

## **Book: Political Leadership and the European Commission Presidency**

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### **Codebook**

These lists of codes are derived from the codes used in the study of the *agenda-setting leadership* and *public leadership* of the European Commission presidents, conducted between January 2013 and October 2015.

The content analyses of the political speeches and newspaper articles (*Financial Times*) were conducted with the data analysis software MAXQDA. One speech or article may have addressed more than one topic, but each topic was only coded once in a speech.

The speeches have been collected from the following archives: Federal Archive of Germany (Koblenz), Historical Archives of the European Commission (Brussels), Historical Archives of the European Union (Florence), as well as from the European Commission's online archives (for further details, please see references).

The newspaper articles of the *Financial Times* have been collected from the *Financial Times'* digital archive and the *LexisNexis* database.

### **4a) Agenda-Setting Leadership**

The analysis of the presidents' speeches is guided by a set of eight higher-level categories, encompassing both topics and venues, that allow for a comparison across the process of European integration.

#### **1. *Main Topics/Political Agenda***

Refers to those topics and issue clusters the president predominantly addressed, and as such formed his political agenda. The crucial characteristic of the main topics category is frequency, that is, how often the given president addressed the respective issues while in office.

#### **2. *Major Political Internal/External Events***

Refers to the president's response to important events that occurred during his tenure at the European level or that were of central importance to the process of European integration. Internal events encompass, for example, accession rounds of new member states and EEC/EC/EU treaty reforms, as well as institutional or economic crises that had an impact on the further development of European integration, such as the Empty Chair crisis and the European financial and sovereign debt crisis. External events are international developments such as the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Gulf crisis, or the process of globalization more broadly.

#### **3. *EEC/EC/EU General Issues***

Refers to all general political topics and issue clusters discussed by the president and related to EEC, EC, or EU politics respectively.

#### **4. *EEC/EC/EU Policies***

Comprises all concrete policies or policy initiatives discussed at length in any speech.

**5. *EEC/EC/EU Institutions***

Encompasses all institutions within the European institutional framework ranging from the European Parliament to the European Council. This category focuses on the central arenas at the European level, in which the Commission president announces his agenda and where it is potentially negotiated and implemented.

**6. *National Governmental Institutions***

Encompasses institutions at the national level, such as governments, parliaments, and ministries of both EEC/EC/EU member states and non-member states. This category gives insight into what extent the incumbent invested in national alliance and consensus building. Moreover, it shows to what extent the Commission president met with representatives of non-member states, such as accession candidates or powerful partners, such as the US, China, or Russia.

**7. *International Conferences***

Comprises all international occasions in which the respective president delivered a speech, such as UN or G8 summits.

**8. *Civil Society Organizations/Advocacy Groups***

Encompasses all interest and lobby groups, academic institutions, trade unions, foundations, and political or faith-based organizations within EEC/EC/EU member states that are not directly involved in governmental tasks, whether at the regional, national, or European and international level.

<b>Quantitative Speech Analysis – Categories of Topics and Venues</b>	
<b>Topics</b>	<b>Venues</b>
1. Main Topics/Political Agenda	1. EEC/EC/EU Institutions
2. Major Internal/External Events	2. National Governmental Institutions
3. EEC/EC/EU General Issues	3. International Conferences
4. EEC/EC/EU Policies	4. EU Civil Society Organizations/Advocacy Groups

**Walter Hallstein**

The content analysis of Walter Hallstein’s political speeches (325 speeches, 1958–1967) resulted in 1,870 given codes. The higher-ranking categories encompass the following sub-codes:

***Hallstein’s Main Topics/Political Agenda***

- Explaining Institutions/Functioning CEE/Euratom/CECA
  - EEC Community=Political Community
  - Work/Legitimacy EEC Commission
- Explaining Completion Single Market/Tariff Union
- Explaining European Integration/Construction/Unity
- EEC Economic/Industrial Development/Outlook

***Major Internal/External Events***

- 1957 EEC Treaty/Treaty of Rome
- 1961 Accession Application UK

1961/62 Acceleration of EU Treaty  
1965/66 European Crisis/Empty Chair Crisis  
1967 Merger of European Communities

