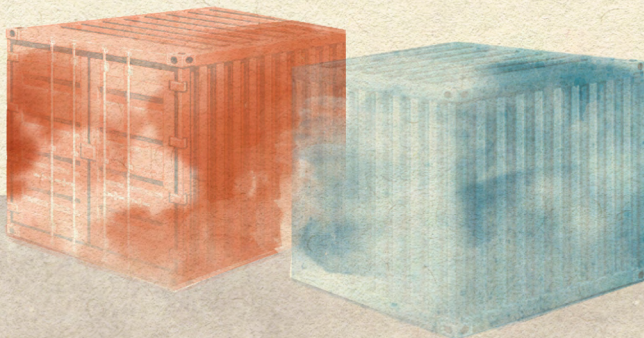


Appendices

- Appendix A Sample composition
- Appendix B Search strings for data collection
- Appendix C Codebooks
- Appendix D Identification process of the US-intervention frame and human rights frame
- Appendix E Krippendorff's alpha scores of inter-coder reliability tests
- Appendix F Results of statistical analyses
- Appendix G Categorization of political groups in the European Parliament
- Appendix H Survey questions
- Appendix I Interview guide



Appendices

| | | |
|------------|--|----|
| Appendix A | Sample composition | 3 |
| Appendix B | Search strings for data collection | 6 |
| Appendix C | Codebooks | 8 |
| Appendix D | Identification process of the US-intervention frame and human rights frame | 36 |
| Appendix E | Krippendorff's alpha scores of inter-coder reliability tests | 48 |
| Appendix F | Results of statistical analyses | 51 |
| Appendix G | Categorization of political groups in the European Parliament | 77 |
| Appendix H | Survey questions | 78 |
| Appendix I | Interview guide | 84 |

Appendix A

Sample Composition

Table A1

Newspaper Sample Composition (Chapter 2)

| Newspaper | Newspaper Type | Sample Size (n) |
|---|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Financial Times</i> | Financial | 264 |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | Quality | 121 |
| <i>The Times</i> | Quality | 72 |
| <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> | Quality | 73 |
| <i>The Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday</i> | Popular | 34 |
| <i>The Daily Mirror</i> | Popular | 8 |
| <i>The Daily Express and Sunday Express</i> | Popular | 18 |
| <i>The Sun</i> | Popular | 10 |
| Total (N) | | 600 |

Table A2*Newspaper Sample Composition (Chapter 3 and Chapter 4)*

| Newspaper | Country | Newspaper Type | Sample Size (n) |
|---|---------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Het Financieele Dagblad</i> | NL | Financial | 126 |
| <i>De Volkskrant</i> | NL | Quality | 46 |
| <i>NRC Handelsblad</i> | NL | Quality | 61 |
| <i>Trouw</i> | NL | Quality | 39 |
| <i>De Telegraaf</i> | NL | Popular | 43 |
| <i>Algemeen Dagblad</i> | NL | Popular | 14 |
| <i>Financial Times</i> | UK | Financial | 312 |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | UK | Quality | 136 |
| <i>The Times and Sunday Times</i> | UK | Quality | 119 |
| <i>The Daily Telegraph and Sunday Telegraph</i> | UK | Quality | 85 |
| <i>The Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday</i> | UK | Popular | 35 |
| <i>The Daily Mirror and Sunday Mirror</i> | UK | Popular | 8 |
| <i>The Daily Express and Sunday Express</i> | UK | Popular | 18 |
| <i>The Sun</i> | UK | Popular | 10 |
| Total (N) | | | 1052 |

Table A3
Newspaper Sample Composition (Chapter 5)

| Newspaper | Country | Newspaper Type | Sample Size (n) |
|---|---------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Het Financieele Dagblad</i> | NL | Financial | 128 |
| <i>De Volkskrant</i> | NL | Quality | 55 |
| <i>NRC Handelsblad</i> | NL | Quality | 49 |
| <i>Trouw</i> | NL | Quality | 45 |
| <i>De Telegraaf</i> | NL | Popular | 31 |
| <i>Algemeen Dagblad</i> | NL | Popular | 14 |
| <i>Financial Times</i> | UK | Financial | 264 |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | UK | Quality | 54 |
| <i>The Times and Sunday Times</i> | UK | Quality | 94 |
| <i>The Daily Telegraph and Sunday Telegraph</i> | UK | Quality | 100 |
| <i>The Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday</i> | UK | Popular | 19 |
| <i>The Daily Mirror and Sunday Mirror</i> | UK | Popular | 6 |
| <i>The Daily Express and Sunday Express</i> | UK | Popular | 4 |
| <i>The Sun</i> | UK | Popular | 4 |
| Total (N) | | | 867 |

Note. Compared to previous chapters, the sample size varies slightly due to the *Nexis Uni* database upgrade.

Appendix B

Search Strings for Data Collection

Table B1

Search Strings Used for Data Collection (Chapter 2)

| Database | Search Field | Search Strings |
|--------------------------|--------------|--|
| <i>Nexis Uni</i> | All Fields | atleast2("China" OR "Chinese" OR "Beijing" OR "Peking") AND atleast2("EU" OR "Europe!" OR "European Union" OR "Brussels") AND ("trade relation!" OR "trade polic!" OR "trade agreement!" OR "trade negotiation!" OR "trade barrier!" OR "tariff!" OR "trade surplus!" OR "trade deficit!" OR "Belt and Road" OR "Silk Road" OR "One Belt One Road" OR "Comprehensive Agreement on Investment" OR "BRI" OR "OBOR" OR "CAI") |
| <i>Dow Jones Factiva</i> | All Fields | (atleast2 "China" or atleast2 "Chinese" or atleast2 "Beijing" or atleast2 "Peking") and (atleast2 "EU" or atleast2 "Europe*" or atleast2 "European Union" or atleast2 "Brussels") and ("trade relation*" or "trade polic*" or "trade agreement*" or "trade negotiation*" or "trade barrier*" or "tariff*" or "trade surplus*" or "trade deficit*" or "Belt and Road" or "Silk Road" or "One Belt One Road" or "Comprehensive Agreement on Investment" or "BRI" or "OBOR" or "CAI") and wc < 3001 |

Note. The length of news articles in the *Nexis Uni* database is defined by default options rather than search strings. The paper focuses on trade relations between the EU and China. The inclusion of BRI-related keywords maximizes the comprehensiveness of data collection.

Table B2*Search Strings Used for Data Collection (Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 5)*

| Database | Search Field | Search Strings |
|--------------------------|--------------|--|
| <i>Nexis Uni</i> | All Fields | atleast2("China" OR "Chinese" OR "Chinees" OR "Beijing" OR "Peking") AND atleast2("EU" OR "E.U." OR "Europa" OR "Europese Unie" OR "Brussel") AND ("handelsrelatie" OR "handelsbeleid" OR "handelsovereenkomst" OR "handelsbesprekingen" OR "handelsbelemmering" OR "tarief" OR "tarieven" OR "handelsoverschot" OR "handelstekort" OR "Belt and Road" OR "Zijderoute" OR "One Belt One Road" OR "alomvattende investeringsovereenkomst" OR "Comprehensive Agreement on Investment" OR "BRI" OR "OBOR" OR "CAI") |
| <i>Dow Jones Factiva</i> | All Fields | (atleast2 "China" or atleast2 "Chinese" or atleast2 "Beijing" or atleast2 "Peking") and (atleast2 "EU" or atleast2 "Europe*" or atleast2 "European Union" or atleast2 "Brussels") and ("trade relation*" or "trade polic*" or "trade agreement*" or "trade negotiation*" or "trade barrier*" or "tariff*" or "trade surplus*" or "trade deficit*" or "Belt and Road" or "Silk Road" or "One Belt One Road" or "Comprehensive Agreement on Investment" or "BRI" or "OBOR" or "CAI") |

Note. The paper focuses on trade relations between the EU and China. The inclusion of BRI-related keywords maximizes the comprehensiveness of data collection.

Appendix C

Codebooks

C1. Codebook for News Framing and Tone (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3)

Units of Analysis

Registration Unit: The entirety of each news article.

Context Unit: The entirety of each news article.

General Coding Instructions

The coder can find descriptions of each variable and detailed coding instructions in the codebook. Please read each news article at least twice (more if necessary). For the first time, the coder is required to read through the article (including the news headline and the main body) to detect issue relevance. For the second time, the coder is required to fill out the codebook in Qualtrics.

Identification of News Articles

The Article ID is composed of five digits. The first and second digits represent the newspaper (e.g., 11: *The Guardian*; 21: *De Volkskrant*). The third, fourth, and fifth digits represent the assigned serial number of each news article. The coder can find this serial number in the top-left corner of the first page of each news article.

Operationalization of the European Union

The EU refers to EU institutions at the supranational level (e.g., the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European Council). The trade relations between individual EU member state(s) and China are NOT counted as EU–China trade relations.

0. ID Number

What is the ID number? Please code the ID number in the text entry box.

1. Newspaper

What is the source of the news article? Please select the newspaper from the following options:

The options presented are consistent with the complete list of sampled newspaper titles provided in Appendix A.

2. Publication Year

When was the news article published? Please select the publication year from the following list:

The available years range from 2001 to 2023 (Chapter 2: 2001–2021; Chapter 3: 2001–2023).

3. Article Length

How long is the news article? Please code the article length (i.e., word count) in numbers (e.g., 446).

4. Article Type

Is the news article an editorial or an opinion piece? Please code "No" or "Yes".

00 No

01 Yes, this is an editorial or an opinion piece

[Coding Examples]

| Newspapers | Coding for "Yes" (Editorial/Opinion) |
|--|--|
| <i>The Guardian</i> | "Editorial" is indicated in Byline. |
| <i>The Times; The Daily Telegraph; The Sun</i> | "Editorial" "Opinion Columns" are indicated in Section. |
| <i>The Daily Mail</i> | "Daily Mail Comment" is indicated in Headline or Byline. |
| <i>Financial Times</i> | "Editorial" is indicated in Section. |
| <i>De Volkskrant & NRC Handelsblad</i> | "Opinie & Debat" is indicated in Section. |
| <i>Trouw & Het Financieele Dagblad</i> | "Opinie" is indicated in Section. |

5. Issue-Specific Frames

[General Coding Instructions]

- Please ensure that all coded frames are directly relevant to EU–China trade relations.
- Please distinguish the EU from European countries, Europe, and individual EU member state(s). They should NOT be treated as synonymous during the coding process.
- Please note that if one of the following frames is identified in the article, it should be coded regardless of whether it pertains to the EU, China, or both.

5.1 The presence of opportunity frame (Chapter 2)

The opportunity frame emphasizes advantages or positive consequences of developing EU–China trade relations, such as creating job opportunities and attracting foreign investment.

Does the news article refer to an opportunity frame? Please code "No" or "Yes".

00 No

01 Yes

[Coding Examples]

❶ "The European Union and China yesterday approved 'in principle' a major investment pact that Brussels hopes will open up lucrative opportunities, despite concerns about Beijing's human rights record" ("Brussels approves", 2020, para. 1).

- "Lucrative opportunities" of EU–China trade relations are explicitly mentioned in the article. The presence of an opportunity frame should be coded as "Yes".

❷ "The EU–China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) would provide more business opportunities for EU companies in financial services, telecoms, new energy vehicles and other sectors" (Mitchell, 2020, para. 8).

- "Business opportunities" are explicitly mentioned in the article. The presence of an opportunity frame should be coded as "Yes".

❸ "China and the EU pledged to 'expand and deepen' cooperation at their annual summit yesterday" (Black, 2001, para. 1).

- Although the EU and China agreed to promote cooperation, no specific benefits or positive consequences can be identified. The presence of an opportunity frame should be coded as "No".

5.2 The presence of risk frame (Chapter 2)

The risk frame emphasizes *disadvantages* or *negative consequences* of developing EU–China trade relations, such as putting jobs at risk and threatening national security.

Does the news article refer to a risk frame? Please code "No" or "Yes".

00 No

01 Yes

[Coding Examples]

❶ "There is also growing anxiety about the potential security threats of Chinese investment in sensitive parts of the EU economy" (Peel et al., 2019, para. 6).

- The potential risk (i.e., "growing anxiety", "security threats") is explicitly mentioned in the article. The presence of a risk frame should be coded as "Yes".

❷ "The European Union yesterday warned China that its failure to dismantle market barriers and tackle intellectual property violations risked undermining the booming trade between the two regions" (Buck & McGregor, 2006, para. 1).

- The potential risk (i.e., “undermining the booming trade between the two regions”) is explicitly mentioned in the article. The presence of a risk frame should be coded as “Yes”.

③ “We still have a series of unknowns that keep us nervous, including euro area political risks and Brexit” (Partington, 2019, para. 18).

- Political risks are explicitly mentioned. However, they are not relevant to EU–China trade relations according to the context. The presence of a risk frame should be coded as “No”.

5.3 The presence of trade conflict frame (Chapter 2 & Chapter 3)

The trade conflict frame emphasizes (a) trade *conflicts* or *disagreements* between the EU and China; (b) the *trade war* between the EU and China, for example, creating or raising tariffs against each other in response to trade barriers imposed by the other party.

Does the news article refer to a trade conflict frame? Please code “No” or “Yes”.

00 No

01 Yes

[Coding Examples]

① “If the EU applies punitive measures, Chinese academics have suggested that the country’s airlines should counter by reducing purchases of Airbus aircraft. While such threats have since been played down, any escalation of conflict between these two huge economies would have implications for the world” (Watts, 2012, paras. 9-10).

- The trade conflict between the EU and China is explicitly mentioned in the article. The presence of a trade conflict frame should be coded as “Yes”.

② “Brussels has fired the opening shot in a trade war with China by imposing stinging import duties on Chinese solar panels” (Waterfield, 2013, para. 1).

- The trade war between the EU and China is explicitly mentioned in the article. The presence of a trade conflict frame should be coded as “Yes”.

③ “Illustrating the sharp deterioration, the EU’s trade surplus with China has gone from surplus in 1995 to a 10,373 billion deficit in 2002” (Evans-Pritchard, 2004, para. 7).

- If only “trade surplus” or “trade deficit” is mentioned in the article, the presence of a trade conflict frame should be coded as “No”.

5.4 The presence of human rights frame (Chapter 2 & Chapter 3)

The human rights frame emphasizes the impact of *disagreements* or *divergences on human rights issues* between the EU and China on bilateral trade relations. Human

rights are also referred to as “basic rights”, “civil rights”, or “fundamental rights” in some contexts.

Does the news article refer to a human rights frame? Please code “No” or “Yes”.

00 No

01 Yes

❶ “China stunned European leaders yesterday by calling off a major summit because the Dalai Lama would be visiting Europe at the same time” (Traynor, 2008, para. 1).
- China canceled an important trade summit with the EU due to disputes over human rights issues in Tibet. The presence of a human rights frame should be coded as “Yes”.

❷ “The European Parliament has voted overwhelmingly to ‘freeze’ any consideration of a massive investment deal with China, following recent tit-for-tat sanctions over Beijing’s treatment of its Uyghur population in Xinjiang province” (Ni, 2021, para. 1).
- The European Parliament froze the ratification of the EU–China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment due to disputes over human rights issues in Xinjiang. The presence of a human rights frame should be coded as “Yes”.

❸ “In March, the EU joined western partners in imposing sanctions against Chinese officials over human rights violations” (Fleming & Brunsden, 2021, para. 8).
- Although “human rights” are explicitly mentioned, if there is no reference to the impact of human rights on EU–China trade relations in the context, the presence of a human rights frame should be coded as “No”.

5.5 The presence of US-intervention frame (Chapter 2 & 3)

The US-intervention frame emphasizes *the US perspective and position* on EU–China trade relations, especially highlighting the US’s political and economic pressure on the EU and/or China to interfere in EU–China trade relations.

Does the news article refer to a US–intervention frame? Please code “No” or “Yes”.

00 No

01 Yes

❶ “The Trump administration is seeking to stop the EU, UK and Japan from striking trade deals with China as it tries to impose economic isolation on Beijing” (Politi, 2018, para. 4).

- The US is seeking to stop the EU–China trade deals. The presence of a US-intervention frame should be coded as “Yes”.

❷ “Mr. Xi and Ursula von der Leyen, European Commission president, signed off on the Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) on Wednesday ... Mr. Biden’s

national security adviser, said last week the new administration would 'welcome early consultations with our European partners on our common concerns about China's economic practices' ... Mr. Trump's outgoing deputy national security adviser, also weighed in after the CAI was concluded 'leaders in both US political parties and across the US government are perplexed and stunned that the EU is moving towards a new investment treaty right on the eve of a new US administration' "(Mitchell & Manson, 2021, paras. 3–6).

- The US's opposing position on the EU–China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment is explicitly mentioned. The presence of a US-intervention frame should be coded as "Yes".

③ "The US government has been privately pressing the UK in bilateral trade talks to make a choice between the US and China" (Wintour, 2020, para. 1).

- The US's intervention in China–UK trade relations is explicitly mentioned. On the one hand, China–UK trade relations are not considered EU–China trade relations in this study. On the other hand, it indicates the US's pressure on the UK rather than China or the EU. Therefore, the presence of a US-intervention frame should be coded as "No".

5.6 The presence of moral system frame (Chapter 3)

The moral system frame emphasizes *the fundamental questions of economic constellations* (i.e., the EU's neo-liberal character, China's socialist market economy) at the system level.

Does the news article refer to a moral system frame? Please code "No" or "Yes".

00 No

01 Yes

① "Mr. De Gucht (EU trade commissioner) has sought to encourage companies to file more anti-subsidy cases against China since his appointment in 2009. His aides argue that such cases expose unfair practices, such as the granting of below-market loans and free real estate. In a landmark decision, the (European) Commission imposed anti-subsidy duties last year against Chinese makers of coated paper - the first time the bloc had punished China for state subsidies" (Chaffin, 2012, paras. 12–13).

- The EU's criticism of China's state subsidies as well as its outcome (i.e., unfair practices) is explicitly mentioned. The presence of a moral system frame should be coded as "Yes".

② "Under WTO rules, China should treat foreign companies operating there no less favourably than local ones but the EU and US say the 2006 arrangement allows

Xinhua to act as both rival and regulator - and impedes the smooth functioning and transparency of China's financial markets" ("West takes Chinese", 2008, para. 8).

- The EU casts doubt upon the fairness and transparency of China's trade policy regarding market access, which is largely attributed to China's state-led economic system, even though "economic system" is not explicitly mentioned. The presence of a moral system frame should be coded as "Yes".

③ "The crisis in the British steel industry exemplifies a sobering truth: not everyone benefits from international trade ... Some workers lose their livelihoods and governments have a moral obligation to ease the blow to them" (Kamm, 2016, para. 1).

- Although "a moral obligation" is explicitly mentioned, it refers to the UK government's responsibility to take care of the vulnerable steelworkers. There is no reference to the EU or China's economic systems. Thus, the presence of a moral system frame should be coded as "No".

5.7 The presence of business frame (Chapter 3)

The business frame emphasizes the impact of EU–China trade relations on *corporations, companies, or industries*.

Does the news article refer to a business frame? Please code "No" or "Yes".

00 No

01 Yes

① "Cheap Chinese imports have already been blamed as a key reason behind the job losses that have devastated the steel industry with Tata Steel announcing last week that 1,000 jobs would go, mainly at its Port Talbot plant in Wales" (Rees, 2016, para. 3).

- The impact of cheap Chinese imports on the UK steel industry is explicitly mentioned. This consequence is caused by the EU's failure to increase tariffs on cheap Chinese imports. Therefore, the presence of a business frame should be coded as "Yes".

