Deliberative Performance of Television News in Three Types of Democracy:
Insights from the U.S., Germany, and Russia

ONLINE APPENDIX A: CODING PROTOCOL

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UNIT OF ANALYSIS: PROGRAM

1.1. LENGTH

In the “program” track in Anvil, mark the beginning and end of the newscast. The marked section should comprise weather forecasts and commercial breaks but not any commercials prior to or after the program. The newscast starts with the display of the program’s title on the screen.

1.2. CODING DATE

Enter the date on which you coded the program in the following six-digit format: YY-MM-DD

Example: Coding of a program on July 13, 2010
Enter as: 10-07-13

1.3. CODER

Select your initials from the drop-down menu.

1.4. CODED PROGRAM

[The program’s title is coded by labeling the annotation file (.anvil).]

1.5. AIRING DATE

[The program’s airing date is coded by labeling the annotation file (.anvil).]

***END OF CODING STEP 1***

UNIT OF ANALYSIS: NEWS ITEM

In the “news item” track in Anvil, mark the beginning and end of all news items in the program and apply all of the following variables to every single news item. Only news items aired in-between the beginning and the end of the program are to be coded. A news item is defined by a coherent style of presentation. A change in style of presentation marks the beginning of a new news item. For example, if a film segment is followed by commentary, this difference in styles of presentation points to a separation between disparate news items.

Special rule:

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Remarks by a presenter that are made prior to or after a film segment and refer to the topic of that very film segment are coded as part of the film segment; they do not present a distinct style of presentation.  
Example: A presenter’s introductory remarks like “Despite losses in the election, the Social Democrats regard themselves as the winners of the weekend” before a film segment about this very election would be coded as being part of that news item.

Presenters’ introductory remarks can often be recognized by the mention of the news item’s author.  
Example: “John Doe on an exciting election night with profound political impact” [followed by the film segment on the election night]

Within coverage on one and the same topic, two or more news items might follow each other without interruption. In this case, indications for the start of a disparate news item can be found in a switch to another journalist or a change in the location of the topic of coverage (see variable 2.5). This is also often clarified by means of a corresponding insert on screen.

The mere mention of an additional aspect of the topic in the latter part of a news item does not constitute a separate news item and is not coded as such. Only if the main topic of the news item changes in an obvious and clearly identifiable way and hence a different value on the ‘topic’ variable applies, it should be considered a separate news item.  
Example: A report on various political decisions in the parliament should be treated as one news item (domestic politics). This means that if another topic is only hinted at, this should not be understood as a separate news item. Only if another topic is turned into the main topic, this should be coded as a separate news item.

2.1. LENGTH

In Anvil, mark the beginning and the end of the news item. The length is calculated by Anvil. The coding should start with the cross-fade to the news item or at the beginning of the introductory remarks relating to that news item (if remarks are made at all).

2.2. POSITION OF NEWS ITEM WITHIN ENTIRE PROGRAM

As two-digit number, enter the position of the news item within the rank order of all news items in that particular program.  
Example: The third news item in the coded newscast  
Enter as: 03

2.3. TYPE OF NEWS ITEM

Categories:
Film segment—A film segment is a film report by a journalist who is not the anchor or another presenter of a newscast (with the exception of Anderson Cooper, who sometimes presents film segments produced by himself). A film segment commonly features a combination of direct quotes, commented footage, and a statement by the journalist. Presenters’ introductory or concluding remarks pertaining to a film segment are coded as part of the film segment.

Presenter’s segment—A presenter’s segment is a part of coverage that is presented by the anchor or another presenter, regardless of whether the anchor or presenter can be seen on screen or not. A presenter’s segment is different from introductory or concluding remarks pertaining to a film segment (a presenter’s segment is commonly longer!). If a presenter’s segment is interrupted by a different type of news item (e.g. by excerpts from an interview), this should be coded as separate news item, even if the interruption is very short. The subsequent part of the presenter’s segment is then also coded separately.

Interview (except with correspondent, see 4)—An interview is defined as the questioning of a speaker by a journalist. Only if a news item is primarily made up by an interview, it can be coded as such. If the interview only constitutes a minor part of a news item, a different type of news item should be coded. Example: Within a film segment, a brief interview is shown, after which the film segment continues; the interview is not key to the news item. In this case, the news item is to be coded as film segment.

Interview with correspondent—An interview with a correspondent is defined as the questioning of a correspondent by an anchor or presenter. A correspondent is a journalist who reports on a particular region, country, or topic (e.g. the stock exchange). Example: “Let’s go live to John Smith in Afghanistan. Mr. Smith, how is the current situation on the ground?”

Commentary—A commentary is defined as the explicit evaluation of issues or persons by a journalist. A journalist voices his own opinion and verbally presents that opinion in person; he explains and interprets issues according to his opinion. A piece of commentary is hence like an oral editorial (similar to editorials in newspapers). Please note: A piece of commentary has to be highlighted as such, e.g. by an on-screen insert or introductory remarks!

Teaser—A teaser is defined as the preview of a news item. If several teasers are shown in a row, this should only be coded as one news item. The location of the topic of coverage is not to be coded here.

Weather forecast—A weather forecast is defined as a prognosis on the upcoming weather. It is different from reports on the impact of past weather (catastrophes, drought, flooding etc.). The location of the topic of coverage is not to be coded here.

Commercial break or other interruption—Commercials are only coded if they interrupt a newscast. Commercials prior to or after a newscast are not coded. The location of the topic of coverage is not to be coded here.
Miscellaneous – all news items that do not fit any of the categories listed above, e.g. the presentation of lottery numbers. The location of the topic of coverage is not to be coded here.

