The Contentious Politics of Unemployment in Europe
Political Claim-making, Policy Deliberation and Exclusion from the Labor Market

Codebook

Workpackage 1: Political claim-making in the public domain

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PART I: CODING INSTRUCTIONS

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is the single <u>political claim</u>, broadly defined as follows. A political claim is a strategic intervention, either verbal or non-verbal, in the public space made by a given actor on behalf of a group or collectivity and which bears on the interests or rights of other groups or collectivities. In other words, a claim is the expression of a political opinion by verbal or physical action in the public space. If it is verbal, a claim usually consists of a statement, an opinion, a demand, a criticism, a policy suggestion, etc. addressed to the public in general or to a specific actor. Thus, claim are not equivalent to political demands, but include other kinds of intervention in the public space.

Claims can take three main forms:
- Political decisions (law, governmental guideline, implementation measure, etc.)
- Verbal statements (public speech, press conference, parliamentary intervention, etc.)
- Protest actions (demonstration, occupation, violent action, etc.)

All claims taking one of these forms are coded, provided that they fall in the field of unemployment and employment policy (see below). In addition, claims are by definition <u>politically and strategically oriented,</u> i.e. they relate to collective social problems and imply a policy evaluation. This means that purely factual information is excluded. Similarly, editorial commentaries and simple attributions of attitudes or opinions to actors by the media or by other actors are also excluded. Guest commentaries can be coded optionally, but the specific code in the variable FORM must be used.

The definition of the claim, rather than the article or the single statement, as the unit of analysis has two implications. First, <u>an article can report several claims</u>. The whole article must therefore be read so as to code all the claims reported. Second, <u>a claim can be made of several statements or actions</u>. Statements or actions by different actors are considered to be part of a single claim if they take place at the same time (the same day) and the same place (the same locality) and if the actors can be assumed to act "in concert" (i.e. they can be considered as strategic allies). Example: two substantively identical statements by the same actor on two different days, or on one day in two different localities are two separate claims. Similarly, statements by different speakers during a parliamentary debate or a conference are considered part of the same claim as long as they are substantively and strategically compatible. This implies that different actors will be coded together under the same claim if they all express a similar point of view. However, if the actors take positions that are substantially different enough to reject the assumption that they are acting in concert, the statements are coded as separate claims. Examples: if an identifiable part of a peaceful demonstration breaks away from a march and turns violent, the assumption of acting in concert is no longer warranted and a separate claim is coded; if two negotiation partners present a compromise package at a press conference, the two's statements are coded as one instance of claims-making, even if the two may emphasize different elements of the compromise. Events that take place simultaneously in several locations are coded as a single claim if no further information than a list of locations and as separate claims if further information is given on specific locations.

In sum, <u>claims must have a temporal, spatial, and strategic unity</u> (i.e. unity of time, place, and aim). Statements by different actors but occurring at the same time, in the same place, with similar aims (i.e. expressing a similar point of view) are considered as part of a single claim,

unless the assumption of the strategic unity can be rejected. Exceptions to this rule are cases where there is temporal or spatial continuity between actions.

Thematic field

All claims are coded which belong thematically to the issue field of unemployment, narrowly defined as follows. All political decisions, verbal statements, and protest actions are coded which deal with the following themes: unemployment, under-employment, joblessness, exclusion from the labor market, measures and provisions for unemployed people (including training courses, financing of unemployment insurance, and workfare). Claims referring to related fields are coded only if they explicitly refer to the issue field of unemployment. Thus, employment policy, economic development policy, and other (general or specific) issues/problems concerning the situation of the labor market or the creation of jobs are included only if the claim makes an explicit reference to unemployment, under-employment, or joblessness. This includes both these keywords and their synonymous. In addition, claims are coded also if unemployment is not the primary focus.

Claims dealing with precarious employment belong to the thematic field and are then coded. In addition, all claims by organized groups of unemployed are also coded, regardless of their thematic focus. However, claims by individual unemployed are excluded. Other claims concerning employment policy and the labor market are also excluded. Examples: wage conditions; discrimination on the labor market; pension schemes; integration of foreigners into the job market. Of course, if these issues are addressed in relation to unemployment, under-employment, or joblessness, then they are coded. Also excluded are claims dealing with the issue of working poor, because they are outside the thematic field.

Sample

All claims are coded which are reported in the Monday, Wednesday, and Friday issues of the selected national newspaper (Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday for the case of France). The coding covers the period from 1 January 1990 to 31 December 2001. The international, national, and economic sections of the newspaper are consulted. Local pages can be coded optionally, but the specific code in the variable SECTION must be used. The other sections and possible special sections are ignored (except for the front page of the newspaper).

If an issue did not appear, the next available issue must be taken. If the latter is already part of the sample, the next issue not part of the sample must be taken. Claims reported in the issue consulted and which took place up to two week before or which will take place up to two weeks after the date of appearance of that issue are also coded (but only if they have not already been coded).

In principle, only claims are coded which take place in the country of study. However, also coded are claims made in other EU countries or Switzerland, except when they are contained within one country. In other words, we exclude claims by national or subnational actors made in another country but without any reference to European issues or to other EU countries.

Summary of general coding rules

- Only <u>political claims</u> are coded. Purely factual information (i.e. which does not imply policy evaluation) and statements that refer to individual strategies (i.e. which do not relate to collective social problems) are excluded (but must be photocopied).

- Claims are coded only to the extent that they deal with <u>unemployment, under-employment, and joblessness</u>. Other claims are coded only to the extent that an explicit reference is made to these issues.

- Claims are coded which take place in the <u>country of study</u>. In addition, also coded are claims made in other EU countries or Switzerland, except when they are contained within one country.

- In case of <u>repeated statements or announcements</u>, each one is coded as s separate claim. Example: an actor announces several times that it will held a meeting on unemployment.

- Information found in another article or newspaper issue on a given claim that has been coded previously should be <u>corrected</u>. Thus, claims that were coded but are found in a further issue of the newspaper not to have occurred must be withdrawn from the sample. Similarly, additional information found in another article (even on a different issue of the newspaper) regarding a claim previously coded is used to complete the coding of that claim.

PART II: VARIABLES

For each claim retrieved, a number of variables are coded which can be divided in ten groups. The core variables correspond to the basic elements of a claim (actors, forms, addressees, issues, objects, frames). The last group of variables provide additional information on protest actions. For each group, one or more variables are coded. Some of these variables are summaries of more detailed variables and therefore have an "s" as the first letter in their name. In addition, sometimes there are three variables for the same kind of information. In these cases, the first variable has to be used to code the main information. Example: variables ACTOR1-3 are meant to allow for the coding of more than one actor. It is not a way of coding in three different ways a single actor. The main actor is coded in ACTOR1, the other actors are coded in ACTOR2 and ACTOR3.

The ten groups of variables are the following:
- Description of the claim
  Variable: TITLE
- Location of the claim in time and space
  Variables: SECTION, IDART, IDCLAIM, YEAR, MONTH, DAY, REGION, PLACE
- Actor making the claim
  Variables: ACTOR1-3, SACTOR1-3, PARTY1-3, ACTTYPE1-3, ACTNAME1-3,
      ACTSCOP1-3, ACTEU1-3
- Form of the claim
  Variable: FORM
- Adressee of the claim
  Variables: ADR1-3, SADR1-3, ADRSCOP1-3, ADREU1-3, CRACT1-3, SCRACT1-3, CRSCOP1-3, CRACTEU1-3
- Aim of the claim
  Variables: AIM1-3
- Issue of the claim
  Variables: ISSUE1-3, ISSCOP1-3, ISSCOPB1-3, ISSEU1-3, ISSPOS1-3
- Object of the claim
  Variables: OBJ1-3, OBJSECT1-3, OBJSCOP1-3, OBJEU1-3, CONPOS1-3
- Framing of the claim
  Variable: DIAG1-3, PROG1-3
- Additional information for protest actions
  Variables: PART, POLPRES, ARREST

DESCRIPTION

This variable is used to give a brief description of the claim. It should contain at least the main actor, form, addressee (if any), object, and aim of the claim.

