

## Reliability test for political claims data

The inter-coder reliability test was conducted on a randomly selected sub-sample of issues of *NRC Handelsblad* during three periods: from 5-8 February, 4-7 March, and from 27-30 March 2002. Three coders took part in the test. The reliability is calculated on 3 different levels: the reliability of article selection, the reliability of claims-identification and reliability of single claim variables<sup>1</sup>. Coded were all claims on the issue of integration, immigration and xenophobia/racism or claims about Islam and Muslims, all claims made by immigrants and ethnic minorities, and all claims made by or about the extreme right and xenophobic groups (including Pim Fortuyn and Liveable Netherlands). No pilot reliability assessment was done, as a similar coding procedure has been used before and proved to be reliable (see Koopmans et al. 2006: 264). For more detailed information about the general structure of political claims coding and coding of individual variables, we refer to the codebook.

### 1. Reliability of article selection

Reliability of article selection was calculated with as units the total number of articles that potentially contained relevant claims (by using keywords), amounting to 198 articles.<sup>2</sup> Thus, we assume each coder has to take 198 decisions and each decision is either a hit or a miss.<sup>3</sup> The percentage of agreement is calculated by dividing the number of agreements ("hits") by the total number of decisions. Detailed information about who selected which article and what were the majority's decisions is given in Table 1 in the Appendix. The reliability in the article selection process is calculated as follows:

nr. of coders		3
total nr. of articles		198
decisions to be made	$198 * 3 = 594$	
minority decisions	59	
match	$(594-59)/594 = 535/594$	90.1%
correlation:	sqrt. 0.901	0.949

### 2. Reliability of claim-identification

For the calculation of the reliability of claim identification we used the 21 articles that were selected by all three coders. The total number of different claims that were derived from these articles by any coder was 39. For more information about coding and majority decisions on these claims, see Table 2 (Appendix). A claim is considered to be the "same" if it refers to the same instance of claim-making by the same actor at the same time and location. An instance of claim-making is not identical with an individual statement: a press conference or interview

---

<sup>1</sup>This reliability test is similar to the procedure of the EUROPUB.COM team; see <http://europub.wz-berlin.de>.

<sup>2</sup>The following keywords were used: immigr! OR alloch! OR asiel! OR discrim! OR inburgering! OR vluchteling! OR etnis! OR integra! OR moslim! OR islam!

<sup>3</sup>This results in a conservative estimate of intercoder reliability, as we only include those articles that the keyword search identifies as potentially relevant, thus excluding articles (on which intercoder agreement to exclude them would obviously have been extremely high) that have no link whatsoever to Pim Fortuyn or to immigration issues. Alternatively, one can calculate the reliability on the basis of the total amount of articles published for the relevant dates, totalling 1,472 articles in *NRC Handelsblad* during the periods to be coded. When this is taken as the total number of articles that coders have to scan and judge whether they are relevant (i.e., contain any claims) or not, intercoder agreement on article selection is as high as 98.7%.

is coded as one strategic action in the public discourse. Therefore, two identical claims may be coded differently by two coders, for example with regard to the number of topics that are addressed or the number of persons that are criticized. The reliability of claim-identification is:

Coders		3
total nr of claims		39
decisions to be made	39 * 3	117
minority decisions	14	
Match	(117-14)/117	88.0%
Correlelation	sqrt. .880	0.94

### 3. Reliability of claim-variables

For the calculation of inter-coder reliability of single-claim variables, 25 claims that were identified and coded by all three coders were tested. For detailed information on these claims, see Table 2 (Appendix). The total number of decisions that had to be tested for reliability is  $25 * 3$  (claims \* coders) = 75. Again the majority decision within a claim was taken as the norm and every divergent decision was taken as a mistake. I do not present the reliability scores for all variables in the codebook, reliability scores were calculated only for the variables that were used for the current analysis. Table 4 shows the reliability of the variables used in the analysis (first column) and claim-variables (second column) from which they are derived respectively. I did not show other relevant claim-variables concerning 2nd and 3rd party and actor because these show at first sight almost excellent reliability, which simply results out of the majority decision that there is none.

