

Description of variables and categories

SOM Codebook for the COMBINED dataset -- Version 20201103

The actual coding spreadsheet may present each variable in a slightly different format.

Article level variables

Variable **Source_doc**

Name of the text document, e.g. *CH-Z-101112-2.txt*

For the 1995-2009 sample, this corresponds to the article ID (AID)

Variable **NAMECOD**

Variable label 'name of coder'

Each coder is assigned a unique number

Variable **PAPER**

Variable label 'name of newspaper from which claim is coded'

Variable **DATE**

Variable label 'date of newspaper issue'¹

Variable **YEAR**

Variable label 'year of newspaper issue'; derived from variable DATE

Variable **SAMPLE**

Variable label 'sample from which article is coded'

1. article coded from random sample of days
2. article coded from potentially triggering events sample of days
3. article present in both random sample of days AND potentially triggering events sample of days
4. article coded from random sample of days
5. article coded from 1970s sample of days
0. other

This variable is assigned automatically based on the variable DATE.

¹ When no newspapers were printed on a sampled day (e.g. due to national holidays), the subsequent day has been included in the sample.

Variable **ATOPIC**

Variable label 'topic of article'²

1 Immigration

2 Immigrant integration

3 Other³

Variable **TITLE**

Variable label 'heading or title of the article'

String (copy and paste the title)

Claims-level variables

Variable **CID**

Variable label 'identification number of the claim'

Automatically assigned, hierarchically related to AID.

Variable **DESCR** (string variable, write in a summary of the claim)

'description of claim'⁴

Variable **LOCATION**

Variable label 'Country where the claim was made'

10 Same country as newspaper (also when unspecified, but presumably so), in case of Switzerland, Belgium or the United Kingdom: please further code:

101 French speaking Swiss region⁵

102 German speaking Swiss region

103 Italian speaking Swiss region

111 Flanders

112 Wallonia

² Only use the categories provided. It may be that an article is about unemployment but mentions migration at some point, we code it in any of the economic categories of SISSUE.

³ E.g. 'Macro-economics and taxes', 'Civil rights', 'Healthcare', 'Agriculture and fisheries', 'Labour', 'Education and culture', 'Environment', 'Energy', 'Traffic and transport', 'Law, court rulings, crime', 'Social affairs', 'Housing and city planning', 'Enterprises, national commerce', 'Defense', 'Scientific research, technology, and communication', 'International commerce', 'Foreign affairs and foreign aid', 'Democracy and government', 'Spatial planning, public nature and water conservation'

⁴ Brief description of the claim containing at least the main actor, form, (if present) addressees, object actor and aim of the claim. Example: 'Interior Minister Schily urges Bosnian authorities to co-operate in repatriating refugees'. It may also be useful to write this description in an "active form" even when the claim is linguistically reproduce in a "passive form. E.g. "Non-Christians have been banned from walking in some areas by the mayor of Rovato" would be better re-written into "The mayor of Rovato has banned non-Christians from walking in some areas". This description should be given in English. Names should not be translated.

⁵ The coding of the region is done according to the dominant language.

113	Brussels
121	England
122	Scotland
123	Wales
148	Northern Ireland
299	Europe ⁶
40	Other country

Variable **ACTPERSNAME**

Variable label ‘personal name of subject actor’

String (type in)

Variable **ACTORNAME⁷**

Variable label ‘name of organization subject actor is affiliated with’

String (type in)

Do not translate, use original organization name.

⁶ This category should be understood as follows: location spanning multiple countries: institutions such as the European Union or the Council of Europe are then understood as a ‘European location’. Thus: outside Belgium, most Brussels-based claims will fall in this category.

⁷ Here, prioritize party affiliation relative to office or institutional affiliation. For instance, Tony Blair is affiliated to the Labour Party, not the prime ministers office (which is coded under ACTS). Code what’s mentioned in the article, not what we (think we) know.