Variable name   **TITLE**
Variable label   'description of claim'
Values   string variable

IDENTIFICATION AND LOCATION OF CLAIMS

These variables are used to identify the claims and locate them in time and space. Variables YEAR, MONTH, and DAY refer to the actual date of occurrence of the claim. If only a vague identification of date is reported, such as "last week" or "a few days ago", the claim is coded as if it occurred 7 days earlier. If no indication of date is reported, the date of appearance of the newspaper is coded.

Variable name	**SECTION**
Variable label	'newspaper section'

Value labels	1	'front page'
	2	'international'
	3	'national'
	4	'regional
	5	'local'
	6	'economic pages'
	7	'parliament'

Note: Use code 5 ('local') as a default if the regional and local sections are merged in the newspaper.

Variable name	**IDART**
Variable label	'identification number of article
Values	3-digit code (1-999)

Note: Starts from 1 at the beginning of each year.

Variable name	**IDCLAIM**
Variable label	'identification number of claim'
Values	3-digit code (1-999)

Note: Starts from 1 at the beginning of each year.

Variable name	**YEAR**
Variable label	'year of occurrence of claim'
Values	4-digit code (1995-2002)

Variable name **MONTH**
Variable label 'month of occurrence of claim'
Values 2-digit code (1-12)

Variable name **DAY**
Variable label 'day of occurrence of claim'
Values 2-digit code (1-31)

Variable name **COUNTRY**
Variable label 'country of study'

Values
1	'United Kingdom'
2	'Switzerland'
3	'France'
4	'Italy'
5	'Germany'
6	'Sweden'

Variable name **REGION**
Variable label 'region in which the claim was made'

Value labels
0	'Europe'
99	'unknown/unspecified'

UK

101	'London'
102	'South East'
103	'South West'
104	'East Midlands'
105	'West Midlands'
106	'East of England'
107	'Yorkshire and The Humber'
108	'North East'
109	'North West'
110	'Scotland'
111	'Wales'

112 'Northern Ireland'
113 Other

<u>Switzerland</u>

201 'Appenzell extérieur'
202 'Appenzell intérieur'
203 'Argovie'
204 'Bâle-campagne'
205 'Bâle-ville'
206 'Berne'
207 'Fribourg'
208 'Genève'
209 'Glaris'
210 'Grisons'
211 'Jura'
212 'Lucerne'
213 'Neuchâtel'
214 'Nidwald'
215 'Obwald'
216 'Saint-Gall'
217 'Schaffouse'
218 'Schwyz'
219 'Soleure'
220 'Tessin'
221 'Turgovie'
222 'Uri'
223 'Valais'
224 'Vaud'
225 'Zoug'
226 'Zurich'

<u>France</u>

301 'Alsace'
302 'Aquitaine'
303 'Auvergne'
304 'Basse-Normandie'
305 'Bourgogne'
306 'Bretagne'
307 'Centre'
308 'Champagne'
309 'Corse'
310 'Franche-Comté'
311 'Haute-Normandie'
312 'Languedoc-Roussillon'
313 'Limousin'
314 'Lorraine'
315 'Midi-Pyrénées'
316 'Nord'

317   'Pays de Loire'
318   'Région parisienne'
319   'Picardie'
320   'Poitou-Charentes'
321   'Provence Côte d Azur'
322   'Rhône-Alpes'

Italy

401   'Piemonte'
402   'Valle d Aosta'
403   'Lombardia'
404   'Trentino'
405   'Veneto'
406   'Friuli Venezia Giulia'
407   'Liguria'
408   'Emilia Romagna'
409   'Toscana'
410   'Umbria'
411   'Marche'
412   'Lazio'
413   'Abruzzo'
414   'Molise'
415   'Campania'
416   'Puglia'
417   'Basilicata'
418   'Calabria'
419   'Sicilia'
420   'Sardegna'

Germany

501   'Baden-Württemberg'
502   'Bayern'
503   'Berlin'
504   'Brandenburg'
505   'Bremen'
506   'Hamburg'
507   'Hessen'
508   'Mecklenburg-Vorpommern'
509   'Niedersachsen'
510   'Nordrhein-Westfalen'
511   'Rheinland-Pfalz'
512   'Saarland'
513   'Sachsen'
514   'Sachsen-Anhalt'
515   'Schleswig-Holstein'
516   'Thüringen'
520   'outside Europe'

<u>Sweden</u>

601 'Stockhom'
602 'Uppsala'
603 'Södermanland'
604 'Östergötland'
605 'Jönköping'
606 'Kronoberg'
607 'Kalmar'
608 'Gotland'
609 'Gävleborg'
610 'Jämtland'
611 'Norrbotten'
612 'Blekinge'
613 'Skåne'
614 'Halland'
615 'Västra Götaland'
616 'Värmland'
617 'Örebro'
618 'Västmanland'
619 'Dalarna'
620 'Västernorrland'
621 'Västerbotten'

<u>Note</u>: The region has to be defined at the country-level according to the meaningful administrative units. Example: cantons in Switzerland, *Régions* in France, *Länder* in Germany. Use code 0 for claims occurring in other countries.

Variable name	**PLACE**
Variable label	'place in which the claim was made'
Values	string variable

ACTORS

These variables are used to code the actors of claims. They should be as inclusive as possible, i.e. they should include formal organizations and institutions, unorganized collectivities and groups, and single individuals. If several identifications are reported for a single actor, the following rules apply: (1) code the institutional affiliation of the actor in variables ACTOR1-3; (2) code the party affiliation of the actor in variables PARTY1-3; (3) code the personal name of the actor (single individual) in variables ACTNAME1-3. Variables ACTOR1-3, PARTY1-3, and ACTNAME1-3 are coded on the basis of open lists in which a new code is created for each new actor retrieved.

Variable name	**ACTOR1**
Variable label	'first actor'
Value labels	string variable

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

Variable name	**ACTOR3**
Variable label	'third actor'
Value labels	string variable

Variable name	**SACTOR1**
Variable label	'summary first actor'

Value labels

10   *'state actors'*
    110   'government/executive'
    120   'parliament/legislative'
    130   'courts/judiciary'
    140   'welfare/social security agencies'
    151   'state executive agencies specifically dealing with employment issues'
    152   'state executive agencies specifically dealing with economic issues'
    153   'other state agencies' (incl. advisory agencies)
    160   'state-controlled regulatory bodies'
    170   'independent regulatory bodies'
    180   'public service/company/utility'
    190   'other state actors'

20   *'political parties'*
    210   'political parties' (incl. party sub-organizations and individual politicians)

30   *'labor organization and groups'*
      310   'working poor'
      320   'precarious workers/employees'
      330   'workers/employees of the same company'
      340   'other/unspecified workers/employees'
      350   'workers advisory councils'
      360   'peak unions'
      370   'branch-specific unions'
      380   'other/unspecified unions'

40   *'employers organizations and groups'*
      410   'individual employers, private companies'
      420   'peak employers organizations'
      430   'branch-specific employers organizations'
      440   'other/unspecified employers organizations and groups'

50   *'unemployed organizations and groups'*
      510   'young unemployed'
      520   'old-age unemployed'
      530   'women unemployed'
      540   'migrant unemployed'
      550   'disabled unemployed'
      560   'long-term unemployed'
      570   'unemployed recently made redundant'
      580   'other/unspecified unemployed organizations and groups'

60   *'non-state welfare organizations and groups'*
      610   'organizations specifically dealing with young unemployed'
      620   'organizations specifically dealing with old-age unemployed'
      630   'organizations specifically dealing with women unemployed'
      640   'organizations specifically dealing with migrant unemployed'
      650   'organizations specifically dealing with disabled unemployed'
      660   'organizations specifically dealing with long-term unemployed'
      670   'organizations specifically dealing with unemployed recently made redundant'
      680   'other/unspecified organizations dealing with unemployment issues'
      690   'other/unspecified non-state welfare organizations and groups'

70   *'other civil society organizations and groups'*
      710   'schools, research institutes, think tanks' (incl. individual experts)
      720   'churches and religious organizations'
      730   'media and journalists'
      740   'other/unspecified professional organizations and groups'
      750   'other/unspecified civil society organizations and groups'

80   *'social partners'*
      810   'social partners'

90   *'other actors'*
      910   'other actors'

99   *'unknown/unspecified'*
        999   'unknown/unspecified'

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

Variable name	**SACTOR3**
Variable label	'summary third actor'
Value labels	see SACTOR1

Note: Only 3-digit codes are used for primary coding. Codes referring to organizations or institutions include their representatives. Codes referring to state actors include all administrative levels. If an organization or group identification falls into several categories at the same time, the following priority rules apply: (1) state identifications have priority over party identifications; (2) identifications as unemployed have priority over other identifications. Concerning unemployed organizations and groups as well as non-state welfare organizations and groups, the following priority order applies: (1) young unemployed, (2) old-age unemployed, (3) women unemployed, (4) migrant unemployed, (5) disabled unemployed, (6) long-term unemployed, (7) unemployed recently made redundant, (8) other organizations and groups. If these rules do not allow a decision, use the order in which the actors are mentioned, unless it is possible to find a priority rule according to other information in the article. Local communities are coded as "government/executive" if there is explicit information allowing to do so. Only actors with decisional/regulatory/advisory power belong to the category of state actors. Members of commissions with such power also belong to state actors. Party members are coded as "political parties" (not as state actors) when they act as such. Use code 0 for 'no second actor' in variable SACTOR2 and for 'no third actor' in variable SACTOR3.