***EEC General Issues***

Statute of Commission  
European Culture/Values  
European People/Citizens/Consumer  
EEC Community Budget  
EEC Legal Implementation/Aquis Communautaire  
European Education+Research/Universities/Schools  
EEC Association Agreements/EEC Enlargement Debates  
EEC External Cooperation/Foreign Policy  
World Economy/World Trade/GATT  
EEC-US Relationship/Transatlantic Relations/NATO  
Relationship EEC-Soviet Union  
Relationship EEC-UK

***EEC Policies***

EEC Agriculture/Agricultural Policy  
EEC Economic+Industrial Policy  
EEC Social Policy/Socio-Economic Dimension  
EEC Trade Policy  
EEC Financial and Monetary Policy  
EEC Development Policy  
EEC Transport Policy  
EEC Regional Policy  
EEC Energy Policy

***EEC Institutions***

European Parliament  
European Commission  
Council of Ministers/IGC  
Other EEC Institutions/Agencies/Representations  
European Economic & Social Committee

***EEC National Governmental Institutions***

EEC Member Government/Institutions/Parliaments  
Non-EEC Governments/Institutions/Parliaments  
Non-European Governments/Institutions/Parliaments

***International Conferences***

***EEC Civil Society Organizations/Advocacy Groups***

EEC Academic Institutions [Academic institutions in the EEC]  
EEC Social Partners/Trade Unions [in the EEC]  
EEC Industrial/Business/Economic Partners [in the EEC]  
EEC Organized Agricultural Partners [in the EEC]  
Other Political Organizations/Parties/Unions [in the EEC]

***Non-EEC Civil Society***

Non-EEC Academic Institutions (Europe/Intern.)  
Non-EEC Industrial/Business/Economic Partners

Non-EEC Media/Press Institutions  
***Audience Geographical Status*** [omitted category]  
Brussels/Strasbourg  
EEC Member States  
Non-EEC Member States  
Non-European States

### **Jacques Delors**

The content analysis of Jacques Delors' political speeches (264 speeches, 1985–1995) resulted in 1,536 given codes. The higher-ranking categories encompass the following sub-codes:

#### ***Delors' Main Topics/Political Agenda***

Completion Single Market/Economic Cooperation/SEA/1992 Project  
Financial/Monetary Cooperation/EMS/EMU  
Social Dimension/Social+Economic Cohesion  
Institutional Functioning/Reform/Subsidiarity  
External Cooperation/Security/Defense/CFSP  
Political Cooperation/Political Union/EU  
Technological Cooperation/Innovation/Research  
[French Politics/Economy/Agriculture] = omitted, personal topic not enough frequency  
[Catholicism] = omitted, personal topic not enough frequency

#### ***Major Internal/External Events***

1987 SEA/1992 Project/Single Market/Delors-I-Package  
1989 Charter of Fundamental Social Rights  
1989/90 Germany/Reunification/Eastern Europe/Soviet Union  
1990/91 Gulf Crisis  
1992 TEU/Maastricht Treaty/EU/Dan. Ref./Delors-II-Package  
1993 White Paper on Growth, Competiveness, Employment

#### ***EC/EU General Issues***

EC/EU Commission's Work/Institutions/Agencies  
EC/EU Community Budget/Community Resources  
EC/EU Credibility/European Citizens/European Public Opinion  
EC/EU Enlargement/Spain/Portugal/EFTA States/Eastern Europe  
EC/EU Law/Legal Implementation/Aquis Communautaire  
European Construction/Integration History/Rome Treaty  
European Culture/Values/Democracy  
European Economic/Financial Cooperation/EFTA/Eastern Europe  
European Unemployment/Labor Politics/Labor Rights  
Global Interdependence/Economy/World Trade/GATT  
International Economic/Financial Cooperation/Development  
Transatlantic Relations

#### ***EC/EU Policies***

EC/EU Audiovisual EUREKA Programme  
EC/EU Common Agricultural Policy  
EC/EU Education Policies

