

MERCI

MOBILISATION ON ETHNIC RELATIONS, CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION

CODEBOOK FOR THE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL CLAIMS-MAKING

Final Version

By

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NOTE: Non-MERCI members are allowed to draw on this codebook for their own research purposes, provided that they make appropriate reference to this source. This applies to the general structure of claims coding as well as to individual variables and category systems. Please also refer to: Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham 1999. „Political Claims Analysis: Integrating Protest Event and Public Discourse Approaches“. Mobilization 4(2): 203-222.

A note on the structure of claims

Inspired by Franzosi’s idea to use the structure of linguistic grammar to code contentious events, I 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
The Turkish Community	Issues a statement	asking the government	to introduce Turkish as a second foreign language in schools	(for the benefit of pupils of Turkish origin)
The CDU	Issues a statement	urging the SPD	to agree to a constitutional change	in the rights of asylum seekers

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. The brackets in the final column of the first example indicate that the “to whom” part is sometimes implicitly implied in the what. We have coded only political claims (not statements like “last month, numbers of asylum seekers increased by 50 percent”) and, thus, by definition they must affect somebody’s interests. Second, the definition of our thematic field demands that claims are related to the regulation of immigration, ethnic relations, xenophobia, etc., and thus claims must necessarily affect either some migrant or minority group, or some racist or xenophobic group. This implies that the “to whom” part must, at least for claims in the thematic field be identifiable (for other claims, we will not code object actors).

WHO	HOW	AT WHOM	WHAT	TO WHOM
	sets fire			to an asylum seeker centre
The government	decides		to deport	Kurdish refugees
The Jewish Council	issues a statement		to reject	anti-Semitism (i.e., against xenophobes)

The first row of the second table gives the common example of many acts of xenophobic violence, where we know the act (arson) and the target (an asylum seeker centre), but do not know who did it, nor have explicit substantive information on the claim. The second example is common for state actors, who do not have to make claims on others to do something, but can directly make binding claims. Addressees may, however, as in the third example, also be absent when actors simply venture an opinion, without proposing any concrete policies, let alone who should implement them (in a wider sense, even such claims have an addressee, namely “the public”, if the claimant would not want to address anybody, he would not have bothered to venture his opinion in public).

In the following, the summary variables have been grouped according to these five elements.

CLAIMANTS: SUBJECT ACTORS

Variable **SACTOR1**

Variable Label 'summary first actor'.

Note: In case of organisation 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 (121, 122, etc.).

Value labels

10 'governments'¹

20 'legislatives'²

30 'judiciary'³

40 'police and security agencies'⁴

50 'state executive agencies specifically dealing with migrants'⁵

60 'other state executive agencies'⁶

70 'political parties'⁷

80 'unions and employees'⁸

90 'employers organisations and firms'

100 'churches'⁹

110 'media and journalists'

¹ 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“.

² 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.

³ E.g., European Court of Justice, openbaar ministerie (public prosecutor), individual judges, juries.

⁴ E.g., police (incl. vreemdelingenpolitie, aliens' police), military, marechaussee, Bundesgrenzschutz, secret service, Verfassungsschutz, Interpol, NATO. Note: the Police Union is coded as a union.

⁵ State here includes the supranational level (e.g., UNHCR). Other examples: Immigratie en Naturalisatiedienst, Ausländerbeauftragter, Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge.

⁶ E.g., ILO, WHO, Einwohnermeldeamt, Sozialamt (sociale dienst), Schulaufsichtsbehörde.

⁷ 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.

⁸ Includes the general categories „workers“ and „employees“.

⁹ Only „native“ churches, not those of migrant origin. Islamic, Jewish, Hindu, but also non-western Christian churches (Armenian, Greek and other orthodox, Koptisch, Moluccan churches, etc.) are coded as minority organisations. „Churches“ includes, however, the vague actor „Christians“.

- 120 'professional organisations and groups'¹⁰
- 130 'minority organisations and groups'
 - 131 'minorities: politicians'¹¹
 - 132 'minorities: profession-based'¹²
 - 133 'minorities: religion-based'¹³
 - 134 'minorities: other organisations and groups'
- 140 'antiracist organisations and groups'¹⁴
 - 141 'antiracist: profession-based'
 - 142 'antiracist: church-based'
 - 143 'antiracist: other'
 - 144 'unknown anti-racist actors'
- 150 'pro-minority rights and welfare organisations and groups'¹⁵
 - 151 'pro-minority: profession-based'
 - 152 'pro-minority: church-based'¹⁶
 - 153 'pro-minority: other'
 - 154 'unknown pro-minority actors'
- 160 'general solidarity, human rights and welfare organisations'¹⁷

¹⁰ E.g., Deutscher Ärztekammer, Berufsverband Deutscher Psychologen, Deutscher Sportbund, doctors, football players, research institutes and individual researchers, universities, schools, teachers, writers, intellectuals, solicitors, musicians, etc. Note: unions are always coded as unions, non-union organisations of police and judges are coded under their respective institution.