② "Peter Mandelson, the EU trade commissioner, is heading for a new row with Beijing over surging Chinese exports to Europe after reluctantly agreeing to impose anti-dumping duties on tens of millions of cheap leather shoes, it emerged yesterday ... Branded shoe retailers, including Clarks, Ecco and Rockport, have warned Mr. Mandelson that anti-dumping duties would add as much as euros 20 (£14) to the cost of a pair in European shops and have urged him to exempt shoes selling for more than euros 50" (Gow, 2006, paras. 1, 9).

- The EU's anti-dumping measures against Chinese-imported shoes have an explicit impact on branded shoe retailers. Thus, the presence of a business frame should be coded as "Yes".

- ③ "... its banks, car manufacturers and pharmaceutical companies may leave the UK for Europe if Brexit leads to the loss of tariff-free trade" (Swinford, 2016, p. 10).
 - Although companies are explicitly mentioned, the impact is caused by Brexit rather than EU–China trade relations. Hence, the presence of a business frame should be coded as "No".

5.8 The presence of individual frame (Chapter 3)

The individual frame emphasizes the impact of EU–China trade relations on *individual citizens*.

Does the news article refer to an individual frame? Please code "No" or "Yes".

00 No

01 Yes

- ① "Martin Salisbury, finance manager at Clarks, the British shoe company, said it was a bad day for consumers. He said: 'Families are already facing enough rising household bills without the addition of these bizarre and irrational tariffs'" (Barrow, 2006, para. 7).

- In the context, rising household bills for individual consumers are caused by the EU's increased import tariffs on Chinese-imported shoes. Thus, the presence of an individual frame should be coded as "Yes".

- ② "With the European Union set to investigate whether Chinese shoes are being 'dumped' on its markets, the 23-year-old from the dusty northern province of Shandong fears for his family back home, should that probe trigger quotas and punitive tariffs ... 'If they don't buy our shoes, I'll probably have to go home,' he said, sweat dripping from his face as he hunched over a sewing machine at Zhejiang Nine Dragons Shoes Co. Ltd. 'That'll be very hard on my grandmother, parents and brothers, who rely on me'" (Liu, 2005, paras. 2–4).

- The EU's anti-dumping measures against Chinese-imported shoes have an explicit impact on the individual worker in one of the Chinese shoe companies. Thus, the presence of an individual frame should be coded as "Yes".

- ③ "In short, to stay in work, poorly paid Chinese workers are lending rich Americans more and more money, in a vicious circle that is in the long run unsustainable" (Spencer, 2005, para. 15).

- In the context, although the impact on individuals is mentioned, it actually refers to the impact of US–China trade relations on Chinese workers. Thus, the presence of an individual frame should be coded as "No".

6. Tone

The tone refers to the general attitude toward EU–China trade relations portrayed in the article. The coding decision depends on the entire article. Please DO NOT incorporate prior personal attitudes toward EU–China trade relations into the coding and DO NOT overinterpret economic figures and indicators.

*What is the dominant tone of EU–China trade relations portrayed in the news article?
Please select one of the following options:*

01 Negative

02 Neutral

03 Positive

[Coding Instructions]

The coder is required to consider three aspects when assessing the dominant tone: (a) the presence of words and phrases that express attitudes (e.g., support, be against, oppose); (b) the presence of sensational and emotional words (e.g., anger, extremely unsatisfied, apparent excitement); and (c) the presence of advantages and disadvantages of developing EU–China trade relations (e.g., promotion of international collaboration, infringement of intellectual property rights). If the article employs a mixed tone (i.e., including both positive and negative attitudes), please code the more prominent one. If both positive and negative aspects are equally portrayed in the article, please code “neutral”.

[Coding Examples]

❶ “This rapid and large-scale development has created a lot of opportunities. We welcome the cooperation between China and the EU” (Doyle, 2002, para. 14).

- A positive attitude toward developing EU–China trade relations is explicitly mentioned (i.e., “welcome”). The tone should be coded as “positive”.

❷ “Mr. Mandelson, who has repeatedly warned China it must take more urgent action to curb its subsidised exports and open its own markets, has expressed great sympathy for the Eurofer complaints in recent weeks” (“EU urged to”, 2007, para. 4).

- A strong negative attitude toward China’s subsidized exports to the EU is explicitly mentioned (i.e., “great sympathy”). The tone should be coded as “negative”.

❸ “Bringing in curbs on steel imports from China could seriously damage steel users in the EU such as the auto industry and European investment opportunities in China” (“EU urged to”, 2007, para. 4).

- The disadvantages of curbing Chinese steel imports to the EU are explicitly mentioned (i.e., “seriously damage”). The tone should be coded as “negative”.

- ④ "EU and Chinese leaders launched negotiations on a bilateral investment treaty at the 16th EU–China summit in Beijing last month to increase bilateral trade from about \$580bn (£350bn) in 2012 to \$1tn by 2020" (Watt & Mason, 2013, para. 10).
 - Although economic figures indicate an increase in bilateral trade, no attitude can be inferred. In this example, the EU–China trade negotiations are about facts, not attitudes and opinions. Therefore, the tone should be coded as "neutral".

C2. Codebook for Actor Analysis (Chapter 4)

Units of Analysis, General Coding Instructions, Identification of News Articles, Operationalization of the EU, and the following variables (**0. ID Number, 1. Newspaper, 2. Publication Year, 3. Article Length, 4. Article Type**) are also used in this analysis. Full conceptual definitions and coding instructions are provided in **C1**.

5. Direct Quotations

Does the news article include direct quotation(s) (i.e., quotation marks " ", ' ')? Please code "No" or "Yes". This is a filter question. If selecting "Yes", the coder will continue coding the presence of various actors in the news coverage. If selecting "No", the coder will skip the actor coding session.

00 No

01 Yes

[Coding Instructions]

The coder should pay attention to all direct quotations in the news article. In general, the quoted content is a complete sentence or a complete paragraph. In rare cases, some key phrases are directly quoted. The coder should make further decisions based on the context.

- ① "China appears to have taken a new and deliberate step backwards," Dick Oosting, director of Amnesty's EU office, said. (Black, 2001, para. 11)
 - The quoted content is a complete sentence. In this example, the actor is present.
- ② The EU said it had "ambitious aims" for the summit and regretted the cancellation. (Traynor, 2008, para. 10)
 - The quoted content is a phrase, which was delivered by the EU. In this example, the actor is present.
- ③ Wu Yi, outgoing vice-premier and "iron lady" of Chinese politics ... ("Mandelson causes", 2007, para. 5)
 - The quoted content is a metaphor to describe the personal characteristics of a Chinese politician Wu Yi. In this example, the actor is *not* present.

④ The revived Silk Road is envisioned as a rail and sea route, part of China's "One Belt, One Road" economic development strategy. (Dehghan, 2016, para. 8)

- The quoted content is a global infrastructure strategy. In this example, the actor is *not* present.

⑤ The European Commission has proposed a tough 47pc "anti-dumping" tariff to penalise the imports, it emerged yesterday. (Gosden, 2013, para. 2)

- The quoted content is the type of tariff measures rather than opinions. In this example, the actor is *not* present.

⑥ The tariffs are designed to "restore profitability" and provide "breathing space" for European steelmakers which have been hit hard by Chinese imports sold at "heavily dumped prices". (Hiscott, 2016, para. 2)

- The quotes are used for emphasis. In this example, the actor is *not* present.

6. Presence of Actors

Which actors are present in the news article? Please select all actors that are directly quoted in the news article.

01 Politicians

02 Government officials

03 Representatives of intergovernmental organizations

04 Representatives of business and corporations

05 Experts and academics

06 Media and journalists

07 Representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and interest groups

08 Ordinary citizens

99 Other (Please specify _____)

[Coding Instructions]

Step 1: Find all direct quotations in each news article.

Step 2: Identify the actor of each direct quotation.

Step 3: Code the presence of each actor.

Step 4: Code additional information in the text entry box.

a. If the actor is a "politician" or "government official", please code the specific country where the actor comes from (e.g., China, the Netherlands, the UK).

b. If the actor is a representative of an intergovernmental organization or institution, please code the specific name of this institution or organization (e.g., the European Parliament, the World Trade Organization).

c. If the actor is a representative of business and corporations, please code the specific name of this business or corporation (e.g., JPMorgan Chase & Co., China Investment Corporation).

d. If the actor is a representative of NGOs and interest groups, please code the specific name of the NGO or interest group (e.g., Amnesty International, BusinessEurope).

e. If the actor is an ordinary citizen, please code whether they are involved (e.g., a steel worker) or uninvolved (e.g., some people).

Step 5: To avoid coding errors, please double-check that all directly quoted actors in the news article are included in Qualtrics.

If the actor's affiliation is not explicitly mentioned before and after the quoted content, the coder is required to search for the actor's name in the news article and to find the accurate affiliation of the actor. In most cases, the actor's affiliation is mentioned at the beginning of the news article. In rare cases, if the actor's affiliation is not explicitly mentioned in the news article (e.g., a well-known domestic politician), the coder is required to search and rely on credible sources to code the variable. If the actor type is not present in available options, please select "Other" and fill in the actor type (e.g., anonymous actors, historical actors).

Here are specific guidelines:

a. How to distinguish "politician" from "government official"?

- "Politician" is defined as a person whose job is in politics, especially an elected member of a legislature (e.g., Parliament or Congress). "Government official" is defined as an official who works for any agency, ministry or department of a government. For some politicians and government officials, their affiliations might change over time. Please code the current affiliation mentioned in the news article.
- Examples:
 - ◆ President and Prime Minister of a country (represent the country) -- "politicians"
 - ◆ President and Prime Minister of a country (represent the European Council) -- "representatives of intergovernmental organizations"
 - ◆ Diplomat of a country -- "government officials"
 - ◆ EU diplomats -- "representatives of intergovernmental organizations"
 - ◆ Spokesperson for a government -- "government officials"
 - ◆ Spokesperson for the European Commission -- "representatives of intergovernmental organizations"

b. How to code the actor type if the source is an official document or an academic report?

- Please code the affiliation of the author/institution that compiled documents/reports.

c. How to code the actor type if the source is a letter?

- If the author of the letter is explicitly mentioned in the news article, please code the author's affiliation. If it is not possible to identify the author's affiliation (e.g., anonymous letter or using pseudonym), please code "Other" and specify anonymous actors.

d. How to code the actor type if the coder is not familiar with the source (e.g., a corporation or an interest group)?

- The coder is required to search and rely on credible sources and is expected to be familiar with frequently appearing organizations or corporations.

e. How to code the actor type if the source is a law firm?

- Please code "representatives of business and corporations" if the actor is speaking for the law firm (e.g., Stephenson Harwood).
- Please code "representatives of NGOs and interest groups" if the actor is speaking for the client who comes from an interest group.

f. How to code the actor type if the head of a non-governmental organization is called an expert in the news article?

- Please code "representatives of NGOs and interest groups".

g. How to code the actor type if the source is a historian or philosopher (e.g., Confucius)?

- Please code "Other" and fill "Confucius" in the text entry box.

h. How to code the second-hand sources (e.g., WirtschaftsWoche cited EU sources as saying; "China's Foreign Ministry cited Xi as saying")?

- Please code "WirtschaftsWoche" and "China's Foreign Ministry".

7. Prominent Actor

Which actor is most prominent among those directly quoted in the news article? Please select one of the following options.

01 Politicians

02 Government officials

03 Representatives of intergovernmental organizations

04 Representatives of business and corporations

05 Experts and academics

06 Media and journalists

07 Representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and interest groups

08 Ordinary citizens

99 Other (Please specify _____)

[Coding Instructions]

- a. If there is only one actor quoted in the news article, please code the actor as the prominent actor.
- b. If there is more than one actor quoted in the news article, please separately count the occurrence frequencies of all actor types and code the most frequently quoted actor. For instance, there are two actor types (e.g., "expert" and "journalist") in the news article. If "expert" is quoted twice and "journalist" is quoted once, please code "expert" as the prominent actor.
- c. If different actors possess the same occurrence frequency, please code the chronologically first mentioned of all actors. For example, there are two actor types (e.g., "expert" and "journalist") in the news article. Both are quoted twice. Yet, "expert" is quoted in the first paragraph, while "journalist" is quoted in the second paragraph. Please code "expert" as the prominent actor.
- d. If the same actor is quoted more than once with different affiliations in the news article, please first count the occurrence frequencies of all affiliations and code the most frequently mentioned affiliation. If different affiliations possess the same occurrence frequency, please code the chronologically first mentioned of all affiliations.
- e. If the prominent actor does not belong to available options (01-08), please code "Other".

C3. Codebook for Agenda-Setting Research (Chapter 5)Units of Analysis

| | Registration Unit | Context Unit |
|--|--|--|
| Newspaper Coverage | Each news article in its entirety | Each news article in its entirety (including contextualized descriptions in the codebook) |
| Speeches in Plenary Debates of the European Parliament | Individual speech by MEPs and representatives of the European Commission and the Council of the European Union | Individual speech by MEPs and representatives of the European Commission and the Council of the European Union (including contextualized descriptions in the codebook) |

Note. For news articles, each coding decision should be based on both the headline and main body. For speeches, each coding decision should be based on both the subject and main body. MEPs are members of the European Parliament.

General Coding Instructions

The coder can find descriptions of each variable and detailed coding instructions in the codebook. Please read each article/speech at least twice (more if necessary). For the first time, the coder is required to read through the coding material to learn about the content (i.e., be familiar with the content of each news article/speech) and to detect the presence of trade-related issues. For the second time, the coder is required to fill out the codebook in Qualtrics.

Identification of News Articles: See C1

Identification of Speeches in Plenary Debates of the European Parliament

The ID is composed of five digits. The first digit represents the country/EU institutions (1 = UK, 2 = NL, 3 = EU Institutions). The second and third digits represent the year (01 = 2001, 20 = 2020). The fourth and fifth digits represent the unique serial number assigned to each speech. Please find the complete ID number in the top-left column of each speech.

Please note that all materials have undergone a thorough manual check before being distributed to coders. This check ensures that articles/speeches are relevant to EU–China trade relations. There are two common types of content. First, (almost) all the content is about EU–China trade relations. Second, most of the content is about EU–China trade relations, but there is some mention of trade relations between China and individual EU member states or trade relations between the EU and other countries. When encountering the second type (which typically appears in long editorials and opinion pieces), the coder should follow detailed coding instructions when identifying the presence of different issues.

Part I. Newspaper Coverage

0. ID Number

What is the ID number? Please code the ID number in the text entry box.

1. Newspaper

What is the source of the news article? Please select the newspaper from the following options.

11 *The Guardian*

12 *The Times and Sunday Times*

13 *The Daily Telegraph and Sunday Telegraph*

- 14 *The Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday*
- 15 *The Daily Mirror and Sunday Mirror*
- 16 *The Daily Express and Sunday Express*
- 17 *The Sun*
- 18 *Financial Times*
- 21 *De Volkskrant*
- 22 *NRC Handelsblad*
- 23 *Trouw*
- 24 *De Telegraaf*
- 25 *Algemeen Dagblad*
- 26 *Het Financieele Dagblad*

2. Publication Date

When was the news article published? Please select the year, month, and date separately from the following list:

Year: A drop-down list (from 2001 to 2020)

Month: A drop-down list (from 01 to 12)

Date: A drop-down list (from 01 to 31)

3. Issue Presence

The coder is required to code whether each of the following issues is present in the news article. It is technically possible to identify several issues in one article. All issues should be relevant to EU–China trade relations.

For each issue, both a definition and a contextualized description are provided to facilitate the coder’s understanding and decision-making without prior knowledge. The **definition** explicitly explains the terminology (i.e., “issue”), which is retrieved or adapted from professional dictionaries of economics and sociology. The **contextualized description** explicates prominent events relevant to the issue in the context of EU–China trade relations. During the coding process, the coder should rely on contextualized descriptions to make decisions.

In addition, concrete **examples** accompanied by detailed **coding instructions** are provided to assist the coder with each individual coding decision. Therefore, these examples are specified at a sentence level. In the final coding, the coder should take into account **the context** (i.e., the whole article/speech) to make final decisions.

3.1 The EU's Investment in China

Definition: Businesses or individuals invest in another country to either source components/raw materials, to locate their production in cost-efficient or skills-abundant locations, or to get closer to their customers (European Commission, 2023).

Contextualized Description: Include issues related to the EU's investment in China, such as granting open access to EU investors in Chinese markets.

*Does the news article refer to **the EU's investment in China**? Please code "No" or "Yes".*

00 No

01 Yes

① "The European Union Chamber of Commerce in China praised the world's second largest economy for opening itself up more to EU private equity investment but recommended further action to address a number of investor concerns" (Private Equity Asia, 2011).

- According to the context, the EU Chamber of Commerce in China praised the openness of Chinese markets to EU private investment. In this example, the presence of the EU's investment in China should be coded as "Yes".

② "The EU today pressed China to open up its markets to more European investment and embrace genuinely reciprocal trade" (Gow, 2006, para. 1).

- If "European investment" is explicitly mentioned, the coder should make coding decisions based on the context. In this example, "European investment" actually refers to the action taken by the EU. Therefore, the presence of the EU's investment in China should be coded as "Yes".

③ "Last week Mandelson, a former EU trade commissioner, told the Guardian that while China had fulfilled many of its WTO obligations, cutting or removing tariffs, he believed there were 'more invisible barriers and restrictions and regulatory inhibitions to trade and investment' for European firms" (Guardian, 2009, para. 10).

- According to the context, the former EU trade commissioner demonstrated potential trade and investment barriers and restrictions imposed by China on European firms. In this example, the presence of the EU's investment in China should be coded as "Yes".

④ "The European Union and China approved a controversial investment agreement in late December after seven years of marathon negotiations" (Ni, 2021, para. 6).

- If EU–China investment agreements are explicitly mentioned without explicating the direction of investment (i.e., the EU to China or China to the EU), the presence of the EU's investment in China and China's investment in the EU should be coded as "No".

3.2 China's Investment in the EU

Definition: Businesses or individuals invest in another country to either source components/raw materials, to locate their production in cost-efficient or skills-abundant locations, or to get closer to their customers (European Commission, 2023).

Contextualized Description: Include issues related to China's investment in the EU, such as granting open access to Chinese investors in EU countries.

*Does the news article refer to **China's investment in the EU**? Please code "No" or "Yes".*

00 No

01 Yes

❶ "In addition to acquisitions, Chinese high-tech companies, such as Alibaba Cloud and TikTok, have actively entered the European market by establishing local operation centres ... EU policymakers and dealmakers have begun to express concerns over this increased interest by Chinese investors" (McDermott Will & Emery, 2020, para.2).
- According to the context, the EU's concerns about Chinese companies investing in the European market are explicitly mentioned. In this example, the presence of China's investment in the EU should be coded as "Yes".

❷ "EU and Chinese leaders launched negotiations on a bilateral investment treaty at the 16th EU–China summit in Beijing last month to increase bilateral trade from about \$580bn (£350bn) in 2012 to \$1tn by 2020" (Watt, 2013, para. 10).
- A *bilateral* investment treaty is explicitly mentioned. In this example, both the EU's investment in China and China's investment in the EU should be coded as "Yes".

❸ "Figures from Think London show that since 1997, London has attracted 34 Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) projects, and 15% of all Chinese FDI into Europe since 2002" (Inman et al., 2010, para. 23).
- China's investment in the UK is explicitly mentioned. If the EU is not referred according to the context, China's investment in the EU should be coded as "No".