Variable name	**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.

Variables **SSACTOR2** and **SSACTOR3** are constructed in the same way, with adapted value labels for 0.

Variable name	**PARTY1**

Variable label   'party affiliation of first actor'

Value labels   99   'unknown/unspecified'

UK

101	'Conservatives'
102	'Labour'
103	'Liberal Democrats'
104	'British National Party'
105	'UK Independence Party'
106	'Plaid Cymru'
107	'Scottish National Party'
108	'Green Party'
109	'other'

Switzerland

201	'Parti démocrate chrétien (PDC-CVP)'
202	'Parti radical démocratique (PRD-FDP)'
203	'Parti socialiste (PSS-SSP)'
204	'Union démocratique du centre (UDC-SVP)'
205	'Démocrates suisses (DS-SD)'
206	'Partis écologistes'
207	'Parti libéral (PLR-LPS)'
208	'Parti suisse du travail (PST)'
209	'Parti évangélique suisse (PEV-EVP)'
210	'Parti chrétien-social (PCS-CSP)'
211	'Lega dei Ticinesi'
212	'Parti suisse de la liberté'
213	'Alliance des indépendants'
217	'autres partis de gauche'

France

301	'Centre National des indépendants et paysans (CNIP)'
302	'Parti radical démocratique (PRD-FDP)'
303	'Démocratie libérale, Républicains indépendants et Républicains (DL)'
304	'Front National (FN)'
305	'Génération Ecologie (GE)'
306	'Initiative Républicaine (IR)'
307	'Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR)'
308	'Lutte Ouvrière (LO)'
309	'Les Verts (LV)'
310	'Mouvement des Citoyens (MDC)'
311	'Mouvement écologique indépendant (MEI)'
312	'Mouvement National Républicains (MNR)'
313	'Mouvement Pour la France (MPF)'
314	'Parti Communiste Français (PCF)'

315   'Parti Radical (PR)'
316   'Parti Radical de Gauche (PRG)'
317   'Parti Socialiste (PS)'
318   'Rassemblement pour la France (RPF)'
319   'Rassemblement pour la République (RPR)'
320   'Union pour la démocratie française (UDF)'
321   'autres partis d'extrème droite'
322   'autres partis de droite'
323   'autres partis d'extrème gauche'
324   'autres partis de gauche'
325   'autres partis'
326   'Force démocratique (FD)'
327   'Union pour la majorité présidentielle (UMP)'

Italy

401   'Rifondazione Comunista'
402   'Comunisti Italiani'
403   'Democratici di Sinistra'
404   'Partito Democratico della Sinistra'
405   'Verdi'
406   'Partito Popolare Italiano'
407   'Democrazia Cristiana'
408   'Margherita'
409   'Unione Democratica di Centro'
410   'Unione Democratica Europea'
411   'Centro Cattolico Democratico'
412   'Cattolici Democratici Uniti'
413   'Democrazia Europea'
414   'I democratici'
415   'Lista Di Pietro'
416   'Partito Socialista Italiano'
417   'Socialisti Democratici Italiani'
418   'Nuovo Partito Socialista Italiano'
419   'Partito Repubblicano Italiano'
420   'Partito Liberale Italiano'
421   'Partito Social-Democratico Italiano'
422   'Forza Italia'
423   'Alleanza Nazionale'
424   'Movimento Sociale Italiano'
425   'Movimento Sociale Italiano Fiamma Tricolore'
426   'Lega Nord'
427   'Radicali'
428   'Alleanza Democratica'
429   'altro partito di sinistra'
430   'altro partito di destra'
431   'altro partito'
432   'Rinnovamento Italiano'
433   'coalizione dell Ulivo'
434   'Lista Dini'

Germany

501	'SPD'
502	'CDU (+ fraction of CDU/CSU)'
503	'CSU'
504	'Bündnis 90/ Grüne'
505	'PDS'
506	'FDP'
507	'DVU'
508	'Republikaner'
509	'Arbeit für Bremen'
510	'Schill-Partei'
520	'Junge Union'
521	'Jusos'
522	'Junge Liberale'
523	'Junge Grüne'
524	'Solid (PDS-Junge)'

Sweden

601	'Social Democrats'
602	'Left Party'
603	'Moderate Party'
604	'Liberal Party'
605	'Swedish Christian Democrats'
606	'Centre Party'
607	'Green Party'
608	'other parties'

Variable name	**PARTY2**
Variable label	'party affiliation of second actor'
Value labels	see PARTY1

Variable name	**PARTY3**
Variable label	'party affiliation of third actor'
Value labels	see PARTY1

Note: Use code 0 for 'no second actor' in variable PARTY2 and for 'no third actor' in variable PARTY3.

Variable name	**ACTNAME1**
Variable name	'full name of spokeperson for first actor'
Value labels	string variable

Variable name	**ACTNAME2**	
Variable name	'full name of spokeperson for second actor'	
Value labels	string variable	

Variable name	**ACTNAME3**	
Variable name	'full name of spokeperson for third actor'	
Value labels	string variable	

Variable name	**ACTTYPE1**	
Variable label	'type of first actor'	

Value labels
1   'state institution or agency' (incl. representatives)
2   'non-state organization' (incl. representatives)
3   'unorganised collectivity or group'

9   'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name	**ACTTYPE2**	
Variable label	'type of second actor'	
Value labels	see ACTTYPE1	

Variable name	**ACTTYPE3**	
Variable label	'type of third actor'	
Value labels	see ACTTYPE1	

Note: The category 'state institution or agency' refers to administrative levels. Actors are coded as 'unorganized collectivity or group' if there is no mention of formal organization. Individuals are coded as 'unknown/unspecified' if there is no mention of organizational affiliation. Political parties are coded as 'non-state institution'. Use code 0 for 'no second actor' in variable ACTTYPE2 and for 'no third actor' in variable ACTTYPE3.

Variable name	**ACTSCOP1**	
Variable label	'scope of first actor'	

Value labels
1   'supranational/transnational' (except European Union)
2   'European'
3   'multilateral'

4	'bilateral'
5	'national'
6	'regional'
7	'local'
9	'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name   **ACTSCOP2**
Variable label   'scope of second actor'
Value labels   see ACTSCOP1

Variable name   **ACTSCOP3**
Variable label   'scope of third actor'
Value labels   see ACTSCOP1

Note: The scope of actors refers to the organizational extension of the organization or institution. For unorganized collectivities and groups, it refers to the scope of mobilization. Use code 0 for 'no second actor' in variable ACTSCOP2 and for 'no third actor' in variable ACTSCOP3.

Variable name   **ACTEU1**
Variable label   'relation of first actor to EU'

Value labels	1	'contained in the EU'
	2	'not contained in the EU'
	9	'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name   **ACTEU2**
Variable label   'relation of second actor to EU'
Value labels   see ACTEU1

Variable name   **ACTEU3**
Variable label   'relation of third actor to EU'
Value labels   see ACTEU1

Note: Variables ACTEU1-3 apply only to codes 3 to 7 in variables ACTSCOP1-3. Use code 1 ('contained in the EU') only for actors that are completely contained in the EU, otherwise use code 2 ('not contained in the EU'). Use code 0 for 'no second actor' in variable ACTEU2 and for 'no third actor' in variable ACTEU3.

