assured (asks) Bush (Jim) of his full support for military action against (to give the book to) the Afghan regime (Peter)"; "Chirac (John) criticized (asks) Blair (Jim) for blocking the decision-making process (to give the book to) in the European Union (Peter)".

### Units of analysis and their delineation

The unit of analysis are either articles or instances of claim-making. Continuations of an article on another page are considered as part of the same article. Announcements in the form of a table of contents or something similar on the front page should be disregarded, they count neither as articles in their own right, nor as the beginning of the articles they refer to.

Above, we have defined an instance of claim-making (shorthand: a claim) as the expression of a political opinion by physical or verbal action in the public sphere. This definition implies two important delimitations: (1) instances of claim-making must be the result of purposive strategic action of the claimant and (2) they must be political in nature.

Ad (1) To qualify as an instance of claim-making, the text must include a reference to an ongoing or concluded physical or verbal action in the public sphere, i.e. simple attributions of attitudes or opinions to actors by the media or by other actors do not count as claim-making. Examples: »The Greens, who want to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organizations ...« or »Mr. Blair's pro-European course may have cost him votes in the last elections«. Both do not qualify as claim-making by the Greens or Mr. Blair, respectively (nor are they claims by the journalist). [Note that, by contrast, the sentences "The Greens, who said they wanted to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organizations..." and "Mr. Blair's pro-European speech a week before the election may have cost him votes" would have qualified as instances of claim-making because they contain references to actual verbal action by these actors].

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

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

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

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

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

Ad (2) Claims must also be political, in the sense that they relate to collective social problems and solutions to them, and not to purely individual strategies of coping with problems. I.e., if a parent complains about her child's treatment in school, this is not an instance of claim-making on education politics, unless the case refers to a problem of wider collective social relevance (e.g., if the complaint relates to the child being forbidden to wear the Islamic headscarf in class). Corruption or criminal evasion does not constitute claim-making, either. E.g., if a farmer tries to cover up BSE cases among his cattle, this does not constitute an act of claim-making, and nor does an asylum seeker's attempt to illegally enter the country (legal action against such evasion may however constitute claim-making if the argument is couched in terms that go beyond the individual case).

Statements or actions by different actors are considered to be part of one single instance of claim-making if they take place at the same location in time (the same day) and place (the same locality) and if the actors can be assumed to act 'in concert' (i.e. they can be considered as strategic allies). Examples:

- Two substantively identical statements by the same actor on two different days, or on one day in two different localities are two separate claims.
- Statements by different speakers during a parliamentary debate or a conference are considered part of one instance of claim-making as long as they are substantively and strategically compatible. Thus, different speakers may be taken together if they all express a similar point of view. However, if the speakers take positions that are substantially different enough to reject the zero hypothesis that they are 'acting in concert', you should code the statements as separate claims.

- If an identifiable part of a peaceful demonstration (e.g., a 'black block') breaks away from a march and turns violent, the assumption of acting in concert is no longer warranted and a separate claim is coded.
- If two negotiation partners present a compromise package at a press conference, the two's statements are coded as one instance of claim-making, even if the two may emphasize different elements of the compromise.

Exceptions to this rule are cases where there is temporal or spatial continuity between actions. An example of temporal continuity would be a hunger strike which may last several weeks. However, as long as the actors and aims remain the same, this is counted as one instance of claim-making, and not every day as a new claim. An example of spatial continuity would be a listing of actions by exactly the same actors and aims on the same day in different localities, where it is plausible that these actions were co-ordinated. E.g., »Greek border guards yesterday arrested fifteen illegal immigrants who had landed on the Island of Samos. Another group of refugees was taken into custody in the waters around the island of Kos«. The actions in the different Greek islands are taken together as one instance of (geographically dispersed) claim-making. As soon as, however, there would be additional information indicating differences in the actors or timing of these actions, we would separate them into different instances of claim-making. The article where the above example is drawn from also included references to the Turkish border guards taking a group of refugees into custody in Turkey on the same day, and to the Greeks already having captured illegal immigrants on Rhodes island a week ago. While the Samos and Kos actions can be taken together, the Turkish (another actor) and Rhodes (another time) actions should be coded as separate claims.

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

For the treatment of the date of claims in case of missing or incomplete information, see further the note under CDAY.

### Missing values

Unless otherwise indicated, the zero code has a substantive meaning 'no' or 'none', or sometimes 'neutral' and should not be used for missing information. The codes 9, 99, 999, 9999, etc. (depending on the number of reserved digits for the variable) are reserved for 'missing' or 'unknown' . They should only be used where we are sure or have a strong suspicion that the correct coding is not 'no' or 'none' even though the newspaper article does not contain the information. For instance, if an asylum seeker centre is set on fire, we know that *someone* did it, even though the perpetrators are not mentioned in the article; therefore the appropriate actor code is 999.

### Note on editorials and 'analysis' type articles:

Journalist claims in analysis type articles may be coded if they qualify as claims.

ONLY ONE JOURNALIST CLAIM per article may be coded. The publication of the article in this case is regarded as the strategic unit of action in the public sphere constituting an instance of claim-making. The journalist's opinion must moreover be EXPLICIT, any implicit, 'between the lines' commenting should be disregarded. The degree to which in 'mixed' articles the journalist's own opinion, or the coverage of others' actions and opinions stands in the forefront can be indicated with the order in which the claims are coded (main claim or not, see below).

In the case of claims by an editor or journalist of the newspaper itself, the subject actor code is 130=media and journalists, the day of the claim is identical to the day of publication of the newspaper issue and the location of the claim is the city where the newspaper is based. In the case of a guest commentary, the affiliation/profession of the commentator is coded in the subject actor variable, the day and location are again the day and location of the newspaper, unless indicated otherwise in the article.

### The identification process of claims and articles

The first step is to identify if the article contains any claims relating to our topics. This is best done on a copy or printout of the article, where you can mark and number the claims. If the article contains no claims, neither by third actors, nor by the journalist or guest commentator, then you code only on the article level.

When coding, you choose whether you want to code an article or a claim within an article:

### FILTER

'Type of information to be coded'

1 Article

2 Claim

*Note: The FILTER is not a real variable to be coded; you choose between the two options by clicking on the appropriate button in the 'navigation' field.*

**PART I:  
ARTICLE-LEVEL VARIABLES**

Variable **AID** (all variables are numeric except when otherwise indicated)  
'article identification number'

*Note: running count per year and per newspaper 1-9999; restart with 1 in a new year or for another newspaper. A unique identification number for each article will be composed afterwards from PAPER, AYEAR, and AID. The number only serves identification purposes in the data file and on paper or electronic copies of the article. It is therefore no problem if there are gaps or 'jumps' in the count of article numbers. E.g., if you decide to delete a coded case, you can do so without altering the numbers of other cases. Also, if two coders work simultaneously on the same newspaper in the same year, you can reserve numbers 1-999 for the first coder, 1000-1999 for the second, and so forth. Note that continuations of an article on a different page are still considered as part of the same article.*

Variable **NAMECOD**  
'name of coder'  
Categories, see data entry file.

Variable **PAPER**  
'name of newspaper from which claim is coded'  
Categories, see data entry file.

Variable **AHEAD** (string variable)  
'headline of article'  
*Note: only the main (largest print) headline.*

Variable **ADAY**  
'day of newspaper issue'  
(1-31)

Variable **AMONTH**  
'month of newspaper issue'  
(1-12)

Variable **AYEAR**  
'year of newspaper issue'  
(two digits, e.g. 85=1985; 99=1999; 0=2000, 1=2001)

Variable **AFRPAGE**  
'is article reported on front page?'  
0 no  
1 yes  
9 unknown

*Note: the page is determined by where the article begins. E.g., if an article begins on page 1 and is continued on page 5, it is coded as a front page article. Mere announcements of articles on other pages do not count as the beginning of coverage, e.g., 'see also page 5' in an article on page 1.*

Variable **AGENRE**

'Journalistic genre of article'

- 1 News article (day-to-day coverage of events, e.g. news item, news report)
- 2 Background article (e.g. correspondents' background report, analysis, feature, documentation)
- 3 Interview (of the newspaper itself; references to interview statements drawn from other sources are coded as 1 or 2)
- 4 Opinion/commentary by a guest author/columnist/other newspaper

Variable **ASECTION**

'section of newspaper where article appears'

- 1 Mixed international/national news section
- 2 Regional/local news section
- 3 Commentary pages
- 4 Business/Economy section
- 5 International news section
- 6 National news section
- 7 Culture section
- 8 No differentiation between sections
- 9 Section unknown

*Note: Articles in the regional and local sections (if present at all) of the newspaper will only be included if a reference to them is made in the international/national news section of the paper (e.g., »see further/also regional/local section«). This rule applies to all newspapers except the regional newspaper, for which regional and local sections will be fully included. Note further that mention of an article in a Table of Contents on page 1 does not count as a reference to the regional or local section, the reason being that such tables will usually not be included on CD-roms.*

Variable **ASOURCE**

'main source of article'

- 1 Own coverage: foreign correspondent's report (incl. interviews)
- 2 Own coverage: article by a national office editor or journalist (incl. interviews)
- 3 National press agency
- 4 Other EU press agency (e.g., AFP outside France)
- 5 Non-EU press agency (e.g., AP)
- 6 Other national media source
- 7 Other EU media source (e.g., an article drawn from the Guardian in El Pais)
- 8 Non-EU media source
- 9 Other sources

*Note : regional or local and topical(e.g., education correspondent) correspondents should be coded as national office journalists*

Variable **AMAINTOP**

'Is one of our themes main topic of article?'