EC/EU Environmental Policy/Environmental Protection  
EC/EU Regional Policies/Regional+Rural Policies  
EC/EU Structural/Cohesion Funds  
EC/EU Healthcare Policies  
EC/EU Integrated Mediterranean Programmes

***EC/EU Institutions***

European Parliament  
European Commission  
Other EC/EU Institutions/Agencies/Representations  
European Council/Council of Ministers/IGC  
European Economic & Social Committee

***EC/EU National Governmental Institutions***

EC/EU Member Government/Institutions/Parliaments  
Other European Governments/Institutions/Parliaments  
Non-European Governments

***International Conferences***

***Civil Society Organizations/Advocacy Groups***

EC/EU Academic/Intellectual Society/University/Think Tanks [in the EC/EU]  
European Movement  
EC/EU Press/Media Organizations [in the EC/EU]  
EC/EU Religious Community/Catholicism [in the EC/EU]  
EC/EU Agricultural Organizations [in the EC/EU]  
EC/EU Business/Industrial Partners [in the EC/EU]  
EC/EU Social Partners/Trade Unions/Social-Democratic Parties [in the EC/EU]

***Audience Geographical Status*** [omitted category]

Brussels/Strasbourg  
EC/EU Member States  
Other European Countries  
Non-European Countries

***José Manuel Barroso***

The content analysis of José Barroso's political speeches (588 speeches, 2004–2014) resulted in 3,527 given codes. The higher-ranking categories encompass the following sub-codes:

***Main Topics/Political Agenda***

Growth/Jobs/Innovation/Lisbon Strategy/Europe 2020  
EU/European Future/Renewal  
European Values/Culture/Citizens/Civil Society  
Globalization/Global Economy+Governance/G20  
Euro/EMU/Ecofin/ECB/Finan. Governance  
EU External Cooperation/Partnerships/Intern. Development  
EU Single Market/Economic Governance  
Climate Change/Environment/Ecologic Governance

***Major Internal/External Events***

2003/4 EU Constitution/Ratification

2005 Lisbon Strategy/Relaunch  
2007 Berlin Declaration/Reform Treaty  
2007 Treaty of Lisbon/Charter of Fundamental Rights  
2008/10 Intern.-Europ. Financial Crisis  
2010 Greek Debt Crisis/Greece Task Force  
2011/12 Fiscal Compact

***EU General Issues***

European Leadership  
EU Institutions/Institutional Reform  
European Construction/Integration History  
EU Energy/Nuclear Sector/Sustainability  
EU Employment/Youth Unemployment  
EU Business/Industry/Real Economy  
EU Budget/Multiannual Financial Framework  
EU Social Dimension/Social Security/Social Justice  
EU Enlargement/Neighborhood/Partnership/Euromed  
EU Higher Education/Research/Technology  
EU Member States/Policies&Politics/History [i.e. focus on what member states do]  
External Trade/GATT/Doha  
EU Security/Justice/Fight against Terrorism  
EU Migration/Refugees/Asylum  
EU Legislation/Aquis Communautaire

***EU Policies***

EU Health Care Policies  
EU Fundamental Rights Initiative  
EU Regions/Regional Policy  
EU Agriculture/Maritime Policy  
EU Transport/Infrastructure/Space Policy  
EU Cohesion/Structural Policy  
EU Consumer Protection Policies  
EU Competition Policy

***EC/EU Institutions***

European Parliament  
European Commission  
Other EC/EU Institutions/Agencies/Representations  
European Council/Council of Ministers/IGC  
European Economic & Social Committee

***EU National Governmental Institutions***

EU Member Governments/Institutions/Parliaments  
Other European Governments/Institutions/Parliaments  
Non-European Governments/Institutions/Parliaments

***International Conferences***

***Civil Society Organizations/Advocacy Groups***

EU Media Institutions [in the EU]  
EU Religious Institutions/Groups [in the EU]  
EU Social Partners/Advocacy Groups/Trade Unions [in the EU]

EU Political Groups/Parties/Movements/Organizations [in the EU]  
EU Agricultural Advocacy Groups [in the EU]  
EU Industrial/Economic/Business Advocacy Groups [in the EU]  
EU Academic/Intellectual Society/University/Think Tanks [in the EU]  
Non-EU Industrial/Economic/Business Advocacy Groups  
Non-EU Academic/Intellectual Society/University/Think Tanks

***Audience Geographical Status*** [omitted category]

Brussels/Strasbourg  
EC/EU Member States  
Other European States  
Non-European States

**4b) Public Leadership**

The analysis of the *Financial Times*' articles is guided by a set of five higher-level categories, encompassing both the newspaper's perception and its actual coverage of the agenda setting of the respective Commission president, that allow for a comparison across the process of European integration.

