

The Reconfiguration of Canada-Europe Relations after Brexit

*Codebook for the Analysis of
Newspaper Op-Eds*

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1. Objective

Our study seeks to analyze how Canada's relationship with its European partners (including the EU as well as the UK) are discussed in opinion articles in the Canadian print media. We are particularly interested in mapping the impact of Brexit on this media discourse about Canada-Europe relations.

2. Sources

- Databases: Factiva (English-language sources), Eureka (French-language sources)
- Newspapers: Globe and Mail, National Post, Toronto Star, Calgary Herald, Journal de Montréal, Le Devoir, La Presse/La Presse+
- Time period: Day after Brexit referendum (June 24, 2016) to present. (End point can be set later but we are clearly still interested in debates currently ongoing.)

3. Selection of articles

(a) Search terms for automatic search (see appendix for number of hits):

- FACTIVA: Canada same ((EU or Europe* or United Kingdom or UK or Britain) and (relations* or cooperation or collaboration or partnership or trade or trading or agreement or deal or policy))
- EUREKA: Canada @ ((UE | Europe* | Royaume-Uni | RU | Grande-Bretagne) & (relations | coopération | partenariat | collaboration | échange | commerce | accord | pacte | politique))

(b) Identification of opinion articles:

- Keep all articles that are explicitly labelled in the title or header as “opinion”, “commentary”, “editorial”, or the like.
- Even if not explicitly labelled, keep articles if the author develops their own arguments about public affairs, rather than reporting on the news or other people's assessments.
- Duplicate articles are included in the sample only once.
- Exclude letters to the editor and “newsletters” that promote other articles.

Indicators that may help in the identification of opinion articles
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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Author: In an opinion article, we expect the author to be explicitly named (in the title, byline, or brief bio). Articles by news agencies (Reuters, Canadian Press, etc.) or ones that are compiled from contributions by various authors are usually not opinion articles. • Argument: Articles that discuss assessments by various people, but do not develop a clear overall opinion expressed by the author, are classified as “analysis”, not opinion articles. Look to the number and nature of quotes, as well as the final paragraph of the article to make this determination. |
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- All articles that do not satisfy these conditions will not be retained for the analysis.

- If unsure about the selection of an article, flag it for discussion in the group.

4. Quantitative analysis: Coding categories (content analysis)

(a) Formal categories:

Date	Day (1-31) Month (1-12) Year (2016-)
Newspaper	1 Globe and Mail 2 Toronto Star 3 National Post 4 Calgary Herald 5 Journal de Montréal 6 Le Devoir 7 La Presse/La Presse+
Type of author	1 Journalist/columnist 2 Expert/academic 3 Politician 4 Business or civil society representative 5 Unclear
	<p>Coding rules:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist/columnist (1) is coded for regular columnists even if they temporarily hold a fellowship from an academic institution. • Expert/academic (2) is used only for authors who work at a university or a publicly funded research institution. This also applies to retired academics as long as they remain affiliated with their university or research institution. • Politician (3) is used for anyone holding or running for public office (in government, parliament, international institutions, etc.), or holding or running for party leadership. • Business or civil society representative (4) is used for authors who work at privately funded think tanks or advocacy groups, for former office holders (e.g., former politicians or diplomats), as well as for other authors (e.g., novelists). • If an article is written by multiple authors who fall into different categories, code the author listed first.

(b) Content categories:

Regional focus	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Canada-Europe/transatlantic relations 2 Canadian foreign policy or international relations without clear focus on Canada-Europe relations 3 Canadian domestic politics 4 European/UK domestic politics 5 Unclear
	<p>Coding rules:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We code the main regional focus discussed in the article. If more than one of our coding categories are discussed, look at the title, lead paragraph, and final paragraph to identify on which of them the author puts most emphasis. If this does not allow for a determination, look at the length at which each category is discussed. • If an article is subdivided into various, thematically unrelated segments, the coding (in this category and the others) should be based only on the segment that is relevant to our analysis and was picked up by our automatic search routine. • Canada-Europe/transatlantic relations (1) or Canadian foreign policy/international relations (2) are used if an author discusses partisan/interest group differences over substantive transatlantic or other foreign policy choices. The domestic politics categories (3/4) are only used if considerations of party competition clearly overshadow substantive foreign policy content. • Canada-Europe/transatlantic relations (1) refers only to Canada's relations with the EU, one of its member states, or the UK. Canada's relations with to other European states, such as Russia, are coded as Canadian foreign policy/international relations (2). • Canadian foreign policy/international relations (2) is used for articles about broader international issues, even if Canada's involvement in them is tangential (e.g., EU-US relations). • Transatlantic relations of Canadian provinces and/or subunits of European states count as an aspect of Canada-Europe/transatlantic relations (1). • Internal policies of the EU, or one of its member states, are coded as European/UK domestic politics (4).

Substantive focus	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Economics/trade 2 Security/defence 3 Energy/environment 4 Other 5 Unclear <p>Coding rules:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We code the main substantive focus discussed in the article. If more than one of our coding categories are discussed, look at the title, lead paragraph, and final paragraph to identify on which of them the author puts most emphasis. If this does not allow for a determination, look at the length at which each category is discussed.
Evaluation of EU	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Positive 2 Negative 3 Differentiated/neutral 4 Not mentioned 5 Unclear <p>Coding rules:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explicitness rule: The EU can only be evaluated if it is explicitly mentioned. Do not read an evaluation into the text if it is not explicitly stated. • Evaluations must be clearly stated. If you are in doubt whether a statement constitutes an evaluation, code differential/neutral (3). • Calling the EU an important, trusted, etc. partner (for economic or other reasons) constitutes a positive evaluation, and the inverse a negative evaluation. • A negative depiction of the EU's state of affairs is understood as a negative evaluation. • Reference to "Europe" are understood as meaning the EU if it is clear that they refer to the EU (e.g., in statements like "we have a trade agreement with Europe"). • Positive/negative evaluations of an agreement with the EU (such as CETA) do not imply a positive/negative evaluation of the EU unless it is explicitly stated.

Evaluation of UK	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Positive 2 Negative 3 Differentiated/neutral 4 Not mentioned 5 Unclear <p>Coding rules:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explicitness rule: The EU can only be evaluated if it is explicitly mentioned. Do not read an evaluation into the text if it is not explicitly stated. • An evaluation of Brexit does not necessarily imply an evaluation of the UK. • Evaluations must be clearly stated. If you are in doubt whether a statement constitutes an evaluation, code differential/neutral (3). • Calling the UK an important, trusted etc. partner (for economic or other reasons) constitutes a positive evaluation, the inverse a negative evaluation. • A negative depiction of the UK's state of affairs is understood as a negative evaluation. • Statements referring to "the May/Johnson government" in the context of international negotiations are understood as referring to the UK. • Positive/negative evaluations of an agreement with the UK do not imply a positive/negative evaluation of the UK unless it is explicitly stated.
Evaluation of Brexit	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Positive 2 Negative 3 Differentiated/neutral 4 Not mentioned 5 Unclear <p>Coding rules:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explicitness rule: Brexit can only be evaluated if it is explicitly mentioned. Do not read an evaluation into the text if it is not explicitly stated. • References to "British exit", "withdrawal of the UK from the EU", etc. are treated as references to Brexit even if the term Brexit is not used. • Evaluations must be clearly stated. If you are in doubt whether a statement constitutes an evaluation, code differential/neutral (3). • A depiction of Brexit as chaotic, "a mess", etc. is understood as a negative evaluation. • An evaluation of "the Brexiteers" is understood to refer to Brexit unless the two are clearly distinguished in the article.

