Web appendix

Political Parties Included in the Study

Our study takes into consideration all German, Austrian, and British parties that won at least 3% of votes in the last European or national elections and participated in the European elections 2014. For Germany and the United Kingdom, we collected the press releases from party archives and party homepages. For Austria, all press releases were available from the Originaltext-Service GmbH (OTS). We chose national instead of European parties as European elections and campaigns take part mainly in the national arena.

Germany

CDU/CSU (Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union)

SPD (Social Democratic Party)

FDP (Free Democratic Party)

Greens

Linke (the Left)

AfD (Alternative for Germany)

Austria

ÖVP (Austrian People’s Party)

SPÖ (Social Democratic Party)

Greens

NEOS (the New Austria)

FPÖ (Austrian Freedom Party)

BZÖ (Alliance for the Future of Austria)

Great Britain

Conservatives

Labour Party

Liberal Democrats

Greens

UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party)

BNP (British National Party)

Selection Routine for Relevant Material

The (English-language) search string contained the following key words and word components: Europ\*, europ\*, EU, EP, EC, ECB, EIB, ESM, EFSF, EFSM, ECJ, EEAS, EESC, EIF, EDPS, EMU, Troika, troika, Frontex, FRONTEX.

Issue List

Topic01 Economy

01 The Euro (e.g., currency rate, inflation, stability)

02 Effect of Euro on the economy

03 Eurozone exit

04 Other currency related topic

05 Inflation (policy)

06 Interest rate (policy)

07 Taxes (policy)

08 Financing the EU: National contributions (from member states)

09 EU budget / finances / (incl. 3% rule, semester system)

10 EU debts (incl. 3% rule, semester system)

11 State budget / state finances / (non EU)

12 State debts (non EU)

13 EU economic policy: Stimulus package and safety umbrellas (bilateral credits, buying of state bonds, Eurobonds, EFSM, EFSF, ESM, SKS)

Bank and financial sector regulation14

15 Banking Union

16 EU Structural Fund (EU funds for underdeveloped regions/areas)

17 EU competition policy (incl. investigations into state aid, mergers, take-overs, fixed prices, carving up of markets)

18 Competition policy non-EU (incl. investigations into state aid, mergers, take-overs, fixed prices, carving up of markets)

19 Government Ownership, nationalisation in general (land, banks, etc.)

20 Privatisation (of government owned business or industry)

21 Protectionism (e.g., methods to protect national markets, economic growth)

22 Government intervention/control over the economy (prices, wages, rents)

Economic Planning (long-term economic planning, e.g. Greece)23

24 Free movement of people within the EU (common market: including the Schengen agreement)

25 Free movement of goods, capital and services within the EU (common market)

26 EU trade policy (e.g. EU tariffs and import quotas towards non-member states)

27 Trade policy non-EU

Effects of financial crisis on domestic/ EU/ global economy (e.g., competitiveness, demand and supply, consumption, business climate)28

29 State of the EU economy, current situation and outlook, growth, shrinkage

30 Stock market and its developments (shares, bonds, AEX, DAX, Dow Jones, etc.)

31 Business (companies, banks, industry, mergers, manufacturing, bankruptcy)

Other economic topics32

Topic02 Social and labour market policy

01 EU employment policy

02 Employment policy (non-EU)

03 Labour market regulations (e.g., working hours, wage policy; unemployment insurance, unemployment regulation)

04 Health care (policy)

05 Retirement and pensions (policy)

06 Social housing (including poverty, social assistance) (policy)

07 Youth (policy)

08 Family policy (e.g., child care, parental leave)

Other social and labour market topics09

Topic03 Education and Research

01 EU education policy

02 Education policy (non-EU)

03 Science and research policy

Other education and research topics04

Topic04 Law and Order

01 EU police collaboration

02 Crime prevention policy

03 Fight against terrorism

04 Intelligence service

05 Data and personal information security

06 Courts, trials, court decisions

07 Crime (robbery, mugging, killing)

Other law and order topics08

Topic05 Immigration

01 EU immigration policy - regulating immigration from outside the EU (e.g., refugees, asylum, EU border protection)

Immigration policy (non-EU) - regulating immigration from outside the EU02

03 Migration / immigration policy – regulating migration within the EU (e.g., labour migration from Eastern European countries or Southern European countries to the Northern member states)

04 Immigrant integration

05 Multiculturalism (cultural diversity, cultural plurality)

06 Anti-Islam

Other immigration topics07

Topic06 International Affairs

01 EU foreign affairs regarding Crimean Crisis

02 Foreign affairs regarding Crimean Crisis (non-EU)

03 EU foreign affairs general (e.g., EU-China, EU-Russia, EU-US relations, European neighbourhood policy)

04 Foreign affairs general (non-EU; e.g. relations Germany-US, UK’s role in the UN; relations between states or (international) political organizations)