¹¹ E.g., ethnic minority MP's and local councillors. Only code here if the person in question is explicitly identified (either by the journalist or by some form of self-identification) as a representative of minority interests: e.g., if the article would say "The black MP Paul Boateng...", or "Mr Boateng, who represents a primarily black constituency ..."; or if Boateng's claim would include references to his minority background such as "we blacks...", or "as a black person, I"; or if several minority politicians act as a group (e.g., "Black Caucus"). Note that this may also lead to the inclusion of statements by minority politicians not related to the ERCI thematic field: e.g., when a parliamentarian, identified as, or identifying herself as Jewish makes a statement on Israel or the Palestinian question; or if "Mr Boateng, who represents a primarily black constituency..." would say something on South Africa. In cases where no (self) reference is made to the politician's minority background, the respective institutional actor category should be used (e.g., a statement by "Paul Boateng, MP .." with no reference to him being black or representing a black constituency is simply coded in the category "legislatives". For the Dutch case this implies, for instance, that statements by politicians such as Van Thijn, Hirsch Ballin, Rabbae, Singh Varma, etc. only receive actor code 131 if their ethnic background is explicitly referred to, otherwise they are simply coded as executive, legislative or party representatives. Note that the nature of the claim as such should not be mixed into the actor coding: e.g., a statement by Rabbae on the situation of Moroccan youth is not coded as 131 if no explicit reference is made to the fact that Rabbae himself is of Moroccan descent.

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

¹³ E.g., Islamic and 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.

- 161 'general solidarity: profession-based'¹⁸
- 162 'general solidarity: church-based'¹⁹
- 163 'general solidarity: other'
- 170 'racist and extreme right organisations and groups'²⁰
 - 171 'extreme right political parties'²¹
 - 172 'other racist and extreme right organisations and groups'
 - 173 'unknown extreme right actors'
- 180 'radical left organisations and groups'²²
- 190 'other civil society organisations and groups'²³
 - 191 'other civil society: students'²⁴
 - 192 'other civil society: new social movements'²⁵
 - 193 'other civil society: vertriebene/repatries/expats'²⁶
 - 199 'other civil society: other'²⁷
- 999 'unknown actors'²⁸

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 ERCI thematic field are coded here, organisations catering specifically to migrants and minorities receive code 150.

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 172 (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“ (194-198). 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”, “neighbours”, or “local citizens”. Note, however, that youth *organisations*, neighbourhood *associations*, or citizens’ *initiatives* 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 ACTOR1, and the SACTOR1 category 134 should be used.

Note: variables **SACTOR2** and **SACTOR3** are constructed likewise. However, a category 0 (zero) has to be added for 'no second actor' respectively 'no third actor'.

Variable **SSACTOR1**

Variable Label 'summary SACTOR1'

This variable is exactly the same as SACTOR1, apart from the fact that the second-level codes are collapsed into their respective first-level code (131-134 into 130, 141-143 into 140, etc.)

Variables **SSACTOR2** and **SSACTOR3** to be constructed likewise; with adapted value labels for 0.

Variable **ACTTYPE1**

Variable label 'Type of first actor'.

Value labels

1 'unorganised collectivity (representative)'²⁹

2 'organisation or institution (representative)'³⁰

9 'unknown actor'³¹.

Note: variables **ACTTYPE2** and **ACTTYPE3** are constructed likewise. However, a category 0 (zero) has to be added for 'no second actor' respectively 'no third actor'.

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 SACTOR1.

Variable: **ACTSCOP1**

Variable label 'Scope of first actor'.

This variable is only coded if ACTTYPE1=2. Otherwise, code 9 ("no organisation") is given. The notion of "scope" refers to the organisational extension of the organisation 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 'subnational'³⁸
- 8 'national or subnational'³⁹.
- 9 'unknown: no organisation'⁴⁰.

Note: variables **ACTSCOP2** and **ACTSCOP3** are constructed likewise. However, a category 0 (zero) has to be added for 'no second actor' respectively 'no third actor'.

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, Almany Demokrati Partisi.

³⁸ All actors with a regional or local scope. E.g., Landesregierungen, Landesversorgungsamt, Norddeutscher Rundfunk, Bund türkischer Einwanderer in Berlin-Brandenburg, Flüchtlingsrat Niedersachsen, purely regional political parties (e.g. Frisian National Party), regional branches of national parties (e.g., Hessian SPD), Direkte Aktion Mitteldeutschland, local governments, local parties and party branches, Braunschweiger Zeitung, Jüdische Gemeinde Berlin, Fürther Komitee gegen Rechtsradikalismus.

³⁹ Code here such cases where the name of the organisation and/or your background knowledge does not allow you to determine whether or not the organisation's scope is nationwide or at some subnational level. Such cases are not coded as „unknown“ because we do know that the organisation is not foreign national, transnational etc. (i.e., code 8 means: *not* codes 1-5).

⁴⁰ This code is used for all claims for which no organisation or institution has been mentioned (i.e., corresponds to the codes 1 and 9 of ACTTYPE1).

Variable **MINACT**

Variable label 'minority or migrant actor involved'.

This variable is defined inclusively and measures migrant or minority involvement as first, second, or third actor.

Compute minact=0.

if (ssactor1 eq 130 or ssactor2 eq 130 or ssactor3 eq 130)minact=1.

Value labels minact 0 'no minority or migrant actor' 1 'minority or migrant actor'.

Variable **IDENMIN**⁴¹

Variable label ‘Identity of minority or migrant actor’

Gives the identity of the minority actor, corresponding to the MINACT variable (i.e., also for minorities who appear as second or third actors). If several minority actors are involved at the same time, the first mentioned determines IDENMIN. Note, however, that in order to convey mixed identities of non-organised collectivities, coders (at least mine) sometimes code two actors although there really is only one (e.g., they code “Kurds” as first actor and “asylum seekers” as second actor, although the article speaks of a single actor “Kurdish asylum seekers”). If in doubt, check the original report for such cases.

In comparison to the original operationalisation discussed in Geneva, the different ethnic and national labels have been taken out altogether. They are now coded separately in the variable NATMIN (see below). Thus, “Turks” receive IDENMIN code 82 (specific ethnic or national group) and are then coded as “Turks” in NATMIN.