2.4. LOCATION OF TOPIC

Enter the country code for the key location of the topic of coverage (e.g. an event or a person). The reporter’s location is irrelevant. If a news item features more than one location, the location mentioned first is to be coded. All other locations should be noted under the ‘particularities/noteworthy observations’ variable. The name of any country not part of the list should be spelled out in full.

Example: Report by an ARD correspondent about the crash of the Polish prime minister’s plane in Russia
Enter as: ru

Categories: see appendix 1 (list of country codes)

2.5. TOPIC

The topic of a news item constitutes the news item’s substantial focus, or matter of prime interest. Any news item can only have one topic (the main topic – see also the definition of news item above). If in doubt, code the topic that is dealt with for the most part of the news item.

Politics – Issues pertaining to the need for collectively binding decisions that are dealt with by political elites (government, parliament, ministries on different levels)

Categories:
1 Economic and finance policy – state measures to steer or facilitate economic affairs, including agricultural policy (examples: the government introduces a law for the promotion of foreign trade; the government promises to stand bail for a corporation; nationalization of companies), budgetary planning by the government, considerations of how to finance particular projects, decisions with consequences for the finance sector (example: state support for banks), monetary policy (examples: increase in or lowering of key interest rates, other measures by the European Central Bank) (example: the government has once again intervened in order to avert the consequences of the financial crisis by means of state support/takeovers of banks and insurance companies)

2 Social policy – state measures surrounding such issues as labor/unemployment, family/support of families, education and research; example: debate on an increase in governmental support for university students)
3 Foreign and security policy (including development policy) – *diplomatic relations and negotiations or military disputes with other states or organizations; bilateral and multilateral negotiations or conferences for the purpose of regulating common interests, pledges of financial aid by countries or international organizations in response to natural disasters, measures of internal and external security* (example: “war on terror”)

4 Justice and legal policy – *proposals and decisions by the justice ministry, decisions by the judicial branch with direct effect on legislation* (e.g. decisions by the constitutional court)

5 Domestic politics – *national elections, party matters (elections/changes of leadership/internal disputes within parties)*; code this value if the news item is not primarily about one of the policy areas listed above

6 Other political coverage – e.g. *sports policy (if related to concrete political demands or regulation), consumer protection policy, health policy*

7 Business – *merger of companies, insolvency of a corporation, relocation/closure of factories, change in management, market information*; includes economic crime if the news item focuses on companies and economic aspects (not on criminal prosecution); planned or past collective bargaining and industrial action

8 Culture and science – *Exhibitions, fairs, concerts and other large-scale events, film presentations, premieres, literature, news about the death of distinguished persons/obituaries, new scientific insights*

9 Society – *coverage on trends, processes, and phenomena that have no direct political connection but concern the whole or parts of society*; e.g. a report on increased alcohol consumption in the population

10 Sports – *Occurrences in the world of sports, scores, reports on misdemeanor in sports, if they are not connected to political demands (e.g. reports on doping)*

11 Accidents/(natural) disasters/criminal cases/court decisions – *Coverage on individual assassinations/assaults, economic crime (e.g. tax fraud), criminal court decisions (no decisions by the constitutional court)*, if the news item focuses on the individual case and not on political consequences or measures.

12 “News to use” and lifestyle – *Presentation of new technology, product tests, fashion, news regarding celebrities* (public persons, such as actors, musicians, athletes etc.)

13 Religion – *Coverage on religious events and institutions* (e.g. church in general, addresses by the Pope, World Youth Day), denominations and sects; reports on occurrences like abuse are coded as criminal cases if the focus is on legal matters or legal prosecution; however, if the coverage is about consequences within the church or church reforms, such as an abolishment of celibacy, it is coded as religion.

14 Miscellaneous – e.g. *healthcare (but not health policy)*

2.6. LEVEL OF POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING
**ATTENTION:** Code the level of political decision-making *only if* the news item relates to a political topic (topics 1 to 6)!

1. **Supranational** – Procedures of political decision-making that were moved from the national to a higher level; decisions taken by an organization that is superior to national governments, examples: EU, Andean Community of Nations, Mercosur → mention of concrete organization needed, otherwise code region

2. **International** – Procedures and events of political decision-making that go beyond the borders of a nation-state, bilateral and multilateral involvement, also international organizations like UN, NATO, WTO, OECD, OSCE, CIS, NAFTA, African Union, ASEAN

3. **National** – Concerning politics of one country; **Attention:** If the news item is about measures in the foreign or security policy of a country and here mainly about the national debate surrounding such measures, the level of political decision-making is coded as national (e.g. a vote in the national parliament on military action in Afghanistan). However, if the coverage is about a visit by Chancellor Merkel to Afghan president Karsai or if the focus is on the military operation itself, code international.

4. **World regional** – Geographically defined area that is not identical to a national-state or one of the other levels (e.g. Caucasus, the Balkans, North America, Southeast Asia)

5. **Sub-national** – Below the level of the nation-state (e.g. regional politics in Baden-Wurttemberg, decision on a local level)

### 2.7. DECISION-RELATEDNESS

**ATTENTION:** Code decision-relatedness *only if* the news item relates to a political topic (topics 1 to 6)!

Proced in two steps when coding this variable:

1. Decide whether a political decision is mentioned in the news item (for this, it is useful to ask who could have taken a decision in this news item; the decision itself does not have to be the main topic of the news item).

