

EURISLAM

CULTURAL INTERACTIONS AND MULTICULTURALISM
IN EUROPEAN SOCIETIES

CODEBOOK

MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS

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This work package addresses the more informal understandings about culture that resonate in dominant and majority-oriented public discourses. Cultural identity and ways of dealing with differences will be studied by means of a content analysis of public debates in the mass media on Islam and the integration of Muslim immigrants. Again, special attention is given to gender, in particular the interface of gender identity with the understandings of other cultural differences. The analysis of public debates also allows for gauging the position of the EU as an actor and Europe as an issue.

Note: This codebook is an adapted version of the codebook used in the MERCI project (Mobilization on Ethnic Relations, Citizenship and Immigration). See Koopmans, Ruud, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni, and Florence Passy, 2005, *Contested Citizenship*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Structure of claims

An instance of claim-making (shorthand: a claim) is a unit of strategic action in the public sphere. It consists of the expression of a political opinion by some form of physical or verbal action, regardless of the form this expression takes (statement, violence, repression, decision, demonstration, court ruling, etc. etc.) and regardless of the nature of the actor (governments, social movements, NGO's, individuals, anonymous actors, etc. etc.). Note that decisions and policy implementation are defined as special forms of claim-making, namely ones that have direct effects on the objects of the claim.

Inspired by Franzosi's idea to use the structure of linguistic grammar to code contentious events, we have broken down the structure of the summary codes into five claim elements, for each of which a number of summary variables has been constructed:

1. Claimants: the actor or actors making the claim (WHO makes the claim?)
2. Form of the claim (HOW, by which action is the claim inserted in the public sphere?)
3. The addressee of the claim (AT WHOM is the claim directed?)
4. The substantive content of the claim (WHAT action is to be undertaken?)
5. The object of the claim (TO WHOM is this action directed?)

The ideal-typical claim in the public sphere has all these five elements, for instance:

WHO	HOW	AT WHOM	WHAT	TO WHOM
ACTOR ACTORNAME ACTTYPE ACTSCOP ACTCOUN PARTY MUSLIMACT GENDERACT IDENMIN IDENMINEXPL NATMIN	FORM	ADRES CRITACT SUPPACT ADRSCOP CACSCOP SACSCOP	ISSUE SISSUE FIELD RELRIGHT ISSCOP POSIT	OBJECT NATOBJECT

In grammatical terms, we may write such claims as a SUBJECT-ACTION-INDIRECT OBJECT-ACTION-OBJECT sequence: an actor, the subject, undertakes some sort of action in the public sphere to get another actor, the addressee, to do something regarding a third actor, the object. Many claims are not as differentiated as this type. The only information we always need for coding is information on HOW (some sort of act in the public sphere has to be identifiable) and the TO WHOM. All other elements may be missing.

Note that, while inspired by the idea of linguistic grammar, the way we code claims does not usually literally coincide with the grammatical structure of the media text. In the case of "John hits Peter" such coincidence is given: John is subject actor/nominative case, Peter is object actor/accusative case. However, in: "John gives the book to Peter", the book is in accusative case, but we would still code Peter as the object actor because he benefits from John's action. In trying

to identify who is subject actor, addressee and object actor, it is perhaps helpful to use the following sentence as a model, and try to translate your media text in a similar form: "John asks Jim to give the book to Peter": John is subject actor, Jim is addressee, Peter is object actor, 'to give the book' is the issue, and 'asks' is the form. Examples with similar structures: "George Bush (John) demanded from (asks) the Taliban government (Jim) to extradite (to give the book to) Osama Bin Laden (Peter)"; "Schröder (John) assured (asks) Bush (Jim) of his full support for military action against (to give the book to) the Afghan regime (Peter)"; "Chirac (John) criticized (asks) Blair (Jim) for blocking the decision-making process (to give the book to) in the European Union (Peter)".

Be aware that an actor can be coded as OBJECT and at the same time as SUPPACT, CRITACT or ADDRESSEE. Example: "The director of the Centre for Social Cohesion said that the Federation of Student Islamic Societies does not represent mainstream opinion. Empowering these groups risks giving official stamp of approval to extreme Islam". Here the Federation of Student Islamic Societies is both criticized actor and object.

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis are instances of claim-making. Above, we have defined an instance of claim-making (shorthand: a claim) as the expression of a political opinion by physical or verbal action in the public sphere. This definition implies two important delimitations: (1) instances of claim-making must be the result of purposive strategic action of the claimant and (2) they must be political in nature.

To qualify as an instance of claim-making, the text must include a reference to an ongoing or concluded physical or verbal action in the public sphere, i.e. simple attributions of attitudes or opinions to actors by the media or by other actors do not count as claim-making. Examples: “The Greens, who want to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organizations....”, or “Mr. Blair’s pro-European course may have cost him votes in the last elections”. Both do not qualify as claim-making by the Greens or Mr. Blair, respectively (nor are they claims by the journalist). [Note that, by contrast, the sentences “The Greens, who said they wanted to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organizations...” and “Mr. Blair’s pro-European speech a week before the election may have cost him votes” would have qualified as instances of claim-making because they contain references to actual verbal action by these actors].

Verbs indicating action include, e.g., said, stated, demanded, criticized, decided, demonstrated, published, voted, wrote, arrested. Nouns directly referring to such action include, e.g., statement, letter, speech, report, blockade, deportation, decision. In short: anything that fits into one of the categories in the FORM variable. The occurrence in the report of such verbs or nouns is a precondition for the coding of a claim. Reports that only refer to ‘states of mind’ or motivations should not be coded (e.g., references such as want, are in favor of, oppose, are reluctant to, are divided over). However, if ‘state of mind’ references of the latter type are part of the coverage of a claim according to the action criterion they may be taken into account in coding the claim variables. Example: “The Greens said they wanted to extend recognition to people persecuted by non-state organizations. They feel this follows from Germany’s obligations under the Geneva Convention”. Although ‘feel’ is a state of mind verb, the sentence here clearly is a further specification of the first sentence, which does contain an action verb. Therefore the reference to the Geneva Convention can be coded as part of the claim.

Speculations about opinions or actions of others do not count as claim-making. I.e., an analyst’s statement that the European Central Bank will probably soon cut its interest rates is neither a claim by the ECB (after all, it hasn’t done anything yet), nor by the analyst, because statements about what other actors will do and why are NOT claims (statements about what other actors SHOULD do, are, however).

Also not coded as claims are verbal statements by anonymous actors for which neither the name, nor the institutional affiliation, nor the social group to which they belong is mentioned, e.g. “reform-minded voices in Europe are calling for...” or “critics of a federal Europe argue that...”. In contrast “reform-minded voices within the European Commission...” would be coded. Easily formulated, the rule implies that ACTOR may not be missing (999) in the case of verbal statements. The reason is that such references reflect the journalist’s construction of the story

more than they are coverage of actually made claims.

An example of lack of purposive action are presentations of survey results. The people interviewed here are NOT considered as claimants, aggregate results such as “70% of the population are against ...” are not the result of purposive action. Surveys may be coded, however, when the persons or institutions responsible for the survey or the interviews use the results to formulate demands, to criticize other actors, etc., or when they explicitly state their (dis)agreement with the survey results. In that case, however, the organizers of the survey are the claimant, not the respondents! Interviews with random people in the streets by journalists are treated like surveys: statements, even if directly quoted, by random citizens are not regarded as instances of strategic claim-making (e.g., the sentence ‘a Japanese housewife said she did not trust the government and would not buy beef anymore’ would not be coded as a claim by the housewife).

Claims must also be political, in the sense that they relate to collective social problems and solutions to them, and not to purely individual strategies of coping with problems. I.e., if a parent complains about her child’s treatment in school, this is not an instance of claim-making on education politics, unless the case refers to a problem of wider collective social relevance (e.g., if the complaint relates to the child being forbidden to wear the Islamic headscarf in class). Corruption or criminal evasion does not constitute claim-making, either. E.g., if a farmer tries to cover up BSE cases among his cattle, this does not constitute an act of claim-making, and nor does an asylum seeker’s attempt to illegally enter the country (legal action against such evasion may however constitute claim-making if the argument is couched in terms that go beyond the individual case).

Statements or actions by different actors are considered to be part of one single instance of claim-making if they take place at the same location in time (the same day) and place (the same locality) and if the actors can be assumed to act ‘in concert’ (i.e. they can be considered as strategic allies).
Examples:

- Two substantively identical statements by the same actor on two different days, or on one day in two different localities are two separate claims.
- Statements by different speakers during a parliamentary debate or a conference are considered part of one instance of claim-making as long as they are substantively and strategically compatible. Thus, different speakers may be taken together if they all express a similar point of view. However, if the speakers take positions that are substantially different enough to reject the zero hypothesis that they are ‘acting in concert’, you should code the statements as separate claims.
- If an identifiable part of a peaceful demonstration (e.g., a ‘black block’) breaks away from a march and turns violent, the assumption of acting in concert is no longer warranted and a separate claim is coded.
- If two negotiation partners present a compromise package at a press conference, the two’s statements are coded as one instance of claim-making, even if the two may emphasize different elements of the compromise.

Exceptions to this rule are cases where there is temporal or spatial continuity between actions. An example of temporal continuity would be a hunger strike, which may last several weeks. However, as long as the actors and aims remain the same, this is counted as one instance of claim-making, and not every day as a new claim. An example of spatial continuity would be a listing of actions by exactly the same actors and aims on the same day in different localities, where it is plausible that these actions were coordinated. E.g., “Greek border guards yesterday arrested fifteen illegal immigrants who had landed on the Island of Samos. Another group of refugees was taken into custody in the waters around the island of Kos”. The actions in the different Greek islands are taken together as one instance of (geographically dispersed) claim-making. As soon as, however, there would be additional information indicating differences in the actors or timing of these actions, we would separate them into different instances of claim-making. The article where the above example is drawn from also included references to the Turkish border guards taking a group of refugees into custody in Turkey on the same day, and to the Greeks already having captured illegal immigrants on Rhodes island a week ago. While the Samos and Kos actions can be taken together, the Turkish (another actor) and Rhodes (another time) actions should be coded as separate claims.

To sum up again, an instance of claim-making is a unit of strategic action in the public sphere. Such a unit of strategic action may involve several actors acting in concert, it may extend over several days or even longer, and it may involve coordinated action over a larger geographical area simultaneously. An instance of claim-making is NOT identical with individual statements. E.g., at a press conference a speaker may make several statements, perhaps even on completely different topics. Nevertheless, this is one instance of claim-making because both statements are made in the context of one strategic action in the public sphere.

Sample

Claims are coded by random sampling 1000 articles selected from five newspapers in each country and covering the period from 1999 to 2008. Every country will select a maximum of five newspapers on the basis of their own criteria to increase representatives of the sample. The articles are sampled from all newspaper sections¹ on the keywords Islam* / Muslim* / Moslem* / mosque / imam / Qur’an (Quran, Qur’ān, Koran, Alcoran or Al-Qur’ān) / headscarf / burqa (burkha, burka or burqua) / minaret. Two categories of claims are coded: (1) claims about Islam and/or Muslims in Western Europe, regardless of the actor; (2) claims by Muslims in Western Europe, regardless of the issue (explicitly Muslim)².

