Technical coding guidelines for comparative print media/text analysis using ATLAS.ti computer software

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Introduction

Media shape and thus influence public discourses to a large extent. Consequently, research on media coverage now features prominent in sociology, political science, and communication studies. Within the RECON project a comparative analysis of media debates in several European countries in the aftermath of the failed referendums was carried out. For this purpose a codebook was developed to specify codes that were determined to be important in these debates (for this codebook see appendix).

The present guidelines provide a detailed description of the application of the coding scheme used in the RECON Summer School[1] when coding with ATLAS.ti in order to ensure similar coding and thus comparable results for the media discourse analysis as well as for the parliamentary debates.[2] In combination with the test-coding of English-language articles, it seeks to maximise the inter-coder reliability and thus to guarantee a homogeneous data basis for comparative analysis.

The guidelines are structured in five sections: an introduction into the different levels of analysis and the corresponding analytical dimensions (section I), a description of how to assign primary documents to ATLAS.ti and how to classify them by document type (section II), a coding manual for the qualitative sample (section III), a description of the quantitative method (section IV), and a short description of how to create output in ATLAS.ti for comparison and statistical analysis (section V). The RECON coding scheme, which is the basis for the actual coding, can be found in the attachment.

Before we start with our explanations a few words concerning the program we use for analysis may be appropriate. Atlas.ti is a menu-driven program used mainly but not exclusively for the qualitative analysis of texts.[3] To do so initially a hermeneutic unit is created which summarizes and links the information, e.g., codes, data, in a project. Then codes and the primary documents, in our case: the newspaper articles, have to be read into the program and have to be linked to the hermeneutic unit. Then the analysis may start proceeding as described below, this may include the linkage of the qualitative output to quantitative analysis, e.g., with standard statistical software such as SPSS or STATA.

It should additionally be noted that before applying the procedures described below a selection of documents is necessary. That which documents, in our case: which newspapers and which type of newspaper articles, are to be analyzed. Especially in comparative research this selection is far from trivial since media structures differ between countries. For example, in one country there may exist mainly tabloids, while in other countries quality newspapers are much more important, in one country interviews are a major ingredient of the newspaper coverage while in others editorials are more important etc. We leave out the particularities of the selection process for the rest of this piece but highlight the necessity to develop a strategy for the selection of documents in advance.

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[1] The Summer School "Advanced Methods and Techniques in Media Analysis" was carried out at the University of Bremen from July, 22nd, to August, 17th, 2007.

[2] The term "media analysis" will be used subsequently for simplicity, but in fact all types of documents, e.g. parliamentary debates or even (transcribed) debates on television can be treated similarly.

[3] For the complete Atlas.ti 5 handbook in English language, see: http://www.atlasti.com/de/manual.html#

I. Overview of the analytical dimensions

The media analysis that is carried out in the RECON project aims at an in-depth analysis of a wide range of dimensions, including actors and their characteristics, their positions with regard to the constitution and their argumentative strategies and justifications as well as context issues. In addition, interactions and relations between actors will be scrutinized using specific codes.

For each of these dimensions, the codebook structures the diverse reality of the actual documents and allow for comparative research and quantitative analyses. These content-related dimensions are complemented by document-related information, a document being a newspaper article, the minutes of a parliamentary debate or other relevant documents. Since the codebook is of primary importance it was created prior to analysis. It was, however, slightly revised in the process of analysis to accommodate for important codes not present in the initial codebook.

I.1 Document-level information

Even though the method of coding texts is open to a large range of documents two types of documents will generally be of central importance in the following: newspaper articles and parliamentary debates. These two types of documents are also the ones most often analysed for research purposes. For each of these documents, the following types of information will be recorded using ATLAS.ti document families. This is necessary in order to distinguish in the course of the research between these types of documents and to investigate, for example, whether parliamentary debates differ from media debates, whether tabloids differ from quality newspapers, whether debates in editorials differ from debates on front-page etc.

Document-level information		
Type of document	Section	Title
- Newspaper article	- editorial, front-page, ...	- headline
- parliamentary minutes	- general debate, ...	- title of debate in agenda

For the quantitative part, primary documents may contain several newspaper articles for one calendar month to cope with the abundance of material. Only the type of document will be recorded at the document level in these cases.

I.2 Statement-level information

The actual analysis of discourses will take place at the level of individual statements related to the Constitution.[4] In case another topic is investigated of course the statements change accordingly. Five different dimensions are to be analysed: actors, constitutional topics, argumentative strategies, justifications, and related topics.

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[4] See part II for definition and identification of such statements.

Statement-level information				
Actor (issuing statement)	Constitutional topics	Argumentative strategies	Justifications based on	Related topics
- name - type - (national/Eur.) origin	- parts of the Constitution - constitutional process	- definitive - designative - evaluative (positive/negative) - advocative (for/against) - style (metaphors, etc.)	- interests - ideas - political ideology/ rights conceptions	- European - national

The *actors* that are coded in the analysis are only those making statements on the Constitution, i.e. the authors of statements. These can be journalists (mainly in comments and editorials) or actors that are reported upon such as government or party actors, EU officials, or citizens. For each actor, the function, origin, and name are coded.

The identification of *Constitutional topics* is based on a broad distinction between constitutional topics narrowly defined, i.e. parts of the constitution, and topics related to the Constitutional process such as the signing summit or the French referendum.

Argumentative strategies refer to the way that actors present their statements and arguments: as definitions, descriptions (designative), evaluations (e.g. positive and negative), or as statements for or against certain topics (advocative statements).

Ideally, evaluative and advocative statements are justified by the actors issuing statements. These *justifications* can be clustered into three different types of justifications, namely interest-based, value-based, or ideational/rights-based arguments.

Related topics provide background about the context of the discussion. These may widely differ between countries and will be an indicator of how the Constitution is framed in the different publics. Also, they hint at the "regional" scope of the discussion: they can be grouped into national context issues (e.g. national elections) and European ones (e.g. enlargement).

I.3 Interactions and relations

A special emphasis is put on different types of relations between European and national actors as well as on horizontal relations between member states, national parties, etc. with respect to and in relation with the Constitution. For example, it may be the case that a European actor makes a statement concerning another European actor or a national actor. It may likewise be the case that national actors make statements concerning other national actors from their own nation, national actors from other nations, or European actors. This distinction thus allows for investigating to what extent debates are nationally restricted, take place among specific nations or are in fact Europeanized.

| Interactions and Relations				
Actor (issuing statement on the relation)	Category of relation (based on actors)	Types of relations, e.g.	Argumentative strategies	Justifications based on
- name - type - (national/Eur.) origin	- EU - horizontal - EU - member states - domestic relations - party relations	- disconnect/ connect - co-operation - alliance - competition	- definitive - designative - evaluative - advocative - style	- interests - ideas - political ideologies

Wherever such relations or interactions are explicitly mentioned in the primary documents, the way in which this relation is presented will be coded. In addition to the statement categories, there will be a classification of different types of relations, e.g. whether they are conflicting or co-operative.

II. Classifying documents

After having assigned primary documents to ATLAS.ti, it is useful to classify them. This can most easily be done by document families, which can be structured according to an unrestricted number of dimensions which can then be used as filters for searches and outputs. Useful families may include a distinction between journals, weeklies, and parliamentary debates.

To create a family, use the document family manager (Documents – Edit Families – Open Family Manager). First, create a new family (top left button or "New Family" from "Families" menu). It will appear in the list of families and will automatically be marked (if not, click to mark). Primary documents can then be added to the family by marking them on the bottom right-hand side and clicking on the left arrow.