Variable **ACTS**

Variable label ‘summary first subject actor’ (claimant)

10 ‘governments’,⁸

20 ‘legislatives’,⁹ and ‘political parties’ represented in parliament¹⁰

30 ‘judiciary’,¹¹

40 ‘police and security agencies’,¹²

50 ‘state executive agencies (dealing with migrants’,¹³, other¹⁴)¹⁵

80 ‘unions and employees’,¹⁶

90 ‘employers organisations and firms’

100 ‘religious organizations’,¹⁷

1003 Islamic

1006 Jewish

1008 Other non-Christian

110 ‘media and journalists’

120 ‘professional organisations and groups’,¹⁸ companies and other commercial / private organizations’

130 ‘academics, experts and think tanks’

150 ‘civil society, charity, and social movement organizations’,¹⁹ and minority organization’

⁸ Governments and government representatives (spokespersons, ministers, royalty etc.) irrespective of territorial scope. The EU-Commission and Council of Ministers, the UN General Secretary and Security Council are coded as governments. Other examples: mayor, regional government, ministry of education. Includes vague actors such as “the State”, “the establishment”.

⁹ Legislatives and parliaments (all chambers), including individual members thereof, including parliamentary fractions of political parties. The European Parliament and the General Assembly of the UN are coded as legislatives. Other examples: local councils, parliamentary fraction of a party, MPs.

¹⁰ This category should be used only for parties as parties, e.g., party chairman, party congress, party, party spokesman, as well as for sub-organisations of parties. Note that the same person may be coded differently according to the way in which her or his position is described.

¹¹ E.g., European Court of Justice, public prosecutor, individual judges, juries.

¹² E.g., police (incl. aliens’ police), military, secret service, Interpol, NATO. Note: the Police Union is coded as a union.

¹³ State here includes the supranational level (e.g., UNHCR).

¹⁴ E.g., ILO, WHO, social aid office, school authorities.

¹⁵ We have clustered the former categories coded 50 (‘state executive agencies specifically dealing with migrants’) and coded 60 (‘other state executive agencies’) in order to have one category, coded 50.

¹⁶ Includes the general categories “workers” and “employees”.

¹⁷ Note difference with migrant organizations (under category 160): organized on the basis of religion (which could include multiple ‘ethnicities’) or on the basis of country of origin / ethnic group?

¹⁸ E.g., doctors, football players, research institutes and individual researchers, universities, schools, teachers, writers, intellectuals, solicitors, musicians, etc. Note: unions are always coded as unions, non-union organisations of police and judges are coded under their respective institution.

600 'anti-immigrant actors',²⁰

Variable **ACTMIGRANT**

Variable label 'Organization specifically represents migrant minorities'²¹

0 No

1 Yes

Variable **FORM** 'form of action'

Note: Codes 10-20 can only be used by ACTS 10-50 (more specific restrictions apply).²²

10 'formal political action and decisions',²³

20 'executive action',²⁴

30 'engage in legal proceedings',²⁵

40 'public action' (explicitly initiated on the part of the subject actor)^{26 27}

¹⁹ All groups identified as "antiracists" or "antifascists" and organisations whose names or other explicit information indicates that antiracism is their primary goal. Includes organizations of people persecuted by the Nazi-regime, organizations of former members of the resistance, etc... All (semi-) private organisations acting specifically on behalf of migrants and minorities, but not (primarily) carried by these groups themselves. Includes private welfare organisations catering specifically to migrants or minorities. This includes only private organisations (Red Cross, Amnesty International, Terre des Hommes, etc.), not state welfare agencies (these are coded as other state executive agencies). Only organisations whose aims go beyond the ethnic relations, immigration and citizenship thematic field are coded here, organisations catering specifically to migrants and minorities receive code 150. Includes vague descriptions such as "Autonomous" or "left-wing groups", as well as radical left organisations. Radical left parties should be coded as political party, unless the party label is merely window dressing and does not indicate significant involvement in the electoral process (compare the preceding note on extreme right parties).