To be included, a claim must either be made in one of our countries of coding or be addressed at an actor or institution in one of our countries of coding. Claims are also included if they are made by or addressed at a supranational actor of which the country of coding is a member (e.g., the UN, the EU, the International Organization for Migration), on the condition that the claim is substantively (also) relevant for the country of coding (e.g., a statement by the UNHCR criticizing the Belgian government is not included in the British or German data, but a EU decision on

¹ Editorials are included.

² Everyone from a predominately Muslim country (appendix) is considered Muslim.

common asylum rules is included because it affects all member states, including Germany and the UK). Claims reported in the issue consulted and which did not occur outside the two weeks before the date of appearance of that issue are also coded (but only if they have not already been coded; if they have already coded, additional information can be added to the first claim coded). We code all claims, unless we know that they occurred more than two weeks ago. The date of the claim is also coded, when the date is not mentioned (e.g. recently), the day prior to the newspaper issue is taken as the default.

GENERAL VARIABLES

Variable **YEAR**

Use a four-digit numeric code.

Variable **MONTH**

Use a two-digit numeric code.

Variable **DAY**

Use a two-digit numeric code.

Variable **CID**

Identification number of claim.

Variable **NEWSPAPER**

100 'Netherlands' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 101 De Telegraaf
- 102 Algemeen Dagblad
- 103 De Volkskrant
- 104 NRC Handelsblad
- 105 Trouw

200 'Germany' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 201 Bild
- 202 Süddeutsche
- 203 Faz
- 204 Die welt
- 205 Tagesspiegel

300 'Switzerland' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 301 NZZ
- 302 Blick
- 303 Tages Anzeiger
- 304 Le Matin
- 305 Le Temps

400 'United Kingdom' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 401 The Guardian
- 402 Times
- 403 The Sun
- 404 The Mirror
- 405 The Telegraph

500 'Belgium' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 501 Het Laatste Nieuws
- 502 De Standaard
- 503 Gazet van Antwerpen
- 504 Le Soir
- 505 La Dernière Heure

600 'France' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 601 Le Monde
- 602 Le Figaro
- 603 Libération
- 604 Le Parisien
- 605 France Soir

Variable **SECTION**

Location of the article within the newspaper.

- 1 'International'
- 2 'National'
- 3 'Local'
- 4 'Other'

Variable **ARTICLESIZE**

Number of characters (with spaces).

Variable **AHEAD:**

Headline of article. Only the first headline without subtitle.

Variable **COUNTRY**

Country where the claim was made:

- 1 'Netherlands'
- 2 'Germany'
- 3 'Switzerland'
- 4 'United Kingdom'
- 5 'Belgium'
- 6 'France'

Variable **TITLE**

Short description of the claim containing name of person(s) and/or organization(s) making the claim, the name of the addressee, the issue of the claim, and the place (city) where the claim was made.

Variable **CYEAR**

Year of the claim

Use a four-digit numeric code.

Variable CMONTH

Month of the claim

Use a two-digit numeric code.

Variable CDAY

Day of the claim (when the date is not mentioned (e.g. recently), the day priori to the newspaper issue is taken as the default).

Use a two-digit numeric code.

CLAIMANTS: SUBJECT ACTORS

Variable **ACTORNAME**

Variable label 'name of the actor'

Variable **ACTOR**

Variable label 'actor'

In case of organization or group identifications that fall into several groups at the same time, the following priority rules apply: 1) minority group identification, 2) extreme right and racist group, 3) antiracist and pro-minority group, 4) general solidarity, human rights and welfare groups, 5) all other groups. This implies that, e.g., the Grey Wolves are coded as a minority group, not an extreme right group; the Front National is coded as an extreme right group, not as a political party; Arbeitskreis Asyl in der Kirche is coded as a pro-minority group, not as a church group, Medico International is coded as a general solidarity etc. group, not as a professional group. The most important secondary identifications (church, professional, and in the case of minority groups also politicians) appear in the respective second level codes (161, 162, etc.).

Value labels

10 'governments'³

20 'legislatives'⁴

30 'judiciary'⁵

40 'police and security agencies'⁶

50 'state executive agencies specifically dealing with migrants'⁷

60 'other state executive agencies'⁸

70 'political parties'⁹

³ Governments and government representatives (spokespersons, ministers, royalty etc.) irrespective of territorial scope. The EU-Commission and Council of Ministers, the UN General Secretary and Security Council are coded as governments. Other examples: mayor, Landesregierung, ministry of education. Includes vague actors such as "the State", "the establishment".

⁴ Legislatives and parliaments (all chambers), including individual members thereof, including parliamentary fractions of political parties. The European Parliament and the General Assembly of the UN are coded as legislatives. Other examples: Bundestag, House of Lords, local councils, parliamentary fraction of the SPD, Labor MPs.

⁵ E.g., European Court of Justice, public prosecutor, individual judges, juries. Statements by lawyers and defenders in context of court cases and process should not be coded.

⁶ E.g., police (incl. aliens' police), military, secret service, Interpol, NATO. Note: the Police Union is coded as a union.

⁷ State here includes the supranational level (e.g., UNHCR). Other examples: Immigratie en Naturalisatiedienst, Ausländerbeauftragter, Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge.

⁸ E.g., ILO, WHO, Einwohnermeldeamt, Sozialamt (sociale dienst), Schulaufsichtsbehörde.

- 80 'unions'
- 90 'workers and employees'
- 100 'employers organizations and firms'
- 110 'churches'¹⁰
- 120 'Christians'
- 130 'media and journalists'
- 140 'professional organizations and groups'¹¹
 - 141 'researchers/think tanks/intellectuals'
- 150 'Muslim organizations and groups'
 - 151 'Muslim: profession-based'
 - 152 'Muslim: religion-based groups'
 - 153 'Muslim: other organizations and groups'
- 160 'other minority organizations and groups'
 - 161 'other minorities: profession-based'¹²
 - 162 'other minorities: religion-based groups'¹³
 - 163 'other minorities: other organizations and groups'
- 170 'antiracist organizations and groups'¹⁴
 - 171 'antiracist: profession-based'
 - 172 'antiracist: church-based'
 - 173 'antiracist: other'
- 180 'pro-minority rights and welfare organizations and groups'¹⁵
 - 181 'pro-minority: profession-based'
 - 182 'pro-minority: church-based'¹⁶
 - 183 'pro-minority: other'
- 190 'general solidarity, human rights and welfare organizations'¹⁷

⁹ This category should be used only for parties as parties, e.g., party chairman, party congress, “die SPD”, “a Labor party spokesman”, as well as for sub-organisations of parties (e.g., Junge Sozialisten). Note that the same person may be coded differently according to the way in which her or his position is described: e.g., Bundeskanzler Schröder is coded as government, Mitglied des Bundestages Schröder is coded as legislative, SPD-Parteivorsitzende Schröder is coded as political party.

¹⁰ Only “native” churches, not those of migrant origin. Islamic, Jewish, Hindu, but also non-western Christian churches (Armenian, Greek and other orthodox, Koptic, Moluccan churches, etc.) are coded as other minorities: religion-based groups.

¹¹ E.g., Deutscher Ärztekammer, Berufsverband Deutscher Psychologen, Deutscher Sportbund, doctors, football players, etc. Note: unions are always coded as unions, non-union organisations of police and judges are coded under their respective institution.

¹² E.g., Romani Pen-Club (a writers’ association), Türkisch-Deutscher Unternehmer-Verein, Europäischer Verband Türkischer Akademiker, Uitzendbureau Coloured Holland.

¹³ E.g., Jewish religious groups. Note that this category also includes Christian denominations that are of migrant origin (e.g., Armenian, Syrian, Russian and Greek Orthodox)

¹⁴ All groups identified as “antiracists” or “antifascists” and organisations whose names (e.g., SOS Racisme, Antidiskriminierungsbüro, Antifaschistische Aktion, Komitee gegen Rechtsradikalismus), or other explicit information (e.g., “In Brandenburg, a committee “Bündnis der Vernunft” was established against extreme right tendencies...”) indicates that antiracism is their primary goal. Includes organizations of people persecuted by the Nazi-regime, organizations of former members of the resistance, etc (e.g., Auschwitz Committee, Anne Frank Foundation).

¹⁵ All (semi-) private organisations acting specifically on behalf of migrants and minorities, but not (primarily) carried by these groups themselves (e.g., Pro Asyl). Includes private welfare organisations catering specifically to migrants or minorities, e.g., Ausländerhilfe Siegen, Frankfurter Rechtshilfe-Komitee für Ausländer.

¹⁶ E.g., Evangelische Flüchtlingsseelsorge Berlin.

- 191 'general solidarity: profession-based'¹⁸
- 192 'general solidarity: church-based'¹⁹
- 193 'general solidarity: other'
- 200 'racist and extreme right organizations and groups'²⁰
 - 201 'extreme right political parties'²¹
 - 202 'other racist and extreme right organizations and groups'
- 210 'radical left organizations and groups'²²
- 220 'other civil society organizations and groups'²³
 - 221 'other civil society: students'²⁴
 - 222 'other civil society: new social movements'²⁵
 - 223 'other civil society: vertriebene/repatries/expats'²⁶
 - 224 'other civil society: neighborhood associations'
 - 225 'other civil society: citizens' initiatives'
 - 229 'other civil society: other'²⁷
- 999 'unknown actors'²⁸

Variable ACTTYPE

Variable label 'type of actor'

¹⁷ This includes only private organisations (Red Cross, Arbeiterwohlfahrt, Amnesty International, Terre des Hommes etc.), not state welfare agencies (these are coded as other state executive agencies). Only organisations whose aims go beyond the EURISLAM thematic field are coded here, organisations catering specifically to migrants and minorities receive code 180.

¹⁸ E.g., Medecins sans frontieres.

¹⁹ E.g., Arbeitskreis Solidarische Kirche.

²⁰ Includes vague descriptions such as "skinheads" or "right-wing extremists".

²¹ Only those extreme right parties and party spokespersons are coded here that really act as parties in the electoral process (e.g. the Front National in France, the BNP in Britain, CD and CP86 in the Netherlands, Republikaner, DVU, NPD and Deutsche Liga in Germany). Groups that do not, or only very marginally participate in the electoral process, but nevertheless call themselves parties receive code 202 (e.g., in Germany the Freiheitliche Arbeiterpartei).

²² Includes vague descriptions such as "Autonome" or "left-wing groups", as well as organisations such as Red Army Fraction, Vereinigte Sozialisten. Radical left parties should be coded as political party, unless the party label is merely window dressing and does not indicate significant involvement in the electoral process (compare the preceding note on extreme right parties).

²³ Does not include vague categories such as "neighbours", "local citizens", "youth", etc.

²⁴ Includes school pupils.

²⁵ Organisations and groups of the peace, environmental, and women's movements. Squatters and autonomous movement groups are coded among „radical left organisations and groups“.

