Appendix C: Codebook Content analysis

The coding, as with the coding of the causal reports, was performed through an Access form. Again, the key reason for this decision was the lower amount of errors made, and speeding up the coding process. Figure C-1 shows the coding form that was used. The numbers indicate the sequence that had to be run through for each article that was to be coded. Prior to that, however, coders had to decide whether the article had to be coded, or not.

C.1 - Selecting which articles must be coded.

All articles expect those listed below must be coded, as well as any political advertisements. Articles that must not be coded are:

- Articles in the Sports, Celebrity, Weather, Local, and Weekend sections.
- Articles that only deal with celebrity news.
- Non-political advertising.
- Letters from readers (note: opinion pieces in De Standaard are *not* letters from readers, and must be coded!).
- Cartoons with no accompanying text.

Large articles consisting of several sub-articles should be split up, and each sub-article has to be coded separately.

C.2 - Step 1: Article characteristics.

First, the date of the newspaper must be added, as well as the newspaper title and the number of the page the article appears on.

The 'Reference on front page' checkbox is used to indicate whether articles further in the newspaper were referred to on the front page. If the front page contains a reference to an article further in the newspaper (e.g. *'Exclusive interview with Dewever on p5'*, you code that article before moving on to the following page. In the example, the page number of the article will be 5, but you mark the 'reference on front page' checkbox. If the reference contained a picture, mark the 'picture?' checkbox as well.
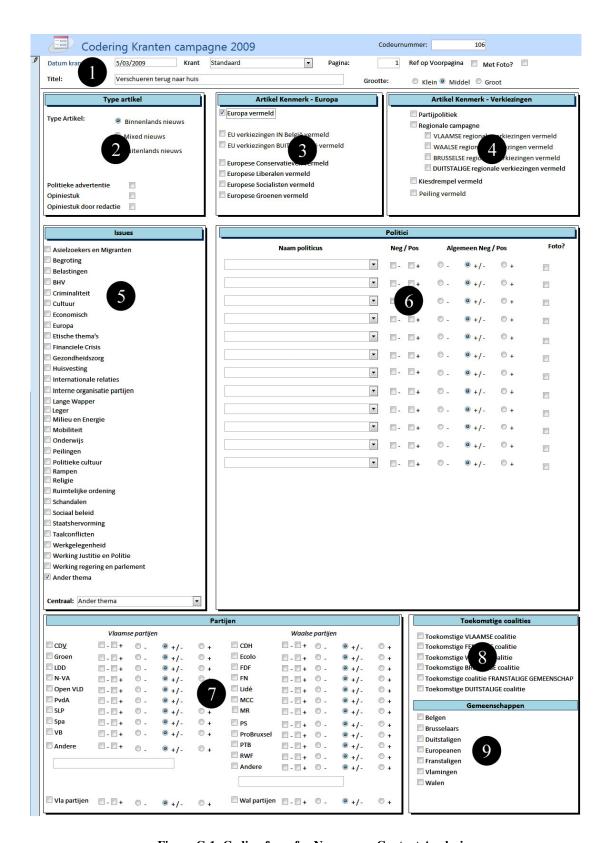
Codering Kranten campagne 2009

Codeurnummer: 106

Datum kran... 5/03/2009   Krant: Standaard   Pagina: 1   Ref op Voorpagina ☐   Met Foto? ☐

Titel: Verschueren terug naar huis   Grootte: ○ Klein ● Middel ○ Groot

Type artikel

Type Artikel:
● Binnenlands nieuws
○ Mixed nieuws
○ Buitenlands nieuws

Politieke advertentie ☐
Opiniestuk ☐
Opiniestuk door redactie ☐

Artikel Kenmerk - Europa

☑ Europa vermeld

☐ EU verkiezingen IN België vermeld
☐ EU verkiezingen BUIT... ...e vermeld

☐ Europese Conservatieven vermeld
☐ Europese Liberalen vermeld
☐ Europese Socialisten vermeld
☐ Europese Groenen vermeld

Artikel Kenmerk - Verkiezingen

☐ Partijpolitiek
☐ Regionale campagne
  ☐ VLAAMSE regional... ...rkiezingen vermeld
  ☐ WAALSE region... ...zingen vermeld
  ☐ BRUSSELSE regio... ...rkiezingen vermeld
  ☐ DUITSTALIGE regionale verkiezingen vermeld
☐ Kiesdrempel vermeld
☐ Peiling vermeld

