Codebook for
Discursive Actor Attribution Analysis [1|2|3]

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ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗ ΕΝΩΣΗ
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑΚΗΣ ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΗΣ
ΑΝΤΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ΕΠΑΝ ΙΙ
η περιφέρεια στο επίκεντρο της ανάπτυξης
ΕΣΠΑ 2007-2013
Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων, Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού
ΓΓΕΤ – ΕΥΔΕ-ΕΤΑΚ
Ε. Π. Ανταγωνιστικότητα και Επιχειρηματικότητα (ΕΠΑΝ ΙΙ), ΠΕΠ Μακεδονίας – Θράκης, ΠΕΠ Κρήτης και Νήσων Αιγαίου, ΠΕΠ Θεσσαλίας – Στερεάς Ελλάδας – Ηπείρου, ΠΕΠ Αττικής

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[1] This codebook profits from codebooks of former projects. Primarily it is based on two sources: a) the codebook of the project "the public attribution of responsibility in EU politics" by Jürgen Gerhards, Jochen Roose, and Anke Offerhaus (see also Gerhards/Offerhaus/Roose 2007) in its translation by Katrin A. Hasler and Anna Christmann for the project "Responsibility Attributions in Multilevel Policy News" and b) the codebook of the EURISLAM project by Marco Giugni and collaborators which is in itself based on the codebook for political claims making analysis in the MERCI project by Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham (see also Koopmans/Statham 1999). In the codebook we refrain from explicitly marking each passage which is taken from one of these sources. The authors are very thankful for this support.

[2] For the coding process, the variables listed in this codebook were integrated into a coding interface. For the programming of the interface angrist.ggcrisi, we want to thank Martin Wettstein from the University of Zurich for his great support! Due to some technical issues such as the integration of filter variables, the order of variables in the tool and that one in this codebook slightly vary.

[3] This codebook is primarily designed for the initial sampling period of the project from 2009 – 2013. Thanks to a further extension of the project, this sampling period was later extended to 2016.

Contents (short)

1. Concept of Discursive Actor Attribution Analysis

1.1 Conceptual Reasoning[4]

Attributing responsibility in the sense of moral responsibility, accountability, blame or shame, is a social process. As everything has multiple necessary conditions, i.e. causes, highlighting a specific (group of) actor(s) is always a choice which could be different in principle. Responsibility is constructed within society as well as in the public sphere.
The approach of discursive actor attribution analysis aims at a standardized content analysis focusing on public interpretation processes in which actors relate phenomena to actors in the sense of attribution. The unit of analysis in this approach is the actor attribution. The actor attribution is the reconstructed answer to the question: "Who is made responsible by whom for what?" The actor attribution constitutes the social construction of a relation between two actors and an issue in the form of one actor ascribing another actor the responsibility for something. The actor attribution is based on the attribution trias: sending actor (sender) – issue – addressed actor (addressee). This responsibility can occur in various forms (see below for details).

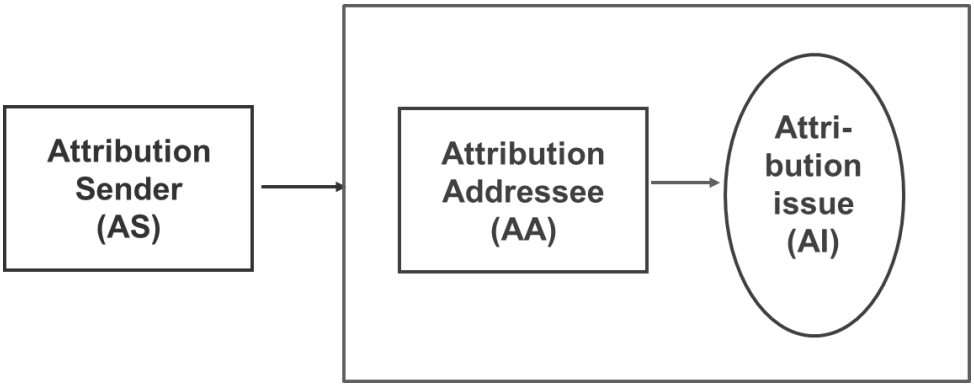

Figure 1: Attribution Trias

Actor attribution occurs permanently in social reality and in reporting on this reality. All witnessed action can be regarded as an actor attribution: as soon as a spectator (sender) sees/reports the action of an actor (addressee) with a result (issue), we would have an actor attribution. Also, in societies we have in many cases a clear understanding of who (addressee) is in charge of doing what (issue). Mentioning (sender) such by and large consensual responsibilities, regardless whether they are based in law or cultural rules, would again constitute an actor attribution. However, the discursive actor attribution approach is more limited because it only relates to discursive incidents of actor attribution. That means the subject of analysis are only instances of actor attribution in which the issue or addressee are evaluated and often (but not always) discussed with arguments. The discursive actor attribution analysis is therefore limited to those cases in which the attribution becomes the

[4] This part situates the discursive actor attribution analysis in the wider spectrum of content analysis approaches in the area of contentious politics and beyond. Accordingly, we refer to a number of other approaches which are not explained but only touched. An understanding of this background is not crucial for the application of the coding procedure.

issue of a debate.[5] It focuses on the public presentation and exchange of interpretations and attributions in cases where the attribution is not taken for granted.

The discursive actor attribution analysis offers in particular three directions of analysis. First, it allows a reconstruction of the patterns of attribution behaviour (see e.g. Gerhards/Offerhaus/ Roose 2009). Second, it allows the analysis of the reasons for attribution actors refer to. Third, it is possible to analyse the form with which the senders introduce their attribution into the public debate.

With these three directions of analysis the approach of discursive actor attribution analysis relates to and amalgamates three related approaches. It refers to attribution analysis as the relationship between responsible and/or accountable actors and issues (see Gerhards/ Offerhaus/Roose 2007, 2009). However, it extends this research by including more dimensions, especially the form and the reasons. It relates to protest event analysis, established in social movement research (see e.g. Rucht/Koopmans 1998). Protest event analysis focuses on the form that claims are presented in the public (Koopmans/Rucht 2002: 235). The discursive actor attribution analysis is, as the political claims analysis, more inclusive in the forms in which an interpretation is presented to the public. Also routine public statements of institutionalized actors are included. Finally, it relates to frame analysis. This applies to frame analysis in the wider sense (see Chong/Druckman 2007, Scheufele 1999) as patterns of reasons are analysed. It refers also to the frame analysis of social movement research as the concepts of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames (Snow/Benford 1988) are specified in the perspective on attributions. Accordingly, it has a close connection to the analysis of political claims making (Koopmans/Statham 1999) as this approach is an amalgamation of protest event research and frame analysis. However, while the analysis of political claims making is more closely related to protest event research with the (of course important!) amendment of reasons and arguments and the extension of forms, the discursive actor attribution approach is more closely related to frame analysis. At the core of the analysis are interpretations of reality in respect to relations between actors and issues. Therefore, the analysis is not limited to claims, i.e. to calls that an actor should act in a specified way. This is only one kind of actor-issue-relation which enters the discursive actor attribution analysis. Another kind of attribution to be analysed is the interpretation of an actor causing a result. This interpretation does not necessarily result directly in demands for specific action. Rather as such it constitutes a diagnostic interpretation of the situation, and contributes to what has been introduced as a diagnostic frame (Snow/Benford 1988). The discursive actor attribution approach, however, includes a detailed look at the forms how arguments are introduced in the public debate. In this respect it takes up the advantages of protest event research which have also become part of political claims making analysis. Though the differences may seem gradual they affect the coding procedure considerably.

The discursive actor attribution approach remains in the realm of actor centred approaches with the aim to investigate strategic action. In this respect it deviates from other approaches in discourse analysis where the discursive arena is regarded as a social reality *sui generis* which can (and should and actually is) analysed without direct relation to actors contributing to the discourse (Keller et al. 2010, 2011 for an overview in German). Instead the discursive actor attribution analysis focuses on actors and their behaviour rather than the content of the discourse as a whole.

[5] This means that we focus on the most interesting actor attributions, i.e. incidences when attribution of responsibility is negotiated in society.

1.2 Structure of Coding

The codebook is designed for the analysis of texts, primarily newspaper articles and blog texts but will also be adapted to more static website texts and other material. We call these various types of texts "articles" though keeping in mind that this term is not equally adequate for all kinds of material. The codebook is developed for the project GGCRISI, analysing the public attribution of responsibility in the context of the Eurozone crisis.
Coding rules are applied to three levels: 1. the article (newspaper article or other kind of outlet), 2. events reported in the article, and 3. the actor attributions which are usually embedded within an event.[6] All actor attributions are embedded in one article but they do not need to be fully spelled out in one sentence of one paragraph; the information pieces may be scattered all over the article and need to be tied together by the coder. Therefore, the coding of actor attributions requires a full understanding of the text including the controlled application of context knowledge.
Coding on the article level is mainly technical. The core of the analysis and the more complex coding scheme is applied to the actor attributions. For both, the event level and the actor attribution level, coding rules are spelled out separately. For coding rules on the article level see section 4; for coding rules on the events see section 5; for coding rules on the actor attribution level see section 6.

1.3 Actor Attributions as Units of Analysis

The unit of analysis is an actor attribution which is embedded within an event during which it was made public and embedded within an article reporting this actor attribution. An actor attribution is, as mentioned above (section 1.1), the reconstructed answer to the question: "Who is made responsible by whom for what?"
The analysis focuses on the presentation of actors' views in the public which refer in some sense to the Eurozone crisis.[7] We look at content which is directly related to identifiable actors. Those actors may be individuals; they can also be collective actors (see section 6.2 and 6.3 for details). The most straight-forward instance is a direct quote but also more indirect forms of presentation may allow identifying the interpretation of a specific actor as it is presented in the public.
An actor attribution is the combination of six elements, three core elements and three additional elements.

1. Sender (AS)
2. Issue (AI)
3. Addressee (AA)

These three elements are the core attribution trias.
Additionally, are coded:

4. Attribution type (ATTR)
5. Form of Statement (AFORM)
6. Reasons given (REASON)

A full instance of actor attribution in the sense of this codebook can be specified as the reconstructed answer to the question "Who makes how whom publicly responsible for what in

[6] We also code actor attributions for which we have no information on the event. See below (especially section 5.2 EVNUM for details).
[7] While this thematic focus is crucial for the GGCRISI project, it is obvious that the application to other research questions is possible.

which way based on which reasons?"
The elements of this complex question relate to the coding elements in the following form:
"Who [sender] makes whom [addressee] publicly responsible for what [issue] in which way [type], how [form] and based on which reasons [reason]?"
Each reporting, in which a sender, an issue, an addressee and an evaluation or judgement of the addressee's behaviour can be identified, results in an actor attribution.
All actor attributions relating to the Eurozone crisis have to be coded (see section 1.5 for the definition of the Eurozone crisis). The rules how to identify and code these elements are laid out in section 6.

1.4 Types of attribution

An attribution can occur in various forms. A fundamental difference is whether we look at a) the attribution of causation of something by an actor (causal attribution) or b) at the attribution of request to an actor who should act in a specified way (request attribution) or c) the attribution of competence to an actor who should be in charge of acting in respect to an issue area (competence attribution).
Causal attributions evaluate what has already happened (diagnostic) OR what will happen (prognostic).[8] These attributions put the focus on the origin of the misconduct or success and want to capture who has/will have had caused the situation which is being evaluated. The general pattern is that an actor A (sender) sees actor B (addressee) as responsible for an outcome or action that has already happened or that will (presumably) happen.[9]
Request attributions make a statement on what an actor should or should not do, in which way he/she should (not) act. Actor A (sender) says that actor B (addressee) should act in the specified way or refrain from a specific action.
Competence attributions signal who should be in charge of dealing with respective problems. Again, actor A (sender) says that actor B (addressee) should or should not do something. It is not about the cause for a success or failure but about what should be done to take care of an issue field in future.[10]
Causal attributions can be evaluated positively, negatively, or the evaluation discusses positive and negative aspects resulting in an ambivalent evaluation. The request attribution can refer to the request of an action or the abstention of an action. Competence can be demanded for an actor and the delegation of competence can be rejected for an actor implying that the respective actor should not be in charge of dealing with the issue.[11]
The result of these possibilities is a complex "attribution tree" with various possible kinds of attributions.

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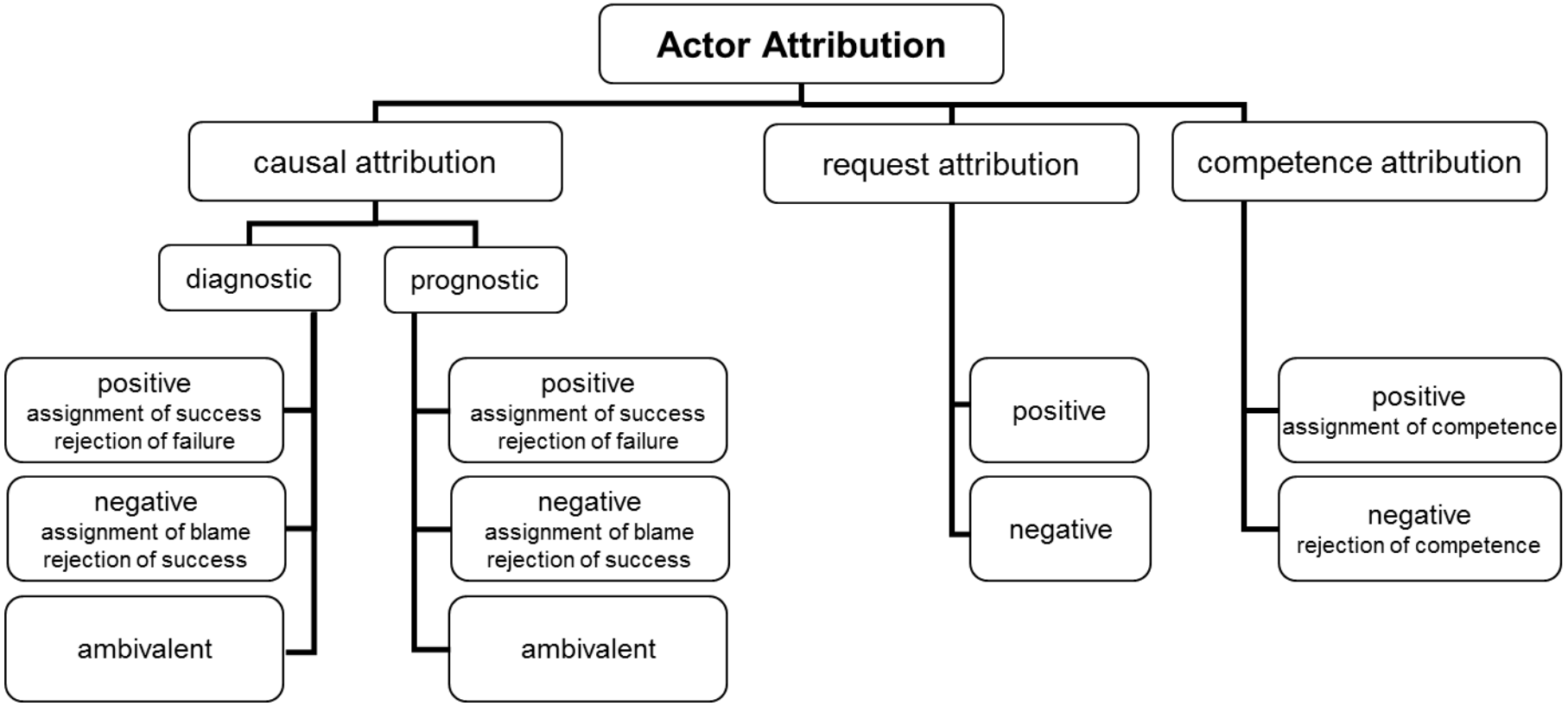
8 As the future is always unknown all prognostic attributions are speculations. Actors point out this speculative character to varying degree but as all prognostic attributions are necessarily speculative we do not point out this character of speculation. Also we do not code how explicitly speculative the prognosis is.

9 In framing literature this kind of attribution would be regarded as a diagnostic frame.

10 Request attributions and competence attributions would be regarded as claims in the political claims making approach.

11 Also causal attributions can be assigned and rejected. The concept by Gerhards/Offerhaus/Roose (2007) distinguishes these two forms. However, it has proven difficult to judge whether an attribution is a positive causal attribution of the rejection of a negative causal attribution and often both appear at the same time. The same applies for negative causal attributions and the rejection of positive causal attributions. As both forms have the same implications in respect to the evaluation of the outcome we combine these forms and do not differentiate between assignment and rejection.

Figure 2: Attribution Tree – Overview



1.5 The Eurozone crisis

This definition of the Eurozone crisis is meant to guide the sampling process of the GGCRISI project. Therefore, we limit ourselves to the necessary conditions which need to be fulfilled, the defining features, while we refrain from any assumptions on central features which we would like to leave for the analysis (and avoid confusion for article selection).

Defining the Eurozone crisis

The Eurozone crisis is a societal crisis of the Eurozone.

A societal crisis is an unusual situation which is temporarily limited in which societal structures of general impact are perceived to be questioned and unstable.

The aspects of the societal crisis definition[12] are:

- **unusual situation**: societal crises are marked by a change, be it a change in perception or/and a change in the real situation (Kreps 2001: 3718; Hay 1999: 318)[13]. The definition excludes the idea of a permanent societal crisis and refers to an exceptional situation.
- **Temporarily limited**: the societal crisis is a decisive moment. (Etymological crisis was understood in human medicine as the decisive moment which determines life or death, see (Koselleck 1976)) This implies that the societal crisis is non-permanent (see also point 1) and therefore has a start and is expected to have an end (though not necessarily a solution). The length of a societal crisis is not defined by this criterion but rather the widespread expectation that there will be an end in one way or another (Hay 1999: 318; critically Offe 1976: 32).
- **societal structures**: a societal crisis is not limited to a suboptimal performance of parts of society but it is relevant for its structural pattern or, as Friedrichs (2007: 14) writes, its "institutionalized action patterns" (own translation) (similarly Habermas 1973: 39f.; Offe 1976: 31). A societal crisis involves the structure of society as a whole as well as the structure of its larger subsystems, in this case especially the economic and political subsystem. A societal crisis leads to the expectations that structures of the past are (or have become) inadequate and will/may need change (see "questioned and unstable" in the definition).
- **societal structures of general impact**: the societal crisis is not limited to a narrow group of people and their personal lives (Kreps 2001: 3718; different to Opp 1978: 20). The societal crisis is a societal phenomenon as it (potentially) affects the whole society or larger subsystems (Friedrichs 2007: 14; Habermas 1973: 39f.; Koselleck 1976: 1240; Kreps 2001: 3718), e.g. the political or economic subsystem.[14]

[12] As we do not deal with individual crises these are not considered here (see Schönpflug 1976).

[13] Kreps (2001) defines disasters rather than crises, but understands crisis as a term describing a disaster of middle magnitude with emergency being a smaller disaster and catastrophe being a larger disaster (Kreps 2001: 3719). Therefore, it is justified to include Kreps disaster definition in the discussion of crisis, just as the index of the encyclopedia suggests. However, the context of disaster leads to some specifications we cannot follow and which contradict to other crisis definitions.

[14] It is questionable whether a distinction between political/economic subsystem and society in whole is helpful because a crisis in the economic subsystem necessarily affects the society in whole.

- **perceived**: the definition explicitly refers to the societal crisis as a social construction (Friedrichs 2007: 14; Opp 1978: 18; cf. Kreps 2001: 3718f.; Hay 1999: 319ff.; Pearson and Clair 1998: 66; Prisching 1986: 36) in the sense that perceptions about the existence of the societal crisis are a necessary condition. That means we can speak of a societal crisis regardless whether structures are really unstable or not. The real instability cannot be judged as crisis perception and crisis reaction has an impact on this stability. Also, structures can be unstable but as long as there is no perception of this instability the definition of a societal crisis is not met.

The definition of a societal crisis is open in respect to its causes and consequences.