²⁶ For Germany: German refugees and expellees from the former German territories in the East; for France: repatries from Algeria of French ethnic origin (pieds noirs) etc.; Britain: returned expat British citizens of British ethnic origin; Netherlands: indische Nederlanders if it refers specifically to returning persons or groups of Dutch ethnic origin. In all these cases, if the label is used in a broader sense including persons of a different ethnic origin or of mixed origin, the claim should be coded in „minority organisations and groups“.

²⁷ In principle, there is still the possibility to create new subcategories in „other civil society“ (226-229). This can only be considered, however, if the category would comprise at least ten cases in at least one country.

²⁸ The "unknown" category includes vague groups such as "youth" and "local citizens" and all individual actors. Note, however, that youth *organisations* are coded as "other civil society organisations and groups". Note that this category should *never* be used for such cases that were included because we suspect that the actors are minorities. Such events always require some specific assumption about the nature of the group. E.g., anonymous arson attacks on Turkish banks will be coded if the assumption is justified that they have been carried out by Kurdish groups. In that case, however, "Kurds" should be coded as ACTOR, and the ACTOR category 163 should be used.

Value labels

- 1 'unorganized collectivity (representative)',²⁹
- 2 'organization or institution (representative)',³⁰
- 3 'individual actors'
- 9 'unknown actor',³¹

Variable: **ACTSCOP**

Variable label 'scope of actor'

This variable is only coded if ACTTYPE=2. Otherwise, code 9 ("no organization") is given. The notion of "scope" refers to the organizational extension of the organization or institution. See further the examples given in the footnotes.

Value labels

- 1 'supra- or transnational: European',³²
- 2 'supra- or transnational: other',³³
- 3 'foreign national: migrant homelands and exile',³⁴
- 4 'foreign national: other',³⁵
- 5 'bilateral',³⁶
- 6 'national',³⁷
- 7 'regional'
- 8 'local'
- 9 'unknown: no organization',³⁸.

²⁹ E.g., Turks, skinheads, right-wing extremists, workers, youth, Christians, women, members of the resistance, Holocaust survivors, individual writers and other artists (e.g., Günter Grass). Categories such as "policemen", "judges", "politicians" are not coded here, but are regarded as representatives of their respective institutions.

³⁰ All named organisations and institutions or official representatives thereof. Also coded here are non-specified plurals of organisations (e.g., "antiracist organisations"). See also the remark on "policemen" etc. above.

³¹ Should correspond to the category 999 for ACTOR, except individual actors.

³² E.g., European Parliament, European Trade Union Federation, Europäischer Verband türkischer Akademiker.

³³ E.g., UNHCR, World Council of Roma and Sinti, Amnesty International, International Council of Voluntary Associations, Helsinki Watch. Includes national branches of transnational organizations: e.g., Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, Deutsche Shell-Gruppe.

³⁴ E.g., Turkish government (except when intervening on behalf of third party, then code as 4), PKK, Dev Sol, FIS, Milli Görüs, homeland political parties. Also includes organisations of political exiles based in the country of residence but directed towards intervention in the politics of the homeland: e.g., Nationaler Widerstandsrat Iran, Verein der Anhänger der Volksmudschahedin, Demokratischer Bund für Kosovo in Deutschland, Exilchinesische Föderation für ein demokratisches China, Tibet-Initiative Deutschland.

³⁵ E.g., American Jewish Committee, Israeli government (except when acting specifically on behalf of Jews, then code as 3), Austrian Caritas, Front National (if not acting in France), foreign firms and investors.

³⁶ Bilateral organizations between countries: e.g., Deutsch-Polnische Gesellschaft, Deutsch-Sowjetische Freundschaft).

³⁷ E.g., Bundesregierung, national political parties, Bundesverfassungsgericht, Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, national media (incl. local papers in name with national scope such as NZZ, FAZ), Deutsche Telekom, Arbeitsgemeinschaft der mit Ausländern verheirateten Frauen, Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, Anatolisch-alewitischer Kulturbund, Almanya Demokrat Partisi.

³⁸ This code is used for all claims for which no organisation or institution has been mentioned (i.e., corresponds to the codes 1, 3 and 9 of ACTTYPE).

Variable: **ACTCOUN**

Variable label 'country of actor'

This variable is only coded if ACTSCOP=3 or ACTSCOPE=4. Otherwise, code 9 ("not applicable"). It gives information on the foreign country in which the organizational extension of the organization or institution is developed.

Value labels

0 'NO SPECIFICATION OF COUNTRY'

1 'AFGHANISTAN'

2 'ÅLAND ISLANDS'

3 'ALBANIA'

4 'ALGERIA'

5 'AMERICAN SAMOA'

6 'ANDORRA'

7 'ANGOLA'

8 'ANGUILLA'

9 'ANTARCTICA'

10 'ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA'

11 'ARGENTINA'

12 'ARMENIA'

13 'ARUBA'

14 'AUSTRALIA'

15 'AUSTRIA'

16 'AZERBAIJAN'

17 'BAHAMAS'

18 'BAHRAIN'

19 'BANGLADESH'

20 'BARBADOS'

21 'BELARUS'

22 'BELGIUM'

23 'BELIZE'

24 'BENIN'

25 'BERMUDA'

26 'BHUTAN'

27 'BOLIVIA, PLURINATIONAL STATE OF'

28 'BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA'

29 'BOTSWANA'

30 'BOUVET ISLAND'

31 'BRAZIL'

32 'BRITISH INDIAN OCEAN TERRITORY'

33 'BRUNEI DARUSSALAM'
34 'BULGARIA'
35 'BURKINA FASO'
36 'BURUNDI'
37 'CAMBODIA'
38 'CAMEROON'
39 'CANADA'
40 'CAPE VERDE'
41 'CAYMAN ISLANDS'
42 'CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC'
43 'CHAD'
44 'CHILE'
45 'CHINA'
46 'CHRISTMAS ISLAND'
47 'COCOS (KEELING) ISLANDS'
48 'COLOMBIA'
49 'COMOROS'
50 'CONGO'
51 'CONGO, THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE'
52 'COOK ISLANDS'
53 'COSTA RICA'
54 'CÔTE D'IVOIRE'
55 'CROATIA'
56 'CUBA'
57 'CYPRUS'
58 'CZECH REPUBLIC'
59 'DENMARK'
60 'DJIBOUTI'
61 'DOMINICA'
62 'DOMINICAN REPUBLIC'
63 'ECUADOR'
64 'EGYPT'
65 'EL SALVADOR'
66 'EQUATORIAL GUINEA'
67 'ERITREA'
68 'ESTONIA'
69 'ETHIOPIA'
70 'FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS)'
71 'FAROE ISLANDS'
72 'FIJI'
73 'FINLAND'
74 'FRANCE'
75 'FRENCH GUIANA'
76 'FRENCH POLYNESIA'
77 'FRENCH SOUTHERN TERRITORIES'

78 'GABON'
79 'GAMBIA'
80 'GEORGIA'
81 'GERMANY'
82 'GHANA'
83 'GIBRALTAR'
84 'GREECE'
85 'GREENLAND'
86 'GRENADA'
87 'GUADELOUPE'
88 'GUAM'
89 'GUATEMALA'
90 'GUERNSEY'
91 'GUINEA'
92 'GUINEA-BISSAU'
93 'GUYANA'
94 'HAITI'
95 'HEARD ISLAND AND MCDONALD ISLANDS'
96 'HOLY SEE (VATICAN CITY STATE)'
97 'HONDURAS'
98 'HONG KONG'
99 'HUNGARY'
100 'ICELAND'
101 'INDIA'
102 'INDONESIA'
103 'IRAN, ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF'
104 'IRAQ'
105 'IRELAND'
106 'ISLE OF MAN'
107 'ISRAEL'
108 'ITALY'
109 'JAMAICA'
110 'JAPAN'
111 'JERSEY'
112 'JORDAN'
113 'KAZAKHSTAN'
114 'KENYA'
115 'KIRIBATI'
116 'KOREA, DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF'
117 'KOREA, REPUBLIC OF'
118 'KUWAIT'
119 'KYRGYZSTAN'
120 'LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC'
121 'LATVIA'
122 'LEBANON'

123 'LESOTHO'
124 'LIBERIA'
125 'LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA'
126 'LIECHTENSTEIN'
127 'LITHUANIA'
128 'LUXEMBOURG'
129 'MACAO'
130 'MACEDONIA, THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF'
131 'MADAGASCAR'
132 'MALAWI'
133 'MALAYSIA'
134 'MALDIVES'
135 'MALI'
136 'MALTA'
137 'MARSHALL ISLANDS'
138 'MARTINIQUE'
139 'MAURITANIA'
140 'MAURITIUS'
141 'MAYOTTE'
142 'MEXICO'
143 'MICRONESIA, FEDERATED STATES OF'
144 'MOLDOVA, REPUBLIC OF'
145 'MONACO'
146 'MONGOLIA'
147 'MONTENEGRO'
148 'MONTSERRAT'
149 'MOROCCO'
150 'MOZAMBIQUE'
151 'MYANMAR'
152 'NAMIBIA'
153 'NAURU'
154 'NEPAL'
155 'NETHERLANDS'
156 'NETHERLANDS ANTILLES'
157 'NEW CALEDONIA'
158 'NEW ZEALAND'
159 'NICARAGUA'
160 'NIGER'
161 'NIGERIA'
162 'NIUE'
163 'NORFOLK ISLAND'
164 'NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS'
165 'NORWAY'
166 'OMAN'
167 'PAKISTAN'

168 'PALAU'
169 'PALESTINIAN TERRITORY, OCCUPIED'
170 'PANAMA'
171 'PAPUA NEW GUINEA'
172 'PARAGUAY'
173 'PERU'
174 'PHILIPPINES'
175 'PITCAIRN'
176 'POLAND'
177 'PORTUGAL'
178 'PUERTO RICO'
179 'QATAR'
180 'RÉUNION'
181 'ROMANIA'
182 'RUSSIAN FEDERATION'
183 'RWANDA'
184 'SAINT BARTHÉLEMY'
185 'SAINT HELENA'
186 'SAINT KITTS AND NEVIS'
187 'SAINT LUCIA'
188 'SAINT MARTIN'
189 'SAINT PIERRE AND MIQUELON'
190 'SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES'
191 'SAMOA'
192 'SAN MARINO'
193 'SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE'
194 'SAUDI ARABIA'
195 'SENEGAL'
196 'SERBIA'
197 'SEYCHELLES'
198 'SIERRA LEONE'
199 'SINGAPORE'
200 'SLOVAKIA'
201 'SLOVENIA'
202 'SOLOMON ISLANDS'
203 'SOMALIA'
204 'SOUTH AFRICA'
205 'SOUTH GEORGIA AND THE SOUTH SANDWICH ISLANDS'
206 'SPAIN'
207 'SRI LANKA'
208 'SUDAN'
209 'SURINAME'
210 'SVALBARD AND JAN MAYEN'
211 'SWAZILAND'
212 'SWEDEN'

213 'SWITZERLAND'
214 'SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC'
215 'TAIWAN, PROVINCE OF CHINA'
216 'TAJKISTAN'
217 'TANZANIA, UNITED REPUBLIC OF'
218 'THAILAND'
219 'TIMOR-LESTE'
220 'TOGO'
221 'TOKELAU'
222 'TONGA'
223 'TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO'
224 'TUNISIA'
225 'TURKEY'
226 'TURKMENISTAN'
227 'TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS'
228 'TUVALU'
229 'UGANDA'
230 'UKRAINE'
231 'UNITED ARAB EMIRATES'
232 'UNITED KINGDOM'
233 'UNITED STATES'
234 'UNITED STATES MINOR OUTLYING ISLANDS'
235 'URUGUAY'
236 'UZBEKISTAN'
237 'VANUATU'
238 'VENEZUELA, BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF'
239 'VIET NAM'
240 'VIRGIN ISLANDS, BRITISH'
241 'VIRGIN ISLANDS, U.S.'
242 'WALLIS AND FUTUNA'
243 'WESTERN SAHARA'
244 'YEMEN'
245 'ZAMBIA'
246 'ZIMBABWE'
999 'NOT APPLICABLE'

Variable **PARTY**

Variable label 'party of actor'

If the party is not mentioned in the article but the coder identifies it, the party has to be coded.