Issues

☐ Asielzoekers en Migranten
☐ Begroting
☐ Belastingen
☐ BHV
☐ Criminaliteit
☐ Cultuur
☐ Economisch
☐ Europa
☐ Etische thema's
☐ Financiele Crisis
☐ Gezondheidszorg
☐ Huisvesting
☐ Internationale relaties
☐ Interne organisatie partijen
☐ Lange Wapper
☐ Leger
☐ Milieu en Energie
☐ Mobiliteit
☐ Onderwijs
☐ Peilingen
☐ Politieke cultuur
☐ Rampen
☐ Religie
☐ Ruimtelijke ordening
☐ Schandalen
☐ Sociaal beleid
☐ Staatshervorming
☐ Taalconflicten
☐ Werkgelegenheid
☐ Werking Justitie en Politie
☐ Werking regering en parlement
☑ Ander thema

Centraal: Ander thema

Politici

Naam politicus	Neg / Pos	Algemeen Neg / Pos	Foto?
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐
	☐ - ☐ +	○ - ● +/- ○ +	☐

Partijen

Vlaamse partijen

	-	+			
☐ CDV	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ Groen	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ LDD	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ N-VA	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ Open VLD	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ PvdA	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ SLP	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ Spa	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ VB	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ Andere	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +

Waalse partijen

☐ CDH	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ Ecolo	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ FDF	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ FN	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ Lidé	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ MCC	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ MR	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ PS	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ ProBruxsel	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ PTB	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ RWF	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +
☐ Andere	☐ - ☐ +	○ -	● +/-	○ +

☐ Vla partijen ☐ - ☐ + ○ - ● +/- ○ +

☐ Wal partijen ☐ - ☐ + ○ - ● +/- ○ +

Toekomstige coalities

☐ Toekomstige VLAAMSE coalitie
☐ Toekomstige FE... ...coalitie
☐ Toekomstige V... ...alitie
☐ Toekomstige BR... ...E coalitie
☐ Toekomstige coalitie FRANSTALIGE GEMEENSCHAP
☐ Toekomstige DUITSTALIGE coalitie

Gemeenschappen

☐ Belgen
☐ Brusselaars
☐ Duitstaligen
☐ Europeanen
☐ Franstaligen
☐ Vlamingen
☐ Walen

Figure C-1: Coding form for Newspaper Content Analysis.

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For the article size, use a sheet of A4 paper to determine whether the article is large, medium, or small in size (take pictures into account when determining article size):

Newspaper	Instructions
Laatste Nieuws	- Article larger than an A4 paper folded in TWO: LARGE - Article smaller than an A4 paper folded in TWO, but larger than an A4 folded in FOUR: MEDIUM - Article smaller than an A4 paper folded in FOUR: SMALL
Standaard	- Article larger than an A4 paper folded in FOUR: LARGE - Article smaller than an A4 paper folded in FOUR, but larger than an A4 folded in EIGHT: MEDIUM - Article smaller than an A4 paper folded in EIGHT: SMALL
Le Soir	- Article larger than an A4 paper folded in FOUR: LARGE - Article smaller than an A4 paper folded in FOUR, but larger than an A4 folded in EIGHT: MEDIUM - Article smaller than an A4 paper folded in EIGHT: SMALL
La Derniere Heure	- Article larger than an A4 paper folded in TWO: LARGE - Article smaller than an A4 paper folded in TWO, but larger than an A4 folded in FOUR: MEDIUM - Article smaller than an A4 paper folded in FOUR: SMALL

Table C-1: Instructions for coding Article Size.

C.3 - Step 2: Determining type of article

Next, you assess the type of article through several variables:

[1] Foreign news – Mixed news - Domestic news

- *Domestic news:* article that is almost exclusively about Belgium. For example, an article about a crime in a Belgian community; or an article about Opel Antwerp, in which a German factory is mentioned only in three sentences.

- *Foreign news:* article in which Belgium or any Belgian actors (companies or people) are almost never mentioned. E.g. An article about the American invasion in Iraq.

- *Mixed news:* article about foreign news in which Belgian actors (companies or people) are prominently featured. E.g. an article about the visit of Charles Michel to Congo, or an article about a Belgian company in the United States).

Depending on whether the article is foreign news or not, the coding procedure is slightly different.

Domestic news	Mixed News	Foreign news
Follow the entire procedure described below.	Fill out the 'country' field. Follow the entire procedure described below.	Fill out the 'country' field. Code EU references. Indicate which ISSUES are mentioned.

Table C-2: Procedural differences for Domestic / Mixed / Foreign News Articles.

[2] Opinion pieces and political ads

If the article is an Opinion piece, indicate this using the dummy. If the opinion piece was written by someone of the newspaper, indicate this using the dummy as well.

If the article is a political ad, indicate this using the dummy. Political ads are ads by political parties. Ads for VAA's, or by the newspapers themselves, are *not* to be coded.

C.4 - Step 3: coding EU references

Using the checkboxes, indicate whether Europe is mentioned, and if so whether the EP elections or European party families are mentioned.