A societal crisis **of the Eurozone:**

The focus of the definition is on a societal crisis of the Eurozone (i. e. a crisis of the society involving the population in the Eurozone countries[15]) or a societal crisis of parts of the Eurozone with a perceived link to the Eurozone. This link can be causal: the political and/or economic structure of the Eurozone as a cause for the respective societal crisis. It can also be consequential: the societal crisis has an impact on the Eurozone or parts of the Eurozone besides the countries within which the societal crisis is located.

Defining the Sampling Frame for GGCRISI

The sampling frame is the entirety of actor attributions relating to the Eurozone crisis or parts of it in all newspaper articles which relate in their content to the Eurozone crisis or parts of it.

In the sampling frame for the newspaper content analysis the link to the Eurozone crisis or parts of it is found on the article level *and* the actor attribution level.
A relation to the Eurozone crisis or parts of it means that there is a link to the crisis itself, its *perceived* causes or *perceived* consequences (or any combination thereof). Equally, this crucial link of societal developments to the Eurozone crisis or parts of it can be "*real*" or *perceived* by the speaker or journalist: This means, a link to the Eurozone crisis has to be interpreted in the context of the public debate which is understood primarily as a national public debate.[16] The general public perception at the time of the article's publication date is decisive. The link of reported information to the Eurozone crisis *does not* have to be explicit in the respective article or actor attribution. Rather everything which is related to (parts of) the Eurozone crisis according to public perception is included in the sampling frame, regardless whether this link is stated explicitly in the document under scrutiny. It is sufficient if this link has been made in the public debate before and therefore a general perception of a link can be assumed. Accordingly, aspects of a national crisis are included in the sampling frame as long as these aspects are linked to the Eurozone crisis according to the general perception at that time.
Newspaper articles are included in the sampling frame if the headline/title, subtitle or first two sentences indicate a relation to the Eurozone crisis. In the sample are only articles which have

[15] This is reflected in the anti-austerity national protest campaigns involving populations in Eurozone's peripheral states (on Greece see Diani and Kousis forthcoming; on Southern Europe see Kousis 2013)

[16] Though there are some findings indicating an increase of Europeanization of the public sphere (e.g. Brüggemann et al. 2006), this is primarily Europeanization of national public spheres (Gerhards 1993), implying that European developments can be found in national media outlets (Machill, Beiler, and Fischer 2006). At the same time there is a recent increase in the transnationalization of public space (Kousis 2014).

been published on one of the selected dates (see section 2. on sampling).
Within these articles all actor attributions with a relation to the Eurozone crisis are included. Here, the general relevance on article level usually helps to assess relevance on attribution level: Most attributions within a relevant article can be considered as relevant, too.
As defined in the sampling part, newspaper sections that refer to business news, stock exchange news and news on the banking and financial sector only or athletics are excluded.

1.6 Two Country Design

This codebook is written for a two country design (Greece and Germany). The aim of the study is to analyze the data in country comparison but also to analyse the interlinkages between the two countries. The sources analysed are predominantly from the two countries and in this the codebook you will find more predefined code values for the two countries, Greece and Germany. It is important to keep in mind that the focus of analysis in respect to the reporting (not the sources) is the Eurozone crisis as a whole. Therefore, the coding should be equally precise for all countries. The systematic use of code values (especially the actor list) allows for this precision.

2. Sampling

Relevant for collection and coding are all those articles and actor attributions which directly or indirectly, centrally or peripherally refer to the Eurozone crisis, its configurations, causes and consequences on social, political and economic level (→ see definition)

Corresponding to the above defined object of study, we select only those articles appearing in the newspaper sectors Politics, Economy, Feuilleton as well as editorials, opinions and (guest) commentary, investigative journalism and dossiers assigned to these sectors. Letters to the editors, press reviews and other articles that do not originate from the respective sources are omitted. The same applies to online-only articles and regional or local sectors as well as news sections focusing on stock exchange reports, corporate news etc. Sector titles differ from newspaper to newspaper and in some cases only information on sub-sectors is displayed (→ see specifications for each newspaper below). In some cases, certain sections can be excluded via automatized pre-selection, primarily based on key words.

We apply a sampling strategy which builds on two different logics:

Firstly, we use a systematic sampling based on "artificially rotating weeks" between 28 September 2009 and 27 September 2013[17] in order to cover the entire timespan with a fixed rhythm of selected days.
Secondly, in order to take account of the intense phases of the debate we apply a purposive sampling based on 84 crucial events connected to the Eurozone crisis in the same time period.[18] Crucial events are major parliamentary decisions, EU summits, large protest events etc. (→ *See document "timeline event sample"*).
Based on these two logics we collect and code all relevant articles of the selected dates which include at least one relevant attribution. The most central sources are two daily national

[17] This period was later extended until 30 March 2016.
[18] Again, 12 additional events where coded for the more recent period until 2016.

newspapers for each country and the transnational press agency Reuters. To a lesser degree, we further add weekly newspaper reporting to our analysis.

2.1. Systematic Sample

The systematic sample is taken from both daily and weekly newspapers.

Daily Newspapers

The systematic sample provides the core of our data set. Dates are selected on the basis of artificially rotating weeks (→ *see document "timeline systematic sample"*). This means that the sample covers every 7th weekday issue (Monday to Saturday).
If a newspaper issue of the selected day is missing due to holiday, strike etc., we take the next issue that is available. The following examples illustrate this logic:

***Examples Sunday** (see further tables below):*

Sampling day	A	B	C	D
	31.01.14	08.02.14	17.02.14	25.02.14
	Fri	Sat	Mon	Tue
		Due to the missing[19] Sunday issue on 16.02.14 we select the next Monday issue of 17.02.14.		

Example Holiday

Original Sampling day	*23.04.13 Tuesday*	*01.05.13 (Wed, Holiday, no issue)*	*09.05.13 Thursday*	*17.05.13 Friday*
Adjusted Sampling day	A	B	C	D
	23.04.13	02.05.13 (Thursday)	09.05.13	17.05.13
	Tue	Thu	Thu	Fri
		Due to a missing issue on Wed, 01.05.13 we select the next issue (02.05.13) and continue with the original sampling day.		

If the next issue is again from a sampling day (e.g. because a strike went on for several days or weeks), we drop the missing issue and just continue in the normal rhythm. In these cases, please consult the coding instructor.
The logic of artificially rotating weeks guarantees that the sample covers all days of the week (except Sundays) to the same degree. This rules out possible biases resulting from newspaper publication days (e.g. certain sections of the newspaper only appearing on Mondays).
For both, the German and the Greek sub-sample, we rotate between two major newspapers.

Newspaper selection

Germany:
In Germany, the systematic sample is taken from the daily newspapers Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ) and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ).

[19] Or not selected.

The SZ reporting is used for the Starting Sample (N1). The SZ is the largest quality newspaper in terms of subscriptions and among the most important quality newspapers in general. Assigning particular attention to the feuilleton, strong editorials and background reports, the SZ is considered as the central opinion forming publication for the pro-EU liberal left in Germany.
When the SZ is the crucial quality paper for the center left, the FAZ is the number one choice for the conservative, center-right spectrum in Germany and in general the embodiment of a classical quality newspaper in Germany. There are numerous studies confirming that these two are the most read among German elites and that they produce the largest trickle-down effect on local newspapers reproducing content. The FAZ assigns particular attention to a large economy part. The FAZ is pro-European; it shows extensive reporting on EU issues and disposes of the largest number of foreign correspondents of any daily newspaper worldwide.

Greece:
In Greece, the systematic sample is taken from the daily newspapers *Eleftherotypia* and *Kathimerini*.
Eleftherotypia reporting is used for the Starting Sample (N1). *Eleftherotypia* used to be among the most important quality newspapers. Assigning particular attention to protest events and social movements, strong editorials and background reports, *Eleftherotypia* was considered as the central opinion forming publication for the liberal left in Greece. *Eleftherotypia* is pro-European. Due to temporary bankruptcy, there is a considerable publication gap from late 2011 to early 2013. In our sample, this gap is absorbed by the quality centre newspaper *Ta Nea.*[20]
Kathimerini is the number one choice for the conservative, center-right spectrum in Greece and in general the incarnation of a classical quality newspaper in the country. *Kathimerini* is strongly pro-EU and has the most extensive reporting on EU and business issues.

Weekly Newspapers
The sample is completed by weekly newspapers. There we can find longer articles which provide more context information and a more complex interpretation of the events. We select every 8th issue in the defined time period from two newspapers – one tabloid weekly and one quality weekly - for each selected day and each country. Due to the specific publication days of weekly newspapers, the sampling days for weekly newspapers diverge from those of the national newspapers (*see timeline weekly newspapers).*

Germany:
In Germany this additional sub-sample is based on *DIE ZEIT* and *BILD am Sonntag* (BAMS):
DIE ZEIT is the classical German weekly newspaper, the most read and certainly the most influential one. Strong on politics and culture, it is the standard newspaper for the academics and the liberal middle class intelligentsia. It gives space to debate and opposing opinions. It is one of the very few newspapers with slightly increasing circulation numbers. *DIE ZEIT* is strongly pro-European.
The *BILD* is the daily newspaper with the highest circulation in Europe and it is the most often quoted newspaper in Germany. *BILD am Sonntag* (BAMS), its Sunday edition has a circulation of 1.3 Million readers in Germany. Founded in 1954, throughout its history (e.g. on demonizing the New Left in the 1960s/70s) it had and still has a high influence on German politics and public agenda setting. *BILD's* EU orientation is rather pro-European in principle,

[20] Eleftherotypia bankrupted again in late 2014. Some of its former staff opened the newspaper Efimerida Ton Syntakton (EFSYN), often considered the 'New Eleftherotypia'. For the new time period, we selected Efimerida Ton Syntakton in addition to Kathimerini.

but often nationalist and skeptical in its rhetoric.
Greece:
In Greece we draw on *To Vima* and *Proto Thema*.
To Vima is the classical Greek Sunday newspaper, the most read and certainly the most influential one. Strong on politics and culture, it is the standard newspaper for the academics and the liberal middle class intelligentsia. It gives space to debate and opposing opinions. *To Vima* is strongly pro-European.
The *Proto Thema* is the Sunday newspaper with the highest circulation in Greece; it was founded by two journalists who became rich and famous by working in Greek television. Its current ownership is rather vague. The *Proto Thema* EU orientation is pro-European in principle, but is also nationalist in its rhetoric.

2.2. Purposive Sample

The purposive sample is taken from daily newspapers only.

Newspaper selection:
The purposive sample is based on one national daily newspaper each. In Germany this is *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)*, in Greece *Eleftherotypia* (and *Ta Nea*).

Selection of sampling days
Based on pre-tests for protest events, summit events and national elections we decide that for all days and all events which are selected on the basis of Event Sampling the following applies:

- We cover four days of news coverage, namely the issue dated one day before the event, the issue of the day of the event itself and those two issues of the two days after the event.
- In case of days without newspaper issue, we skip and select the next release date in the respective direction. This applies for Sundays, holidays, and, if applicable, Saturdays, strikes etc.
- If a newspaper issue of the event day itself misses, we start from the date of the next published issue.
- In case of multi-day events, each event day is treated as day 0; selection days apply accordingly.

The following table illustrates the selection patterns for both types; selected days in green. In case of missing issues due to holiday, strike etc., the Sunday rules apply accordingly.

One Day Event

		Event		
Date of release	11-03-2014	12-03-2014	13-03-2014	14-03-2014
	-1	0	+1	+2
Week Day	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
	covers Mar 10	*covers Mar 11, the day before the event and the event date*	*covers Mar 12, the day of the event*	*covers Mar 13, the day after the event*

One Day Event / Sunday I (Sunday after the event)

		Event			
Date of release	20-02-2014	21-02-2014	22-02-2014	23-02-2014	24-02-2014
	-1	0	+1		+2
Week Day	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday
	covers Feb 19	*covers Feb 20, the day before the event whilst taking into account the release date (day of event)*	*covers Feb 21, the day of the event*	*no issue, day skipped*	*covers Feb 22, the day after the event*

One Day Event / Sunday II (Sunday before the event)

			Event		
Date of release	01-03-2014	02-03-2014	03-03-2014	04-03-2014	05-03-2014
	-1		0	+1	+2
Week Day	Sa	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
	covers Feb 28	*no issue, day skipped*	*covers Mar 03, the day before the event whilst taking into account the release date (day of event)*	*covers Mar 03, the day of the event*	*covers Mar 04, the day after the event*

Multi-day event + Sunday I (Sunday II accordingly)

		Event	Event			
Date of release	20-02-2014	21-02-2014	22-02-2014	23-02-2014	24-02-2014	25-02-2014
	-1	0	0		+1	+2
Week Day	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday
	covers Feb 19	*covers Feb 20, whilst taking into account the release date (day of event)*	*covers Feb 21, the first day of the event*	*no issue, day skipped*	*covers Feb 22, the second day of the event*	*covers Feb 24, the day after the event*

One-day event / Event on Sunday

		Event			
Date of release	01-02-2014	02-02-2014	03-02-2014	04-02-2014	05-02-2014
	-1	(0)	0	+1	+2
Week Day	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
	covers Jan 31	*no issue, day skipped*	*covers Feb 02*	*covers Feb 02*	*covers Feb 04*

Explanation: For most events day +1 is the most relevant as it covers the day of the event itself. However, in some cases (especially summits and elections) the editorial deadline precedes the end of the event. In these cases, the issue of +2 is the first to cover the event's results which cannot be neglected. Issue day +2 also often entails more in depth analysis or comments on the event. Both day 0 and -1 proved to be crucial for expectations directed at the respective event, by both newspapers and other actors. This applies, above all, for elections and summits and less so for protest events. However, in order to avoid criticism of event-bias in our analysis, we use the same day selection for all events.

Selection of articles / Purposive Sample
Articles in the purposive sample need to fulfill two criteria of relevance in order to be selected for coding. Firstly, in analogy to the systematic sample, articles need to be relevant in terms of Eurocrisis reporting (see above). Secondly, articles need to refer to the respective event.
This decision can only be taken in a manual selection process.

Relevance Criteria: Event reference
The article is considered relevant for coding if…

a) The event is mentioned or referred to in the headline / header or subtitle of the article

Or

b) The event is *explicitly* referred to in one of the first two paragraphs of the article.

If these two criteria are not met, there is an additional selection criterion; this criterion applies only for events which are predominantly national in character and located in other national environments (in our case: protest events in other countries).

c) The event is explicitly referred to in at least three sentences of the article.

What does it mean that an "event is (explicitly) referred to"?

The header, subtitle etc. does not necessarily need to mention the event with its official title (e.g. "Eurosummit"). As long as the reference to the event can logically and unambiguously be deduced from the articles context (e.g. "in Brussels, Eurozone countries agree to…"), the article is selected for coding. Especially Eurogroup meetings are often not explicitly mentioned as such.

An "explicit" reference means that the article paragraph or sentence provides substantial information about the event itself or about parts of the event: The event is the core subject of the reporting in that paragraph / sentence and more than a mere occasion for reporting on another, unrelated topic (e.g. no explicit reference if the Eurosummit is mentioned at the sidelines of an article about the personal relationship between Merkel and Sarkozy)

Coding attributions of the purposive sample

Whereas the rules for article *selection* differ between purposive and systematic sampling, the rules for article *coding* remain the same. In particular, the coding of the event level remains as described in the earlier section. This implies that we can have attributions in the purposive sample which are not connected to events (e.g. in an article selected for a Eurosummit, a politician states an attribution which is not directly connected to this summit or any other event. The attribution is coded as part of a relevant article, but no event is coded.

2.3. Guidelines for Selection and Coding

The selection of relevant articles implies a certain level of independent interpretation and individual judgment as well as a certain period of familiarization. Concentration and accurateness are absolutely crucial. For all sampling strategies, the coder has to make sure to exclude double articles from the sample.
Some of the guidelines (→ see appendix) are only applicable for automatized pre-selection.

(Automatized) pre-selection
In most online databases, search results are presented in condensed form. This allows a first pre-selection of potentially relevant articles on the basis of headlines, leads and in many cases even the first sentences of the main text. This is done in accordance with the relevance criteria for systematic and for purposive sampling.
For automatized pre-selection we apply a very broad search string in order to cover all relevant articles and all possible crisis interpretations. For the FAZ this is not possible (*see below).*
Given limited access to online databases for some of the Greek newspapers, the search is done manually.
For event sampling, only those articles are selected that refer to the respective event (→ see appendix for further selection guidelines).

3. Coding Procedure

3.1 General Rules

As this is an international project, all text information has to be written in English and in Latin characters. Exceptions are names of institutions, organizations etc. which are not translated into English but are transposed to Latin characters.
The format of writing dates is always in 8 digits: year in 4 digits, month in 2 digits, day in 2 digits, e.g. 20131219 for the 19th December 2013.
All names or persons are given as first_name second_name.

3.2 Steps of the Coding Procedure

Coding procedure for a single article

1. In the beginning you should have the printed article in front of you.
2. Write down coder initials (e.g. kh) on article top left
3. Read the whole article.
4. Check whether the article contains information relating to the Eurozone crisis. If not, cross out and store article.
5. Check whether the article contains actor attributions. If not, cross out and store article.
6. If article is relevant for coding (see steps 4. & 5.), assign number to article (*See above*).
7. Identify actor attributions and mark them in the text.
8. Group attributions according to events and give numbers to events and attributions
9. Code variables on the article level (see section 4.)
10. Code the first event
11. Code actor attributions and reasons embedded in this event
12. Code next events accordingly.
13. *Repeat this step for all events and attributions – including attributions not embedded in an identifiable event*
14. Use the comments section, in case you had any problems with coding the article.
15. Store article in the folder prepared by instructors.

4. Coding Rules on Article Level

On article level all variables refer to the whole text, its source etc. Accordingly, these codings provide information on the context in which the events and the actor attributions appeared. It also gives relevant information to refer to the article later for data correction and reliability checks.
Only articles with at least one actor attribution are coded.

CODNAM = Coder name
Here name of coder is noted. It is coded in the dataset**; initials/abbreviations are to be written on the printed article**. In case of uncertainties coded content can be discussed with the respective coder.

CODDAT = Coding date YYYYMMDD
As the whole coding procedure will take a long time, we want to know when you coded each specific article. The form of entry is in 8 digits: year in 4 digits, month in 2 digits, day in 2 digits, e.g. 20131219 for the 19th December 2013.

SAMPKI = Kind of sample
Indicates the kind of material which is analysed. This refers to the sampling approach. The information is given by the instructors for each pile of articles.
1 systematic sampling (i.e. fixed rhythm of chosen dates)
2 event sampling / purposive sampling[21]
3 both

[21] In this project's coding interface angrist.ggcrisi, each event can be selected individually when coding SAMPKI. See Appendix for the list of events.

4 website

ARTNUM = Article Number
The article number is coded in order to identify the article quickly and clearly. This number relates to the storage of the original article (computer-file, paper in folder etc.).
The German team starts with 20000 and then gives running numbers up to 59990.
The Greek team starts with 60000 to 99999.
The Reuters articles start with 10000 and get numbers up to 179900. (Note the change in 2012 and 2013!)
The article number is written on the printed article by the coders. The articles are stored for later reliability tests.