²⁰ This includes: former code 70 'parties, organizations or persons who (intend to) participate in elections' (Only those organizations or persons that are not (yet) elected. Otherwise choose 'legislature' or political party.) and former code 1504 'racist and extreme right organisations and groups' (e.g. vague descriptions such as "skinheads" or "right-wing extremists").

²¹ Only for organizations of / for migrants (e.g. Muslim Council the Netherlands) not organizations that also represent broader interests (e.g. Social Democratic Party)

²² By definition, executive actions and political decisions can only be coded for actors who have actual binding decision-making power, i.e. state and party actors. For all other actors, use only the codes from 30 onwards.

We include here only decisions of organisations and institutions with real political decision-making power, i.e. state representatives and institutions, as well as political parties represented in parliament. Thus, the passing of legislation, administrative decrees, decisions to deport asylum seekers, politically relevant court rulings, but also resolutions and programmatic decisions at party conferences are considered political decisions.

²³ Includes: In parliament (vote, proposal, motion, debate etc), Administrative degrees / decisions (e.g. management or personnel decisions), Agreements among parties (binding), State-political meetings (e.g. summits, state visits), Direct democratic action (launch of referendum, presentation of signatures / petition etc), Court rulings, judgements and actions (action *by* the judiciary) and other formal political action.

²⁴ Includes: financial and other material support, arrests/detention, deportation/expulsion, legislative or policy proposal (or changes in legislation), other repressive measures (e.g., bans, police raids, criminal investigations) and other executive action. E.g. criminal lawsuit, civil lawsuit, administrative lawsuit, constitutional lawsuit and other judicial action.

²⁵ Refers to appeals to the judiciary (e.g. filing lawsuits), not actions by the judiciary.

50 'statements and positions' (at least partially (/seemingly) on being asked by the journalist)²⁸

60 'street politics'²⁹

70 'political violence'³⁰

Variable **ADRPERSNAME**

Variable label 'personal name of addressee'

String³¹

Variable **ADRORNAME**

Variable label 'name of organization addressee is affiliated with'

String

Variable **ADRS**

'summary addressee of claim'.

Same categories as ACTS.

Variable **ADRMIGRANT**

Variable label 'Organization specifically represents migrant minorities'³² (similar to ACTMIGRANT)

0 No

1 Yes

²⁶ Includes: press statement/conference/release, public speech, public letter or newspaper article 404 other publication (book, research report, leaflet, etc.), may include or be limited to distribution, presentation of survey or poll result, publicity or election campaign (incl. advertising), meetings (party convention, campaign meeting, etc.), online action (e.g. Twitter, website of subject actor) and other public action

²⁷ E.g. 'bookshop Madinah sells the book 'The Army of Madinah' which urges followers [of Islam] to strike back [to Western troops]'

²⁸ Includes: non-specified statement, interview, statement via other media-outlet (TV, internet-media etc.), 'leaked' position or 'discovered' by investigative journalist and other.

²⁹ Includes: demonstrative protest (e.g. Public assembly, march, demonstration (legal and non-violent), vigil/picket). Confrontational protests (e.g. Illegal demonstration (if non-violent), boycott, blockade, occupation, disturbance of meetings, symbolic confrontation (e.g., farmers dumping animal dung in front of a government building), self-mutilation (e.g. hunger strike), strike and other

³⁰ Includes: threats (e.g., murder, bomb threat), symbolic violence (e.g., burning puppets or flags, throwing eggs or paint), limited destruction of property (e.g., breaking windows), sabotage, violent demonstration (violence initiated by protestors), arson and bomb attacks, and other severe destruction of property, arson and bomb attacks against people (incl. inhabited buildings), physical violence against people (individual and collective: fights, brawls, political murder, etc.) and other types of violence

³¹ ADRORNAME and ADRPERSNAME variable should be coded consistent with ACTORNAME and ACTPERSNAME.