- **Europe:** indicate whether Europe or the EU is mentioned or not.

- **European elections:** if the article mentions European elections within Belgium / in another country, indicate this using the checkboxes.

- **European party families:** indicate whether any of the European party families (Conservatives, Socialists, Liberals, Greens) are mentioned.

C.5 - Step 4: coding references to Politics or the Regional elections

- **Political news:** if the topic of the article is on party politics in general.

- **Regional Campaign news:** if the topic of the article is on the regional electoral campaign (e.g. referring to 7th of June, the elections, and so on). If possible, indicate the specific election (Flemish / Walloon / Brussels / Germanophone / European).

- **Poll:** if the article refers to, or mentions a poll, indicate this using the dummy.

- **Vote Threshold:** if the article refers to, or mentions the 5 per cent voting threshold, indicate this using the dummy.

C.6 - Step 5: coding Issues

Coding issues is a crucial, but difficult step in the coding of the article. For each issue type, we have come up with a list of possible indicators, but you will often have to rely on your own judgment as it is impossible to devise a comprehensive list.

In order for an issue to be marked, a mere 'mention' is not enough: if, for example, there is a brief reference to education in one sentence, this in itself is not enough for education to be marked. Only if the issue is mentioned several times in the article, it is coded as such.

[1] Asylum seekers and immigrants

Asylum, asylum procedures, (illegal) immigrants, housing for immigrants, legislation on asylum seekers, asylum procedure.

Racism is often coded under this category, but if the article deals with a conviction, it must be coded as crime as well.

[2] Budget

The federal / regional budget, budget negotiations, negative budget, … .

[Note: fiscal policy is coded under both budget *and* taxes]

[3] Taxes

Fraud is coded under crime. Increasing / decreasing taxes. Tax reduction, harmonization of taxes, … .

[Note: fiscal policy is coded under both budget *and* taxes]

[4] BHV

The splitting of Brussel-Halle-Vilvoorde, the failed attempts to do so, or any future endeavors on this issue.

[5] Crime

Any type of illegal activity: corruption, fraud, arson, vandalism, theft, murder, stalking, robbery, *prison escape*. HOWEVER: if the topic of the article is on the way police and justice handle these things, it must be coded as 'Justice & Police'.

[Note: international terrorism must be coded under Crime *and* International Relations]

[6] Culture

Cultural policy, funding for the opera / theatre, protests by the cultural sector, movie premieres, movie reviews, Tom Lanoie who attacked the new minister of culture, … .

[7] Economic Policy

Deregulation, protectionism, economical planning, regional development, KMO, self-employed policy, night shops.

[8] Europe

European policy, European institutions, expansion of Europe, European legislation / regulation, …

[9] Ethical issues

Abortion, death penalty, euthanasia, … .

[10]   Financial crisis

The financial crisis, aids for the banks, fortis, dexia, fortis commission, … .

[11]   Health policy

Food regulations, hormones, health care, mental health care, food poisoning, hospital policy, homeopathic medicine, … .

[12]   Housing

Housing, social housing, assignment of social housing, renting, costs of the *notaries*, *leegstand*.

[13]   International relations / policy

VN, UNAIDS, OESO, NATO (non European). Diplomatic relations of Belgium with another country, scientific exchanges, Interpol. Economic Relations, free trade, … .

Wars, war in Iraq / Afghanistan, … .

[Note: leaders visiting the Pope are coded as IR *and* Religion]

[Note: international terrorism must be coded under Crime *and* International Relations]

[14]   Internal organization of parties

List formation, power struggles within parties, election of chairman, party congresses, … . Most of the electoral news should be coded using this category, since it often deals with parties that are campaigning in a way – be it by giving interviews, … .

[15]   Lange wapper

BAM, construction plans on the viaduct, protests in Deurne / Merksem, Ademloos or any other action groups, … .

[16]   Army

Army recruiting, army policy, detachment of soldiers to Irak, closing of *kazernes*, … .

Note that the 'war in Irak' in general is coded under 'international relations'. This category only pertains to the Belgian army policy.

[17]   Environmental policy and energy

Waist control, soil, mineral reserves, acid rain, toxics, ozone layer, climate change, deforestation, protected animals, environmental disasters. Energy policy, nuclear power plants, windmill parks, oil, electricity, … .

[18]   Mobility

Traffic jams, speed regulations, cars, technical checkup, car registration. Transport of dangerous substances, airlines, ports, NMBS, De Lijn, traffic accidents.

[19]   Education

Diploma's, education, courses, school regulation, savings in education in general (basic / high schools / universities / …). Extraordinary education, technical / professional education. Post-universitary education. Public versus private schools, Steiner schools, the exams at universities.