The following table exemplifies the logic.[22]

	2009 (II)	**2010 (I)**	**2010 (II)**	**2011 (I)**	**2011 (II)**	**2012 (I)**	**2012 (II)**	**2013 (I)**	**2013 (II)**
SZ	20000-21990	22000-23990	24000-25990	26000-27990	28000-29990	30000-31990	32000-33990	34000-35990	36000-38190
FAZ	40000-41990	42000-43990	44000-45990	46000-47990	48000-49990	50000-51990	52000-53990	54000-55990	56000-57390
	2014 (I)	**2014 (II)**	**2015 (I)**	**2015 (II)**					
SZ	38200-38590	38600-38990	39000-39390	39400-39590					
FAZ	57400-57590	57600-57990	58000-58390	58400-58590					
	2009 (II)	**2010 (I)**	**2010 (II)**	**2011 (I)**	**2011 (II)**	**2012 (I)**	**2012 (II)**	**2013 (I)**	**2013 (II)**
Eleft. / Ta Nea	60000-61990	62000-63990	64000-65990	66000-67990	68000-69990	70000-71990	72000-73990	74000-75990	76000-77990
Kathimerini	80000-81990	82000-83990	84000-85990	86000-87990	88000-89990	90000-91990	92000-93990	94000-95990	96000-97990
Reuters	10000-19900	12000-13990	14000-15990	16000-17990	18000-19990	100000-119900	120000-139900	140000-159900	160000-179900
Zeit	200.000-201.990	202.000-203.990	204.000-205.990	206.000-207.990	208.000-209.990	210.000-211.990	212.000-213.990	214.000-215.990	216.000-217.990
Bild	300.000-301.990	302.000-303.990	304.000-305.990	306.000-307.990	308.000-309.990	310.000-311.990	312.000-313.990	314.000-315.990	316.000-317.990
To Vima	600.000-601.990	602.000-603.990	604.000-605.990	606.000-607.990	608.000-609.990	610.000-611.990	612.000-613.990	614.000-615.990	616.000-617.990
Proto Thema	700.000-701.990	702.000-703.990	704.000-705.990	706.000-707.990	708.000-709.990	710.000-711.990	712.000-713.990	714.000-715.990	716.000-717.990
Events SZ	250.000-251.990	252.000-253.990	254.000-255.990	256.000-257.990	258.000-259.990	260.000-261.990	262.000-263.990	264.000-265.990	266.000-267.990
Events Elef. / Ta Nea	650.000-651.990	652.000-653.990	654.000-655.990	656.000-657.990	658.000-659.990	660.000-661.990	662.000-663.990	664.000-665.990	666.000-667.990
Events BILD	350.000-351.990	352.000-353.990	354.000-355.990	356.000-357.990	358.000-359.990	360.000-361.990	362.000-363.990	364.000-365.990	366.000-367.990
Events Reuters	180.000-181.990	182.000-183.990	184.000-185.990	186.000-187.990	188.000-189.990	190.000-191.990	192.000-193.990	194.000-195.990	196.000-197.990
Press Release / Germany	400.000-401.990	402.000-403.990	404.000-405.990	406.000-407.990	408.000-409.990	410.000-411.990	412.000-413.990	414.000-415.990	416.000-417.990
Press Release / Greece	900.000-901.990	902.000-903.990	904.000-905.990	906.000-907.990	908.000-909.990	910.000-911.990	912.000-913.990	914.000-915.990	916.000-917.990

[22] For the project extension and the additional period from 2013 – 2016, the same logic applies.

I = 01.01.20XX – 30.06.20XX
II = 01.07.20XX – 31.12.20XX

Coding instructors assign shares of numbers (e.g. SZ – 2011(II)) to coders.

Important: Numbers are only assigned to those articles which are coded / which are included into the sample. This means that numbers are assigned only to those articles which are a) relevant in terms of Eurozone crisis debate and b) which contain at least one relevant attribution on the Eurozone crisis debate. As the coder is the final instance to judge on relevance of the article and appearance of relevant attributions – while reading the articles – he/she is the one to write '*their'* numbers on each printed article which is coded. Articles which are not coded are not numbered.

SOURCE = Source outlet
This is the exact outlet source, i.e. the newspaper name, the website's organization etc.
1 Eleftherotypyia
2 Ta Nea
3 Kathimerini
4 To Vima
5 Protothema
6 Avgi
7 Efimerida ton Syntakton

10 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
11 Süddeutsche Zeitung
12 Die ZEIT
13 BamS – BILD am Sonntag
14 BILD (weekdays only)

20 Reuters

100 Website

ARTDAT = Date of article YYYYMMDD
Date of article is coded according to information on article, usually on top of page, in the following format: YYYYMMDD (see coding date)

ARTSEC = Section
This refers to the categorization of articles within the newspaper. The coding depends on the availability of this information in the source. Accordingly, the place where you find this information varies from source to source.

Newspaper sections
1 title page
2 national politics (i.e. "politics" in Greek papers)
3 foreign/international/world politics (i.e. "international" or "world" in Greek papers)
4 economics
5 features, investigative journalism, background reports / "Seite Drei" (SZ)
6 Feuilleton, culture, literature
7 Society
8 Editorials, comments and opinion pages[23]

[23] When coding opinion or comment articles, please use the comment-variable to note the 'central' attribution which you identify as the essence of the article.

9 no section or other

Reuters sections
31 Analysis
32 Snap-Analysis
33 Column
34 Breaking Views
35 Feature
36 Interview
99 no section or other

ARTTYP = Article type
Seven different article types are coded according to the following definitions. You as coder decide which type of article you have in front of you. However, sometimes the type is mentioned in the heading or at the beginning of the article. In that case, code the information provided by the newspaper. If you are not sure, what type of article you have in front of you, try to decide *what it is not*. Most often, articles will be news/messages.

1 News, Message: Pragmatic information without subjective or personal influence, low editorial content, about current event or issue-related information.
2 Editorial: editorial quintessence on a current issue does not represent opinion of a single person or journalist, but the majority of editorial opinion
3 Comment: interprets and evaluates current events and expresses opinion, pragmatic, ironic or satiric.
4 Interview: dialog between two people, visible in writing style (interviewer, interviewee)
5 Reportage, Feature, Background report, general analysis: facts containing text with personal, subjective influence, often deals broadly with an event or issue, personal perspective, reporting with longer descriptions, author often named
7 Other: any other, e.g. letter to editor
99 Indefinite/don't know: only if 1-7 is impossible to classify

AUTHOR = Author of Article
Here the full name of the author in the form of "first-name second-name" or the abbreviation for the journalist are coded. Authors' names or abbreviations can be found either on top of the article, after the statement of place, or at the end of the article. Check for every newspaper carefully, where it usually mentions the author.
For interviews only the interviewer is the author while the interviewed person is dropped for the AUTHOR variable.
The name/names are to be copied into the coding mask. If a press agency delivered the article, copy the name of the press agency. If neither a name nor an abbreviation for the author is mentioned, code no author (0). In this variable, only the name is to be coded, further information is added in separate variables.
If two or more authors are mentioned, copy all names.
If the country of the author is not included in the values of AUTCNT1, AUTCNT2, the country is typed in as well.

AUTFUNC1, AUTFUNC2 = Author's Function
Additionally, to the author's name, the function is coded in this variable. The author will be a journalist or a press agency in most cases. If you find an abbreviation for a journalist or the journalist is mentioned by its full name, code 1. If you find an abbreviation for a press agency, code 2. This information will be specified later for more precise functions and the AUTCNT.
Sometimes, comments or other types of articles are written by people who are explicitly

introduced, e.g. policy actors, experts or citizens. In that case, copy the function of the author, if mentioned e.g. below the heading or in the article. If no function is mentioned in the article, code 0. Code also 0 if no author is mentioned at all (i.e. AUTHOR was coded 0). (The specification of a foreign city usually implies the coding of "correspondents").
If you coded two authors in AUTHOR, use AUTFUNC1 and then AUTFUNC2 in the order of appearance of the two names.

0 no author specified
1 individual journalist (identified by name or initials)
2 press agency
3 correspondent
4 guest author: politician
5 guest author: scientist
6 guest author: civil society
7 guest author: other
8 other

AUTFCMO = more than two authors: function

Leave empty if there are only one or two authors who are covered in AUTHOR and AUTFUNC1, AUTFUNC2.
Use this variable only if there are more than two authors to indicate whether the following function is among them. If more than one of the functions below can be found, use the code appearing first in the list (with the lowest number).

1 correspondent from concerned country
2 other correspondent
3 foreign or international press agencies
4 press agency (unclear)
5 other
6 unclear/no function

AUTCNT1, AUTCNT2 = country of author

If you can find information on the nationality of the author which is different to the nationality of the newspaper, code here the author's nationality. This is particularly important for guest authors and interview partners. AUTCNT1 refers to the author coded in AUTFUNC1, and AUTCNT2 refers to the author coded in AUTCNT2.

Use the country codes of the → actor list , i.e.:

11 Germany
12 Greece
…

For further country codes refer to the actor list .

ARTHEAD = Heading

The heading of the article (bold characters, above of the main text) is copy-pasted into the database. If the main title is impossible to identify (e.g. lack of punctuation or break) according to typography of article, first line is to be copy-pasted.
If the text is not available in electronic form, type in a few words of the headline. The aim of this variable is to guarantee the possibility of re-finding the relevant article. Therefore, do not invest too much in the quality of this variable, such as correcting typing errors etc.

ARTPLAC = Statement of place

Code the location indicated at the beginning of the article. This usually refers to the location of the correspondent or the newspaper / press agency. If there is no information on the specific place given, code unclear or other.

1 Athens
2 Thessaloniki
3 Patras
4 Herakleion
5 Ioannina
6 Larisa
7 Alexandroupoli
8 Piraeus
18 unclear Greek location
19 Other Greek location

21 Berlin
22 Frankfurt/M.
23 Bonn
24 Hamburg
25 München (*Munich*)
26 Köln (*Cologne*)
27 Düsseldorf
38 unclear German location
39 other German location

41 Brussels
42 Luxembourg
43 Strasbourg
44 Reykjavik
45 Vaduz
46 Oslo
47 Bern
48 London
49 Tallinn
50 Vienna
51 Nicosia
52 Paris
53 Dublin
54 Rome
55 Riga
56 Valletta
57 Amsterdam
58 Lisbon
59 Bratislava
60 Ljubljana
61 Madrid
62 Barcelona
63 Copenhagen

64 Stockholm
65 Zurich
68 Unclear European location
69 Other European Location

70 Washington
71 New York
72 Los Angeles

90 Other place
99 Unclear place

ARTPLAC2
Type in if ARTPLAC is "Other place" (code 90) or if "Other European Location" (code 69) or if more than one location is mentioned.

5. Coding Rules on Event Level

5.1 General Specification

An event is only coded in connection with at least one attribution. Attributions are always coded, regardless whether they are embedded within an (identifiable) event. **That means**: No event without attribution. **But**: Attributions may have no coded event.
For understanding the role of events in our study, we have to discuss two central issues: a) What is an event? b) What is the relation between an event and an attribution? Or stated differently: which events do we code?

What is an event?
An event is a specific situation happening in time and space. **An event is defined by specific locality, specific temporality (i.e. start and end) and specific actors**. An event is bordered in the sense that all these three dimensions can be theoretically specified assuming that perfect knowledge is available. Hence an argument as such is not an event. However, a public discussion panel is an event, as there are people sitting on a stage in a room (locality) starting and ending their public discussion (temporality) and these people are together with an audience (actors). There will be arguments made within this public discussion panel but it is the panel which is the event or event context for these arguments. Accordingly, decisions, statements, reforms, etc. are not events in themselves but the situation specified in time, space and participants, in which decisions, statements, reforms are taken, make up an event.

Which events do we code?
The intention of the analysis is to find out events which make up the context of a stated attribution. This question has two directions. Firstly, it refers to the **actual situation** in which an attribution is stated, e.g. on the podium of a public discussion or within a protest event. Secondly, sometimes statements and hence attributions are made at the **side lines** in an **immediate context** of an event, e.g. comments by a politician to the press before entering the negotiation room. Here, the attribution is stated in the immediate context of the negotiations. The negotiation is the event we are interested in.

Events are only coded in these two cases: a) embeddedness of attributions *within* events and b) attributions stated in the *direct and immediate context* of an event. (*see below for further specification*).

The difficulty with this concept is that more or less all events refer to other events and are embedded in other events. E.g. if an attribution is stated within a protest event, this protest event can relate to a parliamentary debate which in itself can be related to a decision by the cabinet of the government, etc. In this example all three events (i.e. protest event, parliamentary debate, meeting of the government taking the decision) relate to each other and could be understood as the direct context of the respective attribution. However, for each attribution in the text only one event is coded:

As a general rule, we refer to the most directly related event and ignore all other further related events.

In the example, this most directly related event would be the protest. (*See below for further specifications*)
Moreover, the fact that we are analysing press reporting implies that the actual collection of information is often (though not necessarily) an event in itself. E.g. a lot of information reported is gathered within press conferences. However, these press conferences are often (though not necessarily) related to other events like political negotiations, parliamentary debates, etc.

As a general rule, we disregard events which are nothing but the situation of providing information to the press. Instead, we refer and code the event which is the immediate occasion for the press communication event.

E.g. if we find an attribution in a press conference after an EU summit meeting, we do not refer to the press conference in which the attribution is made though this is unquestionably the most directly related event. However, as it is only an event for communicating to the media, we refer to the next most directly related event, which would be the EU summit. If there is no immediate occasion or no directly related event, no event is coded.

Incomplete information on events
In media reporting information on the event is often sketchy. Sometimes there will be no information on a relevant event at all. This is not a problem. We code those events on which we have information; in all other cases we code attributions without event.

5.2 Coding Events

Identifying relevant events
To identify relevant events relating to attributions check the following two steps:

1. If the attribution is directly embedded **within** an event [*and this event is not a communication to the press*], code this event!

Example 1: a request attribution is made *within* a protest event → code the protest event as an event.
Example 2: a causal attribution is made *within* a parliamentary session → code the parliamentary session as an event.

2. If the attribution is voiced in the **direct and immediate context** of an event [*and this event is not a communication to the press*], code this event! Direct and immediate context means
   a) A clearly identifiable reference to the event on the part of the attribution sender or an **explicitly stated connection between the attribution and the event** *and*
   b) A temporal proximity of attribution and event[24]!

Example 3: "*Reacting to yesterday's protests against the pension reform, the government spokesperson underlines the reform's positive impacts on social justice*". → code the protest as event [a) the sender clearly refers to an event and b) there is a temporal proximity of attribution and event]
Example 4: An activist states an attribution in an NGO press conference in the direct aftermath of an EU summit → do not code the press conference, but code the EU summit as the event.
Example 5: In 2014 a politician states an attribution in reference to a 2011 protest event → no temporal proximity, therefore no event coded!

One or several events?
An article can mention one or several events. Therefore, it is a crucial question how to decide whether a situation still belongs to one event or constitutes a new event.
Crucial for this decision are time, place, and actors. A single event is defined by the continuous, concerted activity of one actor or a group of actors.
Therefore, we code a second event if:

- the temporal continuity is broken up,
- the locality differs,
- the actors differ.

Temporal continuity: An event remains the same event if there is temporal continuity. This is still given if the event paused but not if the event stopped and is restarted. An event pauses if there is a concrete expectation by the involved actors to get back and continue. If this expectation is only vague or inexistent the event has stopped and may restart.
In newspaper reporting it may not always be clear what actors expect. In these cases, consult the instructor.

Locality and larger event contexts: *The locality is not limited to cities. A supranational entity such as the European Union, a country, a city, or a place can all be a locality in the sense of the event definition if they are specifically defined.* If events take place at different places they are regarded as separate events. Different places mean simply that in reality there is a clear border between the two events.[25] A special case is an event which is moving. A demonstration march may start with a gathering at one place, and then protesters walk through a city, and in the end they meet at another place. This is clearly only one event though more than one locality is involved. However, the continuity of the event in respect to actors and reasoning is given.
This rule implies that concerted activities in multiple places are coded as different events.

[24] Temporal proximity means that the attribution is stated **not later than one week after** the event to which it refers or that the attribution is stated **not earlier than one week before** the event to which it refers. To check for temporal proximity please refer to the publication date and other information given in the text! If there is no further information given, context knowledge might help.
[25] For this decision it is irrelevant whether these two places are in the same city etc.

Example: Protest marches against a pension reform which are reported to take place in Florence and Rome constitute two different events. The locality differs.
(→ see also page 38 on *attributions within several events*!)

Important: However, if localities of events are mentioned in an aggregate manner (e.g. "in hundreds of cities") and are not or only partially specified in the article, these events are not coded separately but as one large event. This is often the case in protest events.
Example 1: "*In many places in Greece, protesters marched against the Troika*". In this case, we code one event with the locality Greece.
Example 2: "*In hundred cities in Greece, protesters marched against the government reform. In Athens, students urged the parliament to vote against the reform*". In this case, we code two events. Again, "*in hundred cities in Greece*" is coded as one event with the locality Greece. This larger event "protests in Greece" is only partially specified and hence, coded. A second event to be coded is this specified protest in Athens.
Example 3: "*In Athens students protested against the reform. In several other cities, similar student protests took place*". Same coding as in Example 2: two events.
Negative Example 4: "*Greece witnessed major demonstrations on Tuesday. In Athens and Thessaloniki, several thousand protested against the reform*". Here, "Greece" is specified as "Athens" and "Thessaloniki". There is no evidence in this passage that the protests took place in further cities. Therefore, two events are coded (1. Protests in Athens, 2. Protests in Thessaloniki).

Actor groups: If actors change we are dealing with a new event. However, this does not apply to each single change of actors because we regard groups of actors as one (though they might be coded in several variables). These groups can be formed ad hoc and only for the event. E.g. if several politicians hold a summit together, the summit is only one event. E.g. if a demonstration is organized by several organisations it remains only one event. However, a counter demonstration would qualify as a separate event because though time and place are identical the opposing groups will not have organized the two demonstrations together but rather separately and one side in reaction to the other.
Similarly, we can have separate actors which are coded by the same variable. E.g. we can have one German civil society organization organizing an event, and then there is another not further specified German organization from civil society, organizing another event. Both organizations would be coded identically as 116100 "other German civil society organization" but as they are two separate organizations in reality, they are different actors.

Coding Procedure for events
Most events are coded on a very basic level. Namely we code a number, a description, a level, and a type (EVNUM, EVDESCR, EVLEVEL, EVTYP). However, protest events are particularly important for our analysis and therefore, these events are coded in much more detail.

5.2 Variables on Event Level

For events, the following variables are coded:

Events – Conventional Politics	Events – Contentious Politics
EVNUM	EVNUM
EVDESCR	EVDESCR
EVLEVEL	EVLEVEL
EVTYP1	EVTYP1 – EVTYP3
	EVDATE
	EVISS1 – EVISS2
	EVLOC1 – EVLOC2
	EVEACT1 – EVEACT3
	EVEACTN1 – EVEACTN3
	EVEACTM
	PARTIC1, PARTIC2, PARTIC3
	POLICE
	POLNUM
	POLACT1 – POLACT3
	POLARR
	INJPRO
	INJPOL
	INJBY
	INJTOT
	DEATHS

EVDESCR = Description of Event
Make a short description of the event in a few words in English: Who did what?

EVLEVEL = Event level
Code the geographical level of the event. Indications for the event level are in the first place the political level of the most important institution and in the second place the origin of the participants.

1 sub-national
2 national
3 Eurozone, EU or Troika
4 Transnational / global, beyond EU
6 unclear, not applicable

EVTYP1 = Type of event
Indicate the type of event related to the attribution, which is identified according to the rules above (5.1 "Which events do we code?").[26] If you cannot find an adequate event type, please use "other" and specify in the description variable.

[26] This variable is a filter distinguishing contentious events from other events as coding rules differ. For all values larger than 100 the full coding of contentious events variables apply, while for all other events only variables EVDESCR, EVTYP1 and EVLEVEL are coded.

Conventional Politics and judicial action
10 Elections and election campaigns
11 summits and institutional meetings (not protest assemblies)
12 parliamentary meetings and specific parliamentary debates
15 trials and court rulings
16 other meetings in conventional politics
17 state visits and other official visits
18 public speeches / public addresses
19 negotiation meetings
20 party conferences

29 other institutional events / conventional politics (specify in EVDESCR)

Economic events (not contentious actions)
30 conferences, congresses and trade fairs
31 stockholder meetings / general assembly / corporation meetings
32 business takeovers negotiations
33 bankruptcies
34 economic negotiation meetings
35 credit rating decisions
39 other economic events (specify in EVDESCR)

Societal events
40 sport events
41 commemorations
42 religious events
43 public fairs and celebrations
49 other societal events (specify in EVDESCR)

99 other events (specify in EVDESCR)

Contentious Politics Actions [by non-state actors]
110 'assemblies, in-door meetings, social movement conferences and counter-summits
120 'juridical action' (not further specified/none of the following)[27]
121 procedural complaint/*Verfahrenseinspruch*
122 litigation/*Klage*
130 'direct-democratic action'[28]
140 'petitions'[29]
150 'demonstrative protests' (not further specified/none of the following)
151 demonstration assembly (out-door), vigil
152 demonstration march / long marches
160 strike / general strike
170 'confrontational protests' (not further specified/none of the following)
171 blockade

[27] Refers to appeals to the judiciary (e.g. filing lawsuits), not actions by the judiciary (the latter appear as statements, or decisions).