❹ "Overall Chinese investments in Europe have been increasing at a steady pace over the last two decades across most industries and sectors ... from 2008 to 2018, China spent an estimated (EURO) 300bn on the acquisition of European companies or the establishment of their subsidiaries in Europe (the EU plus Switzerland and Norway)" (Ferguson, 2019, para. 5).
- If China's investment in Europe is explicitly mentioned, the coder should make coding decisions based on the context. Code "Yes" if China's investment in the EU or EU countries can be identified in the article/speech. Code "No" if Europe is just briefly

mentioned in the article/speech because Europe may include non-EU countries. In this example, China's investment in the EU should be coded as "Yes".

3.3 The EU's Exports to China

Definition: The EU's exports to China refer to goods and services produced in the EU and sold to China.

Contextualized Description: Include issues related to the EU's exports to China (including regulation, subsidies, promotion and control), such as the EU embargo on arms sales to China, the EU bans on plastic waste exports to China, the EU exports of secondary raw materials (i.e., used papers and recycled materials) and agricultural products to China.

*Does the news article refer to **the EU's exports to China**? Please code "No" or "Yes".*

00 No

01 Yes

① "EU exports to China doubled between 2000 and 2005, with a sixfold increase in services exports in the decade to 2005" (Gow, 2006, para. 14).

- The EU's exports to China are explicitly mentioned. In this example, the presence of the EU's exports to China should be coded as "Yes".

② "The US and the EU expect Chinese clothing and textile exports to grow rapidly with the end of quotas" (Alden et al., 2004, para. 13).

- "Exports" is explicitly mentioned. As it refers to Chinese exports to the EU rather than the EU's exports to China, the presence of the EU's exports to China should be coded as "No".

③ "The EU has a bilateral trade deficit with China of about Euros 55bn (Dollars 68bn) - approximately half that of the US - but an overall trade surplus of Euros 6bn with the world as a whole" (Mcgregor, 2004, para. 11).

- "Trade deficit" is explicitly mentioned, but it is a relational concept that refers to the balance between imports and exports. It does not explicitly mention either the EU's exports to China or the EU's imports from China. In this example, the presence of both the EU's imports from China and the EU's exports to China should be coded as "No".

④ "On Monday, Beijing and Paris signed deals worth about \$40bn (£30bn). China announced it would buy 290 A320 aircraft and 10 A350 aircraft from the European consortium Airbus" (Willsher, 2019, para. 13).

- First, the deal was signed between China and France rather than China and the EU. Second, “would buy” does not mean the purchase has been made. Third, no explicit reference to “exports” can be identified. Therefore, the presence of the EU’s exports to China should be coded as “No”.

3.4 The EU’s Imports from China

Definition: The EU’s imports from China refer to goods and services produced in China and sold to the EU.

Contextualized Description: Include issues related to the EU’s imports from China (including tariffs and other barriers to imports, regulation, subsidies, promotion and control), such as the EU imposing import quotas on Chinese ceramics, textiles, garlic, and mushrooms; the EU ban on illegal wildlife trade with China; the EU’s anti-dumping measures on Chinese products (e.g., cigarettes, poultry meat, shrimp, berries, cherries, cotton, textile, footwear and clothing, lamp bulbs, fiberglass, solar panels, air-conditioners, metal, mineral and steel).

*Does the news article refer to **the EU’s imports from China**? Please code “No” or “Yes”.*

00 No

01 Yes

❶ “Last September the EU launched its biggest ever investigation, probing billions of euros of imports of Chinese solar equipment” (Chaffin, 2013, para. 4).

- The imports of Chinese solar equipment to the EU are explicitly mentioned. In this example, the presence of the EU’s imports from China should be coded as “Yes”.

❷ “Last year the EU’s trade deficit with China reached 106bn (71bn), prompting US-style warnings of popular pressure to curtail imports of low-cost Chinese goods” (Gow, 2006, para. 5).

- “To curtail imports of low-cost Chinese goods” are explicitly mentioned. In this example, the presence of the EU’s imports from China should be coded as “Yes”. Please code “No” if “trade deficit” or “trade surplus” is simply mentioned without explicit reference to imports or exports.

❸ “The EU yesterday renewed punitive anti-dumping duties on Chinese and Vietnamese shoe imports for two years just as Peter Mandelson, the EU trade commissioner, issued a five-point strategy for defeating protectionism at home and opening markets abroad” (Gow, 2006, para. 1).

- The EU’s imports from China and Vietnam are explicitly mentioned. In this example, the presence of the EU’s imports from China should be coded as “Yes”. It is technically

possible that an article/speech refers to the EU's imports from several countries. If China is one of them and explicitly mentioned, code "Yes" for this variable.

④ "Germany is by a long way China's biggest EU trade partner, with exports in 2012 of EUR66.6bn and imports of EUR77.3bn" (Carnegy & Wagstyl, 2014, para. 8).

- Although both exports and imports are explicitly mentioned, they all indicate trade relations between Germany and China rather than EU–China trade relations. If the article does not mention any EU–China–related imports or exports, the presence of both the EU's exports to China and the EU's imports from China should be coded as "No".

3.5 EU–China Trade Agreements

Definition: Relevant parties discuss the possibility of trade and economic cooperation, with the goal of reaching trade agreements or resolving trade disputes (Goode, 2020).

Contextualized Description: Include issues related to the EU–China bilateral trade negotiations, agreements, treaties as well as disputes, for instance, the *EU–China WTO Agreement*, the *EU–China Maritime Transport Agreement*, the *EU–China Agreement on Textiles and Clothing*, the *EU–China Customs Cooperation Agreement*, the *EU–China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment*, and the *EU–China Free Trade Agreement*.

*Does the news article refer to **EU–China trade agreements**? Please code "No" or "Yes".*

00 No

01 Yes

NOTE: There are a few cases that deserve special attention:

a. The "Belt and Road Initiative" is a global infrastructure development strategy. It should **not** be intuitively considered a trade agreement or negotiation between China and the EU.

b. When the article refers to "negotiate" or "negotiation", the coder should make coding decisions following three steps:

Step 1: In terms of the content, is this negotiation about **EU–China trade relations**? Code "No" if the negotiation is about another issue (e.g., human rights).

Step 2: In terms of the subject, **which parties** conducted this negotiation? Please distinguish between "the negotiation within the EU institutions on trade policy toward China" and "the negotiation between the EU and China". Code "No" if it is a negotiation within the EU institutions.

Step 3: In terms of the time, has this negotiation been **concluded** or just a **proposal**?

Code “Yes” for a settled trade negotiation on EU–China trade relations between the EU and China. For a proposal, code “No” if it is briefly mentioned in one sentence/paragraph; code “Yes” if the whole article/speech discusses the process/procedure about how they settle/reach the negotiation.

❶ “Valdis Dombrovskis, the EU’s trade commissioner, said that the fate of the freshly negotiated EU–China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment - or CAI - was tied up with the diplomatic dispute, which erupted this week” (Brunsdon & Yang, 2021, para. 2).

- EU–China bilateral negotiation on CAI is explicitly mentioned. In this example, the presence of EU–China trade agreements should be coded as “Yes”.

❷ “On Monday Mr. Xi also won the endorsement of the EU for China’s bid to join the US-led negotiations towards a global Trade in Services Agreement” (Donnan & Byrne, 2016, para. 16).

- Although the EU’s endorsement of China is explicitly mentioned, the Trade in Services Agreement is led by the US government, which focuses on international commerce rather than EU–China trade relations. In this example, the presence of EU–China trade agreements should be coded as “No”.

❸ “The European Union and China concluded on May 19 a bilateral agreement towards China’s membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO)” (Dizon, 2000, para. 1).

- The EU–China bilateral agreement on China’s accession to the WTO is explicitly mentioned. In this example, the presence of EU–China trade agreements should be coded as “Yes”.

❹ “China’s entry follows 15 years of negotiations. Its leaders hope that more investment and more exports will flow from WTO membership, as foreign manufacturers are lured by cheap labour and the country’s vast internal market” (Gittings, 2001, para. 5).

- The negotiation for China’s accession to the WTO is explicitly mentioned. However, no reference to EU–China *bilateral* trade negotiation can be identified in the context. In this example, the presence of EU–China trade agreements should be coded as “No”.

❺ “The EU and China need to cooperate on economic and other kinds of matters – sure, of course” (Plenary Debate of the European Parliament, 2021).

- According to the context, it is a general proposal by an MEP rather than a substantial bilateral negotiation on specific trade issues. In this example, the presence of EU–China trade agreements should be coded as “No”.

⑥ "... it should also be pointed out that Beijing has rejected the idea of making the lifting of the embargo dependent on tangible progress in human rights. In any case, the necessary conditions for lifting the embargo are not yet in place in the European Union ..." (Plenary Debate of the European Parliament, 2003).

- According to the context, whether to lift the embargo on the exports of weapons to China is part of the *EU–China Dialogue on Human Rights*. Specifically, the EU employed trade as a tool to urge China to make human rights concessions. The bilateral negotiation mostly concerns human rights issues rather than trade issues. In this example, the presence of EU–China trade agreements should be coded as "No".

3.6 Economic Systems

Definition: The economic system refers to the part of the social system composed of institutions and customs related to the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services (Black et al., 2009). Important characteristics of an economic system are the property rules and the degree of economic planning (i.e., a component of public policy that controls economic activity). There are four main types of economic systems (Law, 2014):

- a. Traditional economy: An economic system in which traditions, customs, and beliefs help shape the goods and services the economy produces, as well as the rule and manner of their distribution.
- b. Market economy: An economic system in which the main decisions regarding production, distribution, and exchange are made by the market and profit mechanism (i.e., by the forces of supply and demand).
- c. Command economy (controlled economy): An economic system in which supply is controlled, and prices are fixed by governments.
- d. Mixed economy: Capitalism is encouraged, but the government intervenes to control an unbridled market economy, using legal safeguards to protect the poor, sick, elderly, etc., from exploitation and to protect consumers from exploitation by monopolies.

Contextualized Description: Include issues related to economic systems in the context of EU–China trade relations at the macro level, such as a specific discussion, explanation, or critique of China’s market economy status and the EU’s neoliberal trade paradigm.

Does the news article refer to **economic systems** in the context of EU–China trade relations? Please code "No" or "Yes".

00 No

01 Yes

NOTE: Some trade practices mentioned in the article/speech might be attributed to their respective economic systems. If the article/speech does not refer to “economic systems” at all, please neither make subjective assumptions nor take it for granted that unfair trade practices should be coded as “economic systems”. To code “Yes”, the article/speech should include relevant arguments about economic systems in the context of EU–China trade relations.

❶ “The debate comes as the EU considers the politically sensitive issue of whether to grant market-economy status to China, a change that would make it harder for the EU to levy punitive tariffs” (Rankin, 2016, para. 17).

- The debate over the grant to China’s market economy status is explicitly mentioned. A market economy is a system in which economic decisions and pricing are guided by the interactions of citizens and businesses. In this example, the presence of economic systems should be coded as “Yes”.

❷ “So, we are in a unique situation in that we are the only country that explicitly lists China as a non-market economy for anti-dumping” (Plenary Debate of the European Parliament, 2016).

- “A non-market economy” refers to China’s market economy status. In this example, the presence of economic systems should be coded as “Yes”.

❸ “It was billed as opening up China’s long-closed state-dominated economy to European companies, which would have unleashed tens of billions of pounds in manufacturing investment” (Waterfield, 2021, para. 12).

- State-dominated economy is an alternative expression of China’s economic system. In this example, the presence of economic systems should be coded as “Yes”.

❹ “Indeed, economic liberalisation and the country’s gradual integration into the international community are not being accompanied by similar political liberalisation and China still has a long way to go before reaching the human rights standards considered normal in our societies” (Plenary Debate of the European Parliament, 2003).

- “Economic liberalisation” is explicitly mentioned. According to the context, it refers to the expectation about China’s economic system. In this example, the presence of economic systems should be coded as “Yes”.

❺ “The competition between the liberal democracies and the socialist authoritarians is not yet a new cold war” (Kettle, 2017, para. 7).

- “Liberal democracies” and “socialist authoritarians” refer to political systems rather than economic systems. In this example, the presence of economic systems should be coded as “No”.

⑥ “Recent consultations with investors and stakeholders have confirmed the findings of our impact assessment study, namely that the main added value of an EU–China investment agreement resides not only in creating a level playing field on investment protection, but above all in generating further investment liberalization” (Plenary Debate of the European Parliament, 2013).

- Although “investment liberalization” is explicitly mentioned, it refers to the added value of an EU–China investment agreement. According to the context, the key argument is about “EU–China trade agreements” rather than “economic systems”. In this example, the presence of economic systems should be coded as “No”.

3.7 Exchange Rates

Definition: Exchange rates refer to the rate at which the money of one country can be changed for the money of another country.

Contextualized Description: Include issues related to exchange rates in the context of EU–China trade relations, such as artificial manipulation of exchange rates, revaluation, devaluation, and overvaluation of currency.

*Does the news article refer to **exchange rates** in the context of EU–China trade relations? Please code “No” or “Yes”.*

00 No

01 Yes

① “China will strive to maintain the basic stability of the exchange rate of Chinese currency, the renminbi (RMB), and keep it at a reasonable and balanced level, he said ... China is ready to boost cooperation with the European Union on the basis of mutual respect and equality, and handle differences properly to promote the sound and steady development of the China–EU comprehensive strategic partnership, Li said, stressing that China hopes to see a united and prosperous EU” (Wang, 2022, paras. 4-5).

- “The exchange rate of Chinese currency” is explicitly mentioned. Maintaining the stability of the exchange rate of Chinese currency is considered a means to boost cooperation with the EU. In this example, the presence of exchange rates should be coded as “Yes”.

② “Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao rejected a fast devaluation of the yuan this week and will likely stand firm on other economic issues ... The EU has accused Beijing of dumping cheap products on its market and has raised punitive tariffs on imports it says are illegally subsidized by the Chinese government” (Steinhauser, 2010, paras. 9-10).

- Although "exchange rates" are not explicitly mentioned, "a fast devaluation of the yuan" (i.e., yuan is a unit of Chinese currency RMB) and its impact on the EU's imports from China are clearly addressed. In this example, the presence of exchange rates should be coded as "Yes".

③ "The EU has a bilateral trade deficit with China of about Euros 55bn (Dollars 68bn) - approximately half that of the US - but an overall trade surplus of Euros 6bn with the world as a whole" (Mcgregor, 2004, para. 11).

- Although "Euros" are explicitly mentioned to describe the EU's trade deficit with China and trade surplus with the world, there is no explicit reference to exchange rates. In this example, the presence of exchange rates should be coded as "No".

Part II. Speeches in Plenary Debates of the European Parliament

General Coding Instructions

The following information (i.e., Publication Date, Country, Affiliation) can be found directly in the coding materials. Please read the coding example below:

- ID: 11204
- Publication Date: Year (2012); Month (05); Date (22)
- Country: The United Kingdom (UK)
- Affiliation: NI - Non-Attached Members

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--------------|-----------------------|---------|----|
| ID | 11204 | Document No. | P7_CRE(2012)05-22(13) | | |
| Subject | EU and China: unbalanced trade? (debate) | | | | |
| MEP | Andrew Henry William Brons | Affiliation | NI | Country | UK |
| <p>Mr President, the EU continues to provide China with development aid despite its economic expansion. I hope the Chinese are grateful. Well, if imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, I suppose they are: 85% of all pirated goods seized in the EU in 2010 came from China. The West has inflicted much of the harm itself, as nearly all of China's export trade has been supplied by companies established with Western technology and expertise to compete with our industries and throw our workers on the scrap heap. In the words of the Committee on Industry, there is a 'temptation for European enterprises to relocate their operations to China in order to cut their costs and increase their profits, to the detriment of the EU workforce'.</p> | | | | | |

0. ID Number

What is the ID number? Please code the ID number in the text entry box.

1. Publication Date

When was the speech released? Please select the year, month, and date separately from the following list:

Year: A drop-down list (from 2001 to 2020)

Month: A drop-down list (from 01 to 12)

Date: A drop-down list (from 01 to 31)

2. Country

What nationality does the MEP hold? Please select one of the following options. You can skip this question if the speech is delivered by representatives of EU institutions.

01 The United Kingdom (UK)

02 The Netherlands (NL)

3. Affiliation

Which political group/institution is the speaker affiliated with? If the speaker is an MEP, please select the political group from 01 to 18. If the speaker is a representative of EU institutions, please select the institution from 19 to 20.

01 EPP-ED: Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats

02 EPP: Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)

03 PSE: Group of the Party of European Socialists

04 S&D: Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament

05 ELDR: Group of the European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party

06 ALDE: Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe

07 Verts/ALE (or Greens/EFA): Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance

08 GUE/NGL: Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left

09 ECR: European Conservatives and Reformists Group

10 Renew Europe: Renew Europe Group

11 IND/DEM: Independence/Democracy Group

12 UEN: Union for Europe of the Nations Group

13 TDI: Technical Group of Independent Members - mixed group

14 EDD: Group for a Europe of Democracies and Diversities

15 EFD: Europe of Freedom and Democracy Group

16 EFDD: Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group

17 ID: Identity and Democracy Group

18 NI: Non-Attached Members

19 The European Commission

20 The Council of the European Union

4. Issue Presence

Please find detailed coding instructions in Part I (see 3.1-3.7).

Appendix D

D1. Identification Process of the US-Intervention Frame

Step 1: Open Coding – Create codes through a line-by-line analysis of newspaper articles on EU–China trade relations

To illustrate the identification process, the columns below present fragments from newspaper articles regarding the role of the United States in EU–China trade relations alongside their corresponding codes.