For the different “mixed identity” categories that were listed in the original categorisation, 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 62 (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 45 (african) in IDENMIN, and then as “Caribbeans” in NATMIN; “Rußlanddeutsche” are coded as 18 (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”.⁴²

Hyphen-identifications between the country of residence and homeland nationality/ethnicity are treated as follows: they all receive code 91 (specific hyphenated ethnic or national group) in IDENMIN, the homeland ethnicity/nationality is then coded in NATMIN. For instance “Indische Nederlanders” are coded 91 in IDENMIN, then “Indonesian” in NATMIN; “des francais d’origine algerienne” would be coded 91 in IDENMIN, then “Algerian” in NATMIN.

⁴¹ 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“).

⁴² 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*.

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”.⁴³

Value labels

- 10 ‘STATUS GROUPS’
- 11 'foreigners/aliens'
- 12 'minorities' (without specification)⁴⁴
- 13 '(im)migrants'⁴⁵
- 14 'allochthonen'
- 15 'asylum seekers' (individual status)⁴⁶
- 16 ‘war refugees, ontheemden’ (collective status)⁴⁷
- 17 ‘quota refugees, kontingentflüchtlinge’ (permanent collective status)⁴⁸
- 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’⁴⁹
- 24 ‘New Commonwealth immigrants/citizens’
- 25 ‘DOM-TOM immigrants/citizens’⁵⁰

⁴³ 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).

⁴⁴ 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

⁴⁵ Includes for the Netherlands „nieuwkomers“.

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ 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

⁴⁹ 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.

26 'DDR-Vertragsarbeiter'
27 'Harki'

40 'RACIAL GROUPS'
41 'racial minorities/groups'
42 'black'⁵¹
43 'asian'
44 'coloured'

60 'RELIGIOUS GROUPS'
61 'religious minorities/groups'
62 'muslim/islamic'
63 'hindu'
64 'jewish/israelite'
65 'orthodox'⁵²
66 'rastafarian'
67 'sikh'
68 'alevite'
69 'catholic'
70 'buddhist'⁵³
71 'yezidic'

80 'NATIONAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS: PURE'
81 'ethnic minorities/groups'
82 'specific national or ethnic group'

90 'NATIONAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS: HYPHEN HOMELAND-COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE'
91 'specific hyphenated national or ethnic group'

⁵⁰ "Français des DOM-TOM" or "Français 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.

⁵¹ Includes in English the prefix „afro“ as in „afro-caribbean“, which is decomposed into code 42 in IDENMIN and then code 504 in NATMIN. Similarly „black african“ is coded as 42 for IDENMIN and 449 for NATMIN.

⁵² Greek, Armenian, Russian, etc. orthodox. The respective national identifications are then code in NATMIN: e.g., the Greek Orthodox Patriarch is coded as 65 in IDENMIN and 208 in NATMIN.

⁵³ Includes subdivisions such as "shugden".

95 'UNCLASSIFIABLE MIGRANT OR MINORITY ACTOR'

99 'NOT APPLICABLE: NO MINORITY OR MIGRANT ACTOR'

Note: Variable **SIDENMIN** (variable label 'summary identity of minority or migrant actor') summarises **IDENMIN** by simply collapsing the subcategories into the whole tens (i.e., the labels in capitals). The whole tens, thus, are not used for **IDENMIN** itself.

Variable **NATMIN**

Variable label 'nationality or ethnicity of minority or migrant actor'

For the minority actor coded in IDENMIN, this variable gives, if mentioned, the national or ethnic background of the minority 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 'italian'

208 'greek'

209 'spanish'

210 'portuguese'

211 'scottish'

212 'welsh'

213 'scandinavian'

214 'austrian'

250 'OTHER EUROPE'

251 'swiss'

252 'east european'

253 '(ex-)yugoslav'

254 'serbian'

255 'croatian'

256 'bosnian'

257 'kosovo-albanian'

258 'macedonian'

259 'slovenian'

260 'vojvodina hungarian'

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.

261 'polish'
262 'romanian'
263 'albanian'
264 'russian'⁵⁶
265 'hungarian'
266 'bulgarian'
267 'czech'
268 'estonian'
269 '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'

350 'ASIA: SOUTH AND EAST'
349 'asian'
351 'pakistani'
352 'afghan'
353 'indian'
354 'sikh'⁶⁰
355 'bengali'

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 82 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

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 82 for IDENMIN, code 354 for NATMIN

356 'srilankese'
357 'tamil'
358 'singhalese'
359 'bangladeshi'
360 'tibetan'
361 'chinese'
362 'hong kong'
363 'indonesian'
364 'mollucan'
365 'vietnamese'
366 'mongolian'
367 'nepalese'
368 'phillipino'

400 'AFRICA: NORTH'
401 'moroccan'
402 'algerian'
403 'tunisian'
404 'maghrebian'/'north african'
405 'arab'⁶¹
406 'saharian' (or harki, still to be settled)

450 'AFRICA: OTHER'
449 'african'
451 'ghanese'
452 'nigerian'
453 'tanzanian'
454 'angolan'
455 'mozambican'
456 'senegalese'
457 'malinese'
458 'réunionnais'
459 'rwandan'
460 'somali'
461 'eritrean'
462 'zairese'
463 'comorean'
464 'congolese'⁶²
465 'ethiopian'

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

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).

466 'sudanese'
467 'south african'
468 'togolese'
469 'kenyan'
470 'liberian'
471 'sierra leonese'
472 'guinean'
473 'guinea-bissau'

500 'CARIBIC'
501 'surinamese'
502 'dutch antillean/aruban'
503 'french antillean/guadeloupien/martiniquais'
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/kanak'

999 'NOT APPLICABLE: NO MINORITY OR MIGRANT ACTOR'

Note: Variable **SNATMIN** is constructed by collapsing the subcategories in the capitalised main categories: e.g., 201-212 in 200, 251-267 in 250, etc.