[20]   Political culture

Political morality, depolitisation, political responsibility, new public management, political renewal, cumulation of political mandates, the wages of ministers and MPs, constituency service, political deflections (LDD – Open VLD), … .

[21]   Disasters

Tsunami, earthquakes, hurricanes, airplane crashes, … .

[22]   Religion

Islam, *hoofddoeken-debat,* influence of the church on the state, …

[Note: leaders visiting the Pope are coded as IR *and* Religion]

[23]   Spatial structuring (Town & Country planning)

Rural / urban regions, project development, prices of housing / apartments / land, *uitdieping Westerschelde*, … .

[24]   Political Scandals

Agusta / Dassault, Public markets, bribe, conflict of interests between public mandate and private business, etc. examples: Donfut, Charleri, Lizin, Fournaux, etc.

[25]   Social policy

Social security, social inequality, aging of the population, mortality / birth rate, facilities for disabled or older people, protection of children, well being, social services, social burdens, social security benefits, maternity leave, … . Family policy

[26]   State reform

Reform of the state, transfer of competences to the regional / federal level, special majorities required for a state reform, …

[27]   Linguistic Issues

Conflicts between the French-speaking and Flemish-speaking.

[28]   Employment policy

Dismissions, pensions, collective dismissions, employment policy, creating employment, unemployment, hidden unemployment, long-term unemployment, VDAB, labor market, interim agencies, social dialogue, unions, strikes, … .

[29]   Justice and police

Judicial reform, cost of being represented in court, lawyers, reform of police, Octopus agreement, malfunctioning of police / justice, firefighters and civil protection.

[30]   Government and parliament

Question hour in parliament, announcements by the prime minister, acts of government, … .

[31]   Other

If (and only if) you cannot code the article on any of the previous codes, use this. Provide a good description of the issue in the textbox provided.

-    Fait Divers: a mountainbiker that is climbing all stairs in the Cathedral of Antwerp, … small and random news items.

-    Royals: purely about the royal family

-    Accidents: an accident while working, a fire in a house, a water leak, … .

-    Electoral news: news that is about the elections, but cannot be attributed to any party. For example, the voting preference of a famous person, … .

Special cases

-    Religious Terrorism: to be coded as both religion and crime.

Central topic

As a final step, the central topic of the article must be coded.

C.7 - Step 6: coding Politicians

Up to 12 politicians can be coded. A list with the most famous politicians is provided, but if the politician is not in the list, write down the name of the candidate as follows:

Last Name First name (Party)

For example: De Gucht Jean-Jacques (Open VLD) / Janssens Rudy (Sp.a) / …

Furthermore, for each politician you indicate whether he is mentioned in a positive, neutral, or negative way:

- The first two dummies are used to indicate whether ANY negative / positive mentions are made.

- The final scale is used to measure the *overall* tone. When the tone is unclear, simply use the neutral category.

Though difficult, the easiest way of coding tone is asking the question: **is this article good or bad news for the politician?**

Examples of negative mentions:

An article that is clearly critical of a politician ('Marianne Thyssen looks and acts like a tired teacher' (Laatste Nieuws 2nd of June).

An article in which the electoral score of a politician is said to be diminishing ('Anciaux's happy days are over', 'Voters do not believe in Van Mechelen as a minster-president', …).

Articles that blame politicians, associate them in a negative way with scandals ('Dedecker: driven by resentment', 'Turtelboom does not have what it takes').

Examples of positive mentions:

Generally speaking, any political add will mention the politician in a positive tone (note

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that other politicians / parties may be attacked in the add, resulting in a negative mention).

Articles in which the electoral score of a politician is said to be on the rise ('Majority of voters wants Kris Peeters for another term', 'Dewever's on the rise').

Generally positive articles towards politicians: 'Gennez burst out in tears on the SP.A meeting, and her tears seemed to be genuine', 'Jean-Jacques De Gucht has the looks and appeal of a politician on the rise. Perhaps this is the white rabbit the liberals have been waiting for?'.

If a politician is depicted in a photograph, mark the 'photo' checkbox.

C.8 - Step 7: coding Parties

The following variables are indicators of whether or not a *party* is mentioned. E.g. 'CD&V is looking to gain a large percentage of votes in the upcoming election'. If the party name is mentioned following a politicians' name, it does *not* count.

If you use the 'other party', fill out the party name in the provided textbox.

Tone: use the same criteria as you did for the politician tone coding. Again, when the tone is unclear, use the middle category.

C.9 - Step 8: coding mentions of future coalitions

This is broad: from mentions of 'being in the middle of the bed' to 'Olive coalition in the making'.

C.10 - Step 9: coding mentions of communities