³² Only for organizations of / for migrants (e.g. Muslim Council the Netherlands) not organizations that also represent broader interests (e.g. Social Democratic Party)

Variable **SISSUE**

Variable label 'topic of claim'

1 Immigration³³

11 Security and crime: International crime, illegal migration

111 'entry and border controls'³⁴

112 'registration and internal control'³⁵

113 'expulsions/deportations'³⁶

114 'illegal migrants: other (security) issues'

12 Economy and welfare state: Refugee support, guest workers, 'economic' migration

121 'guest workers: access to welfare services and the labour market'³⁷

122 'asylum-seekers: accommodation and housing'

123 'asylum-seekers: welfare support (access to schools, hospitals, welfare benefits etc.)

124 'asylum-seekers: restrictions and opportunities to work'

125 'illegal migrants: access to welfare services'

13 Politics and institutions: Acquisition of citizenship or refugee status

131 'Citizenship: general evaluation or policy direction'³⁸

132 'Citizenship: institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs'

133 'Citizenship: recognition, residence rights, legal status and permits'³⁹

³³ All coverage on government activities relating to the entry and exit of people from the country: the general policy direction, institutional framework, border controls, visa policies and actions related to illegal entry. Includes all policies that pertain to the regulation of entry of migrants (including policies to prevent migration), their residence rights, and their voluntary or involuntary, return.

³⁴ E.g., "stricter entry requirements for Eastern Europeans", "introduction of a visa for foreign children" "no right to (re-)entry for foreigners who have committed crimes", "prohibit airline companies to transport people without visa to Germany", "intensified combat against Schlepperbanden (organized 'smuggling' of asylum seekers across the border), "exclude asylum seekers without visa from the procedure", "stricter controls to prevent illegal immigration".

³⁵ E.g., "against the central registration of data on foreigners", "extend police competences to control the identity of aliens", "take measures against the misuse of the right to asylum".

³⁶ E.g., "expulsion of foreign extremists", "expulsion of criminal foreigners", "send back asylum seekers who have arrived from save third countries", "draw up a list of countries to which asylum seekers cannot be sent back", "deportation treaty between Germany and Turkey", "no violence against asylum seekers in the course of deportations", "improve conditions of detention of asylum seekers waiting for deportation".

³⁷ E.g., "special assistance for children of refugees", "limit social welfare payments to asylum seekers", "allow asylum seekers to work", "limit access of illegal aliens to medical services", "no access for children of illegal aliens to education".

³⁸ E.g., "recognition that Germany is a country of immigration, "solidarity with asylum seekers", "prevent polarization in the asylum debate", "do not instrumentalize the asylum issue for electoral purposes"; "inform the public about the situation and problems of migrants".

³⁹ E.g., "regulate foreign women's residence rights independent from their husbands", "right to stay for women who are the victim of forced prostitution", "softening of the criteria to obtain unlimited residence permits",

- 134 'Citizenship: other specific issues'
- 135 'Refugee status: general evaluation or policy direction'
- 136 'Refugee status: institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs'⁴⁰
- 137 'Refugee status: recognition, residence rights, legal status and permits'
- 138 'Refugee status: other specific issues'
- 14 Society and culture: Family reunion, links with countries of origin
 - 141 'migration prevention in homeland countries'⁴¹
 - 142 'voluntary return'⁴²
 - 143 'family formation or reunion'

"limit the constitutional right to asylum", "limit rights to appeal for asylum seekers", "right to stay for asylum seekers who have been longer than three years in Belgium", "freedom of movement for EU citizens", "legalisation of illegal aliens".

⁴⁰ "create a special parliamentary commissioner for refugees", "equal distribution of refugees among EU countries", "limit the costs of the asylum procedure", "more personnel for state agencies dealing with asylum seekers", "speed up asylum procedures", "improve housing conditions in asylum seeker centres", "asylum seekers should await the result of their application in their country of origin",

⁴¹ E.g., "combat the causes of migration through intensified aid for Eastern Europe and the Third World", "combat the persecution of Roma in Eastern Europe", "combat the causes of refugee flows", "improve the rights and living conditions of ethnic Germans in their countries of origin".