Fig. 1:   Adding documents to document families
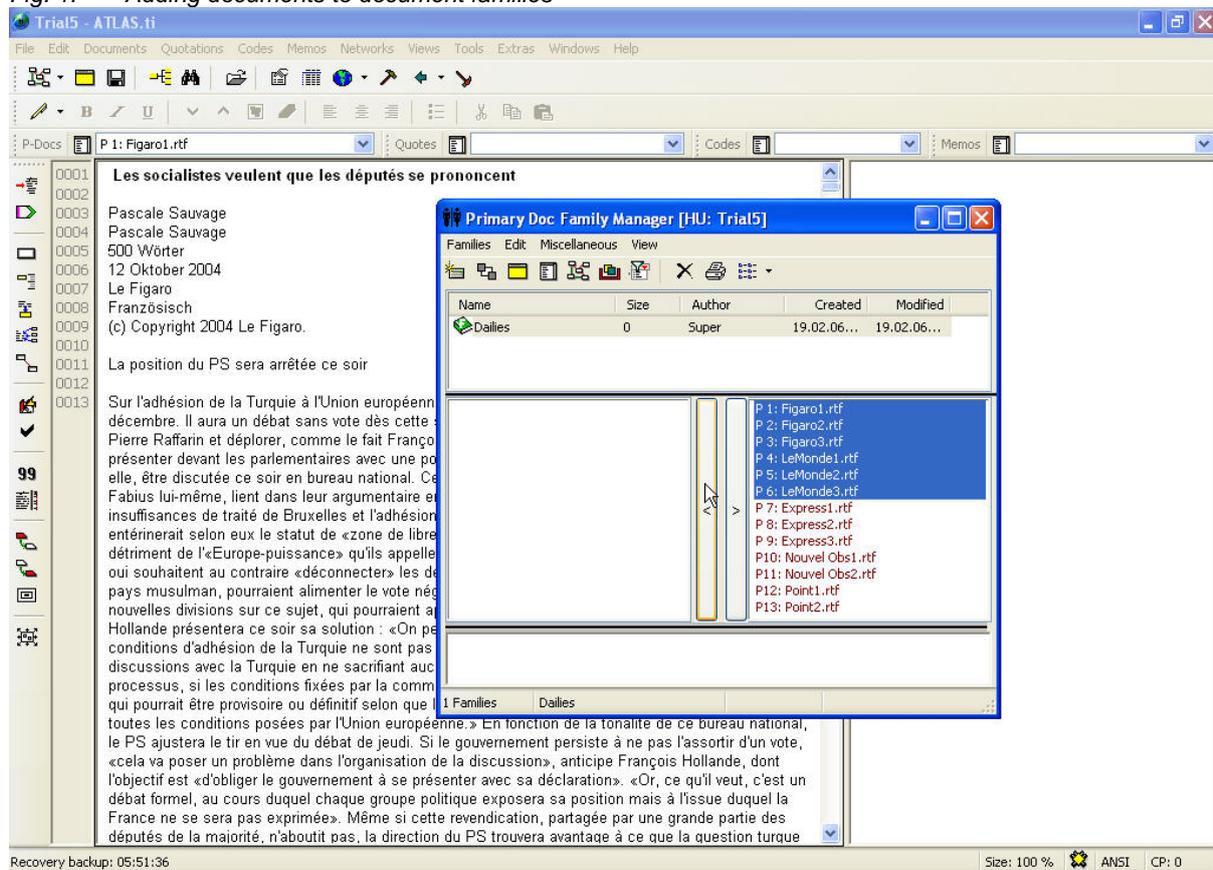
The left-hand side then shows all the documents currently included in the family. These changes will be automatically saved. When double-clicking on a family, only the documents that are included in the family will be displayed in the list of primary documents, which then appears slightly shaded to indicate the filtering. To return to the full list, choose "All" from the "Documents – Filter" menu. The same technique can be used to create families of codes and memos.

III. Coding manual for the qualitative analysis

This second part of the guidelines provides a manual for coding primary documents with ATLAS.ti. It is organized in two parts according to the two different types of quotations that are to be analysed:

- Statements and actors
- Interactions and relations

Before starting the coding process in ATLAS.ti, these codes must be imported or created. For that purpose, a coding scheme has been developed (see appendix) and has been transferred into plain text with "|" separating different codes. This text can simply be copied into the "Codes" – "Create Free Code" dialog to import the full list. This dialog can also be used to include new codes, e.g. for new actors and authors.[5]

III.1 Statements and actors

An ideal statement provides all four elements to answer the following research question:

- Who (author or actor issuing statement)
- defines, designates, evaluates or advocates (argumentative strategy)
- which feature of the constitution (topic or "issue" = object of evaluation)
- using which justification (for evaluative/advocative statements only)
- mentioning or linking the Constitution which related topic?

Each of these four elements is coded according to a pre-defined code list (see appendices).

Identifying a quotation

The length of a passage with a statement or an action – which will define the length of the quotation to be coded in ATLAS.ti – will be defined by the above elements. A typical statement is a justified assertion on a constitutional topic, made by an author or a quoted actor.

> A quotation must be unambiguous. It can include several actors, topics, argumentative strategies or justifications. However, if using different codes for one dimension, these must be unambiguously connected to the elements in the other dimensions.

Therefore, the following rules apply for using multiple codes in one dimension within quotation:

- *Actors/authors*: In general, when actors or authors change, there will be new statements (and thus a new quotation). There can only be more than one actor/author if they all talk about the same topic using the same argumentative strategy and the same justifications.
- *Topics*: There may be several constitutional topics in a statement if these are part of the same argumentative strategy by the same actor(s) using the same justification(s) for each of the topics.
- *Argumentative strategies*: The scope for using different argumentative strategies is rather limited: an evaluative and an advocative statement can

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[5] Authors of articles are coded "A.11.01. [Lastname], [First name]", quoted actors are coded "A.10. [Lastname], [First name]"

only be combined if the justification is the same for both elements. Definitive and/or designative claims, on the other hand, do not have justifications and can be freely combined. However, actor and topic must be the same.

- *Justifications*: Justifications can only be combined when the actor(s), the topic, and the argumentative strategies are the same for all justifications.
- *Related topics*: In most cases, related topics (also: context issues) form the background against which the Constitution is discussed. In that case, it can often be linked to whole statements or even several statements in a row. When different context issues are linked to different constitutional topics, however, statements must be separated.

The length of a statement will thus not only vary with the number of elements that are provided, but also on the diversity. As a rule of thumb, if different actors and their positions are presented in an article, there will be many shorter quotations, while an editorial might give an extensive justification for the evaluation of a certain topic.

It should be noted here that statements can overlap. This will typically be the case if an author develops his/her argument in a longer passage while reporting on statements of other actors. The author's statement can then be very long as long as the above rules are respected for the quotation. Also, the author might contest arguments of other actors.[6]

Coding a statement

All the elements of a particular statement or action must be included in one quotation. Vice versa, each quotation can only display the elements of one statement. However, quotations can freely overlap.

Consider the following example: "On 29 May, the French will vote in the most important referendum for Britain in half a century". It is an evaluation of a constitutional topic (the French referendum) by the author.

The full sentence can thus be used for the statement. The author Denis MacShane is evaluating as influential the French referendum on the Constitution, justifying the importance with its impact on Britain.

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[6] See section 'Coding de-justifications' below

Fig. 2:   Coding the basic elements
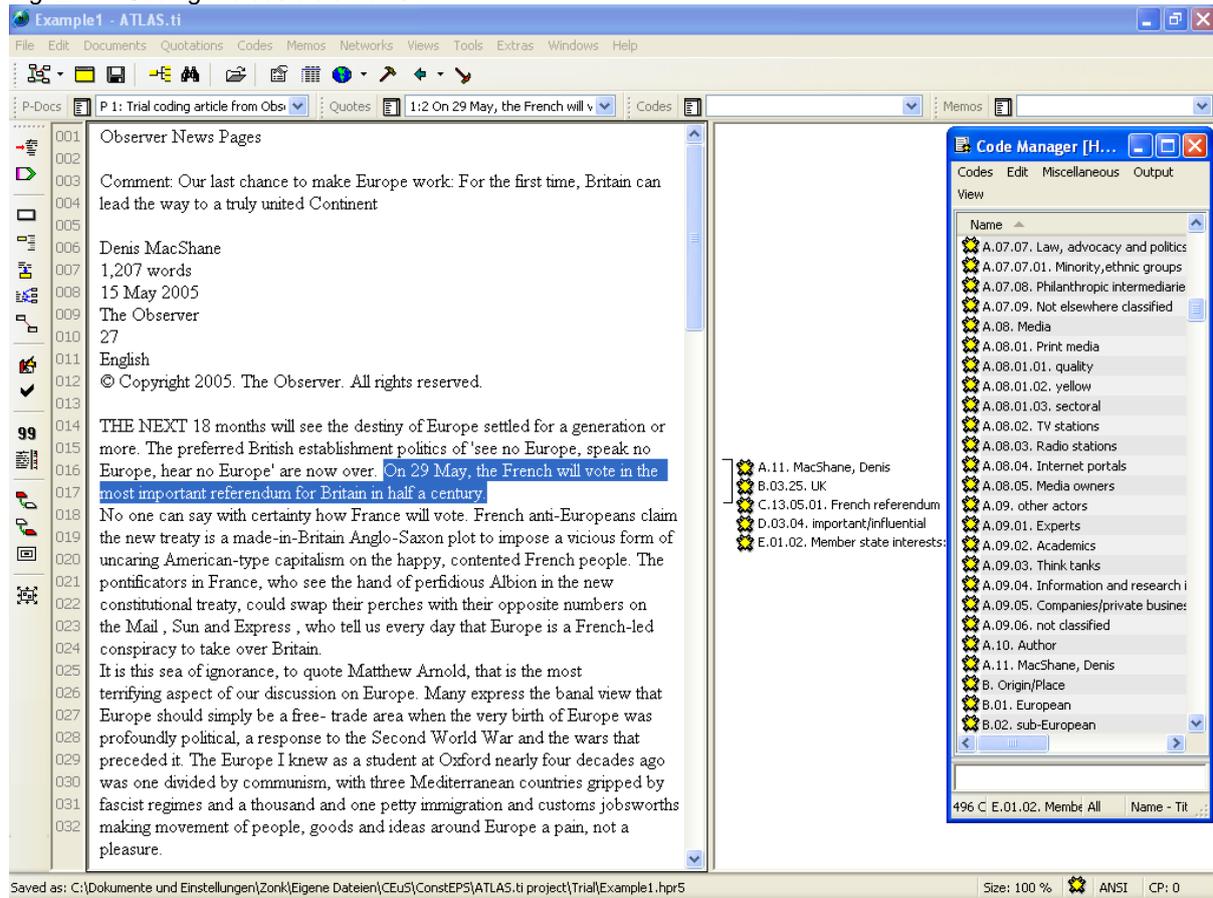
The general logic behind the coding is the identification of elements belonging to each other. From the way the above example is coded, it is obvious that the "French referendum" is "important" according to the "author". Also, it can be seen that within a statement on the French referendum, Britain is mentioned, thus creating a "transnational link" even though there is no explicit description of an interaction or relation between the two countries (see III.2 below).

