

# Handbook for Representative Claims Analysis

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# Handbook for Representative Claims Analysis

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# 1. Introduction

This handbook outlines the logistical plan and coding guide for the execution of the Representative Claims Analysis (RCA) of media discourse on democracy and the rule of law in the European Union for the RECONNECT project. The proposed analysis will produce a dataset informing a greater understanding of existing perceptions of democracy and the rule of law, and the character of debates about them in the EU and its member states, particularly with respect to identifying who are the key actors in these debates and whose interests they represent.

## WHAT QUESTIONS ARE WE ASKING AND WHAT DO WE NEED TO KNOW TO ANSWER THEM?

- What characterizes public discourse about (a) economic and fiscal policy, (b) counter terrorism, (c) trade, (d) migration across member states?
  - The keys to answering this question are covered by the issue and justification categories.
  
- How is legal and democratic authority allocated by various actors in relation to (a) economic and fiscal policy, (b) counter terrorism, (c) trade, (d) migration across member states? Who allocates authority where?
  - The keys to answering this question are covered by the addressee and demand categories which facilitate distinction between the national versus supranational direction of demands.
  
- Who are the prominent voices leading these debates and whose interests are/are not represented?
  - The keys to answering this question are covered by the speaker and object categories.

## CASE SELECTION

Six countries have been selected for the RCA, striving for balance in geographical placement, population size, and to a lesser degree accounting for both older and newer member states. Four countries will be coded by research assistants in Leuven: France, Germany, Italy, Spain. Two additional countries will be coded by the WP2 team in Trondheim: Denmark and Poland. The selected countries also represent different experiences in relation to RECONNECT's four issue areas.

Macroeconomic and Fiscal Policy (EMU): One crisis creditor state, two debtor states and an intermediary (France), as well as two non-EMU member countries.

Counter-Terrorism: France represents higher levels of threat having experienced several events of terrorism, three cases represent moderate levels of threat and two cases low threat risk.

**Migration:** Germany has experienced high levels of refugee intake while France and Italy experienced moderate levels of intake, with Italy being a major destination for illegal border crossings into the EU. Denmark had lower numbers of asylum applicants and Poland has had generally lower levels of migration, including refugee intake.

**Trade:** Spain is a net importer while the remaining countries are net exporters. Additionally, the Trans-Atlantic Trade Agreement was particularly contentious in Germany, making it an interesting case for comparison.

Table 1: Summary of National Case Selection Criteria

	EMU	Counter-Terrorism <sup>1</sup>	Migration <sup>2</sup>	Trade <sup>3</sup>
<b>France</b> Pre-2004 Accession West Europe Large	Intermediary	High Threat	Moderate Refugee Intake	Net Exporter
<b>Germany</b> Pre-2004 Accession West Europe Large	Creditor	Moderate Threat	High Refugee Intake	Net Exporter and TTIP Contentious
<b>Italy</b> Pre-2004 Accession South Europe Medium	Debtor	Low Threat	Moderate Refugee Intake and Major External EU border access point	Net Exporter
<b>Spain</b> Pre-2004 Accession South Europe Large	Debtor	Moderate Threat	Moderate Refugee Intake	Net Importer
<b>Denmark</b> Pre-2004 Accession North Europe Small	Non-EMU	Moderate Threat	Low Refugee Intake	Net Exporter
<b>Poland</b> Post-2004 Accession West Europe Large	Non-EMU	Low Threat	Low Historic Migration and Very Low Refugee Intake	Net Exporter

<sup>1</sup> Based on frequency and severity of terrorist attacks since 2014. See: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). (2018). Global Terrorism Database [Data file]. Retrieved from <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd>

<sup>2</sup>The comparison is based on number of first-time asylum applicants in 2015.

See: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/790eba01-381c-4163-bcd2-a54959b99ed6>

<sup>3</sup> See: [http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2013/december/tradoc\\_151969.pdf](http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2013/december/tradoc_151969.pdf)

## 2. Sampling and Sources

Article samples for each of the four policy issues, as well as European integration in general are generated through Boolean keyword searches of newspaper archives for each selected newspaper. Table 2 presents the proposed search strings to be used to pull samples of articles for each of RECONNECTS’s core issue topics. The search strings are still subject to testing and adjustment based on volume and relevance of issue-related content.

Table 2: Keyword search strings

Macroeconomic and Fiscal Policy	((eur* OR eu OR euro) AND (bank* OR fiscal OR econom* OR monetary)) OR Eurozone
Counter-terrorism	(*terrori* OR extremis*) AND (security OR surveillance OR intelligence OR counter OR anti)
Trade	eu AND (trade OR import OR export)
Migration	*migr* AND (citizenship OR refugee OR asylum OR residen* OR labour)

Articles about television programming, sports, book and film reviews, and obituaries are excluded. To ensure the highest relevance to the project, only those articles where the search terms are found in the news headline or lede are selected.

Finally, we also code only those articles relating to politics in the European Union or EU member states. For example, we are interested in debates about counter-terrorist policies at the EU level, as well at the national level in EU member states (ex. French immigration policy), but not about the counter-terrorism policies of third countries (ex. the United States, New Zealand etc.). The search terms aim to produce as relevant a sample as possible. However, if any articles that do not follow these relevance rules are included, they will need to be manually filtered out and discarded.

### SAMPLING

The RCA provides a balanced snapshot of the character of public debates in the news media about RECONNECT’s four focal issue areas. Thus, to avoid bias based on newspaper selection, the samples will be stratified by newspaper. Two newspapers will be sampled, for each country: one generally left or liberal-leaning publication and one generally conservative or right-leaning newspaper. We sought out publications with relatively high levels of readership that may be considered opinion leaders in their niches. These may be but are not necessarily the most widely read newspapers in each country. The newspaper selection accounts for the traditional left-right societal cleavages. If newspaper availability allows, then a balance of pro-European and Euro-critical orientations will also be sought.

#### Proposed Selection:

<b>Germany:</b>	<i>F.A.Z.</i> (Conservative)	<i>SZ</i> (Liberal)
<b>France:</b>	<i>Figaro</i> (Conservative)	<i>Le Monde</i> (Liberal)
<b>Italy:</b>	<i>Il Corriere Sera*</i> (Conservative)	<i>La Repubblica</i> (Liberal)
<b>Spain:</b>	<i>ABC</i> (Conservative)	<i>El Pais</i> (Liberal)

**Poland:** *Rzeczpospolita* (Conservative) *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Liberal)

**Denmark:** *Jyllands-Posten\** (Conservative) *Politiken* (Liberal)

Sampling will be stratified by time over 1 to 2-year long time periods.

Assuming 220 coding hours per coder, and two coders per country, approximately 110 articles will be sampled per topic in each country (55 articles per newspaper). This will produce approximately 220-300 coded claims per issue topic per country.

Table 3 – Approximate number of articles to be sampled

	<i>EMU</i>	<i>Terrorism</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Migration</i>	<i>Total</i>
Germany	110	110	110	110	<b>440</b>
France	110	110	110	110	<b>440</b>
Italy	110	110	110	110	<b>440</b>
Spain	110	110	110	110	<b>440</b>
Denmark	110	110	110	110	<b>440</b>
Poland	110	110	110	110	<b>440</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>2640</b>

Some of these four topics are bound to produce claims in which the topics overlap. Additionally, the RCA will code for European Integration issues within the four existing issue samples.

## PERIODS OF CONTENTION

The RCA will provide data on the character and nature of EU-related public debates about RECONNECT's four policy foci as well as the integration project more generally. Thus, it is a study of content, not salience. To do this effectively, it is important to analyse a roughly similarly sized sample on each policy issue. While it is expected that certain policy issues were and / or are more salient in certain member states than others, the selected periods of contention will reflect periods of between 1 and 2 years in length where we can expect to find the highest frequency of debates on each policy issue across our country case studies. In some cases, this means splitting the analysis between two separate periods that are deemed to best characterize the public debate.

The following periods of contention are subject to testing and adjustment based on volume and relevance of issue-related content.