[28] Launching, collection and presentation of signatures in the context of referendum and initiative campaigns that are part of formal procedures in the context of direct democracy, online, offline. Otherwise see code 240.

[29] Includes petitions, other form of signature collection (outside direct-democratic contexts, cf. code 230) and letter campaigns. Petitions are a collective (not individual) form of mass mobilization.

172 disturbance
173 hunger strike
174 occupation of buildings
176 Occupation of squares / encampments
175 symbolic violence against objects and persons (e.g. graffiti, paint 'bombs')
180 violent protests' (not further specified/none of the following)
181 violence against things
182 violence against people / protesters

999 other contentious politics action / specify in EVDESCR

FOR CONTENTIOUS POLITICS EVENTS ONLY

Specification of event types → contentious politics
Code the following variables EVDATE until DEATHS only for codes 110 – 999 in the EVTYP1 variable (i.e. contentious politics action).

EVTYP2, EVTYP3= Changes in the type of protest event
Usually, only one type of event (EVTYP1, see above) is coded. Only if the type of event changes over time or the event has to be characterized by a combination of event types, several event types may be coded.[30] **One protest event** can change its character and take different forms or types (e.g. a protest event specified in time, space and participants which includes the EVTYP1 "demonstration march" and later "blockade").
All following variables refer to the entire event and not the different event types.

In the first event type variable (i.e. EVTYP1) the most important type should be used. More important event types are (use criteria in the following steps):
1. largest number of participants
2. largest number of organizers
3. most prominent (usually most prominently reported)
If several types are equally important, use the variables in the order of the temporal sequence (i.e. EVTYP1 for the earlier type and EVTYP2 for the later type).

EVDATE = Date of event YYYYMMDD
Type in the date of the event (YYYYMMDD).
Reconstruct the date from information such as "yesterday" etc.
Imprecise dates: If only the week is available but not the exact day of the week, use the first day of that week (i.e. the date of the Monday). If only the month is available code YYYYMM and then 00. If only the year is available code YYYY and then 0000.

EVISS1, EVISS2 = issue of the event
In this variable we code (in broad categories), what the event's content is about. This variable targets the main issues which are at stake.
Code the issues of the event according to the → issue list. Code the more important or more precise issue first. If more than two issues apply, code the most important or most precise two issues. However, mention more issues in the EVDESCR (see above).

[30] However, also see instructions on "one or several events?" in section 5.2.

EVLOC1 = location of the event

In this variable we code the location according to the following list. The event location is not necessarily limited to cities. For cities use this list. For countries or regional levels (e.g. “protests in Greece” / “protests in the European Union) code “other” and specify the location in the following variable EVLOC2.

1 Athens
2 Thessaloniki
3 Patras
4 Herakleion
5 Ioannina
6 Larisa
7 Alexandroupoli
8 Piraeus
18 unclear Greek location
19 Other Greek location

21 Berlin
22 Frankfurt/M.
23 Bonn
24 Hamburg
25 München (*Munich*)
26 Köln (*Cologne*)
27 Düsseldorf
38 unclear German location
39 other German location

41 Brussels
42 Luxembourg
43 Strasbourg
44 Reykjavik
45 Vaduz
46 Oslo
47 Bern
48 London
49 Tallinn
50 Vienna
51 Nicosia
52 Paris
53 Dublin
54 Rome
55 Riga
56 Valletta
57 Amsterdam
58 Lisbon
59 Bratislava
60 Ljubljana
61 Madrid
62 Barcelona
63 Copenhagen

64 Stockholm
65 Zurich
68 Unclear European location
69 Other European Location

70 Washington
71 New York
72 Los Angeles
90 Other place

99 Unclear place

EVLOC2
Type in if EVLOC is "Other European Location" (code 69) or "Other place" (code 90) or if more than one location is mentioned.

EVEACT1 – EVEACT3 = Event Actor
Code here the actors mainly associated with the event according to the → **actor list** . Code the organization that calls to the streets etc. or the actor which is mainly associated with the initiation of the protest event. In cases where the event is the distribution of written text material (e.g. statement, press release, propaganda) the author is the event actor.
Note that we code missing information on the organizer (missing=no entry) differently from anonymous/clandestine organizers who explicitly conceal their identity (code XX6300 – see actor list).

EVEACTN1 – EVEACTN3 = Names of Event Actors
Type in (or cut & paste) the actual name of the event actor.
You may leave this variable blank if its content would be identical with the code (E.g. if you coded 505701 in EVEACT there is no need to type in "Greenpeace Europe" if this is the only information available.)

EVEACTM = More Event Actors
Type in further event actors in this string variable.

PARTIC = Participants in event
Number of participants directly related to the event. This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!
Participants are those who take part in the event type and are committed to the claim. This does *not* include those who are spectators or victims of an event. E.g. for a blockade those people actively blocking are participants and not those who are blocked.
The number of participants is only coded if information on this number can be directly deduced from the text. The information may be precise or (rough) estimates. If differing estimates are given, type in the arithmetic average.
If no numbers are given but a picture provides sufficient information for an estimate of the number, then give an estimate based on the picture.
If words or verbal descriptions are given for the number of participants (e.g. "thousands of protestors") type in the word or verbal description.
Please be careful to relate the number of participants correctly to the order of coded forms.

- 1 default answer if no information is given in the article

Protest policing (see specified variables)
Code some of the reported characteristics in the police handling of the protest or other contentious politics events, if any.

POLICE = Policing of protest
Code here the kind of activities by the police in handling the protest or other contentious events. If the police only stood aside, e.g. watched the protest or stopped the traffic in case of a demonstration, but did not become active, code 1. If the police became active, e.g. stopping a demonstration march or exerting some kind of repressive action, code 2 (see below). This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!

0 no police presence reported / unknown
1 police presence, but no active policing
2 police presence and active policing
3 riot police/special police forces presence and active policing

POLNUM = Number of policemen / policewomen [only if POLICE=1, 2 or 3]
If variable POLICE is coded 1, 2 or 3, code here the number of policemen / policewomen present at the scene if reported. Otherwise make no entry. Refer only to numbers explicitly stated in the source. This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!

- 1 default answer if no information is given in the article

POLACT1 – POLACT3 = police actions [only if POLICE=2 or 3]
If variable POLICE is coded 2 or 3, code here the specific police actions carried out. Otherwise make no entry. A combination of several reported police actions is possible. This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!

1 Stopping or dispersal of demonstration or protest event
2 Use of physical force in immediate confrontation (e.g. hand to hand combat, light weapons such as pepper spray, use of batons etc.)
3 Use of non-killing weapons (e.g. tear gas, water cannons, rubber bullets etc.)
4 Use of killing weapons (live ammunition)
5 Arrests
6 Preventive arrests/preventive detention [προσαγωγές]
7 other non-violent actions
9 other

POLARR = police arrests
Code here the reported number of arrests. Refer only to numbers explicitly stated in the source. If differing numbers are mentioned use the arithmetic average. If estimates differ to a very large extent (one estimate is double or more of the other) leave a COMMENT. This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!

- 1 default answer if no information is given in the article

Injuries (see specified variables)
Code the number of people who were injured due to the protest. Refer only to numbers explicitly stated in the source. If differing numbers are mentioned use the arithmetic average. If estimates differ to a very large extent (one estimate is double or more of the other) leave a COMMENT.
We differentiate the number by protesters, police, bystanders, and then code a total.
If no injured people are mentioned, code 0 in the variable INJTOT and leave all others blank. If a number of injured people is given without specifying the kind of people, type this number in the variable INJTOT and leave all others blank.
If the injured people are given only for the subcategories mentioned above (protesters, police, bystanders) leave INJTOT blank.
If a number for the subcategories (protesters, police, bystanders) is given and also a total number of injured people, then type in here the given total number. This rule applies irrespective of whether the reported total number is actually the sum of the subcategories or not. This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!

- 1 default answer if no information is given in the article

INJPRO = number of protesters injured during the protest
Code the number only if the injured people are explicitly described as protesters. This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!

- 1 default answer if no information is given in the article

INJPOL = number of policemen and policewomen injured during the protest
Code the number only if the injured people are explicitly described as people from the police. This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!

- 1 default answer if no information is given in the article

INJBY = number of bystanders or not involved people injured during the protest
Code the number only if the injured people are explicitly described as bystanders. This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!

- 1 default answer if no information is given in the article

INJTOT = total number of injured people during the protest
Code the total number of injured people.
If no injured people are mentioned, code 0 in the variable INJTOT and leave all other variables (i.e. INJPRO, INJPOL, INJBY) blank.
If a number of injured people is given without specifying the kind of people, type this number in the variable INJTOT and leave all others blank.
If the injured people are given only for the subcategories mentioned above (protesters, police, bystanders) leave this variable blank.
If a number for the subcategories (protesters, police, bystanders) is given and also a total number of injured people, then type in here the given total number. This rule applies irrespective of whether the reported total number is actually the sum of the subcategories or not. This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!

- 1 default answer if no information is given in the article

DEATHS = People having died in an event
Type in number of people having died in direct relation to an event. This includes the death of people who were injured / had a heart attack during an event and later died due to these injuries. Code only if these deaths are directly reported in the text and do not rely on context knowledge. This variable refers to the entire event, taking all event types together!

- 1 default answer if no information is given in the article

6. Coding Rules on Actor Attribution Level

The coding of actor attributions is presumably the most complex step of the coding procedure. In the following, we first describe the structure of coding actor attributions (6.1) and discuss the general question of identifying actor attributions – and separating one from another (6.2). Afterwards, we explain some fundamental rules for the more complicated elements of actor attributions, i.e. identifying actors (6.3) and coding actors (6.4), attribution issues (6.5), attribution types (6.6), and reasons (6.7) before we then turn to the actual list of variables to be coded on the attribution level (6.8).
Actor attributions are coded regardless whether we have information on the event in which it is embedded. If an actor attribution is not part of an identifiable event, on the event level we code only an event number (EVNUM) and a short description (EVDESCR) why this is not an event (see above 5.)

6.1 Structure of Coding Actor Attributions

The unit of analysis on the actor attribution level is a single actor attribution. The actor attribution in its full-fledged form is the answer to the question: "Who [sender] makes whom [addressee] publicly responsible for what [issue] in which way [type], how [form] and based on which reasons [reason]?"
The six basic elements of an actor attribution are:

1. Sender
2. Issue
3. Addressee

4. Attribution type
5. Form of Statement
6. Reasoning

For each attribution we code information in several variables:

Who makes	whom	responsible for what	in which way	how	based on which reasons?
Sender	Addressee	Issue	Type	Form	Reasoning
AS	AA	AI	ATTR	ATTFORM	REASON
ASFUNC ASNAME ASTIME ASNAT ASPARTY ASAFFIL (SPEAK)	AAFUNC AANAME AATIME AANAT AAPARTY AAAFIL AAFORM	AISSUE AIDIR AICRISI (AISSCNT)			REASON1-6 REACONT1-6 REAIMP1-6 REACOLL1-6 READIR1-6 REAAIM1-6

Coding actor attributions is tricky insofar as constellations of actors and the issue (attribution trias) are often hard to identify and scattered over the article content. An actor attribution is not necessarily reported in one sentence or one paragraph. Especially irony or cynicism and the like are hard to interpret and – in case of doubt – need to be discussed with instructors.
Only information that is found in the article can be coded. Any context knowledge which is not referred to in the article may not be used for coding (see exception in cases of protest events in the following section). E.g. if the coder happens to know that actor A was involved in the reported activity but this actor A is not mentioned in the article, actor A may not appear in the coding. However, the interpretation of words mentioned in the article is relevant for the coding. E.g. if the article reports about "Brussels" doing something and the context of the article indicates that political actors from the EU are meant by this (and not the Belgium national government), the coder has to code "EU, not specified" as the actor, though the EU as such may be not mentioned literally.

6.2 Identifying Actor Attributions

Often articles and texts do not mention each bit of information we would like to know for our coding. Information in newspaper reporting and other sources tends to be incomplete. This incompleteness is not necessarily a problem for coding. Some of the variables may be left with missing information.
For an actor attribution to be included in our coding we need to be able to clearly identify the following elements, based on the text:
Sender (AS)
Issue (AI)
Addressee (AA)
Type of Attribution (ATTR).
Only if these four elements can be identified *and* the issue is in some sense related to the Eurozone crisis (see section 1.5) we start coding an actor attribution. The following and section 6.3 provide some guidelines that help to identify attributions (some of these are particularly helpful if you are confronted with a large amount of alleged attributions).

What is an evaluation?
Attributions contain a clear judgment about the **responsibility of an addressee** for an issue, mostly in terms of success or failure. Only if the attribution type (critique, blame, request, praise…) is clear from the text, the attribution claim is coded. E.g., general speculations, usually by journalists, about future developments such as "the coalition will aim to reduce

income taxes" or propositions such as "*Müller proposes the Greek government to impose more taxes*" do not imply a judgement. The same applies to sentences such as: "Of key importance is how quickly the new government deals with corporate and inheritance tax". **Again, even though the journalist considers the issue as important, there is no clear request or judgment and therefore no attribution to be coded!**

Attributions are discursive in character – actions are not attributions

Actions as such, even if they have evaluative character, are not coded as attributions. The analysis only considers discursive actor attributions which are articulated in the public realm: actions miss the character of discursiveness. Therefore, election and poll results, grading (up or down) by rating agencies or court rulings are no attributions as such. Only if these decisions are commented, e.g. verbally supported by a sender etc., we code an attribution.

Example: *The election results clearly show that the voters punished the liberal party for their neoliberal stance on market regulation*. The voters' punishment constitutes an action and **not** a discursive statement and hence, no attribution is coded.

Attributions in protest events

In demonstrations and protest events the discursiveness of attributions is not always clear. Often slogans are expressed in the public or participants are interviewed but sometimes we have limited information on verbally expressed content. In any case, attributions are coded if the attribution sender, the issue of the protest attribution and the type of attribution can be coded:

Example: 1) *Thousands marched in front of the Irish Parliament to express their anger about the government's austerity plans* 2) *Students demonstrated against the labor market reform* → Attributions!

Clearly identifiable addressees

We code only those attributions that contain a clearly defined addressee which can be found in the text. Without clear addressee, no attribution.

Example: Sometimes general political claims are not immediately directed at a political partner or adversary and therefore not considered as attributions: This is often the case in political election campaigns.

Example: *The oppositional social democrats opt for an increase in public spending* is not a clear request attribution at the government and therefore not coded. These political claims are only included if they are a reaction to another actor's behavior.

Example: *Cayo Lara, leader of United Left, told reporters tax increases proposed by the government were "unjust and unfair"*. This is a direct reaction to a political proposal of another actor.

To identify the addressee, the article context matters: The addressee can also be deduced from information found elsewhere in the article.

Exception: Protest Events and contentious politics

However, there is one important exception to this rule: In case of attributions made within the context of protest events such as demonstrations, strikes etc. (see section events) the addressee is often not clearly stated. Here, and only in this case, we assume a link to the more general political debate and use available information around this event to make conclusions for the addressee. The following rules apply in hierarchical order, so apply the first rule and only if you cannot decide on by this rule on the addressee move to the next rule:

1. Use information from the rest of the article to find out which actor is most likely addressed.

2. Use information from other articles on this day (or available adjacent days) to find out which actor is most likely addressed.
3. Leave the addressee open but make sure that possible relevant information is included in the description of the attribution (ATDESCR).
Keep in mind that these rules only apply to contentious politics events (EVTYP 110-182).

Exception 2: Reuters coding

In case of Reuters reporting, we also code **request attributions** without addressee in order to cover additional elements of the international debate on the Eurozone crisis. Covering attributions without addressee allows tracing general policy proposals ("Merkel [AS] rejects [ATTR] Eurobonds [AI]" → no clear AA) and associating actors with policy ideas without being restricted by the strict requirements of the attribution trias. Reuters coders shall contact the coding instructors before starting. Remember that this applies only for request attributions!

Journalist statements as actor attributions

Statements by the journalist are often not actor attributions because journalists are not considered as senders as long as they are in their role as reporting actors. Usually they are in a role of stating facts. These statements do not per se constitute a contribution to a discourse and **therefore journalists usually do not qualify as senders.**

This general rule has an important exception: if a statement of a journalist **has a strong moral judgement**, which can be distinguished from the normal reporting style, the journalist qualifies as a sender and can become part of an actor attribution. Note that these kinds of statements tend to be rare. With this normative judgement, the journalist becomes an attribution sender within the discussion and not just a news reporter. Again, the attribution trias needs to be complete.

Example: *Journalist (AS): "It seems once again clear, that this government (AA) is not able to supply this city with a flourishing public transport system (AI)." Journalist (AS): "Discussion over the privatization of our pioneer tube system shows the inability of the transport department (AA) to install an effective and efficient underground (AI) for Londoners."*

Sometimes a moral judgment by the journalist concerns another statement given in the article. Similarly, in this case the journalist becomes an active attribution sender through judging or evaluating the statement of another person. Again, usually these kinds of statements are rare. Alike the **full trias** must be identified in order to be valid for coding.

Example: *"The fact, that the Mayor (AS) announced on a press conference, that the **decision (AI)** of the London Assembly (AA) cannot be applied, sheds negative light over the meaning of the new decisions (additional evaluation of the journalist over the new decision by the Assembly).* Here the journalist judges what the Mayor attributed to the Assembly. Therefore, we code it as **two attributions**. One comes from the Mayor and the other from the Journalist, AA is the London Assembly in one case and the Mayor in the other case. The attribution subject (AI) stays the same.

Only if these conditions are fulfilled and we identify an attribution, the next steps take place. If these elements cannot be identified, the textual structure is not defined as an attribution in the sense of this research.

Separating Actor Attributions – One or Two?

As the actor attribution is the unit of analysis the decision at which point a new attribution starts (and is to separate from a former attribution) is of crucial importance. This has to be judged with care.

A new attribution starts when one element of the coding trias changes: sender AS, issue AI, addressee AA, Attribution Type ATTR[31] or when the event changes.
Like all coding rules, this rule refers to the actual content of each variable, not the used codes. Issues and actors (and everything else) are only identical, if they are identical in reality, regardless whether they get the same code or not.
This means, there can be two different issues which are clearly separate but are coded with the same value in the issue list. Still, they remain two different issues and constitute two attributions. The same applies for actors and events.

Example*: An undefined member X of the German executive blames the Greek government for overspending. A second undefined member Y of the German executive repeats this attribution. Both attributions result in the same codes (German Executive [112100] blames Greek Executive for overspending) but the actual senders are not identical and therefore we code two attributions. However, a repetition of one attribution by one actor does not result in the coding of a new attribution if the event and all parts of the attribution trias remain identical.*

Moreover, identical and repeated attributions, where AS+AA+ATTR+AI+Event remain the same, are coded once per article, sampling day and source.
For most sources, this latter rule applies mainly on article level, when, for instance, actors repeat a certain attribution during an interview. According to the rule, this attribution is only coded once. In some cases, and especially for Reuters coding the sampling day context is also important: In Reuters reporting, oftentimes, attributions steaming from important events or interviews are used several times a day in several articles. According to the rule, identical attributions, where AS+AA+ATTR+AI remain the same, are coded once **per sampling day**! In order to identify identical attributions, it is crucial to keep track of the attributions coded for one sampling day. **In all cases of identical and repeated attributions, please use the comment variable to count the number of these re-appearing attributions!**
The rule implies that changes in the other elements of the attribution (form, reasons) do **not** suffice for constituting a new actor attribution! If the form or reasons change, we code several forms or reasons, but this does not constitute a new actor attribution as such.
Important: If the evaluation changes, and we find first positive and then negative evaluation by the same sender (AS) about the same issue (AI) addressed at the same addressee (AA), this does not result in the coding of two separate actor attributions but in one actor attribution with an ambivalent evaluation.
Actor attributions embedded in different events (see section 5.1) are also separate actor attributions.