Coding de-justifications

In some instances, authors or other actors will take up arguments of third parties and "de-justify" these. Consider the following example in an article by Anthony Browne (The Times) on the "promoters" of the Constitution:

> *"They said it would unite the EU, but it is now split as never before."*

It actually includes two actors issuing statements on the Constitution: the constitutional proponents and the author himself. The author takes up an argument by the proponents and questions its validity. There will thus be two statements: one by the proponents, justifying their support with the uniting force of the Constitution, the other by the author giving a negative justification ("but...").

This can be coded by letting the author's quotation include the other and including the code "de-justification". On the output side, one will then not only find the direct justifications by the author, but also the ones included in sub-quotations and addressed by the author.

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Fig. 3:   Coding the basic elements
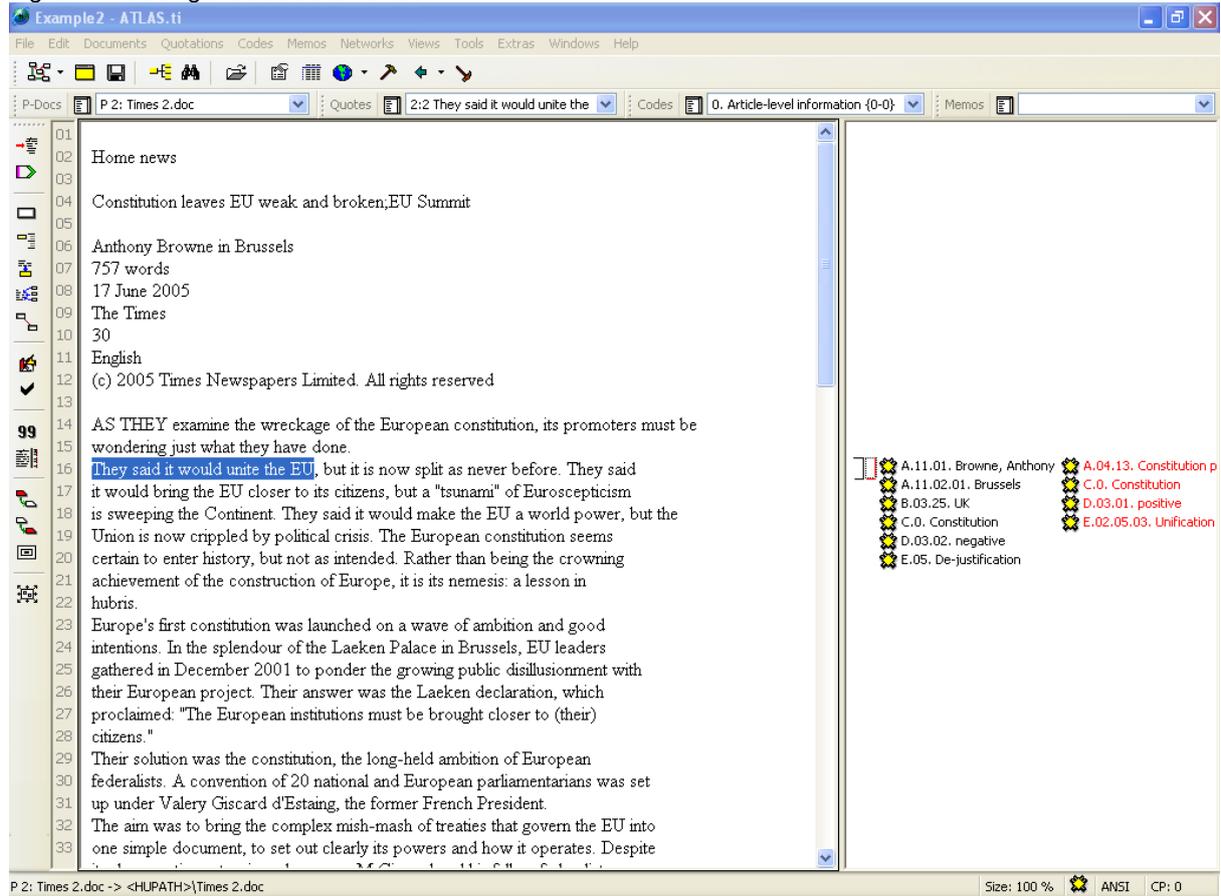
In this example, the small, red quotation includes the statement by the constitutional proponents, while the author's statement (black) includes the whole sentence.

III.2 Interactions and relations

Whenever there are explicit statements about interactions and relations beyond causal mechanisms, a separate quotation would have to be added within a statement relating to a Constitutional topic.

The minimum to be coded for interactions are:

- the direction of interaction (see coding scheme), coded within a quotation on a constitutional topic
- the type of interaction
- at least two actors, coded within the relations quotation

As with statements, argumentative strategies and justifications may be added if the relationship itself is evaluated or advocated for.

The aim of coding relationships this way is to be able to summarize how the interactions between different actors, e.g. EU institutions and member states, are generally characterized and how this relation is evaluated.

IV. Coding manual for the quantitative analysis

The quantitative analysis complements the qualitative one in two respects. First, it can back up the findings from the qualitative sampling by establishing which actors or topics turn up most often in the complete set of articles. This allows for checking whether the most important actors and topics are covered in the qualitative sample. Second, for a reduced set of codes, it can establish more precisely how the salience of issues and the visibility of different actors changed over time.

IV.1 Organisation of primary documents (PDs)

As a basis for the quantitative analysis, all articles published in a given month are grouped in text files, independently of the source. Thus, for each country, n text files are created, one for each of the n months in the period under investigation.

IV.2 Auto coding

The tool for the quantitative analysis will be auto-coding. It allows searching for different search strings and assigning the same code to them. The input for the analysis will be the list of codes (actors, topics, and visions of Europe) that we can analyse using the keyword function, and the list of keywords that unambiguously indicate a certain code.

The auto-coding function can be found under the 'Codes' menu, sub-menu 'Coding'. In order to attribute a code to a certain keyword, select the code from the dropdown list and type the search string. By selecting 'All current PDs' as the scope of search, ATLAS.ti automatically codes the whole set of articles assigned to the file. In order to avoid that the programme lumps more than one match into one quotation, choose 'exact match' or 'word' as defining the quotation size.

Fig. 4:   Coding the basic elements
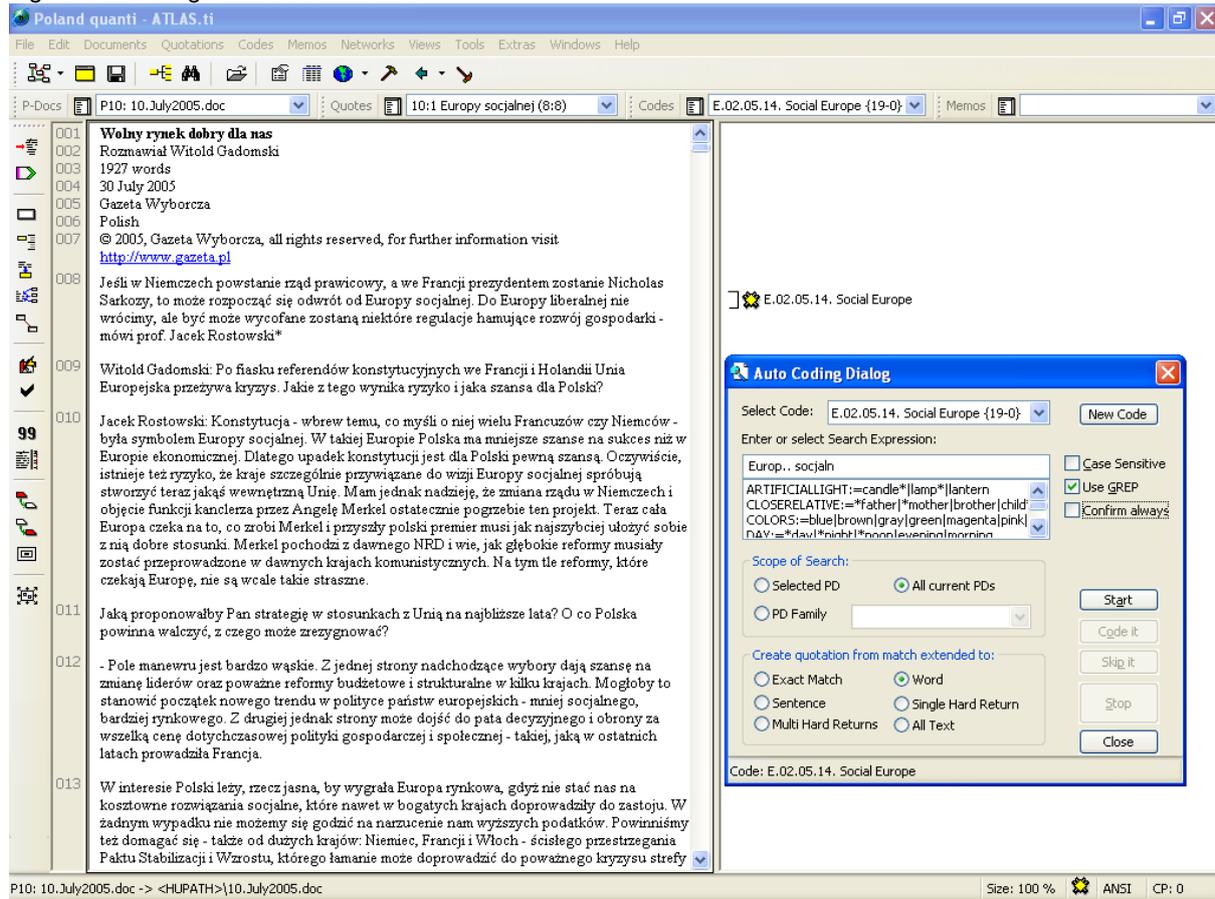
For single words, simply leave out the ending to include singular and plural as well as different cases. For two-word search expression that can be declined in some languages, the GREP tool integrated in the auto-coding function allows to replace single characters by ".".[7] To activate the GREP search options, check the respective box in the Auto Coding Dialog. Example:

- Europa socjalna: will be found by search expression Europ. socjaln
- Europie socjalnej: will be found by search expression Europ. socjaln
- Europy socjalnej: will be found by search expression Europ. socjaln
- Europę socjalną: will be found by search expression Europ. socjaln

In this case, the four cases will be found by two different search expressions – one with a single dot and a space after 'Europ', the other with two dots. These two searches can simply be run one after the other. Where search expressions are unambiguous, uncheck the "Confirm always" box. Otherwise, ATLAS.ti will ask for confirmation each time the search expression turns up, which is very time-consuming.

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[7] The general and familiar placeholder '*' does not work since it does not restrict the number of cases between the two words, so ATLAS.ti would also code all the text between the two words if they occur in the given order in one primary document.

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V. Output

For both the qualitative and the quantitative analysis, ATLAS.ti provides a helpful tool for the output side: the Codes-Primary-Documents tables ([Atlas file name]_CPDMatrix). For each code, it shows how often it turns up in the different documents. The matrices can then be used as a basis for actor visibility, issue cycles, and statistical analysis.

To produce such a matrix, follow the following steps:

1. In your atlas file, go to Codes->Output->Codes-Primary-Documents->Excel Compatible CSV
2. A dialogue might turn up warning you that the file would have more than 256 due to the high number of codes. To avoid that problem, press the "Ctrl"" key while confirming that you want to proceed ("Yes").
3. In the next dialogue, please choose "," as a separator (checked by default) and click OK
4. In the next dialogue, choose "file" and save the file to your hard disk.

This file ("[atlas file name]_CPDMatrix.csv") will be the basis for the aforementioned analyses.

Fig. 5:   ATLAS.ti output: the codes-primary-documents matrix

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB
1	CODES-PRIMARY-DOCUMENTS-TABLE [Super - 05.04.06 16:40:35]																											
2	HU: [C:\Dokumente und Einstellungen\Zonk\Eigene Dateien\CEuS\ConstEPS\ATLAS.ti project\France.hpr5]																											
3	Code-Filter: All																											
4	PD-Filter: All																											
5																												
6		P 1:	P 2:	P 3:	P 4:	P 5:	P 6:	P 7:	P 8:	P 9:	P10:	P11:	P12:	P13:	P14:	P15:	P16:	P17:	P18:	P19:	P20:	P21:	P22:	P23:	P24:	P25:	P26:	TOTALS:
7	0. Article-level information	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0.01. Section	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0.01.01. Europe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
10	0.01.02. Domestic	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
11	0.01.03. International	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		5
12	0.01.04. Debate/Opinion/Ana	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
13	0.01.05. Editorial	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4
14	0.01.06. Frontpage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
15	0.02. Title	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
16	A. Actors/agency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	A.01. EU institutional actors	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
18	A.01.01. European Parliamer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
19	A.01.01.01. EP member	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
20	A.01.02. European Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
21	A.01.03. Council of Ministers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	A.01.04. Presidency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	A.01.05. Commission	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		2
24	A.01.05.01. Commissioner	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	13
25	A.01.06. Committee of the R	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	A.01.07. EU officials	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	A.01.08. Convention member	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
28	A.01.09. EU	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	A.02. Political actors	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
30	A.02.01. Europe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
31	A.02.02. States	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	2	5	0	1	17
32	A.02.03. Sub-state institution	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
33	A.02.04. Government/Execut	7	0	1	3	1	1	5	1	1	2	5	3	0	7	2	0	0	2	3	1	0	1	4	5	8		63

Appendix: Codebook used for the RECON Summer School

RECON Work Package 5: Civil Society and the Public Sphere
BREMEN 2007 SUMMER SCHOOL "MEDIA DISCOURSE ANALYSIS"
CODE BOOK AND GUIDELINES
22. 7. – 18. 8. 2007

This code book is divided into five sets of variables (codes): Part one includes codes relating to general features of the print media article. Parts 2-5 include codes relating to particular quotation units within the article. These quotation units are defined as statements and coded within Atlas.ti separately. Each statement is coded along the following dimensions:

a) **Actors**: subjects (authors or political actors) who make the statement (Part II)
b) **Topics**: entities (related to issues, concerns, process, policies) that are constructed and recognised as existing by the subjects (Part III).
c) **Arguments and justifications** given by the subjects (Part IV)
d) **Interactions and relations** (Part V).

Overview of the variables

Part I Variables relating to the whole article
- Variable A: article identification number
- Variable B: Name of the Coder
- Variable C: PAPER
- Variable D: Date
- Variable E: GENRE
- Variable F: SECTION
- Variable G: SOURCE

Part II Variables relating to Actors & Authors
- Variable H: Type of actors
- Variable I: Origin of actors

Part III. Discursive Interaction
- Variable J: Discursive Interaction

Part IV Variables relating to EU policies, polity & process
- Variable K: Policies
- Variable L: EU – Polity: institutional model, allocation of power
- Variable M: Constitutional Process: past, present and future

Part V: Variables relating to argumentation and justification (of statements in III.)
- Variable N: Argumentative strategies: types of statement
- Variable O: Justifications of these statements (relating to III)
    - o Variable O.01: Interests
    - o Variable O.02: Identities
    - o Variable O.03: Rights and principles
    - o Variable O.04: Union's objectives
- Variable P: RECON Polity models

Part VI Interactions and Relation
- Variable Q: Interactions/relations
- Variable R: Domestic context issues

Coding scheme

PART I: General Features of the Article

Coding Unit: Whole article (all variables are numeric except when otherwise indicated)

Variable A: '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 B Name of the Coder
'name of coder'
Categories, see data entry file.

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

Variable D: Date
'day, month and year of newspaper issue'

Variable E: GENRE
'Journalistic genre of article'

E.1 News article (day-to-day coverage of events, e.g. news item, news report)
E.2 Background article (e.g. correspondents' background report, analysis, feature, documentation)
E.3 Interview (of the newspaper itself; references to interview statements drawn from other sources are coded as 1 or 2)
E.4 Editorial/Opinion/commentary by a guest author/columnist/other newspaper, Letters to the editor
E.9 non-definable

Variable F: SECTION
'section of newspaper where article appears'

1. Politics/News
2. Regional/local news section
3. Business/Economy section
4. Commentary pages
5. Opinion/Debate (including Feuilleton)
6. Letters to the Editor
7. No differentiation between sections
9. Section unknown

Variable G: SOURCE
'main source of article'

1. Own coverage: foreign correspondent's report (incl. interviews)
2. Press Agency
3. Guest author
4. External opinion/letter
5. Other national media source
6. Other EU media source (e.g., an article drawn from the Guardian in El Pais)
7. Non-EU media source
8. Other sources
9. Source unknown

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

Part II: Actors & Authors

Coding Unit = quotation = a statement from an author or actor (part II) that addresses an object (part III) by using an argumentative strategy and giving a justification that is based on collective interests, a collective identity, a general principle (part IV), or that draws on interactions & relations between actors or refers to context specific issues.

Statements are identified through the following elements

- Who? Explicit speaker: actor issuing statements, marked through direct or indirect speech in the text; implicit speaker: author of article;
- What? Addressing one general or specific topic/issue of either EU policy, polity, principle, constitutional process or project;
- How? Defining, designating, evaluating, advocating for or against the issue/topic in question (argumentative strategy);
- Why? Justifying an argument in favour or against an issue/topic by giving reasons (interest, identity, principles on which it is based) or by
- linking the argument about the issue to relations/interactions among actors or to context specific events.

