

Media Content Data Set Mass Immigration

Codebook

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1. Overview

This codebook describes the process used to generate the media content dataset used in the article [Klaus Armingeon and Philipp Lutz: Muddling between Responsiveness and Responsibility: The Swiss case of a non-implementation of a constitutional rule, Comparative European Politics, 2019](#)

1.1 Location

The dataset is stored at FORS, Lausanne (Projekt 12753).

1.2 Acknowledgement

The coding work was supported by Christian Isler, Laura Knöpfel and Fiona Wiedemeier.

1.3 Coverage

The media data covers four Swiss newspapers: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Blick, Le Temps and Le Matin. The rationale of the selection is to include a tabloid newspaper and a quality newspaper in the two main language regions of Switzerland. The time frame is defined by the implementation period of the Swiss initiative 'against mass immigration' adopted on February 9, 2014 and the subsequent implementation law in December 2016.

2. Methodology

The coding process followed pre-defined rules. First, all newspaper articles within the coverage frame were selected based on word criteria from the global news database 'Factiva'. If an article contains the word 'free movement' or 'migration' (or synonyms), the article was added to the sample. In German the sampling words include "Personenfreizügigkeit", "Einwanderung", "Freier Personenverkehr", "Migration", "Einwanderung", "Zuwanderung" and „Auswanderung“. In French those words have been „libre circulation“, „immigration“, „migration“ and „emigration“. Political actors were added inductively during the coding process.

3. Description of Variables

We include a variety of variables that identify statements of political actors regarding the immigration control and the implementation of the initiative 'against mass immigration'.

ID	Identification number for each article
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newspaper	Name of the newspaper an article was published
1 Neue Zürcher Zeitung 2 Blick 3 Le Temps 4 Le Matin	
date	Date of publication of the article, YEAR/MONTH/DAY (e.g. 140209)
relevance	Does the article contain a relevant statement of a political actor regarding immigration policy? Relevance defined by whether a political actor makes a statement on the policy or strategy
0 = not relevant 1 = relevant	
actor	Identification number of the political actor making the statement in the form of 'Surname, Name'. A political actor is defined as a person of public interest in media, politics, economy, civil society or science. Excluded are anecdotal opinions of individuals with no formal function. New actors appearing in an article were inductively added to the list. Individual actors start with the number 0001, collective actors with the number 0500
0001 Sommaruga, Simonetta 0002 Maurer, Ueli 0003 Schneider-Ammann, Johann 0004 Rossier, Yves 0005 Lampart, Daniel 0006 Müller, Philipp 0007 Levrat, Christian 0008 Blocher, Christoph 0009 Savary, Géraldine 0010 Keller-Sutter, Karin 0011 Brunner, Toni 0012 Matter, Thomas 0013 Piccand, Roger 0014 Rickenbacher, Iwan 0015 Burkhalter, Didier 0016 Nordmann, Roger 0017 Derder, Fathi 0018 Schwarz, Gerhard 0019 Longchamp, Francois 0020 Darbellay, Christophe 0021 Lüchinger, René 0022 Studer, Ruedi 0023 Cina, Jean-Michel 0024 Bourgeois, Jacques 0025 Zeller, René 0026 Pilet, Jacques 0027 Adler, Oliver 0028 Vogt, Valentin 0029 Gemperli, Simon 0030 Spillmann, Markus 0031 Stamm, Luzi 0032 Brand, Heinz 0033 Brutschin, Christoph 0034 Karrer, Heinz 0035 Rechsteiner, Paul 0036 Cherix, Francois 0037 Nordmann, Francois 0038 Hess, Hans 0039 Pfister, Gerhard 0040 Steinegger, Franz 0041 Neff, Martin	0042 Calmy-Rey, Micheline 0043 Bopp, Ralf 0044 Sturm, Jan-Egbert 0045 Haemmerli, Thomas 0046 Mazzoleni, Oscar 0047 Voilet, Claude-Alain 0048 Minsch, Rudolf 0049 Emmenegger, Patrick 0050 Veya, Pierre 0051 Koidl, Roman 0052 Baumgartner, Markus 0053 Kalbermatten, Markus 0054 Roch, Philippe 0055 Sommaruga, Carlo 0056 Schmid, Ulrich 0057 Gartenmann, Werner 0058 Fykse Tveit, Olav 0059 Eloi, Frank 0060 Freysinger, Oskar 0061 Brabeck, Peter 0062 Fischer, Peter A. 0063 Bigler, Hans-Ulrich 0064 Freiburghaus, Dieter 0065 Couchepin, Pascal 0066 Schwok, René 0067 Kaddous, Christine 0068 Amarelle, Cesla 0069 Amstutz, Adrian 0070 Aebischer, Patrick 0071 Dell'Ambrogio, Mauro 0072 Epiney, Astrid 0073 Rusotto/ Russotto, Jean 0074 Miéville, Daniel S. 0075 Chappaz, Pierre 0076 Köppel, Roger 0077 Zimmermann, Ivo 0078 Ribi, Yvonne 0079 Senn, Martin 0080 Jaisli, Hannes 0081 Loprieno, Antonio 0082 Hildebrand, Philipp