Value labels³⁹

³⁹ Codes 199, 299, 399, 499, 599, and 699 are used when the actor belongs to the political arena but the party affiliation is not known. For non-political actors without part affiliation code 0 should be used.

0 'no party affiliation'

100 'Netherlands' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 101 'Partij van de Arbeid' (PvdA)
- 102 'Democraten 66' (D66)
- 103 'Christen Democratisch Appèl' (CDA)
- 104 'Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie' (VVD)
- 105 'Partij Voor de Vrijheid' (PVV)
- 106 'Groenlinks' (GL)
- 107 'Christen Unie' (CU)
- 108 'Staatkundige Gereformeerde Partij' (SGP)
- 109 'Partij voor de Dieren' (PvdD)
- 110 'Socialistische Partij' (SP)
- 111 'Leefbaar Nederland' (LN)
- 112 'Lijst Pim Fortuyn' (LPF)
- 113 'Trots Op Nederland/Lijst Rita Verdonk' (TON/LRV)
- 120 'Local Dutch Political Parties'
- 121 'Leefbaar Rotterdam'
- 198 'other political parties'
- 199 'party affiliation unknown'

200 'Germany' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 201 'SPD'
- 202 'CDU'
- 203 'CSU'
- 204 'Bündnis90/Die Grünen'
- 205 'FDP'
- 206 'Die Linke/PDS'
- 207 'NPD'
- 208 'Pro-Köln'
- 299 'party affiliation unknown'

300 'Switzerland' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 301 'Alliance Verte' (AVes)
- 302 'Les Verts'
- 303 'Lega dei Ticinesi'
- 304 'Parti chrétien-social' (PCS)
- 305 'Parti démocrate-chrétien' (DC)
- 306 'Parti évangélique' (PEV)
- 307 'Parti Libéral' (L)
- 308 'Parti Radical' (R)
- 309 'Parti Socialiste' (S)
- 310 'Parti Suisse du Travail' (PdT)
- 311 'Parti Vert-libéral' (PVL)
- 312 'Sozialistisch Grüne Alternative' (ZUG SGA)

- 313 'Union démocratique du centre' (UDC)
- 314 'Union démocratique fédérale' (UDF)
- 399 'party affiliation unknown'

- 400 'United Kingdom' (not to be used in primary coding)
 - 401 'Labour'
 - 402 'Conservatives'
 - 403 'Lib Dem'
 - 404 'Respect Party'
 - 405 'Scottish National party' (SNP)
 - 406 'BNP'
 - 407 'National Front'
 - 408 'Unionist Party of Northern Ireland'
 - 409 'People's Justice Party'
 - 499 'party affiliation unknown'

- 500 'Belgium' (not to be used in primary coding)
 - 501 'MR'
 - 502 'PS'
 - 503 'CdH'
 - 504 'Ecolo'
 - 505 'FN'
 - 506 'CD&V-N-VA'
 - 507 'CD&V'
 - 508 'N-VA'
 - 509 'Vlaams Belang'
 - 510 'Open Vld'
 - 511 'Sp.a-Spirit'
 - 512 'Lijst Dedecker'
 - 513 'Groen!'
 - 599 'party affiliation unknown'

- 600 'France' (not to be used in primary coding)
 - 601 'Parti Communiste Français' (PCF)
 - 602 'Mouvement Républicain et Citoyen' (MRC)
 - 603 'Parti de Gauche' (PG)
 - 604 'Parti Socialiste' (PS)
 - 605 'Parti Radical de Gauche' (PRG)
 - 606 'Les Verts' (LV)
 - 607 'Mouvement Démocrate' (MODEM)
 - 608 'Alliance Centriste'
 - 609 'La Gauche Moderne' (LGM)
 - 610 'Le Nouveau Centre' (LNC)
 - 611 'Union pour un Mouvement Populaire' (UMP)
 - 612 'Centre National des Indépendants et Paysans' (CNIP)

- 613 'Debout la République' (DLR)
- 614 'Mouvement pour la France' (MPF)
- 615 'Front National'
- 616 'Lutte Ouvrière' (LO)
- 617 'Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste' (NPA)
- 618 'Parti Ouvrier Indépendant' (POI)
- 619 'Mouvement Écologiste Indépendant' (MEI)
- 620 'Génération Écologie' (GE)
- 621 'Alternative Libérale' (AL)
- 622 'Chasse Pêche Nature Traditions' (CPNT)
- 623 'Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance et la Souveraineté de la France' (RIF)
- 624 'Mouvement National Républicain' (MNR)
- 625 'Parti Radical « valoisien »'
- 626 'Parti Chrétien-démocrate' (PCD)
- 627 'Citoyenneté Action Participation pour le 21^e siècle' (CAP 21)
- 628 'Union pour la Démocratie Française' (UDF)
- 698 'Parti des Musulmans de France'
- 699 'party affiliation unknown'

Variable **MUSLIMACT**

Variable label 'Muslim actor involved'

This variable is defined inclusively and measures Muslim involvement as actor. Everyone from a predominately Muslim country is considered as Muslim.

Value labels

- 1 'Muslim actor, organization name mentioned'
- 2 'Muslim actor, no organization name mentioned'
- 9 'no Muslim actor'

Variable **GENDERACTION**

Variable label 'gender of actor'

This variable measures the gender characteristic of the actor.

Value labels

- 0 'unknown'
- 1 'male'
- 2 'female'
- 9 'not applicable'

Variable **IDENMIN**⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The category system for this variable is not fixed. New identities or combinations encountered should be given new codes. Note that some categories will be relevant only to the coding of object actors (see below), for which we use the same category system (e.g., „EU citizens“, „quota refugees“).

Variable label ‘identity of minority or migrant actor’

If the identity of minority or migrant actor is not mentioned in the article but the coder identifies it, the identity has to be coded.

Gives the identity of the minority actor, corresponding to the MINACT variable (i.e., also for minorities who appear as second or third actors). The identity of the actor can be determined either from the name of the organization making the claim, or from how the actor is described in the newspaper report. If an organization name is mentioned this should be taken as the source to determine the identity of the actor. If several minority actors are involved at the same time, the first mentioned determines IDENMIN. For example, “Turks” receive IDENMIN code 64 (specific ethnic or national group) and are then coded as “Turks” in NATMIN.

For different “mixed identity” categories, the following rule applies: status group, racial or religious identifications have priority in the IDENMIN variable over national and ethnic identification. For instance: “Turkish Muslims” are coded as 42 (Muslims) in the IDENMIN variable, and then as “Turks” in NATMIN; “Bosnian refugees” as 16 (war refugees, see the footnote) in IDENMIN, and then as “Bosnians” in NATMIN; “Afro-Caribbeans” are coded as 32 in IDENMIN, and then as “Caribbeans” in NATMIN; “Rußlanddeutsche” are coded as 19 (Aussiedler) in IDENMIN, and then as “Russians” in NATMIN.

The same also applies for hyphen identities between racial or religious identities and the country of residence. For instance: “British Muslims” are “Muslims” for IDENMIN, “British” for NATMIN; same for “British blacks”.⁴¹

Hyphen-identifications between the country of residence and homeland nationality/ethnicity are treated as follows: they all receive code 73 (specific hyphenated ethnic or national group) in IDENMIN, the homeland ethnicity/nationality is then coded in NATMIN. For instance “Indische Nederlanders” are coded 73 in IDENMIN, then “Indonesian” in NATMIN; “des francais d’origine algerienne” would be coded 73 in IDENMIN, then “Algerian” in NATMIN.

Other types of hyphen identities, which will be very rare anyway, will be ignored, e.g., “black Muslims”, “black asylum seekers” or “Muslim asylum seekers”. In cases where this applies, the priority rule for coding is: status group > religious group > racial group. I.e., the first example is coded as “Muslims”, the second and third as “asylum seekers”.⁴²

⁴¹ A partial identification with the country of residence should only be coded if the respective country appears grammatically as a substantive (as in “Black British”), or as an adjective to the ethnic identification (as in “Deutsche Juden”), not if it just indicates the geographic location of the organization or group. E.g., the *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland* is coded as a purely ethnic identification (secular Jewish). In fact, this organization explicitly did not call itself *Zentralrat der deutschen Juden*; an organization bearing the latter name would have been coded as a mixed identity. Other examples of mixed identities: *Liberale Türkisch-Deutsche Vereinigung*, *Landesverband Deutscher Sinti und Roma*, *Almanya Demokrat Partisi* (a somewhat different example of a mixed German-Turkish identity: the name refers only to Germany, not to Turkey or Turkish, but it is in the Turkish language). Examples of mere geographic reference to the country of residence: *Kölner Romainitiative* (*Kölner* is here an adjective to initiative, not to Roma, *Initiative der Kölner Roma* would be a mixed identity), *Bund der Einwanderer aus der Türkei in Berlin-Brandenburg* (this is a mixed identity, but nationality-status-group, the reference to Berlin-Brandenburg is purely geographical), *Türkische Gemeinde Deutschland*.

⁴² Note that we ignore all other kinds of identification that may appear. E.g., *Bürgerinitiative ausländischer Arbeitnehmer* receives code 11, the reference to ‘workers’ is ignored. Same for *Jugendkongreß des Zentralrats der Juden in Deutschland* (the reference to youth is ignored) or *Europäischer Verband türkischer Akademiker* (the reference to academics is ignored as is the purely geographical reference to Europe).