- 0 no
- 1 yes

*If a reference to one of our five themes occurs in an article, the main topic of which is something else (e.g., a reference to troops deployment in an article that is mainly about clashes between the Taliban and the Northern Alliance, or a statement by a politician on European integration in an article that mainly deals with non-European issues), then code 0=no.*

Filter-variable **ACLAIM**

'Does article contain claims?'

- 0 no
- 1 yes, but only already coded ones
- 2 yes, includes new claims

**IF 2 > END OF ARTICLE LEVEL CODING: IF 0 or 1 > ON TO ATOPIC**

*Note: if an article contains claims, but those were already coded in another article, they are not coded again. The article is then treated similarly to articles that do not contain claims at all. For articles containing claims, information on main actor, topic, and scope of the article can be derived from the main claim (the first coded claim in the article, defined as »the claim around which the information (in as far as relevant to our seven fields) in the article is organized«, see further below under CID). This is not only economical and avoids double coding of the same information, but also allows us to link the full detail of the claim coding to the article level: e.g., information on addressees, frames, forms, etc.*

Variable **ATOPIC**

'topic of article'

- 1 'Directive on patentability of computer-implemented inventions'
- 2 'Intellectual Property Rights Enforcement Directive'
- 3 'Intellectual property rights'
- 4 'Patents/patent law'
- 5 'Crime'
- 6 'European integration'

*Note: Coding of the main topic from among our six fields only on the basis of headline, lead, (if present) photo byline, and first 150 words of main text. Coding rule: first-mentioned topic (main headline is considered as the first line of the article, even if there is a secondary headline before it). Only the seven topics of our study are considered. I.e., even if an article is mainly about unemployment, but also mentions monetary politics in the first 150 words, the main topic for us is monetary politics. I.e., YOU SHOULD DISREGARD ANYTHING IN THE ARTICLE THAT DOES NOT REFER TO OUR SIX TOPICS!*

See for the delineation of these topics under the SISSUE variable below.

**PART II:  
CLAIM VARIABLES**

Variable **ATOPSCOP**

- 'scope of article topic'
- 1 'supranational: United Nations'
  - 2 'other supranational'
  - 3 'European Union'
  - 4 'other European supranational'
  - 5 'multilateral'
  - 6 'bilateral'
  - 7 'national'
  - 8 'regional'
  - 9 'local'
  - 99 'unclassifiable'

*Note: Coding of the topic scope only on the basis of headline, lead, (if present) photo byline, and first 150 words of main text. See for further clarification ISSCOP below. The scope should refer to the topic among our seven fields as coded in ATOPIC, not to the scope of other topics discussed in the article, even if these are more prominently placed. AGAIN, EVERYTHING NOT DEALING WITH OUR SEVEN TOPICS SHOULD BE DISREGARDED COMPLETELY.*

Variable **ACOUNTRY**

*Only coded if TOPSCOP=3-9, country of topic as defined by ATOPIC and ASCOPE (categories see variable COUNTRY below). In the case of bilateral and multilateral actors, code the country of coding if it is implicated in the issue, otherwise code the most important (default: first-mentioned) implicated country.*

Variable **AREFAID**

'AID of already coded claim to which article refers'

Variable **AREFCID**

'CID of already coded claim to which article refers'

*Note: both AREFAID and AREFCID should only be coded if ACLAIM = 1. Only claims that were already coded for the same newspaper and which are not further than two weeks back in time should be coded here. This includes, of course, claims that occur in the same newspaper issue.*

END OF ARTICLE LEVEL CODING

## IDENTIFICATION AND LOCATION

### Variable **AID**

'number of the article where the claim is reported'

*Note: if coverage of the claim extends over several articles, code here the number of the first article where the claim is covered (lowest page number, or if on the same page, nearest to the upper left corner of the page). Mere references to coverage further on in the paper (e.g., in articles that consist of summary listings of events, or mere announcements, followed by see page ...) do not as such count as coverage.*

### Variable **CID**

'identification number of the claim'

*Note: Count (1-99) within each article.*

*If there are several claims in one article, you should code the MAIN CLAIM of the article first. The main claim is the claim around which the information (in as far as relevant to our seven fields) in the article is organized, often indicated by the headline(s). E.g., in an article 'Minister Schily presents new immigration law' which apart from Schily's law also reports reactions to that law by several other actors, Schily's law is the main claim and coded first. If in doubt, the first reported claim is the main claim. The main claim is used to link claim and article levels of analysis while avoiding double coding: the actor of the main claim is considered to be the main claim of the article, the main claim's issue is considered to be the article's main issue.*

*The main claim of the article gets CID=1. Subsequent claims within the article get CID=2,3, etc. Each claim is coded in only one article. If the main claim of an article has already been coded in another article, but the article contains other claims that were not coded yet, the second most important claim of the article is coded in the first position with CID=1.*

### Variable **TITLE** (string variable)

'description of claim'

*Brief description of the claim containing at least the main actor, form, (if present) addressees, object actor and aim of the claim. Example: 'Interior Minister Schily urges Bosnian authorities to co-operate in repatriating refugees'. This description should be given in English so that all project members can understand it.*

### Variable **CDATE**

'date of claim'  
(yyyy-mm-dd)

*Note on the coding of the date in the absence of explicit information in the article:*

*If the article does not mention the date of a claim, the default option is to code it on the day before the newspaper issue (i.e., "yesterday"). The reasoning behind this is that newspapers coverage by default refers to events on the preceding day, an obvious fact that is often not explicitly mentioned. Undated events and statements are by default included, unless you know for sure that they took place more than two weeks ago (e.g., because you have come across the action already in a newspaper issue longer than two weeks ago, or because the context*

*information in the article indicates this). Imprecise indications of time, which, however, are certainly neither yesterday, nor longer than two weeks ago are treated as follows: 'a few days ago'=date of newspaper minus 3; 'last week'=date of newspaper minus 7; similar phrases can be treated along similar lines.*

### Variable **COUNTRY**

'Country where the claim was made'

*Note: See separate list with country-codes (numeric). The abbreviations in letters can be used as shorthand in the title variable. E.g., instead of 'German foreign minister criticizes Dutch BSE policies', you may write 'DE foreign minister criticizes NL BSE policies'. Add code 998 for 'several countries', 999 'country unknown'. In the case of locations where supranational institutions reside, a distinction should be made between 'Brussels as the capitol of Belgium' and 'Brussels as a seat of the European Union', 'New York as a city in the USA' and 'New York as a seat of the UN', 'Frankfurt as a city in Germany' and 'Frankfurt as the seat of the ECB'. The first cases of the pairs receive country codes Belgium, USA, and Germany, the second cases EU, UN, and EU, respectively.*

Variable **CITY** (only if the city is among the twenty largest cities inclusive of the national capital, plus Brussels, Luxemburg, and New York in the case of claims with an EU- or UN-dimension)  
'city in which claim was made'

*Categories, see data entry file; the list includes for each of our seven countries the capital city plus the nineteen largest other cities. Note that contrary to what we discussed in Geneva, you should code cities in the list also if they are not in your own country! If the location is unknown, code 999 (missing); if it is known, but not among the cities on the list, code 0 (not a large city).*

*Note on the coding of the location in the absence of explicit information in the article:*

*As for the date, newspapers often omit explicit information on the location of a claim if it is self-evident. For example, statements by Chirac or Jospin will not usually be explicitly labelled as "in Paris", and an article reporting a European Commission decision will not necessarily say this decision was taken in Brussels. However, if Chirac or EU Commission spokespersons make statements outside their normal habitus (say in London or Bonn), the newspaper will almost always mention this information. Therefore here too, we use our common sense, and "fill in" information that is "quasi-missing" simply because the newspaper regards the information to be too obvious to require mentioning. This implies that statements by representatives of political institutions are by default coded at the location of that institution, e.g., Europarliamentarians as Strasbourg, German government ministers as Berlin, etc. However, if there is context information, or the coder has knowledge from previously coded articles that cast serious doubt on this default assumption, the coder may decide not to follow this rule and code 'missing' instead.*

*If a location for the interview is explicitly mentioned, then code that. If not, then code the location of the newspaper. After all, if Schroeder gives an interview to Le Monde, he does so with an eye on the French public sphere, he doesn't speak (at least not directly) to the German public.*

## CLAIMANTS: SUBJECT ACTORS

Variable ACTIS (ACT2S, ACT3S)

'summary first actor'.

