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POP-MED Project, Module 2, Manual for media populism frame analysis

Data collection

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Data collection

Analysis of commentary in daily press: We will select two daily newspapers that are most read and have the highest circulation. In Slovenian context we will analyse the reporting of the quality paper “Delo” and the tabloid “Slovenske novice” that are the two most read newspapers according to the national research data on readership. The selected news items will include newspaper commentary as a genre of reporting, that offers space for a more critical views, diverging from norms of objectivity and impartiality, exemplifying both values of the specific media as well as journalist’s own values and viewpoints. The selection of news items will be made in line with the key changes identified in the policy process analysis. The analysed timeframe will consider the period from 2015 to 2019, specifically selected the periods of parliamentary discussions over the laws related to migration identified for both countries. For Slovenia, 7 laws passed the parliamentary procedure. We aim to analyse opinion newspaper articles by media workers (journalists, editors) that were published one week prior and two weeks after the final discussion and vote of the bill in the parliament.

Operationalization

Our research is guided by the above theoretical outlines based on which we develop a set of research questions.

- POPMED is interested if and to what extent and by which practices the media amplify or curb populist discourse.
- We assume that in general the media are turning to popular taste and concerns, emotive language, sensational, black-and white style of tabloid journalism and we aim to explore these trends in journalistic practice. We are thus interested which affective frames media produce and how they resonate with affective frames in parliamentary debates of the different parliamentary actors.
- We aim to research the similarities and differences between public/legacy and tabloid media and between different outlets, i.e. newspaper opinion articles with respect to framing of issues and emotive framing.
- The assumption that we aim to discuss is that tabloids are more prone to voicing especially people-centrism, (but possibly also) anti-establishment and anti-migration and use more affective framing.
- We also aim to research strategies of journalists. Do they adopt the stance of 1) demarcation, 2) confrontation (challenging), 3) accommodation or 4) initiation (journalists themselves exhibiting populist antagonism)? Do they set agendas and in which ways is their capacity of agenda setting bounded?

Method

Populism by the media and through the media is facilitated by the media logics and in particular by a) the use of frames and b) journalistic routines, norms and conventions. We use affective frame analysis combined with conversational analysis (Hutchby 2006; Clayman and Heritage 2002). We use a list of pre-established frames and code to what extend they’re reproduced in media communication.

Opinion press analysis

We selected opinion articles on migration, asylum and border issues from one quality and one tabloid newspaper in a timeframe of one week prior and two weeks after the final parliamentary discussions and an official vote on the legislation (7 adopted laws).

The **unit of analysis is a problem-solution-pair**. Hence, each article comprises several units of analysis. To identify such pairs, coders are asked to read the whole article first, highlighting any problems and solutions. After this coders are asked to identify *substantially matching* problem-solution pairs. Problems or solutions that are mentioned in the text without matching counterpart are dropped in the analysis. However, we allow coders to identify solutions or problems that are only implicitly present in the text. We only code problems and solutions that represent the journalist's or editor's point of view.

In cases of a large number of mentioned problems, we allow coders to group minor problems into higher order problems if they share a common alleged cause.

The coded information is stored in the provided Excel-file. In this file, each unit of analysis (each **problem-solution-pair**) is represented by a separate **row**. For each unit of analysis, we code the same set of items (**variable**), which are represented by a separate **column**. Each cell in the Excel-sheet then represents one specific observation.

How to use this codebook

This codebook provides the instructions for filling-in the coding template provided as Excel-file. The codebook is divided into three sections: instructions for (1) coding the meta-data for each article and problem-solution pair, (2) coding Diagnosis (problem definition) related variables and (3) coding Prognosis (solution) related variables.

Each section first provides a brief outline of the aim of the coding and central concepts, followed by the actual coding instructions. All coding instructions are presented in an equal fashion: The first line asks the coder what to do and is followed by a table that lists...

- a) ...the name of one or more variables that are to be coded (the column on the left hand side). This name equals the name of each column in the Excel coding sheet.
- b) ...a brief description of the available options for coding (the column in the middle).
- c) ...and the exact values that should be filled in the Excel sheet in the respective column (the column on the right).

Please adhere to the exact values defined in this codebook when filling in the Excel sheet, unless the codebook asks you otherwise. The latter is the case for open-coded categories, which are signalled by the remark [OPEN TEXT FIELD]. For the meta-data section (1), this codebook provides examples instead of exact values.

