

Transnational Solidarity: Media analysis: collective identities and public solidarity

Documentation and Codebook

TransSOL: European paths to transnational solidarity at times of crisis: Conditions, forms, role models and policy responses

Work package 5: Media analysis: collective identities and public solidarity
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www.transsol.eu

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1. Purpose and aims of the study

The two datasets are part of a media analysis conducted within an EU-funded project devoted to the study of “European Paths to Transnational Solidarity at Times of Crisis: Conditions, forms, role models and policy responses” (TransSOL).¹ The media analysis was conducted as TransSOL’s fifth work package and aimed at studying transnational solidarity in the public sphere. It focused particularly on collective acts of transnational solidarity reported in the media, and the underlying conceptions, ideas and norms of solidarity voiced and/or discussed therein. The analysis had three objectives: to identify the extent to which transnational solidarity is granted public awareness and recognition; to understand the discursive construction, reproduction or corrosion of European solidarity in its contentiousness; and to engage into a comparative analysis of public debates in eight countries (Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Switzerland, and the UK). Field-work centred on solidarity towards refugees, due to the high salience of this topic during the duration of the EU-funded project (2015-2018) and the contentiousness of this form of solidarity across the various countries under study.

The media analysis focused on two arenas of public debates: claims-making within the mainstream print media, and the online media. On the one hand, print media were included because they constitute an important arena of public opinion formation and have thus an impact on individuals and organisations, their preferences, choices and practices. The dataset comprises around 700 public stated claims reported in articles randomly sampled from three newspapers² in each country, published between 1st August 2015 and 30th April 2016. On the other hand, online media were included, because they provide a more open arena of interactive and participative interventions by media users. The dataset comprises about 300 comments per country posted by news media users during September 2015 in reaction to the five most commented news articles of the newspapers under study,³ making use of the newspapers’ Facebook commenting sites. The media analysis and its data retrieval followed the method of political claims analysis, as it allows studying systematically the actors intervening in public debates, the issues they address, their policy positions, the frames they advance, and the stance they take towards the specific disadvantaged groups of this project.⁴

¹ The project “European paths to transnational solidarity at times of crisis” (TransSOL) received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 649435.

² Denmark: Politiken, Jyllands-Posten and BT; France: Le Monde, Le Figaro and Le Parisien; Germany: Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Bild; Greece: Proto Thema, Ta Nea and Kathimerini; Italy: La Repubblica, Corriere della Sera and Libero Quotidiano; Poland: Gazeta Wyborcza, Rzeczpospolita and Fakt; the UK: The Guardian, The Telegraph and The Express. In Switzerland, more newspapers were included to consider the multi-lingual structure of the country: Le Temps, Le Matin, Neue Züricher Zeitung, Tages Anzeiger and La Regione.

³ The same newspapers were selected in each country, with few exceptions: For Germany and Switzerland, individual newspapers were exchanged, given problems within accessing Facebook comments (see Commenting Analysis Codebook, chapter 3 of this document).

⁴ The codebooks used in this project are an adapted version of codebooks used in the MERCI project (“Mobilization on Ethnic Relations, Citizenship and Immigration”) and the EURISLAM project (“Finding a Place for Islam in Europe”). See Koopmans, Ruud, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni and Florence Passy (2005). *Contested Citizenship*,

Data retrieval and coding was conducted by national teams (the Universities of Copenhagen, Crete, Florence, Geneva, Siegen, Warsaw, Institute d'études politiques in Paris and the Glasgow Caledonian University) in their respective countries. The field-work was coordinated and supervised by the work package leading teams in Paris and Copenhagen. The methodology of the datasets is described in detail in the methodology chapter of the work package's final book.⁵ Additional information is available via the TransSOL project website (www.transsol.eu): the '[Integrated Report on Transnational Solidarity in the Public Domain](#)' of March 2018, and the '[Reliability Report for Work Package 5](#)'. In the following, we introduce the coding instructions as communicated to and used by coders.

2. Codebook of the Print Media's Claims-Making Analysis

2.1. Coding instructions

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is the single claim that relates to questions of solidarity regarding refugees (claim) as they appear in the articles. A solidarity claim is an intervention, verbal or nonverbal, made in the public space by any actor (including individuals who engage in acts of solidarity), which bears on the interests, needs or rights of refugees. Claims are given expression in a way that these interests, needs or rights of others are strengthened/affirmed/supported or rejected/weakened/disapproved.

As objects of the solidarity claims we define refugees either as individuals or as a collective/group. In other words, a solidarity claim is a statement of support or opposition towards others in the public space. If it is verbal, a claim usually consists of a statement, an opinion, a demand, a criticism, a policy suggestion etc. addressed to the public in general or to a specific actor.

Claims can take four main forms:

- Political decisions (law, governmental guideline, implementation measure, etc.)
- Verbal statements (public speech, press conference, parliamentary intervention, etc.)
- Protest actions (demonstration, occupation, violent action, etc.)
- Solidarity action (a direct act of providing help/assistance to others in need of support)

All claims taking one of these four forms are coded, provided that they explicitly or obviously relate to refugees as the object dimension. Be careful as it is not always self-evident which of

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; as well as Cinalli, Manlio and Marco Giugni (2013). *Public Discourses About Islam in Europe*, Special Issue for *Ethnicities*, Vol. 13, Issue 2.

⁵ see Manlio Cinalli, Hans-Jörg Trenz, Verena Brändle, Olga Eisele, Christian Lahusen (2021). *Solidarity in the Media and Public Contention over Refugees in Europe*. London: Routledge.

the four forms applies: The decision to visit Lesbos may be a political decision, a protest action, or other form, according to its specific dynamic of occurrence (Is the visit delivered by a state actor? Is the visit breaching some formal order? Etc.). Only news articles are coded, which means that other genres (statistics, editorials, opinion articles and debate sections etc.) are excluded. For instance, the information given that *'30% of Italians approve an increase of solidarity budget to help refugees'* is not coded as a claim. The statement *'The Italian government has approved an increase of solidarity budget to help refugees'*, however, is coded as a claim. Similarly, simple attributions of attitudes or opinions to actors by the media or by other actors are also excluded. For instance, the statement that *'Italians appear to be more open towards refugees than Germans'* is not coded unless it has been pronounced by an actor. Remember: we want to code claims of actors, not the opinion of the newspaper through its comments and editorials.

The definition of the claim, rather than the article or the single statement, as the unit of analysis has two implications. First, an article can report several claims. The whole article must therefore be read so as to code all the claims reported. Second, a claim can be made of several statements or actions. Statements or actions by different actors are considered to be part of a single claim if they take place at the same time (the same day), place (the same locality), and if the actors can be assumed to act "in concert" (i.e. they can be considered as strategic allies). In sum, claims must have a unity of time and place.

Example: Two substantively identical statements by the same actor on two different days, or on one day in two different localities are two separate claims. Similarly, statements by different speakers during a parliamentary debate or a conference are considered part of the same claim as long as they are substantively and strategically compatible. This implies that different actors will be coded together under the same claim if they all express a similar point of view. However, if the actors take positions that are substantially different enough to reject the assumption that they are acting in concert, the statements are coded as separate claims. Another example: If an identifiable part of a peaceful demonstration breaks away from a march and turns violent, the assumption of acting in concert is no longer warranted and a separate claim is coded.

Definition of the field

The goal of this part of the research is to track claims pertaining to transnational solidarity over the so-called refugee crisis between 1st August 2015 to 30th April 2016. More specifically, all articles are coded which report political decisions, verbal statements, direct solidarity action or protest actions on a number of themes that refer explicitly or obviously to the refugee crisis. Claims concerning the activities of actors who claim to be victims of the refugee crisis are also coded.

The reference to the refugee crisis is thus narrowly defined. Only statements, opinions, demands, criticisms, policy suggestions etc. referring explicitly or obviously to the causes, implications, solutions of the refugee crisis should be coded. Other claims should be excluded.

Example: Issues like presence of foreigners into the job market as a constraint to recruitment of national citizens are excluded, unless an actor says that this also is related to the refugee crisis.

Sample

Claims are coded by random sampling of 700 claims selected from three newspapers in each country and covering the period from 1st August 2015 to 30th April 2016. National teams can extend their coding up till 750 claims so as to have even numbers across the three newspapers (250 claims for each newspaper). Switzerland has regional specificities; accordingly, Swiss sources will include five newspapers (2 written in German + 2 written in French + 1 written in Italian) with 150 claims for each of these newspapers. Coders within the same team must make sure that, when merging their files, they will produce a single file where variables IDART e IDCLAIM do not break up (for example, if three coders take care of three different newspapers, each of them could start IDCLAIM at 1, 251, and 501, respectively; alternative ways can be envisaged in case sharing of work is articulated differently).

The articles are retrieved from databases, searching in all newspaper sections through keyword-search (keywords: “asyl*” and “refugee*”; asterisk is applied as a truncation mark to also include other grammatical forms of the terms). Due to a high number of articles found, we only used a stratified random sample of articles for the manual coding; i.e., articles were ordered chronologically and every xth article selected for coding in order to cover the whole time period. The rank X was calculated in a first round of sampling by dividing the total number of hits by 100, giving coders 100 articles to start with. Based on this first round of sampling, we established an average amount of claims coded per article, based on which we drew a second sample in order to reach the defined threshold of 750 claims per country (see also the [‘Integrated Report on Transnational Solidarity in the Public Domain’](#)).

To be included, a claim must either take place in one of the countries of the EU and Switzerland or it must address actors in the EU and Switzerland. For example, claims happening in Greece that appear on the Danish press will be coded by the Danish team. Claims are also included if they are made by or addressed at a supranational actor of which the country of coding is a member (e.g., the UN, the EU, the UNHCR), on the condition that the claim is substantively relevant for any country of the EU and Switzerland.

Example: The claim raised by the UNHCR that the German government should open the borders towards Syrian refugees is included. The claim raised by the UNHCR that Syrian refugees should be sent back from Turkey to Syria is not included.

Summary of general coding rules

- Claims are coded only to the extent that they refer explicitly or obviously to the current refugee crisis or contain information allowing saying that this is the case.
- Only solidarity claims in news articles are coded.
- The claimant must be an actor who is usually based in a country of the EU or Switzerland or a foreign actor who addresses actors in the EU and Switzerland. This includes claims by international actors (EU, UNHCR) that take place in the EU or Switzerland or that address actors in the EU and Switzerland. Claims by actors usually based in a country of the EU that are made abroad are also included.
- In case of repeated statements or announcements, each one is coded as a separate claim. Example: An actor announces several times that s/he will organise a protest against the arrivals of new migrants.
- Claims must have a unity of time and place. Two substantively identical statements by the same actor on two different days, or on one day in two different localities are two separate claims. Similarly, statements by different speakers during a parliamentary debate or a conference are considered part of the same claim only if they are substantively and strategically compatible. This implies that different actors will be coded together under the same claim if they all express a similar point of view. However, if the actors take positions that are substantially different enough to reject the assumption that they are acting in concert, the statements are coded as separate claims. Another example: If an identifiable part of a peaceful demonstration breaks away from a march and turns violent, the assumption of acting in concert is no longer warranted and a separate claim is coded.
- Information found in another article or newspaper issue on a given claim that has been coded previously should be corrected. Thus, claims that were coded but are found in a further issue of the newspaper not to have occurred must be withdrawn from the sample. Similarly, additional information found in another article (even on a different issue of the newspaper) regarding a claim previously coded is used to complete the coding of that claim.
- There is NO minimum length of claims. *“Open the borders”* is, for example, a claim, even though it consists of only three words.
- Variables refer to explicit or obvious information that is reported. Hence, we do not code information that is only implicit. For example, we code the addressee only when this latter is explicitly or obviously acknowledged; same as for blamed actor, credited actor, etc. (for example the variable COUNTRY is coded insofar we know where the claim takes place).