ACTION FORMS

Variable **SSFORM1**; Variable label 'summary first form of action'

Note: the variable's name now contains one S more!

Because the codebook allows for multiple codings on the level of first form (i.e., the combination of repressive measure and verbal statement, the combination of protest and verbal statement), decision rules are needed for classification. The rule is protest > political decision > verbal statement > repressive measure. In other words, protest forms overrule verbal forms: a demonstration with statements is a demonstration. Likewise, a verbal form overrules a repressive measure: a court ruling accompanied by politically relevant statements is a verbal statement. The latter rule follows from the fact that repressive measures have been included in the coding on a selective basis (i.e. against the extreme right and xenophobic actors, in Britain and since 1997 in Germany also against minorities and migrants, but not against any other actors). Therefore, for most analyses repressive measures will be left out of the sample. However, this should not include such repressive measures that are accompanied by statements relevant to the thematic field.

Value labels

10 'repressive measure'

20 'political decision'⁶³

30 'verbal statement'⁶⁴

31 '*parliamentary debates*'

32 '*political-conventional form*'

33 '*other verbal statements*'

40 'meetings'⁶⁵

50 'judicial action'⁶⁶

60 'direct-democratic action'⁶⁷

70 'petitioning'⁶⁸

⁶³ 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").

⁶⁴ Includes press declarations and conferences, interview statements, calls to action, leaflets, publications. Also includes Marco and Florence's category of "parliamentary debates", at least in as far as the act does not constitute a parliamentary decision, which, of course, should be coded as "political decision".

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.

80 'demonstrative protests'⁶⁹
90 'confrontational protests'⁷⁰
100 'violent protests'

Note: the italicized categories 31-33 should not be used for SSFORM1. They are to be used for the facultative variable SFORM1 which is identical to SSFORM1 except that categories 31-33 are used instead of the encompassing category 30. SFORM1 will be coded for France and Switzerland, and may be but does not have to be coded for the other countries.

⁶⁹ Categories 8-10 follow straightforwardly from the codebook.

⁷⁰ Includes in addition to the legal and illegal confrontational forms listed in the codebook the verbal form "graffiti". Note that symbolic forms of violence against objects and persons count as confrontational (see codebook).

ADDRESSEES: INDIRECT OBJECT ACTORS

Variable **SADRES**

Variable label 'summary addressee of claim'

Variable **SCRITAC1**

Variable label 'summary first criticised actor'

Variable **SCRITAC2** (for those who have coded a 2nd criticised actor)

Variable label 'summary second criticised actor'

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

Variable label 'summary supported actor'

All these variables have the same categorisations as the SSACTOR variables, *with the exception of code 999, which here stands for 'no addressee', 'no first criticised actor', 'no second criticised actor', and 'no supported actor'*.⁷¹ However, as addressees, criticised actors, etc. only organisations or institutions and their representatives are allowed. I.e., all references to unorganised collectivities are ignored. This particularly leads to the exclusion of actors such as “foreigners”, “immigrants”, “blacks”, “Muslims”, “racists”, “right-wing extremists”, etc. who are of course quasi-automatically implied in claims-making in this thematic field. For categories referring to civil society actors, the references to “groups” in the value labels should be deleted and only the reference to “organisations” retained.

Variable **SADRES2**

Variable label 'summary addressee: broad definition'

This variable combines the information of SADRES and SCRITAC1 into one variable. For those cases where no addressee has been coded, the criticised actor (if present) is taken as the addressee:

Compute SADRES2=SADRES.

If (SADRES eq 0)SADRES2=SCRITAC1.

code 999 'no broad addressee'

⁷¹ Given the strong predominance of institutional actors as addressees, criticised actors, etc., there is not much use for the fine distinctions in the second level of the SACTOR codes.

Variable **ADRSCOP**

Variable label 'scope of addressee'

Variable **CACSCOP1**

Variable label 'scope of first criticised actor'

Variable **CACSCOP2**

Variable label 'scope of second criticised actor'

Variable **SACSCOP**

Variable label 'scope of supported actor'

Variable **ADR2SCOP**

Variable label 'scope of addressee, broad definition'

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

CONTENT OF CLAIMS

Variable **SISSUE1** (three-digit codes)⁷²
Variable label ‘summary first issue’

Variable **SSISSUE1** (two-digit codes)
Variable label ‘summary of SISSUE1’

Variable **FIELD1** (one-digit code)
Variable label ‘policy field’

These variables are coded on the basis of the first aim. If no aim has been coded, but a frame is available, then code on the basis of the frame. In a similar fashion (with adapted value labels for 0) code the variables **SISSUE2**, **SSISSUE2**, **FIELD2** (on the basis of the 2nd aim, or if there is none, the frame) and **SISSUE3**, **SSISSUE3**, **FIELD3** (on the basis of the 3rd aim, if one has been coded). Note that in the new version of the category system for this variable the distinctions according to different migrant and minority groups (asylum seekers, Aussiedler, Jews, illegal aliens, etc.) have been dropped completely. This element of claims is now coded separately in the OBJIDEN en OBJNAT variables (see below).

Value labels

0 ‘NO VERBAL CLAIM’

1 ‘IMMIGRATION, ASYLUM, AND ALIENS POLITICS’⁷³

10 ‘immigration, asylum, and aliens politics’

100 ‘general evaluation or policy direction’⁷⁴

101 ‘institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs’⁷⁵

⁷² 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.