Macroeconomic and Fiscal Policy:	Italian Budget Crisis	01.09.2018 – 31.12.2018
	Greek Bailout Referendum	01.06.2015 – 31.07.2015
	Eurocrisis	01.10.2011 – 31.12.2012
Counter-Terrorism:	Bataclan/art. 42.7	01.11.2015 – 31.10.2017
Trade:	TTIP/CETA	01.10.2015 – 30.09.2016
	Commission paper	01.07.2017 – 31.03.2018
Migration:	Refugee Crisis	01.03.2015 – 31.03.2016



### 3. What is a Representative Claim?

The RECONNECT media content analysis outlined below is roughly based on the method of political claims analysis developed in the Europub project, whereby the unit of study is the political claim, rather than whole news article, or ‘core sentence’ (see Koopmans and Statham 1999, Koopmans 2002). Political claims, as understood in the analysis outlined below, are purposeful expressions of political opinion made in public communication. This analysis is particularly interested in representative claims, which are political claims where “...claimants present themselves to an audience as the legitimate representatives of a certain cause and/or constituency” (de Wilde 2013, 278, see also Saward 2006). This will allow us to explore not only who is making what kinds of claims about the economic and fiscal policy, counter-terrorism, trade and migration policies in the EU, but also whose interests are represented in these discourses and whose interests are left out.

Table 4 on the next page presents the key defining aspects of an ideal representative claim. These aspects are broken down into variables that capture various dimensions and characteristics of each aspect. Following de Wilde, Koopmans and Zürn, a claim includes “WHERE and WHEN (Location), WHO (Claimant) makes a claim, on WHAT (Issue), addressing WHOM (Addressee), for/against WHOSE interests (Object) and WHY (Justification)” (2014, 7).

For example:

*Theresa May (claimant) calls on the British House of Lords (addressee) to approve (demand) her Brexit deal (issue) to protect the economic interests (justification) of the British people (object).*

A claim does not necessarily need to contain all of the aspects listed in Table 4. However, to be identified as a claim a passage *must* contain a *claimant*, one of our *issues*, and a *position* in the form of a demand, or a *legitimative statement* (ie. an evaluation) related to one of the coded political issues, in order to contain a frame. A change in any one of these four elements indicates a new political claim to be coded separately. If any two claims in an article produce the same coding sequence, we code it only once. For example, if two MPs from the same party make the same argument about the same issue, we would code this only once. A single article can contain one or more individual claims. Individual claims can span the length of a sentence, an entire paragraph, or even overlap.

Table 4: Defining aspects of a representative political claim in the RECONNECT project

Representative Claim Aspect	Core Variables
<i>Location</i>	Date Origin Source
<i>Who is making the Claim?</i>	<b>Claimant</b> Claimant Type Claimant Nationality Claimant Minority Status Claimant Gender Claimant Partisanship

<i>Who is the claim directed at? / Who is responsibility attributed to?</i>	<b>Addressee</b> Addressee Type Addressee Nationality Addressee Partisanship Addressee Evaluation
<i>Which policy or political issue does the claim refer to?</i>	<b>Issue</b> Issue Issue Scope
<i>What is the claimant demanding and / or how is the policy, proposal or status quo (de)legitimized?</i>	<b>Position</b> Demand
<i>What justification does the claimant provide?</i>	<b>Justification</b> Justification A: TEU Article 2 Justification B: Other Protection Narrative
<i>On whose behalf or in whose interests is the claim being made? (Who does the does the claimant claim to represent?)</i>	<b>Object</b> Object Type Object Scope Object Gender <b>Structure of Cleavages</b>

**HOW DO WE IDENTIFY AND CODE CLAIMS?**

Claims must be identified manually by each researcher from the sampled sets of news content. We select every article that has at least one relevant claim and discard those that do not. News articles that address one of the four issues areas (macroeconomic and fiscal policy, terrorism, trade or migration) but do not contain a political claim, are discarded. Only claims belonging to one of the four sampled issues areas and with a European or EU-level dimension (ie. with an EU- or European-level Claimant, Addressee, Object or Issue) are selected to be coded in this project.

We code every relevant claim in each news article. For opinion pieces and editorials, we aim to summarize the main argument of the article as a single claim (if possible). If not, we code up to two dominant arguments, as well as claims by any actors cited by the author of the article (ie. claims that he or she is addressing in the opinion piece/editorial)

We code two types of claims for this project:

- (a) *Discursive claims* are those that have been verbally or textually expressed. In news articles, these can usually be identified through language such a ‘said’, ‘expressed’, ‘articulated’, ‘explained’, ‘written’, ‘demanded’, ‘accused’, ‘stated’ etc. In editorials or opinion pieces, the claimant is the author of the article and thus the text of the article itself serves as an articulation of his or her claim.

We do not code claims that are *implicit* in non-verbal acts, such as a protest or the symbolism of an MP abstaining from a vote, unless these are attached to a quote, slogan or some sort of explicit statement where the claimant articulates the meaning of that act. While it could be argued that excluding such implicit claims has the effect of silencing certain actors while highlighting those who have better access to the news media as a communicative arena, this study aims to represent public discourse in the traditional mass media where such exclusion is the reality. Interpreting intent and meaning from non-

verbal acts without verbal cues also risks a high degree of individual subjectivity at the expense of intercoder reliability.

- (b) *Legislative Acts and Judicial Rulings*: We do not code the results of a parliamentary adoption of a new policy or a specific judicial ruling as claims in and of themselves. However, we do code individual actors' opinions about or reactions to legislative measures and judicial rulings.

## 4. Codebook

### ARTICLE LEVEL CODES

<b>Source</b>	Code the newspaper from which the claim was extracted.
<b>Date</b>	Publication date of the article: day / month / year
<b>Sample</b>	This category captures which search string the sample comes from. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Macroeconomic and Fiscal Policy</li> <li>- Counter-Terrorism</li> <li>- Migration</li> <li>- Trade</li> </ul>

### CLAIMANT

The claimant is the person or institutional actor who is making the claim. This is the source of the political opinion that is being coded. This can be either an individual or an institution. The variables coded here will allow us to see which actors are active in the public political discourses about economic and fiscal policy, trade, migration, and terrorism. Additionally, variables mapping claimant gender, nationality and political ideology will facilitate comparison between the identity of the claimant and those whom he or she claims or aims to represent (ie. the *object*).

The categories for *claimant type* (and later *object type*) are roughly based on attempts to capture a typology of prominent political actors used by previous examples of claims analysis (see de Wilde, Koopmans, Zürn 2014, Hurrelmann et. al. 2016, Koopmans 1999) and adapted to the specific needs of this project. In particular, they differentiate between elected and non-elected claimants which offers visibility to 'unofficial' actors that claim to represent particular object actors and discourses in the examined debates.

#### *Claimant Type:*

This claim aspect captures the role or function held by the author of the political claim being coded

INTERNATIONAL ACTOR	This code is used for international organizations, their representatives and their subunits (ex. UN, WTO, IMF, World Bank)
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EUROPEAN ACTOR	Used when the claimant is 'the EU' or 'Brussels' without further specification. Otherwise one of the sub-categories is used.
EU Executive (Supranational)	This is used for supranational EU executive institutions and actors: European Commission, individual commissioners, High Representative.
EU executive (intergovernmental)	This is used for intergovernmental EU executive institutions and actors: European Council, President of the European Council, Council of the European Union (in any of its configurations, ex. General Affairs, Competitiveness, etc.).
EU Legislative	European Parliament, Individual MEPS, European Party Groups.
Unelected Partisan	Ex. Unelected candidates campaigning in EP elections
Judicial	CJEU
Bureaucratic	COREPER, Reference to Brussels/EU 'bureaucrats'
ECB	European Central Bank
Agency/Bureaucracy	Used for independent EU agencies and bureaucracies such as the European Court of Auditors, FRONTEX etc.
NATIONAL ACTOR	Used when the claimant is a country understood generally without further specification. Otherwise one of the sub-categories is used.
Government	Executive leaders (ex. presidents, vice presidents, prime ministers) and their ministers.
Unelected Executive	<p>Unelected national-level executive institutions and actors, where they exist. For example, the British House of Lords, the German Bundesrat etc.</p> <p>Elected lower chambers, members of national parliament who do not hold official government posts, political parties that are represented in government.</p>
Legislative	This refers to parliaments as well as individual members of parliament, represented parties and party groups within parliament.
Unelected Partisan	Unelected politicians, political parties with no government representation.
Elected Subnational	Regional and municipal governments, councils, mayors etc.
Judicial	National Courts, Supreme Courts, Judges.
Central Bank	

Security Actors belonging to or representing police, military and other security personnel.