**TABLE 4: Reliability of claims-variables**

Variable	Claim variables used to construct variables used in the analysis	maj	min	match
<b>Claims Fortuyn</b>	PARTY1	69	3	95.8 %
	ACTNAME1	71	1	98.6 %
	ACTNAME1, ACTNAME2, PARTY1, PARTY2	72	0	100 %
<b>Visibility*</b>	CHEAD (Frontpage)	63	9	87.5 %
	FIRSTCL (First claim)	67	5	93.1 %
	AFRPAGE (Headline)	69	3	95.8 %
<b>Consonance** Dissonance</b>	<i>Object:</i> OBJ1, EVAL1	37	4	88.1 %
	<i>Addressee:</i> ADRPART, ADRNAME1, SACPART, CACN1, SACN3 <i>Frame:</i> CAUS, CONS, ATTR, CAUS2, CONS2, ATTR2	38	4	90.5 %
<b>Negative immigration claims***</b>	FIELD1, FIELD2, FIELD3, POSIT1, POSIT2, POSIT3, OBJ1, EVAL1	24	3	88.9 %

Notes:

\* Reliability of the visibility variables was calculated for all claims, not only for Fortuyn's claims. The other two indicators of visibility (oblushed in both newspapers and repetition) were not included as the sample for the

reliability test only consisted of issues of NRC Handelsblad during a limited time period.

\*\* Resonance/dissonance/consonance: The measure of reliability is again a conservative estimate, as the total amount of decisions only includes those cases where at least one of the coders coded PF as resonance (addressee/object/frame) = 14 claims (i.e., excluding all the cases where coders agreed that no reference to Fortuyn was made).

\*\*\* The amount of decisions is based on the total number of claims (9) about integration/immigration; claims made by Fortuyn were excluded.

## APPENDICES

**TABLE 1. Article selection: articles selected by any coder**

**X, Y, Z** = coders

0 = article not included

1,2,3 etc.= number of claims coded from the article

**MAJ** = number of minority decisions

**MIN** = number of majority decisions

<b>AHEAD</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>Y</b>	<b>Z</b>	<b>MAJ</b>	<b>MIN</b>
<i>4 until 7 March 2001</i>					
Aantal abortussen flink gestegen	0	1	0	2	1
Aldus	0	1	0	2	1
Analyse juist, conclusie niet	0	1	1	2	1
Bijzonder onderwijs (3)	1	1	0	2	1
Bijzonder onderwijs (1)	0	1	0	2	1
Bijzonder onderwijs (2)	0	1	0	2	1
Bolkestein: Kok heeft Fortuyn gebaard	1	1	1	3	
Bos: onroerend zaak belasting inruilen voor andere heffing	1	0	1	2	1
Dag Wim en alsnog de groeten van Pim	1	1	1	3	
De jolly joker aan de macht	0	1	0	2	1
Dieptrieste avond voor coalitie	4	1	0	2	1
Domper voor Leefbaar Hilversum	0	1	1	2	1
Epicentrum Rotterdam	0	0	2	2	1
Fortuyn brengt slag toe aan gevestigde politiek; Verlies paarse partijen bij raadsverkiezingen 'Leefbaar' grootste in Rotterdam; Lage opkomst	0	1	1	2	1
Fred Teeven gevraagd als leider van LN; Congres moet instemmen	1	1	1	3	
Geen getreur	0	1	1	2	1
Impressies bij de stembus	0	1	0	2	1
Kiezer wil iets anders maar wat?	1	0	0	2	1
Kritiek Turken op de Grave om PKK	0	0	1	2	1
Leefbaar Rotterdam zoekt naar coalitie	0	1	3	2	1
Lokale democratie aan vernieuwing begonnen	1	0	1	2	1
Marokko stelt drie dossiers open	2	2	1	3	
Minister Korthals werft Britse cipers voor gevangenis drugskoeriers	1	0	0	2	1
NOS zwicht voor lokalo's	1	0	0	2	1
Nu nog op een rode knop drukken	1	1	0	2	1
Ontreddering en triomf in Rotterdam	6	4	3	3	
Ook noodcellen drugskoeriers in Roermond	0	0	1	2	1
Openheid journalistiek	0	0	1	2	1
Pim heeft het feestje bedorven	3	1	2	3	
PvdA op bezoek bij de bijlmermens	3	2	0	2	1
PvdA-campagne is schrijnend slecht	3	3	4	3	
Raadsverkiezingen	0	3	0	2	1
Schilderswijk herkent Rosenmüller niet	2	0	0	2	1
Senaat stemt schoorvoetend in met 'bolletjeswet'	0	0	4	2	1
SP'er neemt wagen mee	4	0	1	2	1
Stemmen	0	1	0	2	1
Stop met maken van folders in talen van allochtonen	1	1	1	3	
Turkije laakt Nederlandse aanpak PKK; Te tolerante opstelling	2	1	1	3	
Vader Hans	0	1	0	2	1
Valse advertentie Van Gogh	0	0	1	2	1
Vlaams blok enthousiast over uitslag; Dewinter ziet rechtse opmars in Rotterdam, Antwerpen, Wenen en Rome	2	1	2	3	
Vreemde taal	0	1	0	2	1
<i>27 until 30 March</i>					
Afkeer van Paars	0	1	1	2	1
Asielbeleid	0	0	1	2	1
Eberhard wilde zetel 'kopen' bij LN	2	1	2	3	
Dijkstal: kiezer is verwenne diva	1	1	1	3	

