

Online appendix

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(1) List of documents coded for the empirical analysis

a) European Council conclusions

European Council. (2019a). *European Council (Art. 50) meeting (13 December 2019) – Conclusions*. EUCO XT 20027/19. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/41796/13-euco-art50-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2019b). *European Council meeting (12 December 2019) – Conclusions*. EUCO 29/19. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/41768/12-euco-final-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2019c). *European Council meeting (17 and 18 October 2019) – Conclusions*. EUCO 23/19. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/41123/17-18-euco-final-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2020a). *European Council meeting (10 and 11 December 2020) – Conclusions*. EUCO 22/20. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/47296/1011-12-20-euco-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2020b). *European Council meeting (15 and 16 October 2020) – Conclusions*. EUCO 15/20. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/46341/1516-10-20-euco-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2020c). *Special meeting of the European Council (1 and 2 October 2020) – Conclusions*. EUCO 13/20. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/45910/021020-euco-final-conclusions.pdf>

European Council. (2020d). *Special meeting of the European Council (17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 July 2020) – Conclusions*. EUCO 10/20. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/45109/210720-euco-final-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2021a). *European Council meeting (16 December 2021) – Conclusions*. EUCO 22/21. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/53575/20211216-euco-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2021b). *European Council meeting (21 and 22 October 2021) – Conclusions*. EUCO 17/21. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/52622/20211022-euco-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2021c). *European Council meeting (24 and 25 June 2021) – Conclusions*. EUCO 07/21. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/50763/2425-06-21-euco-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2021d). *Special meeting of the European Council (24 and 25 May 2021) – Conclusions*. EUCO 05721. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/49791/2425-05-21-euco-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2022a). *European Council meeting (15 December 2022) – Conclusions*. EUCO 34/22. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/60872/2022-12-15-euco-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2022b). *European Council meeting (20 and 21 October 2022) – Conclusions*. EUCO 31/22. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/59728/2022-10-2021-euco-conclusions-en.pdf>

European Council. (2022c). *European Council meeting (23 and 24 June 2022) – Conclusions*. EUCO 24/22.

European Council. (2022d). *European Council meeting (24 and 25 March 2022) – Conclusions*. EUCO 01/22. <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-1-2022-INIT/en/pdf>

European Council. (2022e). *Special meeting of the European Council (24 February 2022) – Conclusions*. EUCO 18/22. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/54495/st00018-en22.pdf>

European Council. (2022f). *Special meeting of the European Council (30 and 31 May 2022) – Conclusions*. EUCO 21/22. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/56562/2022-05-30-31-euco-conclusions.pdf>

European Council. (2023a). *European Council meeting (23 March 2023) – Conclusions*. EUCO 04/23. <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-4-2023-INIT/en/pdf>

European Council. (2023b). *European Council meeting (29 and 30 June 2023) – Conclusions*. EUCO 07/23. <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-7-2023-INIT/en/pdf>

European Council. (2023c). *Special meeting of the European Council (9 February 2023) – Conclusions*. EUCO 01/23. <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-1-2023-INIT/en/pdf>

b) European Commission: Annual Work Programs

European Commission. (2020a). *Commission Work Programme 2020: A Union that strives for more*. COM (2020) 37 final. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:7ae642ea-4340-11ea-b81b-01aa75ed71a1.0002.02/DOC_1&format=PDF

European Commission. (2020b). *Commission Work Programme 2021: A Union of vitality in a world of fragility*. COM (2020) 690 final. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:91ce5c0f-12b6-11eb-9a54-01aa75ed71a1.0001.02/DOC_1&format=PDF

European Commission. (2021). *Commission work programme 2022: Making Europe stronger together*. COM (2021) 645 final. https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-01/cwp2022_en.pdf

European Commission. (2022). *Commission work programme 2023: A Union standing firm and united*. COM (2022) 548 final. https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2022-10/cwp_2023.pdf

c) Communications issued by the European Commission

European Commission. (2019). *The European Green Deal*. COM (2019) 640 final, Brussels, 11.12.2019. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:b828d165-1c22-11ea-8c1f-01aa75ed71a1.0002.02/DOC_1&format=PDF

European Commission. (2020c). *Europe's moment: Repair and Prepare for the Next Generation*. COM (2020) 456 final, Brussels, 27.5.2020. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020DC0456>

European Commission. (2022). *REPowerEU Plan*. COM (2022) 230 final, Brussels, 18.5.2022. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:fc930f14-d7ae-11ec-a95f-01aa75ed71a1.0001.02/DOC_1&format=PDF