2.2. Variables: Overview and Variable Descriptions

For each claim retrieved, a number of variables are coded which can be divided in seven types. The first type relates to the identification of the claim, the remaining eight types correspond to a specific element of a claim (actor, form, issue, etc.). For each element, one or more variables are coded. Some of these variables are summaries of more detailed variables and, therefore, have an “s” as the first letter in their name.

- Identification and location of claims (Who has coded which claims?)
Variables: UNIQ, ID, IDART, CODER, COUNTRY, NEWSPAPER, SAMPLE, TITLE, DESCR, DATE, MONTH, YEAR, PLACE
- Actors (Who has made the claim?)
Variables: ACTOR1, SACTOR1, PARTY1, PARTYOTHER1, ACTORNAT1, ACTSCOPE1, ACTOR2, SACTOR2, PARTY2, PARTYOTHER2, ACTORNAT2, ACTSCOPE2
- Forms of the claim (How was the claim made?)
Variable: FORM1
- Addressee of the claim (At whom is the claim directed?)
Variables: ADR, SADR, ADRSCOPE, ADRNAT
- Issues (What is the claim about?)
Variables: ISSUE1, ISSUE1SCOPE, ISSUE2, ISSUE2SCOPE
- Object (Who is affected by the claim and how?)
Variables: OBJ, SOBJ, NATOBJ, POSIT, SECOBJ, SSECOBJ, SECPOSIT, SECOBNAT
- Solidarity Frames (How is the claim defined and interpreted?)
Variables: VALUE, SBLAMED, SBLAMEDNAT, BLAMEDSCOPE, SCREDIT, SCREDITNAT, CREDITSCOPE

IDENTIFICATION AND LOCATION OF CLAIMS

These variables are used to identify the claims in terms of coding and locate them in time and space. The variable DATE refers to the actual date of occurrence of the claim.

Variable name **UNIQ**
Variable label 'unique claim identifier'
Value labels Concatenation of 'Newspaper-Sample-Coder-ID' created after coding

Variable name **ID**
Variable label 'running identification number of claim'
Value labels Up to 4-digit code

Variable name **IDART**
Variable label 'identification number of article'
Value labels Up to 4-digit code

Variable name **CODER**
Variable label 'name of coder of claim'
Value labels Anonymised numeric variable identifying the coder

Variable name **COUNTRY**
Variable label 'Country in which newspaper is published'
Value labels 1 France
 2 Germany
 3 Greece
 4 Italy
 5 Poland
 6 Denmark
 7 Switzerland
 8 United Kingdom

Variable name **NEWSPAPER**
Variable label 'newspaper in which the claim is found'
Please note that (for all cases but the Swiss) numbers ending with 1 are used for the leftist/liberal newspaper, numbers ending with 2 for conservative newspapers, numbers ending with 3 for tabloids.

Value labels France (10)
11 Le Monde
12 Le Figaro
13 Le Parisien

Germany (20)
 21 Süddeutsche Zeitung
 22 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
 23 Bild

Greece (30)
 31 Proto Thema
 32 Ta Nea
 33 Kathimerini

Italy (40)
 41 La Repubblica
 42 Corriere della Sera
 43 Libero Quotidiano

Poland (50)
 51 Gazeta Wyborcza
 52 Rzeczpospolita
 53 Fakt

Denmark (60)
 61 Politiken
 62 Jyllandsposten
 63 BT

Switzerland (70)
 71 Le Matin
 72 Le Temps
 73 Neue Zürcher Zeitung
 74 Tages Anzeiger
 75 La Regione

United Kingdom (80)
 81 The Guardian
 82 The Telegraph
 83 The Express

Variable name

SAMPLE

Note: Variable to indicate if the claim was coded for the print news analysis or for one of the articles posted on Facebook (as part of the social media analysis) or was contained in both.

Variable label

'fill in if article is in print or online sample'

Value labels

0 Print Sample
 1 Online Sample/Posted Article on Facebook
 2 Article in Both Samples

Variable name	TITLE
Variable label	'title of article in original language (copy/paste)'
Value labels	string variable

Variable name	DESCR
Variable label	'description of claim'
Value labels	string variable

This variable should give a brief description, in English, of the claim containing at least the main actor, form, addressee (if any), object, and aim of the claim. The length of this variable is flexible and will be decided at the country-level. Title of the article, name of actors/addressees etc should be in original language.

Variable name	DATE
Variable label	'date of occurrence of claim'
Value labels	8-digit code (MM-DD-YEAR; report previous day of article if date is not explicitly stated)

Variable name	MONTH
Variable label	'month of occurrence of claim'
Value labels	2-digit code of month according to DATE

Variable name	YEAR
Variable label	'year of occurrence of claim'
Value labels	4-digit code of year according to DATE

Variable name	PLACE																																				
Variable labels	'country in which the claim was made' (also if not stated but obvious)																																				
Value labels	<table> <tr><td>1</td><td>'France'</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>'Germany'</td></tr> <tr><td>3</td><td>'Greece'</td></tr> <tr><td>4</td><td>'Italy'</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>'Poland'</td></tr> <tr><td>6</td><td>'Denmark'</td></tr> <tr><td>7</td><td>'Switzerland'</td></tr> <tr><td>8</td><td>'United Kingdom'</td></tr> <tr><td>9</td><td>'Spain'</td></tr> <tr><td>10</td><td>'Portugal'</td></tr> <tr><td>11</td><td>'Malta'</td></tr> <tr><td>12</td><td>'Cyprus'</td></tr> <tr><td>13</td><td>'Austria'</td></tr> <tr><td>14</td><td>'Slovenia'</td></tr> <tr><td>15</td><td>'Hungary'</td></tr> <tr><td>16</td><td>'Romania'</td></tr> <tr><td>17</td><td>'Bulgaria'</td></tr> <tr><td>18</td><td>'Croatia'</td></tr> </table>	1	'France'	2	'Germany'	3	'Greece'	4	'Italy'	5	'Poland'	6	'Denmark'	7	'Switzerland'	8	'United Kingdom'	9	'Spain'	10	'Portugal'	11	'Malta'	12	'Cyprus'	13	'Austria'	14	'Slovenia'	15	'Hungary'	16	'Romania'	17	'Bulgaria'	18	'Croatia'
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16	'Romania'																																				
17	'Bulgaria'																																				
18	'Croatia'																																				

19	'Czech Republic'
20	'Luxembourg'
21	'Netherlands'
22	'Belgium'
23	'Slovakia'
24	'Latvia'
25	'Estonia'
26	'Lithuania'
27	'Sweden'
28	'Finland'
29	'Ireland'
30	'Macedonia'
31	'Serbia'
32	'Turkey'
33	'Syria'
34	'Russia'
35	'US'
36	'Iraq'
37	'Lebanon'
38	'Afghanistan'
39	'Libya'
40	'Yemen'
41	'Morocco'
42	'Tunisia'
49	'Other'

ACTORS

These variables are used to code the actor of a claim. They should be as inclusive as possible, i.e. they should include formal organisations and institutions, unorganised collectivities and groups, and single individuals. When having more actors acting in concert, code the most vociferous actor under SACTOR1, while the other can go under SACTOR2. Only if you cannot really decide which actor is the most important, code them according to their order of appearance.

Codes referring to organisations or institutions include their representatives. SACTOR1 and SACTOR2 variables should be used for the main characteristic as it is reported in the article. Sometimes the same actor can be classified according to several characteristics. Example: *"The Danish Prime Minister from the Liberal Party, Lars Løkke Rasmussen is..."*. By default, the characterisation as state actor prevails over party affiliation. Individual politician is only coded if neither state actors nor political parties apply.

The same holds when distinguishing between legislative or political party. In this case, coders should ask themselves: what is the most relevant for the specific claim? If one individual

from a specific party claims something, 'political party' should be coded instead of 'parliament/legislative'. Also, if a political party claims something outside the parliament, code as 'political party'. 'Parliament/legislative' applies for the parliament as a collective, or institution, otherwise give preference to 'political party'.

Please note that governments, political parties etc. do not only refer to national levels. This is why the ACTSCOPE variable is important. For example, a mayor of a small town, or a municipality, needs to be coded as 'government' and in the ACTSCOPE variable as 'sub-national'.

Variable name **ACTOR1**
 Variable label 'first actor'
 Value labels string variable (provided in original language and with function/role as used in article; copy-paste)

Variable name **SACTOR1**
 Variable label 'summary of first actor'
 Value labels State actors (10)

- 11 Government/executive/state representative
- 12 Parliament/legislative
- 13 Courts/judiciary
- 14 Police and other security/military forces
- 15 State executive agencies (general)
- 16 Welfare/social security agencies
- 17 Migration and asylum agencies

Political parties (20)

- 21 Political parties
- 22 Individual politicians'

Professional organisations and groups (30)

- 31 Economic actors/markets
- 32 Private companies
- 33 Employers' organisations
- 34 Media and journalists
- 35 Research institutes and think tanks (incl. individual experts)
- 36 Cooperatives/ social economy enterprises (economic function)
- 39 Other professional organisations and groups

Labour organisations and groups (40)

- 41 Unions
- 42 Workers and employees' (unorganised)
- 49 Other labour-related organisations

Group-specific organisations and groups (50)

- 51 Women organisations (incl. unorganised groups)

- 52 Migrants and minority organisations (incl. unorganised groups, but not dealing specifically with asylum)
- 53 Unemployed organisations (incl. unorganised groups)
- 54 Disabled organisations (incl. unorganised groups)
- 55 Youth organisations (incl. unorganised groups)
- 56,1 Refugees/migrants (individuals)
- 56,2 Refugees/migrants (in general and as groups)
- 56,3 Illegal or irregular immigrants
- 56,4 People/refugee smugglers
- 57,1 Refugee-crisis informal initiatives supporting refugees (e.g. ad hoc citizen groups)
- 57,2 Refugee-crisis informal initiatives against refugees
- 58,1 Refugee-crisis formal initiatives supporting refugees (e.g. NGOs)
- 58,2 Refugee-crisis formal initiatives against refugees (e.g. NGOs)
- 59 Other group-specific organisations

Civil society and human rights organisations (60)

- 61 Welfare movements and organisations
- 62 Charity groups and networks (more general groups / NGOs and foundations)
- 63 Cooperatives and social economy enterprises (social function)
- 69 Other solidarity, human rights and welfare organisations

Advocacy and policy-oriented groups (70)

- 71 Extreme-right organisations and groups
- 71.5 Single issue coalition (right, centre-right)
- 72 Radical left organisations and groups
- 72.5 Single issue coalition (left, centre-left)
- 73 Citizens' initiatives
- 74 Religious-based groups (e.g. churches, the Pope, Ökumene)
- 75 Terrorist groups
- 76 Ethnic and religious terrorist groups
- 77 Peace movements and organisations
- 78 Anti-racist movements and organisations
- 79 Other civil society organisations

Other actors (80)

- 81 People/citizens (includes reference to local citizens, etc.)
- 82 The elite
- 83 Single pro-migrant activist
- 84 Single anti-migrant activist
- 85 Celebrities (actors, sport people, musicians etc.)