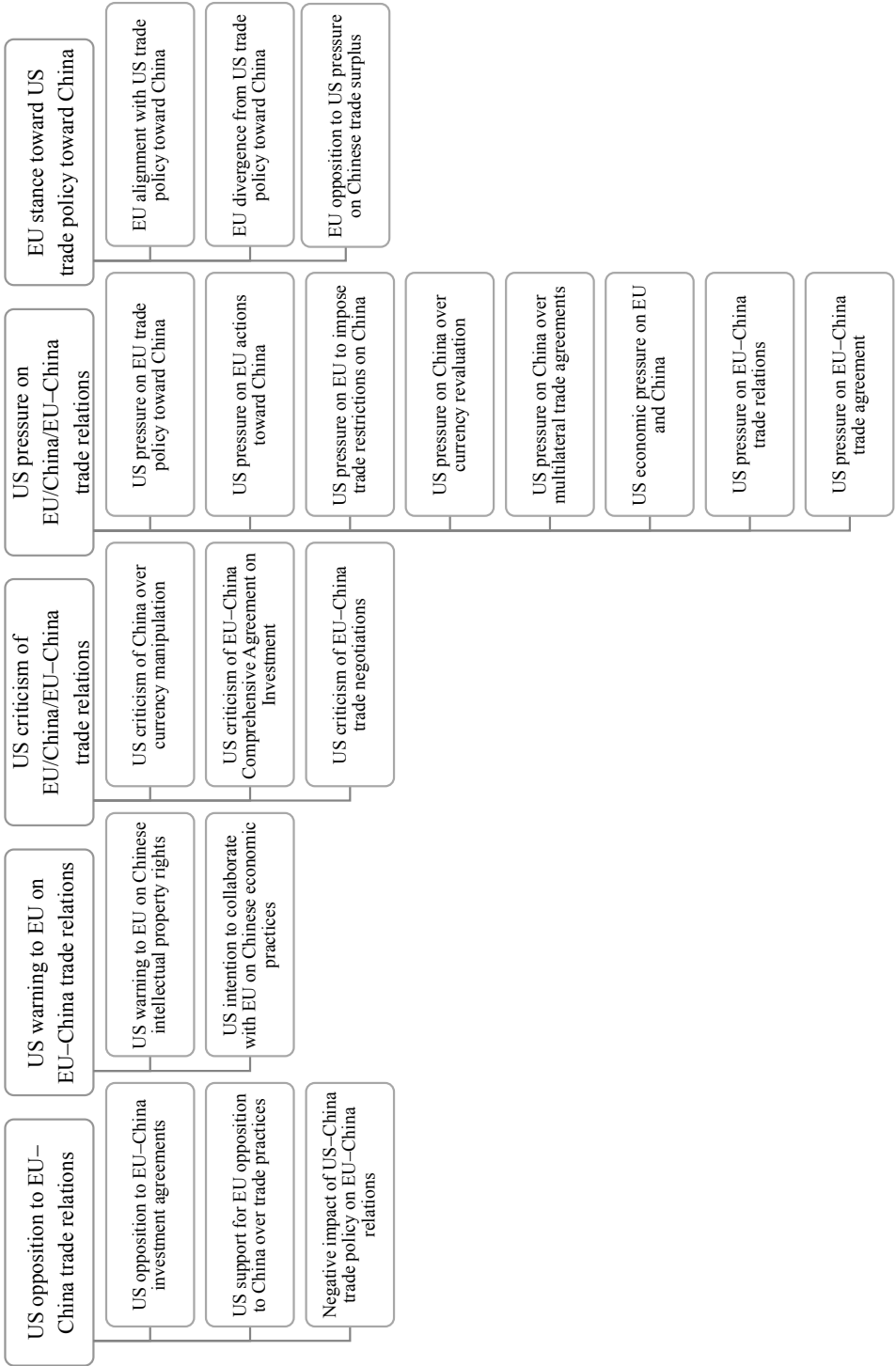
| Newspaper Article Fragment | Code |
|--|---|
| <p>Mr. Lamy was speaking in Beijing at the end of an EU–China Summit on enhancing economic ties. Among the agreements reached was a deal to increase the number of Chinese tourists to Europe and a tentative acceptance of a €200m (£137m) investment by Beijing in Europe’s Galileo satellite global positioning system—which is opposed by <u>Washington</u>.</p> | <p>US opposition to EU–China investment agreements</p> |
| <p>The <u>EU</u> has rebuffed <u>US criticism</u> of the deal [EU–China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment], saying it is merely winning similar trade benefits to those established in the so-called “Phase 1” trade deal struck by the Trump administration with China last year.</p> | <p>US criticism of EU–China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment</p> |
| <p><u>Chinese officials</u> have appealed to the EU to help preserve international trade structures like the World Trade Organization, which has been heavily <u>criticized</u> by <u>US President Donald Trump</u>, as well as playing on European resentment of perceived US high-handedness.</p> | <p>US criticism of EU–China trade negotiations</p> |
| <p>The European shift towards Huawei 5G is partly down to <u>American pressure</u>. But many Europeans were already taking a more jaundiced view of <u>China</u>.</p> | <p>US pressure on EU trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p><u>China</u> yesterday shrugged off <u>renewed pressure from Washington</u> for a revaluation of the renminbi and dismissed as unfair <u>US</u> and <u>European Union</u> moves to restrict imports of Chinese textiles.</p> | <p>US pressure on China over currency revaluation</p> |
| <p>China and the EU are grappling with growing tensions in their <u>relationship</u> at a time when <u>both</u> are also <u>under pressure</u> from the <u>US</u> in areas from trade to the Iran nuclear deal.</p> | <p>US pressure on EU–China trade relations</p> |

| Newspaper Article Fragment | Code |
|---|--|
| <p>European officials have until recently avoided the sort of hostile rhetoric that has emerged from the <u>US</u> over <u>China's</u> growing surpluses and foreign exchange reserves.</p> | <p>EU divergence from US trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p><u>Brussels</u> pressed ahead with the agreement despite <u>Mr. Biden's team</u> stressing that it wanted a multilateral alliance with the <u>EU</u> and other partners to put pressure on <u>Beijing</u> over human rights and <u>trade</u>.</p> | <p>US pressure on EU–China trade agreement</p> |
| <p>US Trade Representative Robert Zoellick said on Friday the <u>European Union</u> should form a united front with the <u>United States</u> in <u>pressing China</u> to open its markets to international trade.</p> | <p>US pressure on EU trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p>On trade, <u>Washington</u> has threatened tariffs against the <u>EU</u> as well as <u>China</u>, making the idea of a common transatlantic trade front against <u>Beijing</u> almost unimaginable.</p> | <p>US economic pressure on EU and China</p> |
| <p><u>Washington's attempts</u> to get <u>Beijing</u> to commit to buying more <u>US</u> products and take other steps to reduce its trade surplus are examples of “managed trade” policies that the <u>EU</u> argues violate the spirit of the WTO system.</p> | <p>EU opposition to US pressure on Chinese trade surplus</p> |
| <p>The <u>US</u> has urged its allies, such as the <u>EU</u>, to keep <u>China</u> at arm's length and lock <u>Huawei</u> out of their telecommunications markets.</p> | <p>US pressure on EU to impose trade restrictions on China</p> |
| <p>The <u>European Union</u> has taken <u>China</u> to the World Trade Organization over what it says are discriminatory tariffs for imports of car parts, a case it is <u>pursuing with the United States</u> and Canada.</p> | <p>EU alignment with US trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p><u>Mr. Lamy's</u> meetings in <u>Beijing</u> follow a parade of top <u>US</u> officials who have warned <u>China</u> that domestic pressure is growing in the <u>US</u> over the trade deficit with <u>China</u>, which topped \$103 billion last year.</p> | <p>EU alignment with US trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p>In <u>Brussels</u>, <u>Peter Mandelson</u>, the <u>EU's</u> trade commissioner, said the <u>EU</u> should not join forces with the <u>US</u> to press <u>China</u> into revaluing its currency.</p> | <p>EU divergence from US trade policy toward China</p> |

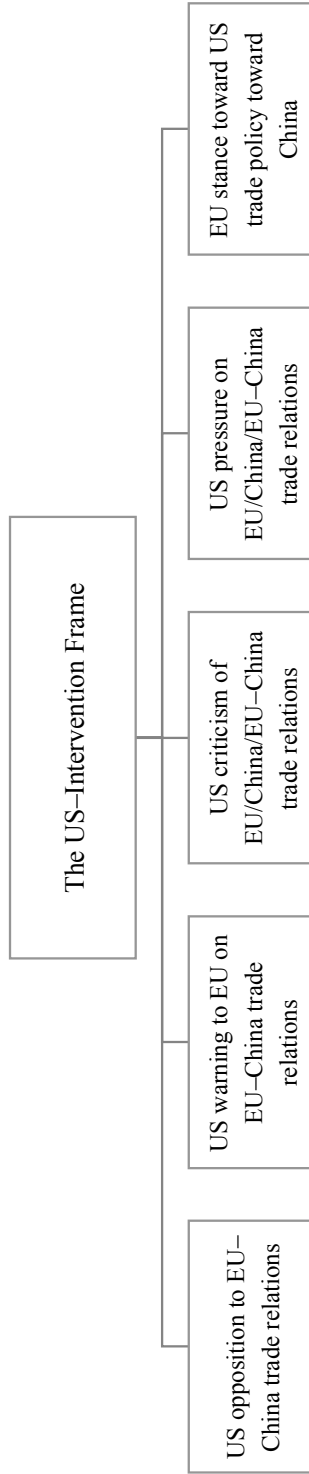
| Newspaper Article Fragment | Code |
|--|--|
| <p>Mr. Mandelson's theme complements that <u>being pushed by Washington</u>, which has demanded that <u>China</u> become a "responsible stakeholder" in the global system.</p> | <p>US pressure on EU actions toward China</p> |
| <p>Europe's top trade official has underlined <u>EU willingness</u> to join forces with <u>the US</u> in fighting steel overproduction by <u>China</u>, ahead of a potentially decisive visit to <u>Washington</u> aimed at securing an exemption from punitive tariffs.</p> | <p>EU alignment with US trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p>The comments were made ahead of a visit to China for negotiations in which <u>the US</u> is pressing Beijing to agree to long-term contracts for agriculture and energy purchases that are likely to <u>hurt exporters in the EU</u> and other allies.</p> | <p>US pressure on China over multilateral trade agreements</p> |
| <p><u>The EU, joined by the United States</u>, filed its first WTO complaint <u>against China</u> last year over the treatment of <u>European firms</u> in the auto parts sector.</p> | <p>US support for EU opposition to China over trade practices</p> |
| <p><u>Washington</u> has told its European allies the Chinese firm poses a security threat, noting that <u>Chinese companies and citizens</u> must by law aid the state in intelligence gathering.</p> | <p>US warning to EU on Chinese intellectual property rights</p> |
| <p>Jake Sullivan, the designated National Security Adviser in <u>Biden's team</u>, tweeted earlier this week that <u>Washington</u> would welcome early consultations with its European partners on "our common concerns about <u>China's economic practices</u>".</p> | <p>US intention to collaborate with EU on Chinese economic practices</p> |
| <p>European Union ministers share <u>the United States' concern</u> about <u>China's exchange rate</u>, EU External Relations Commissioner Chris Patten said on Wednesday.</p> | <p>EU alignment with US trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p><u>US anti-dumping measures</u> on Chinese candles had spurred <u>Chinese exports to the European Union</u>, which in 2006 accounted for more than 30 percent of the market and helped bankrupt some European producers, the statement said.</p> | <p>Negative impact of US-China trade policy on EU-China relations</p> |

| Newspaper Article Fragment | Code |
|---|---|
| <p>"The ball is now in China's court," said <u>Karel De Gucht</u>, the <u>EU's trade commissioner</u>. "This is not protectionism. Rather it is about ensuring international trade rules also apply to <u>Chinese companies</u> – just like they apply to us. As you are aware, the <u>US</u> also currently applies duties to <u>Chinese exports</u>."</p> | <p>EU alignment with US trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p>The EU has invoked anti-dumping sanctions <u>against China</u> over shoe exports and has filed a <u>joint complaint with the US</u> at the World Trade Organization, alleging illegal tariffs on imports of car parts.</p> | <p>EU alignment with US trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p>The European Union distanced itself from the <u>United States' hardline policy</u> on <u>Chinese exports</u> yesterday when its top trade official rejected claims that the weak Chinese currency was largely to blame for a growing deficit with the Asian nation.</p> | <p>EU divergence from US trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p>The <u>EU</u> could decide to <u>join the US</u> in taking legal action <u>against China</u> within the World Trade Organization.</p> | <p>EU alignment with US trade policy toward China</p> |
| <p>China has been criticized by the EU and, especially, by the <u>US</u> for keeping its currency at an artificially low level, meaning that its exports are cheaper worldwide and hindering export-led recovery from recession in the developed world.</p> | <p>US criticism of China over currency manipulation</p> |

Step 2: Axial Coding – Draw connections between codes and group codes into categories



Step 3: Selective Coding – Connect categories and identify the frame



D2. Identification Process of Human Rights Frame

Step 1: Open Coding – Create codes through a line-by-line analysis of newspaper articles on EU–China trade relations

To illustrate the identification process, the columns below present fragments from newspaper articles regarding the role of human rights issues in EU–China trade relations alongside their corresponding codes.

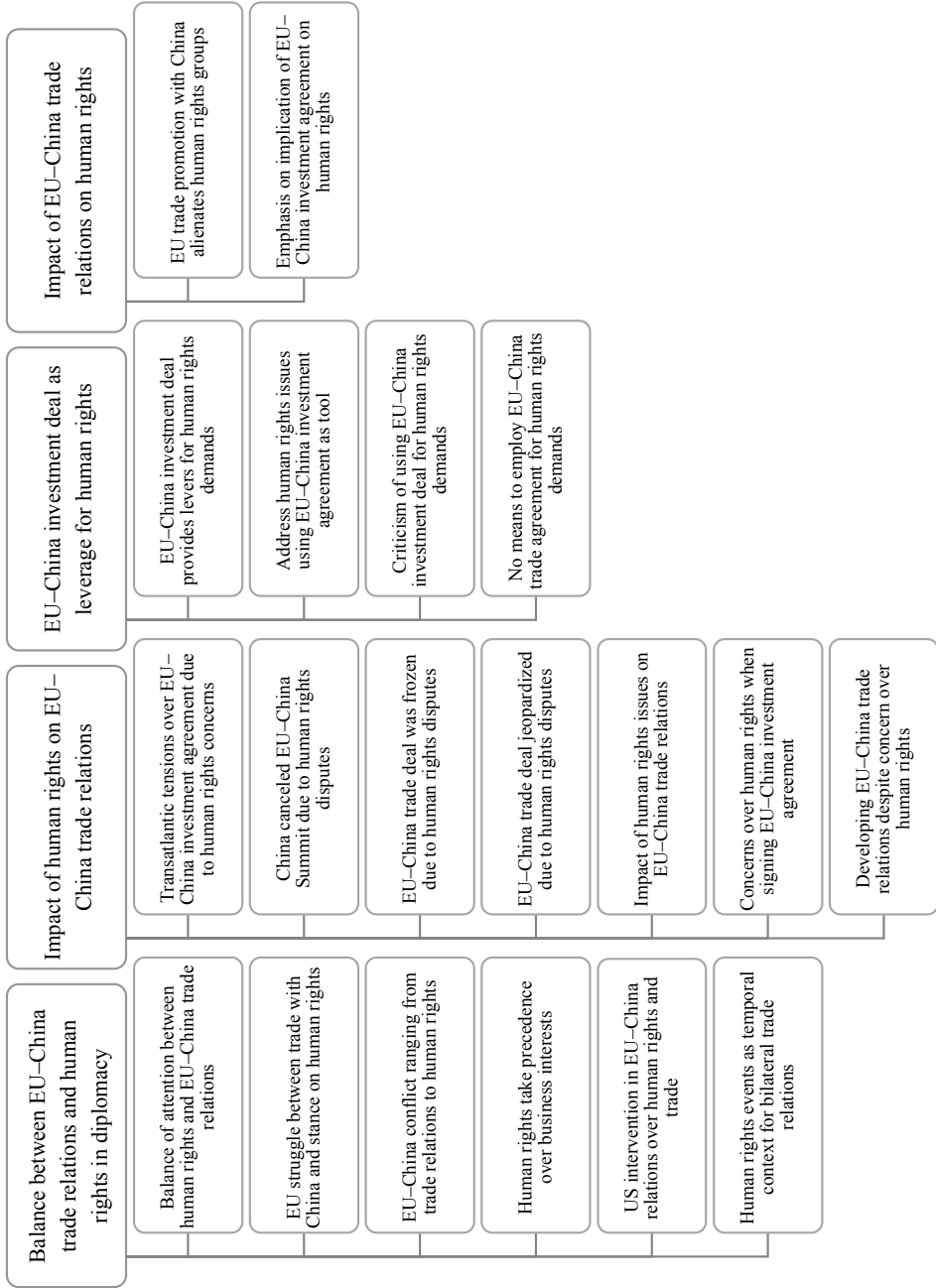
| Newspaper Article Fragment | Code |
|---|---|
| <p>Amnesty, Human Rights Watch and the Free Tibet Campaign all lobbied the EU to ensure <u>human rights issues</u> were not pushed off the agenda by the drive to boost trade. “China appears to have taken a new and deliberate step backwards,” Dick Oosting, director of Amnesty’s EU office, said.</p> | <p>Balance of attention between human rights and EU–China trade relations</p> |
| <p>Transatlantic tensions over how to handle China will come into the open next week when MEPs condemn the European Commission for rushing to sign a <u>controversial investment agreement with China</u> that they say undermines the EU’s <u>credibility on human rights</u>.</p> | <p>Transatlantic tensions over EU–China investment agreement due to human rights concerns</p> |
| <p>China stunned <u>European leaders</u> yesterday by calling off a major summit because the <u>Dalai Lama</u> would be visiting Europe at the same time. [Context: The talks were expected to focus on disputes linked to China’s huge trade surplus with the EU and on coordinating international action to counter the <u>global economic crisis</u>. Senior central bankers and finance officials on both sides were to discuss global finances.]</p> | <p>China canceled EU–China Summit due to human rights disputes</p> |
| <p>The <u>Commission</u> says the deal, years in the making, <u>improves market access for EU companies, protects intellectual property, and provides levers to make demands on human rights</u>. [Context: They argue it is unrealistic for the EU to decouple from <u>China economically</u>, and if engagement is the only option, it is best to compete on more equal terms than China allows at present.]</p> | <p>EU–China investment deal provides levers for human rights demands</p> |
| <p>Earlier this year a years-long negotiated trade deal between the EU and China was essentially frozen after tit-for-tat sanctions arising from <u>EU concern over China’s human rights abuses</u>, including in Xinjiang.</p> | <p>EU–China trade deal was frozen due to human rights disputes</p> |

| Newspaper Article Fragment | Code |
|--|--|
| <p>The extraordinarily rapid economic growth and industrial prowess of China has encouraged the EU to put an increasingly high priority on co-operation. <u>The EU has previously adopted a rather confrontational stance with China, repeatedly criticizing it over human rights abuses.</u></p> | <p>EU struggle between trade with China and stance on human rights</p> |
| <p>However, trade between the two last year totaled €115 billion (£80 billion), with the EU importing more from China than any other country in the world other than the US. <u>The EU is now taking a more conciliatory approach, annoying human rights groups</u> such as Amnesty International.</p> | <p>EU trade promotion with China alienates human rights groups</p> |
| <p>The agreement was agreed in principle on December 30 and hailed as a breakthrough for the EU's "values-based trade agenda". It was jeopardized in March when the EU imposed sanctions on four Chinese people, including a top security director, for <u>alleged human rights abuses</u> against the Uighur ethnic minority in the Xinjiang region.</p> | <p>EU-China trade deal jeopardized due to human rights disputes</p> |
| <p>Already strained by a mounting trade deficit, by the 2005 "bra wars", in which millions of Chinese textile products were blocked at EU ports, and by human rights issues, the relationship reached its nadir last December when China canceled the previous EU-China Summit in protest at the French President Nicolas Sarkozy's decision to meet the Dalai Lama.</p> | <p>China canceled EU-China Summit due to human rights disputes</p> |
| <p>Take China, for example. Plenty has already been written about its growing influence in Europe. It is building telecoms networks, integrating countries into the Belt and Road transport network, taking stakes in a range of important companies, and only this week agreed a huge new investment pact with the EU that, controversially, will give it even more access to Europe despite its terrible record on <u>human rights and labour standards.</u></p> | <p>Concerns over human rights when signing EU-China investment agreement</p> |
| <p>"Trade policy does not take place in a vacuum. How the question of forced labour is addressed in the CAI will determine the agreement's fate," said Bernd Lange, chairman of the European Parliament's trade committee in a tweet this week.</p> | <p>Address human rights issues using EU-China investment agreement as tool</p> |
| <p>Brussels pressed ahead with the agreement despite Mr. Biden's team stressing that it wanted a multilateral alliance with the EU and other partners to put pressure on <u>Beijing over human rights and trade.</u></p> | <p>US intervention in EU-China relations over human rights and trade</p> |