Three elements are necessary to qualify a statement (phrase, paragraph...) as a <u>quotation unit,</u> and these elements need to be coded in the following order: 1. Actor, 2. topic, 3. argumentative strategy; as not necessary but optional further elements, a quotation unit may include 4. justification; 5. relationship.
While one statement/quotation unit may contain – in exceptional cases - more than one actor or more than one topic, it cannot contain more than one argument or more than one justification that refer to more than one topic:

- If in the same sentence one or several actors refer to several topics making different arguments and referring to multiple justifications, then the sentence needs to be split up in several quotation units. Rule of thumb: A quotation unit needs to be unequivocal in linking a topic to an argument, a justification and an actor!

Examples:

1. "Barroso and Chirac say that the EU should constitutionalise and establish its external borders": unequivocally, this quotation links two actors to two topics, since both are linked by the same argumentative strategy (no justification)
2. "Chirac advocates expanding the common agricultural policy (CAP) and agrees with speeding up EU constitutionalisation to enhance the decision-making capacity

of the Union": there are two different topics linked to one actor, but each of them linked to a different argument and only the second one linked to a justification. Hence: You will need to split the sentence into two quotations!

3. "President Kaczynski insists on changing the TCE voting procedure in the Council to strengthen the Polish position notwithstanding his European partners' insistence on the previous consensus on the TCE voting procedures": Two actors, one topic, two different arguments, one linked to a justification. Hence: Two separate quotations!

The length of a quotation will not only vary with the number of elements that are provided, but also on the diversity. As a rule of thumb, if different actors and their positions are presented in an article, there will be many shorter quotations, while an editorial might give an extensive justification for the evaluation of one specific topic.

Notes:
- A statement may stretch over several paragraphs if all elements of the statement remain the same or can be unambiguously linked to each other, e.g. if an actor gives several justifications for the positive evaluation of one constitutional topic
- Since the quotation size does not matter for the quantitative output, sub-quotations with different content might be included within longer quotations as the one above
- In order not to inflate the number of statements, two quotations in one article may not have the same combination of codes; or, put differently, there must always at least be one code differentiating such two quotations (summarizing introductions may typically be ignored due to this rule)
- Although a quotation needs to be coded by at least three codes, in the appropriate rank order (1. – 3.), do not start coding all "actors" right away: Rather, your coding process should start with seeking first relevant EU topics that are linked to arguments (and possibly justifications), and then ask who the speaker (actor or author) is;
- Statements by authors will be coded using the "H.01. Author's statement" code
- Direct quotes will be coded with "M.05.04. Direct speech"
- If actors and their positions are reported upon (second-level actors), code these actors and their arguments as they are presented by the journalist or quoted actors (do not code the author of the article).
    „MP X is in favour of the constitution since it strengthens women's rights"
        (Actor: MP X; topic: constitution; arg. strategy: adv. for; just.: gender justice);
-       „The constitutional treaty will strengthen minority rights" (= designative statement by the journalist; topic: constitution)
- It should be noted here that quotations can overlap or that one can be embedded in another one. This will typically be the case if an author develops his/her argument in a longer passage while reporting on statements of other actors. The author's statement should then be split into several different but overlapping units, each containing the same author, but different topics and justifications. Also, the author might contest arguments of other actors.

Variable H. Actors
Question: Who makes a statement, raises an issue or defends an argument? Which external actors are quoted directly or indirectly in the newspaper? Do journalists make own statements with regard to constitutional issues/debates?

H.01. Author's statement
(Note: for some 'H-codes' you may use the 'general two-digit' code, when the reference is of general nature. In specific cases not covered by the specific codes use the 'other' code.)

H.02. Europe
H.02.00. Europe/European Union general
H.02.01. European Parliament
H.02.02. European Council/Summit/IGC
H.02.03. Council of Ministers
H.02.04. Council Presidency
   H.02.04.01. Luxembourg Council Presidency (2005/I)
   H.02.04.02. British Council Presidency (2005/II)
   H.02.04.03. Austrian Council Presidency (2006/I)
   H.02.04.04. Finnish Council Presidency (2006/II)
   H.02.04.05. German Council Presidency (2007/I)
H.02.05. High Representative CFSP
H.02.06. European Commission
H.02.07. Committee of the Regions
H.02.08. Constitutional Convention
H.02.09. European Court of Justice
H.02.10. European Economic and Social Committee
H.02.11. Council of Europe[8]
H.02.99. Other

H.03. International organisations and non-EU states
H.03.01. United Nations (including Security Council, Secretary General etc.)
H.03.02. OECD
H.03.03. G7/G8
H.03.04. NATO
H.03.05. WTO
H.03.06. ILO
H.03.07. Regional free trade and economic cooperations
H.03.08. Non-EU States
H.03.99. Other international organisations

H.04. Member State actors (national and subnational)
H.04.01. State/Executive/Government/Governing coalition
H.04.02. Sub-state institutions (regions etc.)
H.04.03. Judiciary
H.04.04. Legislature/MP
H.04.05. Political opposition
H.04.06. Party/Party leader
H.04.99. Other

H.05. Party Types[9]
H.05.01. Communists/ extreme left
H.05.02. Socialists/ Social democrats/Left

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[8] The Council of Europe is no EU-organisation.

[9] Group national parties according to their affiliation in the European Parliament

H.05.03. Greens
H.05.04. Liberals
H.05.05. Conservatives/ people's party
H.05.06. Extreme right
H.05.07. Euro-Sceptics[10]
H.05.08. regional parties
H.05.99. Other parties

H.06. Economic organizations
H.06.01. Trade unions
H.06.02. Agricultural organisations
H.06.03. Employers/Producers/Companies/Private Business and their lobby orgs
H.06.04. Sectoral producer groups
H.06.99. Other national economic and professional organizations

H.07. Civil society organizations
H.07.01. Foundations
H.07.02. Churches/Religious Groups
H.07.03. Women's organisations and groups
H.07.04. Environmental organisations and groups
H.07.05. Health and Social organisations and groups
H.07.06. Solidarity, minority and human rights organisations and groups
H.07.07. Cultural and educational organisations and groups
H.07.08. Students and Youth organisations and groups
H.07.09. Consumer organisations and groups
H.07.10. Racists and extreme right organisations and groups
H.07.11. Anti-European organisations and groups
H.07.12. Anti-globalisation organisations and groups
H.07.13. Pro-European organizations
H.07.99. Other Civil society organizations and NGOs

H.08. Mass media
H.08.01. External journalists[11]

H.09. Personalities, experts and other actors
H.09.01. Names of publicly known personalities
H.09.02. Academics/intellectuals/experts
H.09.03. University, research institutions
H.09.04. Think tanks
H.09.05. Public/voters/people, citizens
H.09.06. Proponents of the TCE (general, composed)
H.09.07. Opponents of the TCE (general, composed)
H.09.99. Other actors

Variable I. Origin of actors
Question: Is the constitutional debate mainly carried by national actors or do actors from other Member States or from subnational and supranational levels play a role?

I.01. Gender of actor
I.01.01. Female

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[10] For Single-Issue-Parties only.

[11] Only if other journalists are quoted in the media, not author's statements, e.g. "The Guardian's leading journalist xx wrote yesterday that the British referendum should be postponed"

I.01.02. Male
I.01.99. Not identifiable

I.02. Level actor is acting upon
I.02.01. Sub-National
I.02.02. National
I.02.03. European
I.02.04. International[12]

I.03. National origin/place: EU member states
I.03.00. Europe/EU
I.03.01. Austria
I.03.02. Belgium
I.03.03. Bulgaria
I.03.04. Cyprus
I.03.05. Czech Republic
I.03.06. Denmark
I.03.07. Estonia
I.03.08. Finland
I.03.09. France
I.03.10. Germany
I.03.11. Greece
I.03.12. Hungary
I.03.13. Ireland
I.03.14. Italy
I.03.15. Latvia
I.03.16. Lithuania
I.03.17. Luxemburg
I.03.18. Malta
I.03.19. Netherlands
I.03.20. Poland
I.03.21. Portugal
I.03.22. Romania
I.03.23. Slovakia
I.03.24. Slovenia
I.03.25. Spain
I.03.26. Sweden
I.03.27. UK

I.04. Non-EU States
I.04.01. Norway
I.04.02. Switzerland
I.04.03. Turkey
I.04.04. USA
I.04.05. Russia
I.04.06. China
I.04.07. Western Balkans
I.04.99. Others

Part III. Discursive Interaction

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[12] Includes also bilateral and multilateral scopes.

Question: How are statements of speakers and other actors linked? Who is reporting on whom, who is addressing whom?