Supranational actors (EU and UN) (90)

- 91 EU Commission
- 92 EU Parliament

93	Council of the EU
94	ECJ
95	Other EU bodies
96	UN/UNHCR
97	Europe/Europeans
98	EU
99	Other supranational actors
148	EU member state(s) (any/some/all of them)
199	'Unknown/unspecified'

Variable name

PARTY1

Variable label

'political party actor represents/speaks on behalf of a party'

Value labels

999 'no political party'

France (100)

101	'Europe Ecologie Les Verts (EELV)'
102	'Front de Gauche' (FDG)
103	'Front National (FN)'
104	'Lutte Ouvrière (LO)'
105	'Mouvement Démocrate (MODEM)'
106	'Mouvement pour la France (MPF)'
107	'Nouveau Centre'
108	'Nouveau Parti Anti-Capitaliste (NPA)'
109	'Parti Radical de Gauche'
110	'Parti Radical Valoisien (PR)'
111	'Parti Socialiste (PS)'
112	'Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP)'
113	'La République En Marche'
199	'Other parties'

Germany (200)

201	'Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)'
202	'Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen'
203	'Bürger in Wut (BiW)'
204	'Brandenburger Vereinigte Bürgerbewegungen / Freie Wähler (BVB/FW)'
205	'Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (CDU)'
206	'Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (CSU)'
207	'Die PARTEI / Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative'
208	'Familien-Partei Deutschlands'
209	'Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)'
210	'Freie Wähler (FW)'
211	'Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz'
212	'Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD)'
213	'Piratenpartei Deutschland'

- 214 'Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)'
- 215 'Südschleswigscher Wählerverband (SSW)'
- 216 'Die Linke'
- 217 'Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei (ÖDP)'
- 299 'Other parties'

Greece (300)

- 301 'Anexartiti Ellines'
- 302 'Antikapitalistiki Aristeri Synergasia gia tin Anatropi' (ANTARSYA)
- 303 'Chrysi Aygi'
- 304 'Dimiourgia Xana'
- 305 'Dimokratiki Aristera' (DIMAR)
- 306 'Dimocratiki Sumaxia' (DISY)
- 307 'Dimokratiko Koinoniko Kinima' (DIKKI)
- 308 'Drasi'
- 309 'Enosis Kentroon'
- 310 'Ergatiko Epanastatiko Komma'
- 311 'Fileleftheri Symmachia'
- 312 'Ikologi Prasini'
- 313 'Koinoniki Symfonia'
- 314 'Koinonikos Syndesmos'
- 315 'Kommounistiko Komma Elladas' (KKE)
- 316 'Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos' (LAOS)
- 317 'Nea Demokratia' (ND)
- 318 'Panelinio Sosialistiko Kinima' (PASOK/ELIA)
- 319 'Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras' (SYRIZA)
- 320 'To Potami'
- 399 'Other parties'

Italy (400)

- 401 'Fratelli d'Italia (Fdi)'
- 402 'Scelta Civica (SC)'
- 403 'Rifondazione Comunista (PRC)'
- 404 'Partito Democratico (PD)'
- 405 'Movimento Cinque Stelle (M5S)'
- 406 'Forza Italia (FI)'
- 407 'Verdi'
- 408 'Radicali Italiani (RI)'
- 409 'Italia dei Valori (IDV)'
- 410 'Alternativa Popolare-Nuovo Centrodestra (AP-NCD)'
- 411 'Forza Nuova (FN)'
- 412 'Lega Nord (LN)'
- 413 'Partito dei Comunisti italiani (PdCI)'
- 414 'Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP)'
- 415 'La Destra'
- 416 'Fiamma Tricolore (FT)'
- 417 'Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e di Centro (UDC)'

499 'Other parties'

Poland (500)

501 'Partia Centrum'
502 'Platforma Obywatelska (PO)'
503 'Kongres Nowej Prawicy (KNP)'
504 'Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)'
505 'Partia Demokratyczna
506 'Unia Wolności (UW)'
507 'Unia Pracy (UP)'
508 'Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)'
509 'Liga Polskich Rodzin (LPR)'
510 'Krajowa Partia Emerytów i Rencistów'
511 'Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (NOP)'
512 'Partia Regionów'
513 'Polska Jest Najważniejsza (PJN)'
514 'Polska Razem'
515 'Polska Partia Pracy Sierpień '80'
516 'Polska Partia Narodowa (PPN)'
517 'Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)'
518 'Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (PPS)'
519 'Unia Polityki Realnej (UPR)'
520 'Racja Polskiej Lewicy'
521 'Samoobrona RP'
522 'Partia Zieloni / Zieloni 2004'
523 'Prawica Rzeczypospolitej'
524 'Socjaldemokracja Polska'
525 'Unia Lewicy (UL)'
526 'Solidarna Polska'
527 'Partia Kobiet'
528 'Twój Ruch / Ruch Palikota'
599 'Other parties'

Denmark (600)

601 'Alternativet'
602 'Dansk Folkeparti'
603 'Det Konservative Folkeparti
604 'Enhedslisten'
605 'Liberal Alliance'
606 'Radikale Venstre'
607 'Socialdemokratiet'
608 'Socialistisk Folkeparti'
609 'Venstre'
699 'Other parties'

Switzerland (700)

- 701 'Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei (BDP) / Parti Bourgeois-Démocratique (PBD)'
- 702 'Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei (CVP) / Parti Démocrate-Chrétien (PDC)'
- 703 'Christlich-Soziale Partei (CSP) / Parti Chrétien-Social (PCS)'
- 704 'Evangelische Volkspartei (EVP) / Parti Evangélique (PEV)'
- 705 'Die Liberalen (FDP) / Les Libéraux-Radicaux (PLR)'
- 706 'Die Grünen (GPS) / Les Verts (PES)'
- 707 'Grünes Bündnis (GB) / Alliance verte (AVes)'
- 708 'Grünliberale Partei (GLP) / Parti Vert-Libéral (PVL)'
- 709 'Lega dei Ticinesi'
- 710 'Mouvement Citoyen Genevois (MCG)'
- 711 'Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP) / Union Démocratique du Centre (UDC)'
- 712 'Sozialdemokratische Partei (SP) / Parti Socialiste (PS)'
- 799 'Other parties'

United Kingdom (800)

- 801 'Alliance Party of Northern Ireland'
- 802 'British Nationalist Party (BNP)'
- 803 'Conservative and Unionist Party'
- 804 'Democratic Unionist Party'
- 805 'Green Party in Northern Ireland'
- 806 'Green Party of England and Wales'
- 807 'Labour Party'
- 808 'Liberal Democrats'
- 809 'NI21'
- 810 'Plaid Cymru / Party of Wales'
- 811 'Respect Party'
- 812 'Scottish Green Party'
- 813 'Scottish National Party'
- 814 'Sinn Féin'
- 815 'Social Democratic and Labour Party'
- 816 'Traditional Unionist Voice'
- 817 'UK Independence Party'
- 818 'Ulster Unionist Party'
- 899 'Other parties'

Variable name

PARTYOTHER1

Variable label

'political party actor represents/speaks on behalf of a party other than countries project'

Value labels

string variable

Variable name

ACTORNAT1

Variable label

'Nationality of first actor' (if explicitly stated in the article)

Value labels

1 'France'

- 2 'Germany'
- 3 'Greece'
- 4 'Italy'
- 5 'Poland'
- 6 'Denmark'
- 7 'Switzerland'
- 8 'United Kingdom'
- 9 'Spain'
- 10 'Portugal'
- 11 'Malta'
- 12 'Cyprus'
- 13 'Austria'
- 14 'Slovenia'
- 15 'Hungary'
- 16 'Romania'
- 17 'Bulgaria'
- 18 'Croatia'
- 19 'Czech Republic'
- 20 'Luxembourg'
- 21 'Netherlands'
- 22 'Belgium'
- 23 'Slovakia'
- 24 'Latvia'
- 25 'Estonia'
- 26 'Lithuania'
- 27 'Sweden'
- 28 'Finland'
- 29 'Ireland'
- 30 'Macedonia'
- 31 'Serbia'
- 32 'Turkey'
- 33 'Syria'
- 34 'Russia'
- 35 'US'
- 36 'Iraq'
- 37 'Lebanon'
- 38 'Afghanistan'
- 39 'Libya'
- 40 'Yemen'
- 41 'Morocco'
- 42 'Tunisia'
- 49 'Other'

Variable name

ACTSCOPE1

Variable label

'scope of first actor'

Value labels

- 1 Trans-/supra-/inter-national
- 6 National

- 7 Sub-national
- 9 Unknown/unclassifiable

The scope of actors refers to the organisational extension of the organisation or institution. For unorganised collectivities and groups, it refers to the scope of mobilization. If there are two levels, code the highest level of scope. If there is uncertainty, look for label. Example: German chancellor Angela Merkel.

Variable name **ACTOR2**
Variable label 'second actor'
Value labels string variable

Variable name **SACTOR2**
Variable label 'summary second actor'
Value labels see SACTOR1

Variable name **PARTY2**
Variable label 'political party second actor represents/speaks on behalf of a party'
Value labels 999 'no political party'

France (100)

- 101 'Europe Ecologie Les Verts (EELV)'
- 102 'Front de Gauche' (FDG)
- 103 'Front National (FN)'
- 104 'Lutte Ouvrière (LO)'
- 105 'Mouvement Démocrate (MODEM)'
- 106 'Mouvement pour la France (MPF)'
- 107 'Nouveau Centre'
- 108 'Nouveau Parti Anti-Capitaliste (NPA)'
- 109 'Parti Radical de Gauche'
- 110 'Parti Radical Valoisien (PR)'
- 111 'Parti Socialiste (PS)'
- 112 'Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP)'
- 113 'La République En Marche'
- 199 'Other parties'

Germany (200)

- 201 'Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)'
- 202 'Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen'
- 203 'Bürger in Wut (BiW)'
- 204 'Brandenburger Vereinigte Bürgerbewegungen / Freie Wähler (BVB/FW)'
- 205 'Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (CDU)'
- 206 'Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (CSU)'
- 207 'Die PARTEI / Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative'
- 208 'Familien-Partei Deutschlands'

- 209 'Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)'
- 210 'Freie Wähler (FW)'
- 211 'Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz'
- 212 'Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD)'
- 213 'Piratenpartei Deutschland'
- 214 'Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)'
- 215 'Südschleswigscher Wählerverband (SSW)'
- 216 'Die Linke'
- 217 'Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei (ÖDP)'
- 299 'Other parties'

Greece (300)

- 301 'Anexartiti Ellines'
- 302 'Antikapitalistiki Aristeri Synergasia gia tin Anatropi'
(ANTARSYA)
- 303 'Chrysi Aygi'
- 304 'Dimiourgia Xana'
- 305 'Dimokratiki Aristera' (DIMAR)
- 306 'Dimocratiki Sumaxia' (DISY)
- 307 'Dimokratiko Koinoniko Kinima' (DIKKI)
- 308 'Drasi'
- 309 'Enosis Kentroon'
- 310 'Ergatiko Epanastatiko Komma'
- 311 'Fileleftheri Symmachia'
- 312 'Ikologi Prasini'
- 313 'Koinoniki Symfonia'
- 314 'Koinonikos Syndesmos'
- 315 'Kommounistiko Komma Elladas' (KKE)
- 316 'Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos' (LAOS)
- 317 'Nea Demokratia' (ND)
- 318 'Panelinio Sosialistiko Kinima' (PASOK/ELIA)
- 319 'Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras' (SYRIZA)
- 320 'To Potami'
- 399 'Other parties'

Italy (400)

- 401 'Fratelli d'Italia (Fdi)'
- 402 'Scelta Civica (SC)'
- 403 'Rifondazione Comunista (PRC)'
- 404 'Partito Democratico (PD)'
- 405 'Movimento Cinque Stelle (M5S)'
- 406 'Forza Italia (FI)'
- 407 'Verdi'
- 408 'Radicali Italiani (RI)'
- 409 'Italia dei Valori (IDV)'
- 410 'Alternativa Popolare-Nuovo Centrodestra (AP-NCD)'
- 411 'Forza Nuova (FN)'