05 EU defence / peace-keeping / EU security

06 Defence / peace-keeping / national security (non-EU; e.g. France sending troops to peace-keeping mission in Africa)

07 Armed forces (modernization, structure, expenditure, military strength)

08 Military cooperations / treaties / obligations (e.g., membership, obligations, NATO)

Other international affairs topic09

Topic07 Culture

01 EU cultural and media / communication (policy) (arts, films/movies, theatre, music, media)

02 Cultural and media / communication (policy) (non-EU) (e.g,. subsidies for theatres, movies, music, etc.; the export of own culture, language, etc.)

03 Human interest (soft news: about prominent persons, celebrities, anniversaries, weddings, animals, strange/funny events, etc.)

Religion04

05 Sports/ weather report/ forecast

06 (Natural) disasters (earthquakes, floods)

07 Accidents

Other culture and soft news topics08

Topic08 Environment and Energy

01 Climate policy

02 EU Energy policy – supply safety (e.g., securing energy supply, EU contracts with Gazprom and other suppliers)

03 Energy policy – supply safety (non-EU)

04 Energy policy – renewable energies (e.g., wind, solar, water)

05 Energy policy – fossil energies (e.g., fracking)

06 Energy policy – nuclear energy

07 Other EU environmental and energy topics

Other non-EU environmental and energy topics08

Topic09 Infrastructure

01 EU transportation policy

02 Transportation policy (non-EU)

03 ICT policy (e.g., communication infrastructure)

04 Energy grid

Other technology and infrastructure topics05

Topic10 Agriculture and Food

01 EU agricultural policy (e.g., subsidies for farmers, food safety, genetically modified food)

02 Agricultural policy (non-EU)

03 EU maritime affairs and fishery policy

04 Maritime affairs and fishery policy (non-EU)

Food safety05

06 Food and public health

Other agriculture and food topics07

Topic11 Consumer protection

01 EU consumer protection policy

Other consumer protection topics02

Topic12 Citizens’ rights

01 Female rights and equality

03 Abortion

04 Immigrant rights

05 Minority rights (e.g., handicapped, gay marriage, children, elderly)

06 Private property and copyright rights

Other citizens’ rights topics (e.g., human rights in general, civil liberties, equality before law)07

Topic13 Constitutional questions and functioning of the EU

01 Division of power *between political institutions* (e.g., between Parliament and Government, between the Council and the European Parliament, separation of church and state)

02 Division of power *between political levels* (e.g., delegation and transference of decision-making power between Brussels and the national level; between regional and national levels; federalism, regional autonomy AND devolution; subsidiarity)

03 EU’s *democratic deficit* (e.g., distance or ‘gap’ between the EU and its citizens or the responsiveness of the EU towards its citizens, citizens feeling not represented or understood by the EU)

04 Division of power *between the people and the political system* (e.g., democracy, referendums, sovereignty of the people); non-EU

05 Other *rules of decision-making* (e.g., qualified majority voting, EU treaties, right to veto, other treaty reforms)

06 Competences of the European Parliament (power, legislative procedures)

07 Competences of the European Commission (Powers of the European Commission)

08 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers (Powers of the European Council/Council of Ministers)

09 Competences of the European Court of Justice (references to the powers of the European Court of Justice)

10 European Central Bank functioning and power

11 Power and position of the EU presidency of member state

12 Power and position European Council President/Presidency (Rompuy position)

13 Power and position European Commission President/Presidency (Barroso position)

14 Power and position external affairs (Ashton position)

15 Power and position Eurogroup leader (Dijsselbloem)

16 Other EU polity / constitutional topic

European Integration17

Topic14 Territorial questions

EU-Membership (existing) (e.g., British referendum on EU membership)01

02 Enlargement (negotiations, criteria, pros and cons) of EU

03 Potential EU membership Turkey

Potential EU membership other (e.g., enlargement of EU with Croatia, Iceland, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo)04

Other territorial questions, topics05

Topic15 Administration and bureaucracy

01 Executive and administrative efficiency

02 EU political corruption, fraud, scandals EU-level politicians or institutions, including regulations and anti-corruption measures (not abuse of EU funds by member states)

03 Political corruption non-EU: Fraud, scandals of non-EU (e.g. national, supranational) politicians or institutions, including regulations and anti-corruption measures