- 0 'none' (only used for second and third actors)
- 10 'whole polities'<sup>2</sup>
- 20 'politicians' (if unspecified and unclear whether referring to government, parliament or parties)
- 30 'former states(wo)men'
- 40 'government/executive'<sup>3</sup>
- 50 'legislative'<sup>4</sup>
- 60 'judiciary'<sup>5</sup>
- 70 'police and internal security agencies'<sup>6</sup>
- 80 'military'<sup>7</sup>
- 90 'central banks'
- 100 'social security executive organizations' (incl. state pension funds)
- 110 'other state executive agencies'<sup>8</sup>
- 120 'political parties'<sup>9</sup>
- 130 'unions and employees'<sup>10</sup>
- 140 'employers organizations/business associations'
- 150 'big companies'
- 160 'small and medium-sized enterprises'
- 170 'media and journalists'
- 180 'educational professionals and organizations' (incl. schools, universities in their educational capacity)
- 190 'economists and financial experts'
- 200 'other scientific and research professionals and institutions' (e.g., experts, research institutes, universities in their research capacity)
- 210 'students, pupils, and their parents'
- 220 'other professional organizations and groups'<sup>11</sup>

2 Whole countries/polities: e.g., 'the EU', 'Britain', if used not to refer to the government or any other specific institution, but to the polity as a whole; note that 'the Europeans', 'the British', etc. are coded in 900: general public.

3 Governments and government representatives (spokespersons, ministers, royalty etc.) irrespective of territorial scope. The EU-Commission and Council of Ministers, the UN General Secretary and Security Council are coded as governments. Other examples: mayor, Landesregierung, ministry of education.

4 Legislatives and parliaments (all chambers), including individual members thereof, including parliamentary fractions of political parties. Examples: Bundestag, House of Lords, local councils, parliamentary fraction of the SPD, Labor MPs. Intergovernmental organizations which draw up international treaties on the basis of unanimous consent of the signatories are coded among executive/government. The European Parliament and the General Assembly of the UN are, however, coded as legislatives, because they have (limited, but still) the power to make binding decisions on the basis of majority decisions.

5 E.g., European Court of Justice, openbaar ministerie (public prosecutor), individual judges, juries.

6 E.g., police, marechaussee, Bundesgrenzschutz, secret service, Verfassungsschutz, Europol. Note: the Police Union is coded as a union.

7 E.g., Bundeswehr, NATO.

8 E.g., ILO, WHO, Einwohnermeldeamt, Schulaufsichtsbehörde.

9 This category should be used only for parties as parties, e.g., party chairman, party congress, »die SPD«, »a Labor party spokesman«, as well as for sub-organizations of parties (e.g., Junge Sozialisten). Note that the same person may be coded differently according to the way in which her or his position is described: e.g., Bundeskanzler Schröder is coded as government, Mitglied des Bundestages Schröder is coded as legislative, SPD-Parteivorsitzender Schröder is coded as political party.

10 Includes the general categories »workers« and »employees«.

- 230 'consumer organizations and groups'
- 240 'lawyers'
- 250 'pro- and anti-European campaign organizations and groups'
- 260 'civil rights organizations'<sup>12</sup>
- 270 'welfare organizations'<sup>13</sup>
- 280 'other civil society organizations and groups'<sup>14</sup>
- 290 'whole economies'
- 300 'lobbyists'<sup>15</sup>
- 900 'the general public' (e.g., 'citizens', 'the citizenry', 'die Öffentlichkeit', 'the electorate', 'the Germans', 'the population', 'taxpayers'; only if explicitly mentioned!)
- 999 'unknown/unspecified actors'

*Note: If a claim has more than one actor (e.g., a coalition), the following priority rules apply: 1) actors mentioned in the article as 'leaders', 'organizers', 'spokespersons', etc. have priority, unless, of course, they do not make any claims; 2) organizations, institutions or representatives thereof (e.g., 'National Organization of Peasants') have priority over unorganized collectivities or individuals (e.g., 'peasants', 'farmer X'); 3) active actors or speakers have priority over passive audiences/rank-and-file participants (e.g., if a party representative addresses a crowd at a peace rally, the party representative has priority). If there are several actors or no actor at all who have priority according to these three criteria, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article). If of one physical actor two functions are mentioned, the highest level capacity in terms of the scope variable (see below) is coded. E.g., if the article says »Portuguese prime minister and current Chair of the EU Presidency Gutierrez« would be code as »EU presidency« even if Portuguese prime minister would be mentioned first. However, the precondition would be that the EU presidency function is really mentioned in the article - that you know that the Portuguese prime minister is present Chair of the Council is not decisive, it should be explicitly mentioned. Similarly "Bavarian prime minister and CDU/CSU candidate for Chancellor Stoiber" would be coded as 'national' not 'regional' in scope and as candidate chancellor (a party function and therefore coded as 'political parties') and not as Bavarian prime minister. Only if two capacities are at the same scope level the rule is that the first mentioned is coded. All ACTS categories should be read as including organizations and institutions, as well as unorganized collectives and even individuals. I.e., 'pensioners' or 'a pensioner' would go in 'organizations and groups of the elderly', 'asylum seekers' goes into 'migrant organizations and groups', 'consumers' in 'consumer organizations and groups', 'Muslims' in 'churches and religious organizations and groups', etc. I.e., the 'groups' should be read as referring to not formally or unorganized collectives as well as individuals speaking or acting for such groups.*

11 E.g., Deutscher Ärztekammer, Berufsverband Deutscher Psychologen, Deutscher Sportbund, doctors, football players, writers, solicitors, musicians. Note: unions are always coded as unions, non-union organizations of police and judges are coded under their respective institution.

12 This includes only private organizations such as Pro Asyl, Anti-Racist Alliance, Arbeiterwohlfahrt, Amnesty International, Terre des Hommes, medecins sans frontières etc.

13 E.g. Red Cross, Arbeiterwohlfahrt, not state welfare agencies (these are coded as state executive agencies).

14 Including not already mentioned social categories such as 'youth', 'the unemployed', 'children', etc.

15 Coded only if no other category is applicable (esp. 140-160 and 210-280)

Variable **ACTTYP1** (ACTTYP2, ACTTYP3)

'Type of first actor'.

- 1 unorganized collective or anonymous representatives thereof (e.g., 'farmers', 'a farmer')
- 2 named representative(s) of an unorganized collective (e.g., 'farmer X')
- 3 organization or institution (e.g., the 'National Union of Farmers – NUF')
- 4 anonymous spokesperson(s) for organization/institution (e.g., 'critics within the NUF leadership')
- 5 named spokesperson(s) for organization/institution (e.g., 'X, the President of the NUF')

Variable **ACTNAME1** (ACTNAME2, ACTNAME3) (string variable)

'name of organizational spokesperson or organization'

*Note: full name of the spokesperson for an organization or institution. Format: Blair, Tony; Schroeder, Gerhard; etc.*

Variable **ACTSCOP1** (ACTSCOP2, ACTSCOP3)

'Scope of first actor'.

- 1 'supranational: United Nations'<sup>16</sup>
- 2 'other supranational'<sup>17</sup>
- 3 'European Union'<sup>18</sup>
- 4 'other European supranational'<sup>19</sup>
- 5 'multilateral'
- 6 'bilateral'<sup>20</sup>
- 7 'national'<sup>21</sup>
- 8 'regional'<sup>22</sup>
- 9 'local'<sup>23</sup>
- 99 'unclassifiable'

*Note: The notion of »scope« refers to the organizational extension of the organization or institution. In the case of non-organized collective actors (e.g., 'farmers', 'protesters') it refers*

<sup>16</sup> E.g., Security Council., UNHCR, UNESCO, ILO, WHO.

<sup>17</sup> E.g., NATO, G-8, IMF, World Bank, World Council of Roma and Sinti, Amnesty International, Greenpeace, International Council of Voluntary Associations, medecins sans fronti res, Attac. Only supranational organizations whose scope extends beyond Europe.

<sup>18</sup> E.g., European Parliament, European Commission, European Migrant Forum, European Trade Union Federation, Europäischer Verband türkischer Akademiker. If in doubt whether the label 'European' refers to an EU scope or to Europe in a wider sense, code here. Also includes organizations or institutions whose scope is a subset of the EU, e.g. the Benelux states, the Western European Union, 'Euroland', etc.

<sup>19</sup> European organizations and institutions whose scope reaches beyond the confines of the EU and encompasses Europe in the wider Geographic sense. E.g., Helsinki Watch, European Council, UEFA, OSCE. Also includes sub-European organizations not belonging to the EU, e.g., EFTA.

<sup>20</sup> Co-operative organizations and institutions between the country of coding and another country. E.g., German-American Trade Association, German-French summit, Deutsch-Polnischer Freundschaftsverein.

<sup>21</sup> E.g., national political parties, Bundesverfassungsgericht, Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, national media (incl. local papers in name with national scope such as NZZ, FAZ), Deutsche Telekom, Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., Landesregierungen, Landesversorgungsamt, Norddeutscher Rundfunk, Bund türkischer Einwanderer in Berlin-Brandenburg, Flüchtlingsrat Niedersachsen, purely regional political parties (e.g. Frisian National Party), regional branches of national parties (e.g., Hessian SPD).

<sup>23</sup> E.g., local governments, local parties and party branches, Braunschweiger Zeitung, Jüdische Gemeinde Berlin, FÜRther Komitee gegen Rechtsradikalismus.