0083 Hayek, Nick	0154 Lange, Tobias
0084 Falbriard, G�raldine	0155 Schnopp Max
0085 Armuna, Tatiana	0156 Levrat, Nicolas
0086 Neiry�nck, Jacques	0157 Geissb�hler, Andrea
0087 Etwareea, Ram	0158 Parmelin, Guy
0088 Maire, Jacques-Andr�	0159 Reynard, Mathias
0089 Steinmann, Walter	0160 Steiert, Jean-Francois
0090 H�ltschi, Ren�	0161 Eichler, Ralph
0091 Wolter, Stefan	0162 Cormon, Pierre
0092 Schwaller, Urs	0163 de Boccard, Alexandre
0093 Siegwart, Roland	0164 Savoia, Sergio
0094 Schenker, Andrea	0165 Widmer-Schlumpf, Eveline
0095 Thorens Goumaz, Ad�le	0166 Gottraux, Philippe
0096 St�hlker, Klaus	0167 Fluckiger, Alexandre
0097 Ritter, Markus	0168 Salzmann, Nad�ge
0098 Vergauwen, Guido	0169 Lanzoni, Matthias
0099 Arlettaz, Dominique	0170 Grillet, Ornella
0100 Poggia, Mauro	0171 Courvoisier, Francois
0101 Rechsteiner, Ruedi	0172 Marques, Claudio
0102 Tobler, Christa	0173 de Preux, Julien
0103 de Buman, Dominique	0174 Gutzwiller, Felix
0104 Blattner, Niklaus	0175 R�sti, Albert
0105 Senti, Martin	0176 Guetta, Bernard
0106 Ernst, Wolfgang	0177 Baranzini, Andrea
0107 Michel, Matthias	0178 Ramirez, Jos�
0108 Armingeon, Klaus	0179 Pedrina, Fabio
0109 Fehr, Jaqueline	0180 H�cker, Christoph
0110 Broulis, Pascal	0181 Engler, Conrad
0111 Maudet, Pierre	0182 Inauen, Yasmine
0112 Juillard, Charles	0183 Wehrli, Christoph
0113 Rime, Jean-Francois	0184 Buono, Stefano
0114 B�chi, Christophe	0185 Pittet, Denis
0115 M�rgeli, Christoph	0186 Mosimann, Philip
0116 Bulcke, Paul	0187 Spuhler, Peter
0117 Jenny, Matthias	0188 Koch, Markus
0118 Wyplosz, Charles	0189 Meyer, Thomas D.
0119 Lautenberg, Alexis	0190 Modoux, Francois
0120 Kern, Thomas	0191 B�guelin, Jean-Pierre
0121 Moser, Beat	0192 Schwab, Klaus
0122 Monnier, Philippe	0193 Werlen, Raymond
0123 Diener, Verena	0194 Feller, Olivier
0124 Weber, Franz	0195 Untern�hrer, Stefan
0125 Nidegger, Yves	0196 K�nzli, Klaus
0126 Hitzfeld, Ottmar	0197 Graber, St�phane
0127 Sch�chli, Hansueli	0198 Dietrich, Peter
0128 Tingler, Philipp	0199 Sutter, Joos
0129 Brelaz, Daniel	0200 Beltraminelli, Paolo
0130 Salerno, Sandrine	0201 Hauri, Ernst
0131 Fehr, Erich	0202 Schuler, Martin
0132 Mauch, Corine	0203 Zwahlen, Jean
0133 Morin, Guy	0204 Aubert, Josianne
0134 Tsch�pp�t, Alexander	0205 Markwalder, Christa
0135 Meyer, Andreas	0206 Naef, Martin
0136 Berberat, Didier	0207 Schwaab, Jean-Christophe
0137 Kuntz, Joelle	0208 Casarus, Gilbert
0138 Sheldon, George	0209 Mahaim, Raphael
0139 Dufour, Nicolas	0210 Mori, Daniel
0140 Buss, Pierre-Emmanuel	0211 Alleva, Vania
0141 Behrens, Miriam	0212 Vonlanthen, Beat
0142 Oehen, Valentin	0213 Boder, Willy
0143 Lombard, Thierry	0214 Meyer, Thomas
0144 Park, Susin	0215 Bumbacher, Beat
0145 Nikolic, Dejan	0216 Guldinmann, Tim
0146 Cottier, Thomas	0217 Ritterband, Charles
0147 J�rgens, Udo	0218 Laufer, David
0148 Schiesser, Fritz	0219 Derrous-Brodard, Touria
0149 Muschg, Adolf	0220 Rilliet, Juliet
0150 Minder, Thomas	0221 Gl�ttli, Balthasar
0151 de Watteville, Jacques	0222 Dessoulavy, Jean
0152 Rossini, St�phane	0223 Rickenbacher, Andreas
0153 Schilling, Guido	0224 Moser, Tiana Angelina