2. Clarify whether the airing of the news item took place prior to or after the decision identified in the first step.

Regarding step 1:

A political decision in the sense chosen here is taken by (a) bodies and actors of the executive, (b) bodies and actors of the legislature, or (c) bodies of the judiciary (e.g. supreme courts, constitutional courts). In addition, referenda (= popular votes) and elections count as political decisions.

The subject matter of a political decision is (a) the collectively binding regulation of a political issue or societal problem (e.g. introduction of a non-smoker protection law), (b)
arrangements with implication for the distribution of power (e.g. cabinet reshuffles), or (c) the collectively binding regulation of aspects relating to political structure and constitution (e.g. changes in electoral law).

Anything that is mentioned as decision but does not fall in any of these three areas does not count as political decision (e.g. announcement of talks after an election). If in doubt whether a decision is of the type focused on here, pay attention to the overt wording in the news item.

1 Prior to a political decision – *In the news item, a political decision is mentioned and the news item provides coverage concerning the run-up to the decision, or the political decision is projected, or the upcoming decision is discussed* (example: “the government agreed on an Afghanistan strategy today, but this will still have to be voted on by the national parliament”).

2 After a political decision – *In the news item, a political decision is mentioned and the news item provides coverage concerning the aftermath of the decision, or the passed decision is announced, or the decision passed is discussed.*

3 No political decision – *In the news item, no political decision is mentioned.*

2.8. OPPOSING POSITIONS

Please code whether speakers with opposing/contrary positions (expressed in various utterances) are mentioned in the news item. These opposing speakers have to be featured in the news item. They do not have to explicitly refer to each other, though. But it has to become apparent from the news item that they advocate different positions or disagree with each other.

News items that only feature one speaker will hence have to be coded as ‘no’.

1 Yes – *Speakers with opposing/contrary positions are featured.*

2 No – *Speakers with opposing/contrary positions are not featured.*

2.9. PARTICULARITIES/NOTEWORTHY OBSERVATIONS [open category]

This variable captures the coder’s subjective impressions of any characteristic of the news item that may be interesting, surprising, or unusual. Please describe such characteristics of the news item you coded in the comment field in *Anvil*.

There are no right or wrong entries regarding this variable. One to two sentences should suffice per entry.

Example: The protesters featured in the news item are only asked and evaluated for their readiness to engage in violence.
Example The news item features a sarcastic undertone and ridicules the members of the government.

***END OF CODING STEP 2***

UNIT OF ANALYSIS: UTTERANCE

In the “utterance” track in Anvil, mark the beginning and end of each utterance, one after the other, and apply all of the following variables to every single utterance. An utterance should be coded whenever a continuous speech act can be identified. It is of no significance what kind of actor makes an utterance (hence, anchors and other presenters are included) and whether that actor is visible on screen or not. Decisive for the identification of an utterance is hence the audio track of a newscast.

Always pay attention to the overt spoken text of an utterance (and the quotes contained therein)!

An utterance should only be coded if it contains a substantial statement (hence, the brief farewell note “Thank you for talking to us!” should not be coded as utterance).

In the case of translations of speakers’ statements, the audio track should be treated as decisive, i.e. coding starts with the beginning of the statement in the language of the newscast’s target audience. In the case of speakers’ statements in a foreign language, code the translation.

If individual utterances or quotes are disassembled into fragments, each fragment is to be coded for itself!

If a person can be seen talking on screen whose statement is translated or summarized in indirect speech, this is not to be coded as direct quote but as quote. An indicator for the presence of indirect speech is the use of the third person. The use of the first person is an indicator for direct speech, i.e. for the presence of a direct quote that has to be coded separately.

Generally, the entire newscast should be seen as context for a speaker’s utterance and hence used as such for obtaining information, e.g. on party affiliation.

Special rule: Utterance summaries and transition sentences
Whenever one or more utterances featured in the news item as direct quotes are summarized or supplemented by introductory or concluding remarks by the anchor/presenter, this is not coded as separate utterance but (if required) used as context for the coding of the respective direct quote.
Example:

- [Utterance A: speaker Merkel]
- [Utterance B: speaker anchor: “But the left-wing party’s parliamentary group strongly criticized the continued involvement of the armed forces in Afghanistan.”]
- [Utterance C: speaker Gysi: “They act irresponsibly and put the lives of German soldiers and civilians in Afghanistan at risk!”]
- Code only utterances A and C as utterances; for the coding of utterance C, use the news anchor’s transition sentence as context, e.g. for identifying recipient and valence (the valence can also be identified from utterance C itself).

The basic rule is: If an utterance is only featured once in a news item but is (partially) repeated or supplemented by introductory or concluding remarks by an anchor/presenter, it is only coded once! However, each direct quote is coded separately, even if it is summarized or supplemented by introductory or concluding remarks at a different point of time within the news item.

3.1. LENGTH

In Anvil, mark the beginning and end of the utterance. The audio track is decisive for identifying the exact starting and ending point of an utterance. The length of the utterance is automatically calculated by Anvil.

3.2. POSITION OF SPEAKER WITHIN NEWS ITEM

As two-digit number, enter the position of the speaker within the rank order of all speakers in that news item. If that speaker is featured more than once in that news item, please assign always the same number. Quoted speakers also count as speakers within a news item (see the variables relating to quotes)!

Example: The speaker of the sixth utterance within a news item made two more utterances in the same news item, namely the second one and third one.

Enter as: 02

3.3. TYPE OF SPEAKER

Code for each utterance which type of speaker it was made by. Refer to the main role in which the speaker is featured in the coded segment. This main role is determined by (a) explicit designation (by the anchor, voice-over, or on-screen insert) or (b) the context of the news item (e.g. the topic of the news item).
Attention: Speakers should be identifiable; “many” or “others” are not speakers, as they are not identifiable. Make sure that you also code organized collective actors, such as the national government, the Greens, or the armed forces, as actors, if they are identifiable and clearly discernible.