⁴² E.g., "homeland governments should motivate foreigners to return", "set up re-integration programs for asylum seekers willing to return".

2: Civic integration^{43 44}

21: Security and crime: Anti-social behaviour, crime, neighbourhood policies

211 'social rights: police and judiciary'^{45 46}

212 'crime'⁴⁷

213 'political extremism and violence'⁴⁸

214 'anti-social behaviour and other problems'

215 'repression of political extremism (right, left, religious fundamentalism), and (political, judicial, police or social) responses'⁴⁹

216 'discrimination in the police and judiciary system'⁵⁰

⁴³ All coverage on social/cultural/economic conflict or cohesion related to migrants. This includes government policies on targeted integration, language and citizenship programs, and how migration affects existing government programs (e.g. housing, education, police). This also includes coverage on the activities, problems, social contributions of migrant communities.

⁴⁴ The difference with the "rights and participation" category is that "discrimination and unequal treatment" claims focus on the majority society and its institutions as the cause of unequal participation of minorities. In that sense they are in between "rights and participation" claims and "antiracist" claims. Thus, a claim to improve the housing conditions for minorities is a "rights and participation" claim, a claim that calls for the creation of a possibility for members of minority groups to file complaints if they feel they have been refused housing because of their racial or cultural background is an antidiscrimination claim. Thus, "rights and participation" claims refer to demands relating to (proactive) positive minority rights, whereas "discrimination and unequal treatment claims" refers to (reactive) protection against infringements on these rights by the majority society. The difference between discrimination claims and antiracist claims is that the latter refer to overt abuse or violence, while discrimination claims refer to "hidden" or structural sources of unequal treatment. If in the housing example a complaint would be filed against a landlord who had refused someone, saying "we don't want blacks here" the claim would be coded in antiracism. If the complaint is based only on the feeling that the landlord refuses people because they are black, or if the complaint refers to a structural phenomenon, e.g., that a housing corporation tends to give blacks housing only in certain neighbourhoods, then we are dealing with an antidiscrimination claim. Note that the language is not decisive here: claims-makers may refer to both types as instances of (institutional) "racism". Our use of the term racism is more narrowly circumscribed.

⁴⁵ Note that demands for a better representation of minorities in the police force, or for a quota of minorities in the police force are coded here, not in "labour market".

⁴⁶ E.g., "abolish registration of foreigners in a special police register".

⁴⁷ E.g., "tougher line with criminal foreigners". Note that demands for expulsion of criminal foreigners are coded in "immigration and alien's politics".

⁴⁸ E.g., "tougher measures against foreign extremists", 'police has raided houses of several political extreme, Islam fundamentalists', "lifting of the ban on the PKK", also extreme right wing violence against migrants. Also includes demands related to policies and evaluation regarding ethnic and race riots. Note that demands for expulsion of foreign extremists are coded under 'expulsions'.

⁴⁹ E.g., "a better coordination of the fight against the extreme right", "politicians should resign if they do not adequately respond to racist incidents", "ban extreme organisations", "judges do not sentence the perpetrators of extreme right violence harshly enough".

⁵⁰ E.g., "abolish registration of foreigners in a special police register".

- 22: Economy and welfare state: Labour market integration, welfare state
- 221 ‘social rights: labour market’⁵¹
 - 222 ‘social rights: education’⁵²
 - 223 ‘social rights: health and welfare’⁵³
 - 224 ‘social rights: housing and segregation’⁵⁴
 - 225 ‘discrimination in the labour market’
 - 226 ‘discrimination in welfare services (health, education, housing etc.)’
- 23: Politics and institutions: Voting rights, participation
- 231 ‘general evaluation or policy direction’^{55 56}
 - 232 ‘institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs’⁵⁷
 - 233 ‘naturalisation and citizenship’⁵⁸
 - 234 ‘political rights and discrimination’⁵⁹
 - 235 ‘social rights: other/general’

⁵¹ E.g., “introduce quotas for foreigners in certain professions”. See also the footnotes to “education” and “police and judiciary”.