Agency Bureaucracy Used for independent national agencies and bureaucracies such as auditors, customs etc.

## SOCIETAL ACTOR

Civil Society This category is used for Non-Governmental Organizations their representatives, for example the European Network Against Racism, Amnesty International, Greenpeace etc. It also includes grass roots movements and social movements.

Trade Union This category is used for Trade Unions and those speaking on their behalf (ex. leaders, spokespersons etc.).

Business This captures organized business interests, employer’s organizations and individual companies, including their CEOs etc, and anyone introduced as representing the business community (ex. businessmen and women).

Financial Institution This includes private banks, rating agencies and private investors. National Central Banks are coded as National Actor-Central Bank and the ECB is coded under European Actor – ECB.

Religious Actor These includes religious institutions such as churches, mosques, temples, synagogues etc., as well as clergy and other actors speaking on behalf of organized religions. Religious organizations and charities fall under civil society.

Journalist / Media The author of the article, if it is an op-ed by a journalist, or any journalist or media organization that is quoted as making a claim in an article.

Academic / Expert / Pundit This includes scientists, economists, academics, think tanks, research organizations, universities and anyone else who is presented as an expert on the topic at hand.

Public Figure Famous and or/publicly known individuals including retired politicians but also famous athletes, comedians, authors, actors, musicians etc.

Individual(s) This category captures individual people or citizens, for instance a local resident, a refugee, or a woman speaking out as a representative of a larger collective. For example, this could be a single woman, or women collectively expressing a political claim as a participant(s) of a Women’s March.

Extremist Use this category to capture groups or individuals representing political or religious extremism. We understand extremists as those operating outside of the existing political order through threats and activities such as terrorism, rather than other forms of opposition regardless of the ideology.

## Claimant Nationality

This category intends to capture the claimant's nationality (citizenship) in the case where the claimant is an individual. If the claimant is not an individual person, but rather a national or subnational institution or organization, we code it under the country to which it belongs. For international and supranational institutions (for example the European Council, the IMF) or individuals making claims in their capacity as representatives of these institutions, we code either EU supranational / multilateral or global / regional.

For example, Donald Tusk speaking between 2007 and 2014 in his capacity as the Polish prime minister, would be coded as *EU Member State: Polish*. However, speaking in his official capacity as the president of the European Council, he would be coded as *EU supranational/multi-lateral*.

EU Member State	Use this code for addressees who are citizens or institutions of: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Republic of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, UK.
EU Supranational / Multinational	Use this code for EU-level institutions, groups and organizations or individual claimants acting in their official capacity as representatives of these institutions. For example, the EU commission, Mario Draghi etc.
Global / Regional	Use this code for international institutions (ex. the UN, the IMF, World Bank etc.) or individual claimants acting in their official capacity as representatives of these institutions.
Third Country, OECD	Use this code for claimants who are citizens or institutions of a non-EU member state in Europe, the Caribbean, Latin and South America, and Mexico, excluding Anglo-Saxon countries (coded below).
Third Country, Anglo-Saxon	Use this code for claimants who are citizens or institutions of a non-EU Anglo-Saxon state. For example, The United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.
Third Country, Non-OECD	Use this code for claimants who are citizens or institutions of countries in Asia, Africa and Oceania, excluding Australia and New Zealand.
N/A	Use this in cases where nationality is unknown or not applicable.

## Claimant Minority Status:

This category captures whether the claimant is an immigrant or belongs to a minority group in their country of residence.

Yes

No

Unknown / Unsure

## Claimant Gender:

This category captures the gender of the claimant. In the case of institutions and organizations, we code none.

Male

Female

None Use for claimants that are institutions or organizations rather than individuals, or if gender is unknown.

## Claimant Partisanship:

This category captures the claimant's partisanship and ideological leaning, when applicable. For claimants in elected positions, unelected politicians, members of the European commission or anyone with an official party affiliation, we code on the basis of that party's ideological positioning based on the 2017 Chapel Hill Expert FLASH Survey (CHES) which is presented in the table below.<sup>45</sup> If the party is not included in the below list, which is possible for smaller parties and parties without political representation, and you are confident of its ideological leaning, please code it as such. Otherwise, mark it for discussion.

International claimants or elected officials from other countries can be coded as one of the general categories (Conservative, Liberal, Ecological) or no family / other. For claimants without a party affiliation, please code non-partisan.

Radical TAN	<i>France</i>	Front National
	<i>Germany</i>	Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) Die Blaue Partei
	<i>Italy</i>	Frarelli d'Italia (Fdl)
	<i>Denmark</i>	Dansk Folkeparti
	<i>Netherlands</i>	Forum voor Democratie (FVD) Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)
	<i>Poland</i>	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS) Kukiz' 15
Agrarian	<i>Poland</i>	Polskie Stronictwo Ludowe (PSL)
Conservative	<i>France</i>	Les Républicains Debout la France

<sup>4</sup> For simplicity, the two parties classified as 'Confessional' by the CHES (ie. ChristenUnie and Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij) were merged with Christian-Democrat classification.

<sup>5</sup> The 2017 Chapel Hill 2017 Chapel Hill Expert FLASH Survey does not include Denmark. Therefore, classification of Danish party ideologies is based on the 2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey.

<i>Germany</i>	Liberal-Konservative Reformer
<i>Italy</i>	Forza Italia (FI)
<i>Spain</i>	Partido Popular (PP)
<i>Denmark</i>	Det Konservative Folksparti
<i>Poland</i>	Wolność / Korwin-Mikke

Liberal

<i>France</i>	Mouvement Démocrate Nouveau Centre La République en Marche
<i>Germany</i>	Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)
<i>Spain</i>	Ciudadanos – Partido de la Ciudadanía
<i>Netherlands</i>	Volkspartij voor Vriheid en Democratie Democraten 66
<i>Denmark</i>	Det Radikale venstre Venstre - Danmarks Liberale Parti
<i>Poland</i>	Liberal Alliance Twoj Ruch/Ruch Palikota Nowoczesna

Christian-Democrat

<i>Germany</i>	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (CDU) Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (CSU)
<i>Italy</i>	Unione de Centro (UDC) Centro Democratico - Diritti e Libertá Alternative Popolare
<i>Netherlands</i>	Christen-Democratisch Appel (CDA) ChristenUnie (CU)
<i>Poland</i>	Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij (SGP) Platforma Obywatelska (PO)

Socialist

<i>France</i>	Parti Socialiste
<i>Germany</i>	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)
<i>Italy</i>	Partido Democratico (PD) Sinistra Italiana (SI) Progressista (MDP)
<i>Spain</i>	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)
<i>Netherlands</i>	Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party)
<i>Denmark</i>	Socialdemokraterne (SD)
<i>Poland</i>	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD) Partia Razem



Radical Left	<i>France</i>	Parti Communiste Français La France Insoumise
	<i>Germany</i>	Die Linke
	<i>Spain</i>	Izquierda Unida (IU)
		Podemos
	<i>Netherlands</i>	Unidos Podemos (UP)
		Socialistische Partij (SP)
<i>Denmark</i>	Socialistisk Folkeparti (SF) Enhedslisten de Rødd-Grønne (EL)	
Green	<i>France</i>	Europe Ecologie Les Verts
	<i>Germany</i>	Bündnis '90; Die Grünen
	<i>Netherlands</i>	GroenLinks
		Partij voor de Dieren
Regionalist	<i>Spain</i>	Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea - Partido Nacionalista Vasco (EAJ-PNV)
		Eusko Alkartasuna (EA)
		Euskal Herria Bildu (EH Bildu)
		Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya–Catalunya Sí (ERC-CatSi)
		Coalición Canaria (CC)
		Partit Demòcrata Europeu Català (PDeCAT)
		Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya (CDC)
		<i>Italy</i>
	Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP) Vallée d'Aoste (VdA)	

#### General Conservative

Use this category for actors who are officially linked to a general conservative ideology but do not appear under an ideological family heading in the table above. For example, use this category for politicians from other countries.

#### General Liberal

Use this category for actors who are officially linked to a general liberal ideology but do not appear under an ideological family heading in the table above. For example, use this category for politicians from other countries.

#### General Ecological

Use this category for actors who are officially linked to a general environmental /ecological ideology but do not appear under an ideological family heading in the table above. For example, use this category for politicians from other countries.