If you cannot code a specific variable for whatever reasons, you may leave it blank or enter NA to signal a missing value. However, we ask you to code as many variables as possible.

Coding of some variables is conditional on previously coded items. These variables have to be coded only, if a previously coded variable has a specific value. This is indicated by the ***IF-CONDITIONS*** printed in bold, italics and capitals, which provide information about the

conditioning variable and value(s). If the If-condition is not given, please skip the following item and leave the cell blank.

1. Meta-data

For each problem-solution-pair, we code meta-data about the article. Within one article, all of this information remains the same but the ID, which changes with each coded problem-solution-pair (last 2 digits change). While the first part of the ID is provided by the researchers, the coder is required to add the problem-solution-part of the ID:

Instruction:	Please code the...	Values (here: Examples)
Variables		
ID	...identifier as provided in the material registry, comprising of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Country identifier (AT / SI) - Date of publication (YYYYMMDD) - Media abbreviation (2 characters) - Document ID (2-digits, numbering the selected laws + 2 digits numbering the articles selected for each law consecutively, assigned during material collection) - Problem-Solution-Pair ID (sequential 2 digit number, assigned by the coder: e.g. PS01) 	e.g. AT_20170629_ST_0101_PS01
media	...name of the media.	e.g. Der Standard
page	...page in the newspaper (2 digits)	e.g. 02
length	...length of the article in number of words. (If not given in the pdf, code NA)	e.g. 256
author	...author of the article (name, first name). If the full name is not given, code the abbreviation. If no author is mentioned code NA.	e.g. Brickner, Irene
title	...title of the article.	e.g. Uneuropäisches Fremdenrecht
coder	...name of the coder (name, first name)	e.g. Thiele, Daniel
date_coded	...date coded (YYYY-MM-DD)	e.g. 2019-12-19

2. Diagnosis (Problem)

The first half of the coding focuses on the media's diagnosis of the problem at hand. The sensitizing question here is: What is the problem to be solved? For each problem, we will code a range of variables focusing on the problem definition, affective aspects and populist discourse. In the next step, the same set of variables will be coded for the corresponding solution.

Identifying Problem-Solution pairs: Different problems can have one common solution or vice versa. We open a new problem-solution pair if at least one side (problem or solution) is distinct.

Problems or solutions voiced by 'external voices': To start with, we focus on the problems and solutions that are voiced by the journalist herself/himself alone. For the rare case that not a single problem or solution voiced by the journalist can be identified, we may code a problem voiced by a 'cited' external voice - if we can justifiably assume that the journalist agrees with this problem/solution voiced by somebody else.

If there are minor problems that all share/have the same cause, coder opens one problem, however if the coder encounters more than one cause then s/he is instructed to identify/open a new (another) problem.

2.1 Problem Definition

Instruction: Please briefly describe, what is the problem to be solved, according to the analysed article?

Variable	Values:
problem	Brief description of the problem defined by the author. [OPEN TEXT FIELD]

2.2 Frame (Problem)

Based on the frames identified in our frame analysis in Module 1, we code which framing does best fit the problem identified by the journalist/editor.

Instruction: Please code which of the following frames characterizes the problem defined by the journalist best:

Variable	Values:	
p_frame	Migrants are a threat to culture	1
	Migrants are a threat to health	2
	Migrations are a threat to social wellbeing	3
	Smugglers profit from migration	4
	Danger of mass migration (if none of the above)	5
	Migrants abuse the law	6
	Migrations are a threat to security	7
	NGOs' actions illegitimate	8
	Proponents of migration harm the interest of the population	9
	EU policies ineffective	10
	Government incompetent/harmful for the state	11
	Other countries actions against us	12
	Opposition incompetent	13
	Lack of comprehensive asylum legislation	14

Integration failures	15
Landowners harmed by border fence	16
Police and army overburdened	17
Shortage of specialized labour	18
Policy execution insufficient	19
Government not protecting refugees	20
Human rights, democracy and the rule of law are under threat	21
Militarization and securitization as inappropriate response	22
Militarization as inappropriate response	23
Legislation not protecting migrants	24
Legislation not protecting refugees	25
Legislation not protecting refugees and migrants	26
Migrants are instrumentalized or real problems are obscured	27
Other	28

When choosing category Other coders assign a subframe so that at the end we're able to devise main frames from the category Other.

2.3 Affective Communication (Problem)

For each communicated problem, we code how it is charged with affects. We're interested if and to what an extent commentaries exhibit affective communication and which distinct affects are used by journalists or commentators when discussing migration issues. Additionally, we are both interested in the social directionality of the affects and how they underpin the journalist's stance towards populism.