⁵² E.g., “improve the education opportunities of young foreigners”. Note that demands for a better representation of minorities among teaching personnel, or for a quota for minorities in that regard are coded here, not in “labour market”.

⁵³ E.g., “abolish special enquiries when foreigners apply for social welfare”.

⁵⁴ E.g., “set limits to the percentage of foreigners in city districts”.

⁵⁵ E.g., “strive for the integration of foreigners”, “prevent polarization in the debate on minority issues”, “strive for a multicultural society”, “the multicultural society leads to a racial hotchpotch”. Note that such general references to “multicultural society” are not coded as “cultural participation and rights” because the term is often used as a broad catchword in calls for the acceptance of people with different cultural backgrounds. If it is used in referring to the more specific issue of cultural rights, then the more specific code should be used.

⁵⁶ E.g., “combat discrimination of foreigners”, “introduce and anti-discrimination law”.

⁵⁷ E.g., “more resources for state agencies dealing with foreigners”, “creation of a federal office for foreigners’ questions”.

⁵⁸ E.g., “allow dual nationality”, “German citizenship for children born in Germany”, “naturalization conditional upon sufficient knowledge of the German language” (note that this claim is not coded as “social rights and participation: language acquisition”).

⁵⁹ E.g., “local voting rights for foreigners”, “stimulate migrant political participation”, “consult migrant organisations in decisions concerning them”, “limit foreigners’ right to demonstrate”; “right to participate in local and regional initiatives and referenda for EU citizens”; “reduce subventions for organizations of asylum seekers”.

24: Society and culture: Racism, social cohesion, identity

241 'general social-cultural concerns and opportunities'

242 'social rights: language acquisition'⁶⁰

243 'cultural rights: education'⁶¹

244 'cultural rights: religion'⁶²

245 'cultural rights: (recognition of) group identity/differences'⁶³

246 'cultural rights: other/general'^{64 65}

247 'inter/intra-ethnic relations'⁶⁶

248 'inter/intra-organisational relations'⁶⁷

249 'racism in institutional contexts'⁶⁸

250 'non-institutional racism, xenophobia and extreme right tendencies in society'⁶⁹ and 'xenophobic claims'^{70 71}

⁶⁰ Refers to acquisition of the language of the country of residence. E.g., "reduction of special German language programs for Aussiedler". Claims pertaining to education in homeland languages should be coded as "cultural rights and participation: education".

⁶¹ E.g., "introduction of Turkish as a second foreign language next to English".

⁶² E.g., "stimulate the construction of mosques", "recognition of Islam on an equal footing with Christian churches", "creation of possibilities for ritual slaughtering for Muslims", "creation of Islamic graveyards", "introduce Islamic religious education organized in Germany, not directed from the homeland countries", "integrate Islamic religious education in the normal school curriculum" (note that the later two claims are coded here, not as "cultural rights and participation: education"); "support for Jewish religious organizations", "allow polygamy". This category includes claims relating to Islamic fundamentalism as an ideology/religious current,

⁶³ E.g., "protect the cultural identity of foreigners", "recognize Kurds as a group separate from the Turks", "official minority status for Roma and Sinti".

⁶⁴ E.g., "involve additional external experts in court cases against foreigners in order to judge cultural differences in behavioural patterns". Note that this claim is coded here and not in "social rights and participation: police and judiciary". The decision rule is that the distinction between social and cultural rights is the first criterion of classification, the substantive domain (labour market, education, etc.) the second criterion. The claim cited here asks for special provisions on the basis of cultural difference. Social rights demands are claims for equality and compensation of inequalities, regardless of cultural difference.

⁶⁵ E.g., "abolish church regulations that discriminate against non-Christians, for instance the impossibility of church marriage when one of the partners is non-Christian".