Attributions within several events
If an attribution is mentioned in the text only once but it is reported that this content was voiced in several events, then the attribution is coded for each event separately.
This can inter alia happen if protests in different places on the same issue are reported. The rule implies that identical codes are used for each attribution per event. The reasoning behind the rule is that different people (i.e. different actors) voice the attribution in the different places.
Example: *Italian students protested in Pisa, Rome and Florence against cuts in the university budgets.* This results in three attributions, i.e. one attribution per city. Each attribution is coded as 'Italian students (AS) make a negative causal attribution (ATTR) against the Italian government (AA) for spending cuts (AI)'.

[31] Does not apply for ambivalent attributions!

Positive and negative phrasing
If an attribution is presented two times in the same text, only one attribution is coded. This can happen as a positive and negative phrasing of the same content.
Example: *The Finnish minister suggested to delegate the decision on funding small business to the regional level and limit the responsibility of the European Commission.* In this example the Finnish minister (AS) makes a competence attribution to the regional political level (AA) for deciding on funding small business (AI). This implies the rejection of a competence attribution to the European Commission (second part of the example). Due to this direct logical implication of the second attribution in the first attribution, we code only one attribution (the first one).

Opinion and comment articles
Opinion and comment articles tend to have more attributions when compared to other article types. Sometimes the specific structure of these articles (e.g. a "pros and cons"-structure) and the attributions resulting from this structure, conceal the essence of the articles. If for instance, a journalist blames Merkel on several different policy issues just to say that despite all these wrongdoings Merkel's overall performance has to be applauded because her crisis management outweighs all other mistakes, this would result in several attributions of blame but only one positive attribution. This is not a problem and coders should stick to the normal coding procedures. In order to identify the essence of the articles, please provide further information on the "core attribution" if you have the impression that the coded attributions conceal the sender's core message. Please use the Comment-Variable.

Metaphors and figurative language
In a heated and politicized debate, the use of metaphors, figurative language and passions is widespread, especially in opinion articles. When dealing with metaphors, always try to grasp the essence of the argument and translate metaphorical language into the basic attribution types such as the attribution of blame and success and the core attribution issue (*What is at stake?*) In case of severe doubt and unclear cases, refrain from coding or use the comments section.

Conditional attributions
Sometimes request attributions or competence attributions are linked to a condition. The coding of such a conditional attribution depends on the likeliness of the condition to become reality. If there is a high likeliness that the condition will become reality in a not too distant future, then the attribution is coded as if stated without condition. If the condition is rather **unlikely** to become reality, if it is unclear or if the condition is **open**, the attribution is **not** coded. This implies that many conditional attributions are not coded. This judgement lies within the responsibility of the coder.
As a general rule, conditions do not result in the coding of reasons!

Example 1: "*A Spanish MEP said: **As soon as** the reform bill passes the parliament on Monday, Merkel has to break her silence on austerity!*" → For the speaker the passing of the reform bill on Monday seems likely, therefore the attribution is coded: Spanish MEP (AS) requests Merkel (AA) to break her silence on austerity (AI).

Example 2 (negative): "*A Spanish MEP said: If the reform bill should pass the parliament on Monday the Troika has to leave the country immediately*." → For the sender it seems unclear whether the reform bill passes parliament. No attribution coded!

Example 3: "*Politician: If Greece wants to stay in the Eurozone, it has to cut pensions*!"

Here, the condition refers to a motivation of an actor (Greece) but the rule remains the same: The sender seems to assume that Greece wants to stay in the Eurozone; the condition is likely. Therefore, we code the request attribution: Politicians (AS) requests Greece (AA) to cut pensions. *No reason coded!*

Example 4 (negative): "*A politician: If the bill passes the parliament, Germany should immediately cut Greek debts. If it doesn't, Greece has to leave the Eurozone!*" → The speaker is not sure whether the bill will pass or not. Therefore, no attribution is coded.

If-conditions can also be used as a stylistic element. Therefore, please also refer to the paragraph on "Metaphors and figurative language"!

6.3 Identifying Actors

As actors are constitutive and necessary parts of an actor attribution, we have to be careful in identifying all actors – as well as non-actors.
Who is an actor? Actors in the sense of this coding procedure are all persons, groups of persons, as well as organizations, institutions and abstract phenomena referred to in an animistic way, which according to the reporting act or speak or are addressed.
While people can act or speak directly, organizations, institutions and even social phenomena (e.g. "the market") can be addressed as if they were actors. Then we also regard them as an actor for our coding.

Self-attribution
The sender and the addressee of attributions can be identical.

Imprecise description of actors
Actors can be directly named but they can also be described in vague terms. For identifying an actor, we do not need precise information. However, we need to be able to identify a functional subsystem and the nationality. E.g. Greek "experts" or German "analysts" constitute actors stemming from academia. E.g. the majority of Greeks" is an actor because we can identify the nationality and the functional subsystem "society". E.g. "critics" do not qualify as an actor because they can neither be attributed to a societal subsystem nor to a nationality.

Social Phenomena as actors
In reporting and public debates sometimes phenomena are treated as if they were independently acting. We find sentences like "The market punishes the government for excessive debts" or abstract references such as "globalization reminds governments to decrease payroll taxes". If phenomena such as "the market" or "globalization" or "nature" are **presented as (human) actors**, we follow these discursive constructions that we find in the press: Phenomena are coded as actors if they are treated as such in the reporting and **if they refer to phenomena which are perceived as beyond the control of individual or collective actors**. That means, a phenomenon is treated and coded as an actor if all the following conditions are given:

- *actorhood and agency are assigned to phenomena according to the text*
  E.g. the phenomenon is the subject of the sentence and is combined with a verb that represents a human activity. **Negative Example**: "*Health experts blame the increasing poverty for the declining public health*" is **not** an attribution. There is **no clear agency**

assigned to "poverty".

- *the constructed actor is not a figurative description of actors*
  (see section 6.4 "collective actors", "vague actors", "diffuse actors"). E.g. the sentence, "Germany opposes Eurobonds…" is assigning the country "Germany" the status of an actor, but the context (in and beyond the article) clearly indicates that the journalist refers to the political subsystem which can be coded as such. **Example**: "German banks urge Merkel to save the Euro" which again clearly refers to actors in the classical sense, i.e. banks as part of the societal subsystem Economy. The same applies to vague actors such as the "majority of Germans" or "the people" (see the section "Society" XX7XXX in the actor list).
- *the phenomenon is not a normative or moral principle*
  E.g. "Democracy tells us not to ignore…": democracy might look like a potential actor but it is not because it is a normative principle which is spelled out. The sentence could be rephrased in the way: "Because we want to follow democratic principles we cannot ignore…". Accordingly, this information is relevant for the coding of impact but not of actors.

Use the interpretation of a phenomenon as an actor only if these three criteria can be substantiated from the text and context.
In the actor list , social phenomena as actors can be found under the codes XX9XXX. Use these codes only if the codes of all other subgroups (see actor list codes XX1XXX to XX8XXX) do not apply.

The coding of social phenomenon as actors should be done with caution. Before coding social phenomenon as actors always check whether the coding of "conventional actors" is possible and in conflicting cases stick to the conventional ones. In most cases, social phenomena as actors appear as attributions senders!

Speaker
If a social phenomenon is coded as the sender of an attribution according to the standards defined above, the speaker who presents the phenomenon as actor / sender is coded as well. The variable SPEAK=Speaker is only coded when social phenomena appear as senders!
Example: "*Schäuble (SPEAK) says that the markets (AS) urge the Eurozone governments (AA) to decrease taxes (AI)".*

List of actors
Sometimes actors are listed, implying several senders or several addressees. In both cases these lists constitute several attributions.
Example: "*The prime minister of Luxembourg Junker accused Britain and Finland of blocking necessary reforms of the monetary union.*" In this case, Junker (AS) blames Britain (AA) for the lack of reforms (attribution 1); and Junker (AS) blames Finland (AA) for the same lack of reforms (attribution 2).

Multiple-Actor Constellations
In some cases, actors are treated as one entity. **Example**: *Juncker applauds the Crisis Countries for their economic recovery*. Common multiple-actor constellations can be found in the actor-list.

Stylistic changes of actor names
Identical actors can be named differently in an article only for stylistic reasons. This does not constitute different attributions.

Example: "*The German chancellor blames the Greek Government for the massive tax evasion in the country. Berlin is outraged.*" In this example, the German chancellor and "Berlin" signify identical actors. Accordingly, only one attribution is coded.

Passive wording
If sentences are formed in passive they can leave out the subject, which often results in a non-identifiable sender. Passive wording does not constitute an actor (i.e. a sender). E.g. "The Commission was criticized for its hesitation" is not an attribution because there is no sender.

6.4 Coding of Actors

The coding of actors has to follow a number of (quite complex) rules. Therefore, in this section general rules are outlined before we later (section 6.8) list the specification of individual variables.
For actors we code the function (i.e. geographical background, societal subsystem and institution) and the full name. For actors of the supranational level (e.g. EU, IMF) we also code the nationality of the actor. For actors involved in parties or political institutions the political affiliation is coded.
An actor attribution encompasses two actors: a sender and an addressee. Both of these actors are coded according to the same four variables: function; name; if applicable also: nationality; party. These variables always appear in two forms. For the attribution sender it is ASFUNC, ASNAME, ASNAT and ASPARTY; for the attribution addressee it is AAFUNC, AANAME, AATIME, AANAT and AAPARTY.

Function of the actor (ASFUNC, AAFUNC)
The function of an actor is coded according to a detailed coding list (→actor list) which approaches the function of actors in a hierarchical way: The highest level is the country or geographical level (e.g. European) of an actor. Level 2 is the societal subsystem of an actor (e.g. politics). Level 3 is the institution (e.g. government). Level 4 is an organizational subunit of the institution (e.g. ministry of finance). Level 5 is the actual function of the person (e.g. press officer in the respective ministry).
Not for all actors all levels are needed to specify the function. See the actor list for details.
In case of incomplete information on the actor, code the higher hierarchical level and then "unspecified" (e.g. government member with unclear affiliation to ministries or alike).
For the specification of an actor's function some rules have to be kept in mind:

Specification of actors
Sometimes identical attributions of one actor appear on abstract and on more detailed level, directly one after another. If the more concrete actor is a direct and clear specification or representation of the more abstract actor, only the attribution of the concrete actor is coded.
Example: *"The Spanish Left criticizes the government's plans to raise value-added tax. Cayo Lara, leader of the United Left, argued that the measures would imply an unproportional burden on the poor"*. In principle, the paragraph implies two attributions. 1. The Spanish Left (AS) criticizes the Spanish government (AA) because of its tax policy plans (AI), 2. Cayo Lara, leader of the United Left, (AS) criticizes the Spanish government (AA) because of its tax policy plans (AI). However, Cayo Lara in this case represents and stands for the Spanish Left. In immediate sequence, the more concrete actor specifies the more abstract one. Therefore, only attribution 2 is coded.

Changes over time
Identical people can change their function over time, e.g. first having a position within a party and then becoming minister. Code always the function a person has at the time of reporting.

Double functions
Some actors have several functions at the same time. This applies especially for the European level. E.g. Junker has been prime minister of Luxembourg (national level Luxembourg) and head of the Euro group (European level) at the same time. If this is the case use the following rules: Start with a decision following the first rule and only refer to the next rule if no decision was possible:
1. Refer to the function mentioned in the text.
If two or more functions are mentioned:
2. Political actors in the intergovernmental European Council and the Council of ministers (also simply: Council) are coded with their national function (i.e. national head of government/national minister). Members of the supranational institutions (i.e. Commission, European Parliament, European Central Bank) are coded with the European function.
Multinational enterprises are coded as transnational actors worldwide. This does not apply if a specific national (or subnational) branch is mentioned.
3. Code the more dominant function
4. Code the function mentioned first in the text
5. Use the code 'other actor' within the respective societal subsystem and add the full name/description of the author in the name variable. These cases will be revised later.

Collective actors
Not only individuals but also collective actors can be mentioned as actors (e.g. "Germany decided…"). These are valid actors and are coded with the precision available. This includes an interpretation of the societal subsystem to the extent that the article allows such conclusion. E.g. in cases where only a country is mentioned as an actor but the report is on political negotiations, the respective subsystem is "politics".

Vague actors
If actors are only vaguely mentioned (e.g. "politicians have said…") code an actor only with the information available (at least country and societal subsystem[32]). Do not code more specific, if that is not mentioned in the article.
If actors are neither specified according to their societal subsystem nor to their nationality (e.g. "critics say, commentators say, people say...") we do not regard them as an actor.

Diffuse actors
Also unorganized groups of people can be referred to as an actor in the reporting (e.g. "the majority of the French, the Greeks, the middle classes, working people"). Therefore, they also qualify as an actor as long as a geographical unit and societal subsystem are specified.

Documents as actors
Documents are linked to their authors and therefore can have the status of an actor. If a document states an attribution, we regard the author of the document as the sender. If a document is addressed the author of the document is the addressee.
E.g. "*Guidelines from the troika contributed to the changes…*" In this case, the troika as

[32] The sub-system XX7XXX (actors, society) in the actor list is NOT a "back-up" sub-system for all those vague actors which do not fit into other systems. It is mainly designed to code affected collectivities in the reason line. In exceptional cases, the entries in this subsystem can be coded as sender or addressee. In these cases, try to stick to the entries in the actor list as close as possible.

author of the guidelines is an actor, which is addressed. If the Troika Memorandum is the actor, code 622509 ff. in the actor list → Troika and Greek government *(Memorandum signatories).*

Journalists as actors
In most cases, the journalist is no actor. Especially if he/she is the author of the article, he/she is usually no actor. Journalists can be senders, however, if they make **a strong moral or evaluation statement**. This is often the case in comment or opinion articles. The same is true if the newspaper itself is quoted in the article. In this case it may become a sender of an actor attribution.

Citing actors
If an actor cites another actor's discursive statement with an expression relevant for attributions this quote is handled identical to the reporting of a journalist.

Citing and commenting other actors
If a cited expression is evaluated by the quoting actor this results in another attribution with the quoting actor as attribution sender.
Example: "*The commissioner criticized Major for his blaming Portugal for the failure of the negotiations on harmonizing accounting systems."* This example would result in two attributions: 1. Major (AS) blaming Portugal (AA) for the failed negotiations. 2. The commission (AS) rejecting the blame of Portugal (AA) for the failed negotiations.

Further information coded
Additionally, we code the name of the actor as given in the text (ASNAME, AANAME). In case of actors from transnational institutions, we also code the nationality of the individual (ASNAT, AANAT), if given in the text. In case of political actors, we code her/his party affiliation (ASPARTY, AAPARTY), if given in the text. In order to identify the timeframe of an addressee, we code whether the actor is addressed in its present, past or future role (AATIME).

Type of behavior the addressee is evaluated for
The variable AAFORM connects the Attribution Addressee (AA) to the Attribution Issue (AI / see following section). It helps to identify both Attribution Issue and the type of attribution (ATTR). The Attribution Sender (AS) always evaluates or judges another actor's behavior, its actions or non-actions. This variable describes the general type of this behavior. There are four possible forms on which the sender states his attribution claim. Sometimes, forms such as statements and proposals, proposals and actions or actions and outcomes may overlap.

1 Action or missing action: the addressee is doing or not doing something and the sender evaluates this (missing) action.
The Greek Government (AS + AA) considers its economic policy (AI) successful → Here, economic policy indicates action (AAFORM).
2 Statement or missing statement: The addressee says something or remains silent about a certain issue and the sender evaluates this (missing) statement
The Hellenic Federation of Enterprises (AS) argues that SYRIZA (AA) statements against the economic policy (AI) of the government would deter investments. Or: *Merkel (AS) claims that Berlusconi's (AA) comments on the Troika Memorandum (AI) are inappropriate for a president* → Here, comments indicate a statement (AAFORM).
3 Proposal or missing proposal: The addressee proposes something or fails to deliver a proposal and the sender evaluates the (missing) proposal.

The Greek Government (AS) claims that opposition's (AA) economic policy (AI) proposals will lead to bankruptcy.

4 Outcome or missing outcome: The addressee neither acts or says nor proposes anything but there is a certain outcome which is evaluated without a clear action/statement or proposal connected to this outcome. *SYRIZA (AS) blames the government (AA) as responsible for the poverty of the Greek people*

5 Unclear / other

6.5 Identifying Attribution Issues

The attribution issue is the precise topic which is at the core of the attribution. The definition of the issue is dependent on the sender's perspective in the form in which it is reported. It is important to keep in mind, that the issue is defined by the sender while the code given in the variable AISSUE is only the best representation available in the list.

As a new issue leads to another attribution only one issue per attribution can be coded.

The attribution issue is the actual content in the degree of generality or specificity in which it is mentioned in the article. An issue can be a policy area or a specific policy measure. Separate from this understanding is the question of how precisely we *code* the issue.

A change of the issue constitutes a new attribution. However, if the issue list is not detailed enough both attributions can result in the same *code* for the issue though they do not have the same issue. This is not a problem! The coder has to decide whether the attribution issue (as understood by the sender according to the report) has changed or whether the potential second issue is just a different name for the first issue (which would not result in a second attribution to be coded).

Similar to the actor list also the issue list has a hierarchical structure with more general topics at the top and more detailed topics later on. The coding should be as precise as possible according to the article.

The core of the attribution issue is about (policy) content rather than (political) process.

Separating attribution issues / Specification of attribution issues

If the attribution issue changes, this results in the coding of a separate attribution. There are two rules to be kept in mind:

If the change is only for stylistic reasons and the different words describe an identical issue, the attribution issue does not change.

If an attribution issue is described on an inclusive, abstract level and directly followed by a more detailed description, code only one attribution linked to the more specified attribution issue.

Example: "*The Commissioner for market integration criticized France for the lack of economic reforms. The deregulation of the market is a pressing issue, the Commissioner said."* Here, the attribution issue is the "deregulation of the market" which is a specification of abstract issue "economic reforms".

Attributions referring to different points in time

Attributions can refer to an identical attribution sender, attribution addressee and attribution issue but at two different points in time. This results in two attributions because we understand the issues as being the issue at time point one and the issue at time point two.

Example: "*The Commissioner said the trade unions had proposed disastrous demands in the first round of wage negotiations. Their new proposal was welcomed as an adequate contribution to overcome the crisis.*" Here we have two attributions: 1. The commissioner (AS) blames the unions (AA) for disastrous demands in the past (AI). 2. The commissioner

(AS) welcomes the union's (AA) new proposals on the same issue in the present (AI).

6.6 Type of actor attribution

There are multiple types of actor attributions as outlined above (see section 1.4 and especially figure 2). The type of actor attribution is coded in the variable ATTR including the evaluation (see below).

General structure for types of actor attributions
Overall, actor attributions are differentiated into three categories, the causal attribution, the request attribution, and the competence attribution. While the request attribution and the competence attribution are always directed to the future, the causal attribution can relate to something which already took place (factual causal attribution) or to something which will take place or may take place (prognostic or hypothetical causal attribution).
The evaluation can appear in different forms. Causal attributions can be positive by claiming a positive outcome or rejecting a negative outcome. Vice versa the negative form can by blame for a negative outcome or the rejection of a positive outcome.[33] Possible is also an ambivalent evaluation that discusses positive as well as negative consequences. Request attributions can be only requests for doing something or for refraining from doing something while ambivalence would not lead to a request. Evaluation of competence attributions is the assignment or rejection of competence for an actor.