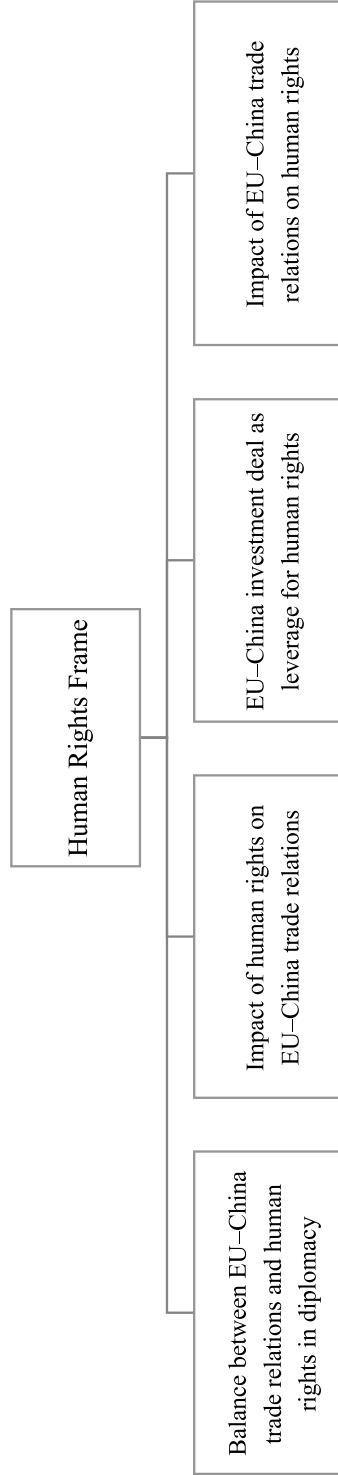
| Newspaper Article Fragment | Code |
|--|--|
| <p>David Shambaugh, a professor at George Washington university who has written extensively on the <u>Europe–China relationship</u>, says there is a growing list of antagonisms between the two partners, ranging from <u>trade and investment to Tibet and human rights</u>, which will not be easy to resolve.</p> | <p>EU–China conflict ranging from trade relations to human rights</p> |
| <p>The European Commission concluded its negotiations in principle on a Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) with China at the end of 2020. If this deal is pushed through, it will only enrich and embolden the <u>largest human rights abuser</u> in the world and send a message to oppressed people, including those in our native Hong Kong, that their fate is of little concern.</p> | <p>Concerns over human rights when signing EU–China investment agreement</p> |
| <p>Although the arms embargo remains in place and Brussels has made criticisms of Beijing on <u>human rights grounds</u>, business has been the priority. The EU is China's largest trading partner; China is the EU's second largest, behind the US. In 2018, China accounted for about a fifth of EU goods imports and more than a tenth of its exports.</p> | <p>Developing EU–China trade relations despite concern over human rights</p> |
| <p>For its part, <u>China</u> appears resigned to little progress in <u>negotiating an end to the arms embargo imposed by the EU</u> after its crushing of <u>pro-democracy protests in 1989</u> or in winning formal EU recognition as a market economy.</p> | <p>Human rights events as temporal context for bilateral trade relations</p> |
| <p>For China, the deal is good diplomacy: the Biden administration has made clear it wants to build an alliance of democracies to press Beijing on its <u>human rights record and aggressive trade practices</u>. The deal on the <u>investment treaty</u> strengthens ties with Brussels at a pivotal moment.</p> | <p>US intervention in EU–China relations over human rights and trade</p> |
| <p>The report said: “Before ratification of CAI, <u>the EU</u> should regain some leverage on <u>China</u> by insisting on ratification of the ILO conventions as a prerequisite.” It also calls for a ban on the import of products of forced labour into the EU market and <u>“human rights due diligence legislation”</u>.</p> | <p>EU–China investment deal provides levers for human rights demands</p> |
| <p>It adds: “It is simply absurd for the EU to expect China to uphold its obligations under a new bilateral investment treaty when it is openly floating its current obligations to the international community to <u>guarantee the autonomy and freedoms of the people of Hong Kong</u>.”</p> | <p>Criticism of using EU–China investment deal for human rights demands</p> |

| Newspaper Article Fragment | Code |
|---|---|
| <p>The EU had set a deadline for the end of 2020 to reach the agreement. The most complete analysis of the agreement yet published by the Institute Montaigne finds <u>the agreement could not have been negotiated at a worse time, provides minimal additional market access and contains currently "next to no means" to enforce Chinese assurances over the eradication of forced labour.</u></p> | <p>No means to employ EU-China trade agreement for human rights demands</p> |
| <p>MEPs must halt the EU-China investment deal. Failing that, at the very least they must include <u>strict human rights clauses</u> in relation to Hong Kong and the Uighur population.</p> | <p>EU-China investment deal provides levers for human rights demands</p> |
| <p>Taiwanese design and <u>Chinese cheap labour</u>, coupled with a vast domestic market, have made <u>China</u> the leading player in bicycle manufacturing. In spite of an anti-dumping tariff of 30.6 per cent imposed by <u>the EU</u> in 1993, China continues to sell more than 500,000 bicycles a year in <u>the Union</u>.</p> | <p>Impact of human rights issues on EU-China trade relations</p> |
| <p>The EU also argues that the CAI represents a "major breakthrough" in efforts by western countries to get Beijing to sign up to <u>International Labour Organization conventions banning the use of forced labour and the protection of workers' rights of association.</u></p> | <p>Emphasis on implication of EU-China investment agreement on human rights</p> |
| <p><u>The EU's human rights</u> sanctions show the bloc will not always put its <u>business interests</u> first.</p> | <p>Human rights take precedence over business interests</p> |

Step 2: Axial Coding – Draw connections between codes and group codes into categories



Step 3: Selective Coding – Connect categories and identify the frame



Appendix E

Krippendorff's Alpha Scores of Inter-Coder Reliability (ICR) Tests

Table E1

ICR Test Results for Chapter 2

| Variable | Krippendorff's α |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Newspaper | 1.00 |
| Publication year | 1.00 |
| Article length | 1.00 |
| Article type | 1.00 |
| Presence of opportunity frame | 0.89 |
| Presence of risk frame | 0.84 |
| Presence of trade conflict frame | 0.91 |
| Presence of human rights frame | 1.00 |
| Presence of US-intervention frame | 0.90 |
| Tone | 0.96 |

Table E2

ICR Test Results for Chapter 3

| Variable | Krippendorff's α |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Newspaper | 1.00 |
| Publication year | 1.00 |
| Article length | 1.00 |
| Article type | 1.00 |
| Presence of trade conflict frame | 0.89 |
| Presence of human rights frame | 0.95 |
| Presence of US-intervention frame | 0.87 |
| Presence of moral system frame | 0.85 |
| Presence of business frame | 0.94 |
| Presence of individual frame | 0.92 |
| Tone | 0.86 |

Table E3
ICR Test Results (Actors) for Chapter 4

| Variable | Krippendorff's α |
|--|-------------------------|
| Newspaper | 1.00 |
| Publication year | 1.00 |
| Article length | 1.00 |
| Article type | 1.00 |
| Presence of direct quotations | 1.00 |
| Presence of politicians | 0.94 |
| Presence of government officials | 0.97 |
| Presence of representatives of intergovernmental organizations | 0.97 |
| Presence of representatives of business and corporations | 1.00 |
| Presence of experts and academics | 0.94 |
| Presence of media and journalists | 1.00 |
| Presence of representatives of NGOs and interest groups | 0.94 |
| Presence of ordinary citizens | 1.00 |
| Prominent actor | 0.92 |

Table E4*ICR Test Results (EP Plenary Debates) for Chapter 5*

| Variable | Krippendorff's α |
|--|-------------------------|
| Publication date | 1.00 |
| Publication month | 1.00 |
| Publication year | 1.00 |
| Country | 1.00 |
| Affiliation | 1.00 |
| Presence of the EU's investment in China | 0.90 |
| Presence of China's investment in the EU | 0.91 |
| Presence of the EU's exports to China | 0.96 |
| Presence of the EU's imports from China | 0.90 |
| Presence of EU–China trade agreements | 0.89 |
| Presence of economic systems | 0.90 |
| Presence of exchange rates | 0.92 |

Table E5*ICR Test Results (Newspaper Articles) for Chapter 5*

| Variable | Krippendorff's α |
|--|-------------------------|
| Publication date | 1.00 |
| Publication month | 1.00 |
| Publication year | 1.00 |
| Newspaper | 1.00 |
| Presence of the EU's investment in China | 0.92 |
| Presence of China's investment in the EU | 0.90 |
| Presence of the EU's exports to China | 0.96 |
| Presence of the EU's imports from China | 0.91 |
| Presence of EU–China trade agreements | 0.88 |
| Presence of economic systems | 0.89 |
| Presence of exchange rates | 0.95 |

Appendix F

Results of Statistical Analyses

Table F1
Binary Logistic Regression Analyses Predicting Frames in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2021)

| | Opportunity Frame | | | | | Risk Frame | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|------|-------|--------|------|------------|--------|------|-------|--------|------|------|
| | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | LL | UL | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | LL | UL |
| (Constant) | -3.05*** | 0.70 | 0.05 | | | | 0.59 | 0.33 | 1.81 | | | |
| Financial Newspaper | 0.85 | 0.63 | 2.35 | 0.68 | 0.11 | 8.11 | -0.63* | 0.28 | 0.53 | 0.31 | 0.31 | 0.91 |
| Quality Newspaper | 0.80 | 0.63 | 2.21 | 0.64 | 0.64 | 7.61 | -0.52 | 0.27 | 0.60 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 1.02 |
| Year | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.99 | 0.95 | 0.95 | 1.05 | -0.03 | 0.01 | 0.97 | 0.95 | 0.95 | 1.00 |
| Article Length | 0.09 | 0.15 | 1.09 | 0.82 | 0.82 | 1.45 | 0.11 | 0.09 | 1.11 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 1.34 |
| Article Type (Opinion) | 0.22 | 0.35 | 1.25 | 0.63 | 0.63 | 2.48 | -0.06 | 0.21 | 0.94 | 0.63 | 0.63 | 1.42 |
| Nagelkerke's R^2 | | | .014 | | | | | | .018 | | | |
| χ^2 | | | 3.763 | | | | | | 8.151 | | | |

Note. Reference category: Popular newspaper (newspaper); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F1
Binary Logistic Regression Analyses: Predicting Frames in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2021) (continued)

| | Human Rights Frame | | | | US-Intervention Frame | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|------|---------|--------|-----------------------|------|--------|--------|
| | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | B | SE | OR | 95% CI |
| (Constant) | -4.57*** | 0.82 | 0.01 | | -2.52*** | 0.47 | 0.08 | |
| Financial Newspaper | 1.50* | 0.75 | 4.47 | 1.04 | 0.70 | 0.41 | 2.01 | 0.90 |
| Quality Newspaper | 1.77* | 0.74 | 5.88 | 1.38 | 1.00* | 0.40 | 2.72 | 1.23 |
| Year | 0.07** | 0.02 | 1.07 | 1.02 | 0.04* | 0.02 | 1.04 | 1.00 |
| Article Length | 0.14 | 0.12 | 1.15 | 0.91 | 0.10 | 0.11 | 1.10 | 0.89 |
| Article Type (Opinion) | 0.43 | 0.29 | 1.54 | 0.88 | -0.18 | 0.25 | 0.83 | 0.51 |
| Nagelkerke's R^2 | | | .089*** | | | | .037* | |
| χ^2 | | | 29.458 | | | | 14.814 | |

Note. Reference category: Popular newspaper (newspaper); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F1

Binary Logistic Regression Analyses Predicting Frames in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2021) (continued)

| | Trade Conflict Frame | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | <i>OR</i> | 95% CI | |
| | | | | <i>LL</i> | <i>UL</i> |
| (Constant) | 0.56 | 0.34 | 1.76 | | |
| Financial Newspaper | -0.49 | 0.28 | 0.61 | 0.35 | 1.06 |
| Quality Newspaper | -0.32 | 0.28 | 0.72 | 0.42 | 1.25 |
| Year | -0.05** | 0.02 | 0.95 | 0.92 | 0.98 |
| Article Length | 0.05 | 0.10 | 1.05 | 0.86 | 1.27 |
| Article Type (Opinion) | -0.46* | 0.23 | 0.63 | 0.41 | 0.98 |
| Nagelkerke's <i>R</i> ² | | | .042** | | |
| χ^2 | | | 18.572 | | |

Note. Reference category: Popular newspaper (newspaper); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized. * *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001.

Table F2

Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting the Tone in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2021)

| | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | <i>OR</i> | 95% CI | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | | | | <i>LL</i> | <i>UL</i> |
| | Financial Newspaper | 1.19*** | 0.28 | 3.30 | 1.90 |
| Quality Newspaper | 0.66* | 0.27 | 1.93 | 1.13 | 3.30 |
| Year | -0.04** | 0.02 | 0.96 | 0.93 | 0.99 |
| Article Length | -0.19* | 0.09 | 0.83 | 0.69 | 1.00 |
| Article Type (Opinion) | -0.11 | 0.21 | 0.89 | 0.59 | 1.35 |
| Nagelkerke's <i>R</i> ² | | | .076*** | | |
| χ^2 | | | 37.911 | | |

Note. Reference category: Popular newspaper (newspaper); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized. * *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001.

Table F3
Binary Logistic Regression Analyses Predicting Frames in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2023)

| | Trade Conflict Frame | | | | | Moral System Frame | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|------|--------|--------|------|--------------------|------|---------|--------|------|
| | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | |
| | | | | LL | UL | | | | LL | UL |
| (Constant) | -0.17 | 0.25 | 0.84 | 1.27 | 2.18 | 1.38*** | 0.27 | 3.97 | 2.21 | 4.06 |
| Country (The Netherlands) | 0.51*** | 0.14 | 1.67 | 0.98 | 1.02 | 1.10*** | 0.15 | 3.00 | 0.89 | 0.93 |
| Time | 0.00 | 0.01 | 1.00 | 0.61 | 1.36 | -0.09*** | 0.01 | 0.91 | 0.64 | 1.48 |
| Quality Newspaper | -0.09 | 0.20 | 0.91 | 0.49 | 1.11 | -0.03 | 0.22 | 0.97 | 0.74 | 1.73 |
| Financial Newspaper | -0.31 | 0.21 | 0.74 | 0.76 | 1.38 | 0.12 | 0.22 | 1.13 | 0.59 | 1.10 |
| Article Type (Opinion) | 0.03 | 0.15 | 1.03 | 0.78 | 1.05 | -0.22 | 0.16 | 0.81 | 0.94 | 1.27 |
| Article Length | -0.10 | 0.08 | 0.91 | | | 0.09 | 0.08 | 1.09 | | |
| Nagelkerke's R ² | | | .028** | | | | | .140*** | | |
| χ^2 | | | 21.992 | | | | | 116.139 | | |

Note. Reference category: The United Kingdom (country); Popular newspaper (newspaper type); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized.
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F3
Binary Logistic Regression Analyses Predicting Frames in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2023) (continued)

| | Human Rights Frame | | | | US-Intervention Frame | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|------|---------|--------|-----------------------|------|---------|--------|
| | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | B | SE | OR | 95% CI |
| (Constant) | -3.14*** | 0.40 | 0.04 | | -1.90*** | 0.29 | 0.15 | |
| Country (The Netherlands) | 0.72*** | 0.18 | 2.05 | 1.46 | 0.62*** | 0.15 | 1.86 | 1.40 |
| Time | 0.03 | 0.01 | 1.03 | 1.00 | 0.04** | 0.01 | 1.04 | 1.01 |
| Quality Newspaper | 1.00** | 0.33 | 2.71 | 1.41 | 0.58* | 0.23 | 1.78 | 1.12 |
| Financial Newspaper | 0.48 | 0.34 | 1.62 | 0.82 | 0.06 | 0.24 | 1.07 | 0.67 |
| Article Type (Opinion) | 0.46* | 0.19 | 1.58 | 1.08 | 0.14 | 0.16 | 1.15 | 0.84 |
| Article Length | 0.26** | 0.09 | 1.30 | 1.09 | 0.20** | 0.08 | 1.23 | 1.05 |
| Nagelkerke's R^2 | | | .119*** | | | | .089*** | |
| χ^2 | | | 78.835 | | | | 69.072 | |

Note. Reference category: The United Kingdom (country); Popular newspaper (newspaper type); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F3
Binary Logistic Regression Analyses Predicting Frames in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2023) (continued)

| | Business Frame | | | | | Individual Frame | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|------|---------|--------|------|------------------|------|---------|--------|------|
| | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | UL | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | UL |
| (Constant) | 0.57* | 0.25 | 1.77 | | | 0.65* | 0.30 | 1.91 | | |
| Country (The Netherlands) | 0.85*** | 0.14 | 2.33 | 1.76 | 3.09 | -0.23 | 0.20 | 0.80 | 0.53 | 1.17 |
| Time | -0.04** | 0.01 | 0.97 | 0.95 | 0.98 | -0.08*** | 0.01 | 0.92 | 0.90 | 0.95 |
| Quality Newspaper | -0.17 | 0.21 | 0.84 | 0.56 | 1.27 | -0.88*** | 0.24 | 0.42 | 0.26 | 0.66 |
| Financial Newspaper | -0.01 | 0.21 | 1.00 | 0.66 | 1.51 | -1.67*** | 0.26 | 0.19 | 0.11 | 0.31 |
| Article Type (Opinion) | -0.05 | 0.15 | 0.95 | 0.70 | 1.28 | -0.07 | 0.21 | 0.93 | 0.62 | 1.40 |
| Article Length | 0.09 | 0.08 | 1.10 | 0.95 | 1.27 | 0.23* | 0.10 | 1.26 | 1.03 | 1.53 |
| Nagelkerke's R ² | | | .058*** | | | | | .120*** | | |
| χ ² | | | 46.962 | | | | | 77.604 | | |

Note. Reference category: The United Kingdom (country); Popular newspaper (newspaper type); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized.
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F4

Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting the Tone in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2023)

| | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | <i>OR</i> | 95% CI | |
|---------------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | | | | <i>LL</i> | <i>UL</i> |
| Country (The Netherlands) | -0.41** | 0.15 | 0.66 | 0.50 | 0.88 |
| Time | 0.05*** | 0.01 | 1.05 | 1.03 | 1.07 |
| Quality Newspaper | -0.22 | 0.21 | 0.80 | 0.53 | 1.20 |
| Financial Newspaper | -0.72** | 0.21 | 0.49 | 0.32 | 0.74 |
| Article Type (Opinion) | 0.36* | 0.16 | 1.44 | 1.06 | 1.94 |
| Article Length | 0.07 | 0.07 | 1.08 | 0.93 | 1.25 |
| Nagelkerke's R^2 | | | .073*** | | |
| χ^2 | | | 62.496 | | |

Note. Reference category: Negative (tone); The United Kingdom (country); Popular newspaper (newspaper type); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F5

Presence of Political Actors in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2023) (Across Countries)

| | Total (<i>N</i> = 1,052) | The Netherlands (<i>n</i> = 329) | The United Kingdom (<i>n</i> = 723) |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>n</i> (%) | <i>n</i> (%) | <i>n</i> (%) |
| Politics & Government | | | |
| Intergovernmental Organizations | | | |
| EU | 384 (36.5%) | 120 (36.5%) | 264 (36.5%) |
| Non-EU | 24 (2.3%) | 7 (2.1%) | 17 (2.4%) |
| Politicians | | | |
| China | 70 (6.7%) | 14 (4.3%) | 56 (7.7%) |
| The Netherlands | 17 (1.6%) | 16 (4.9%) | 1 (0.1%) |
| The United Kingdom | 58 (5.5%) | 1 (0.3%) | 57 (7.9%) |
| Government Officials | | | |
| China | 128 (12.2%) | 43 (13.1%) | 85 (11.8%) |
| The Netherlands | 24 (2.3%) | 23 (7.0%) | 1 (0.1%) |
| The United Kingdom | 86 (8.2%) | 1 (0.3%) | 85 (11.8%) |