⁷³ 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).

⁷⁴ 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”; (OBJIDEN coded as “aussiedler”) “inform the public about the situation and problems of Aussiedler”. Note that this category is now defined much more restrictively than in earlier versions. Much of what it originally included is now coded in 103.

⁷⁵ 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

- 102 'migration prevention in homeland countries'⁷⁶
- 103 'entry and border controls'⁷⁷
- 104 'registration and internal control'⁷⁸
- 105 'recognition, residence rights, legal status and permits'⁷⁹
- 106 'access to welfare services and the labour market'⁸⁰
- 107 'expulsions/deportations'⁸¹
- 108 'voluntary return'⁸²
- 109 'other specific issues'

2 'MINORITY INTEGRATION POLITICS'

- 20 'minority integration general'
 - 200 'general evaluation or policy direction'⁸³

barracks of the Soviet army", "increase the say of the Bundesländer in matters concerning the reception of Aussiedler".

⁷⁶ 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".

⁷⁷ 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"; (OBJIDEN coded as "asylum seekers"), "stop influx of asylum seekers"; (OBJIDEN coded as "labour migrants", OBJNAT as "east europeans") "limit the number of workers from Eastern Europe"; (OBJIDEN coded as "aussiedler") "stop the influx of Aussiedler"; (OBJIDEN CODED as "specific ethnic or national group", NATMIN as "Jewish") "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").

⁷⁸ 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".

⁷⁹ 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".

⁸⁰ 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".

⁸¹ 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".

⁸² E.g., "homeland governments should motivate foreigners to return", "set up re-integration programs for asylum seekers willing to return".

⁸³ 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

- 201 'institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs'⁸⁴
- 21 'minority rights and participation'
- 210 'general evaluation or policy direction'⁸⁵
- 211 'naturalization and citizenship'⁸⁶
- 212 'political rights and participation'⁸⁷
- 213 'social rights and participation: labour market'⁸⁸
- 214 'social rights and participation: education'⁸⁹
- 215 'social rights and participation: health and welfare'
- 216 'social rights and participation: language acquisition'⁹⁰
- 217 'social rights and participation: housing and segregation'⁹¹
- 218 'social rights and participation: police and judiciary'⁹²
- 219 'social rights and participation: other/general'
- 220 'cultural rights and participation: education'⁹³
- 221 'cultural rights and participation: religion'⁹⁴
- 222 'cultural rights and participation: (recognition of) group identity/differences'⁹⁵

“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.

⁸⁴ E.g., “more resources for state agencies dealing with foreigners”, “creation of a federal office for foreigners’ questions”.

⁸⁵ E.g., “equal rights and chances for foreigners”.

⁸⁶ 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”).

⁸⁷ E.g., “local voting rights for foreigners”, “stimulate migrant political participation”, “consult migrant organisations in decisions concerning them”, “limit foreigners’ right to demonstrate”; (OBJIDEN coded as “EU citizens”), “right to participate in local and regional initiatives and referenda for EU citizens”; (OBJIDEN coded as “Aussiedler”) “reduce subventions for organizations of Aussiedler and Vertriebene”.

⁸⁸ E.g., “introduce quotas for foreigners in certain professions”. See also the footnotes to “education” and “police and judiciary”.

⁸⁹ 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”.

⁹⁰ 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”.

⁹¹ E.g., “set limits to the percentage of foreigners in city districts”.

⁹² 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”.

⁹³ E.g., (OBJIDEN as “specific ethnic or national group, OBJNAT as “Turks”) “introduction of Turkish as a second foreign language next to English”.

⁹⁴ E.g., (OBJIDEN coded as “Muslim/Islamic”) “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”); (OBJIDEN coded as “Jewish/Israelite”, OBJNAT as “Jewish”) “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).

- 223 'cultural rights and participation: other/general'⁹⁶
- 224 'other rights and participation'
- 23 'discrimination and unequal treatment'⁹⁷
 - 231 'general evaluation or policy direction'⁹⁸
 - 232 'discrimination in politics'
 - 233 'discrimination in the labour market'
 - 234 'discrimination in the education system'
 - 235 'discrimination in health and welfare services'⁹⁹
 - 236 'discrimination regarding housing'
 - 237 'discrimination in the police and judiciary system'¹⁰⁰
 - 238 'discrimination: other specific issues'¹⁰¹
- 25 'minority social problems'
 - 252 'crime'¹⁰²
 - 253 'political extremism and violence'¹⁰³
 - 254 'other'

⁹⁵ E.g., “protect the cultural identity of foreigners”, (OBJIDEN is “specific national or ethnic group, OBJNAT is “Kurdish”) “recognize Kurds as a group separate from the Turks”, (OBJIDEN is “specific national or ethnic group”, OBJNAT is “Roma and Sinti”) “official minority status for Roma and Sinti”.

⁹⁶ 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.

⁹⁷ The difference with the “rights and participation” category is that “discrimination and unequal treatment” claims focus on the majority society and its institutions as the cause of unequal participation of minorities. In that sense they are in between “rights and participation” claims and “antiracist” claims. Thus, a claim to improve the housing conditions for minorities is a “rights and participation” claim, a claim that calls for the creation of a possibility for members of minority groups to file complaints if they feel they have been refused housing because of their racial or cultural background is an antidiscrimination claim. Thus, “rights and participation” claims refer to demands relating to (proactive) positive minority rights, whereas “discrimination and unequal treatment claims” refers to (reactive) protection against infringements on these rights by the majority society. The difference between discrimination claims and antiracist claims is that the latter refer to overt abuse or violence, while discrimination claims refer to “hidden” or structural sources of unequal treatment. If in the housing example a complaint would be filed against a landlord who had refused someone, saying “we don’t want blacks here” the claim would be coded in antiracism. If the complaint is based only on the feeling that the landlord refuses people because they are black, or if the complaint refers to a structural phenomenon, e.g., that a housing corporation tends to give blacks housing only in certain neighbourhoods, then we are dealing with an antidiscrimination claim. Note that the language is not decisive here: claims-makers may refer to both types as instances of (institutional) “racism”. Our use of the term racism is more narrowly circumscribed.