- 412 'Lega Nord (LN)'
- 413 'Partito dei Comunisti italiani (PdCI)'
- 414 'Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP)'
- 415 'La Destra'
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- 511 'Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (NOP)'
- 512 'Partia Regionów'
- 513 'Polska Jest Najważniejsza (PJN)'
- 514 'Polska Razem'
- 515 'Polska Partia Pracy Sierpień '80'
- 516 'Polska Partia Narodowa (PPN)'
- 517 'Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)'
- 518 'Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (PPS)'
- 519 'Unia Polityki Realnej (UPR)'
- 520 'Racja Polskiej Lewicy'
- 521 'Samoobrona RP'
- 522 'Partia Zieloni / Zieloni 2004'
- 523 'Prawica Rzeczpospolitej'
- 524 'Socjaldemokracja Polska'
- 525 'Unia Lewicy (UL)'
- 526 'Solidarna Polska'
- 527 'Partia Kobiet'
- 528 'Twój Ruch / Ruch Palikota'
- 599 'Other parties'

Denmark (600)

- 601 'Alternativet'
- 602 'Dansk Folkeparti'
- 603 'Det Konservative Folkeparti
- 604 'Enhedslisten'
- 605 'Liberal Alliance'
- 606 'Radikale Venstre'
- 607 'Socialdemokratiet'

- 608 'Socialistisk Folkeparti'
609 'Venstre'
699 'Other parties'
- Switzerland (700)
- 701 'Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei (BDP) / Parti Bourgeois-Démocratique (PBD)'
702 'Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei (CVP) / Parti Démocrate-Chrétien (PDC)'
703 'Christlich-Soziale Partei (CSP) / Parti Chrétien-Social (PCS)'
704 'Evangelische Volkspartei (EVP) / Parti Evangélique (PEV)'
705 'Die Liberalen (FDP) / Les Libéraux-Radicaux (PLR)'
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802 'British Nationalist Party (BNP)'
803 'Conservative and Unionist Party'
804 'Democratic Unionist Party'
805 'Green Party in Northern Ireland'
806 'Green Party of England and Wales'
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810 'Plaid Cymru / Party of Wales'
811 'Respect Party'
812 'Scottish Green Party'
813 'Scottish National Party'
814 'Sinn Féin'
815 'Social Democratic and Labour Party'
816 'Traditional Unionist Voice'
817 'UK Independence Party'
818 'Ulster Unionist Party'
899 'Other parties'

Variable name

PARTYOTHER2

Variable label

'political party second actor represents/speaks on behalf of a party other than countries project'

Value labels

string variable

Variable name	ACTORNAT2
Variable label	'Nationality of second actor' (if explicitly stated in the article)
Value labels	1 'France'
	2 'Germany'
	3 'Greece'
	4 'Italy'
	5 'Poland'
	6 'Denmark'
	7 'Switzerland'
	8 'United Kingdom'
	9 'Spain'
	10 'Portugal'
	11 'Malta'
	12 'Cyprus'
	13 'Austria'
	14 'Slovenia'
	15 'Hungary'
	16 'Romania'
	17 'Bulgaria'
	18 'Croatia'
	19 'Czech Republic'
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	21 'Netherlands'
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	24 'Latvia'
	25 'Estonia'
	26 'Lithuania'
	27 'Sweden'
	28 'Finland'
	29 'Ireland'
	30 'Macedonia'
	31 'Serbia'
	32 'Turkey'
	33 'Syria'
	34 'Russia'
	35 'US'
	36 'Iraq'
	37 'Lebanon'
	38 'Afghanistan'
	39 'Libya'
	40 'Yemen'
	41 'Morocco'
	42 'Tunisia'
	49 'Other'

Variable name	ACTSCOPE2
Variable label	'scope of second actor'
Value labels	see ACTSCOPE1

FORMS OF ACTION

This variable is used to code the form of claims. If there are more than one form, the following priority rules apply: political decisions have priority over the other forms; then direct solidarity actions, and so on according the order of list of values (so for example violent protest actions have priority over confrontational protest actions). When unspecified, you should always choose main value, e.g. verbal statements (90).

Repressive measures and political decisions are coded only for actors with binding decision-making power (i.e. state actors).

Variable name	FORM
Variable label	'form of first action'
Value labels	Political decisions (10)
	1 Decision by government/parliament
	3 Formal proposal of new legislation by government/parliament
	4 Adoption of new legislation by government/parliament
	5 Implementation of new legislation by government/parliament
	6 Refusal of new legislation by government/parliament
	7 Administrative decision
	8 Decision by administrative or constitutional court
	9 Decision by state committee
	10 Decisions/proposal by inter-state, international and supranational institution or executive agencies (e.g. UN and related agencies)
	19 Other political decisions
	Direct solidarity (support/assistance/help) actions (20)
	21 Social support/Aid/Assistance to cover Basic/Urgent Needs (e.g. housing, food, health, clothing)
	22 Education (e.g. language lessons for migrants, non-economy related tutorials/seminars/lessons for disabled, unemployed)
	23 Provision of legal assistance/Mediation/Free legal consulting services to refugees, assistance in accessing state structures (health, employment, social services related); Towards state/supra-state agencies, usually by formal organisations, often in relation to policy
	24 Financial support/Social finance of refugees
	29 Other basic/urgent needs
	Humanitarian aid mobilization (30)
	31 Volunteers Call to providing assistance in emergency situations

- 32 Fund-raising activities (e.g. Christmas markets, collecting money for social cause)
- 33 Activities related to preventing Hate Crime
- 34 Activities related to stop human trafficking
- 35 Rescue boat missions and direct action of aid organisations
- 39 Other volunteer solidarity mobilisation

Violent protest actions (40)

- 41 Violent demonstration
- 42 Threats/call to use violence
- 43 Limited destruction of property
- 44 Large destruction of property (incl. arson, bomb attack)
- 45 Sabotage
- 46 Light physical violence against people
- 47 Severe physical violence against people
- 48 Cultural and symbolic violent actions
- 49 Other violent actions

Confrontational protest actions (50)

- 51 Illegal demonstration (non-violent)
- 52 Boycott
- 53 Strike
- 54 Self-imposed constraints (hunger strike, suicide)
- 55 Blockade
- 56 Occupation
- 57 Perturbation of actions by others
- 58 Cultural and symbolic confrontational actions
- 59 Other confrontational actions

Demonstrative protest actions (60)

- 61 Collection of signatures for initiative/referendum
- 62 Presentation of signatures for initiative/referendum
- 63 Petition/collection of signatures (street/online, collective goal)
- 64 Public rally/assembly
- 65 Demonstration/protest march (legal and non-violent)
- 66 Symbolic demonstrative actions
- 67 New media actions' (e.g. blogs and deliberative social network)
- 69 Other demonstrative actions

Conventional protest actions (70)

- 71 Judicial action
- 72 Lobbying/political pressure
- 73 Launching of initiative/referendum
- 74 Participation to committees/consultation/negotiations
- 75 Creation of new organisation
- 76 Closed-doors meeting
- 79 Other conventional actions'

- Repressive measures (80)
- 81 Repression by the police
 - 82 Repression by courts
 - 89 Other repressive measures
- Verbal statements (90)
- 91 Direct information to the public, raising public awareness (e.g. video spots, posters)
 - 92 Declaration in the media/interview
 - 93 Press conference/release
 - 94 Written statement/resolution (no reference to contentious actions/politics)
 - 95 Publication, reports
 - 96 Advertisement campaign
 - 97 Parliamentary debate/intervention' (incl. in committees)
 - 98 Proposal, promise, or plan by government/parliament
 - 99 Other verbal statements (incl. references to social/online media, i.e. someone making an online statement)

ADDRESSEES

These variables are used to code the addressees of claims, i.e. the main actor who is held explicitly responsible for acting with regard to the claim or at whom the claim is explicitly addressed as a call to act. If there is more than one addressee the following priority rules apply: (1) organisations or institutions (or their representatives) have priority over unorganised collectivities or groups; (2) state actors have priority over non-state actors. If these rules do not allow a decision, use the order in which the addressees are mentioned.

Note that not every claim has to contain an addressee.

Variable name	ADR
Variable label	'addressee'
Value labels	string variable
Variable name	SADR
Variable label	'summary addressee'
Value labels	see SACTOR
	999 'no addressee'
Variable name	ADRSCOPE
Variable label	'scope addressee'
Value labels	see ACTSCOPE1

Variable name	ADRNAT
Variable label	'Nationality of addressee' (if explicitly stated in the article)
Value labels	1 'France'
	2 'Germany'
	3 'Greece'
	4 'Italy'
	5 'Poland'
	6 'Denmark'
	7 'Switzerland'
	8 'United Kingdom'
	9 'Spain'
	10 'Portugal'
	11 'Malta'
	12 'Cyprus'
	13 'Austria'
	14 'Slovenia'
	15 'Hungary'
	16 'Romania'
	17 'Bulgaria'
	18 'Croatia'
	19 'Czech Republic'
	20 'Luxembourg'
	21 'Netherlands'
	22 'Belgium'
	23 'Slovakia'
	24 'Latvia'
	25 'Estonia'
	26 'Lithuania'
	27 'Sweden'
	28 'Finland'
	29 'Ireland'
	30 'Macedonia'
	31 'Serbia'
	32 'Turkey'
	33 'Syria'
	34 'Russia'
	35 'US'
	36 'Iraq'
	37 'Lebanon'
	38 'Afghanistan'
	39 'Libya'
	40 'Yemen'
	41 'Morocco'
	42 'Tunisia'
	49 'Other'

ISSUES

These variables are used to code the issues of claims, i.e. their substantive content. We have two different variables, ISSUE1 and ISSUE2, so as to include information over the most important issue, and another issue that follows in order of importance. In case there are two issues, and coder cannot really decide which one is the most important, ISSUE1 must refer to the first issue that is mentioned while ISSUE2 refers to the second issue that is mentioned.

Variable Name: ISSUE1
Variable Label: Main Issue of the Claim
Value labels:
999 No *main* issue or not identifiable

Policies directed at the political ‘management’ of migration (Migration Management, 10)

- 101 Border management/policies (e.g., border control, securing of borders, fence-building, FRONTEX, Schengen borders, ...)
- 102 Asylum policies (e.g., increasing intake of refugees refugee protection and/or procedures, registration, internal control, granting of status, secure home countries, deportation, ...)
- 103 Accommodation of refugees (e.g., managing the influx, administrative capacities, housing infrastructure, etc.)
- 104 Budgetary issues (aid budget)
- 105 Human rights or basic principles of refugee protection (e.g. national constitutional issues, or international human rights conventions)
- 106 Distribution and relocation of refugees within the country (national/sub-national distribution)
- 107 Distribution and relocation of refugees outside the country (e.g. inter-state agreement, EU quota system)
- 108 Policies of or cooperation with countries not taking part in EU coordination policies regarding a tackling of crisis (e.g., deal with Turkey, migration prevention in countries of origin, etc.)
- 109 Other issues pertaining to the political ‘management’

Policies directed at the integration of refugees (Integration 20)

- 201 Health policies (e.g., access to health care, medical expenses, medical liability, fraud and abuse, prevention and health promotion, nutrition, illnesses, home case)
- 202 Labour and employment policies (e.g., access to labour market, employment relations, trade unions representation, youth employment)
- 203 Education and cultural policies (e.g., access to school, vocational training and higher education, skills and qualification levels, special education programs)

- 204 Social policies (e.g., access to social benefits such as health insurance, employment benefits, vocational training, social services)
- 205 Rights, civil liberties, anti-discrimination policies (e.g., policies directed at minimizing group discrimination, promotion of group related rights, inclusion and participation such as voting rights, freedom of speech, privacy and data autonomy)
- 206 Law and order, security and defence policies (e.g., policies to fight organised crime, illegal drug production, prostitution or trafficking, abuse of social benefits)
- 207 Urban and regional development, transportation (e.g., urban housing, real estate market, transport infrastructure, economic development of rural areas)
- 208 Government and public administration (reform) policies (e.g., relationship between national and sub-national administrations, and between executive branches, inefficiency/failure of public administration in successful integration)
- 209 Other public integration related policies