*to the scope of mobilization. I.e., if the report mentions 'farmers from different member states', the scope is 'European Union'. See further the examples given in the footnotes. Here and in the other scope variables, the category 'multilateral' refers to 'involving (actors from) three or more countries' (on a strictly intergovernmental basis, not in the context of a supra-national agency or organization), 'bilateral' refers to 'involving (actors from) two countries'.*

*Note on the scope of multinational companies:*

*Business firms are coded as they are qualified in the article. I.e., if the article says, "the American automobile manufacturer Ford" it is coded as national, USA, if it says "the multinational company Ford" it is coded as multilateral. Same for McDonald's, either American or multilateral depending on how it is labelled. In cases where the article speaks of "the British branch of Ford", "McDonald's will open six new restaurants in Germany" there is implicit reference to the multinational character of the firm (referring to a national branch means referring to the fact that the firm operates internationally). Thus, this would also be coded as multilateral. If the firm in question has its main seat in your own country and there is no reference in the article to it operating also elsewhere, you should code it as national, your country. E.g., an article in a German paper on Lufthansa cutting jobs is code national, Germany. However, an article in a British paper saying Lufthansa will cut jobs in its England offices will be code multilateral. In all other cases, or in cases where you have doubts what to code, use "unclassifiable" as a default*

Variable **ACT1** (ACT2, ACT3)

'first actor' (three digits)

*Note: More detailed subdivision of ACTIS only for European-level and other supranational actors (ACTSCOP=1-4). If the actor is not already on that list, or if you use any of the 'other' categories, enter its full name on a sheet of paper preceded by YEAR, PAPER, AID and CID. We can then add the actor code later. Priority rules see ACTIS.*

(00-60's reserved for EU, 70's for non-EU European, 80's for UN, 90's for other supranational)

(10) 'governments'

100 'The European Union/Community'/'Europe', 'Brussels' when referring to EU

- 101 Eurozone countries
- 102 member countries
- 103 candidate member countries

110 European Commission

- 111 The European Commission (without further specification)
- 112 President of the Commission 1995 – 1999 (Jacques Santer)
- 113 President of the Commission 1999 – 2004 (Romano Prodi)
- 114 President of the Commission 2004 – 2009 (José Manuel Barroso)

120 Individual Commissioners

- 121 Commissioner for Internal Market, Taxation and Customs Union (Frits Bolkestein 1999-2004)
- 122 Commissioner for Internal Market & Services (Charlie McCreevy 2004-2009)
- 123 Commissioner for Economic & Financial Affairs (Joaquín Almunia 2004-2009)
- 124 Commissioner for Justice & Home Affairs (Antonio Vitorino 1999-2004)
- 125 Commissioner for Enterprise & Information Society (Erkki Liikanen 1999-2004)

- 126 Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy (Benita Ferrero-Waldner 2004-2009)
- 127 Commissioner for Health & Consumer Protection (David Byrne)
- 128 Commissioner for Research (Philippe Busquin),
- 129 Other Commissioners, including: Commissioner for Environment (*Margot Wallström*), Commissioner for Regional Policy (*Michel Barnier*), Commissioner for Transport and Energy (*Loyola de Palacio*) Commissioner for Agriculture, Rural Dev. and Fisheries (*Franz Fischler*) Commissioner for Administrative Reform (*Neil Kinnock*) or Commissioner for Budget (*Michaële Schreyer*) Commissioner for External Relations (*Chris Patten*), or Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid (*Poul Nielson*), or Commissioner for Enlargement (*Günter Verheugen*), Commissioner for Education & Culture (Viviane Reding), Commissioner for Employment & Social Affairs (Anna Diamantopoulou)
- 140 Commission Directorates General (DG)**
  - 141 Secretariat General, DG Budget, DG Personnel and Administration
  - 142 DG Internal Market
  - 143 DG Economic & Monetary Affairs
  - 144 DG Research
  - 145 DG Enterprise & Information Society
  - 146 DG Justice & Home Affairs
  - 147 DG Education & Culture, DG External Relations
  - 148 DG Trade,
  - 149 Other DGs, including: DG Agriculture and Rural Development, DG Fisheries, Taxation and Customs Union, DG Regional Policy, DG Competition, DG Environment, DG Transport and Energy, DG Employment & Social Affairs, DG Development, DG Health & Consumer Protection, DG Enlargement, Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO), EuropeAid Co-operation Office
- 160 Council**
  - 161 European Council (15 Heads of State or Gov. + Pres. of the Com.), »the Summit«
  - 162 Presidency of the European Council
  - 163 Council of the European Union / Council of Ministers (without specification), »the Council«
  - 164 General Affairs Council (Foreign Affairs Ministers)
  - 165 Economic and Financial Affairs Council (ECOFIN)
  - 166 Competitiveness Council
  - 167 Interior and Justice Council
  - 168 Other specific Councils such as Agriculture Council, Transport and Telecommunications, Industry, Environment, and Development Councils
  - 169 Troika
- 170 Foreign Policy Intergovernmental bodies**
  - 171 High Representative for CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy), 1st High Rep.: Javier Solana (also Secretary General of the Council of the EU)
  - 172 Political and Security Committee
  - 173 Military Committee
  - 174 European Union Military Staff (EUMS)
  - 175 WEU Council of Ministers (incl. Policy planning and early warning unit)
  - 176 Policy unit
  - 179 Other specific Foreign Policy Intergovernmental bodies
- 180 Other intergovernmental cooperation within EU**
  - 181 Intergovernmental Conference (IGC)
  - 189 Other specific intergovernmental cooperation within EU
- 190 Other European (non-EU) institution/cooperation**
  - 191 Council of Europe
  - 192 European Patent Office (EPO) and European Patent Convention (EPC)
  - 193 BeNeLux
  - 194 European Free Trade Association (EFTA)
  - 199 Other specific European (non-EU) institution/cooperation (e.g. Baltic Council, Nordic Council)
- 200 United Nations organisations/bodies**
  - 201 'The United Nations'
  - 202 Secretary General
  - 203 World Trade Organization (WTO)
  - 204 World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
  - 209 Other specific UN organisation

- 210 Other supranational or intergovernmental institution/cooperation**
  - 211 OECD
  - 212 G7/G8
  - 213 Regional free trade and economic cooperation, including
    - Central American Common Market (MCCA/CACM), Latin-American Economic System (SELA), Mercosur, Free trade zone for East and South Africa (PTA), West-African Economic Community (CEAO), other African Economic cooperations, Arab Common Market (ACM), Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Caricom CCM, Organisation of Petrol Exporting Countries (OPEC), etc.
  - 219 Other specific supranational or intergovernmental institution/cooperation
- 250 National governments, parliaments and institutions**
  - 251 National Governments
  - 252 National Parliaments
  - 253 National Politicians
  - 260 National Patent Offices
- (30) 'legislatives / Parliament'**
- 310 European Parliament**
  - 311 EP as a body (»the Parliament«)
  - 312 EP President
  - 313 EP Quaestors
  - 314 EP individual member
  - 315 EP group of members, issue related composition (from several groups/ countries)
  - 316 EP group of members, national composition, from the same party (ex: the German Christian Democrats)
  - 317 EP group of members, national composition, cross parties (ex: the Spanish MEPs)
  - 318 EP group of members, cross national, from the same political group/party
  - 319 Other specific EP
- 320 European Parliament Committee**
  - 321 Petitions Committee
  - 322 Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs
  - 323 Committee on Legal Affairs and the Internal Market
  - 324 Committee on Industry, External Trade, Research and Energy
  - 325 Committee on Citizens' Freedoms and Rights, Justice and Home Affairs
  - 326 Committee on Employment and Social Affairs
  - 327 Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Consumer Policy
  - 328 Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport
  - 329 Committee on Budgets, Committee on Budgetary Control, Committee on Constitutional Affairs
  - 330 Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy
  - 331 Committee on Development and Cooperation
  - 332 Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities, and
  - 339 Temporary committee, including those on:
    - on human genetics and other new technologies of modern medicine, the ECHELON, interception system to monitor action taken on BSE recommendations of inquiry into BSE (bovine spongiform encephalopathy) of inquiry into the Community transit regime
- 340 European Parliament Political Group**
  - 341 EPP-ED: Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats
  - 342 PSE: Group of the Party of European Socialists
  - 343 ELDR: Group of the European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party
  - 344 VERTS/ALE: Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance
  - 345 GUE/NGL: Confederal Group of the European United Left/ Nordic Green Left
  - 346 UEN: Union for Europe of the Nations Group
  - 347 TDI: Technical Group of Independent Members (mixed group)
  - 348 EDD: Group for a Europe of Democracies and Diversities
  - 349 NI: Non-attached Group
- 350 Advisory Committee**
  - 351 Committee of the Regions
  - 342 Economic and Social Committee
  - 359 Other advisory committee
- 360 Treaty revising body or Constitutional convent**
  - 361 Convent for elaborating Fundamental Rights Charta: »the Convent«