Value labels

10 'STATUS GROUPS' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 11 'foreigners/aliens'
- 12 'minorities' (without specification)⁴³
- 13 '(im)migrants⁴⁴
- 14 'allochthonen'
- 15 'asylum seekers' (individual status)⁴⁵
- 16 'war refugees, ontheemden' (collective status)⁴⁶
- 17 'quota refugees, kontingentflüchtlinge' (permanent collective status)⁴⁷
- 18 'illegal aliens/immigrants, sans papiers'
- 19 'aussiedler'
- 20 'labour migrants, contract workers, saisonniers'
- 21 'EU citizens'
- 22 'non-EU citizens, third country nationals'
- 23 'Old Commonwealth immigrants/citizens',⁴⁸
- 24 'New Commonwealth immigrants/citizens'
- 25 'DOM-TOM immigrants/citizens',⁴⁹
- 26 'DDR-Vertragsarbeiter'
- 27 'Harki'

30 'RACIAL GROUPS' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 31 'racial minorities/groups'
- 32 'black'⁵⁰

⁴³ See the separate codes below for specified minority labels (racial, religious, ethnic). If more than one adjective to minorities is used (e.g., "racial and ethnic minorities") than use this category

⁴⁴ Includes for the Netherlands „nieuwkomers“.

⁴⁵ The difference between categories 15 and 16 is in the type of status. Normal "asylum seekers" or "refugees" (the terms tend to be used interchangeably) are those who claim the right to asylum on the basis of *individual* persecution on the grounds of race, religion, ethnicity, political belief or activities, etc. For this group, each case is decided individually and recognition likewise is on an individual basis.

⁴⁶ This group (for which the term "asylum seekers" is not often, and the term "refugees" mostly used) are given a collective right to residence for "humanitarian reasons". The most important example for us are war refugees from Bosnia, and more recently from Kosovo. At least in Germany and the Netherlands (I do not know the juridical situation in the other countries) these groups were taken up outside of the normal asylum procedures. Their right to stay is in principle temporary for as long as the situation in their country of origin is judged to be too dangerous to return.

⁴⁷ At least in Germany there is still a third category of refugees, the so-called "Kontingentflüchtlinge". These are also taken up collectively on humanitarian grounds, but the difference is that they immediately get a permanent residence status. For instance, in the framework of a UN humanitarian action, Germany took up several groups of Vietnamese "boat people" in the beginning of the 1980s as Kontingentflüchtlinge. In the 1990s, this juridical status was given to Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union

⁴⁸ Categories 22-24 should only be used for general references to this type of migrants/minorities, not for specific identifications (e.g., "Jamaican", "(French) Antillean"); these are coded along ethnicity.

⁴⁹ "Francais des DOM-TOM" or "Francais d'origine DOM-TOM" would be coded as a hyphenated identity. I.e., code 25 for IDENMIN, code 100 for NATMIN. Note that specific DOM-TOM identifications (Antillean, Guyanese etc.) are coded as "specific national or ethnic group" and then in NATMIN the respective specific code.

⁵⁰ Includes in English the prefix „afro“ as in „afro-caribbean“, which is decomposed into code 32 in IDENMIN and

- 33 'Asian'
- 34 'coloured'

40 'RELIGIOUS GROUPS' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 41 'religious minorities/groups'
- 42 'Muslim/Islamic (not specified)'
- 43 'Sunnite'
- 44 'Chiite'
- 45 'Sufi'
- 46 'Hindu'
- 47 'Jewish/Israelite'
- 48 'Orthodox'⁵¹
- 49 'Rastafarian'
- 50 'Sikh'
- 51 'Alevite'
- 52 'Catholic'
- 53 'Protestant'
- 54 'Buddhist'⁵²
- 55 'Yezidic'
- 56 'Ahmadis'

60 'NATIONAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 61 'ethnic minorities/groups'
- 62 'Jewish' (secular, for religious Jewish use 47)
- 63 'Roma and Sinti'
- 64 'other specific national or ethnic group'

70 'HYPHEN HOMELAND-COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 71 'hyphenated Jewish' (secular, for religious Jewish use 47)
- 72 'hyphenated Roma and Sinti'
- 73 'hyphenated Muslim'⁵³
- 74 'specific hyphenated national or ethnic group'

95 'UNCLASSIFIABLE ACTOR'

99 'NOT APPLICABLE'

Variable **IDENMINEXPL**

Variable label 'basis for IDENMIN'

then code 504 in NATMIN. Similarly „black african“ is coded as 32 for IDENMIN and 449 for NATMIN.

⁵¹ Greek, Armenian, Russian, etc. orthodox. The respective national identifications are then code in NATMIN: e.g., the Greek Orthox Patriarch is coded as 48 in IDENMIN and 208 in NATMIN.

⁵² Includes subdivisions such as "shugden".

⁵³ Example: if an article states "The German-Turkish Muslim Cem Özdemir said...", we code 73 'hyphenated Muslim' in IDENMIN and then 301 'Turkish' in NATMIN.

The variable indicates whether the identity of the actor is explicitly or only implicitly mentioned.

Value labels

1 'explicitly'

2 'implicitly'

9 'not applicable'

Variable **NATMIN**

Variable label 'nationality or ethnicity of actor'

This variable gives, if mentioned, the national or ethnic background of the actor.

Value labels

0 'NO SPECIFICATION OF NATIONALITY OR ETHNICITY'

100 'COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE NATIONALITY',⁵⁴

200 'EUROPE: EU'

201 'German'⁵⁵

202 'Dutch'

203 'French'

204 'British'

205 'English'

206 'Irish'

207 'Belgian'

208 'Greek'

209 'Spanish'

210 'Portuguese'

211 'Scottish'

212 'Welsh'

213 'Scandinavian'

214 'Austrian'

215 'Italian'

250 'OTHER EUROPE'

251 'Swiss'

252 'East European'

253 '(ex-) Yugoslav'

254 'Serbian'

⁵⁴ This code is used for hyphen identities between country of residence nationality and race or religion. E.g., "British Muslims" were coded as "Muslims" in IDENMIN, and receive code 100 (which in the British case stands for "British") here.

⁵⁵ Note that category 201 is not used for the German case, 202 not for the Dutch, 203 not for the French, 204 not for the British, and 251 not for the Swiss case. Use 100 (country of residence nationality) instead.

- 255 'Croatian'
- 256 'Bosnian'
- 257 'Kosovo-Albanian'
- 258 'Macedonian'
- 259 'Slovenian'
- 260 'Vojvodina Hungarian'
- 261 'Polish'
- 262 'Romanian'
- 263 'Albanian'
- 264 'Russian'⁵⁶
- 265 'Chechen'
- 266 'Hungarian'
- 267 'Bulgarian'
- 268 'Czech'
- 269 'Estonian'
- 270 'Norwegian'

- 290 'OLD EUROPEAN MINORITIES'
- 291 'Jewish'⁵⁷
- 292 'Roma and Sinti/Gypsy'

- 300 'ASIA: MIDDLE EAST'
- 301 'Turkish'⁵⁸
- 302 'Kurdish'
- 303 'Alevite'
- 304 'Iranian'
- 305 'Iraqi'
- 306 'Palestinian'
- 307 'Lebanese'
- 308 'Armenian'⁵⁹
- 309 'Israeli'
- 310 'Azeri'
- 311 'Syrian'
- 312 'Yezidic'
- 313 'Kazach'
- 314 'Saudi Arabian'
- 315 'Yemeni'
- 316 'Egyptian'
- 317 'Jordanian'

⁵⁶ Includes "ex-USSR" if not further specified.

⁵⁷ Jewish religious identifications/organizations are coded as such in IDENMIN *and* as "Jewish" in NATMIN. The coding for secular/ethnic Jewish organizations (and the default) is: code 62 for IDENMIN, code 291 for NATMIN.

⁵⁸ Note that Turkey is considered as part of the Middle East, not Europe.

⁵⁹ Note that the Caucasus region is considered as a part of Asia, not Europe

350 'ASIA: SOUTH AND EAST'

349 'Asian'

351 'Pakistani'

352 'Afghan'

353 'Indian'

354 'Sikh'⁶⁰

355 'Bengali'

356 'Sri Lankan'

357 'Tamil'

358 'Singhalese'

359 'Bangladeshi'

360 'Tibetan'

361 'Chinese'

362 'Hong Kong citizen'

363 'Indonesian'

364 'Moluccan'

365 'Vietnamese'

366 'Mongolian'

367 'Nepalese'

368 'Philippine'

400 'AFRICA: NORTH'

401 'Moroccan'

402 'Algerian'

403 'Tunisian'

404 'Maghrebian'/'North African'

405 'Arab'⁶¹

406 'Saharan'

407 'Libyan'

450 'AFRICA: OTHER'

449 'African'

451 'Ghanaian'

452 'Nigerian'

453 'Tanzanian'

454 'Angolan'

455 'Mozambican'

456 'Senegalese'

457 'Malinese'

458 'Réunionese'

459 'Rwandan'

⁶⁰ Sikh religious identifications/organizations are coded as such in IDENMIN *and* as "Sikh" in NATMIN. The coding for secular/ethnic Sikh organizations (and the default) is: code 64 for IDENMIN, code 354 for NATMIN

⁶¹ Note that as a default "arabs" are considered to be North Africans.

460 'Somali'
461 'Eritrean'
462 'Zaire's'
463 'Comorian'
464 'Congolese'⁶²
465 'Ethiopian'
466 'Sudanese'
467 'South African'
468 'Togolese'
469 'Kenyan'
470 'Liberian'
471 'Sierra Leonean'
472 'Guinean'
473 'Guinean (Guinea-Bissau)'

500 'CARIBBEAN'
501 'Surinamese'
502 'Dutch Antillean/Aruban'
503 'French Antillean/Guadelupian/Martiniquan'
504 'Caribbean'
505 'Jamaican'
506 'Cuban'
507 'Guyanese'

550 'LATIN AMERICA'
551 'Peruvian'
552 'Chilean'
553 'Uruguayan'

590 'NORTH AMERICA'
591 'US American'
592 'Canadian'

600 'OCEANIA'
601 'Australian'
602 'new Caledonian/Kanaka'

999 'NOT APPLICABLE: NO MINORITY OR MIGRANT ACTOR'

ACTION FORMS

⁶² The old French colony Congo (capital Brazzaville), not the old Belgian Congo (long known as Zaire, but now also called Congo again, I think; capital Kinshasa).

Variable **FORM**

Variable label 'form of action'

As the codebook does not allow for multiple coding on action forms, decision rules are needed for classification. The rule is protest > political decision > verbal statement (in newspaper, tv, radio, public etc.) > repressive measure⁶³. When the actor is quoted, it is a verbal statement, unless it is specified that the form was a different one.

Value labels

- 10 'repressive measures'
- 20 'political decision'⁶⁴
- 30 'press conference'
- 31 'newspaper interview'
- 32 'tv interview'
- 33 'radio interview'
- 34 'opinion article/open letter'
- 35 'editorial'
- 36 'report, book, etc.'
- 37 'public speech'
- 38 'statement in parliament/government, organizational meetings'
- 39 'other press statements/declarations'
- 40 'meetings'⁶⁵
- 50 'judicial action'⁶⁶
- 60 'direct-democratic action'⁶⁷
- 70 'petitioning'⁶⁸
- 80 'demonstrative protests'⁶⁹

⁶³ Repression only includes repressive actions by governmental authorities (such as bans), the judiciary (trials and court ruling...) and internal security agencies. A police intervention, to be classified as repression, has to involve either arrests or the use of violence by the police.