FORMS

This variable is used to code the form of claims. If there are more than one form, the following priority rules apply: (1) political decisions have priority over the other forms; (2) protest actions have priority over verbal statements; (3) among protest actions, the more radical ones have priority over moderate ones. If these rules do not allow a decision, use the order in which the forms are mentioned, unless it is possible to find a priority rule according to other information in the article.

Variable name   **FORM**
Variable label   'form of action'

Value labels

20   *'political decisions'*
     21   'proposal of new legislation'
     22   'adoption of new legislation'
     23   'implementation of new legislation'
     24   'administrative decision'
     25   'decision by administrative or constitutional court'
     26   'decision by state committee'
     27   'repressive measures'

     29   'other/unspecified political decisions'

30   *'verbal statements'*
     31   'decision by non-state institution' (party, union, private company, etc.)
     32   'parliamentary debate/intervention' (incl. in committees)
     33   'direct information to the public' (conference, congress, etc.)
     34   'declaration in the media/interview/press conference'
     35   'written statement/resolution/publication'
     36   'advertisement campaign'
     37   'guest commentary'

     39   'other/unspecified verbal statements'

40   *'conventional protest actions'*
     41   'judicial action'
     42   'lobbying/political pressure'
     43   'launching of initiative/referendum'
     44   'participation to committees/consultations/negotiations'
     45   'creation of new organization'
     46   'closed-doors meeting' (not public)

     49   'other/unspecified conventional actions'

50   *'demonstrative protest actions'*
     51   'collection of signatures for initiative/referendum'
     52   'presentation of signatures for initiative/referendum'

53   'petition/collection of signatures/letter campaign'
54   'public rally/assembly' (incl. distribution of leaflets)
55   'demonstration/protest march' (legal and non-violent)

59   'other/unspecified demonstrative actions'

60   *'confrontational protest actions'*
61   'illegal demonstration' (non-violent)
62   'boycott'
63   'strike'
64   'self-imposed constraints' (hunger strike, suicide)
65   'blockade'
66   'occupation'
67   'perturbation of actions by others'

69   'other/unspecified confrontational actions'

70   *'violent protest actions'*
71   'violent demonstration'
72   'threats/call to use violence'
73   'limited destruction of property'
74   'large destruction of property' (incl. arson, bomb attack)
75   'sabotage'
76   'light physical violence against people'
77   'severe physical violence against people'

79   'other/unspecified violent actions'

Note: Only 2-digit codes are used for primary coding. Political decisions (codes 21-29) refer only to state actors and actions. Decisions by other organizations are not political decisions (use code 31). Examples: a decision by a political party is not a political decision; a proposal for new legislation delivered at a party convention or during a parliamentary debate is not a political decision.

Variable name   **SFORM**
Variable label   'summary form of action'

This variable is exactly the same as FORM, apart from the fact that the second-level codes are collapsed into their respective first-level code.

ADDRESSEES

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

- The <u>addressee</u> narrowly defined (ADR1-3, SADR1-3, ADRSCOP1-3, ADREU1-3), 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).
- The <u>criticized actors</u> (CRACT1-3, SCRACT1-3, CRSCOP1-3, CRACTEU1-3), i.e. the actor who is overtly criticized or mentioned in a negative way in the claim.

If there are more than one addressee or criticized 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.

Variable name	**ADR1**
Variable label	'first addressee'
Value labels	string variable

Variable name	**ADR2**
Variable label	'second addressee'
Value labels	string variable

Variable name	**ADR3**
Variable label	'third addressee'
Value labels	string variable

Variable name	**SADR1**
Variable label	'summary first addressee'

Value labels

10   *'state actors'*
     110   'government/executive'
     120   'parliament/legislative'
     130   'courts/judiciary'
     140   'welfare/social security agencies'
     151   'state executive agencies specifically dealing with employment issues'
     152   'state executive agencies specifically dealing with economic issues'
     153   'other state agencies' (incl. advisory agencies)
     160   'state-controlled regulatory bodies'
     170   'independent regulatory bodies'

180   'public service/company/utility'
190   'other state actors'

20   *'political parties'*
210   'political parties' (incl. party sub-organizations and individual politicians)

30   *'labor organization and groups'*
310   'working poor'
320   'precarious workers/employees'
330   'workers/employees of the same company'
340   'other/unspecified workers/employees'
350   'workers advisory councils'
360   'peak unions'
370   'branch-specific unions'
380   'other/unspecified unions'

40   '*employers organizations and groups*'
410   'individual employers, private companies'
420   'peak employers organizations'
430   'branch-specific employers organizations'
440   'other/unspecified employers organizations and groups'

50   *'unemployed organizations and groups'*
510   'young unemployed'
520   'old-age unemployed'
530   'women unemployed'
540   'migrant unemployed'
550   'disabled unemployed'
560   'long-term unemployed'
570   'unemployed recently made redundant'
580   'other/unspecified unemployed organizations and groups'

60   *'non-state welfare organizations and groups'*
610   'organizations specifically dealing with young unemployed'
620   'organizations specifically dealing with old-age unemployed'
630   'organizations specifically dealing with women unemployed'
640   'organizations specifically dealing with migrant unemployed'
650   'organizations specifically dealing with disabled unemployed'
660   'organizations specifically dealing with long-term unemployed'
670   'organizations specifically dealing with unemployed recently made redundant'
680   'other/unspecified organizations dealing with unemployment issues'
690   'other/unspecified non-state welfare organizations and groups'

70   *'other civil society organizations and groups'*
710   'schools, research institutes, think tanks' (incl. individual experts)
720   'churches and religious organizations'
730   'media and journalists'
740   'other/unspecified professional organizations and groups'
750   'other/unspecified civil society organizations and groups'

80   *'social partners'*
       810   'social partners'

90   *'other actors'*
       910   'other actors'

99   *'unknown/unspecified'*
       999   'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name	**SADR2**
Variable label	'summary second addressee'
Value labels	see SADR1

Variable name	**SADR3**
Variable label	'summary third addressee'
Value labels	see SADR1

Note: Only 3-digit codes are used for primary coding. Codes referring to organizations or institutions include their representatives. Codes referring to state actors include all administrative levels. If an organization or group identification falls into several categories at the same time, the following priority rules apply: (1) state identifications have priority over party identifications; (2) identifications as unemployed have priority over other identifications. Concerning unemployed organizations and groups as well as non-state welfare organizations and groups, the following priority order applies: (1) young unemployed, (2) old-age unemployed, (3) women unemployed, (4) migrant unemployed, (5) disabled unemployed, (6) long-term unemployed, (7) unemployed recently made redundant, (8) other organizations and groups. If these rules do not allow a decision, use the order in which the addressees are mentioned, unless it is possible to find a priority rule according to other information in the article. Local communities are coded as "government/executive" if there is explicit information allowing to do so. Only actors with decisional/regulatory/advisory power belong to the category of state actors. Members of commissions with such power also belong to state actors. Party members are coded as "political parties" (not as state actors) when they act as such. Use code 0 for 'no second addressee' in variable SADR2 and for 'no third addressee' in variable SADR3.

Variable name	S**SADR1**
Variable label	'summary SADR1'

This variable is exactly the same as SADR1, apart from the fact that the second-level codes are collapsed into their respective first-level code.

Variables **SSADR2** and **SSADR3** are constructed in the same way, with adapted value labels for 0.

Variable name	**ADRSCOP1**	
Variable label	'scope of first addressee'	
Value labels	1	'supranational/transnational' (except European Union)
	2	'European'
	3	'multilateral'
	4	'bilateral'
	5	'national'
	6	'regional'
	7	'local'
	9	'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name	**ADRSCOP2**
Variable label	'scope of second addressee'
Value labels	see SADRSCOP1

Variable name	**ADRSCOP3**
Variable label	'scope of third addressee'
Value labels	see SADRSCOP1

Note: Use code 0 for 'no second addressee' in variable ADRSCOP2 and for 'no third addressee' in variable ADRSCOP3.