⁹⁸ E.g., “combat discrimination of foreigners”, “introduce and anti-discrimination law”.

⁹⁹ E.g., “abolish special enquiries when foreigners apply for social welfare”.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., “abolish registration of foreigners in a special police register”.

¹⁰¹ 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”.

¹⁰² E.g., “tougher line with criminal foreigners”. Note that demands for expulsion of criminal foreigners are coded in “immigration and aliens politics”.

¹⁰³ E.g., “tougher measures against foreign extremists”, (OBJIDEN is “specific national or ethnic group, OBJNAT is “Kurdish”) “lifting of the ban on the PKK”. Also 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”.

- 26 'interethnic, inter- and intraorganizational relations'¹⁰⁴
 - 261 'inter/intraethnic relations'¹⁰⁵
 - 262 'inter/intraorganizational relations'¹⁰⁶

3 'ANTI-RACISM'

- 30 'racism in institutional contexts'¹⁰⁷
 - 300 'general evaluation or policy direction'
 - 301 'racist and extreme right language in politics'¹⁰⁸
 - 302 'police racism and violence against minorities'¹⁰⁹
 - 303 'racism in other state institutions'¹¹⁰
 - 304 'racism in non-state institutions'
- 31 'non-institutional racism, xenophobia and extreme right tendencies in society'¹¹¹
 - 310 'general evaluation or policy direction'¹¹²
 - 311 'moral appeals'¹¹³
 - 312 'social and educational responses'¹¹⁴
 - 313 'countermobilization'¹¹⁵
 - 314 'protection of minorities against violence'¹¹⁶
 - 315 'extreme right parties: alliances and exclusion'¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁴ Interethnic here refers to relations between different minority groups, not between minorities and the majority group.

¹⁰⁵ Included here are conflicts among different ethnic minority groups that are *not* related to homeland but derive from their political, religious or economic competition in the country of residence. In Britain, examples include both verbal and physical conflicts between moderate and fundamentalist Muslims or between Muslims and Jews. Note that this category should only be used if such claims cannot be coded in a substantive policy field in immigration, integration, or antiracism. I.e., if in the British example the conflict between different Muslim groups is on whether or not to strive for separate Muslim schools, this is not coded here, but in 221.

¹⁰⁶ 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..

¹⁰⁷ 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.

¹⁰⁸ E.g., "fight the use of racist language by politicians which paves the road for the extreme right".

¹⁰⁹ E.g., "dismantle the voluntary police reserve because of its repeated involvement in racist and extreme right incidents".

¹¹⁰ E.g., "combat extreme right tendencies in the Bundeswehr".

¹¹¹ 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, however. See below under 5.

¹¹² 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.

¹¹³ E.g., "tolerance", "dialogue between Germans and foreigners", "solidarity with foreigners".

¹¹⁴ E.g., "a better social politics", "civil education and information of the public".

¹¹⁵ 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.

¹¹⁶ E.g., "police should protect asylum seeker centers better against attacks".

316 'repression: political responses'¹¹⁸

317 'repression: judicial responses'¹¹⁹

318 'repression: police responses'¹²⁰

319 'repression: other'¹²¹

320 'other specific issues'

4 'GENERAL XENOPHOBIC CLAIMS'¹²²

40 'xenophobic claims'

400 'xenophobic claims'¹²³

6 'ACTOR CLAIMS MINORITIES'

61 'homeland politics'

610 'pure homeland politics'¹²⁴

611 'politics of country of residence with regard to homeland issues'¹²⁵

62 'other'

621 'World War II/Holocaust'¹²⁶

¹¹⁷ 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 (these are coded in 760) 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, this claim is coded in 720. 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).

¹¹⁸ 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.

¹¹⁹ E.g., "judges do not sentence the perpetrators of extreme right violence harshly enough". Also claims by the extreme right against such repression.

¹²⁰ 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.

¹²¹ E.g., "exclude members of extreme right organizations from the civil service". Also claims by the extreme right against such repression.

¹²² Xenophobic politics is defined by undifferentiated rejection of migrants and minorities. By definition, it includes claims that cannot be conveyed adequately in any of the above more specific codes. Thus "Ausländer 'raus" is neither a call for a restrictive immigration and aliens politics, nor a call for a tough politics of integration, it simply rejects these two phenomena altogether. All demands in this field should have position code - 1. Demands against xenophobia are coded in "anti-racism".

¹²³ E.g., "Deutschland den Deutschen, Ausländer 'raus!", also antisemitic claims (which then get OBJIDEN "specific ethnic or national group" and OBJNAT "Jewish").

¹²⁴ E.g., "stop repression of Kurds in Turkey", "against Kurdish attacks on Turkish targets in Germany".

¹²⁵ 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".

622 'other'

7 'OTHER CLAIMS RE: EXTREME RIGHT'¹²⁷

71 'general, unspecific claims'¹²⁸

710 'general, unspecific claims'

72 'World War II, Third Reich, etc.'¹²⁹

720 'World War II, Third Reich, etc.'