Een dam van documenten: bedrijven willen spoedloket voor hun buitenlandse werknemers	0	1	1	2	1
Eis: celstraf voor mensensmokkel	1	1	1	3	
Fortuyn noemt Blair een gevaarlijke man	1	1	1	3	
Fortuyn product van verveling	1	1	1	3	
Groenlinks Den Haag	1	0	0	2	1
Ik kan je waarschuwen als het misgaat	1	0	0	2	1
Kandidaat LPF werk geschorst	2	1	1	3	
Kerk moet oordeel rechters respecteren	0	4	1	2	1
Leefbaar dreigt onwerkbaar te worden	3	0	2	2	1
LPF: langer wachten op zorg	1	1	1	3	
Moord op de politiek	1	0	1	2	1
Nederland is nog lang niet vol	1	1	1	3	
Open spoeddebat werkmigrant	1	0	0	2	1
Politieke partijen mijden Bromet	1	0	0	2	1
Prijsschieten op elkaars partij programma's	1	1	1	3	
PvdA Rotterdam is niet aan evalueren toe	5	1	1	3	
Rekenschap	0	0	1	2	1
Rokende puinhopen	1	0	1	2	1
Er zit weer bloed op de blazers	0	1	0	2	1
Kerk voor protestant 'hulpje' bij oordeel; onderzoeker de Lange over de invulling van het morele huishouboekje	0	1	0	2	1
<b>5 until 8 February</b>					
"Linkse dictatuur bij tv; Hans Kraay om politieke redenen weg bij Studio Sport"	1	1	1	3	
De partijdigheid van Rottenberg	1	0	3	2	1
Drie mannen na 02-02-02 uitgezet	2			2	1
Maxima is godsgeschenk	1	1		2	1
Moslims moeten jong vee offeren	1			2	1
Mvv in drie maanden	1	1	1	3	
Vermeend stopt kinderbijslag voor Marokko	1	1	1	3	
Vermeend treft onschuldige Marokkanen	3	2		2	1
Werving in Slowakije mag niet	1	2	2	3	
Wiegel gaat voorop in strijd met Fortuyn	1	1	1	3	
'Afghanen blijven nog'		1	1	2	1
'Fortuyn heeft ons program gejat'	1	1		2	1
Importbruid	1	1		2	1
Marokko onnodig getart		1		2	1
Nederland mag niet zelf gaan speuren	1	1		2	1
Toestemming voor vier man in een cel; Noodwetten goedgekeurd	0	0	5	2	1

**TABLE 2: Claims identification: Claims identified by any coder from articles selected by all three coders**

1 = coder identified the claim

- = coder included the article, but did not identify the claim (as he/she identifies another claim).