Variable name	**ADREU1**	
Variable label	'relation of first addressee to EU'	
Value labels	1	'contained in the EU'
	2	'not contained in the EU'
	9	'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name	**ADREU2**
Variable label	'relation of second addressee to EU'

Variable name	**ADREU3**
Variable label	'relation of third addressee to EU'

Note: Variables ADREU1-3 apply only to codes 3 to 7 in variables ADRSCOP1-3. Use code 1 ('contained in the EU') for addresses that are completely contained in the EU, otherwise use code 2 ('not contained in the EU'). Use code 0 for 'no second addressee' in variable ADREU2 and for 'no third addressee' in variable ADREU3.

Variable name　　**CRACT1**
Variable label　　'first criticized actor'
Value labels　　string variable

Variable name　　**CRACT2**
Variable label　　'second criticized actor'
Value labels　　string variable

Variable name　　**CRACT3**
Variable label　　'third criticized actor'
Value labels　　string variable

Variable name　　**SCRACT1**
Variable label　　'summary first criticized actor'

Value labels

10　　*'state actors'*
　　110　　'government/executive'
　　120　　'parliament/legislative'
　　130　　'courts/judiciary'
　　140　　'welfare/social security agencies'
　　151　　'state executive agencies specifically dealing with employment issues'
　　152　　'state executive agencies specifically dealing with economic issues'
　　153　　'other state agencies' (incl. advisory agencies)
　　160　　'state-controlled regulatory bodies'
　　170　　'independent regulatory bodies'
　　180　　'public service/company/utility'
　　190　　'other state actors'

20　　*'political parties'*
　　210　　'political parties' (incl. party sub-organizations and individual politicians)

30　　*'labor organization and groups'*
　　310　　'working poor'
　　320　　'precarious workers/employees'

330   'workers/employees of the same company'
340   'other/unspecified workers/employees'
350   'workers advisory councils'
360   'peak unions'
370   'branch-specific unions'
380   'other/unspecified unions'

40   *'employers organizations and groups'*
410   'individual employers, private companies'
420   'peak employers organizations'
430   'branch-specific employers organizations'
440   'other/unspecified employers organizations and groups'

50   *'unemployed organizations and groups'*
510   'young unemployed'
520   'old-age unemployed'
530   'women unemployed'
540   'migrant unemployed'
550   'disabled unemployed'
560   'long-term unemployed'
570   'unemployed recently made redundant'
580   'other/unspecified unemployed organizations and groups'

60   *'non-state welfare organizations and groups'*
610   'organizations specifically dealing with young unemployed'
620   'organizations specifically dealing with old-age unemployed'
630   'organizations specifically dealing with women unemployed'
640   'organizations specifically dealing with migrant unemployed'
650   'organizations specifically dealing with disabled unemployed'
660   'organizations specifically dealing with long-term unemployed'
670   'organizations specifically dealing with unemployed recently made redundant'
680   'other/unspecified organizations dealing with unemployment issues'
690   'other/unspecified non-state welfare organizations and groups'

70   *'other civil society organizations and groups'*
710   'schools, research institutes, think tanks' (incl. individual experts)
720   'churches and religious organizations'
730   'media and journalists'
740   'other/unspecified professional organizations and groups'
750   'other/unspecified civil society organizations and groups'

80   *'social partners'*
810   'social partners'

90   *'other actors'*
910   'other actors'

99   *'unknown/unspecified'*
999   'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name	**SCRACT2**
Variable label	'summary second criticized actor'
Value labels	see SCRACT1

Variable name	**SCRACT3**
Variable label	'summary third criticized actor'
Value labels	see SCRACT1

Note: Only 3-digit codes are used for primary coding. Codes referring to organizations or institutions include their representatives. Codes referring to state actors include all administrative levels. If an organization or group identification falls into several categories at the same time, the following priority rules apply: (1) state identifications have priority over party identifications; (2) identifications as unemployed have priority over other identifications. Concerning unemployed organizations and groups as well as non-state welfare organizations and groups, the following priority order applies: (1) young unemployed, (2) old-age unemployed, (3) women unemployed, (4) migrant unemployed, (5) disabled unemployed, (6) long-term unemployed, (7) unemployed recently made redundant, (8) other organizations and groups. If these rules do not allow a decision, use the order in which the criticized actors are mentioned, unless it is possible to find a priority rule according to other information in the article. Local communities are coded as "government/executive" if there is explicit information allowing to do so. Only actors with decisional/regulatory/advisory power belong to the category of state actors. Members of commissions with such power also belong to state actors. Party members are coded as "political parties" (not as state actors) when they act as such. Use code 0 for 'no second criticized actor' in variable SCRACT2 and for 'no third criticized actor' in variable SCRACT3.

Variable name	**SSCRACT1**
Variable label	'summary SCRACT1'

This variable is exactly the same as SCRACT1, apart from the fact that the second-level codes are collapsed into their respective first-level code.

Variables **SSCRACT2** and **SSCRACT3** are constructed in the same way, with adapted value labels for 0.

Variable name	**CRSCOP1**	
Variable label	'scope of first criticized actor'	
Value labels	1	'supranational/transnational' (except European Union)

2	'European'
3	'multilateral'
4	'bilateral'
5	'national'
6	'regional'
7	'local'
9	'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name	**CRSCOP2**
Variable label	'scope of second criticized actor'
Value labels	see CRSCOP1

Variable name	**CRSCOP3**
Variable label	'scope of third criticized actor'
Value labels	see CRSCOP1

Note: Use code 0 for 'no second criticized actor' in variable CRSCOP2 and for 'no third criticized actor' in variable CRSCOP3.

Variable name	**CRITEU1**
Variable label	'relation of first criticized actor to EU'

Value labels	1	'contained in the EU'
	2	'not contained in the EU'
	9	'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name	**CRITEU2**
Variable label	'relation of second criticized actor to EU'
Value labels	see CRITEU1

Variable name	**CRITEU3**
Variable label	'relation of third criticized actor to EU'
Value labels	see CRITEU1

Note: Variables CRITEU1-3 apply only to codes 3 to 7 in variables CRSCOP1-3. Use code 1 ('contained in the EU') for addresses that are completely contained in the EU, otherwise use code 2 ('not contained in the EU'). Use code 0 for 'no second criticized actor' in variable CRITEU2 and for 'no third criticized actor' in variable CRITEU3.

AIMS

These variables are used to code the aims of claims, i.e. their substantive content. The information is coded in string variables which report a detailed description of the substantive content of the claim, including direct and reported speech where possible. These variables are used to retrieve information on the issues, objects, and framing of claims. Together, objects, issues, and frames define the substantive content of the claim. The detailed information on the substantive content is coded in the aim variables, the summary information is coded in separate variables for issues, objects, and frames (see below).

Variable name   **AIM1**
Variable label   'first aim of claim'
Values   string variable'

Variable name   **AIM2**
Variable label   'second aim of claim'
Values   string variable'

Variable name   **AIM3**
Variable label   'third aim of claim'
Values   string variable'

Note: Variables AIM1-3 are coded as string variables which report a detailed description of the claim, including direct and reported speech where possible. Use variable AIM1 for the main aim.

ISSUES

These variables are used to code the issues of claims, i.e. their thematic focus. A distinction is made between the thematic focus of the claim strictly defined (variables ISSUE1-3), on the one hand, and the position of claims towards the issues (variables ISSPOS1-3) and towards the constituency (CONPOS1-3), on the other. Variables ISSUE1-3 should be coded as "policy-neutral", i.e. with no reference to the direction or evaluation of the claim. The latter will be coded in the variables ISSPOS1-3 and CONPOS1-3.