No Family / other

Parties and members of parties that do not cleanly fall into any of the above ideological families, including but not limited to:

*Italy:* Movimento Cinque Stelle (M5S)

*Denmark:* Folkebevægelsen mod EU

*Netherlands:* 50PKUS; Denk

Non-partisan

This code is used for actors who are explicitly non-partisan, do not hold and elected post, and are not members of a political party. It is also used in cases where someone's ideological identity/party membership is either unknown or not presented as relevant to the claim.

## ADDRESSEE

The increased questioning of the EU's legitimacy among its citizens is a central theme for the RECONNECT project and a recurring issue that crosscuts numerous work packages. Particularly in relation to debates on sovereignty, the perceived legitimacy of the EU is connected to the perceived and desired directions of authority allocation. Providing one piece to this larger puzzle, this claim element captures the individual or collective actor at whom the claim is directed, and with whom authority is negatively or positively associated over the issue at hand. Note that this is not necessarily the same as the collective or individual on whose behalf he or she speaks, which is coded later under the object category. We code the addressee only when an addressee is explicitly named in the claim.

The addressee type variables distinguish between intergovernmental and multilateral actor and regional, national and supranational actors to capture possible tensions between allocation of nationalized and Europeanized issue jurisdictions. It also distinguishes between elected and unelected actors capturing the roles played by formal and informal representation.

### *Addressee Type:*

This claim aspect captures the role or function held by actor at whom the claim is directed.

INTERNATIONAL ACTOR	This code is used for international organizations, their representatives and their subunits (ex. UN, WTO, IMF, World Bank)
EUROPEAN ACTOR	Used when the addressee is 'the EU' or 'Brussels' without further specification. Otherwise one of the sub-categories is used.

EU Executive (Supranational) This is used for supranational EU executive institutions and actors: European Commission, individual commissioners, High Representative.

EU executive (intergovernmental) This is used for intergovernmental EU executive institutions and actors: European Council, President of the European Council, Council of the European Union (in any of its configurations, ex. General Affairs, Competitiveness, etc.).

EU Legislative European Parliament, Individual MEPS, European Party Groups

Unelected Partisan Ex. Unelected candidates campaigning in EP elections

Judicial	CJEU
Agency/Bureaucracy	COREPER, Reference to Brussels/EU 'bureaucrats', European Court of Auditors
ECB	European Central Bank
<b>NATIONAL ACTOR</b>	
	Used when the addressee is a country understood generally without further specification. Otherwise one of the sub-categories is used.
Government	Executive leaders (ex. presidents, vice presidents, prime ministers) and their ministers.
Unelected Executive	Unelected national-level executive institutions and actors, where they exist. For example, the British House of Lords, the German Bundesrat etc.  Elected lower chambers, members of national parliament who do not hold official government posts, political parties that are represented in government.
Legislative	This refers to parliaments as well as individual members of parliament, represented parties and party groups within parliament.
Unelected Partisan	Used for unelected politicians and political parties with no government representation.
Elected Subnational	Regional and municipal governments, councils, mayors etc.
Judicial	National Courts, Supreme Courts, Judges.
Central Bank	Claims directed at national central banks are coded here.
Agency/Bureaucracy	Used for independent national agencies and bureaucracies such as auditors, customs etc.
Security	Actors belonging to or representing police, military and other security personnel.
<b>SOCIETAL ACTOR</b>	
Civil Society	This category is used for Non-Governmental Organizations their representatives, for example the European Network Against Racism, Amnesty International, Greenpeace etc. It also includes grass roots movements and social movements.
Trade Union	This category is used for Trade Unions and those speaking on their behalf (ex. leaders, spokespersons etc.).

Business	This captures organized business interests, employer’s organizations and individual companies, including their CEOs etc., and anyone introduced as representing the business community (ex. businessmen and women).
Financial Institution	This includes private banks, rating agencies and private investors. National Central Banks are coded as National Actor-Central Bank and the ECB is coded under European Actor – ECB.
Religious Actor	These includes religious institutions such as churches, mosques, temples, synagogues etc., as well as clergy and other actors speaking on behalf of organized religions. Religious organizations and charities fall under civil society.
Journalist / Media	Journalist, news personality or media organization.
Academic / Expert / Pundit	This includes scientists, economists, academics, think tanks, research organizations, universities and anyone else who is presented as an expert on the topic at hand.
Public Figure	Famous and or/publicly known individuals including retired politicians but also famous athletes, comedians, authors, actors, musicians etc.
Individual(s)	This category captures individual people or citizens, for instance a local resident, a refugee, or a woman speaking out as a representative of a larger collective. For example, this could be a single woman, or women collectively expressing a political claim as a participant(s) of a Women’s March.
Extremist	Use this category to capture groups or individuals representing political or religious extremism. We understand extremists as those operating outside of the existing political order through threats and activities such as terrorism, rather than other forms of opposition regardless of the ideology.
Elites	Used when claims are addressed to elites in general without reference to specific individuals.
No Addressee	

## *Addressee Nationality*

This category intends to capture the addressee’s nationality. Please apply the same rules as for Claimant nationality.

EU Member States	Use this code for addressees who are citizens or institutions of: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Republic of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, UK. We always specify the country. If
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	the addressee refers to all or a group of member states, we code 'EU member states'.
EU Supranational / Multilateral	Use this code for EU-level institutions, groups and organizations or individual addressees when addressed in their official capacity as representatives of these institutions. For example, the EU commission, Mario Draghi etc.
Global/Regional	Use this code for international institutions (ex. the UN, the IMF, World Bank etc.) or individual addressees when addressed in their official capacity as representatives of these institutions.
Third Country, OECD	Use this code for addressees who are citizens or institutions of a non-EU member state in Europe, the Caribbean, Latin and South America, and Mexico, excluding Anglo-Saxon countries (coded below).
Third Country, Anglo-Saxon	Use this code for addressees who are citizens or institutions of a non-EU Anglo-Saxon state. For example, The United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.
Third Country, Non-OECD	Use this code for addresses who are citizens or institutions of countries in Asia, Africa and Oceania, <b>excluding</b> Australia and New Zealand.
N/A	Use this in cases where nationality is unknown or not applicable.
No Addressee	

#### *Addressee Partisanship:*

This category captures the addressee's partisanship and ideological leaning, when applicable. These are the same coding rules as for *Claimant Partisanship* (p. 16). Please refer to that table for party affiliations and category descriptions.

#### *Evaluation of Addressee:*

In some cases, when making a political claim about one of the issue areas, a claimant will also make an evaluation of the addressee, for example when placing blame for a problem on an institutional, individual or collective actor. Not all claims with an addressee evaluate that addressee, but when they do we capture that evaluation here. Otherwise, code *no evaluation*.

Positive evaluation	Used in instances where the claimant praises the addressee.
Negative evaluation	Used in instances where the claimant criticizes the addressee.
No Evaluation	
No Addressee	

## ISSUE

This claim aspect identifies which of RECONNECT’s central policy issues the claim is about and which particular aspect of that issue is being debated. Every claim must fall into one of the issue categories to be coded. Claims outside of these issue areas, even when appearing in articles extracted from keyword searches for that issue area, are not relevant to this project and thus are not coded. Every change in the issue, or aspect within an issue, indicates a new independent claim that must be coded separately.

### MACROECONOMIC AND FISCAL GOVERNANCE:

Economic Integration	This code is used for claims relating to the specific deepening of economic integration and supranational governance, for example banking supervision (ESFS), Fiscal Compact, European Semester, Banking Union etc.
Financial Transfers	These claims concern financial transfers and bailouts, the austerity model, Euro bonds, EFSF/ESM
Future of Eurozone / Monetary Union	These claims relate to the future shape and/or trajectory of the Eurozone. This includes claims relating to a breakup of the Eurozone, member states joining or leaving the Euro area etc.
Internal Functioning	These are claims about the proceedings during the Euro summits and internal functioning of the euro group, authority delegation over macroeconomic and fiscal governance, etc. This also include claims about the internal functioning of the ECB. This does not include claims about the substance of the policy issues discussed during the summit.
Member State Internal Politics Related to EMU	These claims relate to domestic politics with an explicit connection to EMU. For example, this includes claims discussing national representatives’ activity at euro summits, domestic negotiations regarding financial transfers, national sovereign debt etc.
EU Budget	Claims relating the content and purpose of the EU budget.
Other	General claims about economic and fiscal policy and EMU-related claims that don’t fit within the above categories.