73 'nationalist and revanchist claims'¹³⁰

730 'nationalist and revanchist claims'

74 '*extreme right opposition against political opponents*'

741 'anti-left claims'¹³¹

742 'claims against the established right'¹³²

743 'general anti-establishment claims'

744 'other'

75 'mainstream political issues'¹³³

750 'mainstream political issues'

76 'electoral competition: purely tactical claims'

760 'electoral competition: purely tactical claims'¹³⁴

8 'ACTOR CLAIMS ANTIRACIST GROUPS'¹³⁵

80 'actor claims antiracist groups'

800 'actor claims antiracist groups'

¹²⁶ E.g., "remembrance of the victims of the Holocaust" (without any reference to present-day extreme right, otherwise code as 312).

¹²⁷ Includes all claims by extreme right groups and organisations on issues other than migration, minorities and xenophobia, as well as claims by other actors in reaction to such claims by the extreme right (where such claims have been coded; the Dutch case study does not include them).

¹²⁸ E.g., "the national right should unite", "the Republikaner will challenge the established parties in the upcoming elections".

¹²⁹ E.g., denial of the Holocaust, "Sieg Heil", "Heil Hitler", "against the enduring stigmatization of Germany because of the Holocaust", "the Holocaust is a detail in the history of the Second World War".

¹³⁰ E.g., "against the recognition of the Oder-Neiße line" (i.e., the postwar German borders), "hand back property in Eastern Europe to Germans who were expelled or fled after the war", "establish a New German Reich", "Germany should become an independent european power, outside of NATO and the EU".

¹³¹ E.g., "down with the Red front!".

¹³² E.g., "against Politbonzen", "fight the corrupt political system".

¹³³ Statements by extreme right parties on 'mainstream' political issues, e.g., unemployment, environment, law and order (provided of course that the statement does not have an explicit xenophobic twist, then code under 4. For obvious reasons, we will not code claims relating to such mainstream issues by other than the extreme right.

¹³⁴ See the footnote to category 315.

¹³⁵ Coded only for the Dutch case.

Variable **ISSCOP1**

Variable label 'scope of first 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. The categories used are similar to those used for the ACTSCOP variables, except that here there is no differentiation between national and subnational scope.

Value labels

0 'no verbal claim'¹³⁶

1 'supra- or transnational: European'¹³⁷

2 'supra- or transnational: other'¹³⁸

3 'foreign national: migrant homelands'¹³⁹

4 'foreign national: other'

5 'bilateral'¹⁴⁰

8 'national or subnational'¹⁴¹

Note: Similarly code **ISSCOP2** and **ISSCOP3** (with adapted variable labels for 0)

¹³⁶ 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.

¹³⁷ 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).

¹³⁸ 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.

¹³⁹ E.g., "Improve the rights of ethnic Germans in their countries of origin", "Measures against the persecution of Roma in Eastern Europe".

¹⁴⁰ 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*".

¹⁴¹ 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".

Variable **FOCUS1**

Variable label 'first thematic focus: verbal and physical combined'

For verbal claims, this variable is equal to SSISSUE1 (the two-digit code). For physical claims (e.g., acts of violence), the value of the variable is determined on the basis of the (assumed) actor and the nature of the target. The most common examples are probably:

- attacks by xenophobic groups against migrants or minorities (incl. Jewish targets) : code 40
- attacks by extreme right groups against WWII related targets (e.g., monuments): code 72
- attacks by extreme right groups against political opponents (e.g., politicians, left-wing groups): code 74
- physical confrontations between ethnic minority groups related to homeland politics: code 61
- other physical confrontations between ethnic minority groups: code 26
- attacks against xenophobic and extreme right groups: code 31

All claims should get a code for FOCUS1, except for repressive measures with no verbal claim attached (i.e., those repressive measures that have a missing value on SSISSUE1); these get the value 99:

99 'repressive measure'

On the basis of FOCUS1 a variable **SFOCUS1** (label: 'summary first thematic focus' is constructed with the same categories as FIELD1 (one-digit code).

There is no use for equivalents for 2nd and 3rd focus. Indirect information on the thematic focus drawn from actor-target combinations is only added where no aim or frame has been coded.

Variable **ERCICLA1**

Variable label 'claims with primary focus in thematic field'

Value labels

1 'claims on ethnic relations, citizenship and immigration'

2 'other claims'

9 '*repressive measure*'

The variable is constructed on the basis of FOCUS1: Values 10-40 belong to the thematic field, the others not.

Similarly construct – on the basis of SSISSUE2 and SSISSUE3 – **ERCICLA2** and **ERCICLA3** (with 0 for no claim)

Variable **POSIT1**

Variable label '*Position of claim towards issue*'

Value labels

- 1 'anti-minority/xenophobic/extreme right'¹⁴²
- 0 'neutral/ambivalent/technocratic'¹⁴³
- 1 'pro-minority/antiracist/anti-extreme right'¹⁴⁴
- 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 mobilise against them). All claims whose realisation implies a deterioration in the rights or position of migrants or minorities 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 migrants or minorities (both verbal and physical) or a positive attitude with regard to xenophobic and extreme right groups or aims. All claims whose realisation implies an improvement in the rights and position of migrants (minor or major) receive code 1. This code also goes to claims expressing (verbally or physically) a positive attitude with regard to migrants, 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 improvement in migrants' position or rights and do not express a clear attitude with regard to migrants and minorities or their opponents receive code 0. Repressive measures without verbal claims should also be categorised on this variable: -1 goes to repressive measures directed against minorities, +1 to repressive measures directed against xenophobic and extreme right individuals and groups. The following categories of claims are coded as missing (9) because they cannot be positioned on the –1/+1 scale: actor claims of minorities (FOCUS1 61 and 62) and of antiracists (FOCUS1 80); claims by the extreme right against political opponents, on mainstream political issues, and on tactical electoral issues (FOCUS1 74-76).