Example: The opposition blamed the government for failing to take adequate measures in managing the economic crisis and for running bad foreign policy. → opposition as quoted speaker

The executive is the implementing/executing power in the country and comprises the government, i.e. the head of government, head of state, ministers, also spokespersons of the government on a national level. The legislature, however, is the legislative power and responsible for discussing and passing laws as well as controlling the executive. The legislature comprises the party factions present in national parliaments (governing parties and opposition parties) and their members as well as party organizations on a national level (e.g. the party directorate of the Social Democrats). Politicians of the sub-national or supranational level (e.g. representatives of federal states/provinces, municipalities, the EU, the UN etc.) are coded as “other politicians”.

Code press spokespersons as those speakers for whom they speak. Special rule: In the case of press spokespersons for the head of government or state, code them as ‘other domestic government representatives’ or ‘foreign government representatives’.

Examples:
- Code the press spokesperson of the Federation of German Industry as ‘representatives of interest groups’
- Code the press spokesperson of Chancellor Merkel as ‘other domestic government representatives’ (Attention: This of course only applies if a German newscast is coded! In the case of a US or Russian program, ‘foreign government representative’ is to be coded!)
- Code the press spokesperson of the White House as ‘foreign government representative’ (Attention: Only if a German or Russian newscast is coded! In the case of a US program, ‘other domestic government representatives’ has to be coded!)

1 Executive – domestic head of government: in German media Merkel/in US media Obama/in Russian media Medvedjew
2 Executive – domestic head of state: in German media Gauck/in Russian media Putin
3 Executive – other domestic government representatives (e.g. ministers, ministries, also spokespersons of ministers and heads of state)
4 Executive – foreign government representatives (no differentiation between head of government, head of state, ministers, and spokespersons)
5 Legislature – representatives of one of the governing parties or of the governing coalition as a whole
Germany: CDU (Christlich Demokratische Union)/CSU (Christlich Soziale Union) and/or FDP (Freie Demokratische Partei)
USA: Democratic Party, Democrats
RUS: United Russia (Единая Россия)
  6 Legislature – representatives of one of the opposition parties or of the opposition as a whole
Germany: SPD (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands), Die Linke and/or Die Grünen
USA: Communist Party, Republicans, Grand Old Party, GOP
RUS: United Russia (Единая Россия) and/or A Just Russia (Справедливая Россия)
  7 Legislature – foreign legislative representatives (no differentiation between opposition and government, all foreign politicians including local, regional, and national levels)
  8 Other politicians on a sub-national or supranational level (e.g. party politicians, regional politicians, governors of federal states/provinces and other domestic territories, members of local chapters, representatives of EU and UN)
  9 Military/police/state military
  10 Judiciary representatives (e.g. state attorneys, courts, judges, spokesperson of Moscow municipal court; not police, see 9)
  11 Other state representatives (administration, regulatory authorities, civil protection, fire and rescue services etc.; but not military/police, see 9; neither simply any civil servant)
  12 Entrepreneurs and business representatives (e.g. stock brokers, full-time farmers)
  13 Representatives of interest groups (e.g. Federation of German Industry), unions (e.g. United Services Union), NGOs (e.g. Greenpeace); interest groups, unions, and NGOs as organized collective actors
  14 Journalists (TV journalists, radio hosts, press reporters etc.)
  15 Scientists/intellectuals (e.g. researchers, philosophers, book authors, representatives of think tanks, e.g. German Institute for International and Security Affairs, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research etc.)
  16 Celebrities from the entertainment industry (TV stars, musicians, actors, entertainers etc.)
  17 Sports representatives (e.g. soccer players, coaches, delegates of a sports team etc.)
  18 Church representatives (e.g. the Pope, spokesperson of a church, priest etc.)
  19 Ordinary citizens (e.g. interviewed pedestrians, people speaking for themselves about political and societal processes, self-help groups; not coded are accused persons in legal trials, see 20)
  20 Others (e.g. accused persons, lawyers, school principals, non-state paramilitary militias, terrorists, practicing doctors etc.)

3.4. ORIGIN OF SPEAKER
Code the origin of the utterance’s speaker. The origin of the reporting or quoting journalist/anchor should be coded as not identifiable, i.e. enter ‘99’. **Exception:** Foreign journalists who act as commentators, if their origin is identifiable and/or can be deducted from context information.

Code the origin of speakers who are quoted or whose direct quotes are shown, if it is identifiable. For this purpose, use all available context information in the news item, but not your own previous knowledge. Of relevance is the operational background of speakers, i.e. where they live and work, not their deeper ethnic origin. In the case of expatriates talking about their home country, code the home country, not the host country.

If the home country of a speaker is not included in the list of countries (see appendix), please note down the country under ‘particularities/noteworthy observations’.

For speakers of international (e.g. UN) or supranational (e.g. EU) organizations, nothing is coded for origin, but the respective organization is noted down under ‘particularities/noteworthy observations’.

**Attention:** Code the origin of all representatives of executives and legislatures, even if it is not made identifiable! Also code the origin of those speakers who were coded as ‘others’ on the ‘type of speaker’ variable, if it is made identifiable or deductible from context information.

Example: “Chancellor Merkel assessed the government’s measures for managing the economic crisis as a good, important step towards economic recovery.”