Causal attribution
Example (negative): Politician 1 (AS) blames politician 2 (AA) for the **unsuccessful** policy performance (AI).
Causal attributions evaluate the effect of somebody's action (factual) OR the (possible) future effects of somebody's action (prognostic/hypothetical). These attributions put the focus on the origin of the misconduct or success and want to capture who was responsible for the performance which is being evaluated. The general pattern is that an actor X (attribution sender AS) sees actor Y (attribution addressee – AA) as responsible for a political outcome or action that has already happened or that will happen. The specific type of this attribution is defined by actor X's evaluation of this responsibility which can be positive (success), negative (blame), or ambivalent.

Request attribution
Example (positive): Politician 1 (AS) requests politician 2 (AA) **to take action** for the policy problem (AI).
Request attributions are claims of what should or should not be done. Actor X (attribution sender – AS) calls for a specific action (attribution issue – AI) by actor Y (attribution addressee – AA). In this case the claim is not for a general competence in the respective field but rather a call for a specified action or decision.

Competence attribution
Example (positive): Politician 1 (AS) claims that institution 2 (AA) **should be in charge of** the policy problem (AI).
Competence attributions are claims of who should be in charge of respective policy problems. Actor X (attribution sender – AS) says that actor Y (attribution addressee – AA) should or should not have the competence and duty to deal with an issue (attribution issue – AI). It is

[33] Gerhards, Offerhaus and Roose (2007) differentiate between these forms but we combine them as they often appear together and are difficult to distinguish while having the same basic implication in terms of evaluation.

not about the cause for a success or failure but about which actor should take care of a policy field in future.
After having coded a causal attribution, it may be necessary to code an equivalent competence attribution, linking the same sender and addressee.

Reminder: Distinction between causal, request and competence attribution
In the case of a causal responsibility attribution, the question is: Who blames (or praises) whom for what? In case of a competence attribution the question is: Who said who should be in charge of what? In case of a request attribution the question is: Who said who should do what?

Distinction between diagnostic and prognostic attribution
Causal attributions can be **diagnostic** or **prognostic** attributions. Diagnostic causal attributions refer to something which already has taken place. The sender attributes responsibility for an actually existent failure or success to the addressee. In contrast, if a sender predicts that an action or non-action will result in a failure or success in the future and the result is still to come, we code a prognostic causal attribution. Sometimes the distinction between diagnostic and prognostic attributions is unclear. Here again, it helps to recall that coding attributions is about content rather than political process: a policy *proposal*, for instance, relates to a process in the past but the actual evaluation of its content relates to its future success of failure. Therefore, in many cases where propositions, suggestions or ideas are evaluated, we are concerned with prognostic attributions!

Overview of all ten coding categories for the attribution type (ATTR)
Taking all rules and conditions into account, attributions are distinguished into ten different types (see also attribution tree, figure 2, section 1.4). If they cannot be categorized in one of the following types, it is not a valid attribution.

Causal Attribution
1. Positive diagnostic causal attribution = success
Johnsons' policy successfully contributed to the quality of local transport in our city. → The Journalist (AS) attributes success (positive responsibility) to Johnson (AA) for the local transport (AI).
Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament, denied the Parliament's role in delaying the improvements on data security in the internet. → Martin Schulz (AS) rejects misconduct concerning the role of the European Parliament (AA) in improving data security in the internet (AI).

2. Negative diagnostic causal attribution = blame
Johnson accused Westminster to undermine his efforts for the local transport of the city by holding back money. → City politician Johnson (AS) blames the central government (AA) to refuse budget (AI).
The Belgium minister of Finance called the European Commission's success reports on its labour market measures an "absolutely inadequate description of the situation". → The Belgium Minister of Finance (AS) rejects the success of the European Commission (AA) on the labour market measures (AI).

3. Ambivalent diagnostic causal attribution = pros and contras
The city council discussed the Mayor's effort in public transport pointing out some success and some shortcomings. → The city council (AS) is ambivalent towards the Mayor's (AA) policy performance (AI).

Remark: Only if positive and negative evaluations are present, attributions are considered ambivalent in the sense of this attribution type. Cases of general uncertainty ("*Experts are unsure how to evaluate Merkel's tax plans*") are not coded; except if they are followed by the weighing of negative and positive evaluations.

4. Positive prognostic causal attribution = addressee's action will lead to success
I assumed that Johnson's increase for the budget of London Underground, would finally lead to satisfied Londoners. → The Journalist (AS) attributes, that Johnsons' (AA) policy performance (AI) will lead to success.
London's city council claimed, that the planned changes for the transport during Olympics, won't affect commuter capacity. → London's city council (AS), London's city council (AA), commuter capacity (AG), won't affect.

5. Negative prognostic causal attribution = addressee's action will not lead to success
The opposition leader doesn't believe that government's announced future plans for London Underground will lead to better transport service. → Opposition leader (AS), government (AA), plans for London Underground (AI).
Gregor Gysi responded in parliament that the government's program on supporting poor children will not improve the situation of a single child. → Gregor Gysi (AS) rejects the government's (AA) assumed success for the situation of poor children (AI).

6. Ambivalent prognostic causal attribution = addressee's action will be positive and negative
The spokesman of the IHK said, free movement of Romanians, implied by the Council's decision, will reduce job vacancies but will also increase xenophobic tendencies. → Spokesman of IHK (AS), European Council (AA), free movement regulations for Romanians (AI) is ambivalent.
Remark: Only if positive and negative evaluations are present, attributions are considered ambivalent in the sense of this attribution type. Cases of general uncertainty ("*Experts are unsure how to evaluate Merkel's tax plans*") are not coded; except if they are followed by the weighing of negative and positive evaluations.

Request attribution
7. Positive request attribution = addressee should do something / take action
German chancellor Merkel urged the German Bundestag to approve plans to boost the firepower of the eurozone rescue fund → Merkel (AS) wants the Bundestag (AA) to approve plans to boost firepower of the rescue fund (AI).
Remark: Request attributions and competence attributions can be similar and might even overlap. This is not a problem. Code the one which seems more appropriate.

8. Negative request attribution = addressee should not take action
500,000 protesters gathered to voice opposition to austerity measures which were being debated in Parliament. → Protesters (AS) request the Greek parliament (AA) not to pass the austerity measures (AI).
Remark: Note that the Addressee is not necessarily the actor who made a request in the first place. See also competence attribution!

Competence attribution
9. Assignment competence attribution = should be in charge of
The interest group for public transport passengers wants the boroughs to be in charge of their

own local transport for London, and not Mayor Johnson. → Interest group for public transport passengers (AS) attribute the competence over local transport (AI) to the boroughs (AA). (The second attribution – negative competence attribution at Mayor Johnson is not coded because it is logically implied by the first attribution.)

10. Rejection competence attribution = should not be in charge of (=negative competence attribution)
Basically the government of the Mayor has the opinion, that the EU should not take action in local economy promotion. → Mayor/government (AS), EU (AA), local economy (AI), not to take action.
Remark: Note that the Addressee is not necessarily the actor who attributed competence in the first place. **Example**: *Özdemir: "I disagree with Gabriel's proposal that the IMF should be in charge of supervising the Greek economy*. First attribution is a competence attribution of Gabriel (AS) directed at the IMF (AA). The second competence attribution is negative and also directed at the IMF which according to Özdemir should not be in charge of supervising the Greek economy. Gabriel does not appear in this second attribution!

6.7 Reasons

Reasons are manifold and complex and the coding of reasons is difficult and needs careful consideration. It is important to keep in mind that the whole construction of the attribution including issue and reasoning, should make sense according to the basic question **"Who makes whom publically responsible for what, based on which reason"**. A reason is **the sender's justification** of his or her attribution: It provides background information why the addressee is evaluated in negative or positive terms or why she or he should take action. **Reasons only appear in connection to attributions! Keep in mind that the basic unit of analysis and the core of the coding procedures are attributions!**

Object-related reasons
While reasons can in principle appear in different forms, we code reasons which relate to the object[34] of an argument based on (perceived) facts (i.e. proof, evidence, and statements on impact and consequences / effects). This approach does not cover all possible justifications which we can find in the text. In any case, we code only those justifications that correspond to this basic idea of what we call object-related reasons.
Object-related reasons are justifications of an attribution trias which express expected consequences, impacts or effects of the attributions addressee's action (or proposal etc.) for an affected collectivity. In this sense, object-related reasons refer to a cause-effect chain where the cause is the addressee's handling of an issue (AI) which has an effect on the reason content. To identify object related reasons, ask for the sender's perceived consequence of the criticized, applauded etc. measure! (→ *see examples below*). Not all cause-effects chains in a text are reasons in this sense; only if the cause-effect chain is explicitly stated by the attribution sender as a means of justifying her/his evaluation or judgment; we code a reason in this sense. Before coding object-related issues it is crucial to clearly identify the attribution and especially the attribution issue beforehand!

[34] Object is defined in a very broad way. Also a normative principle such as justice or capitalism is considered as objects in this sense.

Chain of reasons
Sometimes several reasons are given which depend on each other, building a reason chain, like the AI causes A and A causes B. In this case we code the reason A *and* the reason B as separate reasons for the attribution issue.

Example: "*Gysi blames the German Government on its harsh austerity policy. Austerity causes economic breakdown, which will bring the country close to civil war.*" Austerity (AI) leads to economic breakdown (reason A) which causes a situation close to civil war (reason B). Even though reason A leads to reason B, both reasons are coded as separate reasons given for the attribution.

Coding Structure for Reasons
Reasons are coded in up to six variables (reason line) but not for each reason all variables are coded:

REASON	description of the reason
REACONT	content of the reason
REAIMP	impact or effect of the evaluated issue on reason content
REACOLL	affected collectivity
READIR	impact on or direction of reason's effect for the affected collectivity
REAAIM	aim of the sender and argument in respect to the entire reason line and the expected effects for the affected collectivity

Each variable can be found in version 1 to 6 (e.g. REASON1, REASON 2…), which means that up to six reasons can be coded. If more than six reasons are given, take a look whether some reasons are so close to each other that they can be regarded as (nearly) identical. Otherwise code the reasons in the chronological order of the article as we assume that this reflects the hierarchy in the judgement of the journalist.

Not for all kinds of reasons all variables need to be coded (e.g. REAIMP and REAAIM are only coded for object-related reasons). The variables are explained in turn. Note that the meaning of the variables slightly differs depending on the kind of reason you code.

Reasons are never "independent": they can only be understood in connection to the respective attributions and in particular the attribution issue (AI + AIDIR). Therefore, it is crucial to identify attributions and especially attribution issues before the coding of reasons.

Finally, for unclear cases: Code reasons only when the justifications are clear and unambiguous. **In case of uncertainties, refrain from coding reasons or code only those variables which are clear!**

As reasons are complex and different in kind we start the reason coding with a very short description in our own words according to the cause-effect logic (variable REASON). Then we turn to the systematic coding procedure: The content of the reason (REACONT) is coded based on the → reason list. This list is organized according to the kinds of reasons[35]. The respective code ranges are indicated in figure 3. Similar to the issue list, the entries in the reason list are intentionally kept neutral. **The Reason Content describes the substantive core of the justification and is the central variable of the reason line!**

[35] Bear in mind that the list's structure is mainly designed in order to facilitate coding. Still, during the coding process some codes may appear under counter-intuitive headings. This is not a problem; the researchers can still change and rearrange the particular structure at a later point. Important is the assignment of adequate codes. See issue list and appendix for further details.

For object-related reasons, the variable REAIMP connects the attribution issue (AI + AIDIR) to the reason and describes the **impact** or direction of the criticized / applauded / requested issue on the content of the reason. Code only if the effect is clear!

Sometimes, the coding of Reasons requires more interpretation than the other parts of the coding process. In some cases, written text has to be translated into more general categories and normative principles such as justice or democracy.

Example: "*A blames B for the electoral reform because the reform leads to an infringement of basic voting rights*". Here, it seems adequate to translate the "infringement of basic voting rights" into an "infringement of basic democratic rights" which would result in a coding of the cause effect: "electoral reform leads to an infringement or unbalancing (Reason Impact) "Democracy" (Reason Content).

Example:
The German Green party (AS) denies the success of the government's (AA) tax plans (AI). A spokesperson said on Monday that increases in value added tax (AI) are unjust (REACONT).

Here we code the following:

REASON:	(increased) value added taxes are unjust / cause-effect chain and object related reason
REACONT:	Justice
REAIMP:	decrease (↓): The criticized increase in value added tax (AI↑) decreases justice / leads to "less of justice" (injustice)

Reasons can be related to a **collectivity** (see variable REACOLL). In the case of object-related arguments this is the affected collectivity which did or will suffer/enjoy the consequences mentioned in the reason. In the case of actor-related reasons the related collectivity are those people who are characterized by the sender and for whom emotions are evoked (or tried to be evoked).

Often, the collectivity is not directly mentioned, especially in the case of objet-related reasons. In these cases, we only code collectivities which can be directly derived from the text. This is most obviously the case when the affected collectivity is directly mentioned. It can also be the case, when the logic of the argument does not allow for a different interpretation.

As our analytical interest inter alia targets the spatial dimension of affected collectivities, we have to be particularly careful to refrain from intuitively assuming collectivities and their spatial extension. Code only nationally embedded collectivities if this can be clearly derived from the text or the logic of the argument. Try to avoid making your own choices based on your own assumptions. In these cases, leave the interpretation open and code unclear (general) or unclear nationality.

Code the collectivity as precisely as directly indicated in the text.

Example 1: Italian analyst: "The cuts in university budgets in Italy will make today's students study longer."→ REACOLL: Italian students.

Example 2: "The cuts in university budget will damage the educational basis of the Italian society." → REACOLL: Italian society.

Example 3: Italian politicians: "The cuts in the university budgets will have a negative impact on justice." → unclear collectivity (even though it might seem evident that the Italian society is at stake).

The **direction of the reason** (see variable READIR) informs about the kind of 'effect' on the related collectivity. That again differs according to the kind of reason which is coded. In case of object-related reasons the direction indicates whether the affected collectivity will profit or suffer from the reason content (REACONT + REAIMP). E.g. if the reason content is an increasing prosperity in the Eurozone (REACONT) the affected collectivity (the Eurozone) is likely to profit from the reason. If the reason is economic hardship for the Greek people, the affected collectivity (the Greek people) is likely to suffer from the reason. Often, the affected collectivity is unclear. Still, the direction of the reason can be coded![36] This does not describe whether the sender itself welcomes this effect. Similarly, in case of actor-related reasons the direction of reason indicates whether the characterization evokes positive emotions, negative emotions or empathy for the related collectivity.

Finally, and again only for object-related reasons, the **reason aim** (REAAIM) indicates whether the speaker thinks that the described effect on the collectivity should be achieved or avoided. In many cases, this intention may be self-evident but in some it is not straight-forward. E.g. it may be argued that a bank licence for the ESM would decrease the profits of commercial banks. This implies that commercial banks 'suffer' from this measure as their profits go down but this reduction of profits may be intended as a consequence so the disadvantage (reduced profits) for the affected collectivity (commercial banks) is the aim.

Example: *The German Green party (AS) rejects the government's (AA) tax plans (AI). A spokesperson said on Monday that increases in income tax (AI) further contribute to an unjust tax system in our country* (REACONT).

REASON: (increased) value added taxes are unjust / cause-effect chain and object related reason

REACONT: Justice

REAIMP: decrease (↓): The criticized increase in value added tax (AI↑) decreases justice (leads to injustice)

REACOLL: German (income) tax payers[37]

READIR: This refers to the overall reason line and the impact of injustice (REACONT + REAIMP) for the German people (REACOLL). Hence: ↓; the collectivity is likely to suffer.

REAAIM: This again refers to all the variables coded earlier and the sender's position to the impact on the collectivity. Here: According to the sender, the suffering "shall be avoided"!

[36] This happens if the reason collectivity cannot be derived directly from the text but still it allows the interpretation how the collectivity (be it e.g. either the German population or the European population or even the world population) would be affected. In such cases the direction of the reason is clear though the affected collectivity is not clear enough to be coded.

[37] Though the German income tax payers are not mentioned in words in this example still they are the logically affected collectivity because the argument refers to the unjust German tax system.

Sometimes reasons and issues or entire attributions can be very similar. In these cases, it is important to identify the attribution first and to understand the wider context of the attribution and the reason. Always ask whether the characterization really describes the basic character or the actor and whether this character is used to explain the outcome described in the attribution.

The different meanings of each variable depend on the kind of reason. These are shortly described in the section on the attribution level (section 6.8) and in the respective value lists, especially the reason list.

Note that the variables numbered 1 to 6 belong to each other. That means the reason described in variable REASON2 is specified with a content code in variable REACON2 (and not REACONT3!), the direction can be found in READIR2 and the aim in REAAIM2.

For each reason line, we code a maximum of one entry for each variable. In cases of two or more affected collectivities that are mentioned in one reason context, refer to the → actor list to identify the most adequate multiple-actor-constellations. E.g. The affected collectivity of Reason "unemployment causes suffering of the youth among the countries most affected by the crisis" is 527012 "Young People in Crisis Countries". In case of multiple actor-constellations that cannot be covered by the actor list , use the comment section!

When coding reasons, all variables except REACONT can be left empty in case of uncertainty. Note, however, that patterns of argumentation can only be reconstructed if all variables are coded. In some cases, there may be more than one possible way to code reasons. As long as the selected codes reflect the logic of the argument made in the text, this is not a problem.

Further example:
Christian Schick**, a member of Fortis Investment's global asset allocation team, said the **FDP's** calls for tax cuts were **bad** as they would **widen Germany's sovereign debt

ATDESCR	Schick (AS) criticizes (5, negative prognostic) FDP (AA) for tax policy (AI ↓ = Tax cuts)
REASON	tax cuts lead to public debt
REACONT	Sovereign debt
REAIMP	Criticized measure (AI ↓ = Tax cuts) **is likely to increase** sovereign debt (REACONT)
REACOLL	Germany
READIR	Increasing sovereign debt (*REAIMP / REACONT*) makes collectivity **suffer / is negative for collectivity**
REAAIM	Increasing sovereign debt (*REAIMP / REACONT*) is negative for collectivity (READIR) / and should **be avoided** (according to the sender).

6.8 Variables on the attribution level

ATTRNUM = Attribution number
The attribution number adds a running number to the event number (which is itself composed

of the article number and a running event number). E.g. if the article number is 5867 and the event number is 04, then the first actor attribution of this event would get the attribution number 58670401 (with the elements 5867 04 01). In cases of attributions without event, this works accordingly.

ATDESCR = Description of Actor Attribution
Describe in your own words in one short sentence the attribution you are about to code:
"who [sender] makes whom [addressee] publicly responsible for what [issue] in which way [type], how [form] and based on which reasons [reason]?"

ASFUNC = Function of sender
The function of the sender is coded according to the → actor list .
Always code the most precise information available. If you are unable to identify a subcategory in the hierarchical actor list , code the next upper level.

> **SPEAK = Speaker**
> This variable is only coded when ASFUNC=Social phenomenon as actor (90XXXX). Code here the speaker who introduces the social phenomenon and assigns agency to this phenomenon. Use the actor list in analogy to any other actor coding.

ASNAME = Name of sender
Type in (or cut & paste) the actual name of the sender.
You may leave this variable blank if its content would be identical with the code (E.g. if you coded 502000 in ASFUNC there is no need to type in "EU" if this is the only information available.)

ASTIME = Time reference of sender
The time reference of a sender indicates whether an actor addresses from its current, past or future function. Usually actors in its current function appear as senders. If you code other than "Present / current", please provide further information in the Name-Variable AANAME. "The last / the previous", refers to one specific predecessor. "Past / earlier" is unspecifically directed at the past. The same distinction applies for future functions.

1 Present / The current

2 The last / The previous
3 Past / Earlier
4 The Next
5 Future

9 Unclear

ASNAT = Nationality of sender
The nationality of a sender is coded only if the nationality differs from the function of the sender (e.g. ASFUNC is EU Commissioner and ASNAT is France). This applies to actors on the European level (actor codes 50XXXX, 51XXXX), several EU-countries including the Eurozone (actor codes 60XXXX, 61XXXX, 62XXXX, 65XXXX), and the transnational level (70XXXX ff.).
The countries are coded according to the → actor list .