0225 John-Calame, Francine
 0226 Schneider-Schneiter, Elisabeth
 0227 Bélaz, Charles
 0228 Parish, Matthew
 0229 Morais, Julia
 0230 Koch, Klaus-Dieter
 0231 Stadler, Rainer
 0232 Turcan, Ayse
 0233 Ten Hoedt, Rob
 0234 Kraus, Daniel
 0235 Obrist, Thierry
 0236 Küng, Daniel
 0237 Krone, Irenka
 0238 Müller, Matthias
 0239 Küttel, Olivier
 0240 Pedrina, Vasco
 0241 Baltisser, Martin
 0242 Wermuth, Cédric
 0243 Lenz, Pedro
 0244 Chetail, Vincent
 0245 Helble, Yvonne
 0246 Dépraz, Alex
 0247 Sidjanski, Dusan
 0248 Kuprecht, Alex
 0249 Rytz, Regula
 0250 Thommen, Andreas
 0251 Müggler, Silvan
 0252 Ley, Thomas
 0253 Imwinkelried, Daniel
 0254 Messmer, Werner
 0255 Clerc, Alain
 0256 Ouanes, Taoufik
 0257 Strahm, Rudolf
 0258 Moret, Isabelle
 0259 Suter, Martin
 0260 Schneeberger, Paul
 0261 Loderer, Benedikt
 0262 Petignat, Yves
 0263 Müri, Felix
 0264 Tschümperlin, Andy
 0265 Nussbaumer, Eric
 0266 Föhn, Peter
 0267 Comte, Raphael
 0268 Egerszegi, Christine
 0269 Häfliger, Markus
 0270 Cramer, Robert
 0271 Beglinger, Nick
 0272 Favre, Janelise
 0273 Roguet, Jean-Charles
 0274 Heer, Alfred
 0275 Swing, William Lacy
 0276 Ackermann, Joe
 0277 Schlüter, Ulrich
 0278 Braglia, Riccardo
 0279 Anastasia, Vittorino
 0280 Solari, Marco
 0281 Hafner, Elias
 0282 Holzhey, Matthias
 0283 Meier, Ursula
 0284 Ermotti, Sergio P.
 0285 Gugger, Harry
 0286 Reeb-Landry, Frédérique
 0287 Leuthard, Doris
 0288 Bertoli, Manuele
 0289 Fehr, Mario
 0290 Rotziger, Ulrich
 0291 Keller, Florian
 0292 Walker-Späh, Carmen
 0293 Wyss, Hansjörg
 0294 Croci, Sindaco
 0295 Marfurt, Bernhard