Variable name   **ISSUE1**
Variable label   'first issue of claim'

Value labels

1   'SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES RELATING TO THE SITUATION OF THE LABOR MARKET'
10   *'macro-economic issues'*
        100   'macro-economic issues in general'
        101   'strength/weakness of national economy' (e.g. national competitiveness)
        102   'effects of currency fluctuation/exchange rate on national economy'
        103   'economic change/competitiveness of a specific sector of the economy'
        104   'economic change/competitiveness of a specific sub-national region'
        105   'social dialogue'
        106   'social responsibility of private companies'
        107   'dismissals' (other than state action against them)
        108   'partial unemployment'
        109   'other specific macro-economic issues'

11   *'economic development/promotion policy'*
        110   'economic development/promotion policy: general evaluation and policy orientation'
        111   'liberalization, flexibility'
        112   'economic effects of monetary policies on national economy'
        113   'taxation, social expenses'
        114   'state subsidies to companies'
        115   'state subsidies to economic sectors'
        116   'state subsidies to regions'
        117   'help to small/medium companies'
        119   'other specific issues relating to economic development/promotion policy'

12   *'state policy relating to the labor market'*
        120   'state policy relating to the labor market: general evaluation and policy orientation'
        121   'creation of more spending power'
        122   'creation of jobs by the state'
        123   'part-time employment'
        124   'job-sharing, reduction of collective labor time'
        125   'moonlighting'
        126   'lowering of the employment costs' (e.g. cheap labor)

127   'state action against dismissals'

129   'other specific issues relating to the state policy concerning the labor market'

13   *'state policy relating to the labor forces'*

130   'state policy relating to the labor forces: general evaluation and policy orientation'

131   'impact of immigration on labor forces'

132   'seasonal work's impact on labor forces'

133   'impact of cross border commuters on labor forces'

134   'changes in the impact of retirement age on labor forces'

135   'socio-demographic changes'

139   'other specific issues relating to the labor forces'

14   *'work conditions'*

140   'work conditions: general evaluation and policy orientation'

141   'wages'

142   'precarious work'

143   'working hours'

149   'other specific issues relating to work conditions'

15   *'targeted/group-specific employment measures'*

150   'targeted/group-specific employment measures' (e.g. policies against discrimination, for equal opportunities in the labor market)

2   'WELFARE SYSTEMS AND SOCIAL BENEFITS'

20   *'unemployment-insurance system'*

200   'unemployment insurance system: general evaluation and policy orientation'

201   'social security system: general evaluation and policy orientation'

202   'access to unemployment benefits'

203   'unemployment insurance benefits: duration, amount'

204   'financing of the unemployment insurance' (e.g. paid contribution, part of the State)

205   'regional, local system of unemployment insurance'

206   'administration of the unemployment insurance'

209   'other specific issues relating to the unemployment-insurance system'

21   *'social aid/assistance'*

210   'social aid/assistance: general evaluation and policy orientation'

211   'access to social assistance'

212   'financing of the social assistance'

213   'social assistance benefits: duration, amount'

214   'minimum wage/ basic income'

215   'social assistance in connection to the unemployment insurance, of the whole social security system'

216   'administration of the social assistance, structures'

219   'other specific issues relating to the social aid/assistance'

22   *'non-state welfare systems'*

220   'non-state welfare systems: general evaluation and policy orientation'

221   'semi-private welfare systems' (private institutions receiving state subsidies)

222 'private welfare systems' (charity systems)
223 'other specific issues relating to non-state welfare systems'

23 *'targeted group-specific reactive measures'*
230 'targeted/group-specific reactive measures'

3 'INDIVIDUAL (RE)INSERTION INTO THE LABOR MARKET'
30 *'active measures, (re)insertion measures for the unemployed'*
300 'active/reinsertion measures for the unemployed: general evaluation and policy orientation'
301 'workfare, compulsory work'
302 'administrative help, placing procedures'
303 'help to the unemployed to start a private company'
304 'targeted/group-specific (re)insertion measures'
309 'other specific (re)insertion measures'

31 *'training and formation for the unemployed'*
310 'training and formation for the unemployed: general evaluation and policy orientation'
311 'courses, education for the unemployed' (e.g. language, computing courses)
312 'training courses for unemployed' (e.g. vocational training)
313 'in-service training, temporary jobs for the unemployed'

32 *'educational issues'*
320 'education: general evaluation and policy orientation'
321 'transition from school into the labor market'
322 'apprenticeship issues'
323 'college and universities issues'
324 'technical schools'
325 'adult education' (e.g. continuing formation)
326 'distribution of state resources and priorities relating to education'
329 'other specific issues concerning education'

4 'ISSUES RELATING TO THE CONSTITUENCY OF THE UNEMPLOYED'
40 *'associational life'*
400 'associational life in general'
401 'political mobilization'
402 'self-help'
409 'other specific issues relating to associational life'

41 *'attitudes/psychological disposition of unemployed'*
410 'attitudes/psychological disposition of unemployed'

42 *'other issues relating to the constituency of the unemployed'*
420 'other issues relating to the constituency of the unemployed'
421 'social problems'

5 'ACTOR-CLAIMS UNEMPLOYED'
50 *'actor-claims unemployed'*
500 'actor-claims unemployed'

6   'OTHER ISSUES'
60   'other issues'
    600   'other issues'
    601   'illegal work'
    602   'crime and unemployment'

Variable name   **ISSUE2**
Variable label   'second issue of claim'
Value labels   see ISSUE1

Variable name   **ISSUE3**
Variable label   'third issue of claim'
Value labels   see ISSUE3

Note: Only 3-digit codes are used for primary coding. Category 1 ('socio-economic issues relating to the situation of the labor market') refers to claims concerning the situation of and changes in the labor market (e.g. expansion of the labor market, macro-economic solutions to unemployment, liberalization, flexibility, economic competitiveness). General and abstract references to unemployment receive code 100. Category 2 ('welfare systems and social benefits') refers to claims relating to the welfare state, but only insofar as financial matters are concerned (except for code 221, which may include issues other than financial matters). Category 3 ('individual (re)insertion into the labor market') deals with insertion and reinsertion measures at the individual level. These should be distinguished from the issues in category 1, which imply an intervention on the labor market itself. Therefore, code 150 is used for targeted/group-specific measures at the labor market level, while code 304 is used for targeted/group-specific measures at the individual level. Claims under code 3 should deal only with issues relating to state action. Insertion measures by private or semi-private institutions receive code 220 or 221. Categories 31 and 32 must be distinguished: category 31 deals with reinsertion measures for the unemployed (i.e. as a way to improve their possibilities to find a job); category 32 refers to education in general. Category 4 ('issues relating to the constituency of the unemployed') refers to issues relating to the unemployed themselves, the way they live and act. It does not deal with any kind of measure connected to them, but only with their own actions. Category 5 ('actor-claims unemployed') is reserved to claims made by the unemployed themselves which are outside the issue field of unemployment. Category 6 ('other issues') is for issues that cannot be classified in one of the other categories.

Variable name   **SISSUE1**
Variable label   'summary first issue of claim'

This variable is exactly the same as ISSUE1, apart from the fact that the third-level codes are collapsed into their respective second-level code.

Variables **SISSUE2** and **SISSUE3** are constructed in the same way, with adapted value labels for 0.

Variable name   **SSISSUE1**
Variable label   'summary sissue1'

This variable is exactly the same as SISSUE1, apart from the fact that the second-level codes are collapsed into their respective first-level code.

Variables **SSISSUE2** and **SSISSUE3** are constructed in the same way, with adapted value labels for 0.

Variable name   **ISSCOP1**
Variable label   'scope of first issue'

Value labels   1   'supranational/transnational' (except European Union)
                      2   'European'
                      3   'multilateral'
                      4   'bilateral'
                      5   'national'
                      6   'regional'
                      7   'local'

                      9   'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name   **ISSCOP2**
Variable label   'scope of second issue'
Value labels   see ISSCOP1

Variable name   **ISSCOP3**
Variable label   'scope of third issue'
Value labels   see ISSCOP3

Note: The scope of issues refers to the geographical and/or political scope of the issue. This is not necessarily the same as the scope of the actor (variables ACTSCOP1-3). Use code 0 for 'no second issue' in variable ISSCOP2 and for 'no third issue' in variable ISSCOP3.

Variable name   **ISSCOPB1**
Variable label   'scope of first issue: broad definition'

Value labels   1   'supranational/transnational' (except European Union)
                      2   'European'
                      3   'multilateral'
                      4   'bilateral'
                      5   'national'
                      6   'regional'
                      7   'local'

                      9   'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name   **ISSCOPB2**
Variable label   'scope of second issue: broad definition'
Value labels   see ISSCOPB1

Variable name   **ISSCOPB3**
Variable label   'scope of second issue: broad definition'
Value labels   see ISSCOPB1

Note: The broad definition of scope of issues refers to largest scope of the issue, taking into account both the scope of the issue and the scope of the actor. Example: if a local government criticizes the national government for interfering in its implementation of a EU regional policy relating to unemployment, the issue scope here is coded as 'European' and not as 'local' or 'national'.