Therefore, we (1) first code whether the problem or solution is communicated using rhetoric that expresses or aims to evoke specific affects and specify the affect at hand. (2) We then code the social directionality of the affect, giving specific regard to the actors that underpin populist antagonisms (elite, 'the people', and migrants) and populist actors themselves.

2.3.1 Affect (Problem)

Here, we are interested in the specific affects underpinning the problem-definition offered by the journalist/commentator.

Instruction: Please code, whether the journalist/commentator expresses one of the following affects when discussing the coded problem or uses rhetoric that evokes or tries to evoke one of the following affects:

Variable		Values:
p_affect	Anger	anger
	Disgust	disgust
	Shame	shame
	Envy	envy

Fear, anxiety	fear
Distrust	distrust
Trust	trust
Empathy, compassion	empathy
Hope	hope
Love, affection	love
Other, or more than one affect (please specify in p_affect_txt)	other
No affect.	no

IF p_affect ≠ no

Instruction: If possible, provide a remarkable quote or illustrate how the journalist voices the coded affect. If you coded p_affect as “other”, please specify the affect with preferably one word and add some illustrating information if possible.

Variable	Values:
p_affect_txt	Brief illustration and/or quote of the voiced affect(s). [OPEN TEXT FIELD] If “other” affect was coded, please first specify the affect using a single word + add illustrating quotes.

2.3.2 Social Directionality of the Affect (Problem)

Here we ask whether the affect or emotion is directed towards a specific social actor. We group four actor categories in advance that are most important in the populist discourse (elites, ‘the people’, migrants) and in the discourse about populist actors (populist actors).

Here, “**elites**” refer to *any* “slim minority of power-holders” (Aslanidis 2018, 1255), including the incumbent government, whether it is depicted as corrupt and unaccountable or not.

‘The **people**’ are conceptualized as the “overwhelming majority” (Aslanidis 2018, 1255) of the population and can be referred to in a variety of ways, such as “‘(the) people’, ‘(the) public’, ‘(the) citizen(s)’, ‘(the) voter(s)’, ‘(the) taxpayer(s)’, ‘(the) resident(s)’, ‘(the) consumer(s)’ [...] [or] ‘(the) population’” (Jagers and Walgrave 2007, 323).

We do not code ‘others’ in the sense of ‘Othering’ here, since this would rule out positive affects towards this group and can be conflated with the open-coded category ‘other actors’. Instead, we ask to code whether the affect is directed towards the group that is central for Othering in the context of the migration discourse: **migrants**, asylum seekers and people that are perceived as foreigners.

“**Populist actors**”, here, refer to social actors that the journalist/commentator identifies as populist or something similar, e.g. “demagogue”.

Instruction: Please code, whether the affect that underpins the journalist’s problem definition is directed towards one of the following actor categories. If you have coded more than one affect in the previous variable, please use the open text field to specify which affect refers to which actor:

Variable		Values:
p_affect_dir	Elites	elite
	‘The people’	people
	Migrants, asylum seekers or people perceived as foreigners	migrants
	Populist actors	populists
	Other actors, please specify:	[OPEN TEXT FIELD]
	Affect is directed towards no identifiable actor.	no

2.4 Populism by and through the Media (Problem)

For each problem, we code how the media positions itself towards populist ideas and actors. Adopting a typology offered by Esser et al. (2017), we’re interested in capturing populism *by* the media and populism *through* the media.

The former refers to instances where journalists are the “initiators” (Wettstein et al. 2018, 479) and producers of populist messages, i.e. messages that contain one of the three antagonisms. The latter, populism through the media, refers to instances where journalists “opt for a more accommodative strategy by offering a platform” (de Jonge 2019, 194) for populist actors and their views (Mazzoleni 2003; Esser et al. 2017). Additionally, we are interested to capture, whether the journalist endorses the populist position or adapts a confrontational, critical stance (de Jonge 2019; Wettstein et al. 2018). Besides initiating, accommodating or confronting populism, the media can also opt for ignoring populist actors and views altogether, which de Jonge (2019, 193) calls a “demarcation” strategy.

To capture those positions, we first code each problem for populism by the media (1), for the presence of populist actors or ideas voiced by others in the opinion article (2), and for the evaluation of this populist actor or idea through the media (3).