To ensure a clear indication that a particular president was in fact covered in a given article, the search terms encompassed mentions of "Hallstein," "Delors," and "Barroso" in either headlines or subtitles during their respective tenures.

**1. *FT Coverage of Commission President's Main Topics/Political Agenda***

Refers to all those topics by the respective Commission president that have been coded as a main topic/political agenda in the agenda-setting analysis. The aim here is to uncover to what extent the newspaper reported on the president's main topics.

**2. *FT Coverage of Commission President's EEC/EC/EU General Issues***

Refers to all those topics by the respective Commission president that have been coded as EEC/EC/EU general issues in the agenda-setting analysis. The aim here is to uncover to what extent the newspaper reported on the president's EEC/EC/EU general issues.

**3. *FT Coverage of Commission President's EEC/EC/EU Policies***

Refers to all those topics by the respective Commission president that have been coded as EEC/EC/EU policies in the agenda-setting analysis. The aim here is to uncover to what extent the newspaper reported on the president's EEC/EC/EU policies.

**4. *FT Coverage Apart from a President's Agenda***

Refers to all those aspects within an article that do not directly relate to the president's agenda, e.g., a president's leadership style.

**5. *FT Perception of Commission President***

This category aims to uncover the newspaper's perception of the respective Commission president. The coding consists of "positive," "neutral," and "negative" evaluations. Positive reporting applies when the article directly or indirectly praises and supports the Commission president's agenda, presidency, actions, or leadership style. Negative coverage applies when the article in any way directly or indirectly criticizes the president's agenda, presidency, actions, or leadership style. Neutral reporting refers to those articles that neither offer any direct or indirect indication whether they support or are critical of the

president's agenda, presidency, actions, or leadership style. Articles offering mixed coverage, with both positive and negative reporting, are coded in both of those categories.

### **Walter Hallstein**

The content analysis of the *FT*'s newspaper articles directly referring to Walter Hallstein (50 articles, plus 3 articles written by Hallstein, 1958–1967) resulted in 298 given codes. The higher-ranking categories encompass the following sub-codes:

#### ***FT Coverage of Hallstein's Main Topics/Political Agenda***

- Explaining EEC Institutions/Functioning CEE/Euroatom/CECA
- Explaining Completion Single Market/Tariff Union/Acceleration
- Explaining European Integration/Construction/Unity
- EEC Economic/Industrial Development/Outlook

#### ***FT Coverage of Hallstein's EEC General Issues***

- EEC Community Budget
- EEC Institutions
- EEC Member States
- World Economy/World Trade/GATT
- EEC Association Agreements/EEC Enlargement Debates
- Relationship EEC-UK
- EEC-US Relationship/Transatlantic Relations/NATO

#### ***FT Coverage of Hallstein's EEC Policies***

- EEC Transport Policy
- EEC Social Policy
- EEC Economic+Industrial Policy
- EEC Financial and Monetary Policy
- EEC Agriculture/Agricultural Policy

#### ***FT Coverage apart from a Hallstein's Agenda***

- Hallstein's Leadership Style
- EEC Commission/EEC Commissioners
- 1960 Acceleration of EEC Treaty [i.e. broader impact of treaty on EFTA/EEC relations]
- 1965/66 EEC Empty Chair Crisis
- 1967 Merger of European Communities

#### ***FT Perception of Hallstein***

- Positive Comment
- Neutral Comment
- Negative Comment

### **Jacques Delors**

The content analysis of the *FT*'s newspaper articles directly referring to Jacques Delors (312 articles, 1985–1995) resulted in 1,483 given codes. The higher-ranking categories encompass the following sub-codes:

#### ***FT Coverage of Delors' Main Topics/Political Agenda***



Completion Single Market/Economic Cooperation/SEA/1992 Project  
Financial/Monetary Cooperation/EMS/EMU  
Social Dimension/Social+Economic Cohesion  
Institutional Functioning/Reform/Subsidiarity  
External Cooperation/Security/Defense/CFSP  
Political Cooperation/Political Union/EU  
Technological Cooperation/Innovation/Research

***FT Coverage of Delors' EC/EU General Issues***

EC/EU Member States

Germany

France

United Kingdom

Others

EC/EU Community Budget/Community Resources

EC/EU Credibility/European Citizens/European Public Opinion

EC/EU Enlargement/Spain/Portugal/EFTA States/Eastern Europe

EC/EU Law/Legal Implementation/Aquis Communautaire

European Economic/Financial Cooperation/EFTA/Eastern Europe

European Unemployment/Labor Politics/Labor Rights

Global Interdependence/Economy/World Trade/GATT

International Economic/Financial Cooperation/Development

Transatlantic Relations

EC/EU Economy/Economic Growth/Competiveness

EC/EU Education/Research/Universities

EC/EU Energy Sustainability

***FT Coverage of Delors' EC/EU Policies***

EC/EU Audiovisual EUREKA Programme

EC/EU Common Agricultural Policy

EC/EU Environmental Policy/Environmental Protection

EC/EU Regional Policies/Regional+Rural Policies

EC/EU Structural/Cohesion Funds

EC/EU Integrated Mediterranean Programmes

EEC Financial/Tax Policies/Harmonization

EC/EU Industrial Policies/Competition/Harmonization

EC/EU Infrastructure Policies

***FT Coverage apart from Delors' Agenda***

EC/EU Commission/Commissioners

Delors' Leadership Style/Rhetoric

French Politics

1984/5 Commission Investiture Procedure

1988 Reappointment of Delors

1992 Reappointment of Delors

***FT Perception of Delors***

Positive Comment

Neutral Comment

Negative Comment

## **José Manuel Barroso**

The content analysis of the *FT*'s newspaper articles directly referring to José Barroso (174 articles, 2004–2014) resulted in 816 given codes. The higher-ranking categories encompass the following sub-codes:

### ***FT Coverage of Barroso's Main Topics/Political Agenda***

- Growth/Jobs/Innovation/Lisbon Strategy/Europe 2020
- EU/European Future/Renewal
- European Values/Culture/Citizens/Civil Society
- Globalization/Global Economy+Governance/G20
- Euro/EMU/Ecofin/ECB/Finan. Governance
- EU External Cooperation/Partnerships/Intern. Development
- EU Single Market/Economic Governance
- Climate Change/Environment/Ecologic Governance

### ***FT Coverage of Barroso's EU General Issues***

- EU Institutions/Institutional Reform
- EU Energy/Nuclear Sector/Sustainability
- EU Business/Industry/Real Economy
- EU Budget/Multiannual Financial Framework
- Social Dimension/Social Security/Social Justice
- EU Enlargement/Neighborhood/Partnership/Euromed
- EU Higher Education/Research/Technology
- EU Member States/Policies&Politics/History [i.e. focus on what member states do]
- External Trade/GATT/Doha/International Development
- EU Migration/Refugees/Asylum
- EU Legislation/Aquis Communautaire
- Euro scepticism/Right Wing Parties in Europe

### ***FT Coverage of Barroso's EU Policies***

- EU Competition Policy/EU Competitiveness
- EU Services Directive

### ***FT Coverage apart from a Barroso's Agenda***

- EU Commission/Commissioners
- Barroso's Personality/Leadership Style
- Criticism of Fraud/Nepotism
- 2004 Appointment of Barroso
- 2009 Reappointment of Barroso
- 2014 Investiture Procedure of EU Commission

### ***FT Perception of Barroso***

- Positive Comment
- Neutral Comment
- Negative Comment