The J.01 direct/reported speech code is used if actors are quoted directly or word by word in reported speech. The J.02. and J.03. codes are used on statements if

- the actors that are quoted or reported on in that quotation are criticized, supported or appealed to either by the author;
- in any case if they are quoted or reported on by another actor

The variable J. needs not be coded for author's statements (the H.01. variable already indicates that it is direct speech) nor for actors that the author is reporting on (without evaluating or appealing) because these are the "default" statements.

Variable J. Discursive Interaction

J.01. Direct/reported speech

J.02. Sub-quotation
J.02.01. Reported on (neutral)
J.02.02. Evaluated
J.02.02.01. Positively (supported)
J.02.02.02. Negatively (criticized)
J.02.02.03. Ambiguously
J.02.03. Appealed to

J.03. Levels actors are acting upon (sub-quotation)
(NB: Make sure who comes first and who comes second: A says that B should… means that A comes first)

J.03.01.	National/sub-national -> Same National/sub-national
J.03.02.	National/sub-national -> Other National/sub-national
J.03.03.	National/sub-national -> European
J.03.04.	Other National/sub-national -> Same national/sub-national
J.03.05.	Other national/sub-national -> Other national/sub-national
J.03.06.	Other national/sub-national -> European
J.03.07.	European -> Same national/sub-national
J.03.08.	European -> Other national/sub-national
J.03.09.	European -> European
J.03.99.	Other (involving international level)

Part IV. EU Polity: Policies, Institutions & Process

Question: To what substantive/material contents of the constitutional treaty or the constitutional process does a statement refer – to which issues of the a) EU policies, b) EU institutional architecture, c) procedures and process of constitutional treaty change?

Variable K. EU POLICIES
(Note: for some 'K-codes' you may use the 'general two-digit' code, when the reference is of general nature. In specific cases not covered by the specific codes use the 'other' code.)

Which types of EU policy are discussed in the constitutional debate?

K.01. Internal market

K.01.01. Freedom of people, goods, services and capital
K.01.02. National rules
K.01.03. Economic and monetary policy; European Central Bank
K.01.04. Deficit procedure, stability - and growth pact
K.01.05. Custom and Trade general
K.01.99. Other

K.02. Regulatory policies
K.02.01. Employment
K.02.02. Social policy (working conditions and standards of living, tripartite dialogue, equal pay for women and men)
K.02.03. Environmental protection
K.02.04. Consumer protection
K.02.05. Energy and Transport
K.02.06. Public Health
K.02.07. Industry
K.02.08. European intellectual property rights
K.02.99. Other regulatory actions

K.03. Distributive/redistributive policies
K.03.01. Common Agriculture and fisheries
K.03.02. Research, technological development, Space
K.03.03. Economic, social and territorial cohesion (Structural and Regional funds)
K.03.99. Other distributive activities

K.04. Cultural policies
K.04.01. Culture
K.04.02. Education, Youth, sport, vocational training
K.04.03. Languages of the Union
K.04.99. Other activities related to a European value community

K.05. Internal and judicial policies
K.05.01. Area of freedom, security and justice
K.05.02. Border checks, asylum, immigration policy
K.05.03. Judicial cooperation (civil, criminal, Eurojust, European Public Prosecutor)
K.05.04. Police cooperation (Europol, cross border law enforcement, Frontex)
K.05.99. Other justice and home affairs issues

K.06. Foreign policies
K.06.01. Cooperation with third countries, humanitarian aid and peacekeeping
K.06.02. Accession to Europ. Convention on Human Rights & Fundamental Freedoms
K.06.03. Association of the overseas countries and territories
K.06.04. Common foreign and security policy (CFSP)
K.06.05. Common security and defence policy (CSDP; European Defence Agency)
K.06.99. Other activities to European Security and Defense issues

K.07. Union's finances
K.07.01. Budgetary and financial principles
K.07.02. Union's own resources
K.07.03. Multi-annual financial framework
K.07.04. Union's budget
K.07.99. Other Union finances issues

K.08. Charter of Fundamental Rights of the Union
K.08.01. legally binding Charter of Fundamental Rights as Part II of TCE
K.08.02. only inclusion of reference to Charter in Treaty

K.08.03. opt outs from Charter (UK)
K.08.99. other issues relating to the Charter

Variable L. EU Institutional Architecture

(Note: for some 'L-codes' you may use the 'general two-digit' code, when the reference is of general nature. In specific cases not covered by the specific codes use the 'other' code.)

Question: Which political institutions are dealt with in the TCE debate? What issues relating to their role, power and the "democratic life of the Union" are argued about, for instance, questions of participation and representation? Are issues regarding the legitimation of the EU's authority debated?

L.01. Symbols of the EU
L.01.01. Constitution (as opposed to treaty)
L.01.02. Union's values (e.g. Christianity/Christian inheritance)
L.01.03. European flag
L.01.04. European slogan (unity in diversity)
L.01.05. European anthem
L.01.06. European Multilinguism
L.01.07. accessibility of the Constitutional Treaty text
L.01.08. EU's legal personality
L.01.99. Other symbols of the EU

L.02. Democratic life in the Union
L.02.01. Union citizenship
L.02.02. equality of democratic rights
L.02.03. inclusion of residents, third country nationals
L.02.04. accountability of political leaders
L.02.05. citizens' legislative initiative
L.02.06. Union citizens' right to address EU Institutions (petition)
L.02.07. Representative democracy
L.02.08. European political parties
L.02.09. Participatory democracy
L.02.10. Deliberative democracy
L.02.11. European Ombudsman
L.02.12. Social partners, social dialogue
L. 02.13. Internal Market
L.02.14. Federal Europe
L.02.15 Multilevel poity
L.02.99. Other issues relating to democratic life in the Union

L.03. Union's institutional set-up (membership, duration, role)
L.03.01. EU Council Presidency
L.03.02. European Parliament
L.03.03. European Council
L.03.04. European Commission
L.03.05. President of European Commission
L.03.06. Union Minister Foreign Affairs
L.03.06. European Court of Justice (ECJ)
L.03.07. European Central Bank
L.03.07. Role of national parliaments in the EU
L.03.99. Other institutional set-up issues

L.04. EU Rules of decision-making in EU
L.04.01. allocation of powers between EU and member states
    L.04.01.01. subsidiarity

L.04.01.02. proportionality of EU competences vis-à-vis member states
L.04.01.03. primacy of EU law over member state law
L.04.02. Council decision-making
    L.04.02.01. majority voting
    L.04.02.02. weighing of votes of MSs
    L.04.02.03. enhanced cooperation
L.04.03. In European Parliament
    L.04.03.01. EP control of other institutions
    L.04.03.02. co-decision making powers of EP
    L.04.03.03. election of Commission President
    L.04.03.04. Censure of the Commission
L.04.04. Regional unions
L.04.05. Revision procedures: ordinary, simplified
L.04.06. Ratification and entry into force
L.04.07. Authentic texts and translations
L.04.08. Solidarity clause among member states
L.04.99. Other rules of decision-making

L.05. Membership
L.05.01. Enlargement/Accession
    L.05.01.01. Bulgaria, Romania (Jan 1st, 2007)
    L.05.01.02. Turkey
    L.05.01.03. Ukraine
    L.05.01.04. Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia
    L.05.01.05. others
L.05.02. Union and its neighbours
L.05.03. Union membership
L.05.04. Conditions of eligibility/procedure for accession to the Union
L.05.05. Suspension of certain rights
L.05.06. opt-outs
L.05.07. withdrawal from the Union
L.05.99. Other membership issues

Variable M. CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS: PAST, PRESENT & FUTURE
(Note: for 'M-codes' you may NOT use the 'general two-digit' code, when the reference is of general nature. Either code 'other' or do not code.)

Question: How is the process of constitutional negotiation, ratification, crisis, reflection and relaunch conceived? What issues are debated?

M.01. Constitutional Process: past (pre June 2005)
Question: Are there references to past stages of the Laeken constitutional treaty reform process? In how far is the past relevant in present debate?
M.01.01. References to past EC/EU treaties
    M.01.01.01. European Coal and Steel Community (1951)
    M.01.01.03. Rome (1957)
    M.01.01.03. Single European Act (1986)
    M.01.01.04. Maastricht (1992)
    M.01.01.05. Amsterdam (1997)
    M.01.01.06. Nice (2001)
    M.01.01.07. Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe (2004)
    M.01.01.99. Other constitutional initiatives (e.g. Spinelli)
M.01.02. Laeken Summit (Laeken Declaration and Mandate)
M.01.03. Convention on the Future of Europe
M.01.04. Intergovernmental Conference 2003-4
M.01.05. adoption of Services directive (Bolkestein) by EP

M.01.06. review of Lisbon strategy
M.01.07. National ratification process
   M.01.07.01. National ratification procedure (general)
   M.01.07.02. campaigning for
   M.01.07.03. campaigning against
M.01.08. National ratification referendum
   M.01.08.01. Spanish referendum
   M.01.08.02. Luxemb. Referendum
   M.01.08.03. Dutch referendum
   M.01.08.04. postponed referendum
M.01.09. National ratification failures
   M.01.09.01. Dutch
   M.01.09.02. French
M.01.10. National parliamentary ratification
   M.01.10.01. In general (for/against parliamentary ratification)
   M.01.10.02. In specific country (actual cases)
M.01.99. Other constitutional process (past)

Var. M.02. CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS: present (June 05-June 07)

Question: How is the current state of the constitutional treaty reform project represented?