AS_PARTYDEC = Party or Affiliation[38]
Is the party or political affiliation of this actor mentioned in the text?

1 No mention of party or affiliation (or inapplicable)
2 Party mentioned
3 No Party but affiliation mentioned

ASPARTY = Party of sender
This variable specifies the party affiliation of ASFUNC and ASNAME if an actor was coded whose party affiliation was mentioned in the article (mainly individual politicians, members of parliaments or governments). If more than one party is mentioned (e.g. for a coalition government), all party affiliations are coded.
ASPARTY is only coded if the party affiliation is mentioned in the text!
Refer to the party table in the → actor list . If the party is not included in the list, contact the instructors. Party leaders and party spokespersons are coded as individual attribution senders in AS = XX2901/2 + party affiliation in this variable.
If there is no information on the specific party but rather on more general political affiliation, use ASAFFIL.

ASAFFIL = Political affiliation of sender
This variable is only coded if the (political) affiliation of the sender is mentioned in the text and if is not connected to a specific party. ***Example***: "Left leaning scientists in Greece".

1 Radical left (revolutionary, communist…)
2 Moderate left (social-democratic, socialist…)
3 Green-Alternative (post-materialist…)
4 Liberal
5 Conservative (religious, traditional, right leaning…)
6 Nationalist
7 Radical Right (racist…)
8 other

AAFUNC = Function of attribution addressee
The function of the addressee is coded according to the → actor list .
Always code the most precise information available.

AANAME = Name of addressee
Type in (or cut & paste) the actual name of the addressee.
You may leave this variable blank if its content would be identical with the code.

AATIME = Time reference of addressee
The time reference of an addressee indicates whether an actor is addressed in its current, past or future function. Usually actors are addressed in its current function. This variable is primarily important when former governments or past office holders are blamed. If you code other than "Present / current", please provide further information in the Name-Variable AANAME. "The last / the previous", refers to one specific predecessor. "Past / earlier" is unspecifically directed at the past. The same distinction applies for future functions.

1 Present / The current

[38] Filter variable.

2 The last / The previous
3 Past / Earlier
4 The Next
5 Future

10 Unclear

AANAT = Nationality of addressee
The nationality of an addressee is coded **only if the nationality differs from the function of the sender** (e.g. ASFUNC is EU Commissioner and ASNAT is France). This applies to actors on the European level (actor codes 50XXXX, 51XXXX), several EU-countries including the Eurozone (actor codes 60XXXX, 61XXXX, 62XXXX, 65XXXX), and the transnational level (70XXXX ff.).
The countries are coded according to the → actor list .

AA_PARTYDEC = Party or Affiliation[39]
Is the party or political affiliation of this actor mentioned in the text?

1 No mention of party or affiliation (or inapplicable)
2 Party mentioned
3 No Party but affiliation mentioned

AAPARTY = Political party of addressee
This variable specifies the party affiliation of AAFUNC and AANAME if an actor was coded whose party affiliation was mentioned in the article (mainly individual politicians, members of parliaments or governments). If more than one party is mentioned (e.g. for a coalition government), all party affiliations are coded.
AAPARTY is only coded if the party affiliation is mentioned in the text!
Refer to the → party table in the actor list . If the party is not included in the list, contact the instructor. Party leaders and party spokespersons are coded as individual attribution addressees in AA = XX2901/2 + party affiliation in this variable.
If there is no information on the specific party but rather on more general political affiliation, use AAAFILL.

AAAFFIL = Political affiliation of addressee
This variable is only coded if the (political) affiliation of the addressee is mentioned in the text and if is not connected to a specific party. ***Example***: "Left leaning scientists in Greece".

1 Radical left (revolutionary, communist…)
2 Moderate left (social-democratic, socialist…)
3 Green-Alternative (post-materialist…)
4 Liberal
5 Conservative (religious, traditional, right leaning…)
6 Nationalist
7 Radical Right (racist…)
8 other

[39] Filter variable.

AAFORM = General form or type of the behavior the addressee is evaluated for
The addressee is always evaluated for doing or not doing something. For specification see section 6.5

1 action or non-action
2 statement or non-statement
3 proposal or non-proposal
4 outcome or non-outcome
5 unclear

AISSUE = Issue of the attribution
Code the issue of the attribution according to the → issue list.
Keep in mind that the issue is further specified by the geographical level (see AISSLEV).
The coding of the issues is rather broad as it categorizes issues to larger groups.
Note that the issue in terms of generality or specificity is defined by the attribution sender. That means an issue can be very general or very specific. For the decision whether a new attribution has to be coded due to a new attribution issue the actual understanding of the issue by the sender (as reported) is crucial, not the code you give according to the issue list. For details see section 6.5 "Identifying attribution issues".[40]

AIDIR = Direction of the issue
As the entries in the issue list are broad, usually rather neutral and unspecific this variable provides more information about the issue. **Example**: *the government is blamed for boosting taxes*. Here, the broader issue is "taxes"; more specifically "boosting" indicates the direction, here increase. When coding the direction of the evaluated attribution issues, first try to apply code 1 (*increase*…) or 2 (*decrease*…). Use codes 3 – 9 only if these indications of quantity are logically not applicable (as in the case of a breach of EU treaty law, the non-compliance with the Maastricht convergence criteria or the stabilization of markets.) In some cases, the direction is unclear or there is no direction connected to the attribution issue: code 8 or 9 and use the "Comment" variable.

1 Increase / more of / (too) much of / boost (↑)
2 Decrease / less of / (too) little of / cuts (↓)

3 Compliance with / adherence to / accordance with
4 Non-Compliance with / breach of / infringement of / violation of
5 Stabilization / Balancing / Calming / securing
6 De-Stabilization of / unbalancing of / Threatening of / Endangering

7 Lack of / Absence of
8 Change in / turn in

9 "(too) fast"
10 "(too) slow"

11 no direction
12 unclear direction

[40] In the coding tool angrist.py, this variable is used as a filter for AISSCNT. See below.

AISSCNT = Content of attribution issue
If the attribution issue (AISSUE) refers to a process (e.g. reform) or generalized action approach (e.g. austerity) rather than a (policy) content (e.g. education), the coder is asked to specify the content to which the process refers.
Example: "*The Troika criticized the Spanish government for the low implementation of labour market reforms.*" → Here one option is to choose code *"120001 Implementation of policies, regulations and reforms"* with the issue direction *"2 little of"*. However, this code does not specify a policy content and therefore, the coder is prompted the question of content for variable AISSCNT, which is coded "134000 Labour Market policy".
Code the issue of the attribution according to the → issue content list (all issues without process values). In cases where no content is specified, code "900000 Other".

AISSLEV = Attribution Issue Geographic Level
The issue can be applied to different geographical levels. Specify here the level at which the issue is understood by the sender. If the geographical level is unclear, use the higher geographical level and specify in the comment variable.
The country level is coded according to the → actor list .

AICRISI = Crisis Context of the Attribution Issue
This variable refines the attribution issue (AISSUE) and it specifies whether the evaluated attribution issue is portrayed as a root cause of the crisis. It distinguishes between those issues that according to the sender played a role in causing the crisis and all other measures that occurred, will or should occur during the crisis and in response to the crisis. These can be either crisis management strategies that deal with the consequences of the crisis or more structural strategies to overcome the crisis. The question whether the evaluated issue occurred before or during the crisis can help to code this variable. Even though this variable is predominantly oriented at crisis causes, coding is not limited to causal attributions.
In many cases, the crisis context is unclear or issues can neither be assigned to causes of the crisis nor to strategies in response to the crisis (e.g. evaluated issues that lead to an intensification of the crisis *during* the crisis). In these cases, code unclear or specify in other.

1 Causes of the Crisis (*Issue is regarded as a root cause of the crisis*)
2 Responses to the crisis (*Issue is embedded in Crisis Management Strategies, structural adjustments to overcome the crisis or strategies to deal with the consequences of the crisis*)
3 Other / please specify! (e.g. combination of 1 and 2)
4 Unclear

AIDIR2 = Direction of the issue, referring to AISSCNT
Coded as AIDIR but refers to the content of the attribution issue (variable AISSCNT).

AISSLEV2
Coded as AISSLEV but refers to the level of the content of the attribution issue (variable AISSCNT).

ATTR = Type of attribution
For specification see section 6.6
Causal Attribution
1 Assignment positive diagnostic causal attribution and rejection of negative causal attribution
2 Assignment negative diagnostic causal attribution and rejection of positive causal

attribution
3 Ambivalent diagnostic causal attribution
4 Assignment positive prognostic causal attribution and rejection of negative prognostic causal attribution
5 Assignment negative prognostic causal attribution and rejection of positive prognostic causal attribution
6 Ambivalent prognostic causal attribution

Request Attribution
7 Positive request attribution
8 Negative request attribution

Competence Attribution
9 Assignment competence attribution
10 Rejection competence attribution

ATTFORM = Publication form / format of actor attribution
Each actor attribution is communicated somehow; it is embedded in a kind of public articulation of a statement. This is what we code with the form of publication.
1 evaluating journalist as sender
2 press conference
3 press statement (in the context of an event)
4 other communication to press (not further specified)
5 TV interview
6 newspaper interview
7 opinion article/open letter
8 radio interview
9 public speech
10 statement in parliament/government, organizational meetings
11 report, study, book, leaflet, etc.
12 publicity campaign
13 photographs/ graffiti/cartoons
14 social media (twitter, Facebook, etc.)
15 other IT media
16 protest slogan, banner and other forms of contentious expression at protest events
17 Other (specify if possible in ATDESCR) or unclear

REASON1 – REASON6 – Description of the Reason
In the REASON1-6 variable you describe the reason in a very few words. You do not need to use full sentences and you do not have to mention every detail. Be brief. The description is transposed into categories in the following variables.

REACONT1 – REACONT6 – Content of Reason
Here we code the content of the reason according to the → reason list. The reason list is organized according to the kinds of reasons (see also figure 3). Use the most appropriate code which covers or mainly covers the reason you want to code. Use the "other"-category sparsely.

REAIMP1 – REAIMP 6 – Reason Impact
Code here the impact or effect of the evaluated issue (AI) on the reason content (REACONT).

This is similar to the variable AIDIR. In some cases, the direction is unclear or there is no direction identifiable. In these cases, code 9 and use the "Comment" variable. When a measure is criticized because of its lacking effect on a reason content, code 2 ("no effect")! When coding the direction of the impact, first try to use code 1 (*increase*…) or 3 (*decrease*…) and use 4-9 only if the direction cannot be quantified in terms of increase or decrease!

1 Increase / more of (↑) / (too) much of / boost (*often, but not necessarily positive impact*)
2 No Effect / No change
3 Decrease / less of (↓) / (too) little of / cuts (*often, but not necessarily negative impact*)

4 Compliance with / adherence to / accordance with
5 Non-Compliance with / breach of / infringement of / violation of
6 Stabilization / Balancing / Calming / securing
7 De-Stabilization of / unbalancing of / Threatening of / Endangering

8 "(too) fast"
9 "(too) slow"

10 Lack of / absence of
11 Change in / turn in

12 unclear direction / not applicable
13 no direction

REACOLL1 – REACOLL6 – Related Collectivity
Code here the affected collectivity which is explicitly referred to in variables REACONT and REAIMP. Code the specifically mentioned collectivity which is affected by the reason and impact mentioned. To identify affected collectivities, make use of the information given in the context of the attribution and the article. If there is no related collectivity or if it is unclear, leave empty and write a short note in the "comment" section. In general: For each reason line, we code a maximum of one entry for each variable.

112 Germany – Politics
113 Germany – Economy
117 Germany – Society
119 Germany – other
122 Greece – Politics
123 Greece – Economy
127 Greece – Society
129 Greece – other
192 other or several EUMS – Politics
193 other or several EUMS – Economy
197 other or several EUMS – Society
199 other or several EUMS – other
502 EU or Eurozone, the EUMS – Politics
512 EU or Eurozone, supranational – Politics
503 EU or Eurozone – Economy
507 EU or Eurozone – Society
509 EU or Eurozone – other
702 global – Politics
703 global – Economy, the markets

707 global – Society
709 global – other
992 other or unspecified – Politics
993 other or unspecified – Economy
997 other or unspecified – Society
999 unclear

READIR1 – READIR6 – Direction of reason content
Code here the effect or direction the reason content and impact have for the related collectivity. Code the direction of the impact for the collectivity, which means whether the collectivity (REACOLL) will profit or will suffer from the reason / reason impact (RECONT + REIMP). This does not mean whether this effect is desired! It is simply representing whether the impact is positive or negative for the related collectivity.

1 Profit / positive impact for the affected collectivity
2 Suffering / negative impact for the affected collectivity
3 unclear / not applicable

REAAIM1 – REAAIM6 – Aim of reason
This variable refers to the entire "Reason line". It indicates the sender's position to the impact on the collectivity. Shall the impact on the collectivity described in READIR be achieved or be avoided?

1 achieved – the impact on the collectivity should be achieved
2 avoided – the impact on the collectivity should be avoided
3 unclear / not applicable

COMMENT
Use this open field for any comments on unclear codings, coding progress, etc. The use of this COMMENT field is not restricted. It may be used for anything you find suitable. Moreover, please count the number of identical attributions per article and sapling day. This applies to the rule on page 38 that "*identical and repeated attributions, where AS+AA+ATTR+AI+Event remain the same, are coded only once per article, sampling day and source*". When you code an attribution and this attribution is repeated in this sense, type in the actual number of repetitions.

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Appendix:

A. SAMPKI: Event Codes

5:1 2009-12-08_Greece's credit rating_Fitch
6:2 2010-03-25_2010-03-26_Council meeting
7:3 2010-04-23_Eurogroup on Greek bailout
8:4 2010-05-05_Greece strike
9:5 2010-05-09_Euro_Commission_Summit
10:6 2010-05-28_Spain_Fitch
11:7 2010-07-19_Ireland_Moody
12:8 2010-09-29_EU_Strike
13:9 2010-10-08_IMF annual
14:10 2010-11-22_Euro_IMF_rescue_bail
15:11 2010-11-27 Irish LPE (general strike)
16:12 2011-01-07_Portugal_Rating
17:13 2011-03-10_Eurosummit
18:14 2011-03-12 Portuguese LPE (indignados)
19:15 2011-04-07_Bailout for Portugal
20:16 2011-05-15_Spanish LPE (indignados)
21:17 2011-05-21_Demonstrations in 11 EU countries
22:18 2011-06-05_Greek LPE (indignados)
23:19 2011-06-13_Greece_Standard and Poor
24:20 2011-07-21_Meeting of head of states or government of the euro area
25:21 2011-09-20_Italy downgraded by Standards & Poor's
26:22 2011-09-23_IMF annual
27:23 2011-10-15_Global occupy day
28:24 2011-10-23_EU Summit and Eurozone Summit on Debt Crisis
29:25 2011-12-09_Summit EU
30:26 2012-01-13_Standard and Poor’s downgraded France
31:27 2012-01-30_Eurosummit
32:28 2012-02-12_The parliament in Greece votes
33:29 2012-02-18_Transnational Solidarity for Greeks Day
34:30 2012-03-02_Eurosummit
35:31 2012-06-28_EU Summit
36:32 2012-09-06_ECB unveil plans for bond-buying
37:33 2012-09-15_General strike in Spain
38:34 2012-10-12_IMF annual
39:35 2013-03-14_EU-Summit
40:36 2013-03-26_Demonstrations in Cyprus
51: New 1 2014-04-10_Greece returns to financial markets
52: New 2 2014-10-10_IMF Annual Meeting
53: New 3 2014-10-14_Eurosummit
54: New 4 2015-01-22_ECB announces Quantitative Easing
63: New 13 2015-01-25_Greek Elections
55: New 5 2015-03-18_Blockupy Protests in FFM
56: New 6 2015_06_22_Eurosummit + Eurogroup meeting
57: New 7 2015_06_25_Eurogroup + European Council on Greece

58: New 8 2015_07_07_Referendum Greece + Eurosummit + Eurogroup meeting
59: New 9 2015_07_12_Eurosummit + Eurogroup meeting
60: New 10 2015_07_15_Large Anti-Austerity Protests in Greece
61: New 11 2015_10_09_IMF Annual Meeting
62: New 12 2015_11_12_General strike in Greece

B. Regrouping Issue list

See → Issue List
For the analysis the very detailed list of issues is regrouped into 11 broad categories.

The logic of combining issues is the following:

We separate

1. Societal fields: politics from economics from societal questions in general (culture, community, stratification)
2. For politics and polities we distinguish between national level and EU level
   This bloc is further specified in two categories:
   a. general politics
   b. functioning of political institutions / political behavior
3. For policies we separate four fields particular to the crisis:
   a. Eurozone Crisis Institutions and European level Crisis Management, general
   b. Budget policy, Austerity, Privatization, Taxation general
   c. Structural reform, general, reform implementation, econ. (de)regulation, general
   d. socio-economic policies and public redistribution
   e. Financial markets and financial regulation (including pure monetary policy by central banks)

The resultant eleven categories are:

1. EU: General politics, law, European integration
Elections, rights (various), policy fields not included elsewhere, European integration general, EU monetary integration

2. EU: functioning of political institutions / political behavior
consensus, political decision rules, functioning government institutions, political cooperation, clientelism, various forms of misconduct, corruption/bribery, Eurozone crisis, common identity/solidarity

3. National: General politics, law, rights
Elections, rights (various), policy fields not included elsewhere

4. EU: functioning of political institutions / political behavior
consensus, political decision rules, functioning government institutions, political cooperation, clientelism, various forms of misconduct, corruption/bribery

5. EU: Eurozone Crisis Institutions and European level Crisis Management, general

crisis management, EFSF, ESM, bailout, exit from Eurozone, Eurobonds, Troika as such, content of Troika memorandum

6. Budget policy, Austerity, Privatization, Taxation general

Public debt, national bankruptcy, austerity policy, cuts in general, public spending, budget policy, privatization, Taxation general

7. Structural reform, general, reform implementation, econ. (de)regulation, general

structural adjustment reforms, implementation of policies, reforms, control mechanisms, general economic (de) regulation

8. socio-economic policies and public redistribution

public sector employment, labour market policy, economic policy, pensions, privatization policy, public investments, wages, specific taxes

9. Financial markets and financial regulation

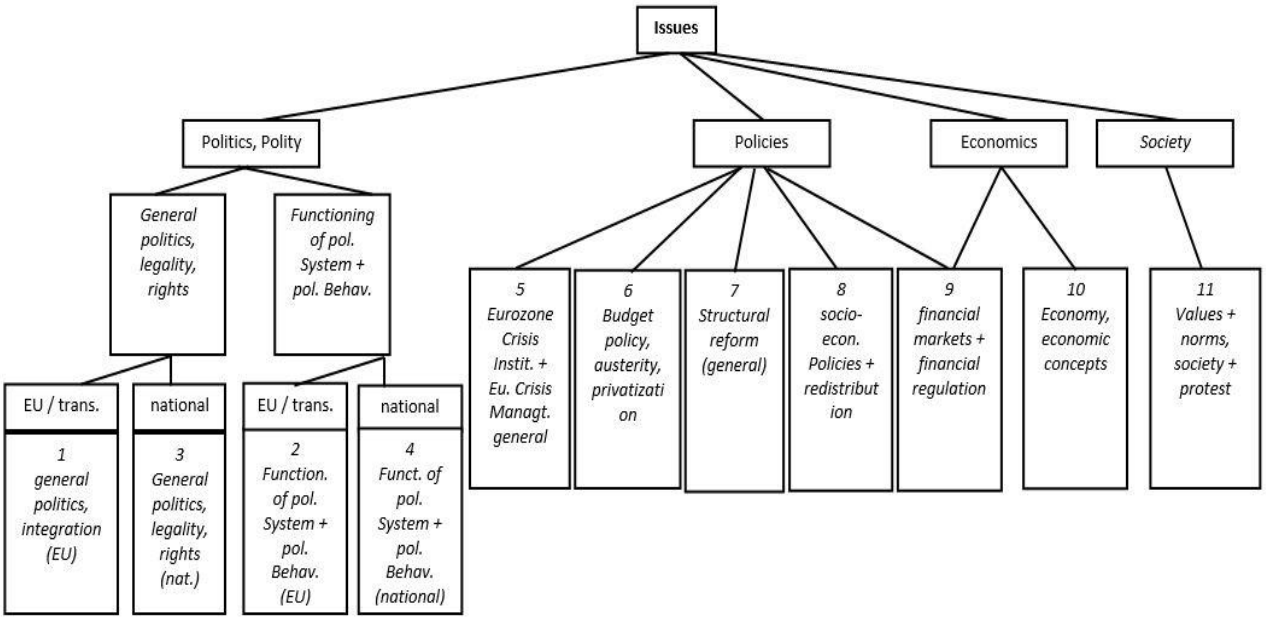
regulation of banks and financial market, size/power/stability of banks, creditworthiness, financial transaction tax, behavior of rating agencies/banks, financial speculation, pure monetary policy by central banks