Table F6
Binary Logistic Regression Analyses Predicting Actors in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2023)

| | Politicians | | | | | | Government Officials | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|------|---------|--------|------|----------|----------------------|---------|--------|------|--|--|
| | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | | | |
| | | | | LL | UL | | | | LL | UL | | |
| (Constant) | -1.39*** | 0.31 | 0.25 | 0.37 | 1.00 | -1.17*** | 0.29 | 0.31 | | | | |
| Financial Newspaper | -0.50 | 0.25 | 0.61 | 0.37 | 1.00 | 0.45 | 0.25 | 1.56 | 0.95 | 2.55 | | |
| Quality Newspaper | -0.13 | 0.25 | 0.88 | 0.55 | 1.43 | 0.58* | 0.25 | 1.79 | 1.10 | 2.92 | | |
| Country (The Netherlands) | -0.62** | 0.18 | 0.54 | 0.38 | 0.76 | -0.47** | 0.16 | 0.62 | 0.46 | 0.85 | | |
| Year | 0.06*** | 0.01 | 1.06 | 1.03 | 1.09 | 0.04** | 0.01 | 1.04 | 1.01 | 1.06 | | |
| Article Length | 0.51*** | 0.08 | 1.66 | 1.41 | 1.95 | 0.62*** | 0.09 | 1.85 | 1.56 | 2.20 | | |
| Article Type (Opinion) | -0.69*** | 0.19 | 0.50 | 0.35 | 0.73 | -1.09*** | 0.18 | 0.34 | 0.24 | 0.48 | | |
| Nagelkerke's R^2 | | | .119*** | | | | | .138*** | | | | |
| χ^2 | | | 86.986 | | | | | 110.529 | | | | |

Note. Reference category: Popular newspaper (newspaper); The United Kingdom (country); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F6
Binary Logistic Regression Analyses Predicting Actors in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2023) (continued)

| | Intergovernmental Organizations | | | | Business and Corporations | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|------|---------|--------|---------------------------|------|---------|--------|
| | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | B | SE | OR | 95% CI |
| (Constant) | -0.57* | 0.28 | 0.57 | | -0.15 | 0.30 | 0.86 | |
| Financial Newspaper | 1.04*** | 0.24 | 2.82 | 1.76 | 4.53 | 0.25 | 0.74 | 0.45 |
| Quality Newspaper | 0.80** | 0.24 | 2.23 | 1.39 | 3.56 | 0.26 | 0.51 | 0.31 |
| Country (The Netherlands) | 0.22 | 0.15 | 1.25 | 0.94 | 1.66 | 0.19 | 0.60 | 0.41 |
| Year | -0.04** | 0.01 | 0.97 | 0.95 | 0.99 | 0.01 | 0.97 | 0.94 |
| Article Length | 0.18* | 0.08 | 1.20 | 1.03 | 1.39 | 0.09 | 1.87 | 1.57 |
| Article Type (Opinion) | -0.89*** | 0.17 | 0.41 | 0.30 | 0.57 | 0.20 | 0.57 | 0.39 |
| Nagelkerke's R^2 | | | .085*** | | | | .105*** | |
| χ^2 | | | 67.739 | | | | 72.599 | |

Note. Reference category: Popular newspaper (newspaper); The United Kingdom (country); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized.
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F6
Binary Logistic Regression Analyses Predicting Actors in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2023) (continued)

| | Experts and Academics | | | | | | Media and Journalists | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|------|---------|--------|------|----------|-----------------------|---------|--------|-------|---|----|----|--------|----|
| | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | |
| | | | | LL | UL | | | | LL | UL | | | | LL | UL |
| (Constant) | -2.54*** | 0.38 | 0.08 | | | -4.47*** | 0.81 | 0.01 | | | | | | | |
| Financial Newspaper | 0.61 | 0.31 | 1.83 | 1.00 | 3.38 | 0.70 | 0.77 | 2.01 | 0.45 | 9.01 | | | | | |
| Quality Newspaper | 0.48 | 0.31 | 1.62 | 0.88 | 2.99 | 1.60* | 0.74 | 4.96 | 1.17 | 21.12 | | | | | |
| Country (The Netherlands) | 0.15 | 0.18 | 1.16 | 0.82 | 1.64 | 0.18 | 0.29 | 1.20 | 0.68 | 2.12 | | | | | |
| Year | 0.06*** | 0.01 | 1.07 | 1.04 | 1.10 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 1.01 | 0.97 | 1.06 | | | | | |
| Article Length | 1.02*** | 0.11 | 2.78 | 2.24 | 3.44 | 0.41** | 0.12 | 1.51 | 1.19 | 1.90 | | | | | |
| Article Type (Opinion) | -0.97*** | 0.21 | 0.38 | 0.25 | 0.57 | 0.31 | 0.32 | 1.37 | 0.74 | 2.54 | | | | | |
| Nagelkerke's R^2 | | | .248*** | | | | | .099*** | | | | | | | |
| χ^2 | | | 189.095 | | | | | 37.964 | | | | | | | |

Note. Reference category: Popular newspaper (newspaper); The United Kingdom (country); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F6
Binary Logistic Regression Analyses Predicting Actors in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2023) (continued)

| | NGOs and Interest Groups | | | | Ordinary Citizens | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|------|---------|--------|-------------------|------|--------|--------|------|
| | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | B | SE | OR | 95% CI | |
| | | | | LL | UL | | | LL | UL |
| (Constant) | -0.32 | 0.32 | 0.72 | | | 0.91 | 0.03 | | |
| Financial Newspaper | -0.48 | 0.27 | 0.62 | 0.36 | 1.06 | 0.83 | 0.68 | 0.13 | 3.47 |
| Quality Newspaper | -0.41 | 0.27 | 0.66 | 0.39 | 1.12 | 0.78 | 1.42 | 0.31 | 6.50 |
| Country (The Netherlands) | -0.23 | 0.20 | 0.79 | 0.54 | 1.17 | 0.49 | 0.77 | 0.29 | 2.03 |
| Year | -0.05** | 0.01 | 0.96 | 0.93 | 0.98 | 0.04 | 0.98 | 0.91 | 1.05 |
| Article Length | 0.47*** | 0.09 | 1.60 | 1.34 | 1.91 | 0.17 | 1.80 | 1.29 | 2.50 |
| Article Type (Opinion) | -0.84*** | 0.23 | 0.43 | 0.28 | 0.68 | 0.50 | 0.89 | 0.33 | 2.38 |
| Nagelkerke's R^2 | | | .064*** | | | | .070* | | |
| χ^2 | | | 40.111 | | | | 14.116 | | |

Note. Reference category: Popular newspaper (newspaper); The United Kingdom (country); Regular news (article type). Article length is standardized.
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F7

Augmented Dickey-Fuller Tests for Stationarity Check

| | Debate | News |
|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|
| Main effect | -12.853*** | -10.219*** |
| Moderation effect | | |
| Country (NL) | -13.393*** | -8.848*** |
| Country (UK) | -13.174*** | -11.354*** |
| Political affiliation (Left) | -13.812*** | -10.219*** |
| Political affiliation (Right) | -14.494*** | -10.219*** |
| Political affiliation (Far-Right) | -14.032*** | -10.219*** |
| Institutional function (MEPs) | -13.260*** | -10.219*** |
| Institutional function (EU Rep.) | -11.685*** | -10.219*** |
| Issue salience | | |
| The EU's investment in China | -15.946*** | -9.936*** |
| China's investment in the EU | -15.400*** | -9.049*** |
| The EU's exports to China | -14.041*** | -12.617*** |
| The EU's imports from China | -12.397*** | -10.039*** |
| EU–China trade agreements | -16.034*** | -11.027*** |
| Economic systems | -14.675*** | -10.309*** |
| Exchange rates | -13.119*** | -11.851*** |

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F8
Granger Causality Wald Tests

| | Debate | News | Var (lag) |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Main effect | 8.693* | 8.235* | 2 |
| Moderation effect | | | |
| Country (NL) | 1.325 | 0.929 | 1 |
| Country (UK) | 12.119** | 14.221** | 2 |
| Political affiliation (Left) | 3.903 | 5.091 | 2 |
| Political affiliation (Right) | 3.529 | 5.018 | 2 |
| Political affiliation (Far-Right) | 15.182** | 8.430* | 2 |
| Institutional function (MEPs) | 6.360* | 7.386* | 2 |
| Institutional function (EU Rep.) | 9.406** | 4.544* | 1 |
| Issue salience | | | |
| The EU's investment in China | 0.445 | 0.269 | 1 |
| China's investment in the EU | 20.965*** | 10.773** | 1 |
| The EU's exports to China | 2.991 | 1.221 | 2 |
| The EU's imports from China | 25.066*** | 16.453*** | 2 |
| EU–China trade agreements | 4.722 | 11.746** | 2 |
| Economic systems | 18.282*** | 1.833 | 2 |
| Exchange rates | 1.410 | 15.111** | 2 |

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table F9

Full Vector Autoregression Model Estimation Results – Original Model

| Relationships | <i>B</i> | <i>SE_B</i> | β | <i>SE_β</i> | <i>p</i> |
|--|----------|-----------------------|---------|-----------------------|----------|
| Main effects | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.108 | 0.043 | .167 | 0.066 | .012 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.025 | 0.044 | .038 | 0.067 | .568 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.127 | 0.095 | .082 | 0.061 | .180 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.219 | 0.094 | .142 | 0.061 | .019 |
| Country (NL) | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.022 | 0.019 | .074 | 0.064 | .250 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.181 | 0.188 | .054 | 0.056 | .335 |
| Country (UK) | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.087 | 0.035 | .161 | 0.064 | .012 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.058 | 0.035 | .106 | 0.065 | .104 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.105 | 0.115 | .057 | 0.062 | .363 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.396 | 0.113 | .214 | 0.061 | .000 |
| Political affiliation (Left) | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.017 | 0.013 | .092 | 0.067 | .166 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.010 | 0.013 | .052 | 0.067 | .439 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.237 | 0.320 | .045 | 0.060 | .459 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.651 | 0.318 | .122 | 0.060 | .041 |
| Political affiliation (Right) | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.014 | 0.012 | .077 | 0.069 | .261 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.012 | 0.012 | .067 | 0.069 | .332 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.057 | 0.334 | .010 | 0.060 | .865 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.741 | 0.333 | .133 | 0.060 | .026 |
| Political affiliation (Far-Right) | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.026 | 0.008 | .217 | 0.068 | .001 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.007 | 0.008 | .060 | 0.069 | .389 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.693 | 0.508 | .083 | 0.061 | .173 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 1.219 | 0.495 | .146 | 0.059 | .014 |
| Institutional function (MEPs) | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.055 | 0.029 | .125 | 0.067 | .062 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.026 | 0.030 | .059 | 0.068 | .385 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.083 | 0.138 | .036 | 0.060 | .548 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.348 | 0.137 | .152 | 0.060 | .011 |

Table F9 (continued)

| Relationships | <i>B</i> | <i>SE_B</i> | β | <i>SE_{β}</i> | <i>p</i> |
|---|----------|-----------------------|---------|--|----------|
| Institutional function (EU Rep.) | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.059 | 0.019 | .194 | 0.063 | .002 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.427 | 0.200 | .130 | 0.061 | .033 |
| The EU's investment in China | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.022 | 0.033 | .044 | 0.066 | .505 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.063 | 0.120 | .031 | 0.060 | .604 |
| China's investment in the EU | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.060 | 0.013 | .290 | 0.063 | .000 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.887 | 0.270 | .185 | 0.056 | .001 |
| The EU's exports to China | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.045 | 0.041 | .071 | 0.065 | .273 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.045 | 0.041 | .071 | 0.065 | .270 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | -0.031 | 0.100 | -.019 | 0.064 | .761 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.109 | 0.100 | .069 | 0.064 | .278 |
| The EU's imports from China | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.206 | 0.059 | .227 | 0.065 | .001 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.145 | 0.061 | .160 | 0.068 | .018 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.125 | 0.069 | .113 | 0.062 | .071 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.231 | 0.067 | .208 | 0.061 | .001 |
| EU–China trade agreements | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.107 | 0.074 | .103 | 0.071 | .144 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | -0.141 | 0.073 | -.135 | 0.071 | .055 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.062 | 0.060 | .064 | 0.063 | .306 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.201 | 0.060 | .209 | 0.063 | .001 |
| Economic systems | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.470 | 0.113 | .282 | 0.068 | .000 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | -0.062 | 0.117 | -.037 | 0.070 | .599 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | -0.011 | 0.037 | -.018 | 0.062 | .779 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.048 | 0.036 | .080 | 0.061 | .186 |
| Exchange rates | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.009 | 0.013 | .047 | 0.068 | .494 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.010 | 0.013 | .052 | 0.066 | .431 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 1.247 | 0.321 | .240 | 0.062 | .000 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | -0.147 | 0.331 | -.028 | 0.064 | .657 |

Note. *B* = unstandardized coefficients. β = standardized coefficients.

Table F10

Robustness Check Results

| Relationships | <i>B</i> | <i>SE_B</i> | β | <i>SE_{β}</i> | <i>p</i> |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|---------|--|----------|
| Original Model | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.108 | 0.043 | .167 | 0.066 | .012 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.025 | 0.044 | .038 | 0.067 | .568 |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.127 | 0.095 | .082 | 0.061 | .180 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.219 | 0.094 | .142 | 0.061 | .019 |
| Condition 1 | | | | | |
| News (L1.) → Debate | 0.072 | 0.051 | .112 | 0.079 | .159 |
| News (L2.) → Debate | 0.165 | 0.080 | .255 | 0.123 | .038 |
| Condition 2 | | | | | |
| Debate (L1.) → News | 0.090 | 0.106 | .058 | 0.069 | .397 |
| Debate (L2.) → News | 0.210 | 0.109 | .136 | 0.070 | .054 |

Note. *B* = unstandardized coefficients. β = standardized coefficients.

Condition 1: VAR estimation excluding months with no debates. Condition 2: VAR estimation excluding months with no newspaper articles.

Figure F1
Predicted Probability of Tone by Year in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2021)

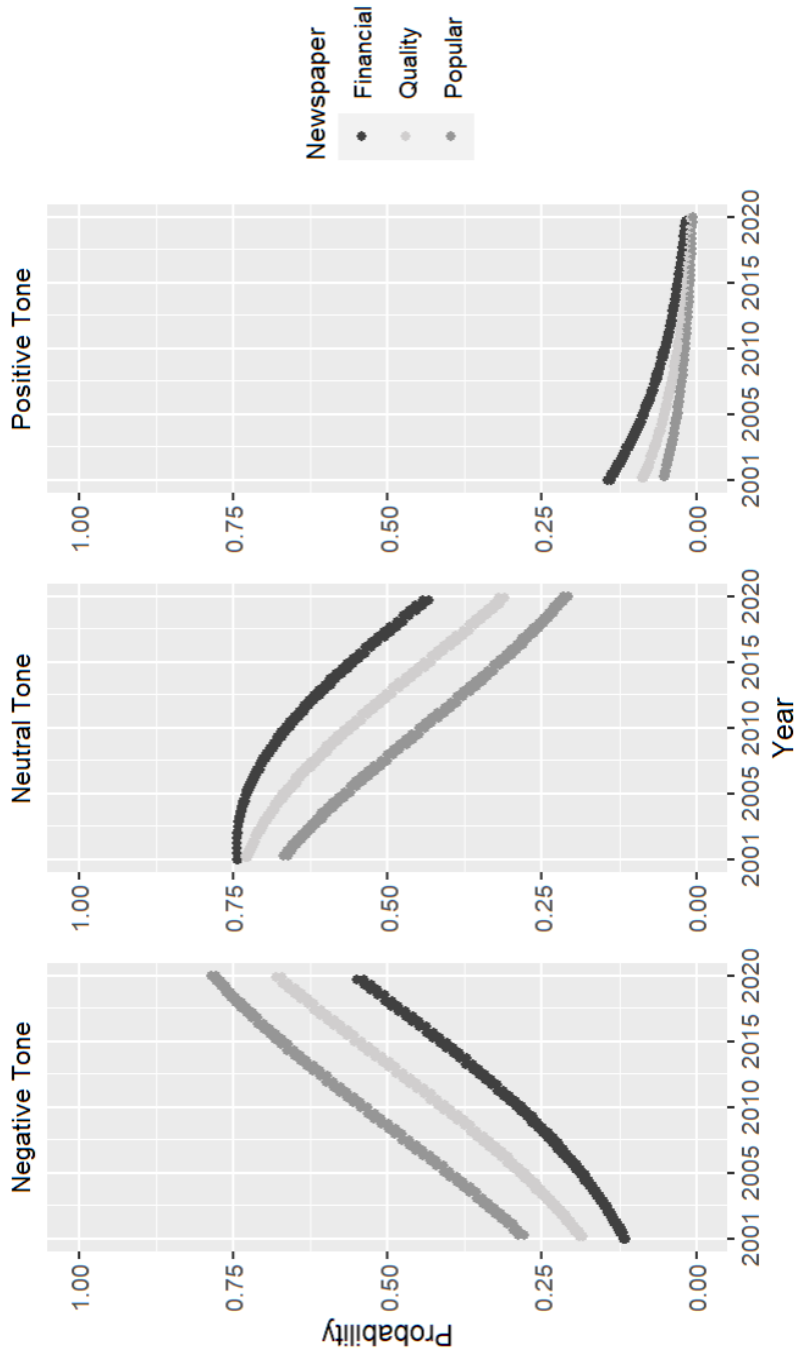


Figure F2
Predicted Probability of Tone by Newspaper Type With 95% Confidence Interval (Solid Line) in News Coverage of EU–China Trade Relations (2001–2021)