M.02.01. Member States in charge of EU Council Presidency[13]
   M.02.01.01. Luxembourg Council Presidency (2005/I)
   M.02.01.02. British Council Presidency (2005/II)
   M.02.01.03. Austrian Council Presidency (2006/I)
   M.02.01.04. Finnish Council Presidency (2006/II)
   M.02.01.05. German Council Presidency (2007/I)
   M.02.01.06. Berlin declaration (March 2007)
   M.02.01.07. Portuguese Council Presidency (2007/II)

M.02.02. Labelling of current situation (impact of TCE ratification failure on EU)
   M.02.02.01. Disintegration/Collapse
   M.02.02.02. Crisis
   M.02.02.03. Deadlock
   M.02.02.04. Business as Usual
   M.02.02.05. Catharsis
   M.02.02.06. Stability
   M.02.02.99. Other Labels

Var. M.03. CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS: future options
Question: Which strategies for re-launching Constitutional process are debated?

M.03.01. enhance EU's output legitimacy (globalisation fund, ….)
M.03.02. Dialogue, Discussion, Debate, Communication (e.g. Plan D, reflection period)
M.03.03. ignore crisis
M.03.04. continue ratification
M.03.05. repeat referenda
M.03.06. pan-European referendum
M.03.07. Discard TCE
M.03.08. Mini-Treaty
M.03.09. Reform Treaty

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[13] These codes refer to the actions of the Council Presidencies; if they are quoted as actors, use codes under H.02.04.

M.03.10. Constitutional Treaty plus (social protocol)
M.03.11. Renegotiation
M.03.12. Actions by national actors
M.03.13. Future of Europe/Future European integration
M.03.14. Future referenda
M.03.15. Two speed-Europe
M.03.16. Speed of European intergation
M.03.17 Partial implementation
M.03.99. Other

Part V. Argumentation and justification in constitutional debates

In this section, we code the structure of the constitutional debate in terms of arguments and/or justifications put forward by particular speakers/journalists in relation to specific topics/issues in a statement:

-. An argument tells us HOW a particular topic or event is given meaning by making a designative, definitive, evaluative or justificatory statement.
- A justification tells us WHY, i.e. for what motivations and what reasons an argument is held valid or considered as relevant in the public statement. In the following, we will speak of justifications as a category of statements, in which reasons are given for certain interpretations/arguments by a particular speaker/the journalist.

Variable N. Argumentative strategy/type of statement
Question: What is the argument made about an issue/topic of the constitutional debate?

N.01. Definitive (defining the meaning of something)
N.02. Designative (describing a matter of fact)
N.03. Evaluative
      N.03.01. Positive
      N.03.02. Negative
      N.03.03. Neutral/undecided/ambivalent
N.04. Advocative
      N.04.01. For/should be strengthened (for instance, an institution such as EP)
      N.04.02. Against/should be weakened (for instance, size and competences of Commission)
      N.04.03. Neutral
N.05. style
      N.05.01. Metaphor
      N.05.02. Aggressive tone
      N.05.03. Unusual language
N.99. Other type of statement

Variable O. Justifications
Question: Are the justifications used in relation to the argument about the topic (polity, policy, process) framed on the basis of particular interests, costs, benefits, functionality? If yes: whose interests are referred to, at which territorial level?

We assume that constitutional debates can be linked to three types of justifications:
- Problem-solving/interest based justifications
- Identity-based argument/justifications
- Rights-based argument/justifications

These justifications of certain arguments tell us
- Whether a constitutional choice/strategy/policy for the EU is efficient/inefficient or beneficial/unbeneficial (problem-solving/interests based),
- What is the underlying entity/collectivity for which a constitutional choice/strategy/policy in relation to the EU is hold relevant/valid? (identity-based)
- What are the underlying collective goods, generalised principles or rights on the basis of which a constitutional choice/strategy/policy in relation to the EU is defended? (rights-based)

Note that there can be more than one justification of the argument put forth by a statement, e.g. "The adoption of the constitutional Treaty will strengthen the position of Europe in the world and enhance democracy in the EU":
1. **author**
2. **topic: Constitutional Treaty**
3. **argumentative strategy: designative**
4. **justification: strengthen position of Europe in the world**
5. **justification: enhance democracy in the EU**

But please keep in mind that the link between justification and topic and author must be unequivocal; if you have doubts please split the statement/quotation in two or several (that may be overlapping).

Coders should categorize all justifications included in a statement:
   a) **After they have identified the type of argumentative strategy;**
   b) **In relation to the topic addressed in the statement, hence an issue of EU policy, the EU polity, EU constitutional process or project;**
   c) **According to the type of justification given, based on**
   - **the scope of interest;**
   - **collective identity**
   - **rights and general principles.**

Variable O.01. Interests
O.01.01. subnational territorial (region, local)
O.01.02. national member state(s)
O.01.03. Common European interest
       O.01.03.01. decision-making effectiveness
       O.01.03.02. global economic competitiveness of EU
       O.01.03.99. other
O.01.04. Western community
O.01.05. sectoral (e.g. agriculture, industry, business, workers)
O.01.06. gender based
O.01.07. Civil society group interest
O.01.08. Citizens interest
O.01.99. Other

Variable O.02. COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES
Question: Are the arguments and justifications used in relation to the constitutional topics framed on the basis of particular identities, values, belonging, traditions ? (we-they references).

If yes: where are the collective identities located? what is the particular we-group?

Variable O.02.01: Territorial scope of collective identities
O.02.01.01. subnational territorial unit (region, locality)
O.02.01.02. Particular member state(s)

O.02.01.02.01. Own country
O.02.01.02.02. Other member state
      O.02.01.02.02.01. Austria
      O.02.01.02.02.02. Belgium
      O.02.01.02.02.03. Bulgaria
      O.02.01.02.02.04. Cyprus
      O.02.01.02.02.05. Czech Republic
      O.02.01.02.02.06. Denmark
      O.02.01.02.02.07. Estonia
      O.02.01.02.02.08. Finland
      O.02.01.02.02.09. France
      O.02.01.02.02.10. Germany
      O.02.01.02.02.11. Greece
      O.02.01.02.02.12. Hungary
      O.02.01.02.02.13. Ireland
      O.02.01.02.02.14. Italy
      O.02.01.02.02.15. Latvia
      O.02.01.02.02.16. Lithuania
      O.02.01.02.02.17. Luxemburg
      O.02.01.02.02.18. Malta
      O.02.01.02.02.19. Netherlands
      O.02.01.02.02.20. Poland
      O.02.01.02.02.21. Portugal
      O.02.01.02.02.22. Romania
      O.02.01.02.02.23. Slovakia
      O.02.01.02.02.24. Slovenia
      O.02.01.02.02.25. Spain
      O.02.01.02.02.26. Sweden
      O.02.01.02.02.27. UK
O.02.01.03. Common European identity
O.02.01.04. Western value community…
O.02.01.05. sectoral (e.g. agriculture, industry, business)
O.02.01.06. gender based group interests
O.02.01.99. Other

Variable O.02.02. Type of identity: On what basis is the particular we-group defined? Is it a value-community, community of rights or an ethnic community? 14

O.02.02.01. Ethnic/primordial identity: Ascriptive-prepolitical features are the basis of commonality (e.g. race, ethnic origin). *Inborn identity*. The other is categorically excluded.

O.02.02.02. traditional identity: re-/invention of past, historical continuity; future mission

O.02.02.03. social/cultural identity: the features of a particular civilisation, as the basis of commonality. The emphasis is laid on language, collective practices, shared life world and civilisation. *Socialised identity*. The other can, in principle, be included, but learning/adaptation/assimilation takes a rather long time.

O.02.02.04. religious identity: the common faith or the shared religious practice are the basis of commonality. *Chosen identity* Ambivalent relationship to the other who must either be converted (inclusive-missionary), should be ignored or tolerated or is perceived as a threat (exclusive-defensive)

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[14] Variables will be held comparable with Cathleen Kantner & Swantje Renfordt (2006). Codebook „Europäische Öffentlichkeit in der Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik? Selbstverständigungsprozesse am Beispiel militärischer Auslandseinsätze". Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin.

O.02.02.05. civic/reflexive: the common principles or the common constitutional practice are the basis of commonality. People are proud of the constitution, of their republican tradition or of the founding moment of the political community (e.g. a revolution). Civicness, esp. respect for diversity, and a shared political culture allow for peaceful living together. *Universalist identity*. The other can and often should be included by adhering to the common (universal) principles (e.g. democracy; constitutional patriotism*,* cosmopolitanism).

O.02.02.99. other

Variable O.02.03. References to "Other":
Question: Who is the other? Is there a group/actor that is excluded, that does not belong to the particular in-group?