- Code „de“ for Germany – this is deductible from context information revealing the speaker is Chancellor Merkel, even if her origin is not explicitly stated.

Categories: see appendix 1 (list of country codes)

### 3.5. PARTY OF SPEAKER

**Attention:** Code party affiliation only for domestic actors! For foreign actors, do not code party affiliation. Do also not code party affiliation for reporting or quoting journalist, unless the journalist’s party affiliation is explicitly stated.

Code the party affiliation of the domestic speaker who is quoted or whose direct quote is featured if it is made identifiable (e.g. by verbal mention or on-screen insert). For this purpose, use all available context information in the news item, but not your own previous knowledge. If the party affiliation of a domestic speaker was not made identifiable or it is a collective domestic actor, e.g. the national government, code ‘not made identifiable’.

**Attention:** The only exception to this rule is domestic heads of state and government. In this case, the party affiliation is coded even if it not made identifiable in the news item.
Attention: In Russian media, if Putin and/or Medwedjew are featured as speakers, code ‘United Russia’, even if they left the party due to reasons of election tactics.

Example: “Chancellor Merkel assessed the government’s measures for managing the economic crisis as a good, important step towards economic recovery.”

- With or without on-screen insert “Angela Merkel, Federal Chancellor”: code CDU/CSU.

Attention: The party affiliation of press spokespeople is only coded if it is (1) made identifiable or (2) if it can be clearly deduced from the context to which party the spokesperson belongs; e.g. in the case of Kremlin spokespeople, code ‘United Russia’, as this is the only governing party.

1 Germany – CDU (Christian Democratic Union)/CSU (Christian Social Union)
2 Germany – SPD (Social Democrats)
3 Germany – FDP (Free Democratic Party)
4 Germany – The Left (Die Linke)
5 Germany – The Greens (Die Grünen)
6 Germany – Other party
7 USA – Democratic Party, Democrats
8 USA – Republican Party, Republicans, Grand Old Party, GOP
9 USA – Other party
10 RUS – United Russia (Единая Россия)
11 RUS – Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KRSF) (Коммунистическая партия Российской Федерации (КПРФ))
12 RUS – Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (Либерально-Демократическая Партия России (ЛДПР))
13 RUS – A Just Russia (Справедливая Россия)
14 RUS – Other party
15 Without party affiliation (only in cases of explicit (self-)designation as partyless and if no other value applies. Attention: Do not code personal assumptions!)
16 Not made identifiable

3.6. TYPE OF UTTERANCE

Based on the content of the coded speech act, code which type of utterance it constitutes.

1 Presentation of facts/narrative/depiction of others’ opinions – This is about utterances that primarily serve the conveyance of factual information on processes or persons. Example: “In the Dominican Republic, a Transair passenger jet crashed last night.”

Attention: Utterances are also coded as presentation of facts if they depict the opinion
of others in the form of reported facts. Only code them as interpretations or opinions if the opinion of others is also contextualized and evaluated by the speaker.

2 Interpretation/opinion – This is about utterances that serve the conveyance of interpretations, contextualization, or opinions of the speaker regarding processes or persons (commonly in a second step after the conveyance of the facts, i.e. the actual news). Example: “The liberation of the former presidential candidate from captivity by the FARC is a devastating blow to the terrorist organization.” Example: “You got things into a mess, ladies and gentlemen; you are responsible for the current economic crisis.”

Indications for the presence of opinions and self-positioning are speech acts that, for example, express the following:
- Expressions of positive opinions: gave praise, lauded, was happy, defended, expressed/received approval/support, highlighted accomplishments
- Expressions of negative opinions: condemned, criticized, blamed, attacked, was skeptical, questioned, disagreed, opposed

Attention: As soon as an utterance is not completely about the conveyance of facts and the depiction of others’ opinions, it is coded as interpretation/opinion. Example: An utterance reports on the course of a parliamentary debate and depicts opinions presented in the debate, but, in the end, provides an own assessment of the winners and losers of the debate. This means that this utterance is mainly a factual report but, due to the concluding assessment, does still have to be coded as 2 “interpretation/opinion”.

3.7. META DELIBERATION

The variable ‘meta-deliberation’ is coded for all topics.

‘Meta-deliberation’ is present if
- the focus of coverage is on the “how” of debate, for example the course or nature of debate (e.g. the tone),
  - Examples: “What emerged was a showdown between Merkel and Steinmeier”, “an atmosphere typical of election season filled the parliament”.
- rules of communication or their breach are discussed in coverage, e.g. the fair conduct in dealing with each other or the orientation toward substantial issues,
  - Example: “This issue requires a focus on facts!”
- the discursive meaning of utterances or texts is interpreted,
  - Example: “By means of his polemic comments, Mr. Westerwelle aimed at stirring up hatred recipients of unemployment benefits.”
- it is discussed how to best deal with a complicated discourse situation, e.g. the lack of agreement.
  - Example: ‘If CDU and SPD don’t find agreement on this central aspect, the only option available to them is looking for a new coalition partner.’

**ATTENTION:** If coverage simply reports on a debate, hence if the focus is on the “if”, this is not sufficient to code ‘yes’ for ‘meta-deliberation’.

1. Yes – debate itself is turned into a topic (see coding examples above)
2. No – debate itself is not turned into a topic

### 3.8. JUSTIFICATION

**ATTENTION:** Code ‘justification’ only if the utterance was coded as interpretation/opinion (‘type of utterance’ 2). In the case of mere presentation of facts, ‘justification’ is not coded.

Proceed in three steps when coding this variable:

1. Decide whether the utterance conveying an interpretation/opinion relates to a position, objective, or action relevant to society. Positions/objectives/actions that only concern individual persons or small groups are not regarded as relevant to society → do not code the variable in this case!