Issues pertaining to the background, the situation and the fate of refugees (30)

- 301 Personal background/story of refugees (family situation, occupation in home country)
- 302 Journey of refugees (including stories on crossing the sea)
- 303 The causes of the fight and / or the refugee crisis (war, persecution, etc.)
- 304 Human Trafficking/refugee smugglers
- 305 Inhumane conditions/emergency (e.g. descriptive accounts of conditions of camps, also along refugee routes, e.g.: situation at Keleti train station in Budapest)
- 306 Violence towards refugees (e.g., arson, destruction of housing, etc.)
- 308 Voluntary return of refugees
- 309 Other issues pertaining to the background, the situation and the fate of refugees

Issues pertaining to the problems associated to the refugee influx/crisis (40)

- 401 Economic consequences of refugee crisis (e.g. labour market)
- 402 Political consequences (e.g., populism, instability, limits of administrative capacities)
- 403 Problems of internal security (e.g., sexually motivated violence, attacks against/by refugees, terrorist attacks, ...)
- 404 Religious in/compatibilities (emphasis on Islam/Muslims, Christianity, ...)
- 405 Societal/cultural in/compatibilities (emphasis on origin, culture, traditions, way of life, status of women, etc.)
- 406 Social segregation and disintegration

- 409 Other issues pertaining to the problems associated to the refugee influx/crisis

Issues related to public and civic activities/initiatives beyond Political Governance (50)

- 501 Volunteering during the crisis (including (difficulties of) organisation of voluntary work and, e.g., clothes donations)
 502 Financial aid (e.g., private/corporate donations, fundraising)
 503 Meeting basic needs (housing, food, health, language acquisition)
 504 Political activism/demonstrations against refugees
 505 political participation on behalf or by refugees (e.g., refugees demonstrating, refugees as political activists)
 506 Media behaviour (e.g., biased discourse, lying press, etc.)
 507 General political climate/public discourse reg. refugee crisis
 509 Other issues related to public and civic activities/initiatives beyond Political Governance

Other Issues (60)

Variable Name: ISSUE1SCOPE

Variable Label: Scope of ISSUE1; if more than one level applicable, take the higher level.

Value labels see ACTSCOPE1

Variable Name: ISSUE2

Variable Label: Second Issue of the Claim

Value labels: see Issue1

Variable Name: ISSUE2SCOPE

Variable Label: Scope of ISSUE2; if more than one level applicable, take the higher level.

Value labels see ACTSCOPE1

OBJECTS

The object must always refer to refugees, immigrants and/or alternative ways to discuss them. The object, explicitly or obviously, must always be present for a claim to exist. These variables are used to code the main object of claims, i.e. the specific actor (more generally labelled as 'refugee') whose interests are affected by the claims. If there is more than one specific way to refer to the object, the ultimate reference should be coded as the object. If this rule does not allow a decision, use the first reference in the order in which the objects are mentioned. Some goes for scope of the object: we are interested in the specific reference that is given so 'women refugee in Germany' should be taken as a national object (not transnational, as the abstract category of refugees may necessarily imply).

To this main object, we add the study of a ‘secondary object’ to be referred to a potential additional object that is involved in the discussion of primary object, and with whom the actors can relate in a favourable or unfavourable way.

The variables POSIT and SECPOSIT should provide a general indicator of the position of claims with regard to the rights, position and evaluation of the object (and, conversely, those mobilizing against them). For example, claims implying deterioration (minor or large) in the rights or position of refugees receive code -1. All claims implying an improvement in the rights and position of refugees receive code +1. Claims that are neutral, ambiguous, or ambivalent receive code 0. As regards the secondary object, all claims implying a favourable position receive code +1. -1 and 0 apply as previously stated.

Variable name **OBJ**
 Variable label ‘object of claim’
 Value labels string variable

Variable name **SOBJ**
 Variable label ‘object of claim’
 Value labels 0 Refugees (obviously acknowledged)
 1 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (general reference)
 2 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (families)
 3 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (women)
 4 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (men)
 5 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (children)
 6 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (young people)
 7 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (old people)
 8 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (migrant-specific, e.g. ex-refugees, undocumented)
 9 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (disabilities/illness etc)
 10 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (LGBT)
 19 Other refugees/asylum seekers/etc.

Variable name **NATOBJ**
 Variable label ‘nationality of object’
 Value labels 1 Pakistan
 2 Sri Lanka
 3 Mali
 4 China
 5 Nigeria
 6 Ukraine
 7 Rwanda
 8 Colombia
 9 Iraq
 10 Vietnam
 11 Burundi
 12 Eritrea

- 13 Myanmar
- 14 Central African Republic
- 15 Congo, Dem. Rep.
- 16 Sudan
- 17 Somalia
- 18 South Sudan
- 19 Afghanistan
- 20 Syrian Arab Republic
- 21 Libya
- 22 Lebanon
- 23 Tunisia
- 24 Algeria
- 25 Egypt
- 26 Bangladesh
- 27 Morocco
- 28 Yemen
- 29 Ethiopia
- 30 Cyprus
- 39 Other

Variable name

POSIT

Variable label

'position of claim toward the object, i.e. refugees' (e.g. -1 walls, quota, general anti-immigrant rhetoric, attacks, protests; in +1 claims in favour, increase distribution, solidarity acts; 0 ambiguous claims e.g. reduce flow but increase help)

Value label

- 1 Anti-object
- 0 Neutral/ambivalent
- +1 Pro-object

Variable name

SECOBJ

Variable label

'secondary object of claim'

Value labels

string variable

Variable name

SSECOBJ

Variable label

'secondary object of claim'

Value labels

see SACTOR1

Variable name

SECPOSIT

Variable label

'position towards secondary object'

Value labels

- 1 Anti-object
- 0 Neutral/ambivalent
- +1 Pro-object

Variable name

SECOBNAT

Variable label

'Nationality of secondary object'

Value labels

- 1 'France'

- 2 'Germany'
- 3 'Greece'
- 4 'Italy'
- 5 'Poland'
- 6 'Denmark'
- 7 'Switzerland'
- 8 'United Kingdom'
- 9 'Spain'
- 10 'Portugal'
- 11 'Malta'
- 12 'Cyprus'
- 13 'Austria'
- 14 'Slovenia'
- 15 'Hungary'
- 16 'Romania'
- 17 'Bulgaria'
- 18 'Croatia'
- 19 'Czech Republic'
- 20 'Luxembourg'
- 21 'Netherlands'
- 22 'Belgium'
- 23 'Slovakia'
- 24 'Latvia'
- 25 'Estonia'
- 26 'Lithuania'
- 27 'Sweden'
- 28 'Finland'
- 29 'Ireland'
- 30 'Macedonia'
- 31 'Serbia'
- 32 'Turkey'
- 33 'Syria'
- 34 'Russia'
- 35 'US'
- 36 'Iraq'
- 37 'Lebanon'
- 38 'Afghanistan'
- 39 'Libya'
- 40 'Yemen'
- 41 'Morocco'
- 42 'Tunisia'
- 49 'Other'

SOLIDARITY FRAMES

These variables are used to code the framing of claims, i.e. the ways in which the claims are defined, evaluated, and interpreted by the actors. We are interested in the way solidarity towards refugees (or other countries/groups in the context of the refugee crisis) is granted or rejected and the way this is justified. We distinguish between three dimensions: 1) The basic underlying value on the basis of which solidarity is granted or rejected (affirmation or rejection of solidarity; directly connected to POSIT); 2) Who is potentially blamed for a certain behaviour in relation to the crisis; and 3) Who is potentially credited for a certain behaviour in relation to the crisis.

Variable name	VALUE
Variable label	'Underlying value (go back to the posit value before addressing the value. If posit is + the value supports refugees' and vice versa.
Value labels	No value (999)

Interest-based/utilitarian justifications (10)

The utilitarian claim results from an instrumental conception of rationality. The instrumental conception of rationality breeds efficiency-based justifications with reference to pragmatic problem solving. The typical problems-solving/interest justification can be identified when actors are referring to specific advantages and/or disadvantages of action being taken or fact based "necessity" is used for stating that action of abstinence from action is "imperative".

- 11 Political calculations (e.g. political tactics, distribution-issues)
- 12 Economic / cost-benefit calculations (e.g. social security-discussions, social dumping, use of refugees as labour force)
- 13 Efficiency / functionality (e.g. administration issues, refugee procedures)
- 14 Rule of law/security/protection of citizens
- 19 Other interest-based values

Rights-based justifications (2)

The claim denies/supports general or universal principles and 'results from a communicative conception of rationality'. This relates to de-contextualised fundamental rights, norms and fairness that apply to everyone. A rights-based justification entails an answer to the question: What is just/unjust or fair/unfair?. In these cases, we code to identify the universal principles invoked.

- 21 Human rights (include human rights, UN conventions)
- 22 Equality and non-discrimination (Example: You deserve because you are considered equal - gender, race, sexuality etc.)
- 23 Moral responsibility / Human bonding / philanthropy
- 24 Democracy (e.g. Democracy as a value that might be promoted)
- 25 Restriction of rights based on criteria of fairness or deservingness' (e.g. genuine vs. fake refugees)

29 Other right-based values

Identity-based justifications (3)

The issue is justified on the basis that it denies/supports who we are or what we do or what we want/expect. It is based on a 'contextual conception of rationality' bounded to a particular context. The issue is justified primarily through a collective self-understanding of being part of a particular community of values, that sets out a 'we' community, a 'we' feeling, a 'collective process of self-interpretation'. Posts using an identity-based justification will legitimise claims/action/arguments that extend beyond the need for 'will common problem-solving institutions to an ethics-based community'.

- 31 Nationality (obviously or explicitly mentioned; includes supra/inter nationality, patriotism, nationalism)
- 32 Religion
- 33 Race
- 34 Traditions specific to Europe/European countries
- 35 Gender
- 36 Ethnicity
- 37 Territory (e.g. cities, regions)
- 39 Other identity-based values

Desires: what we want for us in the future/ how we want to live, e.g. we want closed borders, to make our own laws, we want to be free, we want an equal society, a Christian society, an open, tolerant or diverse society, etc.

Variable name **SBLAMED**
 Variable label 'responsible actor (explicitly stated) blamed in the claim'
 Value labels See SACTOR1.

Variable name **SBLAMEDNAT**
 Variable label 'nationality of blamed actor'
 Value labels 1 'France'
 2 'Germany'
 3 'Greece'
 4 'Italy'
 5 'Poland'
 6 'Denmark'
 7 'Switzerland'
 8 'United Kingdom'
 9 'Spain'
 10 'Portugal'
 11 'Malta'
 12 'Cyprus'
 13 'Austria'
 14 'Slovenia'

- 15 'Hungary'
- 16 'Romania'
- 17 'Bulgaria'
- 18 'Croatia'
- 19 'Czech Republic'
- 20 'Luxembourg'
- 21 'Netherlands'
- 22 'Belgium'
- 23 'Slovakia'
- 24 'Latvia'
- 25 'Estonia'
- 26 'Lithuania'
- 27 'Sweden'
- 28 'Finland'
- 29 'Ireland'
- 30 'Macedonia'
- 31 'Serbia'
- 32 'Turkey'
- 33 'Syria'
- 34 'Russia'
- 35 'US'
- 36 'Iraq'
- 37 'Lebanon'
- 38 'Afghanistan'
- 39 'Libya'
- 40 'Yemen'
- 41 'Morocco'
- 42 'Tunisia'
- 49 'Other'

Variable name

BLAMEDSCOPE

Variable label

'scope of blamed actor'

Value labels

see ACTSCOPE1

Variable name

SCREDIT

Variable label

'responsible actor (explicitly stated) credited in the claim'

Value labels

See SACTOR1.