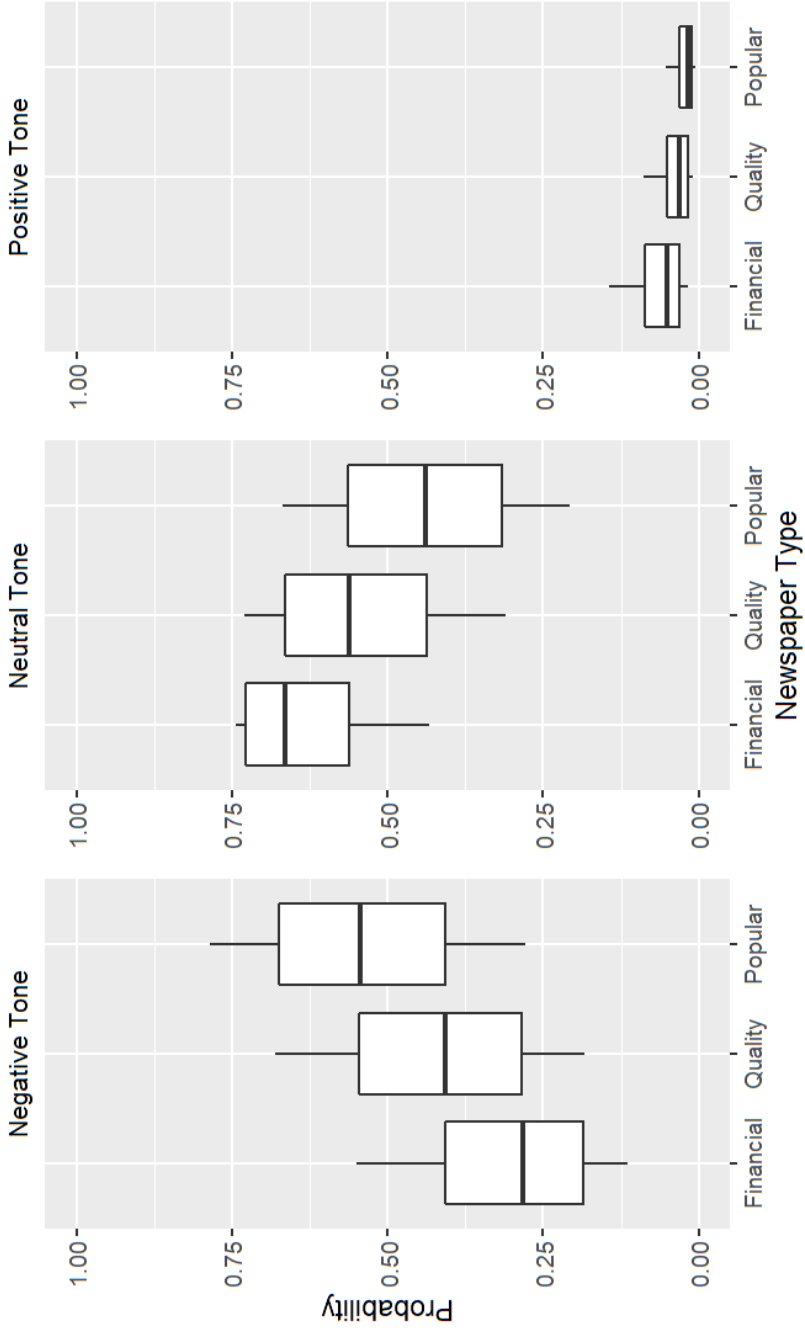


Figure F3
Cumulative Impulse Response Function Test Results

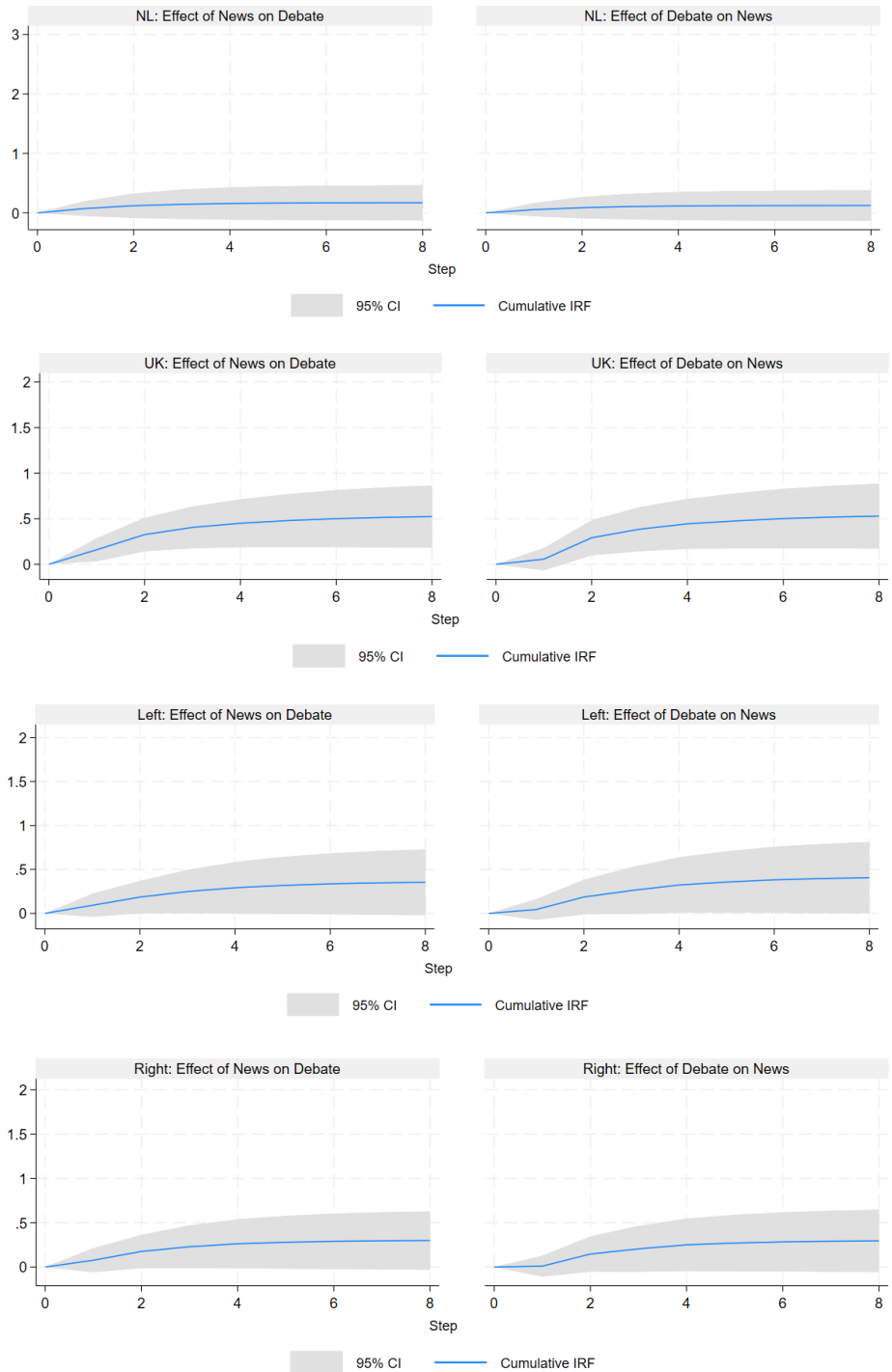


Figure F3 (continued)

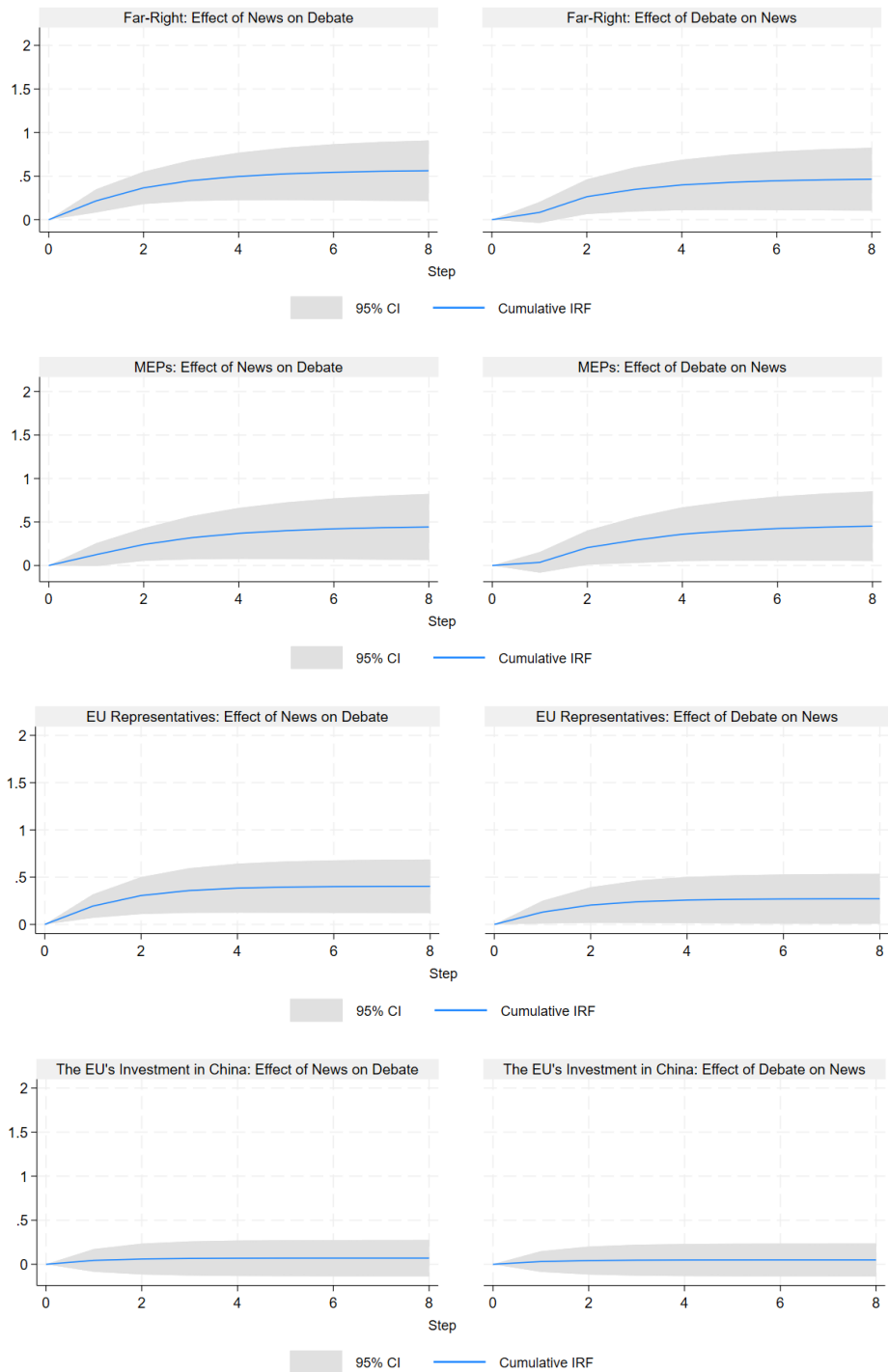


Figure F3 (continued)

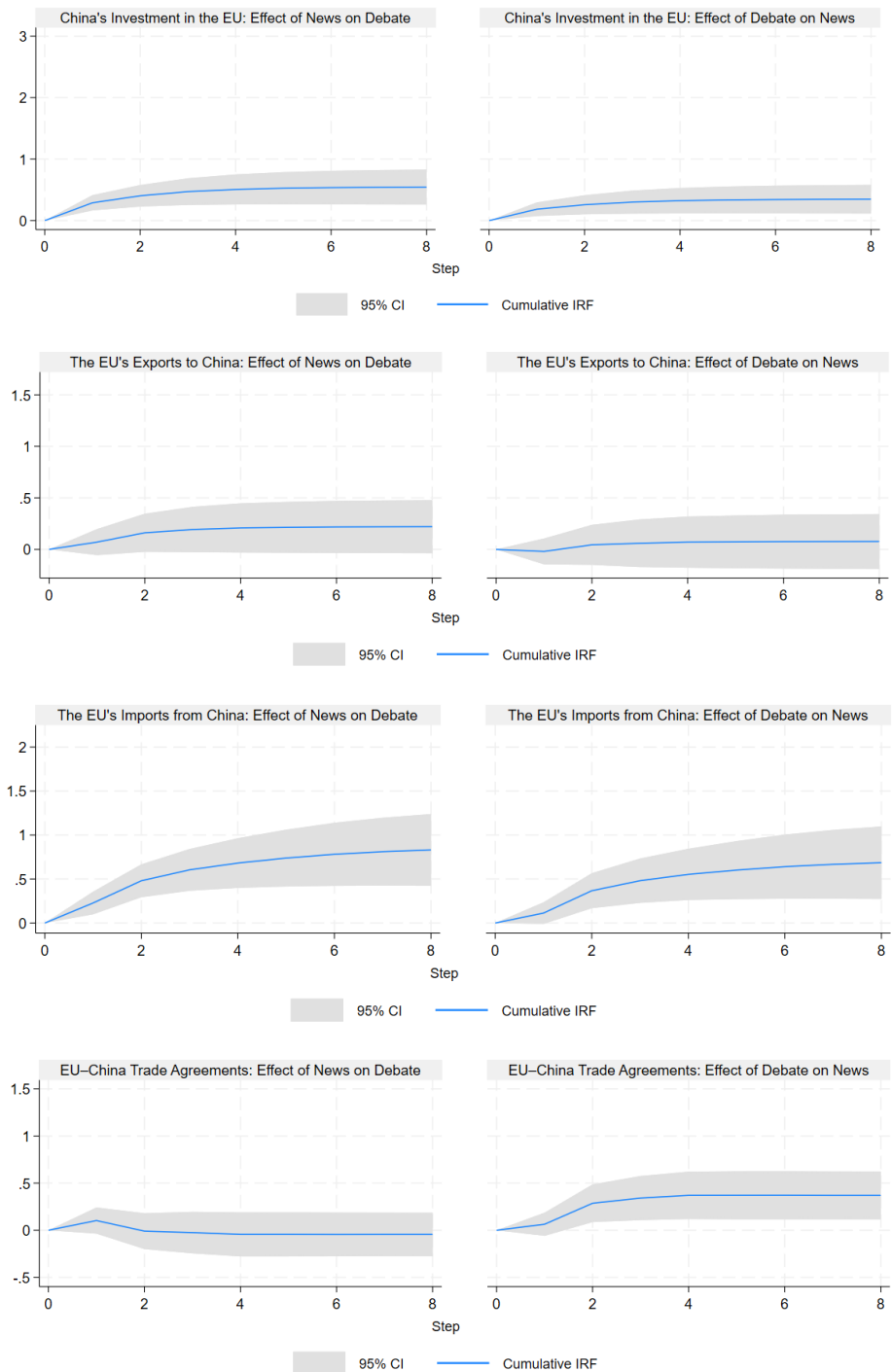


Figure F3 (continued)

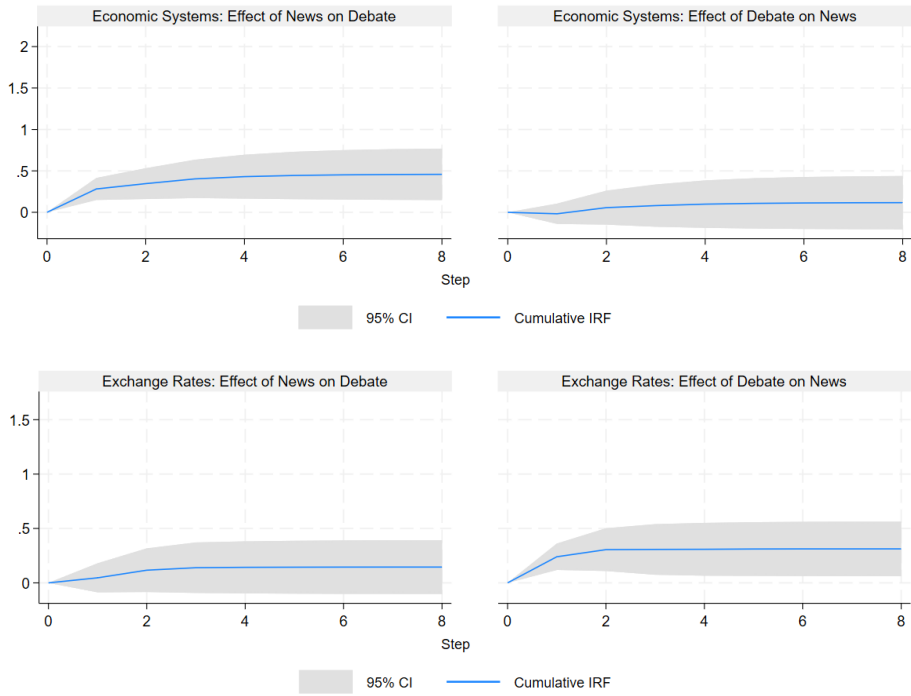


Figure F4
Decomposition of Forecast Error Variance Test Results

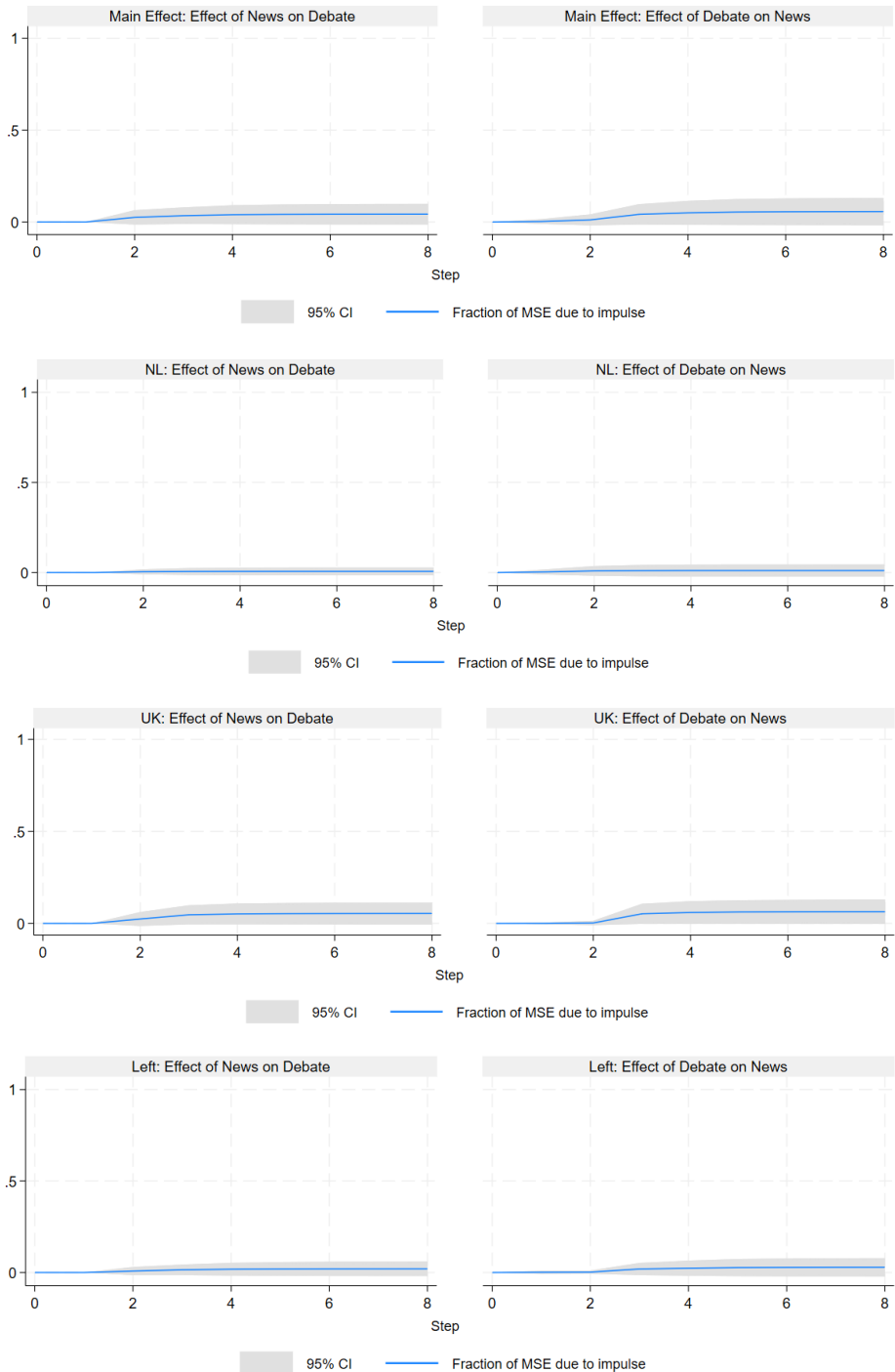


Figure F4 (continued)