Ahead	Title	R	E	H	MAJ	MIN
Eberhard wilde zetel LN kopen	Vice president of LN Schnetz says that number 13 of LPF candidate list Eberhard has tried to 'buy' a seat in parliament (a place on the candidate list of LN) and offered to pay 50 - 60,000 guilders.	1	1	1	3	0
	Number 13 on LPF election list Eberhard denies having tried to 'buy' seat in parliament with LN; he merely wanted to support LN	1	-	1	2	1
Eis: celstraf voor mensensmokkel	The public prosecutor of Leeuwarden sues (demands prison term of 24 months, 8 of which suspended) a 45-year old man owner of a employment agency for smuggling/human trafficking Somalis.	1	1	1	3	0
Fortuyn noemt Blair een gevaarlijke man	Fortuyn criticizes in monthly magazine of Amnesty International UK PM Blair, and former US foreign minister Albright; he calls them (and the current US foreign policy) very dangerous; also, he thinks Arafat is a villain and argues that we should fully support Israel; he pleads for introduction visa for Antillians. Also, he argues that Antillian elite is corrupt.	1	1	1	3	0
Fortuyn product van verveling	Historian Ankersmit agrees with Scheffer that failures of the cabinet have led to the rise of PF. But he also thinks that his popularity is caused by boredom followed by displacement of politics from parliament to international networks and institutions.	1	1	1	3	0
LPF: langer wachten op zorg	NRC-columnist De Kam states that PF incorrectly present himself as a professor. Moreover he excoriates the budget deficits. Especially in the health care branche, the plan is an empty promise; in order to work away waiting lists investment is necessary rather than it being possible to save money.	1	1	1	3	0
Prijsschieten op elkaars partij programma's	CDA leader Balkenende advises PF to calculate the financial consequences that will follow from his electoral program by the CPB. According to Balkenende this will lead to more insight in PF ideas.	1	1	1	3	0
"Linkse dictatuur bij tv; Hans Kraay om politieke redenen weg bij Studio Sport"	Hans Kraay sr. considers PF a intelligent debater and rejects the fact that he is populist. Furthermore he argues that Paars has ruined the health care system and that the Dutch media forms a political left bastion.	1	1	1	3	0
Mvv in drie maanden	State secretary Kalsbeek confirms the promise made by the head of the IND about the authorization of provisional residence for asylum seekers and pledged that the waiting period for such a authorization at the end of this year will be less than three months.	1	1	1	3	0
Vermeend stopt kinderbijslag voor Marokko.	Minister of social affairs Vermeend (and Secretary of state Hoogenvorst) wants to stop the provision of child allowances for Dutch Moroccans whose children live in Morocco. This discussion follows from a diplomatic dispute with the Moroccan government concerning the implementation of welfare laws.	1	1	1	3	0
Werving in Slowakije mag niet.	State secretary Vliegenthart does not grant permission for the recruitment of 300 unemployed nurses in Slovakia. She has serious objections with respect to placement of large groups of foreign nurses in single institutions and prefers EU-nurses. She tells in a letter to parliament, majority of parliament agrees.	1	1	1	3	0
	Head of Dutch Thuiszorg Treffers says that situation on labour market in Thuiszorg is so urgent that unorthodox measures (recruiting nurses from Slovakia) are necessary.	1	1	1	3	0
Wiegel gaat voorop in strijd met Fortuyn	By using a quote of liberal patriarch Thorbecke, VVD prominent Hans Wiegel during a party meeting in Kerkdriel blames Fortuyn for being populist and says that Fortuyns politics are parasitic, lacking principles, and that he uses every incident to get attention. Furthermore he states Fortuyns ideas are based on quicksand. He criticizes Dijkstal for not challenging Fortuyn.	1	1	1	3	0
'Fortuyn heeft ons program gejat'	Head of D66 De Graaf says in newspaper interview that with Fortuyn a coarsening of the political debate has started in the Netherlands; he accuses Leefbaar Nederland of having stolen D66's programme for political renewal	1	1	1	3	0
Marokko stelt drie dossiers open	The Moroccan government allows Dutch civil servants to inspect three social assistance files in the Moroccan land register. By doing so Rabat obliges itself to cooperate with the hunt on social security fraud as was asked by the Dutch government.	1	1	-	2	1
	A spokesmen of the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs states that the opening up of three files in the Moroccan land register by Rabat is not sufficient and that the Dutch government steers towards an agreement on the inspection of social assistance fraud.	1	1	1	3	0
Bolkestein: Kok heeft Fortuyn gebaard	During a VVD meeting in Noordwijk member of the European Commission Bolkestein calls Fortuyn the 'Emile Ratelband' of politics; maybe funny during the electoral battle, but neither useful in the Parliament, nor as a coalition partner for the VVD. He thinks his party should not take	1	1	1	3	0