- 362 Convent for elaborating Fundamental Rights Charta: President Roman Herzog
- 363 Convent for elaborating Fundamental Rights Charta: Individual member
- 364 Convent for revising the Treaty (decided at Laeken): »the Convent«
- 365 Convent for revising the Treaty (decided at Laeken): President Valérie Giscard d'Estaing
- 366 Convent for revising the Treaty (decided at Laeken): Individual member
- 370 Other European (non-EU) parliament
  - 371 Parliamentary Assembly (Council of Europe)
- 380 United Nations parliament
  - 381 General Assembly (UN)
- 390 Other supranational parliament
  
- (40) 'judiciary'
- 410 European Court of Justice (ECJ)
  - 411 ECJ as a body
  - 412 ECJ: individual Judge
  - 413 ECJ: individual Advocate General
  - 419 Other specific ECJ
- 420 Court of First Instance
- 470 Other (non-EU) European judiciary
  - 471 European Court of Human Rights (Council of Europe)
  - 472 European Commission for Human Rights (Council of Europe)
  - 479 Other specific European judiciary
- 480 United Nations judiciary
  - 481 International Court of Justice (ICJ)
  - 482 ICJ: International Criminal Court
  - 483 ICJ: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)
  - 484 ICJ: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)
  - 489 Other specific UN judiciary
- 490 Other supranational
  
- (50) 'police and security agencies'
- 510 EU police and security institutions/cooperation
  - 511 Europol
  - 512 Europol Drugs Unit (EDU)
  - 513 Schengen Executive Committee
  - 514 Schengen Information System (SIS)
  - 515 Euratom Supply Agency (ESA)
  - 519 Other specific EU police and security agency
- 570 Other (non-EU) European police and security institutions/cooperation
- 580 United Nations police and security institutions/cooperation
- 590 Other supranational police and security institutions/cooperation
  - 591 Interpol
  - 599 Other specific supranational police and security institutions/cooperation (e.g., World Customs Organisation (WCO), Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD-OAS))
  
- (60) 'central banks'
- 610 EU monetary institutions
  - 611 »the« European Central Bank (ECB)
  - 612 ECB President (1st pres: Duisenberg)
  - 613 ECB Executive Board
  - 614 ECB Governing Council
  - 615 European Monetary Institute (EMI)
  - 616 Economic and Financial Committee (advisory body)
  - 619 Other ECB

- 620 EU financial institutions
  - 621 European Investment Bank (EIB)
  - 622 European Investment Fund (EIF)
  - 629 Other EU financial institution
- 670 Other (non-EU) European central bank
- 680 United Nations central bank
- 690 Other supranational monetary and financial institutions
  - 691 International Monetary Fund (IMF)
  - 692 Worldbank
  - 693 Bank for International Settlements (BIS), Internationale Bank für Zahlungsausgleich
  - 694 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
  - 695 International Finance Corporation (IFC)
  - 696 World Trade Organization (WTO)
  - 699 Other specific supranational monetary and financial institutions
  
- (70) 'social security executive organizations'
- 710 European/supranational social security executive organizations (note name on separate piece of paper)
  
- (80) 'other state executive agencies'
- 810 Decentralised Community Agencies
  - 811 European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop)
  - 812 European Training Foundation (ETF)
  - 813 European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC)
  - 814 Eur. Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
  - 815 Scientific Steering Committee (SSC), previously Multidisciplinary Scientific Committee (MDSC), including 6 different Scientific Committees: Food, Veterinary, Animal Nutrition, Cosmetology, Pesticides and Toxicity and Ecotoxicology
  - 819 Other decentralised Community Agency, including: Office for Harmonisation in the Internal Market (trade marks, designs) (OHIM), Community Plant Variety Office, European Agency for the Evaluation of Medicinal Products (EMA), European Technical Office for Medicinal Products ('Etomep), European Drugs and Drug Addiction Monitoring Centre (EMCDDA), European Agency for Safety and Health at Work, European Environment Agency (EEA)
- 820 EU internal control institutions
  - 821 European Court of Auditors
  - 822 European Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF)
  - 823 European Ombudsman
  - 829 Other EU internal control institution
- 830 Joint Research Centre (part of the Commission, *including:*)
  - Institute for Reference Materials and Measurements (Geel) Institute for Transuranium Elements (Karlsruhe) Institute for Energy (Petten) Institute for the Protection and the Security of the Citizen (Ispra) Institute for Environment and Sustainability (Ispra) Institute for Health and Consumer Protection (Ispra) Institute for Prospective Technological Studies (Seville)
- 870 Other (non-EU) European state executive agency
- 880 United Nations state executive agency
  - 881 UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO)
  - 882 International Fund for agricultural development (IFAD)
  - 883 UN World Health Organisation (WHO)
  - 884 International Organisation for Migration (IOM)
  - 885 UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
  - 886 International Labour Organisation (ILO)
  - 887 UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)
  - 888 UN Education, Science and Culture Organisation (UNESCO)
  - 889 Other
- 890 Other supranational state executive agency

(900) 'political parties'

910 European political parties (code party under ACTPAR, ADRPAR, etc.)

Other supranational parties

911 IDU (International Democrat Union)

912 L.I. (Liberal International)

913 S.I. (Socialist International)

914 CDI (Christian Democrat and People's Parties International)

919 Other specific supranational parties

920 Non state actors/interests groups

921 Civil society organisation

922 Business association

923 Big company

924 Small and medium-sized enterprises

925 Media and journalists

926 Lawyers

927 Scientists

929 Other

*Note: because of the great variety of possible organizations, no pre-given categories have been created for 1000 and up (unions, employers, churches, and so forth). Please note the name of the organization (together with PAPER, YEAR, AID and CID) on a separate piece of paper for any European or other supranational organizations in these actor categories you come across. We may use these as a basis for later adding new fixed categories.*

Variable **ACTCOUN1** (ACTCOUN2, ACTCOUN3)

'Country of first actor'

*Note: To be coded only if ACTSCOP1 is 2-9. The country of an actor is where the actor is permanently resident, i.e., not necessarily corresponds to the actor's nationality. Diplomatic personnel are considered permanently resident in their country of origin. Codes from same separate list as for COUNTRY. In the case of bilateral and multilateral actors, code the country of coding if it is part of the coalition of actors, otherwise code the most important (default: first-mentioned) of the actors. Make sure in such cases that you include information on the other partners in the coalition in the TITLE variable. As for the party affiliation of actors, you should code the country also if it is not explicitly mentioned and you may use your own knowledge, but only if you are 100% sure. The information can later be completed on the basis of the ACTNAME variable.*

Variable **ACTPARI** (ACTPAR2, ACTPAR3)

'Party affiliation of first actor'

Categories, see data entry file.

*If the newspaper does not mention an actor's party affiliation, but you know it, you should code it on the basis of your knowledge, but only if you are 100% sure. If the actor is a politician (ACTS 20-50 or 120) and you do not know the party affiliation, code 999=missing. The missing information on party affiliations can later be completed on the basis of the ACTNAME variable. If the actor belongs to any of the other ACTS categories and no party affiliation is mentioned, code 0=no or irrelevant party affiliation.*

## ACTION FORMS

Variable **FORM** 'form of action'

*Note: if there are several forms of action, the following priority rules apply: 1) political decisions and executive action have priority; 2) the category verbal statement is only used if none of the other categories applies; 3) among protest forms, the more radical (confrontational, violent) ones have priority over moderate ones (demonstrative, petitioning). If these criteria still not allow a decision, the order in which the forms are mentioned decides.*

'political decisions'<sup>24</sup>

08 green book (publication)

09 hearing

10 intergovernmental statement/motion

11 legislation (proposal)

12 parliamentary vote

13 parliamentary motion (non-legislative)

14 administrative decree/decision (e.g., decision to deport asylum seekers, to lower interest rates)

15 resolution (political parties)

16 ruling (courts)

17 binding agreement (among several parties)

18 personnel decisions (resignation/dismissal from/appointment to office)

19 other

'executive action'

21 financial and other material support

22 deportation/expulsion

23 arrests/detention

24 other repression (e.g., bans, police raids, criminal investigations)

25 (preparation of) troops deployment/withdrawal (the actual action, not the decision to)

29 other

'judicial action'<sup>25</sup>

31 criminal lawsuit

32 civil lawsuit

33 administrative lawsuit

34 constitutional lawsuit

39 other

<sup>24</sup> By definition, executive actions and political decisions can only be coded for actors who have actual binding decision-making power, i.e. state and party actors (SACT 10-90). For all other actors, use only the codes from 30 onwards.

<sup>25</sup> Refers to appeals to the judiciary (e.g. filing lawsuits), not actions by the judiciary (the latter appear as executive acts, statements, or decisions). Note that decisions by the judiciary itself are not coded here, but as 'court rulings' under political decisions.

