Research Project "Media Performance and Democracy": Extract from Codebook

Coding of Value Frames

The aim is to code the basic value frames from which a given topic is evaluated in the statement(s) of the respective actor or which guiding principle is expressed in it (i.e., what is important in politics / what is the evaluative standard for 'good politics'?).

Analytical unit: The coding of the variable concerns the *statements* of a specific actor. This refers to all statements that can be assigned to this actor within the entire article.

Value frames can be expressed along three main axes of conflict (so-called cleavages). Each cleavage represents an axis with two opposing poles:
1. Market Liberalism vs. Welfare State Orientation
2. Libertarianism vs. Authoritarianism
3. Demarcation vs. Integration

Coders determine whether or to what extent these three basic conflicts are evident in the statement(s) of an actor, that is, whether they function as a frame of reference for the actor's evaluation of the topic. The presence of value frames should always be evaluated within the context of the coded topic; statements on other (secondary) topics are ignored.

Based on the statements made by the actor or attributed to them, coders decide for each cleavage whether, and if yes, how it appears in the statements. This is measured using a three-level scale in which the respective opposing poles represent the extremes (Code 1, Code 3). If the statements are ambivalent (balanced position of the actor), the middle value (Code 2) of the scale is coded. If the actor contradicts a value frame in their statement (e.g., the actor evaluates a pure market orientation as negative), the opposite pole of the conflict axis (here, welfare state orientation) is coded. If a cleavage is not reflected in the statement, the code 0 is assigned.

The political position of an actor is sometimes expressed along more than one cleavage. Accordingly, these statements should be assigned to more than one axis of conflict. Thus, the advocacy of international trade agreements (e.g., the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, TTIP) can be assigned to 'market liberalism' as well as to 'integration.' In contrast, the slogan "America first," for example, combines the perspective of 'market liberalism' with that of 'demarcation.'

A value frame should be coded only if it is clearly identifiable in the actor's statement(s). Value framing can be carried out by:

- *Evaluations*: Certain measures (and their consequences) or actual conditions are advocated by a certain perspective, and political deficits are criticized. In the context of the 'Diesel scandal' or other environmental scandals, for example, the 'market liberalism' frame could critically emphasize that companies are controlled and regulated too strictly. Frequently, an evaluation is also implicitly associated with a policy demand.
- *Claims*: A target state is called for that corresponds to the guideline of a value frame. A market-oriented frame is expressed, for example, by the demand for stronger support for domestic industries or to grant more freedom to commercial enterprises.

For the coding of value frames, it must be evident from which perspective a topic is assessed. If this is not clearly recognizable, a value frame is not coded. Value frames or the corresponding cleavages are not coded if:

- Keywords are merely mentioned (e.g., for the coding of 'market liberalism,' it is not sufficient that the keywords 'the market' or 'tax reduction' occur). Even the statement "We need a tax cut" is not sufficient to identify the perspective of 'market liberalism.' In contrast, the statement "We need a tax cut so that people consume more, and the economy recovers again" expresses that the evaluative perspective is 'market liberalism' (here, a functioning economy is the ultimate goal).
- Statements contain a purely factual presentation of certain aspects, even if this is done very extensively. If, for example, an actor describes (without explicitly addressing values) how a particular car company reacts to the 'Diesel scandal' or what consequences the scandal has for the car industry, it is not possible to assess what the actor regards as standards of good politics.

VAR1: Cleavage 1: Market Liberalism vs. Welfare State Orientation

Value frame	Description
Market liberalism	Guiding principle: *Individual pursuit of economic success*. Economic measures and policies are assessed via their ability to improve the conditions of business activities and thus, for growth. Market regulation is rejected. Social and labor-related policies, especially their costs, are seen as a risk to economic success. Social, educational, environmental, research-, and technology-related policies are evaluated in terms of their importance for the location of business and their role in boosting economic growth. Policy measures are additionally judged on their ability to reward individual efforts, which are seen as the reason for success (achievement orientation). Fiscal policies should prevent or reduce taxes, as deductions from privately generated wealth. Monetary policies are seen as potential risks to the stability of the value of monetary assets (e.g., pursuing a balanced budget, reducing public debt).
Welfare state orientation	Guiding principle: *Participation of all members of society* in economic welfare and social and cultural life. Restrictive regulation of private business activities and policy measures should compensate for economic disadvantages to ensure the well-being of all members of society. Economic policies and measures should guarantee the welfare of all members of society regarding social security, the environment, access to education, etc. Policies related to employment, social welfare, education, etc., should extend social participation and enable dignified living conditions. Fiscal policies should be based on social solidarity to share burdens. In budgetary policies, the capacity of the welfare state to act has priority.