   Decide whether this socially relevant position/objective/action is justified by means of argumentative support. An utterance with justification is more than a mere announcement. Possible indications for the presence of justification are words like “because”, “since”, “hence”, “therefore”. However, not every use of such terms points to the presence of argumentative support. It is crucial that a position/objective/action with social relevance is argumentatively supported by something else. A justification responds to one of the two following questions:
   - “Why is something desirable for society/the polity?”
   - “Why should something be done in favor of society/the polity?”

   → If no argumentative support in this sense is present, ‘without justification’ is to be coded!

2. Decide for those cases in which a justification is present whether this justification is not verifiable (see value 2) or verifiable (see value 3).

   1. Without justification – code this value if the utterance does not relate to a position/objective/action of social relevance, OR if the utterance does not include an explicit justification but a mere claim, prognosis, postulate etc.

   **Examples:**
   - Obama’s health care reform will most likely fall apart in the Congress.
   - Democratic politics always has to focus on the individual human being.
   - We are obliged to listen to all sides.
2 Not verifiable justification – A not verifiable justification is an argumentation built on overall developments, assumed principles, general connections etc., without referring to theoretically verifiable sets of facts.

Examples:
The government’s policies were successful, as they moved Germany forward. Obama asked parliamentarians to vote in favor of his health care reform, as it is the prerequisite for a just health care system.

3 Verifiable justification – A verifiable justification is an argumentation built on a fact, a case, a concrete experience, statistical information etc. It does not have to involve concrete numbers, but the justification should be verifiable in theory.

Examples:
The government’s policies are bad, as there are 2.5 million poor children in Germany. Obama’s opponents criticize his health care reform for its costs of 100 billion dollars over the next ten years.

3.9. INCIVILITY

Only code this variable if the utterance features a violation of the civility norm.

Civility is here understood as the respectful conduct with others, which means that actors with opposing positions are respected, get a chance to speak, and their opinions are not commented in a degrading or insulting way. Incivility – as a violation of this norm – is present if another actor (or his opinion) is degraded or insulted.

Attention: Not any form of criticism of another actor is automatically uncivil. Incivility can manifest itself verbally and nonverbally. Code the dominant overall impression of the utterance.

1 Uncivil – another actor (a person, party, or group) is degraded by means of words and/or gestures and/or facial expressions. The other actor does not have to be visible on screen.

Indications for incivility are:
The speaker denies an actor the right to participate in a debate. The speaker insulst another actor or degrades him or attacks him personally.

In terms of gestures and facial expressions, incivility may manifest itself through insulting and attacking gestures and actions, such as raising one’s fist as a threat, shaking one’s head before the other was heard, but also rolling one’s eyes or flipping somebody the bird.

3.10. RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 1 – RECIPIENT
An utterance is responsive if the speaker reacts to the substantial position/opinion of another speaker or actor. Example: Chancellor Merkel is shown with the following statement: “The SPD chairwoman in North Rhine-Westphalia, Ms. Kraft, denies her political responsibility in categorically rejecting a grand coalition.” Here, Merkel does the responsive utterance; Kraft is the actor to which Merkel explicitly reacts; the substantial position/opinion of the actor Kraft is the rejection of a grand coalition in North Rhine-Westphalia.

In this variable, it is coded to whose position/opinion the responsive utterance at hand explicitly reacts. A mere quotation of another speaker or actor is no explicit reaction to their position/opinion in the context of this study. Only if an utterance features an explicit reaction to the position/opinion by another speaker/actor, it should be coded as responsive! If it is no responsive utterance in this sense, this and the following variables are not coded.

For coding the recipient of the response utterance, please decide whether this recipient

a) is another speaker within the same news item (co-present speaker) → in this case, code the position of this speaker (see 3.2)
b) is a speaker who appears in another news item of the same newscast → in this case, select the respective value
c) is an actor who does not appear in the same newscast as speaker → there is also a respective value for this case

1 Speaker 01
2 Speaker 02
3 Speaker 03
4 Speaker 04
5 Speaker 05
6 Speaker 06
7 Speaker 07
8 Speaker 08
9 Speaker 09
10 Speaker 10
11 Speaker 11+ in this news item (in case more than 10 speakers are co-present in the news item)
12 Speaker in another news item of newscast
13 Other actor (i.e. no speaker within the newscast)

Attention: Also note that representatives of institutions and organizations may speak for themselves. Individual citizens may be presented as speakers of the entire population. If a speaker refers to the institution or organization of a speaker who appeared earlier, code this speaker who appeared earlier as recipient of the response. If also the institution or
organization as a whole appeared earlier as speaker, code that speaker as recipient who is temporally closer to the responsive utterance.

Example:
In a news item about the prisoners’ camp in Guantanamo, the US government is quoted and coded as speaker. At a later point, President Bush appears and takes a stand on the legal status of the prisoners. Afterwards, the lawyer of a prisoner criticizes the US government for its failure to ever admit its own mistakes. Since George W. Bush is temporally closer to the lawyer’s statement and, as its representative, speaks for the US government, George W. Bush is coded as the recipient of the lawyer’s response.

3.11. RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 1 – VALENCE

Code here in what way the responsive utterance refers to the position/opinion of the recipient just coded:

a) approving/supportive (positive),
b) disproving/dissenting (negative) or
c) mixed/ambivalent (neutral).