	him seriously. Islam is not a danger for NL of any kind.					
Dag Wim en alsnog de groeten van Pim	NRC-columnist Bik states that PF operates as a catalyst on the dynamic electoral market consisting of floating voters. He thinks Fortuyn profits from the political discomfort because of the extensive coalition agreement of the purple coalition which banned all discussion.	1	1	1	3	0
Turkije laakt Nederlandse aanpak PKK; 'Te tolerante opstelling'	Dutch minister De Grave of defence understands the Turkish critique considering the Dutch policies towards radical Turkish groups and the PKK but at the same time emphasizes that Dutch Turks have civil rights that need to be respected.	1	-	1	2	1
	The Turkish government (by means of navy minister Mirzaoglu and vice-premier Yilmaz) has criticised the Dutch government for its tolerant position towards the Kurdish movement PKK. Minister Yilmaz can't understand the indifference of the Dutch towards the PKK and the DHKP-C.	1	1	1	3	0
'PvdA-campagne is schrijnend slecht'	Psychologist Van Ginneken of Amsterdam University says thinks the credibility of Fortuyn will disappear in the long run because he lacks the personality to lead his party. He states that Fortuyn must put his cards on the table with a credible list of candidates and a party programme; but Fortuyn does not have personality to lead his faction or organization	1	1	1	3	0
	Former PvdA campaign manager Kramer says the Fortuyn effect must not be exaggerated, 'it is a law of nature that people are bored after 8 years with a cabinet of the same coalition'.	1	1	1	3	0
	Two former campaign managers (Houterman and Schinkelshoek) state that PvdA and VVD must go in constant debate with Fortuyn. It doesn't pay off for established parties to ignore Fortuyn and other such groups, this only makes them stronger.	1	1	1	3	0
Ontreddering en triomf in Rotterdam	Sjaak van der Tak describes the Fortuyn revolt in Rotterdam as an explosion of discontent. He expresses his doubts about whether he wants to form a coalition with Leefbaar Rotterdam.	1	-	1	2	1
	Sorensen (second man of Leefbaar Rotterdam) says the PvdA didn't expect such a victory of Leefbaar Rotterdam when they excluded them. Now they should get things in order, because the PvdA makes a lot of plans but doesn't solve anything.	1	1	1	3	0
	Pim Fortuyn says after local election in Rotterdam that he had hoped for such great results but not expected it. He asks his opponents to take their responsibility and form a coalition with Leefbaar Rotterdam.	1	1	1	3	0
	Local VVD leader Jansens does not consider ruling with PF and Leefbaar Rotterdam a good idea since they do not have an electoral program that offers solutions for societal problems.	1	-	1	2	1
	Alderman Kombrink says the success of Leefbaar Rotterdam in the election isn't caused by bad urban government but by the cabinet, 9/11 and the entertainment politics of LR; is a hype, which will pass.	1	1	-	2	1
	PVDA leaders Cremers and Kuypers in the aftermath of th Fortuyn victory in Rotterdam states that she is surprised about that much discontent among the electorate and utters that she is not very keen on forming a coalition with Leefbaar Rotterdam.	1	1	1	3	0
Pim heeft het feestje bedorven	CDA leader Balkenende says not to exclude a possible coalition with Fortuyn. Although he rejects previous utterances of PF concerning the WAO and the article one of the constitution, he does not rule out cooperation with the LPF.	1	-	1	2	1
	Editor Vermeulen writes that the rise of Fortuyn is caused by the perceived immigration problems and the reluctance towards the established political parties, which have failed to renew the political system.	-	1	-	2	1
	National PvdA leader Melkert considers the electoral success of PF shocking and blames the electorate in Rotterdam for voting on a man who lacks a political program. He moreover turns his back on PF during the concluding debate.	1	1	-	2	1
	During the concluding debate of the national political leaders PF advices Melkert to cheer up.	1	-	-	2	1
Stop met maken van folders in talen van allochtonen.	Legist Werdmoller criticizes Rob Oudkerk who was a fierce proponent of translating governmental brochures for allochtonen., doing so gives non-natives the feeling that they can live in the Netherlands without learning the language which will hamper integration.	1	1	1	3	0
Vlaams Blok enthousiast over uitslag	Head of Vlaams Blok Dewinter considers PF's homosexuality and extravagant lifestyle disgusting and disagrees with his view on Islam (Fortuyn's idea that Islam is backward culture goes too far). But he is delighted that PF has won in Rotterdam which is caused by allochtonen concentration. It confirms his feelings about a rightist underflow present in Europe.	1	1	1	3	0
	Fortuyn distances himself in a declaration from Vlaams Bloc leader Dewinter and ultra-left or ultra-right sympathies	1	-	1	2	1