Coding examples:

- "The ruling coalition distributes many social benefits, but does not provide enough for the economic future of our country." → Market liberalism as the frame of reference
- "We must promote the economy, but not at any price. We should not lose sight of ordinary people, and we must ensure that everyone can lead a decent life." → Balanced position
- "Rents in the free housing market are exploding. The average earner can hardly afford an apartment in the city for themselves and their family anymore. The state needs to do more for affordable housing." → Welfare state orientation as the frame of reference

0	No reference to market liberalism or a welfare state orientation
1	Market liberalism as the frame of reference
2	Balanced position: Combination of a market-liberal and a welfare state-oriented perspective
3	Welfare state orientation as the frame of reference

VAR2: Cleavage 2: Libertarianism vs. Authoritarianism

Value frame	Description
Libertarianism	Guiding principle: *Respect for the freedom and self-determination of the individual.* Policy measures in various areas of social life, justice, education, social policy, etc., are assessed regarding the right to individual self-determination. A further guiding aspect is the right to democratic participation. In the fight against crime, prevention is central. Judicial, legal, and security-related policy measures are evaluated regarding universal freedom rights. Respect for the human rights of all human beings (universalistic interpretation of civil rights) forms the basis for political commonality with others.
Authoritarianism	Guiding principle: *Respect for order and traditions of decency.* Political measures should guarantee the integrity of the legal order. Judicial, legal, and security-related policy measures should enable the unchallenged enforcement of this order. Respect for traditional notions of a decent life are praised: respect for hierarchies and authorities, self-discipline and a sense of duty, traditional ways of life, especially in the family, etc. Social and political processes should contribute to the general recognition and implementation of traditional morality. The basis for legitimate membership in society is a moral community based on tradition and genealogy.

Coding examples:

- "Same-sex partnerships should receive the same legal status as heterosexual partnerships." → Libertarianism as the frame of reference
- "The protection of privacy from state surveillance is part of our liberal society. However, respect for the victims of crimes also requires that law enforcement has the necessary powers to take transgressors into custody." → Balanced position
- "The crucifix is a symbol of our Bavarian culture. Whoever wants to live here must respect this." → Authoritarianism as the frame of reference

0	No reference to libertarianism or authoritarianism
1	Libertarianism as the frame of reference
2	Balanced position: Association of a libertarian and an authoritarian perspective
3	Authoritarianism as the frame of reference

VAR3: Cleavage 3: Integration vs. Demarcation

Value frame	Description
Integration	Guiding principle: Problems and conflicts are solved through *cooperation and compromise*.
	Domestic policies should be based on acceptance of the coexistence of cultures and ethnic groups, and enable social progress. This includes openness to immigration. Democracy and human rights, which are to be realized irrespective of origin and religion, are regarded as the basis of political communities.
	In all areas of politics, cooperation between regions and nations is regarded as the preferred way to solve problems. Social processes and political measures should contribute to deepening cooperation across borders. If necessary, this includes the willingness to strengthen the partners of cooperation with resources and by making concessions.
	In foreign policy, the search for peaceful forms of conflict resolution and international cooperation are maxims of good politics.
Demarcation	Guiding principle: Problems and conflicts are managed by the people uniting and the *nation standing its ground against adversaries*.
	The political community is understood as a fighting unit that needs to establish its national unity internally and assert its interests externally. The presence of foreigners is considered a problem and a weakening of society. Processes in society and politics should help ward off immigration and exclude immigrants.
	Cultural and political processes should contribute to establishing identification with the nation. A coherent national identity is inherent to all members of the nation through their genealogy, and the in-group, therefore, is fundamentally different from others. Social, cultural, and political processes should strengthen this homogeneous national identity.
	In foreign relations, social, economic, and political processes should contribute to regaining national sovereignty in decision-making and asserting nationally defined interests and rights against foreign countries.

Coding examples:

- "We need stronger international cooperation in the fight against poverty in developing countries." → Integration as the frame of reference
- "We have a big heart, but our capabilities to host refugees are limited." → Balanced position
- "Islam is not a part of our country." → Demarcation as the frame of reference

0   No reference to integration or demarcation
1   Integration as the frame of reference
2   Balanced position: Association of an integrative and a demarcating perspective
3   Demarcation as the frame of reference