2.4.1 Populism by the Media (Problem)

Here, we are interested in the media as initiators and producers of populist discourse – focusing on the problem definition here. This discourse is characterized by its construction of the three antagonisms *anti-elitism*, *people-centrism* (Mudde 2004; Rooduijn 2019, 364) and *Othering* (Reinemann et al. 2017).

Following the operational definition of Aslanidis (2018, 1255), **anti-elitist** discourse is defined as “[r]eferences against a slim minority of unaccountable power holders engaging in the misappropriation of popular sovereignty”. The so constructed elite can refer to different groups, such as political elites, the media, public administration, intellectuals, economic elites or remain entirely diffuse (Jagers and Walgrave 2007, 324). We count references to the incumbent government as anti-elitist only if government is depicted as corrupt or unaccountable to the peoples’ alleged will. Please note that is a narrower definition of elite than in the variable “p_affect_dir” coded above.

We conceptualize **people-centrism** as references to “an overwhelming majority” (Aslanidis 2018, 1255) of the population that stress virtuous characteristics of these ‘common people’, claim their role as “rightful political sovereigns within a given polity” (Aslanidis 2018, 1255) or construct them in any other way as laudable in-group.

‘The people’ are constructed as a homogeneous group by demarcating them from ‘**others**’ that are perceived as threatening (Reinemann 2017, 20; Jagers and Walgrave 2007, 324). This ‘others’ that are demarcated on a horizontal dimension may comprise of “ethnic, religious, or sexual minorities” (Reinemann 2017, 21). In the context of migration discourse, we expect that migrants, asylum seekers and people perceived as foreigners are the central reference point for this Othering antagonism.

Here, we only code antagonisms that are **voiced by the journalists** or editors independently of statements voiced by politicians or other actors – i.e. we are looking for the journalists’/commentators’ personal stances. It is not sufficient here, if the journalist/commentator only reaffirms a populist statement voiced by somebody else (this will be coded in the next two variables).

Instruction: Please code, whether the journalist/commentator voices one or more of the following populist antagonisms - independently from references to populist political actors - when discussing the coded problem. If possible, please identify one prevailing antagonism, if not, you may code multiple antagonisms as present.

Variable		Answer:	Values:
p_pop_bymed_ae	Anti-Elitism: Does the author voice any anti-elitist antagonisms?	Yes No	1 0
p_pop_bymed_pc	People-Centrism: Does the author voice any people-centric antagonisms?	Yes No	1 0
p_pop_bymed_ot	Othering: Does the author voice Othering antagonisms?	Yes No	1 0
p_pop_bymed_no	No Antagonism: If all three categories above were coded 0, please code this 1.	Yes No	1 0

IF p_pop_bymed_no = 0:

Instruction: If possible, provide a remarkable quote or illustrate how the journalist voices the coded antagonism(s):

Variable		Values:
p_pop_bymed_txt	Antagonism + Brief illustration and/or quote of the voiced antagonism(s).	[OPEN TEXT FIELD]

2.4.2 Presence of Populist Actors and Statements in the Media (Problem)

Here, we are interested in the media as a platform for populist actors or for populist ideas advocated by other actors. We refer to these other actors as “**external voices**”, thereby covering any discursive statements issued by any actors that are not directly associated with the media source analysed here. This includes discourse that cannot be assigned to a clearly identifiable actor (e.g. “the public thinks...”). Here, we ask (a) whether any populist ideas advocated by **external voices** are present in the problem definition of the journalist, or (b) whether the journalist speaks about populism as a political phenomenon more generally or (c) identifies specific actors as populists in the problem definition.

Instruction: Please code, whether the journalist’s problem definition refers to...
(You may code multiple variables = 1)

Variable		Answer:	Values:
p_pop_present_ae	...any statement or position voiced by external voices that contains anti-elitism.	Yes No	1 0
p_pop_present_pc	...any statement or position voiced by external voices that contains people-centrism.	Yes No	1 0
p_pop_present_ot	...any statement or position voiced by external voices that contains Othering.	Yes No	1 0
p_pop_present_ph	...populism as a phenomenon in politics more generally, without identifying specific actor as “populist”	Yes No	1 0
p_pop_present_ac	...a specific actor as “populist” (or similar, e.g. “demagogue”).	Yes No	1 0
p_pop_present_no	...none of the above.	Yes No	1 0

IF p_pop_present_no = 0:

Instruction: If possible, provide a brief illustration or remarkable quote how the journalist/commentator refers to the coded presence of populism by external voices. If the journalist/commentator identifies a specific actor as populist, please name that actor:

Variable		Values:
p_pop_present_txt	Brief illustration and/or quote of populism by externals present in the journalist’s/commentator’s sketch of the problem.	[OPEN TEXT FIELD]

2.4.3 Evaluation: Populism through the Media or Anti-Populism? (Problem)

Here, we are interested in the evaluation of populist actors or ideas through the media (in the journalist's/commentator's problem definition). We only code this category, if we identified populist actors or their views as present in the article by the previously coded variable.