### COUNTER TERRORISM

Internal Security / Policing	These claims concern internal cooperation on security measures and EU-level strategies to combat terrorism including, for example, claims about citizen surveillance and encroachments on individual privacy. Claims relating to the use of common institutions in counter-terrorism initiatives are also coded here (ex. EUROPOL, EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator, CJEU etc.).
External Borders / Border Security	These claims link terrorism to issues of external EU border security. For example, ‘open door’ policies for refugees as a possible security risk.

Internal Borders / Border Security	<p>These claims link terrorism to issues relating to the borders of individual EU member states, particularly internal borders with other member states.</p> <p><i>For example, Victor Orbán saying that Hungary must police its own borders and build a wall with Serbia and Croatia to keep out possible terrorists.</i></p>
External Cooperation	<p>These claims relate to cooperation with external partners on anti-terrorism (ex. NATO, the United States) or lack thereof. Arguments about the outsourcing of security to third countries are also coded under this label.</p>
EU processes and competencies	<p>This code includes claims about decision-making processes and procedures at the EU level as they relate to terrorism, including claims about the scope of EU competency in this area without specific reference to policies or policy content. It also includes claims about the internal functioning of EU institutions on issues related to terrorism, for instance reports about individual EU leaders and institutions' competence / performance.</p> <p><i>For example: The fight against home-grown terrorism is most effectively dealt with nationally rather than at the EU level.</i></p>
Other Terrorism	<p>General claims about terrorism and terrorism-related claims that don't fit within the above categories are coded here.</p>

## MIGRATION

Emigration	<p>This category encompasses any claims that relate to people leaving the country in question.</p>
Immigration	<p>These are claims about people entering the country in question that are not connected to any of the below categories. This could include arguments for or against changes to immigration policy, claims regarding economic incentives to take in immigrants, national quotas for refugees, the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) etc.</p>
Integration	<p>This claim pertains to the cultural, social and civic integration of migrants into the country in question, or Europe more generally.</p>
Citizenship	<p>This encompasses claims relating to formal and informal process and expectations needed to obtain citizenship or permanent residency.</p>
Other Migration	<p>General claims about migration and migration-related claims that don't fit within the above categories are coded here.</p>

## TRADE

Export	These are claims explicitly relating to the export of goods (not financial capital) out of the EU, including discussion of tariffs, subsidies and duties.
Import	These are claims explicitly relating to the import of goods (not financial capital) into the EU, including discussion of tariffs, subsidies and duties.
FTAs / International Trade Deals	These are claims that specifically make demands or evaluations regarding free trade agreements and negotiations between the EU bloc and external partners are coded here if the claim is <b>not</b> specifically discussing import or export-related details, but the merits/faults of the deals as a whole (ex. CETA, TTIP, EU-Singapore, EU-Korea).
Other Trade	General claims about trade and trade-related claims that don't fit within the above categories are coded here.

## EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

We always prioritize the four central issue areas: Macroeconomic and Fiscal Policy, Counter-Terrorism, Migration and Trade. However, if any of the articles in your sample contain a claim that is not explicitly taking a policy position on one of these issues, but rather makes a claim about the European Union or European Integration, we use one of the following codes.

For example, if an article about any of these issues triggers a claim where a country's membership in the EU is questioned, we would code it here, as *membership*.

The EU as polity	This code issued for generic claims about the EU as an institution than cannot be easily classified into the below categories.
European Integration as an idea.	This code is used for claims about the overall idea of European integration. For example, this might include arguments about whether or not the EU was a good idea in the first place.
Scope of Integration	This category includes any claims about the scope of EU competence in relation to which policy fields it should have competence over.
Depth of Integration	This category includes any claims about the level or depth of European integration, for instance in relation to the degree to which it has competence over a member state's internal affairs. This might include claims such as 'European integration has gone too far'.
Membership	These are claims relating to a country's membership in the European Union, both for current members and candidates.



- EU Output These claims address the content and consequences of existing EU policies. This includes all joint policies regardless of whether they were decided supranationally or require multilateral coordination. *However, claims questioning whether the EU should or should not have influence/control over a particular policy field we code as Scope of Integration.*
- EU Input This code encompasses claims about EU decision-making procedures, the internal functioning of its institutions, and its treaties.
- Other European integration-related claims that don't fit within the above categories are coded here.

## Issue Scope

To gain a better understanding of the implications of debates on the issues studied under RECONNECT, it is important to also capture the scope through which the claimants in these debates perceive the issue. Whether a particular problem is understood to be a local, national, European or global problem, may have significant effects on perceptions of the EU's legal and democratic legitimacy in relation to their authority, or lack thereof, over certain policy areas.

For example, the influx of refugees into Europe might be seen as a *national* problem in scope by someone who argues that member states need to police their own borders to protect their citizens from these migrants, or as a *European/EU* problem by someone who argues that European countries need to share the burden through national quotas for how many refugees each country takes in. Likewise, someone arguing in support of aid to the source countries of these refugees and support for those living at refugee camps abroad, perceives it as a *foreign* problem. Someone who points out the excessive refugee burden on just a few countries such as Lebanon, and calls for the rest of the world, Europe, the United States, Canada etc. to do their share in accepting refugees, sees the migration issue through a *global* scope.

- Global Use this code for claims that frame the issue as a global problem.
- European/EU A regional problem at the EU or European level
- Regional (other) Regional problem outside of Europe, for example: NAFTA, Union of South American Nations, Africa, Asia, South America etc.
- National National problem for the country where the claim originates.
- National, other EU National problem for an EU-member state that is NOT the country from where the claim originates (if it originated from another EU MS). Also used for claims from an EU level claimant when a problem is presented as a problem of a single member state.
- Foreign This is used for claims that frame the issue as a national problem for a **non-EU member country** or **region**, when there is an EU-level claimant or a claimant from an EU member state.

For all other claimants, this is used when an issue is seen as a problem that does not affect a political level where the claim originates. For

example, if the President Trump said that the migration crisis is Europe's to solve alone, we would code this as *foreign*.

Subnational This is used for claims that frame the issue as a subnational problem within the country where the claim originates. Subnational problems in other countries are coded as '*foreign*', or '*National, other EU*' in accordance with the rules of those individual categories.

Other/Unclear

### Position on Issue

Representative Claims, as understood by this project, can involve either the making of a political demand, an evaluation, or both in relation to a political issue coded previously. At least one of these must exist for the statement to classify as a claim. If the claim contains a clear demand, we code it here. If it is an evaluative claim with no clear demand, we code *No Demand*. Claims that include a demand involve calls for a change to the status quo (for example an existing policy or constitutional arrangement) or to a proposal before a decision is made and/or it is ratified (for example claims for changes to or rejection of existing proposals during the negotiations for Britain's Brexit deal).

Demands are coded along one of three cleavages. First, arguments can call for solutions requiring either more or less integration. Second, they may call solutions focused on the individual citizen or society as a whole, irrespective of the integration-no integration dichotomy or on the same side of that debate. Finally, claims may argue for solutions requiring risk-sharing or risk-reduction both within a pro-integration context. For instance, if a claim calls for more EU-level action on anti-terrorist legislation to protect the security of its citizens, it falls on the integration-no integration cleavage and we would code 'demand for more integration'. However, if the claim takes an EU-level solution (integration) for granted, but instead argues that this solution cannot include certain surveillance measures that impede on individual privacy, it falls on the individual-collective cleavage and we would code 'individual-rights based demand'.

In cases when the demand reflects multiple cleavages, we prioritize the individual-collective, or risk reduction-risk sharing cleavage over the categories in the more general integration-no integration cleavage. If the demand cannot be placed in any of these categories, please code other demand and make a record of what the demand was in your notes.

Demand for more integration These are demands for change that involve either deeper integration both on an institutional level, calling for more and/or deeper supranational or intergovernmental-level solutions and changes (ie. at the EU level, or higher intergovernmental), as well as integration understood more generally as inclusiveness and openness (to people, goods etc.) even at the national level.