0296 Ziegler, Roman
 0297 Ambühl, Michael
 0298 Vogt, Hans-Ueli
 0299 Birchler, Felix
 0300 Pult, Jon
 0301 Tornare, Manuel
 0302 Kronenberg, Philipp
 0303 Langer, Marie-Astrid
 0304 Lombardi, Filippo
 0305 Pardini, Corrado
 0306 Wolff, Richard
 0307 Geiger, Hans
 0308 Aeschbacher, Ruedi
 0309 Lüscher, Christian
 0310 Wasescha, Luzius
 0311 Berset, Alain
 0312 Weber, Axel
 0313 Tschoumy, Jacques-André
 0314 Zurkinden, Philipp
 0315 Wysling, Andres
 0316 Fellay, Jean-Blaise
 0317 Zimmermann, Wajd
 0318 Germann, Hannes
 0319 Gabriel, Martin
 0320 Lustenberger, Ruedi
 0321 Wuthrich, Bernard
 0322 Martullo-Blocher, Magdalena
 0323 Halbeis, Matthias
 0324 Marra, Ada
 0325 Schiavi, Rita
 0326 Bäumle, Martin
 0327 Landolt, Martin
 0328 Rey, Anne-Marie
 0329 Büeler, Benno
 0330 Kellenberger, Jakob
 0331 Nuspliger, Niklaus
 0332 Gattiker, Mario
 0333 Rochat, Frédéric
 0334 Wanner, Philippe
 0335 Piguet, Etienne
 0336 Büchel, Roland Rino
 0337 Fiala, Doris
 0338 Wandfluh, Hansruedi
 0339 Grisel, Etienne
 0340 Somm, Markus
 0341 Balzaretto, Roberto
 0342 Leimgruber, Walter
 0343 Bütler, Monika
 0344 Jositsch, Daniel
 0345 Huth, Petra
 0346 Koch, Brice
 0347 Büschi, Barbara
 0348 Gallarotti, Ermes
 0349 Salamin, Alain
 0350 Constantin, Frédéric
 0351 Carron, Maxence
 0352 Maiani, Francesco
 0353 Lobe, Max
 0354 Freymond, Jean F.
 0355 Flückiger, Yves
 0356 Reimann, Lukas
 0357 Martel Fus, Andrea
 0358 Gratwohl, Natalie
 0359 Leuba, Philippe
 0360 Signer, David
 0361 Bischoff, Markus
 0362 Müller, Thomas
 0363 Meyer, Frank A.
 0364 Badran, Jacqueline
 0365 Pepshi, Keshtjella
 0366 Kessler, Olivier

0367 Wolffers, Felix
 0368 Auer, Andreas
 0369 Geiser, Thomas
 0370 Wasserfallen, Flavia
 0371 Leitner, Matthias
 0372 Gobbi, Norman
 0373 Dolivo, Jean Michel
 0374 Liebrand, Anian
 0375 Winter, Herbert
 0376 Müller, Tobias
 0377 Weder, Rolf
 0378 Noser, Ruedi
 0379 Frammery, Catherine
 0380 Ocbe, Daniel
 0381 Hosp, Gerald
 0382 Pettigrew, Michel
 0383 Gomm, Peter
 0384 Walti, Beat
 0385 Hohler, Franz
 0386 Niederöst, Peter
 0387 Domergue, Jean-Michel
 0388 Fluri, Kurt
 0389 Graf, Guido
 0390 Elze, Fiona
 0391 Casella, Alexandre
 0392 Gössi, Petra
 0393 Streiff-Feller, Marianne
 0394 Rutz, Gregor
 0395 Nantermod, Philippe
 0396 Addor, Jean-Luc
 0397 Buffat, Michaël
 0398 Romano, Marco
 0399 Feldges, Dominik
 0400 Pätsi, Tuomo
 0401 Rühl, Monika
 0402 Schenker, Silvia
 0403 Aeschi, Thomas
 0404 Rásonyi, Peter
 0405 Gaillard, Serge
 0406 Binswanger, Mathias
 0407 Brunier, Alain
 0408 Stauffer, Eric
 0409 Ackeret, Markus
 0410 Widmer, Joël
 0411 Jamal Aldin, Samir
 0412 Cretton, Cilette
 0413 Rochel, Johan
 0414 Perrin, Yvan
 0415 Kleiber, Charles
 0416 Vaccaro, Luciana
 0417 Cueni, Thomas
 0418 Sauter, Regine