Other administration and bureaucracy topics04

Topic16 Elections

01 European Elections: Candidates, politicians, parties; their images and strategic positions, personality, candidate MEP’s personal character, background, leadership qualities

European Elections: Electioneering, campaigning (strategy, style, finance, fundraising, events, media appearances, endorsements, targeting of electoral groups, political marketing, publicity, advertising)02

03 Media coverage of the campaign

04 European elections: Voters, public opinion, polls, (anticipated) electoral success

European Election: Voter turnout (e.g. expectations)05

06 European Elections: List of party positions on issues (a “manifesto story”)

07 European Elections: Voting procedures (e.g. electronic voting machines, foreign votes

08 European Elections: Election laws, rules, regulations

European Elections: (Formal, public) debates (as an event) between parties, politicians09

10 Political consequences of EP election outcome (e.g. for national-level politicians, parties, power in the)

11 EU policy profile of national political parties (e.g. party manifesto on EU integration issues) (only in context of EU elections)

12 Political party groups/alliances in European Parliament (e.g. political party group profile, internal affairs, conflict, organization, internal elections)

13 Vote advice for European Elections

14 Other EP election-related topics

15 Other National, regional, local elections in EU Countries

Other National elections in non-EU Countries16

Topic17 Other topics

Table A1. Main issues per country and actor.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Austria | Germany | United Kingdom |
|   | parties | media\* | both | parties | media\* | both | parties | media\* | both |
| Administration and bureaucracy (ab) | 17 | 11 | 28 | 0 | 9 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| in % | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Agriculture and food (af) | 40 | 12 | 52 | 10 | 14 | 24 | 2 | 9 | 11 |
| in % | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Citizens‘ rights (cr) | 59 | 15 | 74 | 26 | 11 | 37 | 7 | 12 | 19 |
| in % | 6 | 2 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Constitutional questions and functioning of EU (cqf) | 29 | 25 | 54 | 5 | 51 | 56 | 12 | 41 | 53 |
| in % | 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 8 |
| Consumer protection (cp) | 29 | 0 | 29 | 9 | 6 | 15 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| in % | 3 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Culture and other (co) | 25 | 3 | 28 | 5 | 9 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| in % | 3 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Economy (eco) | 145 | 99 | 244 | 63 | 94 | 157 | 22 | 23 | 45 |
| in % | 16 | 15 | 15 | 21 | 12 | 14 | 10 | 6 | 7 |
| Education and Research (er) | 11 | 4 | 15 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| in % | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Elections (el) | 244 | 154 | 398 | 34 | 102 | 136 | 25 | 36 | 61 |
| in % | 26 | 23 | 25 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 9 | 10 |
| Environment and Energy (ee) | 60 | 21 | 81 | 17 | 25 | 42 | 12 | 17 | 29 |
| in % | 6 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| Immigration (im) | 32 | 31 | 63 | 17 | 26 | 43 | 24 | 46 | 70 |
| in % | 3 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Infrastructure (i) | 26 | 7 | 33 | 7 | 13 | 20 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| in % | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| International affairs (ia) | 57 | 172 | 229 | 50 | 295 | 345 | 23 | 97 | 120 |
| in % | 6 | 26 | 14 | 17 | 37 | 31 | 10 | 24 | 19 |
| Law and order (lo) | 46 | 31 | 77 | 24 | 52 | 76 | 7 | 18 | 25 |
| in % | 5 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Social and labour market policy (sola) | 78 | 22 | 100 | 12 | 16 | 28 | 13 | 9 | 22 |
| in % | 8 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 3 |
| Territorial questions (tq) | 20 | 34 | 54 | 7 | 52 | 59 | 58 | 83 | 141 |
| in % | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 26 | 20 | 22 |
| Other topics | 18 | 27 | 45 | 10 | 22 | 32 | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| in % | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Total | 936 | 668 | 1604 | 301 | 799 | 1100 | 223 | 409 | 632 |

\* Multiple codes possible as up to three actors were coded per article.

Example of Detected Pattern

For matters of illustration, we here describe one pattern we found in greater detail. We chose a pattern started by a press release from the *Labour* party, followed by a newspaper article in *The Guardian* and a press release from the *Liberal Democrats* all on the issue of whether the United Kingdom should stay in the EU or not (see Figure 1; any dot in the diagram representing one event, with *Labour* press releases in the top line, newspaper articles in the middle line, and *Liberal Democrats’* press releases in the bottom line). This pattern occurs four times in similar time intervals and more frequently than simply by random chance.

**Figure 1.** Example – Labour-Guardian-Liberal Democrats interactions on EU-exit.