'verbal statements'

- 41 non-specified statement
- 42 press conference/release
- 43 interview
- 44 public speech
- 45 (public) letter
- 46 newspaper article
- 47 other publication (book, research report, leaflet, etc.)
- 48 graffiti
- 49 presentation of survey/poll result
- 50 publicity campaign (incl. advertizing)
- 51 website
- 59 other

'meetings'<sup>26</sup>

- 61 state-political meeting (e.g., summits, state visits)<sup>27</sup>
- 62 party convention/congress
- 63 parliamentary session/debate
- 64 election campaign meeting
- 69 other conferences/meetings/assemblies

'direct-democratic action'

- 71 launching of referendum
- 72 collecting signatures for referendum
- 73 presentation of signatures for referendum
- 74 vote on referendum
- 75 launching of initiative (only CH)
- 76 collecting signatures for initiative (only CH)
- 77 presentation of signatures for initiative (only CH)
- 78 vote on initiative (only CH)
- 79 other

'petitioning'

- 81 petition/signature collection
- 82 letter campaign
- 89 other

'demonstrative protests'

- 91 public assembly
- 92 march, demonstration (legal and non-violent)
- 93 vigil/picket
- 94 cyber protest
- 99 other

'confrontational protests'

- 101 illegal demonstration (if non-violent)
- 102 boycott
- 103 strike
- 104 self-mutilation (e.g., hunger strike, suicide)
- 105 blockade
- 106 occupation
- 107 disturbance of meetings
- 108 symbolic confrontation (e.g., farmers dumping animal dung in front of a government building)
- 109 other<sup>28</sup>

'violent protests'

- 111 threats (e.g., bomb threat)
- 112 symbolic violence (e.g., burning puppets or flags, throwing eggs or paint)
- 113 limited destruction of property (e.g., breaking windows)
- 114 sabotage
- 115 violent demonstration (violence initiated by protestors)
- 116 arson and bomb attacks, and other severe destruction of property
- 117 arson and bomb attacks against people (incl. inhabited buildings)
- 118 physical violence against people (fights, brawls, etc.)
- 119 other

Additional variables only for claims with FORM1 > 70

Variable **PART**

'number of participants'

*Note: up to 6 digits; 999998=999998 or more; 999999=missing.*

Variable **WOUNDED**

'number of wounded'

*Note: up to 3 digits; 998=998 or more; 999=missing.*

Variable **ARREST**

'number of people arrested'

*Note: up to 3 digits; 998=998 or more; 999=missing.*

*Note: for all of these three variables, if several numbers are mentioned in the text, take the highest.*

<sup>26</sup> This refers to conferences, meetings, congresses etc that take place inside.

<sup>27</sup> Only includes discontinuous political meetings, i.e., not included are parliamentary sessions, etc. that take place continuously throughout the year (use the categories parliamentary vote, motion, speech above).

<sup>28</sup> Forms of protest that are illegal but non-violent automatically count as confrontational.

## ADDRESSEES (INDIRECT OBJECT ACTORS)

In contrast to earlier versions of the codebook, we explicitly distinguish three types of addressees/indirect object actors:

- the addressee of the claim in the narrow sense of the word, referring to the actor who is held responsible for implementing the claim or at whom the claim is directly addressed in the form of a call or appeal to do or leave something;
- the opponent/criticized actor identified in the claim, referring to the actor who is seen as standing in the way of the claim's realization or advocating a position contrary to that of the claimant;
- the supported actor, referring to the actor who is seen as contributing to the claim's realization or advocating a position congruent with that of the claimant.

*The criterion for coding an actor as opponent is NOT that he takes a position that is the precise opposite of the claimant's position. It is sufficient that an actor is identified (by the claimant and explicitly so) as an opponent concerning the issue of the claim or, in other words, that the opponent's position is criticized in one way or another. The reverse holds for supported actors. Here, too, it does not have to be that the supported actor has exactly the same position as the claimant, it suffices that the supported actor is identified as an ally of the claimant, his position is praised or support for his position is expressed. In cases where negatively evaluated addressee and criticized actor are exactly the same, you should code only the addressee (which is the more informative of the two, it includes both the evaluation and the call to do or leave something) and leave criticized actor/opponent either open or code another actor which is mentioned as opponent and whose inclusion would add more information than just doubling the same actor.*

*Note that the addressee is the actor to which the actor refers in his claim, which is not necessarily the same as the public for which he directly speaks. E.g., if a politician speaks to a conference of his party and calls on the government to change its education policies, the addressee is the government, not the party delegates!*

## Note on the difference between object actors and indirect object actors

*Passive objects of claims are not coded as addressees, opponents or supporters, but in the object variables. E.g., in the claim 'The churches called on the government not to deport Bosnian refugees', the government is coded as addressee, the reference to Bosnian refugees is irrelevant here (they are coded as object actors, see below). Similarly, for the claim 'Yesterday, the government decided to send a military intervention force to Macedonia' no addressee is coded, the reference to Macedonia is not relevant here (the Macedonian conflict parties are coded as object actors, see below). However, in the claims 'The government called on Bosnian refugees to leave the country', or 'The government criticized the Macedonian government for obstructing the aid operation' Bosnian refugees are coded as addressees and the Macedonian government is coded as criticized actor.*

*Addressees, opponent and supported actors are defined by their DISCURSIVE relation to the claimant: they are the objects of demands, criticism or support, or, in other words, they are the actors to whom the claimant relates in the public discourse. Object actors are the actors whose interests are MATERIALLY affected by the (implementation of) the claim.*

*This implies that actors can be discursively opposed/supported, without them being object actors and vice versa: e.g., when Stoiber criticizes Schröder for not being severe enough with asylum seekers (Schröder is opponent, but not object; asylum seekers are object, but not opponent). Of course, it is also possible that the two coincide, e.g. when Stoiber calls on Schröder to resign (Schröder is the actor to whom Stoiber discursively relates - as addressee - but also the actor materially affected by Stoiber's demand if it would be implemented.*

Variable **ADRS**

'summary addressee of claim'

Same categories as ACTIS.

*If a claim has several addressees, the priority rule is that organizations, institutions or representatives thereof have priority over unorganized collectivities or individuals. If there are several addressees or no addressee at all who have priority according to this criterion, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article).*

Variable **ADREVAL**

'evaluation of addressee'

-1 'criticism'

0 'neutral/ambivalent'

1 'support'

*Note: calls and appeals may be made in a neutral sense, or be combined with expressions of criticism and support. E.g. "X called on Y to give up his blockade against ..." (Y is addressee, but simultaneously negatively evaluated). 'In a letter to Y, X expressed support for Y's policy to ...' (Y is addressee and positively evaluated). This can be accordingly coded here. There are no equivalent variables for criticized and supported actors, because there the direction of the evaluation is pre-determined.*

Variable **ADRSCOP**

'scope of addressee'

Same values as ACTSCOP1

Variable **ADR**

'addressee'

*Note: More detailed subdivision of ADRS for European-level and other supranational addressees; see list for ACTI.*

Variable **ADRCOUN** (Only coded when ADRSCOP is 3-9)

'country of addressee'

Same values as ACTCOUN1

Variable **ADRPAR**

'party affiliation of addressee'

*Note: to be coded only for addressees from one of our seven countries or the EU-level. Same values as ACTPARI.*

Variable **OPS**

'summary opponent actor of claim'

Same categories as ACTIS.

*If a claim has several opponent actors, the priority rule is that organizations, institutions or representatives thereof have priority over unorganized collectivities or individuals. If there are several opponent actors or no opponent actor at all who have priority according to this criterion, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article).*

Variable **OPSCOP**

'scope of opponent actor'

Same values as ACTSCOP1

Variable **OP**

'opponent actor'

*Note: More detailed subdivision of OPS for European-level and other supranational addressees; see list for ACTI.*

Variable **OPCOUN** (Only coded when OPSCOP is 3-9)

'country of opponent actor'

Same values as ACTCOUN1

Variable **OPPAR**

'party affiliation of opponent actor'

*Note: to be coded only for opponent actors from one of our seven countries or the EU-level. Same values as ACTPARI.*

Variable **SUPS**

'summary supported actor of claim'

Same categories as ACTIS.

*If a claim has several supported actors, the priority rule is that organizations, institutions or representatives thereof have priority over unorganized collectivities or individuals. If there are several supported actors or no supported actor at all who have priority according to this criterion, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article).*

Variable **SUPSCOP**

'scope of supported actor'

Same values as ACTSCOP1

Variable **SUP**

'supported actor'

*Note: More detailed subdivision of SUPS for European-level and other supranational addressees; see list for ACTI.*

Variable **SUPCOUN** (Only coded when SUPSCOP is 3-9)

'country of supported actor'

Same values as *ACTCOUNI*

Variable **SUPPAR**

'party affiliation of supported actor'

*Note: to be coded only for supported actors from one of our seven countries or the EU-level.*

Same values as *ACTPARI*.