Note: Similarly code **POSIT2** and **POSIT3**. Add code 8 'no claim' (Define as MISSING) for those cases where no second or third claim has been coded. Rules for combining aims and frames, see the remarks above relating to the **ISSUE** variables.

¹⁴² 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".

¹⁴³ E.g., "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", "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.

¹⁴⁴ 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".

OBJECT ACTORS

Variable **OBJIDEN1**

Variable label 'identity of object of claim'

Value labels

5 'extreme right parties'

6 'other concrete xenophobic or extreme right organizations or groups'

7 'the extreme right, racists, xenophobes unspecified'

95 'migrants and minorities unspecified'

98 '*not applicable: repressive measure*'

99 'not applicable: claim outside the thematic field'

All other labels, see IDENMIN.

Variable **OBJNAT1**

Variable label 'nationality or ethnicity of object of claim.'

value labels see NATMIN, *except*:

997 '*not applicable: object is extreme right*'

998 '*not applicable: repressive measure*'

999 '*not applicable: claim outside thematic field*'

These variables are coded only for claims in the thematic field (ERCICLA1-3 = 1). The object is the group whose interests, position or physical integrity are, or would be affected by the realization of the claim. This includes direct physical objects (e.g., of violent attacks), as well as objects of verbal claims. Only minority or migrant groups, or xenophobic and extreme right groups can be coded as objects (all other actors, when mentioned, are indirect objects, i.e., are coded in the addressee variables). For migrant and minority objects, the categories used are exactly the same as those for IDENMIN and NATMIN. Only OBJIDEN1 gets an additional category 95 labelled "migrants and minorities unspecified" for claims that do not specify any particular object group or label. For xenophobic and extreme right groups, we only make a very simple distinction between three types (see above, codes 5-7). If claims both have a minority or migrant object *and* a xenophobic or extreme right object, the priority rule is that the migrant or minority object is coded.

Depending on the level of detail at which the language of claims has been retained, it may not always be possible to retrieve whether a claim pertains to "foreigners", "immigrants" or "minorities". These are coded in a residual category 95. Proceed as follows: first give all claims code 95, then recode those for which you can identify a specific group label (e.g., illegal aliens, asylum seekers, Soviet Jews, Antilleans, Muslims, blacks). Probably, the 95 category will remain relatively large because our coding has not been detailed enough in this respect and/or because

claims are stated in vague terms. This will be the case to an even larger extent for the OBJNAT variables, because nationality has often not been coded and/or claims do not refer to specific nationalities, but to a general status group (e.g., asylum seekers). Nevertheless, it is important to be able to select cases according to specific identity or national groups (e.g., all claims on Antillians, on war refugees, on Jews, or on Muslims).

The object is coded on the basis of the language of the claim, not some notion of ours of how the object should be properly classified. For instance, claims pertaining to a group of asylum seekers who have been refused recognition, and thus are now illegal, may be framed in terms of asylum politics or as a problem of illegal aliens. Or, the claim to stop immigration may also be framed as “stop the influx of foreigners”. In the latter case, we code OBJIDEN1 as “foreigners”, in the former case as “immigrants”.

Examples:

- A call for a change in asylum legislation: OBJIDEN1 is “asylum seekers”, OBJNAT1 is zero.
- A protest against the deportation of Kurdish refugees: OBJIDEN1 is “asylum seekers”, OBJNAT1 is “Kurdish”.
- A xenophobic arson attack against a Turkish family’s house: OBJIDEN1 is “specific national or ethnic group”, OBJNAT1 is “Turkish”.
- An attack against a Nigerian asylum seeker: OBJIDEN1 is “asylum seekers”, OBJNAT1 is “Nigerian”.
- Skinheads beat up a “black man”: OBJIDEN1 is “blacks”, OBJNAT1 is zero.
- Demand to allow the Islamic call to prayer: OBJIDEN1 is “Muslims”, OBJNAT1 is zero.
- Demand for easier naturalization (it does not say “for foreigners”, but it is obvious that the claim is relevant for foreign residents only): OBJIDEN1 is “foreigners”, OBJNAT1 is zero.
- Recognize Roma and Sinti as a minority: OBJIDEN1 is “specific national or ethnic group”, OBJNAT1 is “Roma and Sinti” (the reference to minority is irrelevant here, the claim affects the interests of Roma and Sinti, not those of minorities in general).
- Ban the PKK: OBJIDEN1 is “specific national or ethnic group”, OBJNAT1 is “Kurdish”.
- Demand for a better training of the police in how to deal with the extreme right: OBJIDEN1 is “the extreme right, racists, xenophobes unspecified”, OBJNAT1 is 99 (not applicable).
- Stimulate a dialogue between Germans and foreigners: OBJIDEN1 is “foreigners”, OBJNAT1 is zero.
- Set up vigils to protect asylum seeker centres against racist attacks: OBJIDEN1 is “asylum seekers”, OBJNAT1 is zero (i.e., according to the priority rule, asylum seekers are coded as object, not racists).

In combination with the ISSUE variables, these variables allow us to reconstruct policy and issue fields for specific migrant or minority groups. E.g., all claims dealing with asylum and asylum seekers, all claims relating to Muslims, all claims referring to “foreigners”, Antilleans, blacks, minorities, etc.

Note: Variables **OBJIDEN2**, **OBJIDEN3**, **OBJNAT2** and **OBJNAT3** should be coded likewise, with adapted labels for zero.