0500 Bundesrat
 0501 Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP)
 0501.1 SVP Kanton Tessin
 0502 Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei (FDP)
 0502.1 FDP Kanton Tessin
 0503 Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei (CVP)
 0504 Sozialdemokratische Partei (SP)
 0504.1 SP Kanton Tessin
 0504.2 SP Kanton Graubünden
 0505 Grüne Partei
 0505.1 Grüne Partei, Tessiner Sektion
 0506 Auslandschweizerorganisation
 0507 Gewerkschaftsbund (SGB)
 0508 Vereinigung Ecopop
 0509 auns
 0510 UBS
 0511 Schweizer Gewerbeverband
 0512 Bevölkerung

0419 Kielholz, Walter
 0420 Gnesa, Eduard
 0421 Grangier, Kevin
 0422 Gujer, Eric
 0423 Amaudruz, Céline
 0424 Frey, Bruno S.
 0425 Osterloh, Margit
 0426 Karle, Alexandra
 0427 Riklin, Kathy
 0428 Hehli, Simon
 0429 Hengartner, Michael
 0430 Gmür, Heidi
 0431 Friedli, Esther
 0432 Funicello, Tamara
 0433 Huber-Hotz, Annemarie
 0434 Linder, Wolf
 0435 Menzato, Nico
 0436 Guillaume, Michel
 0437 Caroni, Andrea
 0438 Sciarini, Pascal
 0439 Stöckli, Hans
 0440 Bühler, Manfred
 0441 Chevalley, Isabelle
 0442 Heiniger, Thomas
 0443 Fournier, Jean-René
 0444 Sauter, Bruno
 0445 Hösly, Balz
 0446 Menzato, Nico
 0447 Besson, Sylvain
 0448 Glarner, Andreas
 0449 Ineichen-Fleisch, Marie-Gabrielle
 0450 Sangines, Alan David
 0451 Shaibal, Roy
 0452 Bignasca, Giuliano
 0453 Lenz, Christoph
 0454 Thomsen, Marie Owens
 0455 Baur, Francois
 0456 Bewes, Diccon
 0457 Flückiger, Jan
 0458 Maillard, Pierre-Yves
 0459 Mazzone, Lisa
 0460 Mirabaud, Pierre
 0461 Schäubli, Thomas
 0462 Stephan, Cora
 0463 Jaccoud, Jessica
 0464 Najy, Cenni
 0465 Bischof, Pirmin
 0466 Albert, Eric
 0467 Schnegg, Pierre-Alain
 0468 Cescato, Claudio
 0469 Jauslin, Matthias

0513 Lega di Ticinesi
 0514 economiesuisse
 0515 Bundesratsparteien
 0516 Novartis
 0517 Neue Zürcher Zeitung
 0518 Credit Suisse
 0519 Swisselectric
 0520 Verband Schweizerischer Elektrizitätsunternehmen
 0521 Schweizer Bauernverband (SBV)
 0522 Verband der Schweizer Studierendenschaften
 0523 Movement Citoyens genevois
 0524 Switzerland Global Enterprise
 0525 Zürcher Studierendenverbände
 0526 Jones Lang LaSalle
 0527 UNIA
 0528 The Other Half
 0529 Greenpeace
 0530 Amnesty International