## **AIMS**

Variable **ISFIELD1** (one-digit code) (ISFIELD2, ISFIELD3)

'policy field'

- 1 'Directive on patentability of computer-implemented inventions'
- 2 'Intellectual Property Rights Enforcement Directive'
- 3 'Intellectual property rights'
- 4 'Patents/patent law'
- 5 'Crime'
- 6 'European integration'

*See ISSUE1 for priority rules.*

Some notes on the delineation of the seven topics (for further detail, refer to the comments and categories of the *SISSUE* variable below):

Variable **ISSUE1S** (two-digit codes) (ISSUE2S, ISSUE3S)

'summary of *ISSUE1*'

*Note: see ISSUE1 for priority rules.*

### **Directive on Patentability of Computer-Implemented Inventions**

- 10 General Unspecific
- 11 Decision-making process  
(democratic procedures; participation; influence of different actors; effectiveness)
- 12 Research and development, innovation  
(situation of R&D in Europe; costs of R&D; impact of IPRs/patents on R&D and innovation)
- 13 Economic development  
(competitiveness of big companies; competitiveness of SMEs; competitiveness of European economy; patents and monopolies; impact of globalisation process and global integration; economic growth; employment creation; openness/open source)
- 14 Civil rights  
(consumer rights; digital rights; openness; patents as exclusion; creativity; criminalisation)

### **Intellectual Property Rights Enforcement Directive**

- 20 General Unspecific
- 21 Decision-making process  
(democratic procedures; participation; influence of different actors; effectiveness)
- 22 Research and development, innovation  
(situation of R&D in Europe; costs of R&D; impact of IPRs/patents on R&D and innovation)
- 23 Economic development  
(competitiveness of big companies; competitiveness of SMEs; competitiveness of European economy; patents and monopolies; impact of globalisation process and global integration; economic growth; employment creation; openness/open source)
- 24 Civil rights  
(consumer rights; digital rights; openness; patents as exclusion; creativity; criminalisation)

## Intellectual property rights

- 30 Research and development, innovation  
(situation of R&D in Europe; costs of R&D; impact of IPRs/patents on R&D and innovation)
- 31 Economic development  
(copyrights; trademarks; trademark law; patents; competitiveness of big companies; competitiveness of SMEs; competitiveness of European economy; patents and monopolies; impact of globalisation process and global integration; economic growth; employment creation; openness/open source)
- 32 Political implications  
(civil rights; governance processes; political globalisation: impact of WTO and WIPO; general political strategies; European approach to IPRs)
- 33 Cultural implications  
(copyrights for artists and writers; IPRs as protection for artists; IPRs as obstacle for cultural development; European identity)
- 34 Philosophical implications  
(openness; commons; public goods; access; creativity; European identity)
- 35 IPRs in different contexts  
(music business; arts; science)

## Patents/patent law

- 40 General unspecific
- 41 Research and development, innovation  
(situation of R&D in Europe; costs of R&D; impact of IPRs/patents on R&D and innovation)
- 42 Economic development  
(number of patents; competitiveness of big companies; competitiveness of SMEs; competitiveness of European economy; patents and monopolies; impact of globalisation process and global integration; economic growth; employment creation; openness/open source)

## Crime

- 50 Product piracy
- 51 Plagiarism
- 52 Industrial espionage
- 53 Organised crime
- 54 Criminalisation

## European integration

- 70 General European integration, not specific
- 71 National vs. European Identity, shared values
  - strengthen European identity
  - preserve national identity
  - preserve regional identity
  - preserve minority identity
  - promote cultural diversity
  - emphasize EU as a community of values
- 72 Role of a specific country or group of countries in the EU/in the process of European integration; balance of power and coalitions among members states  
e.g., Britain's role in the EU; French-German relations as central to the integration process; the increased weight of Germany after reunification, smaller vs. larger states etc.
- 73 Relationship between EU and national/regional levels, and future constitution  
concept of future constitution of EU (Verfaßtheit, Finalität)
  - move towards central state
  - move towards federal state
  - move towards supra-national system
  - move towards Europe of nations (commonwealth, Staatenbund, etc)
  - strengthening the regions (Europe of the regions)

- allowing asymmetric integration
- allowing exceptions for individual Member States (eg. Europe à la carte)
- allowing progress of a group of Member States (Kerneuropa, concentric circles)

- developing the legal framework for EU
- adopt a constitution (Verfassung)
- adopt a Basic treaty (Verfassungsvertrag)
- adopt a charta of competence
- adopt a Charta of fundamental rights
- modify procedure for Treaty revision

- competences
- shift competence from EU to regional level
- shift competence from national to regional and EU level
- shift competence from national to EU level
- shift competence from regional to EU level
- subsidiarity

- introduce or strengthen co-ordination or co-operation
- introduce or strengthen co-ordination
- introduce or strengthen co-operation

## 74 Institutional structure and relationship between EU institutions

distribution of power between institutions

- strengthening the EP
- institutional reform
- division of power

## 75 Defining the EU's core tasks/balance between different policy areas

e.g., Europe should be less involved with agriculture and instead focus more on developing a common foreign and defence policy; political or social vs. economic Europe, etc.

## 76 Relationship between EU institutions and public (citizens, organizations, media etc)

- democratic deficit
- lack of transparency
- access to documents, information
- elections
- revision procedure (most discussed after Amsterdam and Nice)
- reproach of technocracy, Commission is far away from reality in the MS

## 77 Enlargement

- disc. about geographical / political/ religious boundaries
- criteria for becoming a member
- potential or measured impact of enlargement for the EU and for the new member
- more bureaucracy
- quantity of Member States should be limited

## 78 Budget: Financing the EU and spending EU funds

- how is burden shared between Member States, net contributors
- how is each Member State's contribution calculated (ex: VAT, etc)
- amount of EU budget in general (ex: should it be increased, decreased)
- distribution between policy areas (ex: agriculture vs structural funds)
- responsibility for spending EU funds, in particular 'subsidiarity'
- corruption, waste of EU funds

## 79 other specific EU integration

- 80 Associational agreements and treaties between the EU and non-EU countries
- 81 Personnel issues within the EU/discussions about candidacies for EU positions
- 82 Non-EU forms of European integration  
E.g., related to EFTA, Council of Europe, OSCE, European Court of Human Rights, etc.

Variable **ISSCOP1** (ISSCOP2, ISSCOP3)  
'scope of first issue'

- 1 'supranational: United Nations'
- 2 'other supranational'
- 3 'European Union'
- 4 'other European supranational'
- 5 'multilateral'
- 6 'bilateral'
- 7 'national'
- 8 'regional'
- 9 'local'
- 99 'unclassifiable'

*Refers to the geographical and/or political scope of the substantive content of the claim. Issue scope is in principle independent from the scope of the subject actor, addressee, and/or object actor. E.g., if Amnesty International appeals to the European Court of Justice in protest against the Berlin police's treatment of immigrant suspects, the actor is supranational, the addressee European, but the scope of the issue ('The Berlin police's treatment of immigrant suspects') remains local. However, if a local Berlin committee for asylum seekers criticizes the Berlin Senate for its treatment of refugee children on the grounds that it constitutes a breach of the UN Children's Convention, then the issue scope is supranational, in spite of the local scope of actor and addressee.*

*If an issue is constructed in a comparative way, this can be coded in the issue scope variable. E.g. a claim dealing with Germany's poor performance in education compared to a range of other countries would be coded as 'multilateral'. If the comparison is made with one particular other country, the scope would be 'bilateral', if the comparison is (e.g., regarding Eurobarometer survey results) with the EU member states as the frame of reference the scope is 'European'.*

*The scope of the issue is not the same as the scope of the debate. There can well be debates about European issues that remain national debates, as in the case of the Euro debate in Britain. Of course, there is also a national dimension to this issue, but the rule for issue scope is that in case there are several scopes the highest level/lowest number is coded. So in this case the British Euro debate has a national and a European dimension, so European is coded. The scope of the debate is not measured by the issue scope (which refers to the substantive scope of the issue) but by the scopes of the actors involved. This rule implies that cases coded in the issue field 7 = European integration, or in the Euro/EMU codes of S1SSUE in the field of monetary politics automatically have a European issue scope (unless they also have a supranational dimension beyond the EU, which would then supersede the European issue scope).*

*In case an issue has several scopes at the same time, the one with the lowest ISSCOP1 code (=highest level of political authority) should be coded. Example: if an actor argues against changing national asylum legislation because this would violate the Geneva convention (i.e., issue scopes national and other supranational), the coded issue scope is 2=other supranational.*

Variable **ISSUE1** (ISSUE2, ISSUE3) (string variable)  
'first issue'

*Note: E.g., a claim that the French national government should recognize Breton-language schools and sign the European Charter of Minority Languages should be coded (in words) in the ISSUE variable. ISSUE is a string variable, i.e., describe the issue as precisely and succinctly as possible in words. The description should be in English, but where appropriate you may include original wording, e.g. in brackets.*

*If a claim has several aims, the following priority rules apply: 1) if the claim has more than one actor, those aims that are mentioned by each actor have priority over aims that only one actor mentions; 2) aims with an identifiable object actor have priority over claims where no object actor can be discerned or where the object actor is vague ('everybody', 'the population', or so); 3) for claims within the field of European integration, those with a clear political direction (i.e. POSIT=1 or -1; see below) have priority over neutral, ambivalent or technocratic aims (POSIT=0). If there are several aims or no aim at all which have priority according to these criteria, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides (with, again, the main headline as the start of the article).*

Variable **ISCOUN1** (ISCOUN2, ISCOUN3)  
'country to which issue refers'

*Only to be coded if isscop1=3-9. If the issue scope is bilateral or multilateral, code the country of coding if it is implicated in the issue, otherwise code the most important (default: first-mentioned) implicated country. Make sure, in such cases that you include further information about the countries implicated in the issue in the TITLE variable. In the case of a European issue scope (isscop=3), that has beside the European dimension a special relevance for a particular country, this country should be coded in ISCOUN. I.e., if the issue is a treaty between the EU and Switzerland, the ISCOP=3 (EU) and ISCOUN=756 (Switzerland).*