Demand for less integration These are demands for change that involve either less integration or for national/subnational solutions and changes, rather than multilateral / supranational ones. For example, demands to close borders, step away from international cooperation are coded here. Also used this category for any demands relating to 'less integration' more generally, such as limits on societal, political, cultural exchange and integration.

Demand for the status quo (integrated)	These demands call for the status quo when this means continuing an inclusive and open solution, as well continuation of EU-level solutions (supranational or intergovernmental solution), or directly in opposition to calls for less integration.
Demand for the status quo (un-integrated)	These are demands that call for the status quo when this means a continuation of un-collaborative and / or national solutions, or directly in opposition to calls for more integration.

Use the following categories in cases where the debate cleavage centres on competing demands within an 'integration' or 'un-integration' direction. Such a demand is not related to whether solutions require less or more integration.

Privacy-oriented demand	These are demands that call for solutions centred on the individual, for example a protection of individual privacy, safety, and interests in general, as opposed to the collective.
Public-oriented demand	These are demands that call for solutions centred on society as a whole, often at the expense of individual or private interests in the interests of the common good, collective security etc.
Demand for Risk Reduction	These are demands that call for solutions involving increased control over member states' national competencies, for example national budget supervision.
Demand for Risk Sharing	These are demands that call for solutions involving increased interdependence, interconnectedness and burden sharing rather than greater control over member states, for example refugee quotas.
Other Demand	
None	

## OBJECT

The object is the defining feature of a representative claim, distinguishing it from more general political claims. The object of a political claim is the actor, group, or constituency that the claimant is alleging to represent or on behalf of whose interests he or she is making the claim. Without an object, a claim is not representative. Only code an object in cases where a claimant explicitly and specifically names the interests of a particular individual or group of people. These are separate from the claimant's own private interests. Additionally, the object is always a human person and never "a non-human purpose like 'the environment'" (de Wilde, Koopmans, and Zürn 2014, 36). These are captured instead by the *justification* category. Note that the object is the actor represented in the claim, not the actor who is being called to act and who the claim is directed it, which we code as addressee. If a claim does not have an object, we code 'none' for each of the three object dimensions below.

The variables measuring the three object dimensions (ie. type, scope and gender) have been adapted from de Wilde, Koopmans, and Zürn's object variable (2014, 37-38) which uses Lipset and Rokkan's four-cleavage typology in addition to societal groups and diasporas specific to the issue case studies.

## *Object type*

The variables in the Object type category have been adapted from de Wilde, Koopmans, and Zürn (2014, 37-38).

Polity	Use the polity category for state and non-state polities such as a country (ex. Germany) or regional governance structure such as the EU, NAFTA, Union of South American Nations, etc.
Organization / Institution	Used only for references to specific organizations, for instance companies (ex. Google) or institutions (ex. the parliament, The European Commission).
Elites	This represents people with political or cultural power as distinct from ordinary citizens. Those with higher economic power are coded under 'owners'.
Citizens	Use this category when the claimant is claiming to lay citizens / people of a country, a region, the world etc.
Individual	This variable is coded when the claimant refers to one or several specific individuals who are named in the claim. References to the 'average person', or 'man on the street', for example, will be coded as citizens.
Generational	This is used when the claim refers to people based on age or generation-based cleavages, for example: children, pensioners, youth etc.
Workers	This is an inclusive category covering the working class, lower socio-economic classes, poor etc.
Owners	This is also a very inclusive category that covers not only owners, per say, but also higher socio-economic classes more broadly, including: the wealthy, bankers, CEOs, capitalists etc.
Industry	References to industry: the fishing industry, auto industry, production.
Migrants	This category refers to economic, family and educational migrants and immigrants such as foreign labourers, international students, including, but not limited to, mobility of EU citizens within the EU. For example, Ukrainian immigrants in Poland, Polish labourers in Germany etc. The difference between internal and external migration will be captured by the variables: the basis of issue scope and object scope.
Asylum Seekers	This category is used for references to refugees, including both those who have migrated to the country in question and those who are outside.

Ethnic Majority	Use this code when a claimant speaks on behalf of the ethnic majority of the country or region in question. For example, White Europeans, White Germans etc.
Ethnic Minority	When a claimant speaks on behalf a specific minority group in Europe or in the country in question. For instance, ‘Muslims’, ‘the Roma’ etc. However, if the reference is specific to a group of asylum seekers within a host country, we code asylum seekers.  We also use this category when the national context allows classification of a group as a minority within the country or region in question, for example, Eastern European migrants in Britain. However, if someone speaks on behalf of all CEEC member states in opposition to the rest of the EU block, we code EU-Regional.
Religious Majority	Use this code when a claimant speaks on behalf of religious majority of the country or region in question. For example, Christians in Europe, Muslims in Turkey etc.
Religious Minority	Used when a claimant speaks of a minority religious group, for example, the Muslim, Sikh, Jewish, etc. communities.
Gender	Women, Men, LGBTQ+ or any group defined by its gender or gender identity.
Law Enforcement	Used for military and paramilitary organizations (ex. the Army) as well as police organizations (EUROPOL, national and regional police forces).
Other	
None	No object

## Object Scope

This category intends to capture the national, global or regional scope of the object being represented in the claim.

Own Country, National	Use this code when the object of the claim refers to the country or actors who are citizens of the country from where the newspaper sourcing the claim was published.
Own Country, Subnational	Use this code when the object of the claim refers to a region/province/state of the country from where the newspaper sourcing the claim was published.
Other EU Member State	Use this code when the objects of the claim are the citizens of another EU member state, or the country itself.
Other EU Member State, Subnational	Use this code when the object of the claim refers to a region/province/state of another EU member state.

EU Supranational	Use this code for EU-level groups, organizations or individual objects of claims. For example: EU citizens, European Farmers, European students, European industry etc.
Global/Regional	Use this code for objects of claims with an international / borderless constituency. For example: refugees (when not identified with a specific source country), women, the world's poor, the environment etc.
Third Country, OECD	Use this code for objects of claims who are citizens or institutions of a non-EU member state in Europe, the Caribbean, Latin and South America, and Mexico, unless they are identified as members of a borderless constituency.
Third Country, Anglo-Saxon	Use this code for addressees who are citizens or institutions of a non-EU member state in Europe, the Caribbean, Latin and South America, and Mexico, excluding Anglo-Saxon countries (coded below).
Third Country, Non-OECD	Use this code for addressees who are citizens or institutions of a non-EU Anglo-Saxon state. For example, The United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.
Unspecified	Use this in cases where nationality is unknown.
None	No Object

### *Object Gender*

This category captures the gender of the object. In the case of institutions and organizations, we code none.

Male	Use this code for individual male objects of claims, or when the object is 'men' or 'boys' in general.
Female	Use this code for individual female objects of claims, or when the object is 'women' or 'girls' in general.
LGTBQ+	Use this category, when the object of the claim represents all or part of the LGTBQ+ community, as identified by the claimant.
None	Use for objects that are institutions or organizations rather than individuals, or if gender is unknown.

### **JUSTIFICATION**

Justifications, as understood here, are the explicit or implicit reasons given by a claimant to rationalize and/or legitimize his or her claims (the argument being made). This could be presented as evidence that backs up the claim in question or beliefs and value systems used to legitimize it. Explicit justifications, whereby the speaker directly links a reason to his or her argument are always prioritized over implicit justifications that are not linguistically connected to the claim but still understood contextually.

We distinguish between justifications that include an Article 2 TEU value (type A) and all other justifications (type B) and allow for coding of up to one justification from each.

If there is more than one clear justification for the argument, please code the most dominant one (ie. the one referenced most often or elaborated most extensively). If no justification dominates, we code the first one mentioned. Avoid interpreting or reading into the meaning to force a justification when it is not clearly articulated. It is possible that some claimants will not provide a justification for their argument. In that case we code none for both Type A and Type B justifications.

## *Justification A. Article 2 TEU Justifications*

These justifications are based on the EU values found in article 2 of the Treaty on European Union: “The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.” (Article 2, TEU)

Freedom Justifications relating to ‘removing obstacles in economic, political or other form to human self-fulfilment.’<sup>6</sup> Freedom of individuals.

*References to sovereignty, for example the national freedom of individual member states in the context of EU governance are coded in ‘Type B: Other Justifications’ under ‘Sovereignty’.*

Democracy This code is used for references to procedural, electoral or legislative accountability, transparency, participation, representativeness, as well as for notions relating to the ‘will of the people’ etc.