0531 Tagesanzeiger
 0532 Grosse Rat Tessin
 0533 ETH Zürich
 0534 Staatssekretariat für Bildung, Forschung und Innovation
 0535 SPK Ständerat
 0536 Konferenz der Kantonsregierungen (Kdk)
 0537 Swissmem
 0538 Kommission für Wissenschaft, Bildung und Kultur
 0539 Gastrosuisse
 0540 Scienceindustries
 0541 AvenirSuisse
 0542 Operation Libero
 0543 Comité des jeunes pour la Suisse
 0544 Jungsozialisten (JUSO)
 0545 Seco (Staatssekretariat für Wirtschaft)
 0546 Gewerkschaften
 0547 Regierung Kanton Zürich
 0548 Schweizerischer Baumeisterverband
 0549 SPK Nationalrat
 0550 Klagemauer-TV
 0551 Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Aussenpolitik (SGA)
 0552 foraus - Forum Aussenpolitik
 0553 Ständerat
 0554 Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei (BDP)
 0555 Rektorenkonferenz (Crus)
 0556 Arbeitgeberverband (AGV)

0557 Staatssekretariat für Migration (SEM) / BFM
 0558 Neue Europäische Bewegung Schweiz (Nebs)
 0559 Richement
 0560 HEKS
 0561 Aussenministerium (EDA)
 0562 Grünliberale Partei (GLP)
 0563 Raus aus der Sackgasse (Rasa)
 0564 Eidgenössische Kommission für Migrationsfragen (EKM)
 0565 Schweizer Tourismusverband
 0566 Parlament
 0567 Regierung Kanton Zürich
 0568 Schweizerische Bankiervereinigung (SBVg)
 0569 Collectif R
 0570 Die Schweizer Kantone/Sozial- und Polizeidirektoren
 0571 Le Matin
 0572 Mouvement Citoyens Genevois (MCG)
 0573 Swissuniversities
 0574 Fachhochschule Westschweiz (HES-SO)
 0575 Etablissement Vaudois d'Accueil des Migrants (EVAM)
 0576 Zürcher Regierungsrat
 0577 Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ)

NA article not relevant

area

Area within society an actor is located in

1 media
 2 politics
 3 economy
 4 civil society
 5 science
 999 Other, unknown
 NA article not relevant

party

Affiliation with a political party

001 Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP)	010 Jungfreisinnige
002 Sozialdemokratische Partei (SPS)	011 JUSO
003 Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei (FDP)	012 JCVP
004 Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei (CVP)	013 Alternative Linke (AL)
005 Grüne Partei (GP)	014 La Gauche
006 Grünliberale Partei (GLP)	015 EVP
007 Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei (BDP)	999 no party, unknown
008 Lega dei Ticinesi	NA article not relevant
009 Mouvement Citoyens Genevois (MCG)	

function1

Function of political actor, structured by area of society, function1 codes the primary function and function2 the secondary function of an actor

function2

Media

001 journalist
 002 editor, publisher
 003 columnist
 004 other media function
 005 former journalist

Politics

101 executive, national
 102 legislative, national
 103 executive, regional
 104 legislative, regional
 105 executive, supra-national

106 legislative, supra-national
 107 administration, national
 108 administration, regional
 109 administration, supra-national
 110 leadership political party
 111 executive, local
 112 politician, former
 113 administration, former
 114 diplomacy, intergovernmental organisation
 115 diplomacy, former
 116 legislative, local

Economy

201 industrial association
 202 farmer association
 203 service association
 204 umbrella organisation (firms/employer)
 205 union, christian
 206 union, socialist
 207 union, economist
 208 bank
 209 Small and medium enterprise (SME)
 210 large enterprise
 211 corporate specialist

Civil society

301 pro-openness organisation
 302 pro-closure organisation
 303 humanitarian organisation
 304 environmental organisation
 305 think-tank
 306 cultural organisation
 307 otherNGO
 308 religious organisation
 309 educational organisation
 310 sport organisation

Science

401 Professor
 402 Administration or Representation
 403 other academic function

NA article not relevant

policy

Policy position of an actor on immigration: Does the actor support the existing or higher level of openness of Switzerland towards immigration or does he/she support more closure towards immigration?

1 openness
 0 closure
 999 unknown
 NA article not relevant

negotiation

Evaluation of negotiations between Switzerland and the European Union on the free movement agreement and the room for manoeuvre of the Swiss government. Does the actor describe the situation of Switzerland vis-à-vis the European Union in terms of options and feasibility? Or does the actor describe the situation as a set of constraints on Swiss migration policy?

1 Options
 2 Constraints
 999 unknown
 NA article not relevant