Variable name

SCREDITNAT

Variable label

'nationality of credited actor'

Value labels

- 1 'France'
- 2 'Germany'
- 3 'Greece'
- 4 'Italy'
- 5 'Poland'
- 6 'Denmark'
- 7 'Switzerland'

- 8 'United Kingdom'
- 9 'Spain'
- 10 'Portugal'
- 11 'Malta'
- 12 'Cyprus'
- 13 'Austria'
- 14 'Slovenia'
- 15 'Hungary'
- 16 'Romania'
- 17 'Bulgaria'
- 18 'Croatia'
- 19 'Czech Republic'
- 20 'Luxembourg'
- 21 'Netherlands'
- 22 'Belgium'
- 23 'Slovakia'
- 24 'Latvia'
- 25 'Estonia'
- 26 'Lithuania'
- 27 'Sweden'
- 28 'Finland'
- 29 'Ireland'
- 30 'Macedonia'
- 31 'Serbia'
- 32 'Turkey'
- 33 'Syria'
- 34 'Russia'
- 35 'US'
- 36 'Iraq'
- 37 'Lebanon'
- 38 'Afghanistan'
- 39 'Libya'
- 40 'Yemen'
- 41 'Morocco'
- 42 'Tunisia'
- 49 'Other'

Variable name

Variable label

Value labels

CREDITSCOPE

'scope of credited actor'

see ACTSCOPE1

3. Codebook of the User commenting Analysis

3.1. Coding instructions

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is the entire user comment, not single claims in it. Therefore, each comment can only be coded once. User comments are used as an indicator for political opinion formation and contestation in the context of public debates on solidarity towards refugees. Comments are thematically related to the topic of European solidarity through the main news article – either as a response to opinions expressed by political actors/journalists in the main news article or as response to opinions expressed by other user/commenters in the context of such debates or as an independent statement/opinion/expression of sentiments in the general context of these debates. The topic of these debates is confined to the refugee crisis. Comments do therefore not necessarily raise themselves issues of solidarity towards refugees. The degree to which users-commenters discuss our specific target groups as objects of solidarity varies and is open to investigation.

Please keep in mind the rules when evaluating the relevance of comments for coding:

Rules:

We should only code comments that are clear expressions of political opinion or a clear political statement, political information, or an attempt to inform or make a political recommendation. Usually (but not necessarily!) such comments take the form of a political claim, i.e. they have at least an identifiable issue and express an opinion towards our object of solidarity (refugees). In user comments, such opinions are often expressed in abbreviated forms and are not expressed as a full claim. For instance, the comment ‘poor child’ is considered as an opinion towards our object of solidarity (here a refugee child). We should not code any comments that are unrelated to political opinion formation or contestation. This regards comments, which are part of a general conversation between users without a political focus or comments that do not really have any substance to them. We should also ignore comments that ask for a clarification (‘can you explain this?’) or ask for information or requests (‘send me the link’) as well as comments that simply tag other Facebook users.

Sample

Time frame: from 1st to 30th of September 2015.

The time frame refers to posted articles, not to comments. We code comments that are reactions to articles that are posted during this time. In other words, the argument that a comment is not in our time frame is not relevant for this type of coding since all comments are made in relation to an article posted in September 2015.

An absolute number of 300 comments is coded per country divided per three newspapers. Each team should select the 5 most commented Facebook posts from each newspaper selected (=15 news articles). For each post, 20 comments are coded.

These 20 comments:

- have to be top comments, i.e. the ones that are NOT replies. Note please: Possibly, (i.e. depending on the Facebook page settings decided by the newspapers), you can see less top-comments on the Facebook page than shown in Netvizz. The reason is that top comments can be displayed as 'filtered' or 'unfiltered' on Facebook. For example, in the Danish sample, after replies have been filtered out in the Netvizz file, all unfiltered top-comments are displayed from the earliest top comment to the latest. Suggestion: Do not delete anything from the Netvizz files (e.g. replies) but work with the filter tool and cross-check on Facebook which top comment is which.
- have to be the 20 most liked top comments since our selection criterion is popularity

These possible differences in how the data are displayed require each team to see for themselves how Netvizz has collected and sorted the comments; thus making sure that the selection criteria (see bullet points above) are met.

Should the absolute number of user comments be below 20, additional posts need to be included in the sample in order to reach the number of 300 comments.

3.2. Variables: Overview and Variable Descriptions

The variables are divided into two main types: main article variables, and comment variables. The *main article variables* refer to the article that is linked in the newspaper's Facebook post. In order to understand the comments and to identify to which claims in the article they refer to (if they do), we need to identify the claims first. *Comment variables* refer to the coding of the actual comments below the posts with the articles.

For each claim retrieved, a number of variables are coded which can be divided in eight types. The first type corresponds to the identification of the claim in terms of coding. The remaining eight types correspond to a specific element of a claim (actor, form, issue, etc.). For each element, one or more variables are coded. Some of these variables are summaries of more detailed variables and therefore have an "s" as the first letter in their name.

The seven types of variables are the following:

Main article variables:

Variables: CODER, COUNTRY, FACEBOOK_NEWSPAPER, TITLE, IDART, DATA_OVERLAP

Comment variables:

- Identification of the comment (Who and when has coded the claim?)
Variables: CODER, COMMENT_DATE, DESCR_C, COMMENT_TYPE, IDCLAIM, POSIT_POST
- Issue(s) of the claim (What is the claim about?)
Variables: ISSUE1, ISSUESCOPE1, ISSUE2, ISSUESCOPE2
- Object(s) of the claim (Who is affected by the claim?)
Variables: OBJ_FILTER, OBJ, SOBJ, NATOBJ, POSIT, SECOBJ, SSEC OBJ, SECOBJNAT, SECPOSIT
- Addressee of the claim (At whom is the claim directed?)
Variables: ADR, SADR. ADRSCOPE, ADRNAT
- Forms of action:
Variables: CfACTION
- Framing of the claim (How is the claim defined and interpreted?)
Variables: SOL_FRAME, SBLAMED, SBLAMEDNAT, BLAMEDSCOPE, SCREDIT, SCREDITNAT, CREDITSCOPE

MAIN ARTICLE VARIABLES

The main article variables help to relate the comments to the posted articles because they identify the main articles. The analysis of these posted main articles follows the claims-making analysis.

Variable name **CODER**
Variable label 'Name of coder of comment'
Value labels string variable

Variable name **COUNTRY**
Variable label 'Country of newspaper'
Value labels 1 France
 2 Germany
 3 Greece
 4 Italy
 5 Poland
 6 Denmark
 7 Switzerland
 8 United Kingdom

Variable name **FACEBOOK_NEWSPAPER**
Variable label 'Newspaper/FB page in which the respective article (i.e. for comment) is posted'

Please note that (for all cases but the Swiss) numbers ending with 1 are used for the leftist/liberal newspaper, numbers ending with 2 for conservative newspapers, numbers ending with 3 for tabloids. Note that samples differ in some teams for claims-making coding and comments coding. Numbering is therefore in some cases not consecutive (e.g., in Germany: 21, 22, 24 since instead of Bild, we code the Spiegel here) to make data merging easier later on.

Value labels France (10)
 11 Le Monde
 12 Le Figaro
 13 Le Parisien

 Germany (20)
 21 Süddeutsche Zeitung
 22 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
 24 Spiegel

 Greece (30)
 31 Proto Thema
 32 Ta Nea
 33 Kathimerini

Italy (40)
 41 La Repubblica
 42 Corriere della Sera
 44 Libero Quotidiano

Poland (50)
 51 Gazeta Wyborcza
 52 Rzeczpospolita
 54 Fakt

Denmark (60)
 61 Politiken
 62 Jyllandsposten
 64 BT

Switzerland (70)
 72 Le Matin
 73 Le Temps
 74 Neue Zürcher Zeitung
 75 Tages Anzeiger
 76 Blick

United Kingdom (80)
 81 The Guardian
 82 The Telegraph
 83 The Express

Variable name **TITLE**
 Variable label 'Title of posted article in original language (copy/paste)'
 Value labels string variable

Variable name **IDART**
 Variable label 'Identification number of article (i.e. post) to which the comment re-
 sponds'

Variable **DATA_OVERLAP**
 Variable label: Overlap in samples (FB posted articles and print articles)
 That is, is there an overlap in data samples claims-making and data user comments in the time
 from September 1-30, 2015?
 Value labels:
 0 No
 1 Yes

COMMENT VARIABLES

Identification and location of comments

These variables are used to identify the comments in terms of coding and locate them in time and space.

Variable name	COMMENT_DATE
Variable label	'Date comment was posted on Facebook (see Netvizz data)'
Value label	8-digit code

Variable name	DESCR_C
Variable label	'Description of comment'
Value labels	string variable

This variable should give a brief description, in English, of the comment containing at least the ISSUE and OBJ variables, as well as others if applicable. The length of this variable is flexible and will be decided at the country-level.

Variable name	COMMENT_TYPE
Variable label	'What type of comment is it?'
Value labels	
	1 Response to general issue in main article
	2 Response to claim raised in main article
	3 Independent statement, opinion

To 1: Comment has to explicitly discuss opinions or issues brought up in the main, i.e. posted article.

To 2: Comment has to explicitly discuss a claim in the article that you coded before. For example, comments respond to claims raised in main article if they refer explicitly to the actor or content of a previously coded claim in an affirmative or negative way (agree-disagree). As these claims are generally identifiable and have been previously coded, we code the claim-reference.

To 3: Comment makes a statement referring to the broader debate of the refugee crisis, however, not to exact issues/claims in the posted article

Variable name	IDCLAIM
Variable label	'Reference to claim in the article'

If comment responds to *claim* coded in the main article (only if COMMENT_TYPE=2), fill in claim identification number.

Value labels Claim identification number

Variable name **POSIT_POST**
 Variable label 'Position of commenter towards the posted(main) article/claim in the posted article - in case comment is response to article or claim in posted article' (Code only for COMMENT_TYPE = 1 or 2).

Depending on what you coded in COMMENT_TYPE, this variable relates to the position towards the article as such or a claim made in the article. In case it is both, go for the most specific, i.e., the claim.