Example: Chancellor Merkel is shown with the following statement: “The SPD chairwoman in North Rhine-Westphalia, Ms. Kraft, denies her political responsibility in categorically rejecting a grand coalition.” Here, Merkel does the responsive utterance; Kraft is the actor to which Merkel explicitly reacts; the substantial position/opinion of the actor Kraft is the rejection of a grand coalition in North Rhine-Westphalia. The valence of the response is negative (disproving/dissenting), as Merkel accuses Kraft of irresponsibility.

1 Approval/support
2 Disproval/dissent
3 Mixed/ambivalent

3.12. RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 2 – RECIPIENT

Code this variable analogously for the second explicit response to the position/opinion of another speaker or actor (see 3.10).

3.13. RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 2 – VALENCE

Code this variable analogously for the second explicit response to the position/opinion of another speaker or actor (see 3.11).

Code this variable analogously for the third explicit response to the position/opinion of another speaker or actor (see 3.10).

3.15. RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 3 – VALENCE

Code this variable analogously for the third explicit response to the position/opinion of another speaker or actor (see 3.11).

3.16. QUOTED ACTOR 1 – POSITION OF SPEAKER WITHIN NEWS ITEM

As two-digit number, enter the position of the first quoted actor within the news item in which the actor appears. If that speaker is featured more than once in that news item, please assign always the same number. Quoted speakers also count as speakers within a news item (see the variables relating to quotes)!

3.17. QUOTED ACTOR 1 – TYPE

Code for the first quoted actor which type of actor it is. Refer to the main role in which the speaker is featured in the coded segment. This main role is determined by (a) explicit designation by the quoting actor (i.e. the speaker whose utterance features the quote) or (b) the context of the news item (e.g. the topic of the news item or a previous utterance by the current or another speaker, including the anchor).

Attention: If two actors are quoted at the same time, code the one mentioned first and his origin, party affiliation etc. Under ‘particularities/noteworthy observations’ for the utterance level, note down that there are two quoted actors and name the second actor.

Example:
Anchor: “Spokespeople by the Kremlin and the White House reported that the negotiations between Russia and the US went as planned” → code the spokesperson of the Kremlin and note down under ‘particularities/noteworthy observations’ that the spokesperson of the White House is quoted simultaneously.

Code analogously to category 3.3.

3.18. QUOTED ACTOR 1 – ORIGIN

Code the origin of the speaker quoted first in the utterance. Code analogously to category 3.4.

Categories: see appendix 1 (list of country codes)

3.19. QUOTED ACTOR 1 – PARTY AFFILIATION
Code the party affiliation of the actor quoted first in the utterance, if it was made identifiable through (a) designation by the quoting actor (i.e. the speaker whose utterance features the quote) or (b) the context of the news item (e.g. the topic of the news item or a previous utterance by the current or another speaker, including the anchor).

Code analogously to category 3.5.

3.20. QUOTED ACTOR 1 – TYPE OF UTTERANCE

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.21. QUOTED ACTOR 1 – META-DELIBERATION

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.22. QUOTED ACTOR 1 – JUSTIFICATION

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.23. QUOTED ACTOR 1 – CIVILITY

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.24. QUOTED ACTOR 1 – RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 1 – RECIPIENT

Code to whom the first explicit response by the quoted actor to another speaker is directed.

Code analogously to the same category referring to the response by the primary speaker (see variable 3.10).

3.25. QUOTED ACTOR 1 – RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 1 – VALENCE

Code whether the first response to another speaker contained in the quote is approving/supportive (positive), disproving/dissenting (negative), or mixed/ambivalent (neutral).

Code analogously to the same category referring to the response by the primary speaker (see variable 3.11).

3.26. QUOTED ACTOR 2 – POSITION OF SPEAKER WITHIN NEWS ITEM
As two-digit number, enter the position of the second quoted actor within the news item in which the actor appears. If that speaker is featured more than once in that news item, please assign always the same number. Quoted speakers also count as speakers within a news item (see the variables relating to quotes)!

3.27. QUOTED ACTOR 2 – TYPE

Code for the second quoted actor which type of actor it is. Refer to the main role in which the speaker is featured in the coded segment. This main role is determined by (a) explicit designation by the quoting actor (i.e. the speaker whose utterance features the quote) or (b) the context of the news item (e.g. the topic of the news item or a previous utterance by the current or another speaker, including the anchor).

Code analogously to category 3.3.

3.28. QUOTED ACTOR 2 – ORIGIN

Code the origin of the speaker quoted second in the utterance. Code analogously to category 3.4.

Categories: see appendix 1 (list of country codes)

3.29. QUOTED ACTOR 2 – PARTY AFFILIATION

Code the party affiliation of the actor quoted second in the utterance, if it was made identifiable through (a) designation by the quoting actor (i.e. the speaker whose utterance features the quote) or (b) the context of the news item (e.g. the topic of the news item or a previous utterance by the current or another speaker, including the anchor).

Code analogously to category 3.5.

3.30. QUOTED ACTOR 2 – TYPE OF UTTERANCE

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.31. QUOTED ACTOR 2 – META-DELIBERATION

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.32. QUOTED ACTOR 2 – JUSTIFICATION

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.
3.33. QUOTED ACTOR 2 – CIVILITY

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.34. QUOTED ACTOR 2 – RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 1 – RECIPIENT

Code to whom the first explicit response by the quoted actor to another speaker is directed.

Code analogously to the same category referring to the response by the primary speaker (see variable 3.10).

3.35. QUOTED ACTOR 2 – RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 1 – VALENCE

Code whether the first response to another speaker contained in the quote is approving/supportive (positive), disproving/dissenting (negative), or mixed/ambivalent (neutral).