⁶⁶ Interethnic here refers to relations between different minority groups, not between minorities and the majority group. Included here are conflicts among different ethnic minority groups that are *not* related to homeland but derive from their political, religious or economic competition in the country of residence. In Britain, examples include both verbal and physical conflicts between moderate and fundamentalist Muslims or between Muslims and Jews. Note that this category should only be used if such claims cannot be coded in a substantive policy field in immigration, integration, or antiracism. I.e., if in the British example the conflict between different Muslim groups is on whether or not to strive for separate Muslim schools, this is not coded here, but in 222.

⁶⁷ Only if not related to a substantive issue. E.g., the claim by a rival Muslim organization that "the Islamic Federation does not represent the Muslim community", or claims referring to conflicts among the leadership of ethnic organizations.

⁶⁸ Note that this does not include all appeals against "institutional racism". This term, in fact, often refers to "hidden" and structural forms of discrimination, which we code in minority integration politics.

⁶⁹ Any references to xenophobia (including anti-Semitism) are included here, as well as unspecific references to the extreme right. Claims which explicitly refer to aspects of the extreme right which are not, or only marginally

252 'general (socio-cultural) discrimination and unequal treatment'

253 'symbolic recognition of groups (history, culture, position in host culture)',⁷²

Variable **POSIT**

Variable label 'Position of claim towards issue'

Value labels

- 1 'strongly restrictive to migrants / conservative / pro-national residents / mono-cultural'
- 0.5 'somewhat restrictive to migrants / conservative / pro-national residents / mono-cultural'
- 0 'neutral/ambivalent/technocratic/pragmatic'
- 0.5 'somewhat open to migrants / progressive / cosmopolitan / multi-cultural'
- 1 'strongly open to migrants / progressive / cosmopolitan / multi-cultural'
- NA 'unclassifiable'

Variable **STATQUO**

Variable label 'Preference of subject actor for change of policies or political practices',⁷³

Value labels

- 0 'policies or political practices should not change' (i.e. defends status quo)
- 0.5 'minor change needed' (i.e. favours incremental changes)
- 1 'policies or political practices should change' (i.e. challenges status quo / political establishment)
- 9 'claim does not refer to policies or political practice'

related to immigration and minorities are not included, however. In the purpose of the SOM NCCR Project (2010-2018), the categories 'non-institutional racism' and 'xenophobic claims' have been merged into the code 250.

⁷⁰ Xenophobic politics is defined by undifferentiated rejection of migrants and minorities. By definition, it includes claims that cannot be conveyed adequately in any of the above more specific codes. Thus "Ausländer 'raus'" is neither a call for a restrictive immigration and aliens politics, nor a call for a tough politics of integration, it simply rejects these two phenomena altogether. All demands in this field should have position code - 1. Demands against xenophobia are coded in "anti-racism".

⁷¹ E.g., "Deutschland den Deutschen, Ausländer 'raus!'", also anti-Semitic claims.

⁷² E.g. monuments for migration history (slave history, military history (i.e. Moroccans helped liberate the Netherlands from the Nazis)), recognition of multiculturalism on TV, museums, or festivals.

⁷³ Example of call for change of political practice 'politicians should pay more attention to racism'

Variable **OBJECT**

‘object actor whose interest is, or would be affected by claim (if it were to become reality)’

- 0 No object actor, or *unspecified* broad category of actors (e.g. the general public, political actors in general, or ‘public interests’)
- 1 Organized political actor (e.g. political party, MP, government agency, civil society organization) -> also code **OBJORNAME**

Subcategories according to **ACTS** (10, 20, 30...)

- 2 Sections or groups in society: migration-related categories

21 Status groups

(Based on (former) legal, statistical or sociological categories)

- 2191 ‘migrants’^{74 75}
- 2195 ‘asylum seekers’^{76 77}
- 2108 ‘illegal aliens/immigrants, sans papiers’
- 2109 ‘labour migrants, contract workers, saisonniers’
- 2190 ‘migrants from EU and Western’^{78 79}
- 2112 ‘Commonwealth immigrants/citizens (old and new)’
- 2114 ‘family reunifiers/formers’
- 2119 ‘other specific administrative categories’

22 Racial groups⁸⁰

23 Religious groups

- 2303 Islamic
- 2306 Jewish
- 2308 Other non-Christian

- 3 Sections or groups in society: specific general (indigenous) categories⁸¹

⁷⁴ Includes: foreigners/aliens, minorities (without specification), (im)migrants, allochthonen (non-Western), non-EU citizens, third country nationals

⁷⁵ In the purpose of the SOM NCCR Project (2010-2018), some categories have been clustered. This new code 2191 clusters the former codes 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104 and 2111.