⁶⁴ Note that we include here only decisions of organisations and institutions with real political decision-making power, i.e. state representatives and institutions, as well as political parties represented in parliament. Thus, the passing of legislation, administrative decrees, decisions to deport asylum seekers, politically relevant court rulings, but also resolutions and programmatic decisions at party conferences are considered political decisions. "Decisions" in the form of resolutions, etc. by civil society organisations count as verbal statements (even though in the original codebook they appeared under the heading "institutional decisions").

⁶⁵ This refers to conferences, meetings, congresses etc that take place inside. The codebook initially did not include these forms and coded claims made at such meetings as statements or decisions. However, in the case of extreme right organisations in Germany, the report often mentions just that an extreme right group held a "Tagung", without any indication of what was said. Such cases could not be coded as verbal acts and therefore a new category was created. The category is empty for all actors, except the extreme right (in theory, it might apply to other groups, too, in cases where only a meeting is reported, but not its aim).

⁶⁶ Refers to appeals to the judiciary (e.g. filing lawsuits), not actions by the judiciary (the latter appear as repressive measures, statements, or decisions).

⁶⁷ Probably exclusively relevant to the Swiss context: launching, collection and presentation of signatures in the context of referendum and initiative campaigns.

⁶⁸ Includes petitions, other form of signature collection (outside direct-democratic contexts) and letter campaigns. Petitions are collective (not individual) form of mass mobilization.

90 'confrontational protests',⁷⁰
100 'violent protests'

ADDRESSEES: INDIRECT OBJECT ACTORS

Variable **ADRES**

Variable label 'addressee of claim'.

Variable **CRITAC**

Variable label 'criticized actor'

Variable **SUPPACT**(for those who have coded positive references to actors)

Variable label 'supported actor'

ADRES, CRITAC and SUPPACT have the same categorizations as the ACTOR variables, with the exception of code 999, which here stands for 'no addressee', 'no criticized actor' and 'no supported actor'

These variables are used to code the addressees of claims, i.e. the actors to which the actors refer in their claims.

There are three types of addressees:

- ADRES refers to the addressee narrowly defined, i.e. the actor who is held responsible for acting with regard to the claim or at whom the claim is directly addressed as a call to act. In other words, this is the actor at whom a demand is explicitly addressed (usually, a state actor).
- CRITAC refers to the criticized actors, i.e. the actor who is overtly criticized or mentioned in a negative way in the claim.
- SUPPACT refers to the actor sustained by the subject (verbs as endorse, back e.g. Blair backed a local education authority that suspended a Muslim assistant for refusing to remove her veil during lessons)

If there are more than one addressee, criticized actor or supported actor, the following priority rules apply: (1) organizations or institutions (or their representatives) have priority over unorganized collectivities or groups; (2) state actors have priority over non-state actors. If these rules do not allow a decision, use the order in which the addressee or criticized actor are mentioned, unless it is possible to find a priority rule according to other information in the article.

⁶⁹ E.g., demonstration, manifestation, march, etc.

⁷⁰ E.g., strikes, hunger strikes, blockades, occupations, and other forms of non-violent civil disobedience. Also includes symbolic forms of violence against objects and persons (e.g., graffiti, paint 'bombs').

Variable **ADRSCOP**

Variable label 'scope of addressee'

Variable **CACSCOP**

Variable label 'scope of criticized actor'

Variable **SACSCOP**

Variable label 'scope of supported actor'

These variables have the same categories as the ACTSCOP variables, with the exception of code 9, which here stands for 'no addressee', 'no criticized actor', 'no supported actor'.

CONTENT OF CLAIMS

Variable **ISSUE** (three-digit codes)⁷¹

Variable label 'issue'

Variable **SISSUE** (two-digit codes)

Variable label 'summary of SISSUE'

Variable **FIELD** (one-digit code)

Variable label 'policy field'

If more than one issue is mentioned in claims by Muslim actors, first code claims about Islam and/or Muslims. If more than one specific issue is mentioned use the "general" code (e.g. 100, 200, etc.).

Value labels

1 'IMMIGRATION, ASYLUM, AND ALIENS POLITICS'⁷² (not to be used in primary coding)

10 'immigration, asylum, and aliens politics' (not to be used in primary coding)

100 'general evaluation or policy direction'⁷³

101 'institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs'⁷⁴

102 'migration prevention in homeland countries'⁷⁵

103 'entry and border controls'⁷⁶

⁷¹ Anybody who wishes more detail can further refine the code by introducing a fourth digit. It does not seem possible, however, in a way that would be useful for comparative analyses. If, for the analysis of single-country analyses, you wish to introduce a fourth level, take care to do so in such a way that the fourth level does not change or blur the meaning of the higher level codes.

⁷² Includes all policies that pertain to the regulation of entry of migrants (including policies to prevent migration), their residence rights, and their, voluntary or involuntary, return. In this sense, the category is wider than in the original codebook and now includes residence rights, expulsions, etc., which were originally classified under minority integration politics. In addition, it includes issues of access to work and welfare for groups who do not (yet) have full residence rights (non-recognized asylum seekers and refugees, illegal aliens, and temporary labour migrants).

⁷³ E.g., "recognition that Germany is a country of immigration, "solidarity with asylum seekers", "prevent polarization in the asylum debate", "do not instrumentalize the asylum issue for electoral purposes", "inform the public about the situation and problems of Aussiedler".

⁷⁴ E.g., "create a special ministry of migration", "search for a common European solution to immigration problems", "financial support from the federal government for local communities in order to help them deal with the consequences of immigration", "create a special parliamentary commissioner for refugees", "equal distribution of refugees among EU countries", "limit the costs of the asylum procedure", "more personnel for state agencies dealing with asylum seekers", "speed up asylum procedures", "improve housing conditions in asylum seeker centres", "Aussiedler should await the result of their application in their country of origin", "house Aussiedler in former barracks of the Soviet army", "increase the say of the Bundesländer in matters concerning the reception of Aussiedler".

⁷⁵ E.g., "combat the causes of migration through intensified aid for Eastern Europe and the Third World", "combat the persecution of Roma in Eastern Europe", "combat the causes of refugee flows", "improve the rights and living conditions of ethnic Germans in their countries of origin".

- 104 'registration and internal control',⁷⁷
- 105 'recognition, residence rights, legal status and permits',⁷⁸
- 106 'access to welfare services and the labour market',⁷⁹
- 107 'expulsions/deportations',⁸⁰
- 108 'voluntary return',⁸¹
- 109 'other specific issues'

2 'MINORITY INTEGRATION POLITICS' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 20 'minority integration general' (not to be used in primary coding)
 - 200 'general evaluation or policy direction',⁸²
 - 201 'institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs',⁸³
- 21 'minority rights and participation' (not to be used in primary coding)
 - 210 'general evaluation or policy direction',⁸⁴
 - 211 'naturalization and citizenship',⁸⁵

⁷⁶ E.g., "stricter entry requirements for Eastern Europeans", "introduction of a visa for foreign children" "no right to (re-)entry for foreigners who have committed crimes", "prohibit airline companies to transport people without visa to Germany", "intensified combat against Schlepperbanden (organized 'smuggling' of asylum seekers across the border), "exclude asylum seekers without visa from the procedure", "stricter controls to prevent illegal immigration" Now also includes family reunification and formation (formerly 104), as well as general statements about entry (formerly 100) such as "reduce immigration", "introduce an immigration law", "an open Europe", "set levels and forms of immigration as a function of Germany's economic needs", "stop influx of asylum seekers", "limit the number of workers from Eastern Europe", "stop the influx of Aussiedler", "controlled influx of Soviet Jews by way of yearly quota", "no limits on the reception of East European Jews". Unspecified statements on bodies of legislation whose main issue is the regulation of entry (e.g., Schengen, Loi Pasqua) are coded here (e.g., a statement which says nothing more than "against the Loi Pasqua").

⁷⁷ E.g., "against the central registration of data on foreigners", "extend police competences to control the identity of aliens", "take measures against the misuse of the right to asylum".

⁷⁸ E.g., "regulate foreign women's residence rights independent from their husbands", "right to stay for women who are the victim of forced prostitution", "softening of the criteria to obtain unlimited residence permits", "limit the constitutional right to asylum", "limit rights to appeal for asylum seekers", "right to stay for asylum seekers who have been longer than three years in Germany", "freedom of movement for EU citizens", "abolish the special immigration rights for Aussiedler", "freedom for Aussiedler to choose where to live in Germany", "give Soviet Jews the same rights as Aussiedler", "legalisation of illegal aliens".

⁷⁹ E.g., "special assistance for children of refugees", "limit social welfare payments to asylum seekers", "allow asylum seekers to work", "limit access of illegal aliens to medical services", "no access for children of illegal aliens to education".

⁸⁰ E.g., "expulsion of foreign extremists", "expulsion of criminal foreigners", "send back asylum seekers who have arrived from save third countries", "draw up a list of countries to which asylum seekers cannot be sent back", "deportation treaty between Germany and Turkey", "no violence against asylum seekers in the course of deportations", "improve conditions of detention of asylum seekers waiting for deportation".

⁸¹ E.g., "homeland governments should motivate foreigners to return", "set up re-integration programs for asylum seekers willing to return".

⁸² E.g., "strive for the integration of foreigners", "prevent polarization in the debate on minority issues", "strive for a multicultural society", "the multicultural society leads to a racial hotchpot". Note that such general references to "multicultural society" are not coded as "cultural participation and rights" because the term is often used as a broad catchword in calls for the acceptance of people with different cultural backgrounds. If it is used in referring to the more specific issue of cultural rights, then the more specific code should be used.

⁸³ E.g., "more resources for state agencies dealing with foreigners", "creation of a federal office for foreigners' questions".

⁸⁴ E.g., "equal rights and chances for foreigners".

- 212 'political rights and participation'⁸⁶
- 213 'social rights and participation: labour market'⁸⁷
- 214 'social rights and participation: education'⁸⁸
- 215 'social rights and participation: health and welfare'
- 216 'social rights and participation: language acquisition'⁸⁹
- 217 'social rights and participation: housing and segregation'⁹⁰
- 218 'social rights and participation: police and judiciary'⁹¹
- 219 'social rights and participation: other/general'
- 220 'cultural rights and participation: education'⁹²
- 221 'cultural rights and participation: religion'⁹³
- 222 'cultural rights and participation: (recognition of) group identity/differences'⁹⁴
- 223 'cultural rights and participation: other/general'⁹⁵
- 224 'other rights and participation'
- 23 'discrimination and unequal treatment'⁹⁶ (not to be used in primary coding)

⁸⁵ E.g., “allow dual nationality”, “German citizenship for children born in Germany”, “naturalization conditional upon sufficient knowledge of the German language” (note that this claim is not coded as “social rights and participation: language acquisition”).

⁸⁶ E.g., “local voting rights for foreigners”, “stimulate migrant political participation”, “consult migrant organisations in decisions concerning them”, “limit foreigners’ right to demonstrate”, “right to participate in local and regional initiatives and referenda for EU citizens”, “reduce subventions for organizations of Aussiedler and Vertriebene”.