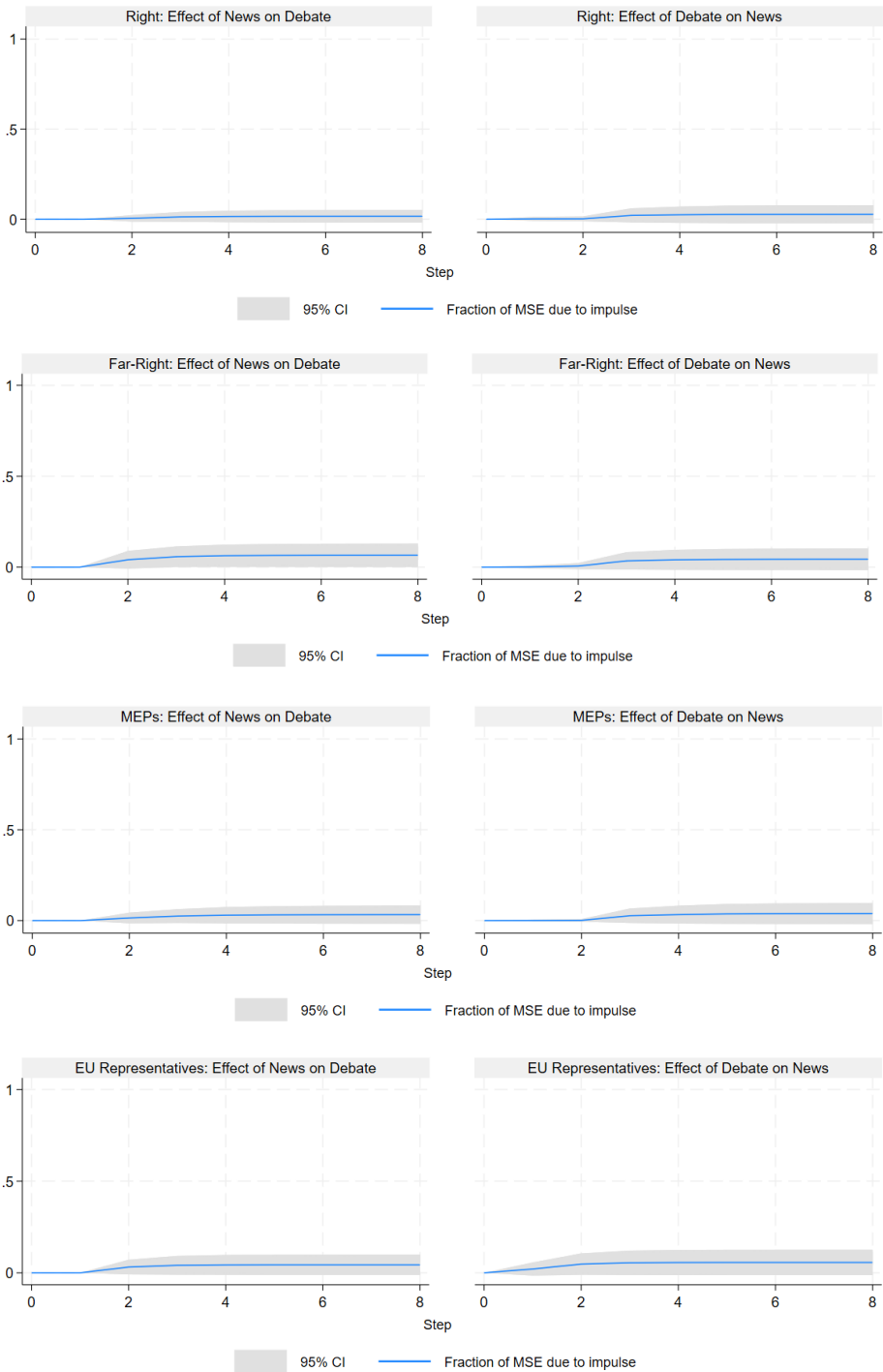


Figure F4 (continued)

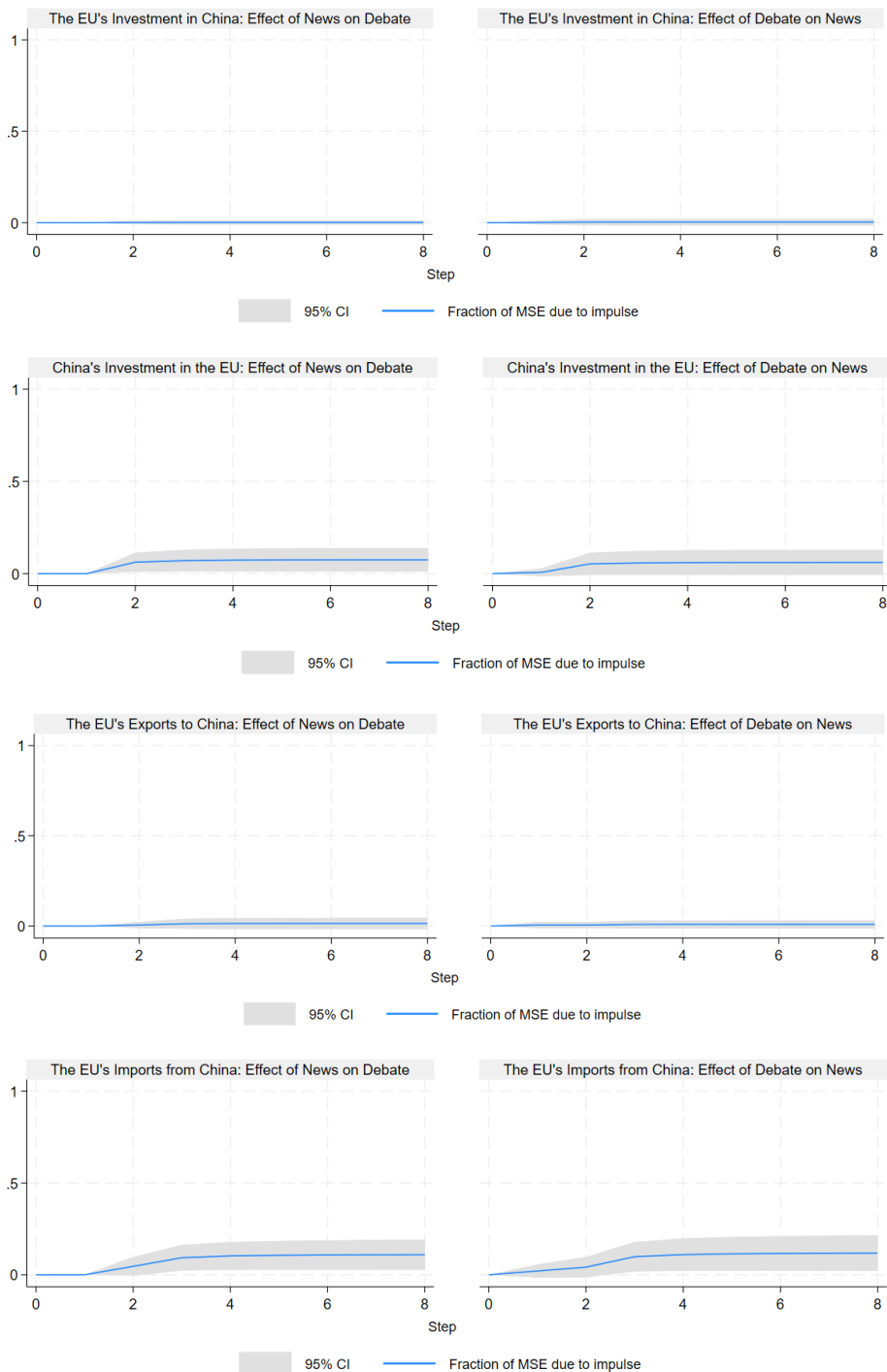
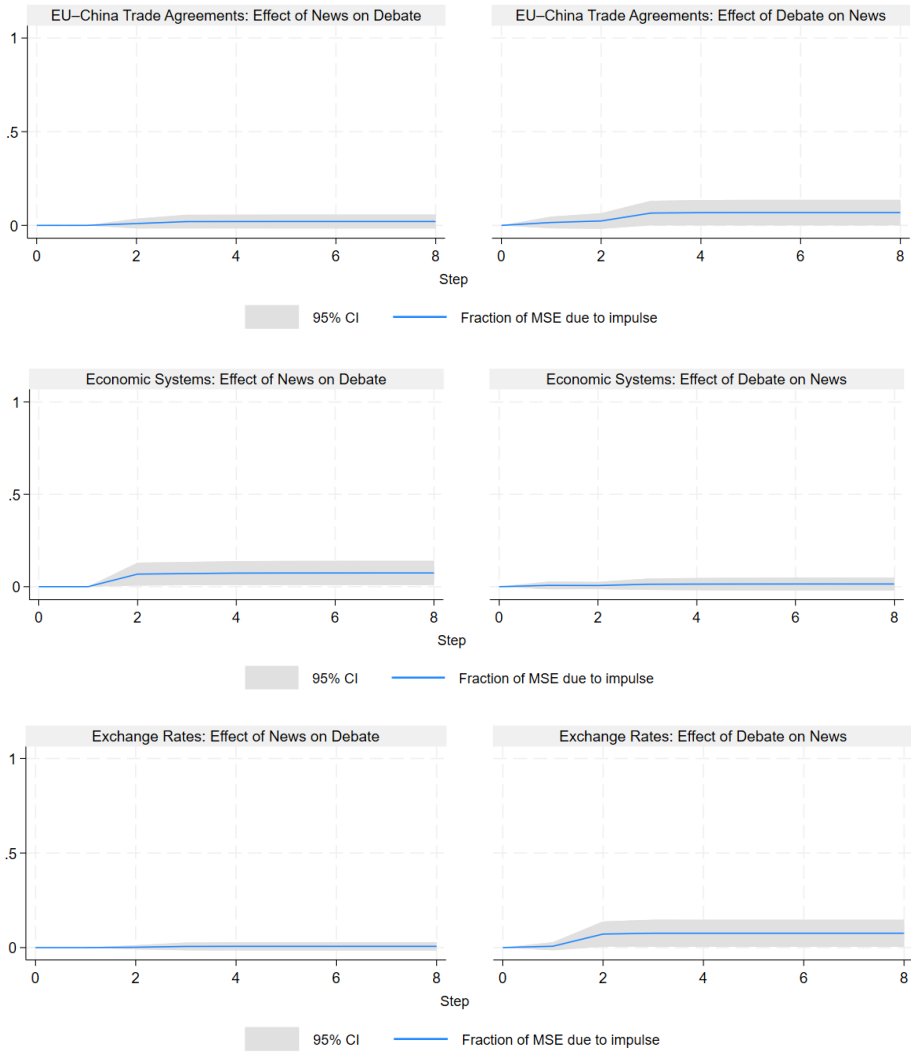


Figure F4 (continued)



Appendix G

Categorization of Political Groups in the European Parliament

Left Group (*n* = 95)

GUE/NGL (Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left)

PSE (Group of the Party of European Socialists)

S&D (Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats)

Verts/ALE (Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance)

Right Group (*n* = 109)

ALDE (Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe)

ELDR (Group of the European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party)

EPP-ED (Group of the European People's Party and European Democrats)

EPP (Group of the European People's Party)

ECR (European Conservatives and Reformists Group)

Far-Right Group (*n* = 56)

EFDD (Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group)

EFD (Europe of Freedom and Democracy Group)

EDD (Europe of Democracies and Diversities Group)

IND/DEM (Independence/Democracy Group)

Note. a. Non-Attached Members (NI) and EU representatives were excluded. b. We only included Political Groups whose affiliated MEPs delivered speeches on EU–China trade relations. Therefore, not all EP political groups are present on the list.

Appendix H

Survey Questions

Public Perceptions

We ask about your attitude toward trade relations between the European Union and China. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (*Strongly Disagree = 1; Strongly Agree = 7*)

- a. China is an economic ally of the European Union.
- b. I support a boycott of Made-in-China products.
- c. China's investment in European Union countries creates job opportunities.
- d. China is an economic competitor of the European Union.
- e. I am in favor of anti-dumping measures (e.g., imposing tariffs) on Made-in-China products.
- f. The trade relations of China with the European Union put European employment at risk.

Issue Knowledge

1.1 Now we would like to ask you about the "Belt and Road Initiative" (also called "One Belt One Road", "BRI", and "OBOR"). If you don't know an answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

What is the Belt and Road Initiative?

- a. An initiative of the Ministry of Infrastructure in India to reduce traffic congestion
- b. A multi-country infrastructure project initiated by the Asian Development Bank
- c. An initiative to increase government spending on infrastructure in Vietnam
- d. An infrastructure project initiated by the Chinese government to stimulate the connection between countries
- e. I don't know

2.1 Who is the first European leader to visit China since the COVID pandemic began? Please select one of the following options. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

- a. Charles Michel
- b. Mark Rutte
- c. Olaf Scholz
- d. Emmanuel Macron
- e. I don't know

2.2 Which Dutch company was recently called upon by the US to stop trading with China? Please select one of the following options. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

- a. Akzo Nobel
- b. Stellantis
- c. Philips
- d. ASML
- e. I don't know

3.1 In February 2023, which country shot down a Chinese hot air balloon in its airspace? Please select one of the following options. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

- a. Russia
- b. Canada
- c. Mexico
- d. United States
- e. I don't know

3.2 Which type of industry has recently faced export restrictions to China imposed by the Dutch government? Please select one of the following options. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

- a. Food industry
- b. Petroleum industry
- c. Chip industry
- d. Pharmaceutical industry
- e. I don't know

4.1 The Dutch government has banned its officials from installing some apps on their work phones. Which app is NOT on the ban list and can still be installed? Please select one of the following options. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

- a. VKontakte
- b. AliExpress
- c. Snapchat
- d. TikTok
- e. I don't know

4.2 As retaliation for the semiconductor export controls from Western countries, China will impose new export controls beginning in August 2023. What type of product will be subject to export restrictions? Please select one of the following options. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

- a. Textile
- b. Metal
- c. Plastic
- d. Oil and gas
- e. I don't know

5.1 Which EU country has recently intended to withdraw from China's Belt and Road Initiative? Please select one of the following options. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

- a. Greece
- b. Hungary
- c. Italy
- d. Croatia
- e. I don't know

5.2 The EU has recently announced an anti-subsidy investigation into Chinese products. Which type of product will be investigated? Please select one of the following options. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

- a. Biofuels
- b. Electric vehicles
- c. Optical fiber cables
- d. Solar panels
- e. I don't know

6.1 Which Chinese company has recently been asked by the European Commission for information regarding its approach to tackle illegal products? Please select one of the following options. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

- a. Shein
- b. Temu
- c. AliExpress
- d. Jingdong (Ochama)
- e. I don't know

6.2 China has recently banned the import of beef and lamb from the Netherlands. Which of the following is the reason that led to the ban? Please select one of the following options. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "I don't know". Please do NOT search for the correct answer.

- a. Nitrogen emissions
- b. Import taxes
- c. Viral decease
- d. Trade protectionism
- e. I don't know

Education

What is the highest education? This education does not have to be completed. Are you a student? Then enter the education you are currently following.

- a. No education / primary education / integration course, Dutch language course
- b. LBO / VBO / VMBO (intermediate or vocational training) / MBO 1 (assistant training)
- c. MAVO / HAVO or VWO (first three years) / ULO / MULO / VMBO (theoretical or mixed training) / secondary special education
- d. MBO 2, 3, 4 (basic vocational, vocational, middle management or specialist training) or MBO old structure (before 1998)
- e. HAVO or VWO (transferred to the 4th year) / HBS / MMS / HBO propaedeutic or WO propaedeutic
- f. HBO (except HBO master) / WO candidate or WO bachelor
- g. WO doctoral or WO master or HBO master / postdoctoral education

News Consumption

How many days in a typical week do you watch the following television programs/ printed newspapers/news websites?

(From 0 to 7 days)

- 1. Television news exposure
 - a. NOS Journaal
 - b. RTL Nieuws
 - c. Hart van Nederland
- 2. Newspaper news exposure
 - a. De Telegraaf
 - b. Algemeen Dagblad
 - c. de Volkskrant
 - d. NRC Handelsblad

- e. Trouw
 - f. Het Financieele Dagblad
 - g. Reformatorisch Dagblad
 - h. Nederlands Dagblad
3. News website exposure
- a. nu.nl
 - b. nos.nl
 - c. telegraaf.nl (De Telegraaf)
 - d. ad.nl (Algemeen Dagblad)
 - e. vk.nl of volkskrant.nl (de Volkskrant)
 - f. nrc.nl (NRC Handelsblad)
 - g. trouw.nl
 - h. fd.nl (Financieele Dagblad)
 - i. rd.nl (Reformatorisch Dagblad)
 - j. nd.nl (Nederlands Dagblad)

Documentary Consumption

Did you watch the NPO series 'Langs de nieuwe zijderoute' by Ruben Terlouw and Jelle Brandt Corstius? And how often did you watch it in the past few weeks?

- a. I did not watch the show
- b. I watched one episode
- c. I watched several episodes, but not all of them
- d. Until now I watched all episodes

Attention to Economic News

In the past week, how much attention did you pay to economic news?
(*Not at all = 1; Very much = 7*)

Consumer Trust

What do you expect from the economic situation of the Netherlands in general for the next twelve months? Will it get better, get worse or stay the same?
(*A lot worse = -5; Remain unchanged = 0; A lot better = 5*)

Political Ideology (Left-Right)

In politics, people talk about "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself? Display your position using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means "left" and 10 means "right". Which number best describes your position?
(*Left = 0; Right = 10; I do not know = 11; I do not want to say = 12*)

Political Interest

How interested are you in politics?

(Not interested at all = 0; Very interested = 10)

Age

What is your date of birth?

(Day, Month, Year)

Gender

What is your gender?

- a. Male
- b. Female
- c. Other

Income

We would like to ask you about the monthly net income of your household (you and any other family members aged 18 and older), including all pensions and social benefits such as child benefits and other income such as rental income, etc. The net income is the sum of all incomes of the members of your household after deduction of taxes and premiums.

- a. Less than €150
- b. €150 to €300
- c. €301 to €500
- d. €501 to €1,000
- e. €1,001 to €1,500
- f. €1,501 to €2,000
- g. €2,001 to €2,500
- h. €2,501 to €3,000
- i. €3,001 to €5,000
- j. €5,001 to €7,500
- k. €7,501 to €10,000
- l. €10,001 or more
- m. I prefer not to answer
- n. I don't know

Appendix I

Interview Guide: Journalistic Role Performance in Reporting on EU–China Trade Relations

Part A

- How long have you been working in the field of EU–China trade relations?
- Could you briefly tell me about your current professional role and how it has given you a strong understanding of EU–China trade relations?
- Which sources do you rely on to shape your perceptions of EU–China trade relations?
→ Why do you find these sources reliable/useful?
- In your impression, how do the European media (you consume/in your country) usually cover EU–China trade relations?

Part B

Thinking about the news coverage you have seen or read about EU–China trade relations from European journalists.

- How balanced do you think the news coverage on EU–China trade relations has been? Are there any particular aspects of EU–China trade relations that you feel are under- or over-represented in the media?
- Which types of actors have been the most prominent in the media coverage of EU–China trade relations?
- Have you noticed any instances where journalists seemed to be advocating for a particular viewpoint related to this issue?
- To what extent have European journalists scrutinized the actions of governments and companies involved in EU–China trade relations?
- Have you seen instances where journalistic work seems to promote the policies of EU institutions or national governments regarding EU–China trade relations?
- Have journalists done a good job of analyzing and explaining the complexities of this issue for the public, beyond just reporting the facts?
- How well do you think the reporting has helped the average European citizens understand why EU–China trade relations matter to them personally?

Part C

- What factors have you noticed that could influence journalistic role performance in reporting on EU–China trade relations?
- What would you consider a better way for European journalists to cover EU–China trade relations?
- Is there anything else you would like to add about this topic that we haven't covered?