IF p_pop_present_no = 0:

Instruction: Please code, how the journalist/commentator evaluates the populist phenomena coded present in the article in the previous variables:

Variable		Values:
p_pop_eval	Affirmative or accommodative	1
	Critical or confrontational	2
	Unable to decide.	0

3 Prognosis

The second half of the coding focuses on the media's prognosis, presenting an implicit or explicit solution of the problem coded above. The sensitizing questions here are: What needs to be done? What's the solution for the problem at hand? For each solution, we will code the same set of variables that we have coded for the problem, focusing on the solution definition, affective aspects and populist discourse.

3.1 Solution Definition

Instruction: Please briefly describe, which explicit or implicit solution does the article propose for the problem coded above?

Variable		Values:
solution	Brief description of the problem defined by the journalist/commentator.	[OPEN TEXT FIELD]

3.2 Frame (Solution)

Instruction: Please code which of the following frame names best characterizes the solution offered (explicitly or implicitly) by the journalist/commentator:

Variable		Values:
s_frame	Our people first	1
	Protection of our country	2
	Protection of our culture	3
	Protection of our people	4
	Protection of the border (militarization)	5
	Protection of the border (securitization and militarization)	6
	Protection of the border (securitization)	7
	Stop migrations	8
	Legal change for less rights	9
	Reduce migration	10
	Selection of migrants	11

Strict execution of the law	12
Strengthening the police	13
Strengthening the police and army	14
Actions against NGOs	15
Action at the EU level	16
International action to fight causes of flight	17
Actions in the countries of origin	18
Moderation and pragmatism	19
Compensation for the landowners	20
Improve administrative procedures	21
Improve integration measures	22
Comprehensive reform of asylum legislation	23
Social reforms	24
Humanitarianism	25
Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy	26
Protection of refugees	27
Protection of refugees and migrants	28
Other	29

3.2 Affective Communication and Populism (Solution)

For each communicated solution, we code how it is are charged with affects – mirroring the coding in the Diagnosis part.

3.2.1 Affect (Solution)

Here, we are interested in the specific affects underpinning the solution proposed by the journalist/commentator.

Instruction: Please code, whether the journalist expresses one of the following affects when discussing the coded solution or uses rhetoric that evokes or tries to evoke one of the following affects:

Variable		Values:
s_affect	Anger	anger
	Disgust	disgust
	Shame	shame
	Envy	envy
	Fear, anxiety	fear
	Distrust	distrust
	Trust	trust
	Empathy, compassion	empathy
	Hope	hope
	Love, affection	love
	Other, or more than one affect (please specify in p_affect_txt)	other
	No affect.	no

IF s_affect ≠ no

Instruction: If possible, provide a remarkable quote or illustrate how the journalist voices the coded affect. If you coded s_affect as “other”, please specify the affect with preferably one word and add some illustrating information if possible.

Variable		Values:
s_affect_txt	Brief illustration and/or quote of the voiced affect(s). If “other” affect was coded, please first specify the affect using a single word + add illustrating quotes.	[OPEN TEXT FIELD]

3.2.2 Social Directionality of the Affect (Solution)

Here we ask whether the affect or emotion is directed towards a specific social actor. For a clarification of the actor categories, please see section 2.3.2.

Instruction: Please code, whether the affect that underpins the journalist’s/commentator’s solution definition is directed towards one of the following actor categories. If you have coded more than one affect in the previous variable, please use the open text field to specify which affect refers to which actor:

Variable		Values:
s_affect_dir	Elites	elite
	‘The people’	people
	Migrants, asylum seekers or people perceived as foreigners	migrants
	Populist actors	populists
	Other actors, please specify: Affect is directed towards no identifiable actor.	[OPEN TEXT FIELD] no

3.3 Populism by and through the Media (Solution)

For each solution, we code how the media positions itself towards populist ideas and actors. The concepts and variables coded for the solution part mirror the variables of the problem part.