Code analogously to the same category referring to the response by the primary speaker (see variable 3.11).

3.36. QUOTED ACTOR 3 – POSITION OF SPEAKER WITHIN NEWS ITEM

As two-digit number, enter the position of the second quoted actor within the news item in which the actor appears. If that speaker is featured more than once in that news item, please assign always the same number. Quoted speakers also count as speakers within a news item (see the variables relating to quotes)!

3.37. QUOTED ACTOR 3 – TYPE

Code for the third quoted actor which type of actor it is. Refer to the main role in which the speaker is featured in the coded segment. This main role is determined by (a) explicit designation by the quoting actor (i.e. the speaker whose utterance features the quote) or (b) the context of the news item (e.g. the topic of the news item or a previous utterance by the current or another speaker, including the anchor).

Code analogously to category 3.3.

3.38. QUOTED ACTOR 3 – ORIGIN

Code the origin of the speaker quoted third in the utterance. Code analogously to category 3.4.
Categories: see appendix 1 (list of country codes)

3.39. QUOTED ACTOR 3 – PARTY AFFILIATION

Code the party affiliation of the actor quoted third in the utterance, if it was made identifiable through (a) designation by the quoting actor (i.e. the speaker whose utterance features the quote) or (b) the context of the news item (e.g. the topic of the news item or a previous utterance by the current or another speaker, including the anchor).

Code analogously to category 3.5.

3.40. QUOTED ACTOR 3 – TYPE OF UTTERANCE

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.41. QUOTED ACTOR 3 – META-DELIBERATION

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.42. QUOTED ACTOR 3 – JUSTIFICATION

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.43. QUOTED ACTOR 3 – CIVILITY

Code analogously to the same category referring to speaker/quoting actor.

3.44. QUOTED ACTOR 3 – RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 1 – RECIPIENT

Code to whom the first explicit response by the quoted actor to another speaker is directed.

Code analogously to the same category referring to the response by the primary speaker (see variable 3.10).

3.45. QUOTED ACTOR 3 – RESPONSIVENESS: RESPONSE 1 – VALENCE

Code whether the first response to another speaker contained in the quote is approving/supportive (positive), disproving/dissenting (negative), or mixed/ambivalent (neutral).

Code analogously to the same category referring to the response by the primary speaker (see variable 3.11).
This variable captures the coder’s subjective impressions of any characteristic of the utterance that may be interesting, surprising, or unusual. Please describe such characteristics of the news item you coded in the comment field in *Anvil*.

There are no right or wrong entries regarding this variable. One to two sentences should suffice per entry.

***END OF CODING STEP 3***
### ONLINE APPENDIX B: OVERVIEW OF TELEVISION CHANNELS INCLUDED IN STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>News show</th>
<th>Ownership type</th>
<th>Parent corporation</th>
<th>General content / audience orientation</th>
<th>Channel market share / ratings (national rank)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Germany</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARD</td>
<td>Tagesschau(^d)</td>
<td>Type 6</td>
<td>Cooperative of regional public-law broadcasting agencies</td>
<td>General interest</td>
<td>13.2% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tagesthemen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTL</td>
<td>RTL aktuell</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Bertelsmann</td>
<td>General interest</td>
<td>13.6% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-tv</td>
<td>Nachrichten</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Bertelsmann</td>
<td>News only</td>
<td>0.9% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Russia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pervy kanal</td>
<td>Novosti</td>
<td>Type 3/7 (mixed)</td>
<td>Federal Government (51%); Millhouse LLC (Roman Abramovich, 49%)</td>
<td>General interest</td>
<td>18.3% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ren-TV</td>
<td>Novosti 24</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>National Media Group (Bank Rossiya, 68%); Bertelsmann (30%)</td>
<td>General interest</td>
<td>4.6% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossiya 24(^e)</td>
<td>Vesti. Seitschas</td>
<td>Type 7</td>
<td>VGTRK(^f)</td>
<td>News only</td>
<td>0.8% (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>United States</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS</td>
<td>PBS NewsHour</td>
<td>Type 5</td>
<td>Cooperative of approx. 350 member stations</td>
<td>General interest</td>
<td>1.4% (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>ABC World News</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Walt Disney Company</td>
<td>General interest</td>
<td>4.9% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNN</td>
<td>Anderson Cooper 360°</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Time Warner</td>
<td>News only</td>
<td>0.5%(^g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox News</td>
<td>Fox Report</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>News Corporation</td>
<td>News only</td>
<td>4.3% (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: All information current as of 2009-10 (the study period), unless otherwise noted. \(^a\) Parent subsidiaries not listed here. \(^b\) Data for Germany and Russia are overall market shares (i.e., average percentage of all TV-watching households throughout the day); data for US are prime time ratings (i.e., average percentage of all households during prime time); sources: Germany: Zubayr and Gerhard (2011, p. 130, AGF/GfK data); Russia: Kiriya and Degtereva (2010, p. 41, TNS Gallup data); US: Public Broadcasting Service (Public Broadcasting Service, 2013, p. 2, Nielsen data for 2012-13). \(^c\) ARD used synonymously with its primary channel Das Erste. \(^d\) Also broadcast on regional ARD channels (known as “third programs”) as well as affiliated channels 3sat (a culture channel) and Phoenix (a news and documentary channel). \(^e\) Aired under the name Vesti-24 until December 31, 2009. \(^f\) VGTRK is short for Vserossiyskaya gosudarstvennaya televizionnaya i radioveshatelnaya kompaniya (English: All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company), the central state media holding owned by the federal government. \(^g\) National rank data for CNN were not available.