Variable name   **ISSEU1**
Variable label   'relation of first issue to EU'

Value labels   1   'contained in the EU'
                      2   'not contained in the EU'

                      9   'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name   **ISSEU2**
Variable label   'relation of second issue to EU'
Value labels   see ISSEU1

Variable name   **ISSEU3**
Variable label   'relation of third issue to EU'
Value labels   see ISSUE1

Note: Variables ISSEU1-3 apply only to codes 3 to 7 in variables ISSCOP1-3. Use code 1 ('contained in the EU') only for issues that are completely contained in the EU, otherwise use code 2 ('not contained in the EU'). Use code 0 for 'no second issue' in variable ISSEU2 and for 'no third issue' in variable ISSEU3.

Variable name   **ISSPOS1**
Variable label   'first position of claim towards issue'

Value labels   -1   'negative'
                                   0   'neutral/ambivalent/technocratic'
                                   1   'positive'

                                   9   'unclassifiable'

Variable name   **ISSPOS2**
Variable label   'second position of claim towards issue'
Value labels   see ISSPOS1

Variable name   **ISSPOS3**
Variable label   'third position of claim towards issue'
Value labels   see ISSPOS1

Note: Variables ISSPOS1-3 are used to code information on the position of claims towards the issues. They are meant to provide a general indicator of the (policy) direction of the issue. All claims that are in favor of the issue receive code 1. All claims that are against the issue receive code -1. All neutral, ambivalent, or technocratic claims receive code 0. Claims that cannot be classified according to this aspect receive code 9. Use code 8 for 'no second issue' in variable ISSPOS2 and for 'no third issue' in variable ISSPOS3.

OBJECTS

These variables are used to code the objects of claims, i.e. the actors whose interests are affected by the claims. The object refers to the constituency to which the claim is addressed. This might be identical with the actor, identical with the addressee, or different from both. If there are several objects, the ultimate object should be coded as first object. If this rule does not allow a decision, use the order in which the objects are mentioned, unless it is possible to find a priority rule according to other information in the article.

Variable name   **OBJ1**
Variable label   'first object of claim'

Value labels

10   *'labor organization and groups*
        110   'working poor'
        120   'precarious workers/employees'
        130   'workers/employees of the same company'
        140   'illegal workers'
        150   'other/unspecified workers/employees'
        160   'workers advisory councils'
        170   'peak unions'
        180   'branch-specific unions'
        190   'other/unspecified unions'

20   *'unemployed organizations and groups'*
        210   'young unemployed'
        220   'old-age unemployed'
        230   'women unemployed'
        240   'migrant unemployed'
        250   'disabled unemployed'
        260   'long-term unemployed'
        270   'unemployed recently made redundant'
        280   'social welfare recipients'
        290   'other/unspecified unemployed organizations and groups'

90   *'other objects'*
        910   'other objects'

99   *'unknown/unspecified'*
        999   'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name   **OBJ2**
Variable label   'second object of claim'
Value labels   see OBJ1

Variable name   **OBJ3**

Variable label   'third object of claim'
Value labels   see OBJ1

Note: Only 3-digit codes are used for primary coding. Codes referring to organizations include their representatives. If an organization or group identification falls into several categories at the same time, the following priority rule applies: identifications as unemployed have priority over other identifications. Concerning unemployed organizations and groups, the following priority order applies: (1) young unemployed, (2) old-age unemployed, (3) women unemployed, (4) migrant unemployed, (5) disabled unemployed, (6) long-term unemployed, (7) unemployed recently made redundant, (8) other organizations and groups. If these rules do not allow a decision, use the order in which the objects are mentioned, unless it is possible to find a priority rule according to other information in the article. Use code 0 for 'no second object' in variable OBJ2 and for 'no third object' in variable OBJ3.

Variable name   **SOBJ1**
Variable label   'summary first object of claim'

This variable is exactly the same as OBJ1, apart from the fact that the second-level codes are collapsed into their respective first-level code.

Variables **SOBJ2** and **SOBJ3** are constructed in the same way, with adapted value labels for 0.

Variable name   **OBJSECT1**
Variable label   'economic sector of first object'

Value labels

10   *'primary sector (agriculture/extraction)'*
      110   'agriculture, fisheries, forestry'
      120   'mining, oil, natural gas'

      190   'other/unspecified primary sector'

20   *'secondary sector (industry/manufacturing)'*
      210   'manufacturing'
      220   'electricity, gas, water'
      230   'construction'

      290   'other/unspecified secondary sector'

30   *'tertiary sector (services/commerce)'*
       310   'wholesale and retail trade'
       320   'hotels and restaurants'
       331   'transport, storage
       332   'communication'
       340   'financial services'
       351   'business services '
       352   'real estate'
       360   'public administration'
       370   'education'
       381   'health'
       382   'social work'
       390   'other/unspecified tertiary sector'

99   *'unknown/unspecified'*
       999   'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name	**OBJSECT2**
Variable label	'economic sector of second object'
Value labels	see OBJSECT1

Variable name	**OBJSECT3**
Variable label	'economic sector of third object'
Value labels	see OBJSECT1

Note: Only 3-digit codes are used for primary coding. Use code 0 for 'no second object' in variable OBJSECT2 and for 'no third object' in variable OBJSECT3.

Variable name	**SOBJS1**
Variable label	'summary economic sector of first object'

This variable is exactly the same as OBJSECT1, apart from the fact that the second-level codes are collapsed into their respective first-level code.

Variables **SOBJS2** and **SOBJS3** are constructed in the same way, with adapted value labels for 0.

Variable name	**OBJSCOP1**
Variable label	'scope of first object of claim'

Value labels   1   'supranational/transnational' (except European Union)
                                      2   'European'
                                      3   'multilateral'
                                      4   'bilateral'
                                      5   'national'
                                      6   'regional'
                                      7   'local'

                                      9   'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name   **OBJSCOP2**
Variable label   'scope of second object of claim'
Value labels   see OBJSCOP1

Variable name   **OBJSCOP3**
Variable label   'scope of third object of claim'
Value labels   see OBJSCOP1

Note: Use code 0 for 'no second object' in variable OBJSCOP2 and for 'no third object' in variable OBJSCOP3.

Variable name   **OBJEU1**
Variable label   'relation of first object to EU'

Value labels   1   'contained in the EU'
                                      2   'not contained in the EU'

                                      9   'unknown/unspecified'

Variable name   **OBJEU2**
Variable label   'relation of second object to EU'
Value labels   see OBJEU1

Variable name   **OBJEU3**
Variable label   'relation of third object to EU'
Value labels   see OBJEU1

Note: Variables OBJEU1-3 apply only to codes 3 to 7 in variables OBJCOP1-3. Use code 1 ('contained in the EU') only for issues that are completely contained in the EU, otherwise use code 2 ('not contained in the EU'). Use code 0 for 'no second object' in variable OBJEU2 and for 'no third object' in variable OBJEU3.

Variable name   **CONPOS1**
Variable label   'first position of claim towards constituency'

Value labels   -1   'negative'
                       0   'neutral/ambivalent/technocratic'
                       1   'positive'

                       9   'unclassifiable'

Variable name   **CONPOS2**
Variable label   'second position of claim towards constituency'
Value labels   see CONPOS1

Variable name   **CONPOS3**
Variable label   'third position of claim towards constituency'
Value labels   see CONPOS1

Note: Variables CONPOS1-3 are used to code information on the position of claims towards
        the constituency (i.e. the unemployed and workers/employees). They are meant to
        provide a general indicator of the rights and position of the constituency, of its benefits
        and opportunities, and of its duties. All claims that imply an improvement of the rights
        and position of the constituency group or an enlargement of its benefits and
        opportunities receive code 1. Claims that imply a decrease of the duties of the
        constituency also receive code 1. All claims that imply a deterioration of the rights and
        position of the constituency group or a restriction of their benefits and opportunities
        receive code -1. Claims that imply an increase of the duties of the constituency also
        receive code -1. All neutral, ambivalent, or technocratic claims receive code 0. Claims
        that cannot be classified according to this aspect receive code 9. Use code 8 for 'no
        second issue' in variable CONPOS2 and for 'no third issue' in variable CONPOS3.