⁸⁷ E.g., “introduce quotas for foreigners in certain professions”. See also the footnotes to “education” and “police and judiciary”.

⁸⁸ E.g., “improve the education opportunities of young foreigners”. Note that demands for a better representation of minorities among teaching personnel, or for a quorum for minorities in that regard are coded here, not in “labour market”.

⁸⁹ Refers to acquisition of the language of the country of residence. E.g., “reduction of special German language programs for Aussiedler”. Claims pertaining to education in homeland languages should be coded as “cultural rights and participation: education”.

⁹⁰ E.g., “set limits to the percentage of foreigners in city districts”.

⁹¹ Note that demands for a better representation of minorities in the police force, or for a quorum of minorities in the police force are coded here, not in “labour market”.

⁹² E.g., “introduction of Turkish as a second foreign language next to English”.

⁹³ E.g., “stimulate the construction of mosks”, “recognition of Islam on an equal footing with Christian churches”, “creation of possibilities for ritual slaughtering for Muslims”, “creation of Islamic graveyards”, “introduce Islamic religious education organized in Germany, not directed from the homeland countries”, “integrate Islamic religious education in the normal school curriculum” (note that the later two claims are coded here, not as “cultural rights and participation: education”); “support for Jewish religious organizations”, “allow polygamy”. This category includes claims relating to Islamic fundamentalism as an ideology/religious current, i.e. such claims are NOT coded in 253 'political extremism and violence'. However, claims relating to Islamic-inspired violence such as that of the GIA will be coded in 253 (i.e. if it is the content of Islamic fundamentalism that is central, code here, if illegal/violent forms of action are central, code in 253).

⁹⁴ E.g., “protect the cultural identity of foreigners”, “recognize Kurds as a group separate from the Turks”, “official minority status for Roma and Sinti”.

⁹⁵ E.g., “involve additional external experts in court cases against foreigners in order to judge cultural differences in behavioural patterns”. Note that this claim is coded here and not in “social rights and participation: police and judiciary”. The decision rule is that the distinction between social and cultural rights is the first criterion of classification, the substantive domain (labour market, education, etc.) the second criterion. The claim cited here asks for special provisions on the basis of cultural difference. Social rights demands are claims for equality and compensation of inequalities, regardless of cultural difference.

⁹⁶ The difference with the “rights and participation” category is that “discrimination and unequal treatment” claims focus on the majority society and its institutions as the cause of unequal participation of minorities. In that sense they

- 231 'general evaluation or policy direction'⁹⁷
- 232 'discrimination in politics'
- 233 'discrimination in the labour market'
- 234 'discrimination in the education system'
- 235 'discrimination in health and welfare services'⁹⁸
- 236 'discrimination regarding housing'
- 237 'discrimination in the police and judiciary system'⁹⁹
- 238 'discrimination: other specific issues'¹⁰⁰
- 25 'minority social problems' (not to be used in primary coding)
 - 252 'crime'¹⁰¹
 - 253 'political extremism and violence'¹⁰²
 - 254 'Islamic extremism and violence'
 - 255 'Position of women in Islam'
 - 256 'Position of women in other minority groups'
 - 257 'Anti-Semitism'
 - 258 'Homosexuality'
 - 259 'other'
- 26 'interethnic, inter- and intraorganizational relations'¹⁰³ (not to be used in primary coding)
 - 261 'inter/intraethnic relations'¹⁰⁴

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

⁹⁷ E.g., “combat discrimination of foreigners”, “introduce and anti-discrimination law”.

⁹⁸ E.g., “abolish special enquiries when foreigners apply for social welfare”.

⁹⁹ E.g., “abolish registration of foreigners in a special police register”.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., “abolish church regulations that discriminate against non-Christians, for instance the impossibility of church marriage when one of the partners is non-Christian”.

¹⁰¹ E.g., “tougher line with criminal foreigners”. Note that demands for expulsion of criminal foreigners are coded in “immigration and aliens politics”.

¹⁰² E.g., “tougher measures against foreign extremists”, “lifting of the ban on the PKK”. Also it includes demands related to policies and evaluation regarding ethnic and race riots. Note that demands for expulsion of foreign extremists are coded in “immigration and aliens politics”.

¹⁰³ Interethnic here refers to relations between different minority groups, not between minorities and the majority group.

¹⁰⁴ Included here are conflicts among different ethnic minority groups that are *not* related to homeland but derive from their political, religious or economic competition in the country of residence. In Britain, examples include both verbal and physical conflicts between moderate and fundamentalist Muslims or between Muslims and Jews. Note that this category should only be used if such claims cannot be coded in a substantive policy field in immigration,

262 'inter/intraorganizational relations'¹⁰⁵

3 'ANTI-RACISM/ISLAMOPHOBIA' (not to be used in primary coding)

30 'racism/islamophobia in institutional contexts'¹⁰⁶ (not to be used in primary coding)

300 'general evaluation or policy direction'

301 'racism/islamophobia and extreme right language in politics'¹⁰⁷

302 'police racism/islamophobia and violence against minorities'¹⁰⁸

303 'racism/islamophobia in other state institutions'¹⁰⁹

304 'racism/islamophobia in non-state institutions'

305 'stigmatization of minorities/Muslims/Islam in public debate'

31 'non-institutional racism/islamophobia, xenophobia and extreme right tendencies in society'¹¹⁰ (not to be used in primary coding)

310 'general evaluation or policy direction'¹¹¹

311 'moral appeals'¹¹²

312 'social and educational responses'¹¹³

313 'countermobilisation'¹¹⁴

314 'protection of minorities against violence'¹¹⁵

315 'extreme right parties: alliances and exclusion'¹¹⁶

316 'repression: political responses'¹¹⁷

integration, or antiracism. I.e., if in the British example the conflict between different Muslim groups is on whether or not to strive for separate Muslim schools, this is not coded here, but in 221.

¹⁰⁵ Only if not related to a substantive issue. E.g., the claim by a rival Muslim organization that "the Islamic Federation does not represent the Muslim community", or claims referring to conflicts among the leadership of ethnic organizations..

¹⁰⁶ Note that this does not include all appeals against "institutional racism". This term, in fact, often refers to "hidden" and structural forms of discrimination, which we code in minority integration politics.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., "fight the use of racist language by politicians which paves the road for the extreme right".

¹⁰⁸ E.g., "dismantle the voluntary police reserve because of its repeated involvement in racist and extreme right incidents".

¹⁰⁹ E.g., "combat extreme right tendencies in the Bundeswehr".

¹¹⁰ Any references to xenophobia (including antisemitism) are included here, as well as unspecific references to the extreme right. Claims which explicitly refer to aspects of the extreme right which are not, or only marginally related to immigration and minorities are not included.

¹¹¹ E.g., "against xenophobia and the extreme right", "formation of a common front against the extreme right". Note that such claims may occasionally be made by extreme right organizations, e.g., the Republikaner distancing themselves from xenophobic violence.

¹¹² E.g., "tolerance", "dialogue between Germans and foreigners", "solidarity with foreigners".

¹¹³ E.g., "a better social politics", "civil education and information of the public".

¹¹⁴ E.g., "organize a countermovement", "German citizens should protect asylum seeker centers", "counterdemonstrations only help the extreme right to get the media attention it wants". Also includes claims by extreme right and xenophobic groups against such countermobilization.

¹¹⁵ E.g., "police should protect asylum seeker centers better against attacks".

¹¹⁶ Claims that refer to how one should politically deal with extreme right parties. E.g., "no cooperation with extreme right parties". Not included are claims on political strategy with regard to the extreme right that are purely tactical or relate to topics other than immigration and minorities. I.e., if a call is made to boycott the Front National because of Le Pen's statement on the Holocaust as a detail in history. The present category is, however, the default. I.e., unless there is explicit evidence that the claim is inspired by something else than the extreme right's xenophobia, we code the claim in antiracism. Note that this category, too, includes claims by the extreme right itself against its political exclusion (unless again this exclusion is explicitly related to something else than xenophobia).

- 317 'repression: judicial responses'¹¹⁸
- 318 'repression: police responses'¹¹⁹
- 319 'repression: other'¹²⁰
- 320 'other specific issues'

4 'ISLAMOPHOBIC CLAIMS' (not to be used in primary coding)

- 40 'islamophobic claims' (not to be used in primary coding)
 - 400 'general islamophobic claims'
 - 401 "against Islamification"
 - 402 "other anti-Islam/Muslim claims"

5 'ACTOR CLAIMS MUSLIMS'¹²¹ (not to be used in primary coding)

- 50 'homeland politics' (not to be used in primary coding)
 - 500 'pure homeland politics'¹²²
 - 501 'politics of country of residence with regard to homeland issues'¹²³
- 51 'transnational politics'¹²⁴ (not to be used in primary coding)
 - 511 'Palestine-Israeli conflict'
 - 512 'Iraq war'
 - 513 'Afghanistan war'
 - 514 'other Islamic solidarity'
 - 515 'other transnational politics'
 - 516 'World War II/Holocaust'¹²⁵
 - 521 'other'

¹¹⁷ E.g., "a better coordination of the fight against the extreme right", "politicians should resign if they do not adequately respond to racist incidents", "ban extreme right organisations", "ban extreme right demonstrations", "tougher legislation". Also claims by the extreme right against such repression.

¹¹⁸ E.g., "judges do not sentence the perpetrators of extreme right violence harshly enough". Also claims by the extreme right against such repression.

¹¹⁹ E.g., "police do not sufficiently interfere when xenophobic acts are committed", "organization X should be put under observation of the internal security agencies", "police should avoid spectacular clashes with extreme right groups, since that only gives these groups the publicity they want". Also claims by the extreme right against such repression.

¹²⁰ E.g., "exclude members of extreme right organizations from the civil service". Also claims by the extreme right against such repression.

¹²¹ Only if ACTOR is explicitly a Muslim/Muslim minorities in Western Europe.

¹²² E.g., "stop repression of Kurds in Turkey", "against Kurdish attacks on Turkish targets in Germany".

¹²³ E.g., "against military support by the German government for the Turkish regime", "better protection for Turks against Kurdish attacks in Germany", "lift ban on the PKK in Germany", "boycott of Turkey by German tourists", "admit Turkey to the EU", "the German media give a false picture of the situation in Turkey".

¹²⁴ Claims made by actors about transnational politics when it does not consider their own homeland. If an Iraqi migrant claims that the Dutch government should not cooperate in the war on Iraq, code under 50.

¹²⁵ E.g., "remembrance of the victims of the Holocaust" (without any reference to present-day extreme right, otherwise code as 312).

Variable **RELRIGHT**

Variable label 'Islamic religious rights'

For the issue coded 221 in SISSUE, this variable specifies the specific religious rights.