*[However, references to corruption are coded as rule of law as this term has legal implications.]*

It is also used in relation to claims of an institution or process being too elitist or lobby-dominated (controlled by special interests) etc., including claims about the EU being dominated by certain member states at the expense of others.

Equality This category is used for justifications that refer to equal opportunity, equal treatment both politically and legally as well as the general notion of all people / groups being equal (equal human value).

For example, this can include references to equality of men and women (gender parity), racial equality, large and small member states deserving equal voice in the EU etc.

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<sup>6</sup> De Wilde, Koopmans, and Zürn, M. (2014), p. 41.

**Rule of Law** This is used for justifications relating to legality or illegality, constitutionalism, legal certainty; effective judicial protection by independent and impartial courts, effective judicial review, including respect for fundamental rights. Also use this for claims citing the constitutional or legal protection of rights. For example, use this code for claims that an action has violated the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights or the European Convention on Human Rights.

*However, value-based claims justifying why we should or must protect human rights on the basis of dignity, tolerance etc., rather than legal obligation, are coded under 'human rights', and those on the basis of equality are also coded as such.*

**Protection of human dignity** Use this code for references to social equality on the basis of the preservation of human rights and human dignity. This includes normative / value-based justifications connected to notions of basic living standards, humane treatment and conditions etc.

*[For references to equality in civic rights, code 'equality'.]*

**Justice** Used for arguments justified by references to fairness, or normative morality (ie. something being moral or immoral).

**Solidarity** This code captures justifications that defend voluntarily helping others (whether individuals, groups, other countries etc.) based on a notion of solidarity / feelings of unity with them or expecting help from others for similar reasons. Use this code for claims in support of (or against) solidarity with other EU member states based on shared 'Europeanness' or EU membership.

This category also includes references to needing to protect the 'welfare state' and/or the EU's social model. In this case, we would additionally code 'protection' in 'Type B: other justification'.

*Calls to help others defended explicitly on the basis of human rights and social equality, however, should be coded as 'Human Rights'.*

**Tolerance** General reference to respect for others, tolerance of difference whether of ideas, culture, race etc.



None Use this code in circumstances where no article 2 values are used in the justification of a claim.

## *Justification B. Other Justifications*

Culture, Values, Identity These justifications refer to ‘European values’ or present the European union as a representation of specific values, community of values, etc.

It is also used for statements claiming a lack of solidarity with European values, for example, when they explicitly speak of solidarity with EU’s democratic values, as opposed to something being undemocratic. In the latter case it should be coded as ‘democracy’).

Sovereignty Justifications classified as ‘sovereignty’ arguments refer to national or other collective sovereignty, notions of a European ‘superstate’ and claims that EU integration has gone ‘too far’ without explicit instrumental reasoning (ie. mention of tangible costs or practical implications of integration).

This also includes references to collective or group freedom, *as opposed to personal freedom which is an article 2 value and coded as ‘freedom’ under Type A justifications.*

Economic Growth<sup>7</sup> Used for references to economic performance and prosperity understood as economic growth (ex. GDP levels, employment and unemployment rates, foreign investment, monetary stability, etc.). Generic claims that something is ‘good for the economy’ are also coded here.

Fiscal Stability Used for references to economic performance and prosperity understood in relation to fiscal stability (ex. budget deficit and surpluses, fiscal spending, austerity etc.).

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<sup>7</sup> See WP10, Task 1 on page 42 of the Grant Agreement for an identification of tension between pursuing fiscal stability and economic growth. Does it make sense to split economic justifications along these lines? Would any economic arguments fall outside of this dichotomy? Practically speaking, a single economic code encompassing all dimensions of economic arguments would be simpler with respect to ensuring inter-coder reliability.

- Effectiveness This refers to justifications based on the perceived or observed *effectiveness* and/or efficiency of policies / decisions / processes / institutions / individual actors in achieving intended and/or desired outcomes.
- Security This category is use for justifications advocating for safety and/or security of individual persons, collectives, the state, etc. This includes security from bodily harm, violence, terrorism, war and conflict etc. 'Peace' used as a justification is also placed here.
- Other Use this category for claims that contain explicit justifications that do not fit any of the above categories. It can also be used for *unclear* justifications, for example, a discussion of interests (national, regional etc.) without specifically identifying the which interests (economic, national sovereignty etc.), or claims that a policy is not good for a country without further specification.
- None Used when claims do not contain a Type B Justification: 'other' justification.

## *Justification. Protection Narrative*

Use this category in cases where a claimant explicitly argues for the *protection* of any the TEU Article 2 value coded under Type 'A' justifications or an issue related to one of the categories coded under Type 'B' Justifications. We code *protection narrative* only if at least one of Type A or Type B justifications has been coded.

- Justification A: Used when the claim refers to the protection of the value coded under 'Justification A: TEU Article 2 Values'.
- Justification B: Used when the claim refers to the protection of the value or principle coded under 'Justification B: other'.
- Both Used then the claim refers to the protection of values coded under both Type A and Type B justification types.
- None

## STRUCTURE OF CLEAVAGES

One of the central objectives of RECONNECT is to understand the hypothesized disconnect between citizens', member states', and the EU's understandings of and expectations for democracy and the rule of law. Understanding the structure of the cleavages in public debates are a critical key to solving this larger puzzle. This category asks: who are the key contenders in disagreements or arguments on our four policy issues, and democracy and the rule of law?

This category is used **only** for claims where there is an explicit conflict between two sides:

- a negative evaluation of, or disagreement with, an addressee
- a direct criticism or placement of blame of another actor in a claim's justifications

For example: A party leader makes a demand for greater EU cooperation in cross-border security with the justification that we cannot trust the refugees. The cleavage here is between a political party and refugees. We would code this under *Class/Partisan vs. Societal*.

This category is roughly based on de Wilde, Koopmans, Zürn's (2014) *Conflict Frame* category. Coding categories marked with an asterisk (\*) have been applied directly.

International	This captures conflict between individual or groups of sovereign states, or between international actors.
Centre-Periphery (Regional)*	This cleavage pits 'core regional powers against peripheral countries, like large EU member states against small ones.
Class and Partisan	This cleavage centres on conflicts between political parties or other partisan actors, government and opposition, as well economic classes (ex. workers and capital, economic losers and winners etc.)
Centre-Periphery (National)*	This category represents a cleavage between national governments and sub-national regions, or between these regions themselves.
Partisan vs. Society (Ingroup)	This cleavage pits national or EU-level partisan actors (parties and politicians) against society or 'the people'. Ex. A national political party accused of not acting in the interests of citizens.
Partisan vs. Society (Outgroup)	This cleavage pits national or EU-level partisan actors (parties and politicians) against specific outgroups within society. This is used specifically in cases where a group is characterized as an 'other' against a mainstream 'ingroup' society. For example: Fidesz against Muslim immigrants.
EU vs. National	This cleavage pits European political elites and institutions, or the 'EU' in general against member states.
EU elites vs. Society (Ingroup)	This cleavage pits European political elites and institutions, or the 'EU' in general against citizens or 'the people'.
EU elites vs. Society (Outgroup)	This cleavage pits European political elites and institutions, or the 'EU' in general against specific outgroups within society. This is used specifically in cases where a group is characterized as an 'other' against a mainstream 'ingroup' society.
National Elites vs. Society (Ingroup)	This cleavage pits national or subnational level political elites against either all citizens (ex. 'the people'), or groups within society.
National Elites vs. Society (Outgroup)	This cleavage pits national or subnational level political elites against specific outgroups within society. This is used specifically in cases

where a group is characterized as an ‘other’ against a mainstream ‘ingroup’ society.

Authority vs. Society (Ingroup) This cleavage pits security and law enforcement authorities such as the police and military against either all citizens (ex. ‘the people’), or ingroups within society.

Authority vs. Society (Outgroup) This cleavage pits security and law enforcement authorities such as the police and military against specific outgroups within society. This is used specifically in cases where a group is characterized as an ‘other’ against a mainstream ‘ingroup’ society.

Societal This cleavage pits groups within society against one another. For example, men vs. women, religious or ethnic diasporas against each other, citizens and refugees etc.