5. Qualitative analysis of selected articles

- Applied only to articles which focus explicitly on Canada-Europe/transatlantic relations (regional focus = 1).
- Evaluation criteria: Which criteria are applied in assessing/debating Canada-Europe relations (e.g., common values, economic interests, etc.)? If applicable, which criteria are applied to evaluations of Brexit? Which discursive frames or metaphors can be identified?
- Implications for Canada: Which policies are proposed? What kind of relationship is constructed between Canada-EU and Canada-UK relations (zero-sum, positive sum)? How are both situated in a broader transatlantic or global context (e.g., references to US)

Appendix: Technical Instructions

Article selection

(a) FACTIVA (English-language newspapers)

1. Go to FACTIVA.
2. In the “Free Text Search” box, enter the search terms: >Canada same ((EU or Europe* or United Kingdom or UK or Britain) and (relations* or cooperation or collaboration or partnership or trade or trading or agreement or deal or policy))<
3. Under “Date”, select date or date range. (Given that Factiva has difficulties handling large number of hits, it makes sense to search for one month at a time.)
4. Set “Duplicates” to “Similar”.
5. Under “Source”, select the name of your newspaper.
6. Hit “Run Search”.
7. Click on the title of each article; the text appears in the right window.
8. Look at the article. If it is an opinion piece, copy the text of the article into a Word file or directly into MAXQDA. If in doubt, err on the side of caution (i.e., select the article).

(b) EUREKA (French-language newspapers)

1. Go to EUREKA.
2. In the “Keywords in all the text” box, enter the search terms: >Canada @ ((UE | Europe* | Royaume-Uni | RU | Grande-Bretagne) & (relations | coopération | partenariat | collaboration | échange | commerce | accord | pacte | politique))<
3. Under “Sources”, select the name of your newspaper.
4. Under “Date Range”, Under “Date”, select date or date range. (It makes sense to search for one month at a time.)
5. Click “Search”.
6. Click on the title of first selected article. The text appears. You can move to the next article by clicking on the arrow on the right hand side of your screen.
7. Look at the article. If it is an opinion piece, copy the text of the article into a Word file or directly into MAXQDA. If in doubt, err on the side of caution (i.e., select the article).

Article coding in MAXQDA

(a) Importing articles

1. Open the MAXQDA file (“MAXQDA template.mx20”).
2. In MAXQDA, right-click on the name of the newspaper (top left window). Then click “New text document”. A new line appears, titled “Document (X)”.
3. Right-click on “Document (X)” and select “Rename Document”. Replace the name “Document (X)” with a text number. Each text is assigned a unique five-digit number. The first digit is the newspaper code (1 Globe and Mail, 2 Toronto Star, 3 National Post, 4 Calgary Herald, 5 Journal de Montréal, 6 Le Devoir, 7 La Presse). The last four digits are numbered consecutively for each newspaper (0001 to 9999).
4. Copy the text of the article you want to import. Return to MAXQDA, right click into the Document Browser (top right window) and click “Paste without formatting”. The text of the article should appear in the Document browser, which each paragraph numbered.
5. Repeat this process for all articles you want to import.
6. When you are done, click “Home” and then “Save project as...”. Select a new name that indicates the newspaper (and possibly year) you are working on (e.g., Globe and Mail 2016-17). Save the document on Sync. [NB: In the past, MAXQDA had problems handling very large numbers of documents, therefore it may be advisable to create a separate file for each newspaper and year. These can later be merged.]

(b) Quantitative coding (article-based)

1. Open the coding table by clicking “Variables” (top menu) and then “Data Editor for Document Variables”. A new window opens: A table in which each row represents an article, and each column our quantitative coding categories.
2. In the table, double click on the text name/number (first column); the corresponding text will open in the top right window.
3. Double click on each coding category to enter the appropriate code (see coding scheme).

(c) Qualitative coding (passages within articles)

1. Closely review the text of all articles with a regional focus on “Canada-Europe/transatlantic relations” (Regional focus = 1).
2. If there is a passage in the text that corresponds to any of the codes in our qualitative Code System (bottom left window), mark the passage in question. In the Document Browser, select the appropriate code from the drop-down menu (top left corner) and hit the “code” icon (immediately to the right of the drop-down menu).
3. Complete these steps for all passages that you want to code. Coded passages may overlap. Each code may be used more than once in the same article if there are various relevant passages.