- 11 'allowance of Islamic ritual slaughtering'
- 12 'allowance of Islamic call to prayer'
- 13 'provision for burial according to the Islamic rite'
- 14 'recognition of Islamic holidays for employees'
- 15 'recognition of Islamic holidays for students'
- 21 'state recognition of Islamic organizations/religions'
- 22 'right to build minarets'
- 23 'right to build (visible) mosques'
- 24 'rights regarding the establishment and running of Islamic schools'
- 25 'Islamic religious classes in state schools'
- 26 'right related to wear headscarf (hair-covering headgear)
 - 260 'in general'
 - 261 'for civil servants'
 - 262 'for female students'
 - 263 'for teachers'
 - 264 'in other public institutions'
 - 265 'in private sector'
 - 266 'other issues related to wear headscarf'
- 27 'right related to wear burqa or niqaab (hair and face-covering headgear)
 - 270 'in general'
 - 271 'for civil servants'
 - 272 'for female students'
 - 273 'for teachers'
 - 274 'in other public institutions'
 - 275 'in private sector'
 - 276 'other issues related to wear burqa or niqaab'
- 28 'right to adopt Shari'ah/Šarī'ah' rules
- 29 'Islamic religious programs in public broadcasting'
- 30 'separated (F/M) sports/swimming classes in schools'
- 31 'Imams in army and prisons '
 - 310 'Imams trained by public institutions'
 - 311 'volunteer imams'
- 32 'state recognition of Muslim consultative bodies'
- 33 'public training and selection of Imams'
- 34 'Muslim rights and participation: other/general'

35 'Muslim prayer facilities in public schools'

37 'dispensation from Sunday closure for Muslim shops and enterprises'

38 'religious facilities on the work floor of private enterprises'

39 'female circumcision'

40 'refusal by Muslims to respect codes of conduct in courts of law'

41 'refusal to shake hands and other physical contact with the opposite sex by (prospective) public servants'

42 'refusal to shake hands and other physical contact with the opposite sex in non-public institutions'

43 'banning of the Quran'

44 'prayer spaces for Muslims in other public institutions (not schools)'

45 'provisions for Ramadan in public schools'

46 'separate swimming for Muslims (outside the context of schools)'

47 'other halal food issues in non-public institutions (not related to slaughtering)'

48 'restrictions on use of dogs by police as haram animals in mosque and house searches'

49 'government assistance related to Hajj'

50 'refusal to prepare, serve or sell non-halal food or alcohol in public institutions'

51 'banning/legal sanctioning of depictions or descriptions of symbols of Islam that are considered blasphemous'

52 'refusal to prepare or serve or sell non-halal food or alcohol outside public institutions'

54 'Muslim prayer spaces in non-public institutions'

55 'non-Muslim staff in public institutions should refrain from eating at the work place during Ramadan'

56 'objections to smell of pork from food industries'

57 'other halal food issues in public institutions'

58 'polygamy'

59 'adapted housing for Muslims'

60 'special arrangements for Muslims in health care (e.g., separate hospitals/wards, no treatment by doctor of other sex)'

61 'other Ramadan issues in non-public institutions'

62 'extension of blasphemy laws to include Islam'

63 'no Friday classes at school/university'

64 'adapted direction of toilets in public institutions (not facing Mecca)'

65 'adapted direction of toilets in non-public institutions (not facing Mecca)'

66 'Islamic banking, pension funds, mortgages, etc (without interest)'

67 'provisions for Ramadan in other public institutions (not schools)'

68 'laïcité/public neutrality general'

69 'refusal of treatment by doctors of the opposite sex in hospitals'

70 'Muslim religious beard for employees of public institutions'

71 'levying religious taxes/fees on halal meat, hajj etc. to finance Muslim organizations'

72 'protection of the freedom of religion general'

73 'right of Christian schools to refuse Muslim children'

74 'removal of Christian symbols from monuments, public buildings'

75 'balance between religious freedom and freedom of expression, general'

76 'other special clothing exemptions in private institutions'

77 'Muslim religious beard outside public institutions'
78 'refusal to participate in biology and sexual classes'.
999 'not applicable'

Variable **ISSCOP**

Variable label 'scope of issue'

Refers to the geographical and/or political scope of the claim. Scope here refers to the actors, actions, legislation or conventions that are implied in the claim. I.e., a claim has a scope beyond the national context (codes 1-5) if it refers to actors (e.g., the EU, foreign investors), and/or actions (e.g., improving conditions in homelands, economic aid to countries of origin), and/or legislation and conventions (e.g., the UN Children's Rights Convention, the European Charta on Minority Languages). The scope always refers to the widest scope geographical/political dimension implied in the claim. I.e., when the issue has both a national and a European dimension, "European" is coded. See further the examples given in the footnotes.

Value labels

0 'no verbal claim'¹²⁶
1 'supra- or transnational: European'¹²⁷
2 'supra- or transnational: other'¹²⁸
3 'foreign national: migrant homelands'¹²⁹
4 'foreign national: other'
5 'bilateral'¹³⁰
6 'national'
7 'regional'
8 'local'
9 'national or subnational'¹³¹

¹²⁶ The number of cases here should be identical to that for the zero category of SISSUE1. I.e., every verbal claim should have a score on scope.

¹²⁷ E.g., "The German government should strive for a common European solution of immigration problems" (claim has both a European and a national dimension, "European" is coded).

¹²⁸ E.g., "The UNHCR should determine which countries can be regarded as 'safe countries of origin'", "the UN Convention on the Rights of Children should prevail over the German Aliens' Law" , "Create an international commission to investigate right-wing violence in Germany", "Right-wing violence is harmful to Germany's image abroad and may deter foreign investors" (frame). In order to give postnational hypotheses the benefit of doubt, all claims which refer generally to "human rights" will be coded here.

¹²⁹ E.g., "Improve the rights of ethnic Germans in their countries of origin", "Measures against the persecution of Roma in Eastern Europe".

¹³⁰ E.g., "Increase economic aid to Eastern European countries to prevent migration to Germany", "set up reintegration programs in Bosnia to stimulate refugees to return", the conclusion of a treaty between Germany and Turkey regarding the deportation of Kurdish refugees, "*Conclude city partnerships with Eastern European cities as a gesture of reconciliation*".

Variable **POSIT**

Variable label 'position of claim toward Muslim rights/Islam'

Value labels

- 1 'anti-muslims/islam/xenophobic/extreme right'¹³²
- 0 'neutral/ambivalent'¹³³
- +1 'pro-muslims/islam/antiracist/anti-extreme right',¹³⁴
- 9 'unclassifiable'

This variable should provide a general indicator of the position of claims with regard to the rights, position and evaluation of migrants and minorities (and, conversely, of those who mobilize against them). All claims whose realization implies deterioration in the rights or position of Muslims receive code -1, no matter if the reduction is minor or large. The -1 also goes to claims which express a negative attitude with regard to Muslims (both verbal and physical) or a positive attitude with regard to xenophobic and extreme right groups or aims. All claims whose realization implies an improvement in the rights and position of Muslims (minor or major) receive code +1. This code also goes to claims expressing (verbally or physically) a positive attitude with regard to Muslims, or a negative attitude with regard to xenophobic and extreme right groups or aims. Neutral or ambivalent claims, which are not necessarily related to any deterioration or

¹³¹ E.g., "The federal government should increase support for local communities to help them cope with increased immigration", "limit the constitutional right to asylum", "Aussiedler should await the result of their application in their country of origin (the reference to the country of origin is not substantive here: the application procedure is a purely German national-level affair), "Reception of Aussiedler directly by local communities, not first in large reception centres".

¹³² E.g., all physical attacks on migrants or minorities, "give social benefits to asylum seekers in kind rather than cash", "stop the misuse of asylum laws", "stricter measures against minority crime", "address the issue of Kurdish extremism", "punish airline companies who transport asylum seekers without a visa", "improve border controls", "create programs to stimulate the voluntary return of refugees".

¹³³ E.g. neutral., "create larger centres for the reception of asylum seekers" , "distribute the costs related to the reception of asylum seekers more evenly among the federal, regional and local levels", "house Aussiedler in former Soviet army barracks", "strive for a common European solution to immigration problems". E.g. Ambivalent: "xenophobic attacks are the work of 'blind criminals'" (ambivalent since it expresses a negative attitude with regard to the perpetrators but simultaneously refuses to take the matter seriously), "even right-wing extremists have the right to free speech" (refuses to curtail the freedom of speech of racists, but not from an anti-minority point of view). The latter example implies that claims against bans on the freedom of speech, demonstration and organisation of the extreme right should generally receive code 0, not -1. Claims in favour of such measures are coded 1.

¹³⁴ E.g., all statements against xenophobia, all physical attacks on right-wing extremists, "provide more information to the public on the situation of Aussiedler", "do not criminalise foreigners", "keep the constitutional right to asylum as it is".

improvement in Muslims' position or rights and do not express a clear attitude with regard to Muslims or their opponents receive code 0. To code a claim as +1 'pro-Muslim' it does not matter whether this refers to a demand that is shared by all Muslims. E.g., a claim granting Muslims the right to settle family disputes in Shari'ah/Šarī'ah' courts or to allow the burqa is coded as +1 even if many Muslims might disagree. Repressive measures without verbal claims should also be categorized on this variable: -1 goes to repressive measures directed against Muslims, +1 to repressive measures directed against xenophobic and extreme right individuals and groups. The following categories of claims are coded as unclassifiable (9) because they cannot be positioned on the -1/+1 scale: actor claims Muslims.

FRAMES: ISLAM AND MUSLIMS

OBJECT

Variable label 'identity of Muslim object of claim'

0 'no Muslim OBJECT frame'

100 'Muslims as actors' (not used in primary coding)

101 'all Muslims in general'

102 'majority / most Muslims'

103 'minority / a small group / a particular categorical group (e.g., students) of Muslims'

104 'individual Muslims'

105 'unclassifiable Muslims'

200 'Islam as religion' (not used in primary coding)

201 'Islam in general'

202 'Islam mainstream'

203 'minority currents within Islam'

204 'specific religious stream / movement within Islam'

205 'unclassifiable Islam'

Only Muslim objects are coded here!

Variable **NATOBJECT**

Variable label 'nationality or ethnicity of Muslim object actor'

This variable gives, if mentioned, the national or ethnic background of the object actor.

Value labels as NATMIN

Priority rule: if two nationalities are mentioned for the object actor (e.g., "British-Pakistani Muslims"), the nationality of the country of origin has priority.

Appendix: List of Muslim countries

Afghanistan	Guinea	Morocco	Togo
Albania	Guinea Bissau	Niger	Tunisia
Algeria	Indonesia	Nigeria	Turkey
Azerbaijan	Iran	Oman	Turkmenistan
Bahrain	Iraq	Pakistan	United Arab Emirates
Bangladesh	Jordan	Qatar	Uzbekistan
Brunei	Kuwait	Saudi Arabia	Western Sahara
Burkina-Faso	Kyrgyzstan	Senegal	West Bank and Gaza Strip
Chad	Lebanon	Sierra Leone	Yemen
Comoros	Libya	Somalia	
Djibouti	Malaysia	Sudan	
Egypt	Maldives	Syria	
Eritrea	Mali	Tajikistan	
Gambia	Mauritania	Tanzania	

Source: CIA WORLD FACTBOOK 2009 (Countries with 50%+ Muslim population)