Value labels

1	'affirmative/supportive'
0	'neutral/ambivalent'
-1	'negative/opposing'

ISSUES

These variables are used to code the issues raised in comments, i.e. their substantive content. This is the topic that is raised by the statement, around which a particular opinion is raised, information is provided or a claim is raised

Variable name **ISSUE1**
 Variable label 'Main issue or, if unclear, first mentioned issue of the comment'

Value labels:

999	No main /first issue or not identifiable
-----	--

Policies directed at the political 'management' of migration (Migration Management 10)

101	Border management/policies (e.g., border control, securing of borders, fence-building, FRONTEX, Schengen borders, ...)
102	Asylum policies (e.g., increasing intake of refugees refugee protection and/or procedures, registration, internal control, granting of status, secure home countries, deportation, ...)
103	Accommodation of refugees (e.g., managing the influx, administrative capacities, housing infrastructure, etc.)
104	Budgetary issues (aid budget)

- 105 Human rights or basic principles of refugee protection (e.g. national constitutional issues, or international human rights conventions)
- 106 Distribution and relocation of refugees within the country (national/sub-national distribution)
- 107 Distribution and relocation of refugees outside the country (e.g. inter-state agreement, EU quota system)
- 108 Policies of or cooperation with countries not taking part in EU coordination policies regarding a tackling of crisis (e.g., deal with Turkey, migration prevention in countries of origin, etc.)
- 109 Other issues pertaining to the political 'management'/political governance

Policies directed at the integration of refugees (Integration 20)

- 201 Health policies (e.g., access to health care, medical expenses, medical liability, fraud and abuse, prevention and health promotion, nutrition, illnesses, home care)
- 202 Labour and employment policies (e.g., access to labour market, employment relations, trade unions representation, youth employment)
- 203 Education and cultural policies (e.g., access to school, vocational training and higher education, skills and qualification levels, special education programs)
- 204 Social policies (e.g., access to social benefits such as health insurance, employment benefits, vocational training, social services)
- 205 Rights, civil liberties, anti-discrimination policies (e.g., policies directed at minimizing group discrimination, promotion of group related rights, inclusion and participation such as voting rights, freedom of speech, privacy and data autonomy)
- 206 Law and order, security and defense policies (e.g., policies to fight organized crime, illegal drug production, prostitution or trafficking, abuse of social benefits)
- 207 Urban and regional development, transportation (e.g., urban housing, real estate market, transport infrastructure, economic development of rural areas)
- 208 Government and public administration (reform) policies (e.g., relationship between national and sub-national administrations, and between executive branches, inefficiency/failure of public administration in successful integration)
- 209 Other public integration related policies

Issues pertaining to the background, the situation and the fate of refugees (30)

- 301 Personal background/story of refugees (family situation, occupation in home country)
- 302 Journey of refugees (including stories on crossing the sea)

- 303 The causes of the fight and / or the refugee crisis (war, persecution, etc.)
- 304 Human Trafficking/refugee smugglers
- 305 Inhumane conditions/emergency (e.g. descriptive accounts of conditions of camps, also along refugee routes, e.g.: situation at Keleti train station in Budapest)
- 306 Violence towards refugees (e.g., arson, destruction of housing, etc.)
- 307 Violence by refugees (e.g., New Year's attacks in Cologne, etc.)
- 308 Voluntary return of refugees
- 309 Other issues pertaining to the background, the situation and the fate of refugees

Issues pertaining to the problems associated to the refugee influx/crisis (40)

- 401 Economic consequences of refugee crisis (e.g. labour market)
- 402 Political consequences (e.g., populism, instability, limits of administrative capacities)
- 403 Problems of internal security (e.g., sexually motivated violence, attacks against/by refugees, terrorist attacks, ...)
- 404 Religious in/compatibilities (emphasis on Islam/Muslims, Christianity, ...)
- 405 Societal/cultural in/compatibilities (emphasis on origin, culture, traditions, way of life, status of women, etc.)
- 406 Social segregation and disintegration
- 409 Other issues pertaining to the problems associated to the refugee influx/crisis

Issues related to public and civic activities/initiatives beyond Political Governance (50)

- 501 Volunteering during the crisis (including (difficulties of) organization of voluntary work and, e.g., clothes donations)
- 502 Financial aid (e.g., private/corporate donations, fundraising)
- 503 Meeting basic needs (housing, food, health, language acquisition)
- 504 Political activism/demonstrations against refugees
- 505 political participation on behalf or by refugees (e.g., refugees demonstrating, refugees as political activists)
- 506 Media behavior (e.g., biased discourse, lying press, etc.)
- 507 General political climate/public discourse reg. refugee crisis
- 509 Other issues related to public and civic activities/initiatives beyond Political Governance

Other Issues (60)

Variable name

ISSUESCOPE1

Variable label

'Scope of main/first issue of the comment'; if more than one level applicable, take the higher level.

Value labels	1	Global (e.g. UNHCR)
	2	Supranational (e.g. EU)
	3	Transnational (e.g. smuggling, human trafficking, etc.)
	4	Multilateral (intra-European)
	5	Multilateral (EU-non EU)
	6	National
	7	Regional
	8	Local
	9	Unknown/unclassifiable

Variable name	ISSUE2
Variable label	'Second mentioned issue of the comment'
Value labels	See ISSUE1

Variable name	ISSUESCOPE2
Variable label	'Scope of second issue of the comment'; if more than one level applicable, take the higher level.
Value labels	See ISSUESCOPE1

OBJECTS

This variable is used if the comment identifies an object of solidarity. Comments which identify objects of solidarity take the form of a claim (actions to be taken in support/opposition of solidarity) and/or express an opinion about the deservingness of the object of solidarity. Objects are not defined in a grammatical sense as objects in a sentence, but in an interpretive sense as 'objects of solidarity'. As such we focus on refugees as pre-defined objects. (See also claims-making codebook for details about OBJ variables.)

Comments are often incomplete and the information about solidarity needs to be extrapolated, e.g. 'these people are not really refugees but want jobs'(...and therefore do not deserve our solidarity). In many (maybe even the majority of) comments, objects of solidarity are not identifiable. We therefore use 'object' as a filter variable for identifying solidarity related comments. If OBJ_FILTER is coded '0=No', stop coding the comment here and move to the next.

The following variables are therefore used to code the main object of the entire comment, i.e. the specific actor whose interests are affected by the claims. These primary object actors are narrowly defined by the issue fields in our analysis, i.e. refugees need to be the primary objects (They can be implicitly acknowledged).

The POSIT (and SECPOSIT) variable is a general indicator of the position/point of view/stance of the commenter/claimant with regard to the rights, position and evaluation of the object, i.e. refugees, (and, conversely, of those who mobilize against them). These can often take the form of claims for support which can be either affirmative: they consist in granting support (often based on justifications of deservingness). Or they are negative: they consist in withdrawing support (often based on justifications of lack of deservingness). For example, claims in which the desire for limiting the rights of refugees is expressed receive code -1, no matter if the limitation is minor or large. All claims in which the desire for an improvement of the rights and position of refugees (minor or major) receive code +1. In some cases, the position can be unclear/ambivalent or object actors of solidarity are discussed from a neutral position.

Variable name **OBJ_FILTER**
 Variable label ‘Filter for object of comment, i.e. are refugees the OBJ?’

The variable OBJ_FILTER indicates whether the comment consists of a claim, i.e. refers to refugees as OBJ, and can be coded further or not.

Value labels 1 yes
 0 no

Please note

- that OBJ filter needs to be Yes, if the OBJ is implicitly acknowledged. This may mean that the SECOBJ then is the actual object of solidarity here, but as soon as there is either OBJ or SECOBJ coded, then OBJ Filter is yes (because SECOBJ presupposes that OBJ is coded at least as ‘implicitly acknowledged’)
- If OBJ Filter is coded no, there are NO FURTHER variables coded. So as soon as you code SECOBJ or ADR or whatever comes after OBJ Filter in the codebook, OBJ Filter needs to be coded yes. In other words, If OBJ_FILTER coded ‘no’, move to the next comment.

Variable name **OBJ**
 Variable label ‘Object of claim in comment’
 Value labels string variable

Variable name **SOBJ**
 Variable label ‘Object of claim in comment’
 Value labels

0	Refugees (implicitly acknowledged)
1	Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (general reference)
2	Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (families)
3	Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (women)

- 4 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (men)
- 5 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (children)
- 6 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (young people)
- 7 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (old people)
- 8 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (migrant-specific, e.g. ex-refugees, undocumented, Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge)
- 9 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (disabilities/illness etc)
- 10 Refugees/asylum seekers/etc. (LGBT)
- 19 Other refugees/asylum seekers/etc.

Variable name

NATOBJ

Variable label

'Nationality of object'

Value labels

- 2 Pakistan
- 2 Sri Lanka
- 3 Mali
- 4 China
- 5 Nigeria
- 6 Ukraine
- 7 Rwanda
- 8 Colombia
- 9 Iraq
- 10 Vietnam
- 11 Burundi
- 12 Eritrea
- 13 Myanmar
- 14 Central African Republic
- 15 Congo, Dem. Rep.
- 16 Sudan
- 17 Somalia
- 18 South Sudan
- 19 Afghanistan
- 20 Syrian Arab Republic
- 21 Libya
- 22 Lebanon
- 23 Tunisia
- 24 Algeria
- 25 Egypt
- 26 Bangladesh
- 27 Morocco
- 28 Yemen
- 29 Ethiopia
- 30 Cyprus
- 39 Other

Variable name **POSIT**
Variable label 'Position of claim in comment toward the object, i.e. refugees' (e.g. -1 walls, quota, general anti-immigrant rhetoric, attacks, protests; in +1 claims in favour, increase distribution, solidarity acts; 0 ambiguous claims e.g. reduce flow but increase help)

Value labels

-1	'Anti-object'
0	'Neutral/ambivalent'
+1	'Pro-object'

Variable name **SECOBJ**
Variable label 'Secondary object of claim in comment'
Value labels string variable

Variable name **SSECOBJ**
Variable label 'Summary of secondary object of claim in comment'

The secondary object is not simply a second object: It is an object – NOT refugees – with which someone expresses solidarity in the refugee crisis. It may therefore actually be more present in the claim that the refugees themselves (which is why we have the category 0= implicitly acknowledged). A typical example: We have to help Greece in this grave refugee crisis.

Value labels 999 No secondary object

State actors (10)

11	Government/executive/state representative
12	Parliament/legislative
13	Courts/judiciary
14	Police and other security/military forces
15	State executive agencies (general)
16	Welfare/social security agencies
17	Migration and asylum agencies

Political parties (20)

21	Political parties
22	Individual politicians'

Professional organizations and groups (30)

31	Economic actors/markets
32	Private companies

- 33 Employers' organizations
- 34 Media and journalists
- 35 Research institutes and think tanks (incl. individual experts)
- 36 Cooperatives/ social economy enterprises (economic function)
- 39 Other professional organizations and groups

Labor organizations and groups (40)

- 41 Unions
- 42 Workers and employees' (unorganized)
- 49 Other labor-related organizations

Group-specific organizations and groups (50)

- 51 Women organizations (incl. unorganized groups)
- 52 Migrants and minority organizations (incl. unorganized groups, but not dealing specifically with asylum)
- 53 Unemployed organizations (incl. unorganized groups)
- 54 Disabled organizations (incl. unorganized groups)
- 55 Youth organizations (incl. unorganized groups)
- 56,1 Refugees/migrants (individuals)
- 56,2 Refugees/migrants (in general and as groups)
- 56,3 Illegal or irregular immigrants
- 56,4 People/refugee smugglers
- 57,1 Refugee-crisis informal initiatives supporting refugees (e.g. ad hoc citizen groups)
- 57,2 Refugee-crisis informal initiatives against refugees
- 58,1 Refugee-crisis formal initiatives supporting refugees (e.g. NGOs)
- 58,2 Refugee-crisis formal initiatives against refugees (e.g. NGOs)
- 59 Other group-specific organizations

Civil society and human rights organizations (60)

- 61 Welfare movements and organizations
- 62 Charity groups and networks (more general groups / NGOs and foundations)
- 63 Cooperatives and social economy enterprises (social function)
- 69 Other solidarity, human rights and welfare organizations

Advocacy and policy-oriented groups (70)

- 71 Extreme-right organizations and groups
- 71.5 Single issue coalition (right, centre-right)
- 72 Radical left organizations and groups
- 72.5 Single issue coalition (left, centre-left)
- 73 Citizens' initiatives
- 74 Religious-based groups (e.g. churches, the Pope, Ökumene)
- 75 Terrorist groups
- 76 Ethnic and religious terrorist groups
- 77 Peace movements and organizations

- 78 Anti-racist movements and organizations
- 79 Other civil society organizations

Other actors (80)

- 81 People/citizens (includes reference to local citizens, etc.)
- 82 The elite
- 83 Single pro-migrant activist
- 84 Single anti-migrant activist
- 85 Celebrities (actors, sport people, musicians etc.)