Variable **ISPOS1** (ISPOS2, ISPOS3)  
'Relation of issue position (aim) towards IPR Directives'

- 1 'negative'
- 0 'neutral/ambivalent'
- 1 'positive'

*Note: -1 stands for claims against the Directive(s); +1 stands for claims in favour of the Directive(s)*

*Even in cases where no clear position taken towards the Directives, you should code ispos. You just code 0=neutral in those cases. Ispos should be coded directly related to issue, i.e. if there are several issues in the claim there may also be different (and diverging) ispos codes.*

## CONSTELLATION OF ACTORS/NETWORKS

Variable **NETACT1** (NETACT1 – NETACT20)  
'network actor'  
Name of network actors

Variable **NETTYPE1** (NETTYPE2, NETTYPE3)  
'type of network'

- 1 support/assistance (ideally)
- 2 support/assistance (material)
- 3 coalition
- 4 membership
- 5 participation in event
- 6 online discussion
- 7 other

## FRAMES (regarding intellectual property rights in Europe)

Variable **FRAME1S** (FRAME2S, FRAME3S)  
'summary of first frame regarding European integration'

Variable **FRAME1** (FRAME2, FRAME3) (string variable)  
'verbal description of the frame'

*Note: The list of frames consists of two types of frames: identity frames and instrumental frames. The first type answers the question: what is the identity of the different actors? What are the interests and world beliefs? The second type of frames relates to the main arguments brought forward in the conflicts on IPRs and on the two Directives.*

*The FRAMES variable codes the value/aim to which IPRs and the Directives are linked, the FRAPOS variable gives the direction of that link. Use the appropriate 'other' categories whenever you feel you cannot fit a frame in any of the existing categories.*

*Note that due to the addition of new categories, the 'other' categories do not anymore always come at the end!*

*The description in the FRAME variable should be as close to the original text as possible and should therefore also be in the original language.*

*Examples of frame codings:*

- Signing the Maastricht treaty would mean giving up British sovereignty:  
FRAMES=168, FRAPOS = -1;
- National sovereignty can only be retained within the context of the EU:  
FRAMES=168, FRAPOS=+1;
- Further European integration depends on the creation of a common European public sphere: FRAMES=173, FRAPOS=+2;
- More political integration is not possible because of the lack of a European public sphere and the impossibility of common debates and identities because of linguistic diversity: 2 frames, FRAMES=173, FRAPOS= -1, and FRAMES=153, FRAPOS= -1 (i.e. Europe is seen as NOT (capable of) constituting a public sphere and linguistic diversity as INCOMPATIBLE with further integration).
- European decision-making must be made more transparent: FRAMES=185, FRAPOS=+2;
- The euro is a further step towards a unified Europe of bureaucrats and incompetent politicians who have one thing in common: nobody has elected them: 3 frames 184 (+1), 181 (-1), 165 (-1) – Europe is bureaucratic, inefficient/incompetent and undemocratic;

## 1 Identity frames: What does (or should) the actor or addressee (not) stand for?

### General

- 111 national identity
- 112 community of values
- 113 civilization
- 114 cosmopolitanism
- 115 nationalism
- 116 racism/xenophobia/ethnocentrism
- 117 fascism/nazism
- 118 communism
- 119 capitalism
- 120 (neo-)liberalism
- 121 socialism/social democracy
- 125 western culture
- 126 European values
- 127 Americanization/US values
- 128 globalization
- 129 modernization/future-oriented
- 130 other

### Principles, Norms, values

- 141 (social) justice
- 142 freedom, liberty
- 143 tolerance
- 144 responsibility
- 145 social equality
- 146 intercultural, international understanding/dialogue
- 147 individualism
- 148 collectivism
- 149 independence
- 150 self-determination
- 151 solidarity
- 152 peace
- 153 diversity (general)
- 154 unity
- 155 free trade
- 156 profits
- 157 alternative economy/development
- 158 openness
- 159 corporate responsibility

### Constitutional, institutional

- 161 concentration
- 162 fragmentation
- 163 rule of law

- 164 human rights
- 165 democracy
- 166 dictatorship/totalitarianism
- 167 pluralism
- 168 sovereignty
- 169 centralization
- 170 subsidiarity
- 171 civil society, active citizenship
- 172 separation of power
- 173 public sphere/space
- 174 privatisation
- 175 federalism
- 176 other

### Governance

- 181 efficiency, competence
- 182 over-regulation
- 183 deregulation
- 184 bureaucracy
- 185 transparency
- 186 accountability
- 187 corruption
- 188 credibility (in citizens perspective)
- 189 participation
- 190 legitimacy
- 191 democratic procedures
- 192 other

## 2 Instrumental frames: What are the main arguments in conflicts on intellectual property rights?

### general

- 211 opportunity space for citizens (working, studying, living abroad)
- 212 acceptance of the EU by citizens
- 213 European/a country's relation with USA
- 214 national interest
- 215 other

### political/cultural

- 231 security
- 232 political stability
- 233 influence/weight in international relations
- 234 control over transnational capital
- 235 nation state over-burdened (general)
- 236 cope with transnational social problems (general)
- 237 civil rights
- 238 freedom of speech/expression

- 239 democracy/democratic procedures
- 240 consumer rights
- 241 data protection
- 242 crime (theft/ piracy/plagiarism)
- 243 organized crime
- 244 creativity
- 245 open access
- 246 social and cultural development
- 247 legal and political harmonisation in EU
- 248 European identity
- 249 global integration
- 250 compliance with international treaties
- 251 other
  
- economical
- 261 strength in global competition
- 262 economic growth
- 263 economic stability
- 264 economy of scale (internal market)
- 265 own (national) economy
- 266 national exports
- 267 competitiveness of big companies
- 268 competitiveness of SMEs
- 269 competitiveness of European economy
- 270 monopolies
- 271 costs
- 272 taxes
- 273 unemployment
- 274 inflation
- 275 prices
- 276 social standards/social security
- 277 public services/utilities
- 278 consumer protection
- 279 foreign investments
- 280 research and development
- 278 innovation and transfer of knowledge
- 279 openness/open source
- 280 other

Variable **FRAPOS1** (FRAPOS2, FRAPOS3)

'relation IPRs/patents/the two directives to frame'

»Intellectual property rights/patents/the two directives.....«

-2 'should not be/should not stand for/should not lead to'

-1 'is not/does not stand for/does not lead to/are not necessary for'

0 'neutral/ambivalent'

1 'is/stands for/leads to/are necessary for'

2 'should be/should stand for/should lead to'

*For example: if a claim is that joining the Euro would result in loss of sovereignty, this should be interpreted as: more European integration= less sovereignty. Therefore frapos it is -1. Or if the claim is that the Eu is undemocratic and that's why we oppose the Euro politically. So: more EU integration = less democracy. Therefore it is -1. A final example would be bureaucracy. If a claim implies more European integration= more bureaucracy, then frapos is +1. See further the examples under the variable FRAME, which also give examples of FRAPOS codes. These are all examples of »factual« frames that should be coded as -1 or +1. Examples of normative frames: the EU should provide more possibilities for citizen participation (frame = participation, FRAPOS=+2). We must avoid that the EU becomes a centralized super-state: frame = centralization, FRAPOS = -2.*

## CROSS-REFERENCES BETWEEN CLAIMS

### CREFAID

‘AID of coded claim to which claimant refers’

### CREFCID

‘CID of coded claim to which claimant refers’

*Note: Only claims that were already coded for the same newspaper and which are not further than two weeks back in time should be coded here. This includes, of course, claims that occur in the same newspaper issue. Only explicit and clearly identifiable references to other claims should be coded here. I.e., not coded are vague references such as »Referring to recent statements by Gerhard Schröder, Stoiber said....‘. Coded are references such as »The government’s new immigration law was heavily criticized by the Christian Democrats«: the government’s immigration law being a coded claim, you would enter the AID and CID of that claim in the CREFAID and CREFCID variables for the claim by the Christian Democrats. Another example would be: »Jospin praised Joschka Fischer’s recent speech at the Humboldt University...«: if the Fischer speech is not more than two weeks ago, you code the AID and CID of that speech in the CREFAID and CREFCID variables of the Jospin claim. Note that in direct verbal confrontations such as parliamentary debates, claims may refer to each other mutually. E.g., when the discursive structure is such that the government proposes a law, the opposition criticizes it in parliament and the government reacts to the opposition’s criticism. Both would then be coded as each other’s referred-to claim.*

*In case a claim refers to several claims, you should choose the most important one. If they seem equally important, take the most recent one. If they are equally recent, take the first mentioned one.*

### CREFPOS

‘position of claimant with regard to referred-to claim’

- 1 negative
- 0 neutral/ambivalent
- 1 positive

*Note: evaluation of the referred-to claim by the claimant. E.g., in the above examples the reference to the new immigration law would get CREFPOS = -1 and the reference to Fischer’s speech would get CREFPOS = 1. The coding of these claim evaluations does of course not replace the coding of opponent and supported actors. I.e., in the given examples you should also code the government as opponent and Fischer as supported actor.*