(2) Dictionary of keywords / word combinations used for automated coding

Thematic category	Green transition (15 keywords)	Competitiveness (15 keywords)	Green recovery (15 keywords)	Security (20 keywords)
Keywords / word combinations used for coding	green deal climate change renewable energy just transition sustainable dev'mt clean energy paris agreement biodiversity loss climate ambition growth strategy energy transition ecosystem ecological decarbonisation climate-neutral	single market digital transition digital age artificial intell'gce energy price capital market digital transf'mtn economic gov'ce digital service electricity market financial system growth goal energy market industrial strategy competitiveness	next generation world health health crisis resilience facility investment recovery investment bank pandemic covid-19 vaccine grant investeu ngeu nextgenerationeu rrf	food security critical raw peace facility russian fossil strategic autonomy natural gas global food military aggression territorial integrity critical infrastr'tre russian aggression strongly condemn energy platform ukraine security russia defence diversify supply cybersecurity geopolitical

(3) Rankings of most frequently coded keywords / word combinations from dictionary

European Council conclusions

	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	ALL
1st	Climate neutrality	Investment	Security	Ukraine	Ukraine	Ukraine
2nd	Investment	Security	Vaccine	Russia	Russia	Russia
3rd	Climate Change	Covid-19	Resilience	Security	Security	Security
4th	Security	Resilience	Russia	Defence	Defence	Investment
5th	Just Transition	Recovery	Covid-19	resilience	Investment	Defence
6th	Paris Agreement	NGEU	Pandemic	Investment	Single Market	Resilience
7th	Competitiveness	pandemic	World Health	Single Market	Competitiveness	Single Market
8th	Green Transition	Single Market	Defence	Food Security	Sustainable	Covid-19
9th	Investeu	Sustainable	Grant	Sustainable	Resilience	Competitiveness
10th	Climate-neutral	Defence	Recovery	Military aggression	Food Security	Sustainable

Commission Annual Work Programs

	2020	2021	2022	2023	ALL
1st	Sustainable	Recovery	Sustainable	Security	Sustainable
2nd	Security	Sustainable	Security	Sustainable	Security
3rd	Green Deal	Pandemic	Pandemic	Ukraine	Investment
4th	Investment	Green Deal	Recogery	Single Market	Green Deal
5th	Single Market	Investment	Covid-19	Investment	Single Market
6th	Digital Age	Security	Green Deal	Russia	recovery
7th	Cybersecurity	Resilience	Resilience	Defence	Pandemic
8th	Artificial Intelligence	NextgenerationEU	Digital age	Recovery	Resilience
9th	Just Transition	Digital Transition	Single Market	Resilience	Digital Age
10th	Ecological	Green transition	Investment	Competitiveness	Ukraine

Commission Policy Documents

	EGD	NextGenEU	REPowerEU	ALL
1st	Sustainable	Recovery	Investment	Investment
2nd	investment	Investment	Russia	Sustainable
3rd	Green Deal	Next Generation	Renewable Energy	Recovery
4th	Climate Change	Sustainable	Security	Green Deal
5th	Circular economy	Security	Sustainable	Security
6th	Ecosystem	Single Market	Natural gas	Russia
7th	Climate neutrality	Resilience	Russian fossil	Renewable Energy
8th	Just Transition	Pandemic	Ukraine	Climate Change
9th	Biodiversity loss	Strategic autonomy	Energy Transition	Resilience
10th	Ecological	Ecosystem	RRF	Next Generation

(4) Raw empirical data output (MaxQDA screenshots)

Overall coding results:

Kategorien	European Council conclusions	COM Annual Work Programs	COM Policy documents	SUMME
Green transition	132	201	344	677
Competitiveness & growth	159	140	69	368
Green recovery	383	189	277	849
Security	709	163	141	1013
Σ SUMME	1383	693	831	2907

Coding results for European Council conclusions per year:

Kategorien	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	SUMME
Green transition	18	66	10	20	18	132
Competitiveness & growth	2	59	13	34	51	159
Green recovery	6	212	76	53	36	383
Security	2	61	55	380	211	709
Σ SUMME	28	398	154	487	316	1383

Coding results for Commission Annual Work Programs:

Kategorien	COM 2020 ...	COM 2021 ...	COM 2022 W...	COM 2023 W...	SUMME
Green transition	72	23	63	43	201
Competitiveness & growth	47	12	35	46	140
Green recovery	27	43	72	47	189
Security	34	8	36	85	163
Σ SUMME	180	86	206	221	693

Coding results for Commission policy documents

Kategorien	EGD Dec 2019	NGEU May 2020	REPowerEU Plan	SUMME
Green transition	232	44	68	344
Competitiveness & growth	21	30	18	69
Green recovery	52	157	68	277
Security	9	32	100	141
Σ SUMME	314	263	254	831