Supranational actors (EU and UN) (90)

- 91 EU Commission
- 92 EU Parliament
- 93 Council of the EU
- 94 ECJ
- 95 Other EU bodies
- 96 UN/UNHCR
- 97 Europe/Europeans
- 98 EU
- 99 Other supranational actors

Specific countries (100)

- 101 'France'
- 102 'Germany'
- 103 'Greece'
- 104 'Italy'
- 105 'Poland'
- 106 'Denmark'
- 107 'Switzerland'
- 108 'United Kingdom'
- 109 'Spain'
- 110 'Portugal'
- 111 'Malta'
- 112 'Cyprus'
- 113 'Austria'
- 114 'Slovenia'
- 115 'Hungary'
- 116 'Romania'
- 117 'Bulgaria'
- 118 'Croatia'
- 119 'Czech Republic'
- 120 'Luxembourg'
- 121 'Netherlands'
- 122 'Belgium'
- 123 'Slovakia'
- 124 'Latvia'
- 125 'Estonia'

126	'Lithuania'
127	'Sweden'
128	'Finland'
129	'Ireland'
130	'Macedonia'
131	'Serbia'
132	'Turkey'
133	'Syria'
134	'Russia'
135	'US'
136	'Iraq'
137	'Lebanon'
138	'Afghanistan'
139	'Libya'
140	'Yemen'
141	'Morocco'
142	'Tunisia'
148	EU member state(s) (any/some/all of them)
149	'Other'
199	'Unknown/unspecified'

Variable name **SECOBJNAT**
Variable label 'Nationality of addressee' (if explicitly stated)

Value labels	1	'France'
	2	'Germany'
	3	'Greece'
	4	'Italy'
	5	'Poland'
	6	'Denmark'
	7	'Switzerland'
	8	'United Kingdom'
	9	'Spain'
	10	'Portugal'
	11	'Malta'
	12	'Cyprus'
	13	'Austria'
	14	'Slovenia'
	15	'Hungary'
	16	'Romania'
	17	'Bulgaria'
	18	'Croatia'
	19	'Czech Republic'
	20	'Luxembourg'
	21	'Netherlands'
	22	'Belgium'

- 23 'Slovakia'
- 24 'Latvia'
- 25 'Estonia'
- 26 'Lithuania'
- 27 'Sweden'
- 28 'Finland'
- 29 'Ireland'
- 30 'Macedonia'
- 31 'Serbia'
- 32 'Turkey'
- 33 'Syria'
- 34 'Russia'
- 35 'US'
- 36 'Iraq'
- 37 'Lebanon'
- 38 'Afghanistan'
- 39 'Libya'
- 40 'Yemen'
- 41 'Morocco'
- 42 'Tunisia'
- 49 'Other'

Variable name

SECPOSIT

Variable label

'Position of claim in comment toward the secondary object'

Value labels

- 999 no SECOBJ
- 1 'Anti-object'
- 0 'Neutral/ambivalent'
- +1 'Pro-object'

ADDRESSEES

These variables are used if commenters address other actors in their comments. In this case, the comment takes the form of a claim, in which *particular actors are addressed with a demand to do something*. The addressee is the main actor who is held *explicitly* responsible for acting with regard to the claim or at whom the claim is *explicitly* addressed as a call to act. If there is more than one addressee the following priority rules apply: (1) organizations or institutions (or their representatives) have priority over unorganized collectivities or groups; (2) state actors have priority over non-state actors. If these rules do not allow a decision, use the order in which the addressees are mentioned, unless it is possible to find a priority according to other information in the article.

How to differentiate between the OBJ and the ADR:

- Object is a passive object of solidarity: Someone expresses solidarity with refugees or not; that means they do, per se, not play an active role in the claim.
- Addressee, in contrast, is more active in the sense that he/she is explicitly targeted and called upon for action or refraining from sth.
- Sometimes ADR and OBJ may be the same!

How to differentiate between the BLAMED/CREDITED ACTOR and the ADR:

- Blamed/Credited is coded when there is an attribution of responsibility or an evaluation of an actor's behavior/actions: Someone has messed sth up or has done a really good job. Often, blamed and credited actors will appear in the same claim and be directly compared to each other. An example: Britain does a really poor job in this refugee crisis, the government could at least be as generous as Germany.
- Addressee can be an actor simply called upon to do something without blaming/crediting him or her. Also, an actor can be blamed but not asked to do something. This is why we have both types of variables.
- Sometimes they will be the same!

Variable name	ADR
Variable label	'Addressee'
Value labels	string variable

Variable name	SADR
Variable label	'Summary addressee'
Value labels	
	999 'no addressee'
 see SSECOBJ (also SACTOR in article claims-making codebook)

Variable name	ADRSCOPE
Variable label	'Scope addressee'
Value labels	1 Global (e.g. UNHCR) 2 Supranational (EU) 3 Transnational (e.g. smuggling, human trafficking, etc.) 4 Multilateral (intra-European) 5 Multilateral (EU-non EU) 6 National 7 Regional 8 Local 9 Unknown/unclassifiable

Variable name	ADR NAT
Variable label	'Nationality of addressee' (if explicitly stated)
Value labels	1 'France' 2 'Germany' 3 'Greece' 4 'Italy' 5 'Poland' 6 'Denmark' 7 'Switzerland' 8 'United Kingdom' 9 'Spain' 10 'Portugal' 11 'Malta' 12 'Cyprus' 13 'Austria' 14 'Slovenia' 15 'Hungary' 16 'Romania' 17 'Bulgaria' 18 'Croatia' 19 'Czech Republic' 20 'Luxembourg' 21 'Netherlands' 22 'Belgium' 23 'Slovakia' 24 'Latvia' 25 'Estonia' 26 'Lithuania' 27 'Sweden' 28 'Finland' 29 'Ireland'

30	'Macedonia'
31	'Serbia'
32	'Turkey'
33	'Syria'
34	'Russia'
35	'US'
36	'Iraq'
37	'Lebanon'
38	'Afghanistan'
39	'Libya'
40	'Yemen'
41	'Morocco'
42	'Tunisia'
49	'Other'

CALLS FOR ACTION

This variable is used if the comment takes the form of a claim that calls for action. If there is more than one call for action, the following priority rules apply: (1) political decisions have priority over the other forms; (2) solidarity action has priority over protest actions, solidarity and protest action have priority over online mobilization (e.g. if a Facebook event refers to a march, code demonstrative actions); (3) among protest actions, the more radical ones have priority over moderate ones. If these rules do not allow a decision, use the order in which the forms are mentioned, unless it is possible to find a priority according to other information in the article.

Please note: Values 2-8 work in the same way as values 20-80 in the Claims-making CB, var 'Forms of Action'. Except for references to new/social media, which should be specifically coded under value 9 'Cf online mobilization', examples can be taken from there.

Variable name	CfAction
Variable label	'Call for Action in comment and which type'
Value labels	
	999 No CfA
1	Cf policy/legal action or decision (e.g. 'Politicians/our government have to do xyz'; 'We need a new/stricter law/modify the law' etc.)
2	Cf direct solidarity (support/assistance/help) actions
3	Cf humanitarian aid mobilization
4	Cf violent protest actions
5	Cf confrontational protest actions

- 6 Cf demonstrative protest actions
- 7 Cf conventional protest actions
- 8 Cf repressive measures
- 9 Cf online mobilization (e.g. links to FB events, campaigns, online petitions, etc)
- 19 Cf other

Please note:

- If there is a call for action coded, you should find vocabulary in the comment such as: ‘should do..., needs to be done, has to change, or let’s do this or that’.
- If the government is called upon for action, it is normally 1= Call for legal/policy action
- Sometimes there can be a diagnosis of the situation (‘this is really bad’) without an explicit call for action. Please do not code call for action in such cases.

SOLIDARITY FRAMES

Keep in mind that the frame is a central organizing idea and to frame is to select some aspect of perceived reality and make it more salient in communicating text than other aspects.

These variables are used to code the framing of comments, i.e. the ways in which the commenters define, evaluate, and interpret solidarity. We are interested in the way solidarity towards refugees in the context of the refugee crisis is granted or rejected and the way such support/rejection of support is justified. We focus on two aspects: 1) The basic underlying justification or frame on the basis of which solidarity is granted or rejected (affirmation or rejection of solidarity, including attributions of responsibility referring to a diagnosis of the causes of the refugee crisis (war, unemployment, precariousness, etc.); 2) and the actors/institutions held responsible.

Please note:

- If the claim in the comment consists of more than one ISSUE, we code SOL_FRAME for ISSUE1 (i.e. the main issue or first mentioned, see also claims-making rules).
- The value list can be understood in terms of affirmation as well as rejection of solidarity.

Variable name SOL_FRAME
Variable label ‘If applicable, what is the justification/frame for ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to solidarity?’

Value labels:

- 999 No frame

- 1 Human rights (e.g. 'We need to protect human lives and provide humanitarian assistance'; 'We cannot protect/help everyone', etc.)
- 2 Religious/spiritual reasons (e.g. 'No matter what religion, we need to help; 'XYZ-religion is a religion that helps'; 'Our religion is XXX, this is why refugees don't fit', etc.)
- 3 Historical reasons (e.g. 'Due to our past, we need to help; we've always been a country that is open to foreigners'; 'Our country has suffered so much which is why we should not/cannot help'; 'We've done enough already' etc)
- 4 Political capacities (e.g. 'Our politicians/our political system is/are incompetent, corrupt, not able to handle the situation'; 'Our political system is good enough to handle this/our democracy is strong to handle this', etc)
- 5 Social/economic capacities (e.g. bureaucracies overburdened/capable, (not) enough resources, 'Integration of refugees is too difficult/possible bc we are a small/big country, (not) enough jobs/places in schools etc)
- 6 Instrumentality (assessing the 'use' of refugees for 'our' society) (e.g. we have (no) need for labour, diversity, demographic balance)
- 7 Welfare chauvinism (e.g. 'We need to help our people first'; 'What about our school kids, our elderly, our unemployed?' 'Why do we only look after ourselves?', etc)
- 8 Law and order/security ('We will have security problems'; 'We won't be able to feel safe'; 'If police staff knows how to deal with this, we can do this', etc)
- 9 'Migrant/refugee behaviour' (e.g. 'They *behave* inappropriately; They don't want to integrate; they only want our money and welfare; they are criminals'; 'They can learn how to live here'; 'Those, who are willing to accept our rules and laws are welcome', etc)
- 10 'Religious/cultural in-compatibility' (e.g. 'Muslims/Islam can(-not) integrate into our society', 'Their religious backgrounds make it hard for them to live here', etc)
- 11 Legal/cultural status (Differences between 'real and bogus refugees', e.g. 'They are not real refugees', 'They are the rich among the refugees, otherwise they couldn't afford the traffickers', 'The educated refugees are in real need' etc.)
- 12 Humanitarian crisis (e.g. 'They have lived /have not lived through war, which is why we need to help/should not help' etc.)

Variable name

SBLAMED

Variable label

'responsible actor (explicitly stated) blamed in the claim'

Value labels

See SSECOBJ (see also SACTOR in claims-making codebook).

Variable name **SBLAMEDNAT**
Variable label 'Nationality of blamed actor'
Value labels see SECOBJNAT

Variable name **BLAMEDSCOPE**
Variable label 'Scope of blamed actor'
Value labels 999 no BLAMEDSCOPE

- 1 Global (e.g. UNHCR)
- 2 Supranational (EU)
- 3 Transnational
- 4 Multilateral (intra-European)
- 5 Multilateral (EU-non EU)
- 6 National
- 7 Regional
- 8 Local
- 9 Unknown/unclassifiable

Variable name **SCREDIT**
Variable label 'Responsible actor (explicitly stated) credited in the claim'
Value labels See SSECOBJ (see also SACTOR in claims-making codebook).

Variable name **SCREDITNAT**
Variable label 'Nationality of credited actor'
Value labels see SECOBJNAT

Variable name **CREDITSCOPE**
Variable label 'Scope of credited actor'
Value labels see BLAMEDSCOPE