No Conflict

#### TESTING FOR POPULIST CLAIMS AND RHETORIC

The variables representing cleavage structures that pit EU elites, national elites and authority against society ingroups and outgroups as well as the partisan versus society outgroup category allow us to capture populist rhetoric as operationalized by Mazzoleni and Bracciale: appeals to ‘the people’, attacks on the elite, and ostracizing others (Mazzoleni and Bracciale 2018,4-6). The outgroup variation on some of the *Structure of Cleavages* variables offers a way to test for the last of these, ‘ostracizing others’. To avoid false positives, the ‘outgroup’ version of the previous variables is used only when the ‘outgroup’ is explicitly framed against a mainstream national ‘ingroup’.

Populist claims can also be captured in the following ways:

- (1) The combination of the ‘*addressee: elites*’ and ‘*object: citizens*’ categories, which will capture claims directed at elite on behalf of ‘the people’
- (2) Claims with the code ‘*addressee: elites*’ combined with ‘*evaluation of addressee: negative*’ which will capture ‘attacks on the elite’
- (3) Claims that include ‘*object: citizens*’ alone may offer an indicator of populist ‘appeals to the people’. However, this indicator should be used with caution as it risks false positives. Not every case in which citizens are an object is necessarily populist. Therefore, it is better to use ‘*object: citizens*’ in combination with the ‘*addressee: elites*’ category with or without a negative evaluation.

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# Appendix I : Examples of Claims

This section includes several examples to illustrate how we would code sections of text identified as ‘claims’ within articles. The quotes each come from a different newspaper article which is identified. The sample claims are assigned labels from the codebook by category in the same order in which they appear in the handbook.

## Example 1: European Integration

*“We have to stand firm, proud and lucid, in the face of this manipulation and say first of all what Europe is. It is a historic success: the reconciliation of a devastated continent is an unprecedented project of peace, prosperity and freedom.”*

Commentary by Emmanuel Macron, the *Guardian* – 4 March 2014

### Claim by Emmanuel Macron

Claimant: Government | France | No | Male | Liberal  
Addressee: European Actor | EU Supranational | Non-Partisan | Positive Evaluation  
Issue: European Integration: The EU as Polity | European EU | None  
Object: None | None | None  
Justification: Freedom | Security | None  
Cleavage Structure: No Conflict

## Example 2: Immigration

<<Orbán accused the “elite” in Brussels of “losing touch with reality” and of punishing Budapest for its hardline anti-immigration policies.

“We are not willing to do what Brussels dictates, if it is not good for Hungarians,” said Orbán.”>>

<https://www.euractiv.com> - 25 March 2019

### Claim by Victor Orbán

Claimant: Government | Hungary | No | Male | General Conservative  
Addressee: Societal Actor: Elite | EU Supranational | Non-Partisan | Negative Evaluation  
Issue: Immigration | National | Demand for Less Integration  
Object: Citizens | Own Country, National | None  
Justification: None | Other | None  
Cleavage Structure: EU Elites vs. Society (ingroup)

### Notes:

*Issue Scope:* Orbán is defending his ‘national’ policies against ‘Brussels’ and rules that come down from the EU. Therefore, we code the object scope as ‘national’.

*Position in Issue:* Even though he isn’t calling for an undoing of integration, Orbán defends national solutions against EU-level or intergovernmental ones. Thus, we code it as ‘demand for less integration.’

## Example 3: Counter Terrorism

<< Britain should review its key counter-terrorism powers and revise laws on snooping by security services, a UN report has suggested.

The recommendations were issued by its human rights committee, a body of 18 international experts who monitor the implementation of the international covenant on Civil and political rights.

In its first review of Britain since 2008, the committee said counter-terrorism legislation in the UK should be reviewed because of concerns about several aspects of measures introduced to combat the threat of violent extremism. Powers to temporarily seize passports of those suspected of planning to travel abroad to engage in terrorism and relocate terror suspects were among those singled out.

....

It said: "Measures should be taken to ensure that any interference with the right to privacy complies with the principles of legality, proportionality and necessity regardless of the nationality or location of the individuals whose communications are under direct surveillance".>>

The *Guardian* – 27 May 2016

### Claim by the United Nations Human Rights Committee

Claimant: International Actor | Global/Regional | No | None | Non-Partisan  
 Addressee: National Actor: Government | United Kingdom | Non-Partisan | No Evaluation  
 Issue: Counter-Terrorism: Internal Security/Policing | National | Privacy-Oriented Demand  
 Object: Citizens | Unspecified | None  
 Justification: Rule of Law | None | None  
 Cleavage Structure: International

## Example 4: Macroeconomic and Fiscal Governance

<<Speaking in Berlin, Draghi urged Angela Merkel, chancellor of Germany, to drop her opposition to unlimited bond buying by the ECB.

Jobs, trade and investment in Europe's biggest economy were all dependent on a thriving single currency, Draghi said, as he warned member governments that they had to make good use of the breathing space in the crisis.>>

The *Guardian* – 28 September 2012

### Claim by the Mario Draghi

Claimant: European Actor: ECB | EU Supranational/Multilateral | No | Male | Non-Partisan  
 Addressee: National Actor: Government | Germany | Christian Democrat | No Evaluation  
 Issue: EMU: Financial Transfers | European / EU | Demand for More Integration  
 Object: Polity | Other EU Member State | None  
 Justification: None | Economic Growth | None  
 Cleavage Structure: EU vs. National

## Notes:

*Claimant Nationality:* Mario Draghi is Italian. However, here he speaks as the president of the ECB and therefore we code his nationality in the context of that role as: *EU Supranational/Multilateral*.

*Issue Scope:* Even though Draghi makes links to the health of the German economy, he ultimately ties it to saving the Euro which situates Germany's home economy within a wider European Scope. Thus, we would code '*European / EU*' for Issue Scope.

*Position on Issue:* While Draghi's demand does not call for deeper European Integration through policy or treaty change, it is still a demand for cooperation and consensus on an EU-level solution and thus we code '*Demand for More Integration*'.

## Example 5: Counter-Terrorism

<<European council president says tougher screening measures are needed to counter security risks and describes Angela Merkel's open-door policy as "dangerous".

Refugees arriving in Europe should be detained for up to 18 months in holding centres across the EU while they are screened for security and terrorism risks, the president of the European council has said.>>

The *Guardian* – 27 May 2016

### Claim by the Donald Tusk

Claimant: European Actor: Executive | EU Supranational/Multilateral | No | Male | Non-Partisan  
 Addressee: National Actor: Government | Germany | Christian Democrat | Negative Evaluation  
 Issue: Counter-Terrorism: external-borders | European EU | Demand for Risk Reduction  
 Object: Polity | Other EU Member State | None  
 Justification: None | Security | None  
 Cleavage Structure: EU vs. National

## Notes:

*Claimant Partisanship:* Donald Tusk has been a member of the Poland's Citizens' Platform party (PO). However, here he speaks not in a partisan role as a PO member or candidate but in his role as the EU Council President, an institution that is (at least in theory) non-partisan and thus we code '*non-partisan*'.

## Example 6: Trade

<<The EU executive has vowed to toughen up Europe's trade defences in a bid to prevent industry from being overwhelmed by artificially cheap Chinese import.

The European commission promised "faster and firmer" action against foreign producers flooding world markets with subsidised goods, dashing China's hopes of gaining "market economy status" under existing trade rules.

....



Over the last decade, EU member states, including the UK, have thwarted attempts to change the lesser-duty rule. On Wednesday, Katainen called on countries to compromise and agree a trade-defence law that has been blocked since 2013.

“The market has changed and we are suffering significant overcapacity,” he said. “That is why we have to address the issue.” EU ministers will discuss the plans in the autumn.>>

*The Guardian* – 20 July 2016

Claim by the Jyrki Katainen (Commission VP, Jobs)

Claimant: European Actor: Executive | EU Supranational/Multilateral | No | Male | Non-Partisan

Addressee: National Actor | EU member state | None | None

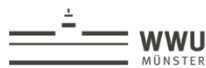
Issue: Trade: import | European / EU | Demand for More Integration

Object: Industry | EU supranational | None

Justification: None | Economic Growth | None

Cleavage Structure: International

RECONNECT, led by the Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies, brings together 18 academic partners from 14 countries.



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Find out more about the RECONNECT project at

[www.reconnect-europe.eu](http://www.reconnect-europe.eu)