3.3.1 Populism by the Media (Solution)

Here, we are interested in the media as initiators and producers of populist discourse – focusing on the solution here. We only code antagonisms that are **voiced by the journalists**, editors or other commentators *independently* of statements voiced by other actors – i.e. we are analysing for the journalists’/commentators’ personal stances.

For a clarification of the antagonisms, please see section 2.4.1.

Instruction: Please code, whether the journalist/commentator voices one or more of the following populist antagonisms - independently from references to populist political actors - when discussing the coded solution. If possible, please identify one prevailing antagonism, if not, you may code multiple antagonisms as present.

Variable		Answer:	Values:
s_pop_bymed_ae	Anti-Elitism: Does the author voice any anti-elitist antagonisms?	Yes No	1 0
s_pop_bymed_pc	People-Centrism: Does the author voice any people-centric antagonisms?	Yes No	1 0
s_pop_bymed_ot	Othering: Does the author voice Othering antagonisms?	Yes No	1 0
s_pop_bymed_no	No Antagonism: If all three categories above were coded 0, please code this 1.	Yes No	1 0

IF s_pop_bymed_no = 0:

Instruction: If possible, provide a remarkable quote or illustrate how the journalist voices the coded antagonism(s):

Variable		Values:
s_pop_bymed_txt	Antagonism + Brief illustration and/or quote of the voiced antagonism(s).	[OPEN TEXT FIELD]

3.3.2 Presence of Populist Actors and Statements in the Media (Solution)

Here, we are interested in the media’s presented solutions as a platform for populist actors or for populist ideas advocated by other actors. We refer to these other actors as “**external voices**”.

For a clarification of the concepts, please see section 2.4.2.

Instruction: Please code, whether the journalist’s/commentator’s solution definition refers to...
(You may code multiple variables = 1)

Variable		Answer:	Values:
s_pop_present_ae	...any statement or position voiced by external voices that contains anti-elitism.	Yes No	1 0
s_pop_present_pc	...any statement or position voiced by external voices that contains people-centrism.	Yes No	1 0
s_pop_present_ot	...any statement or position voiced by external voices that contains Othering.	Yes No	1 0
s_pop_present_ph	...populism as a phenomenon in politics more generally, without identifying specific actor as “populist”	Yes No	1 0
s_pop_present_ac	...a specific actor as “populist” (or similar, e.g. “demagogue”).	Yes No	1 0

s_pop_present_no	...none of the above.	Yes	1
		No	0

IF s_pop_present_no = 0:

Instruction: If possible, provide a brief illustration or remarkable quote how the journalist refers to the coded presence of populism by external voices. If the journalist identifies a specific actor as populist, please name that actor:

Variable		Values:
s_pop_present_txt	Brief illustration and/or quote of populism by externals present in the journalist's sketch of the solution.	[OPEN TEXT FIELD]

3.3.3 Evaluation: Populism through the Media or Anti-Populism? (Solution)

Here, we are interested in the evaluation of populist actors or ideas through the media (in the journalist's solution definition). We only code this category, if we identified populist actors or their views as present in the article by the previously coded variable.

IF s_pop_present_no = 0:

Instruction: Please code, how the journalist/commentator evaluates the populist phenomena coded present in the article in the previous variables:

Variable		Values:
s_pop_eval	Affirmative or accommodative	1
	Critical or confrontational	2
	Unable to decide.	0

Reliability test - Opinion press analysis

In order to ensure consistency and comparability of the coding, we conduct a reliability check comprising two steps: The first check (a) aims to establish comparability while the second step (b) aims to ensure inter-coder reliability for the research team.

For performing step one (a), we use 4 opinion articles from the English newspapers *The Guardian* and *The Sun*. The selection criteria for the articles remain the same as for our sample: Opinion articles on migration, asylum or border issues, published by one quality and one tabloid newspaper in one of the timeframes selected for our analysis.

First, two of these four articles are parallel-coded along the coding instructions provided above by two researchers who are responsible for the teaching of the research coding team. The coding results will be compared based on an interpretative basis. Due to the qualitative nature of our coding, establishing reliability by calculated measurements is not an option.

If the coding is sufficiently comparable – most importantly with regard to the identification of the units of analysis and the coding of central categories – the schooling of the coders can start. If the results are not sufficiently matching, the researchers will clarify ambiguities in a Skype meeting and refine the coding instructions if necessary. In this case, we will use the remaining two articles from the English press to have a b) second round of reliability coding on researcher-level. The assessment of this round will be the same as for the previous round and will be iterated if necessary.

Literature

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