O.02.03.01. External other
> O.02.03.01.01. USA
> O.02.03.01.02. Russia
> O.02.03.01.03. Turkey
> O.02.03.01.04. China
> O.02.03.01.05. non-state violence groups/terrorism
> O.02.03.01.06. non-state religious groups
> > O.02.03.01.06.01. Islam
> > O.02.03.01.06.02. other religious groups
> O.02.03.01.99. other

O.02.03.02. Internal other
> O.02.03.02.01. ideological group (e.g. liberalists, communists)
> O.02.03.02.02. populists
> O.02.03.02.03. Eurosceptics
> O.02.03.02.04. internal religious groups
> > O.02.03.02.05.01. Islam
> > O.02.03.02.05.02. other
> O.02.03.02.99. other

Variable O.02.04. Relationship European vs. national collective identity
> O.02.04.01. conflicting (zero-sum, either mutually exclusive = not capable of co-existing; or rivalry = capable of co-existing)
> O.02.04.02. compatible (either layer-cake model, with European identity as an additional layer of identity, but with a clear differentiation between both; or marble-cake, where one identity is nested or enmeshed in the other; potentially reinforcing one-another)
> O.02.04.03. hierarchical European > national
> O.02.04.04. hierarchical national > European

Variable O.02.05. Emotional colouring of collective identities
O.02.05.01 rational-neutral
O.02.05.02 positive (pride, …)
O.02.05.03 negative (hostility,…)

Variable O.03. RIGHTS AND PRINCIPLES
Question: Are justifications given for arguments in the TCE debate that draw on general rights and principles?

O.03.01.01. democracy and citizenship rights (civic, political, social, cultural)
O.03.01.02. principles of justice (social justice, historical justice)
O.03.01.03. gender justice
O.03.01.04. human rights
O.03.01.05. legality and rule of law
O.03.01.99. others

Variable O.03.02. Territorial level
Question: To which territorial level do these principles refer?
O.03.02.01. subnational territorial (regional, local)
O.03.02.02. Particular member state(s)
O.03.02.03. Common European setting
O.03.02.04. Global/Cosmopolitan setting
O.03.02.99. Other

Variable O.04. UNION's OBJECTIVES
O.04.01. Promoting Peace
O.04.02. European values
O.04.03. Well being/prosperity of the people in Europe
O.04.04. Area of freedom, security and justice (internal market, undistorted competition)
O.04.05. Sustainable development (balanced economic growth; price stability; competitive social market economy; full employment/social progress, protection of the environment, scientific and technological advance)
O.04.06. Combat social exclusion and discrimination
O.04.07. Promote gender equality and equal opportunities
O.04.08. Solidarity (economic, social, territorial cohesion) among Member States
O.04.09. Respect for social and cultural diversity; Europe's cultural heritage
O.04.10. Equality of member states, national identities, regional self governance
O.04.11.promotion of democracy
O.04.12. Transparency of Union institutions, bodies, offices, agencies
O.04.13. Recognition of status of churches and non-confessional organizations
O.04.99. Other

Variable P. RECON Polity Models
(NB: this variable is no longer part of the justifications)

The aim here is to establish whether the EU is acknowledged as something more than a common market, or an intergovernmental Union of sovereign states. Is the EU perceived as an autonomous entity with its own objectives and legal personality? The identification of polity models and the different principles, policy competences and institutional frameworks on which they are based proceeds along the categorisation of the three RECON models (see table in annex, for different dimensions of these three categories).

P.01. Common market/intergovernmental cooperation model, based on delegated democracy
P.02. Federal Union with supranational authority, including a European social welfare state, based on supranational democracy
P.03. Multilevel polity with horizontal coordination, based on cosmopolitan democracy
P.04. Mixed: Other than common market, something between federal and multilevel polity
P.05. Other
Problem of lacking information: Statements do often express diffuse preferences on how the future EU polity should look like/on how the EU should be. It is possible to identify that the actor/author claims for something more than a common market/an intergovernmental Europe but the argument is not sufficiently developed to classify polity models. We code P.04. Mixed. e.g.
- Diffuse references to "social Europe". The EU is seen as something more that a common market but no information whether a social Europe should be realised within a federal polity or whether social rights of European citizens should be equated with economic rights in a multi-level polity. We code P.04. Mixed.

- "The European governments should strengthen the citizens' democratic rights" or "The Constitutional Treaty should strengthen the rights of minority protection" These kind of arguments express a diffuse preference for European integration as something more than a market or a Europe of governments. It remains unclear, however, whether European citizenship should be strengthened or simply the rights of citizens/minorities within the nation state. We code P.04. Mixed.

Part VI: INTERACTIONS AND RELATIONS

Interactions and relations described in a statement are relevant to the extent to which they are used for justifying a certain argumentative strategy – for instance, in favour of the Nice Council voting system. Here, double codes are possible, if different justifications are given. Basic coding unit is a statement, with the following order of codes:
1. **Actor/author;**
2. **topic („Council voting procedure")**
3. **argument (for instance, positive evaluation)**
4. **justification: dominant position of large member states vis-a-vis medium and small member states**
5. **interactions and relations**

Variable Q. Interactions/relations
Q.01. EU dominance over Member States
Q.02. EU & Member State elites - citizens disconnect
Q.03. large Member States dominating medium/small Members
Q.04. old EU vs. new EU member states
Q.05. ingroup (members) vs. outsiders (=would be members)
Q.06. member state convergence of preferences/cooperation
Q.07. competition / collision
Q.08. polarized conflict
Q.99. Other

Variable R. Context issues
R.01. National context issues
R.01.01. Elections
  R.01.01.01. Presidential
  R.01.01.02. Parliamentary
  R.01.01.03. Sub-national
R.01.02. Economic development, employment
R.01.99. Other domestic context

R.02. European context issues
R.02.01. Enlargement
R.02.02. Euro / Growth and Stability Pact
R.02.03. Past European referenda (Euro, EU membership)
R.02.99. Other European context

Annex 1: Democratic orders in Europe
(RECON Models; see Variable P, above)

Criteria	EU as a functional regime	EU as a federal polity	EU as a multi-level entity
sovereignty	The member states are formally sovereign entities The Union is derived from the member states	The Union is recognised as a sovereign state, in accordance with international law	Polity sovereignty is multidimensional and shared among levels, subject to cosmopolitan principles of citizens' sovereignty
Coercive capabilities	The Union level has no own coercive capabilities Military and police forces are controlled at the member-state level	The Union level has state-type military and police capabilities The member states have police functions	Military and police authority shared among all levels.
Authoritative Decision-making	Constitutional limits on union-level competencies • Union level: Problem-solving on the basis of delegated authority ; • Union level: Decision-making and sanctioning ability confined to Common Market matters • Member states: Sustain final authority in all matters, in accordance with national constitutions	State-based constitution delineating the competencies of the Union and the member states. • Institutions for authoritative decision-making at both core levels (Union/member states) within their respective areas of competence • Sanctioning ability available for norm enforcement and policy implementation, at both core levels of government (member state and European)	Constitutionally entrenched delineation of powers and responsibilities along both horizontal and vertical lines, • Union sanctioning ability is limited; • Union subjects its actions to higher-ranking principles • Authoritative law-making through democratically regulated deliberative procedures
Resource acquisition and allocation	EU level: no independent taxing powers and limited scope for redistribution • Member states decide autonomously over tax and redistribution within their territories	EU level: redistributive measures; independent fiscal policy and taxing ability • Member-state level: redistributive and taxing powers	EU level: no independent taxing powers and limited redistributive powers • All levels: committed to global redistribution
Membership/ bordersetting	The Union is open to all European states that qualify in functional terms	The Union's borders are set in accordance with designation of Europeanness	The Union's borders are drawn in accordance with democratic criteria for a self-sustainable democratic entity and with regard to the development of similar regional associations.
Territorial exit	Provisions for exit – subject to approval from Union (majoritarian support required)	Provisions for legal secession of any sub-unit from the Union – subject to constitutional Provisions	The Union has provisions for territorial exit for sub-units (subject to the constraints of cosmopolitan law)
Mode of legitimation	• Audit (derivative) democracy at Union level • Representative democracy at member-state level	Popularly elected bodies based on representative democracy at all levels; competencies divided in bipolar federal manner	Popularly elected bodies within a system of legal hierarchically ordered competences
Identity formation and sustenance	EU level: weak and with legal constraints on Union's scope of action • Member-state-based: strong but 'Europeanised'; subject to each member state's own provisions	EU level: strong and founded on constitutional patriotism. • Member-state level: provisions for citizens' retention of distinctive national identities • Mechanisms for mutual	EU level: post-national and based on universal norms, fundamental rights and democratic procedures • Member-state level: respect for diversity;

		recognition of European and national identities	significantly constrained by European and cosmopolitan norms and values
Public sphere	Public sphere confined to the nation state	European-wide public sphere	Multiple overlapping (European and global) discourses
Democracy	Directly and exclusively associated with the nation state	Direct legitimation of the EU as a state-like entity through the people of Europe/through the European citizens	Decoupled from the state form and linked to flexible government arrangements at all levels