⁷⁶ Includes: individual status, (war) refugees (collective status), quota refugees, Kontingentflüchtlinge’ (permanent collective status)

⁷⁷ In the context of the SOM NCCR Project (2010-2018), some categories have been clustered. This new code 2195 clusters the former codes 2105, 2106 and 2107.

⁷⁸ Includes: EU/EFTA citizens (and Western migrants more generally: US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand), migrants from ‘new’ EU members (following enlargement to EU25/27). We expect very few claims on other regions (Asia, Africa and Far East citizens) because the status “asylum seeker” or “labour migrant” will be dominant.

⁷⁹ In the context of the SOM NCCR Project (2010-2018), some categories have been clustered. This new code 2190 clusters the former codes 2110 and 2116.

⁸⁰ Implied to be distinguished on the basis of blood/gene-relations, implicitly different by nature.

Variable **OBJORNAME**

ONLY to be coded if OBJECT=1x

‘Name of organization of object actor’

String

Variable **FRAME**

"justification or argument given or implied by the subject actor with respect to the claim"

0 No argument provided

1 Instrumental, pragmatic, utilitarian or goal-oriented arguments

11 General or public interest

12 Economic interest (e.g. growth, sector-specific interests)

13 Social-political interest (e.g. social security)

14 Individual interest (e.g. NIMBY)

15 State effectiveness and efficiency (incl. costs)

16 Domestic security (e.g. crime)

17 International security (e.g. terrorism)

18 Procedural / strategic arguments (e.g. no policy alternative)

19 Other cost / benefit arguments (e.g. demographics)⁸²

2 Arguments about collective identity (i.e. nationality), ethics, values, community, culture and appropriateness

21 National identity (ethnic), general⁸³

22 Cultural traditions and norms⁸⁴

23 Political-institutional traditions and norms⁸⁵

24 International or European identity⁸⁶

3 Arguments about universal moral principles and rights (including legal arguments)

31 Human rights⁸⁷

⁸¹ Includes: the popular public, i.e. ‘de gewone man’, kleine luiden; elites (political, economic, cultural); people living/not living in migrant neighbourhoods in cities; people with low/ high incomes; low/ high –educated; employees working/not working in sectors with potential competition from migrants; other specific section of the population

⁸² Usually, demography is framed as an economic or social-political argument, but sometimes demographics is mentioned without economic concerns. Here, prioritize other codes according to the context of the claim.

⁸³ Includes: Clashing cultures in general (abstract), specific national traditions, arguments related to (sub)national identity (e.g. Scottish, Flemish, Basque). National identity includes multiple cultures, religions, and perspectives (multiculturalism).

⁸⁴ Includes: Specific norms part of autochthon community (handshaking, presents etc.), family-related norms (marriage, upbringing), traditional background of migrants, traits of migrants / migrant groups (enterprising, lazy, etc.) and religious identity and norms.

⁸⁵ Tolerance, consensus (as political norm) / Loyalty (to (political institutions of) a country).

⁸⁶ Cosmopolitanism / European solidarity

32 Moral principles (or absence thereof)⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Includes: Individual freedom / emancipation (and human rights in general), freedom of expression, equal treatment, privacy, religious rights, sexual (expression) rights, women rights.

⁸⁸ Includes: Tolerance (as universal principle), solidarity (e.g. with developing countries), good governance (e.g. anti-corruption, fair procedure), respect for other persons and groups (including inciting hatred, evil).

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