        The position of claim towards constituency (variables CONPOS1-3) is not necessarily
        the same as the position of claim towards issue (variables ISSPOS1-3). The latter
        should be restricted only to claims referring to policy fields and policy measures. In
        other words, variables ISSPOS1-3 refer to means, whereas variables CONPOS1-3
        refer to ends. Examples: if an actor is in favor of cutting benefits to the unemployed
        (AIM), the issue is "unemployment insurance and benefits", the position towards issue
        is -1 (i.e. the actors wants benefits to be cut), and the position towards constituency is
        also -1 (i.e. the claim implies a deterioration of the rights and position of the
        constituency group); if an actor is in favor of liberalizing the labor market to reduce
        unemployment (AIM), the issue is "macro-economic framework", the position towards
        issue is 1 (i.e. the actor wants the labor market to be liberalized), and the position
        towards constituency is either 0 or 1 (depending on the context of the article); if an
        actor simply states that unemployment is bad (AIM), there is no position towards issue

(code 9) as it is a general verbal statement and does not refer to the policy field, and the position towards constituency is 1 (i.e. the claim implies an improvement of the rights and position of the constituency group).

FRAMES

These variables are used to code the framing of claims, i.e. the ways in which the issue of unemployment is evaluated by the actors. We distinguish between two types of frames:

- Diagnostic frames: they refer to the causes of unemployment as formulated by the actor of the claim. In other words, they are the attribution of blame or responsibility for the problem or situation.
- Prognostic frames: they refer to the solutions to the problem of unemployment as formulated by the actor of the claim. In other words, they represent what the actor think it should be done to solve the problem of unemployment.

Variable name   **DIAG1**
Variable label   'first diagnostic frame of claim'

Value labels

10   *'economic/technological causes'*
     110   'economic causes' (e.g. costs, market, firms)
     120   'technological causes' (e.g. innovations, mechanization)

     190   'other economic/technological causes'

20   *'political/institutional causes'*
     210   'political causes' (e.g. power struggle, interest mediation)
     220   'legal/administrative/regulatory causes' (e.g. state, policy)

     290   'other political/institutional causes'

30   *'social/demographic causes'*
     310   'social causes' (e.g. distribution of resources, segregation)
     320   'educational causes' (e.g. training, skills)
     330   'demographic causes' (e.g. overpopulation, immigration)

     390   'other social/demographic causes'

40   *'cultural/psychological causes'*
     410   'cultural causes' (e.g. values, social norms)
     420   'individual/psychological causes' (e.g. motivations, laziness)

     490   'other cultural/psychological causes'

50   *'external causes'*
     510   'international causes' (e.g. state relations, globalization)
     520   'climatic/seasonal causes' (e.g. bad weather, dryness)

     590   'other external causes'

90   *'other diagnostic frames'*
     910   'other diagnostic frames'

99   *'unclassifiable'*
      999   'unclassifiable'

Variable name	**DIAG2**
Variable label	'second diagnostic frame of claim'
Value labels	see DIAG1

Variable name	**DIAG3**
Variable label	'third diagnostic frame of claim'
Value labels	see DIAG1

Note: Only 3-digit codes are used for primary coding. Variables DIAG1-3 refer to the evaluation of the causes of unemployment. Example: "The government should introduce training courses for unemployed people (issue) because unemployment stems from a lack of working skills (diagnostic frame). Use code 0 for 'no second diagnostic frame' in variable DIAG2 and for 'no third diagnostic frame' in variable DIAG3.

Variable name	**SDIAG1**
Variable label	'summary first diagnostic frame of claim'

This variable is exactly the same as DIAG1, apart from the fact that the second-level codes are collapsed into their respective first-level code.

Variables **SDIAG2** and **SDIAG3** are constructed in the same way, with adapted value labels for 0.

Variable name	**PROG1**
Variable label	'first prognostic frame of claim'

Value labels

1   'POLICY-DRIVEN SOLUTIONS' (FOCUS ON STATE INTERVENTION)
10   *'economic/technological policy solutions'*
      100   'economic policy solutions' (e.g. market incentives, tax policy)
      101   'technological policy solutions' (e.g. incentives for more innovation, better laws to encourage patents or research)

109 'other economic/technological policy solutions'

11 *'political/institutional/legal solutions'*
110 'political solutions' (e.g. change in political leadership)
111 'administrative/institutional solutions' (e.g. service reorganization, institution building, centralization/decentralization, programs for the unemployed)
112 'regulatory/legal/judiciary solutions' (e.g., laws specifying legal rights and duties of workers, employers (labor market or active measures), and the unemployed (insurance systems, or passive measures).

119 'other political/institutional/legal solutions'

12 *'other policy solutions'*
120 'social dialogue, partnerships'
121 'educational policy solutions' (e.g., state needs to reorganize schools or universities, better funding of education).

129 'other policy solutions'

2 'SOLUTIONS THAT ARE NOT POLICY-DRIVEN' (DO NOT REQUIRE STATE INTERVENTION)
20 *'cultural/individual solutions'*
200 'cultural solutions' (e.g. values, norms)
201 'individual/psychological solutions (e.g. motivation)
202 'migration solutions' (e.g. move to where the jobs are)

209 'other cultural/individual solutions'

21 *'societal solutions'*
210 'market solutions' (e.g. the employers/the market will solve the problems)
211 'educational solutions' (e.g., universities, schools, and/or employers are called to provide better training and work experiences)
212 'science and technology solutions' (e.g., better science, new products, advancements of production forms)
213 'demographic solutions' (e.g., we need more children, less/more immigrant workers, less/more female workers)

219 'other societal solutions'

22 *'external solutions'*
220 'international solutions' (e.g. EU-policies, international treaties, ILO, GATT, WTO, globalization)
221 'climatic/seasonal solutions'

229 'other external solutions'

3 'OTHER SOLUTIONS'

30   *'other solutions'*
        300   'other solutions'

9   UNCLASSIFIABLE'
99   *'unclassifiable'*
        999   'unclassifiable'

Variable name   **PROG2**
Variable label   'second prognostic frame of claim'
Value labels   see PROG2

Variable name   **PROG3**
Variable label   'third prognostic frame of claim'
Value labels   see PROG3

Note: Only 3-digit codes are used for primary coding. Variables PROG1-3 refer to the ways
       in which actors envision and formulate solutions to the unemployment problem,
       including both macro (unemployment rate) and micro (individual unemployed)
       conceptions of the problem. They include both the rationales for policy-driven
       solutions (which interventions/programs do actors propose as solutions and on what
       basis) and the extent to which proposed solutions are not policy driven, i.e. do not
       require state interventions (e.g. the market, the weather, individual motivations). If
       actors propose the elimination or curtailment of existing programs as solutions, these
       are coded as policy-driven solutions here. However, specific 'policies' are coded in the
       ISSUE variables, while the PROG variables refer to social rationales or rationalities of
       action. Use code 0 for 'no second prognostic frame' in variable PROG2 and for 'no
       third prognostic frame' in variable PROG3.

Variable name   **SPROG1**
Variable label   'summary first prognostic frame of claim'

This variable is exactly the same as PROG1, apart from the fact that the third-level codes are
collapsed into their respective second-level code.

Variables **SPROG2** and **SPROG3** are constructed in the same way, with adapted value labels
for 0.

Variable name   **SSPROG1**
Variable label   'summary sprog1'

This variable is exactly the same as SPROG1, apart from the fact that the second-level codes are collapsed into their respective first-level code.

Variables **SSPROG2** and **SSPROG3** are constructed in the same way, with adapted value labels for 0.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR PROTEST ACTIONS
(TO BE CODED ONLY IF FORM > 40)

These variables are coded only for protest actions, i.e. if FORM > 40. They are meant to provide information on the number of participants, the presence of the police to these actions, and the number of people arrested (if any).

Variable name	**PART**
Variable label	'number of participants'
Values	6-digit code (1-999998)
Missing value	999999

Note: For figures higher than 999998, use 999998. If several figures are is reported, use the highest.

Variable name	**POLPRES**
Variable label	'presence of police'

Value labels   0 no
1 yes, facilitating action
2 yes, neutral/ambivalent action
3 yes, repressive action

Variable name	**ARREST**
Variable label	'number of people arrested'
Values	3-digit code (1-998)
Missing value	999

Note: For figures higher than 998, use 998. If several figures are reported, use the highest.