10. Economics, economic concepts

economic growth/recession, economic crisis, currency stability, alternative economic models, privatization

11. values and norms, society and protest

solidarity, democracy, national sovereignty, crisis discourse, democracy, work ethics, protest/contention, burden distribution, trust, employment

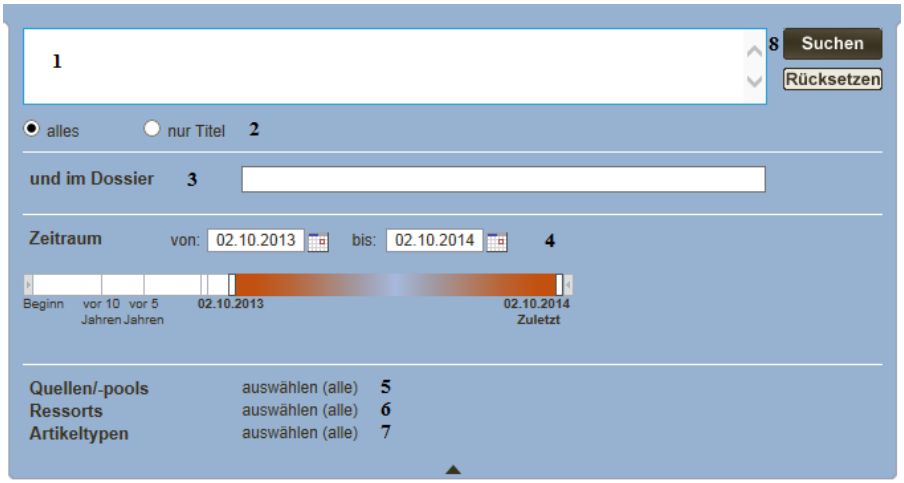


C. Further Guidelines for article selection

In the following, the pre-selection process is explained in detail for newspapers that are available online:

German Newspapers

Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)

Access	FU – Library, Süddeutsche Zeitung Archiv / LibraryNet
Web	http://www.diz.apa.at/Portal/restricted/ExtendedSearch.act
Comment	Check rules for truncation if applicable In der finalen PDF werden die Suchbegriffe leider nicht markiert. Recherche-Ergebnisse dürfen maximal für die Dauer von 180 Tagen elektronisch gespeichert werden. Die Mehrheit der Artikel aus der Rubrik „Forum“ sind Leserbriefe, die nach den weiter oben definierten Regeln ausgeschlossen werden. Relevante Kommentar-Artikel in der Rubrik „Forum“ werden ausgewählt.
Pre-selection procedure	- Datenbank starten  1. Search-String eingeben (*siehe unten*) 2. Suchbereich: „alles“ auswählen 3. Dossier: nichts eingeben 4. Zeitraum: Tag oder Tage je nach Sample Art eingeben 5. Quellen/-pools auswählen: nur „Süddeutsche Zeitung“, dann Auswahlfenster schließen 6. Ressorts auswählen (*siehe unten*), dann Auswahlfenster schließen 7 Artikeltypen: alle auswählen 8. Suchen - In der Ergebnisliste werden relevante oder möglicherweise relevante Artikel angeklickt. Diese Artikel werden gleichzeitig unter „Auswahl“, neben dem Reiter „Artikelsuche“, gespeichert. - Möglicherweise relevante Artikel werden zunächst über den Titel, den Artikeltyp und/oder des sichtbaren Artikel-Einstiegs identifiziert. Bei unklaren Fällen kann der Artikel über einen Klick auf den Titel in der Vorschau

	eingesehen werden. Die Hervorhebung der Suchbegriffe hilft bei der Beurteilung. Generell gilt aber, dass nur eindeutig irrelevante Artikel ausgeschlossen werden. Alle anderen werden spätestens in der Finalen manuellen Selektion ausgeschlossen.  - Nachdem alle möglicherweise relevanten Artikel gespeichert sind, werden diese unter „Auswahl“ aufgerufen und über das Drucken-Symbol über der Artikelvorschau mit „Adobe PDF“ als PDF gespeichert unter dem Namen: “SZ_PRESELECT_ YYYY_MM_DD _SYS” bez. für event sampling unter: “SZ_PRESELECT_ YYYY_MM_DD _EVE” Im Ordner: SOZ-GGCRISI_PROJEKT/SZ_Artikel/Year XXXX/zzz Sample - Vor einer neuen Artikelsuche muss die Artikelauswahl durch „Auswahl löschen“ zurückgesetzt werden damit ausschließlich neu ausgewählte Artikel angezeigt werden.
Search string systematic sample	EU oder Euro* oder Grie* oder Portug* oder Spani* oder Italie* oder Irland oder Irisch* oder Zyp* oder Frankreich oder Französisch* oder Österreich* oder Belgi* oder Estl* oder Estnisch* oder Finland oder Finnisch* oder Deutschland oder Deutsch* oder Lett* oder Luxemburg* oder Malta oder Maltesisch* oder Niederlande oder niederländ* oder Holländ* oder Slowak* oder Sloven*
Search string purposive sample	*Enter event country or EU / Euro* or individually adjusted search string*
Selection of resorts	Die meisten der zur Auswahl stehenden Ressorts sind irrelevant oder kommen in dem Untersuchungszeitraum nicht vor. Ausgewählt werden in der manuellen Auswahl die folgenden Ressorts, nicht aber *Geld* oder *Finanzen*: *Die Seite Drei; Dokumentation; Feuilleton; Forum; Meinungsseite; Politik; Report; Seite Drei; Serie; SZ (am) Wochenende; Themen des Tages; Wirtschaft*

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)

Access	FU - library, F.A.Z.-Bibliotheksportal
Web	http://www.ub.fu-

Comment	berlin.de/digibib_neu/datenbank/metalib/titel/KOB18492.html The "*Ressort"* – pre-selection allows only one section. Therefore, no pre-selection is more convenient and sections are ruled out by means of the search string (*see below*). Check rules for truncation if applicable. Exclude articles in sections "*Immobilienmarkt*", "*Unternehmen*", "*Sport*", "*Natur und Wissenschaft*" manually. Due to the narrow search window, we cannot work with a particular search string in the systematic sample. Hence, the selection process relies even more on the coder. The only way to automatically reduce the number of articles is to exclude some irrelevant sections (*see below*). **Important: The FAZ distinguishes between "*Seitenüberschrift*" und "*Ressort*": For our selection, "*Ressort*" is relevant!**
Pre-selection procedure	- Datenbank starten - Erweiterte Suche - Textsuche im Gesamttext - Search string eingeben - Suchzeitraum einschränken - Anzeigen: 50 - Potentiell relevante Artikel durch Häkchen auswählen. Es können maximal 50 Artikel ausgewählt werden. Zunächst werden die potentiell relevanten Artikel unter den ersten 50 Treffern angezeigt, über „nächste Treffer „können die nächsten 50 angezeigt werden. Die bis dahin markierten Artikel erscheinen dann am Anfang der Trefferliste. Das hilft dabei die Maximalzahl von 50 Artikeln einzuhalten. - Über die Ressort-Anzeige können bei Bedarf die Treffer in den zentralen Ressorts angezeigt und ausgewählt werden. - Über „Volltext anzeigen" werden bis zu 50 markierte Treffer angezeigt. - PDF erstellen (z.B. „Drucken" → Adobe PDF), speichern unter: "FAZ_PRESELECT_YYYY_MM_DD_SYS" bez. für *event sampling* unter: "FAZ_PRESELECT_ YYYY_MM_DD _EVE" Im Ordner: SOZ-GGCRISI_PROJEKT/FAZ_Artikel/Year XXXX/zzz Sample *Anmerkung*: Das Datum bezieht sich hier auf das Erscheinungsdatum. Wenn auf Grund der limitierten Auswahlfunktion mehrere PDF-Artikel für einen Tag entstehen, werden diese mit Hilfe von Adobe Professional zusammengefügt und nach den oben genannten Regeln gespeichert. Sämtliche Artikel / Dokumente werden zum Zwecke des Kodierens ausgedruckt und nach dem Kodieren in Ordnern archiviert (Beschriftung).
Search string systematic sample	nicht (Fussball oder Tennis oder Faz.net oder „Briefe an die Herausgeber" oder „Rhein Main Zeitung" oder Devisenmarktbericht* oder Geldanlage oder „Europäische und Amerikanische Börsen" oder die „Börse heute" oder Reiseblatt oder „Technik und Motor" oder „Beruf und Chance" oder Literaturbeilage)
Search string purposive sample	*Enter event country or EU / Euro* or individually adjusted search string* + → s.o.")

Die Zeit

Access	FU-library, Lexis Nexis
Web	http://www.ub.fu-berlin.de/digibib_neu/datenbank/metalib/titel/KOB12101.html
Pre-selection procedure	*Please ask Malte!*
Search string systematic sample	EU oder Euro* oder Grie* oder Portug* oder Spani* oder Italie* oder Irland oder Irisch* oder Zyp* oder Frankreich oder Französisch* oder Österreich* oder Belgi* oder Estl* oder Estnisch* oder Finnland oder Finnisch* oder Deutschland oder Deutsch* oder Lett* oder Luxemburg* oder Malta oder Maltesisch* oder Niederlande oder niederländ* oder Holländ* oder Slowak* oder Sloven* nicht Impressum oder BELLETRISTIK oder REISEN oder KUNSTMARKT oder LITERATUR oder LESERBRIEFE oder WOCHENSCHAU oder "WISSEN KOMPAKT" oder Kinderzeit oder "AHA DER WOCHE" oder "HARALD MARTENSTEIN" oder "WORTE DER WOCHE"

BILD / BAMS

Access: Manual selection, Staatsbibliothek

Final manual selection procedure (Greek Newspapers)

Whatever pre-selection is used, the coder has to conduct a final manual selection process based on the results of the pre-selection. For the final selection and the coding procedure the articles are printed out.

In this final selection step, the entire text body of potentially relevant articles is further checked for relevance. The coder starts by reading the title, lead and the first three sentences. If relevance criteria are absent, the coder continues reading the first three paragraphs and, if he/she is still unsure, the entire article. If the main text body contains at least one reference to the Eurozone crisis as defined above (systematic sample) and / or a reference to an event in the context of the Eurozone crisis (purposive sample), the article is marked as relevant. But only those articles which contain at least one attribution are numbered and coded. If relevance criteria are missing or no attribution can be coded, the articles are crossed out. When the relevance is unclear, the coder selects the article and consults the coding instructors before coding.

The coder should make sure that each article is numbered according to the individually assigned numbers and that newspaper name, section, date, author (if available), place (if available) and title are visible at the beginning of each text body.

For documents resulting from automatized pre-selection the highlighted keyword-hits usually help to identify Eurozone crisis coverage and event coverage later in the article.

After the coding process, the printed articles are stored in the respective folders

Reuters Sampling

For both, systematic sampling and purposive sampling, the national sources are supplemented

by the transnational press agency Reuters. Reuters provides an additional in-depth perspective from outside of the two countries. Moreover, as the leading press agency in the world, its impact on international media reports is significant. In terms of methodological rigor, the *English-published* Reuters news is used to compare inter-coder reliability between the German and the Greek coder team.

Systematic Sample Reuters

Sampling Days
In contrast to conventional newspapers, Reuters articles appear on the same day of the reported news. Therefore, we select **the day prior** to the day selected on basis of the rotating weeks (E.g. Rotating Weeks System for national newspapers selects February 18, 2014. For Reuters we select February 17, 2014). In accordance with the sampling strategy for the systematic sampling of daily newspapers, we start with the small Starting Sample covering every 5th sampling day.

Purposive Sample Reuters

Sampling Days
Based on pre-tests, we decide that for all days which are selected on the basis of the Event Sampling the following applies:
We select for coding all relevant articles on the day before the event, on the day of the event itself and on the day after the event **(-1/0/1).** This rule diverges from the sampling days selected for national newspapers due to the immediate reporting of Reuters.

Search String Reuters

Systematic Sample
(euro* or EU or Greek or Greece or Portu* or Spain* or Spanish or Ital* or Ireland* or Irish or Cypr* or France* or French or Austria* or Belgi* or Estonia* or Finland* or Finnish or German* or Latvia* or Luxemb* or Malt* or Netherlands or Dutch or Slov*)
NOT soccer NOT Market Reports NOT Technicals NOT sportsfeedback NOT press digest NOT Stocks news Mideast NOT Stocks news Europe NOT Business news NOT Factbox NOT Euro corp NOT Stocks News Africa NOT Dealtalk NOT Mideast Stocks NOT Canada Stocks

Purposive Sample
Enter event country or EU / Euro* or individually adjusted search string (→ see table Reuters sampling)
NOT soccer NOT Market Reports NOT Technicals NOT sportsfeedback NOT press digest NOT Stocks news Mideast NOT Stocks news Europe NOT Business news NOT Factbox NOT Euro corp NOT Stocks News Africa NOT Dealtalk NOT Mideast Stocks NOT Canada Stocks

For event sampling, only those articles are selected that refer to the respective event. To select these articles, the search string covers the respective country where the event takes place or in case European events the EU / a European dimension. In other cases, the key word search can be individually adjusted (e.g. for Moody's downgrading, enter "Moody's"). In case of doubts or more complex adjustments, please consult the coding instructors.

Reuters sections / Manual selection
Reuters sections are different from those of the national newspapers. Many articles are not at

all assigned to sections or rubrics. The search string for automatized pre-selection already excludes some sections that are considered irrelevant before the background of our relevance criteria. Apart from those that can be omitted via the automatized search string there are further irrelevant sections that require manual selection. The following applies:
Articles are not relevant for coding if they show one of the following in the headline or section name.
US STOCKS, CEE, CME or CME, TREASURIE, NYSE, BAY STREET, MONEY MARKETS, (ASIA) LOCAL BONDS, TEXT, PRECIOUS, TIMELINE, CHRONOLOGY , INVESTOR PROFILE, FUND VIEW
Sometimes sections are preceded by "RTP" which does not change the procedure; e.g. RPT TREASURIES and TREASURIES are both excluded if they appear as article section).

Second pre-sampling
All Reuters articles in the GGCRISI-drive are already pre-selected by *factiva* key-word search. They need a more precise selection along our Eurozone crisis definition as there are sometimes more than 150 articles for one day of our sample. In order to do this one (the sampler) has to go through all the articles of one day – there are often several pdfs for one day. Our criteria say that one has to decide about the relevance after reading the headline and the first two sentences. Additionally, it is often useful to glance over the entire article, look for the highlighted keywords and then decide. It is not necessary to read the articles in detail; this will be done during the coding process. If an article seems to be relevant for our sampling, please follow the next steps:

1. In the list of contents, cross out the headlines of irrelevant articles
2. Extract all (!) relevant pages (Adobe Acrobat Pro: Tools → Pages → extract)
3. Combine all relevant articles stemming from one sampling day in one document (Adobe Acrobat Pro: Adobe Acrobat Pro: Tools → Pages → Combine Files into PDF "Reuters_PRESELECT_YYYY_MM_DD"
4. Save the original document with the crossed out headlines in the list of content
5. Insert a header and a footer in the new document (Adobe Acrobat Pro: Tools → Pages → Header & Footer). Header: Kind of Sample (e.g. Starting Sample) and date of the article. Footer: Pages

D. Sampling Overview (initial time period 2009 – 2013) [41]

Broad Sample	***Systematic Sample***					***Purposive Sample***			
Sample	**Basic Systematic Sample**			**Weekly Sample**		**Event Sample**			**Press Release Sample**
Sources	**Daily Newspapers**			**Weekly Newspapers**		**Daily Newspapers**			**Press Releases**
Background idea and purpose	*Extensive, systematic coverage throughout the crisis based on the most important newspapers from center left and center right → core sample of GGCRISI*			*Comparison of Weekly and Daily newspapers, additional coding of two newspapers, comparison tabloid and quality news reporting*		*Focus on crucial events and the actor attributions they trigger / reaction and interaction between actors: Eurosummits, LPE, ratings*			*Focus on and comparison of (political) actors, comparison of "original" and "mediated" positions, comparison of "official" and "unofficial" positions, coverage of "invisible" actors.*
Source selection	***Germany:*** 1. **SZ** 2. FAZ *→ rotation*	***Greece:*** **1. Eleft**.[42] 2. Katherimini *→ rotation*	***Transnational:*** 1. Reuters (*half sample*)	***Germany:*** 1. ZEIT 2. BamS	***Greece:*** 1. To Vima 2. Proto Thema	***Germany*** SZ	***Greece:*** Eleft.	***Transna:*** Reuters	(Online) Press releases of 31 actors (European, Greek, German: parties, trade unions, business associations) on crucial 4 events ("European Crisis Management").
Sampling logic	***Rotating weeks and rotating newspapers*** 1. Full Sample (*as described below, Reuters: half sample*) *→ see timeline „full systematic sample"*			***Systematic gaps for both newspapers*** 1. *Every 4th week* *→ see timeline „Weekly Sample"*		***List of events*** 1. Full Sample (list of 36 events) *→ see timeline „event sampling"*			***List of events and actors*** 1. Full Sample (31 actors x for 4 events) *→ see "press release sampling"*
Selection of days	Day 0		Day -1	Day 0 (*depending on publication day*)		-1; 0[43]; +1; +2		-1; 0; +1[44]	+ ~ 14 days after event
Coverage of articles per sampling day / Full Sample	**100%**	**66.67%** (*omission of every 3rd relevant article*)	**50.00%** (*half sample [SZ days] + selection of every 2nd relevant article*)	**100%**		Maximum of 10 articles per day = maximum of 40 articles per event *→ if more than 10 per day: random sampling*			Maximum of two press releases per actor and event *→ selection criteria: relevance*
Selection criteria / article level	Reference to the "Eurozone crisis" as defined in the codebook			Reference to the "Eurozone crisis" as defined in the codebook		Reference to the "Eurozone crisis" as defined in the codebook AND *immediate reference* to the respective event			Reference to the "Eurozone crisis" as defined in the codebook AND *some reference* to the respective event
Number of newspaper issues	180 (90 for both newspapers each)	180 (90 for both newspapers each)	90	52 (26 for both newspapers each)	52 (26 for both newspapers each)				4 events x 31 actors x 2 press releases (max.) = 248 press releases max (Greece: 96, Germany: 80, EU: 72) /

[41] Basic systematic sample (daily) later extended until March 2016 for Greece, Germany and Reuters. Weekly Systematic Sample extended for Germany only. Purposive sample extended to 12 further events for Germany and for Reuters. Press Release Sample extended for two more events and five additional actors for Germany only. The number of newspaper issues mentioned in the table only refer to the initial period. New period systematic sample: 55 newspaper issues each.

[42] Gap compensated by Ta Nea.

[43] 0 = day of the event.

[44] Reuters includes Sunday reporting. Sundays are skipped for other newspapers.

Contents – Extended